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FROM MASTER PLAN TO VISION PLAN: THE CHANGING ROLE OF PLANS AND PLAN MAKING IN CITY DEVELOPMENT (WITH REFERENCE TO MUMBAI)

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FROM MASTER PLAN TO VISION PLAN: THE CHANGING ROLE OF PLANS AND PLAN MAKING IN CITY DEVELOPMENT (WITH REFERENCE TO MUMBAI)

Ramakrishna NALLATHIGA

Center for Good Governance
Road No. 25, Jubilee Hills, Hyderabad 500033, Andhra Pradesh, India
ramanallathiga@yahoo.co.uk

Abstract
Master plans are the traditional instruments used by urban local governments in India as forward planning tools by anticipating urban development and making provisions for the same in terms of (a) the allocation of land for various uses, (b) the regulation of its development and (c) the provision of civic infrastructure. However, they failed to meet the expectations of the citizens as well as the decision makers for several reasons: their design and approach were far too simplistic in anticipating the citizens' needs and aspirations; their very long tenure has been a major hindrance to anticipate socio-economic changes over time horizon; further, the restrictive approach taken to their implementation without adequate flexibility to meet the changing needs of hour has been acting against the spirit of urban planning. Essentially, it is because of these inadequacies in the plan design, plan making and plan implementation that there is a need felt now on steering an alternative course for achieving the city development goals. Vision plans, in this context, have emerged as alternative instruments useful for achieving the city development goals over a medium to long term; and they are increasingly becoming popular in the cities across the USA as well as elsewhere. This paper describes the evolution of master plan in the Indian context and analyses its inadequacies first (as found in literature); subsequently, it explains the positive features of emerging alternative approaches like the strategic vision plans. In particular, it illustrates the specific case of the Strategic Vision Plan for Mumbai, jointly prepared by a partnership of private non-profit initiative and for-profit organisation, as to how its design is different and as how it takes in to account of / built upon some of the principles of master planning approach. It therefore lays down, finally, how the urban planning has to change the course, akin to the economic planning focus change from that in central planning [of pre-modern era] to decentralized planning [of post-modern era].
Keywords: Master plans, City development, Vision plan and Planning focus

1. Introduction

Planning has occupied much of the importance in India's past. Economic Planning had been central to its economy in the post-independence era until the 1990s[1]. While economic planning has been changing the course towards changing over the decade and a half, such changes in physical planning have not come forth. The physical planning, here, essentially refers to the urban planning, or urban

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[1] A detailed discussion of the economic planning and its changes can be found in Ray (2002)

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development planning, with which we are concerned in this paper. India's strong historical past in the form of civilization and associated systems has been well researched by historians e.g., Thapar (1990), of which town planning was a characteristic of the civilizations more than 2000 years ago. However, much of this planning was a concerted effort of specific kingdoms prevalent at various points of time in history rather than an outcome of documented and institutionalized procedures, rendering it difficult to compare the ancient planning systems with the modern planning systems. The modern town planning came to vogue in a civilized society based on institutionalized systems. Like several other countries, much of the current town planning system in India owe's its origins to the British town planning system, although the features and functioning of it are very different from the British system. The British Town Planning System is rather democratic, participatory, decentralized and uses legal and economic principles in the design of its practice (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2001)

The Indian Town Planning System evolved much through a variety of town planning initiatives during the colonial rule. British rulers have from time to time estimated the need for evolving the cities in the past to serve the economic needs of their mother land, and in the process have laid down some principles for organization of human settlements, laying down infrastructure, legislation for legal validity of the planning proposals. Although admirable for the society that was yet developing, the system was purportedly designed to serve the economic interests of the British first and the social interests of citizens later. The Colonial Planning had several other undesirable features associated with it. It systematically catered to the interests of colonizers rather than the servicing population, it had the draconian features that characterized the colonial rule in India, and finances for plan implementation largely came from exchequer filled by the taxes from peasants and labor. It provided a picture of Victorian grandiose of the 'rulers' within the city and contrasting poor neighbourhoods resided by the 'ruled' – reflecting the divide of Victorian and Indian cities (Mehrotra and Dwivedi, 1995). However, it certainly laid down the foundations for catering to the future needs of an increasingly urbanizing society in the post-independence era.

India continued with a town planning system whose legislation was framed by the British by adapting it to the requirements of the Indian cities and this was primarily done through the town and country planning acts of various States. These acts have mandated the development of Master Plans for the development of cities conceivable in the next 20 or 25 years. The Master plans, or development plans, featured the land use plan – present and proposed – and development control restrictions. In many states, this involves estimation of future population, socio-economic conditions and their infrastructural needs and preparation of plans for ensuring that the necessary facilities are in place when the development takes place. The plans were supposed to make proposals/schemes for the provision of

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various facilities and ensure that the basic amenities/services are in place; in that process, they were also to guide the urban development. This approach certainly assumes the State, or government, as the major producer of all goods and services – public and private, which was the thinking prevailing for a quite long time in the history. We will discuss in this paper this basic approach that was drawn from the colonial system has yielded the results in practice, if not so what are the new ways or methods that could replace or strengthen it. Here, though we make reference to the town planning in India, in general, our primary intention is also to make some specific observations from the experiences in Mumbai of its development planning in the post-independence era. We will first take an overview of Mumbai's historical development past and the evolution of its planning system over time before critically examining the master plan approach and practice in Mumbai. Subsequently, the need for an alternative approach of Vision Plan is discussed together with the elements Vision Plan of Mumbai and its methodology.

2. Evolution of Mumbai City and Its Planning System

2.1. Mumbai's Evolution

Mumbai, earlier known as Bombay, was once a congregation of seven tiny islands mostly lived in by fishermen and farmers (Mehrotra and Dwivedi, 1995) conquered by the King of Thane in the year 1400 but soon passed in the hands of another ruler. It grew at snails pace until Vaso-da-gama, the Portuguese traveller set his foot in 1453 in a bid to discover New Land. The Portuguese rulers slowly explored India and came to acquire a foothold in Mumbai by 1600 (Chandrashekhar, 2005). The British had started settling in Calcutta and Surat by that time. In 1661, Mumbai was given to Prince Charles of Britain as a marriage gift in his marriage with Princess Catherine of Portugal. But, it was the East India Company which first noticed the hidden potentials Mumbai in the form of a natural harbour and it obtained a lease of Mumbai in 1668. Mumbai soon became their gateway to prosperity with the trade becoming more efficient. It also developed a naval base. A port was established and a fort was constructed in Mumbai. Trade incentive and security attracted people from the mainland. By 1720, the population of Mumbai rose to 16,000 (Chandrashekhar, 2005).

2.2. Rise of Mumbai as Economic Powerhouse

By the beginning of 19th Century, the English became a major political power. This gave boost to trade an influx of population and so do the formation of a new town and extension of the city. Noting that Mumbai's climate was suited for textile mills, the first cotton mill was established in 1854, which marked the beginning of an industrial era in the history of Mumbai. With the operationalisation of Mumbai port in

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1860, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the trade activity was revolutionised as it reduced the distance of Mumbai from England by almost half (Chandrasekhar, 2005). British rule give full freedom for uninterrupted trade between Mumbai and the mainland. This resulted into rapid growth of commerce and industrialisation. By the end of the 19th Century, many civic services were provided - water supply, drainage system, reclamation of tidal flats, health services, cemeteries, educational institutions, street lights, markets etc.

2.3. Evolution of Municipal Institutions

The Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) Act was enacted in 1888 giving rise to Local Self Government. This was the first attempt to regulate the functioning of the City in a planned manner. The notorious plague of 1896 led to a quarter of the population deserting Mumbai; as the city faced commercial extinction in order to improve hygienic conditions BMC was compelled to provide proper drainage, clean water and planned reclamation (Chandrasekhar, 2005). Towards this Mumbai City Improvement Trust was established in 1898. This was the first attempt to deal with the evils of unplanned development of the City. From the beginning of the 20th Century, the City has been a destination of migration and coped with development pressures.

2.4. Early attempts of Planning in Mumbai

The Bombay Town Planning Act was enacted in 1915. Under the obligatory provisions of this Act, various Town Planning schemes were framed by the BMC in the suburbs. In particular, the Bombay Development Department (BDD), established in 1920, undertook massive housing schemes in the City, now known as BDD Chawls, and also undertook Backbay reclamation (Chandrashekhar, 2005). After independence, there was heavy influx to the city but the infrastructural facilities of the past considerably helped the growth of industries, business and trade. The first major effort of urban planning was the Modak Meyor Master Plan of 1948, which laid down overall growth of Mumbai as the overall objective. As the city became too congested, the limits of the city were first extended in 1950 to cover the area of near suburbs. Later on in 1957 it was extended to farther suburbs to the north. The Mumbai Town Planning Act of 1954 replaced the earlier Act of 1915. The New Act made it obligatory for local authorities to prepare the Development Plans for the areas administered by them within the stipulated period in addition to the preparation of the Town Planning Schemes. This act was later replaced by a modified Act named Maharashtra Regional & Town Planning Act, 1966, which covered the enactment's keeping in view the regional aspects of its development ad growth. This paved way to the First Development Plan of 1964.

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Its very interesting to note that the history of Mumbai city is replete with early colonial plans that were able to address the growth needs of the city very well, except during the time period of plague epidemic, but at the same time they were primarily catering to the needs of trade and commerce and economic growth of colonial super power. It will be interesting to note, later, that in the post-independence era the development planning of Mumbai – both policy and practice – focused much on regulation and the quality of life for improving the welfare of existing population without much attention to the economic changes, population growth and inevitable immigration. The lack of concern for these basic issues and the failure on implementation are the major shortcomings of the development planning in the post-independence era, which we will discuss later.

3. Master Planning in India and Its Experience

Master planning aims at improving the urban environment as the efficiency of urban settlements largely depends upon how well they are planned, how economically they are developed and how efficiently they are managed. Planning inputs largely govern the efficiency level of human settlements. In one sense, master planning is basically an exercise of resource planning, generation, development and management (Tiwari, 2002). The master plan, which was perceived to be a process rather than a conclusive statement, provides guidelines for the physical development of the city and guides people in locating their investments in the city. In short, Master Plan is a design for the physical, social, and economic development of the city, and also to improve the quality of life as well. The functions of the Master Plan / Development plan are as follows (Tiwari, 2002):

- To guide development of a city is an orderly manner so as to improve the quality of life of the people

- Organize and coordinate the complex relationships between urban land uses

- Chart a course for growth and change, be responsive to change and maintain its validity over time and space, and be subject to continual review

- Direct the physical development of the city in relation to its social and economic characteristics based on comprehensive surveys and studies on the present status and the future growth prospects; and

- Provide a resource mobilization plan for the proposed development works.

The concepts and methods of the traditional Master Planning in India owe their origin to the British town planning laws. The Master Plans have primarily confined to the aspects of land use and development

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control. Yet, there is a widely held view that the Master planning methods adopted over the last few decades in India have not produced a satisfactory physical environment (Tiwari, 2002) and have not been effective in the outputs as well as outcomes (Meshram, 2006). The planning process in the past has been unduly long and largely confined to the detailing of land use aspects. Functionally, master plans paid inadequate attention to the provision of trunk infrastructure, environmental conservation and financing issues, the last one rendering them to be unrealistic proposals without budgets (Meshram, 2006). Moreover, master planning approach lacked a holistic view of urban development and did not deal with interconnecting issues. For example, in most cities, master plans have not been translated into socio-economic development plans and investment programmes and, often, the physical planning exercises were restricted to core urban areas without much integration with the peripheral areas and rural hinterlands (Tiwari, 2002). Attempts to adopt an integrated development plan approach, based on national, state and regional strategies and recognition of the spatial and functional linkages between settlements of different orders have not been made much (Meshram, 2006). Also, planning and plan implementation processes have not paid adequate attention to the integration of land use and transport planning. The fact that transport is a key determinant of land use and "leads" development is sometimes ignored (Meshram, 2006). Therefore, it appears that the shortcomings of Master Plan approach are in design, conceptual issues and procedures rather than in applied context as implied in Box 1.

Box 1: Shortcomings of Master Plan Approach

- Large Master Plans are too static in nature and they take very long time to prepare and are too infrequently updated (though frequent case-by-case relaxations in plan with a view to serve vested interests)
- Master plans rarely provide guidelines on the plan techniques of implementation
- Master plans rarely evaluate the costs of development they propose or the methods of financing them
- Master plans are often based on unrealistic appraisal of economic potential of the planning areas and, in some cases, on the needs
- Master plans seldom provide a compelling ratio of detailed land use and elaborate land use regulation or control
- Community or elected representatives or NGOs are not involved in the planning process meaningfully.

Source: UN-ESCAP (1984)

Besides the above principles on which Master Plans fared poor, the major criticisms of Master Plan approach adopted in the country are summarized as follows (Tiwari, 2002):

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- *Plan Preparation Techniques:* The Master plan details out the urbanized and urbanisable areas under its jurisdiction and suggests land use up to the neighborhood level. This minute detailing has resulted in lack of flexibility and has hindered individual self-expression.

- *Plan perspective:* The plan projects and 'end state' scenario for 20-25 years is not detailed enough for short and medium-terms actions.

- *Static Plan:* The plan is mostly static and not amendable to quick mid-course corrections.

- *Delays:* Inordinate delays in Master Plan preparation and approval and, in addition, difficulty in obtaining possession of land sought to be acquired for the purpose is one of the main hindrance to speedy and successful implementation of the Master Plan.

- *Growth of the City:* The efficacy of the master Plan is adversely affected by the divergence between the precept growth and practical reality.

- *Ineffective Public Participation:* The mechanism for public participation is ineffective in the process of development planning, in both its preparation and implementation. It is more top-down than a bottom-up approach.

- *Weak information Base:* Master Plan preparation is undertaken with a very weak information base especially on socio-economic parameters, housing and environment.

- *Impractical Physical standards:* The plans prescribe impractical densities and layout high standards in an effort to improve the quality of life in a city. These are generally higher than what the city population, particularly the poor, can afford.

- *Lack of Financing Plan:* Estimates of financial outlay do not match the development works envisaged in the Master Plan. The strategies for raising resources required for plan implementation are never an integral part of the plan.

- *Spatial Planning vis-à-vis Development Planning:* Urban planning in India has been over-shadowed by its spatial content instead of realization of social and economic objectives. Town planning exercises tended to concentrate on physical order and environmental quality of city, and were isolated from the mainstream development planning, decision-making and implementation strategies.

- *Land Policy and Management:* The absence of machinery for systematic and continuous collection of data on the movement of land and tenement prices undermines the implementation of the master Plan.

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- *Private Sector Participation:* Through a significant portion of the development is due to the initiative of the private sector, this factor is not recognized in the Plan.

- *Regulatory mechanism:* The regulatory mechanisms in the Master Plan are to enable better management of the city. But, too restrictive controls are costly enough to provide incentives for breach rather than compliance.

- *Plan Implementation:* The root-cause of the urban maladies has been the divorcing of the plan preparation from plan implementation.

- *Ineffective plan Monitoring:* An institutional and information system does not, generally, exist for plan monitoring. Since the budgetary system does not explicitly take into account the requirement of plan implementation, problem of resources are not periodically highlighted.

Besides these common shortcomings cited, some specific shortcomings have also been cited by the critiques in the context of the India cities e.g., Ravindra (1997) in the case of Bangalore, Meshram (2006) in the case of Delhi and Mumbai. Yet, from time to time, especially at the time of disasters, accusations are made that the comprehensive master plan has not been prepared for the city e.g., Dossall (2005).

4. Review of Mumbai's Planning Experience and the need for Vision Plan

Mumbai's historical past and its planning system evolution until the independence has provided us an overview of how it developed from a cluster of marshy islands to the *urbs prima* of India in the 19th century. The physical development blue prints laid down by colonial traders supported the city growth well in the coming years. The post-independence era of planning in Mumbai is a stark contrast with the growth reinforcing planning approach of colonial planning approach[2].

4.1. First development plan of Mumbai

The first development plan of Mumbai was initially planned for the period of 1964 to 1977 but extended to the period of 1964-1981. It primarily concentrated on: (i) providing various amenities in line with a land use plan, (ii) shifting the development to the near suburbs; (iii) restricting the operations of industries, trade and population concentration on the island city. This plan met with some inevitable failures – failure to comply with time lines, failure to expand/ improve the existing infrastructure, failure to develop amenities proposed in the plan. These are attributed to the slow pace of planning without a

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[2] The discussion foregoing is based on the reference to the material on MCGM website

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realistic assessment of ground situation and there was no budget or strategy to acquire land for the development of amenities. The plan made no attempts to foster industrial or economic growth but aimed to 'decongest' the city in all respects – population density, trade and commerce activity, industrialization and housing. The wholesale markets, port activity, manufacturing industries and bulk material handling were shifted to suburbs. Yet, the city continued to grow – both in terms of economic activity and population – as industries, particularly textiles, were increasingly becoming concentrated and reaping agglomeration benefits. During this period, the proposal for building a satellite city for Mumbai – New Mumbai on the mainland – took shape and it was ultimately realized after almost a decade long city building and has been well described by Shaw (2004). The process of this itself is complex and did not yield success until the land value has risen more than a decade later in the early 1990s.

4.2. Second development plan of Mumbai

The Second development plan was a revised development plan prepared for the period of 1981-2001 initially and it was sanctioned in parts between 1991 and 1993, the last being in 1993. But it is reported to have been extended to the period of 1991 - 2013 now, once again exposing the inordinate delays in the making of plan proposals and getting the approvals. The plan proposals appear to be far realistic when compared to ground situation.

First, the plan made provisions for residential land use and housing for a population of 9.87 million by 2001, whereas the population level in 1991 itself was 9.9 million in 1991 and it reached 11.9 million by 2001, leaving a backlog population of 2 million to be accommodated. Even with this low level of growth (1.85 per cent per annum), the population by the end of plan period (2013) can be expected to be around 14 million and the backlog will rise to 4 million.

Second, the plan continued to place emphasis on 'decongestion' policy and proposed to develop industrial and office hubs in the suburbs, wherein the infrastructure is woefully inadequate as enough provisions were not made for laying down infrastructure for future growth in the earlier plan. However, it came out with some innovative methods of dealing with the land acquisition and amenity development faced in the previous plan. The use of 'Accommodation Reservations' and 'Transfer of Development Rights' have been effectively deployed to ensure a quick release of land and amenity development. Yet, the plan has not been able to achieve the targets of amenities provision even by these methods (Nallathiga, 2006a).

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Third, the plan came out with much restrictive development control regulations than those in the past that placed uniformly low development densities across the city. The costs of such regulation came to the fore in the form of very high property prices reducing the housing options for the middle class even, leaving aside poor and low income sections (Nallathiga, 2003) and even led to the structural and behavioural changes (Nallathiga, 2004). This led to a deep conflict between economic interests and planning interests as witnessed in the episode of textile mill land redevelopment / sale recently.

4.3. Planning in a new economic era

The Master plans or development plans of Mumbai serve as good examples of the shortcomings the planning can have in spite of the innovative approaches like TDR and accommodation reservations. In the post-liberalised era after the 1990s, the economic forces began to grippen the Indian cities together with the population pressures (due to changing demographic pattern) and many of them have not been able to cope-up with these pressures to provide the basic services for living, working and organizing business. The resulting effect is on the economic growth prospects of the city *per se* and the marginalization of work force (Sivaramakrishnan, 2002). There appears some perceptible threat to the 'sustenance' of the economy growth and the quality of life of citizens, if no corrective measures were taken on account of either general neglect of these issues or the lack of will for concerted action on part of all stakeholders. In a globalised world, the competitiveness of a city in attracting the investments is critically dependent upon the factors relating to the growth prospects, access to capital and knowledge, and availability of good infrastructure facilities (Rondinelli *et al* 1998). Whereas the first factor is more related to the city's capacity to adapt to the changing economic structure and the second factor has more links with its institutional base, the third factor is a critical element that is highly dependent upon the creation of good infrastructure through deployment of public resources, planning and management. As economic growth and competitiveness of a city assumed importance in the post-liberalised India, urban planning has to take different course and alternative approaches that complement and reform the traditional methods need to find place after economic liberalization. A city which fares poor in terms of both the provision of essential services and a good quality of life will certainly not be in a position to attract investments and businesses will not favour locating in such cities.

It becomes imperative, therefore, for the cities to perform well on both the above parameters in order to remain competitive in attracting investments (Harris, 2002). This is more so in the era of globalization wherein domestic economies thrive by producing and selling goods and services in a competitive global market. What this means is that the cities not only have to compete with national peers but also with international peers in the regional blocks as well as the globe in the production of goods and services

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for which all factors need to contribute in an efficient manner (Scott, 2001). It is in this context that the city development vision and a strategy for implementing it become important, as emphasized in this paper. The importance of having such development vision and strategy in making the city competitive and liveable has also been demonstrated by the undertaking of such plans by several cities. Johannesburg, for example, has prepared a development vision plan 'iGoli' to transform the city in terms of service delivery and economic growth through a city development strategy identifying various initiatives in the short, medium and long run (Joburg, 2002). Vision planning has become a practice among several UK cities. The Salford city also prepared a vision plan to kick-start regeneration of the city through a variety of interventions (Salford City Council, 2006).

5. Mumbai's Vision Plan

5.1. Mumbai's Development Vision

Mumbai's historical past when it was the *urbs prima* soon disappeared when the manufacturing industry, particularly textile mills, began to move away for various reasons. With a declining manufacturing and yet emerging service sector, the hitherto position of the economic hub of the country itself came under clouds of low economic growth and declining quality of life – costly housing, poor amenities, long commute etc. At the same time in an era of globalization, it needs to compete with other cities in attracting investments from across the globe on one hand and service the global markets with competitive products of its firms. Therefore, the city needed interventions that would improve its position not only within the country but also across the world, and to steer into this direction a vision plan was prepared with the aim of transforming the city into a world class city offering globally competitive environment conducive for investment inflow from across the globe. The interventions would not only cater to the businesses but improve the quality of living of all citizens across the board.

Box 1 Mumbai's Vision Statement for 2013

Mumbai's aspiration is to become a world-class city in the next 10-15 years. In order to achieve this, it needs to be distinctive on the dimension of economic growth and above average on quality of life. It will therefore need to step up economic growth to 8-10 per cent by becoming one Asia's leading service hubs, with a fast-growing manufacturing base in the hinterland. On the quality of life dimension, it needs to move from average to above average on mass transport, from poor to above average on private transport, housing, safety & environment, financing and governance. It also needs to improve to above average in water/sanitation and education to world class in health care.

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This was initiated by Bombay First, the city policy research and advocacy non-profit organization, and executed by the McKinsey, the globally renowned consulting firm. The vision statement of the plan reads as in Box 1.

5.2. *Vision Setting Methodology*

The vision plan for the development of Mumbai was not done on an *ad hoc* method, but it followed a methodology that combined using the analytical, consultative and deliberative processes in setting the vision and the underlying aspirations so that they can be targeted to be achieved over a ten-year time horizon. The methodology therefore followed an analysis through benchmarking studies of the peer cities (or, emulate-worthy cities) and the learning from successful city transformations for laying down the aspirations of city development. A consensus on these aspirations was achieved through wider consultations with major stakeholders – key government institutions and agencies, business groups/chambers of commerce, and non-profit/non-government organizations.

For the purpose of benchmarking, about ten cities were considered, of which three were Indian cities, and the parameters of benchmarking included:

- Mass transport

- Private transport

- Housing

- Environment and Safety

- Water and sanitation

- Healthcare

- Education

- Resource generation

- Governance

For ensuring that the aspirations based on the benchmarks would lead to right kind of transformation, it was felt that case analyses of few such successful transformations was required, for which two international cases i.e., Cleveland and Shanghai, and two Indian cases i.e., Hyderabad and Bangalore, and three recent examples – Surat, Nagpur and Thane were chosen. The learning from these cases has helped in building consensus on city development strategy in the consultative workshops with the

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stakeholders. The city development vision was therefore structured through combining city development needs with the aspirations laid down through bench mark studies.

5.3. Structure of the Vision Plan

The vision statement above summarized the intents and aspiration of the city's development in the future. The broad structure of the vision plan is shown in figure 1, which features the strategic actions needed for achieving the vision goals.
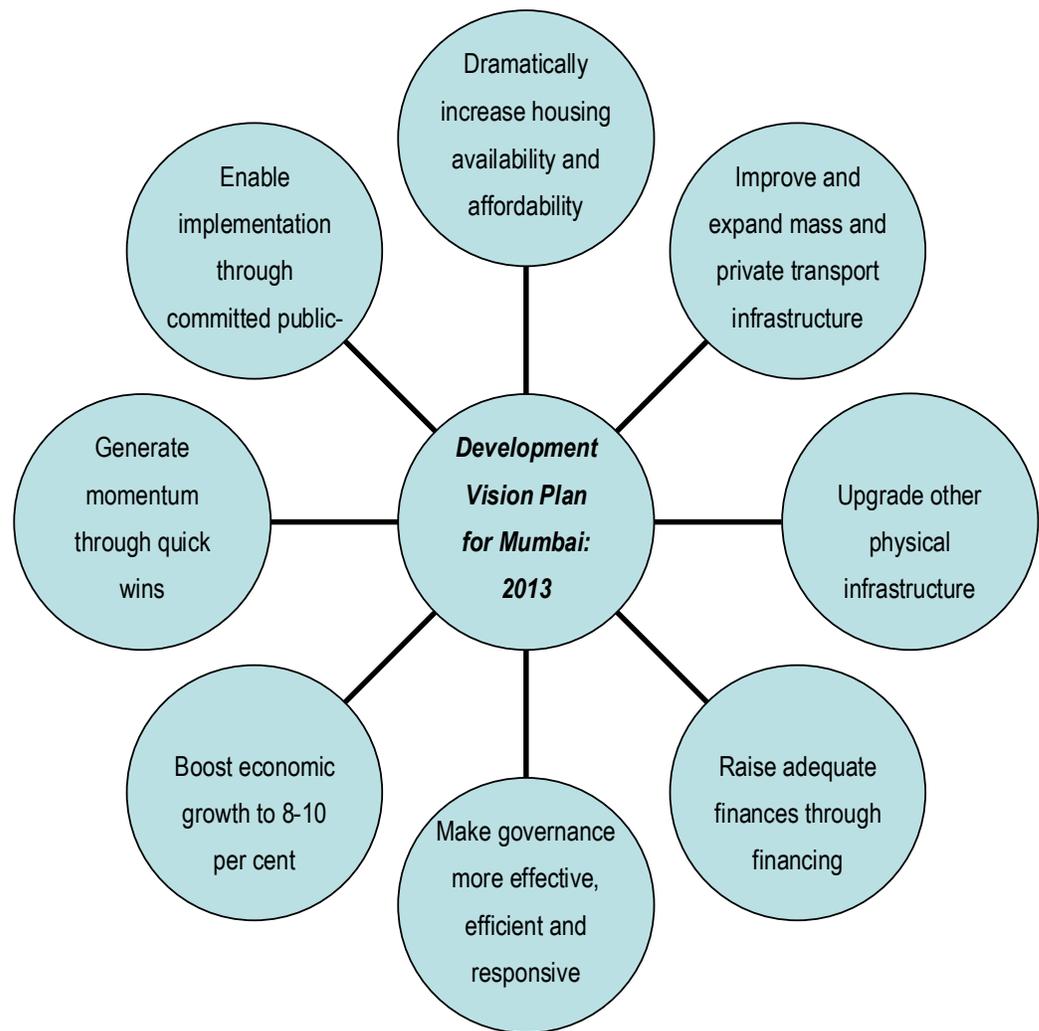
FIGURE 1 - STRUCTURE OF THE VISION PLAN

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TABLE 3: STRUCTURE OF VISION PLAN

Strategic Direction	Key initiatives
Boost economic growth to 8-10 per cent	• Target four high end services – financial services, healthcare, IT/ITES and entertainment & media • Create jobs in three low end sectors – construction, hotels/tourism/recreation and modern retail • Convert hinterland into a manufacturing and logistics hub • Lower tax rates to make Mumbai a consumption centre
Improve and expand mass and private transport infrastructure	• Inner ring rail network for the city • Inner ring free-way for the city • Mumbai Trans Harbour Rail and Road Link • Tactical initiatives to optimize the current rail and road network
Dramatically increase housing availability and affordability	• Increase land availability by 50-70 percent • Create 800,000 low income houses to rehabilitate existing slum dwellers by redesigning the Slum Rehabilitation Authority • Build 300,000 additional low-income housing units by creating 'Special Housing Zones' through targeted incentives • Create islands of excellence through integrated development • Redevelop the city block-by-block
Upgrade other infrastructure	• Create a safer law and order environment • Reduce air pollution • Increase availability and reduce contamination of water • Create more viable options for the disposal of solid waste • Upgrade access to and quality of education • Improve healthcare services
Raise adequate financing	• Increase in user charges and collection efficiency • Improvement in the MCGM's own efficiency • Better utilization of Government land assets in and around Mumbai
Make governance more effective, efficient and responsive	• Create the right structure • Make the concerned agencies accountable by instituting target setting, MoUs and monitoring processes • Streamlining the key processes such as building approvals and using IT all levels of government interaction
Generate momentum through quick wins	• Beautify and decongest five north-south and five east-west corridors • Institute a report card system for all wards in MCGM • Improve airport ambience and emigration/immigration clearance • Build an additional 300 public toilets through public-private partnerships • Promote NGO and corporate sponsorship to restore and maintain the 325 public open/green spaces • Levy property tax on market value along with a self-assessment option
Enable implementation through committed public-private resources led by the Chief Minister	• Create a single coordination body • Make key agencies accountable for results • Encourage active corporate and NGO participation

Source: Bombay First – McKinsey (2003)

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The above strategic actions lay down directions for city development to primarily deal with economic development, physical infrastructure, social infrastructure, development financing, governance improvement, quick wins or immediate interventions and implementation mechanism. The strategies actions and specific initiatives for achieving the vision are outlined in table 3. Besides this structure, a blueprint outlining the interventions, institutions, financing and implementation structure for achieving Mumbai development vision has also been prepared which can be found in Bombay First-McKinsey (2003) and it is also described in Nallathiga (2006b).

The vision plan presented a set of actions that need to be undertaken in order to realize the aspirations spelt out in the city development vision. However, inevitably, the implementation of these actions lies in the hands of the state government, local government and other government agencies. The process would not have gone a step further without establishing an appropriate implementation mechanism. Also, legitimacy to the vision plan was possible only through official promulgation. A Task Force was therefore set up to carefully study the recommendations and suggest actions in the broad themes. The Task Force in association with the thematic sub-committees had finalized a vision plan with the suggestions more or less in line with the earlier vision plan. The various constituents of government – state, local and agencies – gave undertakings and their own set of action broadly in line with the vision plan. These deliberations and collaborations were facilitated by a host of non-profit organizations led by the Bombay First. The final vision plan for Mumbai has been put forth by the Government as GoM (2005) spelling out proposals based on the earlier report and task force findings.

6. Summary and Implications

Master plans or Development plans have been the origins of change in the urban environment – both physical and socio-economic – in India for the past several decades. They were taken as given from the past colonial system prevalent before the independence without enshrining the good features. The result of this traditional planning approach in the form of master plans is turning out to be frustrating because of the unrealistic plans; long time taken for their preparation and approval, ill adequately or inadequately thought or planned proposals etc. These features of plans and plan making together with implementation hurdles are forcing the exploration of alternative methods. Moreover, urban planning in the past was primarily influenced by central planning principles of the post-independence era and assumed the characteristics of monopolist. In the liberalized era and globalised world, the planning processes have to serve the economic and social objectives of the society through creation of a growth enabling physical environment. This changing context itself calls for identifying alternative approaches and strengthening existing planning mechanisms and institutions. The latter has been discussed to

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some extent in the decentralization of development planning to local level under the constitutional (74th Amendment) Act, together with the responsibility of resource and financial management, but the former requires new approaches that complement the traditional planning, one of them is the vision planning or perspective development planning, which is discussed in the paper. Mumbai is one of the vibrant and historical cities in India with the past glory of *urbs prima* of India. However, as development planning did not pay much attention to growth supporting environment and the master plans have several shortcomings as found in other Indian cities it began to lose on providing better environment – physical and socio-economic. The vision plan is an attempt to provide a development perspective by identifying the strategic interventions and the benchmarks so that it can move on to the growth path and provide a better economic and physical environment.   It serves as an example worth emulation to other Indian cities that are aiming to improve their urban environment. Mumbai's experiment is considered as bold and highly ambitious (Cities Alliance, 2006), but it is a model that is worth looking at while other cities can evolve different models to provide a perspective of the city's development in the next ten year time horizon.

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