

# CHAPTER 1



# The future of urban & territorial planning

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### **CHAPTER 1**

# The future of urban & territorial planning

# 1.1 The 2030 vision for urban & territorial planning

United Nations Headquarters, New York, September 2030. An Asia-Pacific mayor speaks at the SDG Climax Summit, as Member States report their final results on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. The mayor's testimony showcases the accomplishments of local governments in achieving the Goals. In 2018, the national Government made environmental conservation a priority for the country's cities. It developed a national single-plan urban development platform registering all ecological assets.

The mayor reported that the shift in policy and technology had helped her city to reinvigorate its urban core with compact development, resulting in a good scorecard on all Goal indicators relevant to the local level. The city's core had safeguarded its heritage areas and regenerated its inner-city regional trading centre, avoiding the demise of its commercial corridors after most retail buying moved online.

The city uses big data, sensors and citizen feedback to ensure that all public spaces are thriving. Artificial intelligence (AI) assists the city's planning institute to enable real time, data-driven decision-making in order to address problems quickly and ensure reliable service provision, from garbage pickup to park maintenance. Excess car parking areas have been turned into green public spaces. Microenterprises and social ventures are zoned to occupy street-level properties, which creates more vibrant pedestrian corridors.

The AI deployment functions as part of a national single-plan data platform, which monitors local planning initiatives in cities while generating planning and urban design solutions. Community groups can access these options in the municipal services app, which includes urban design and participatory budgeting for walkways and public space upgrades. However, in keeping in line with the city's environmental priorities, city managers also make sure to prioritize funding for lower-income areas with severe vulnerability to climate change.



Figure 2
Entry points for localizing urban and territorial planning



Source: UN-Habitat, 2015.

This 2030 vision can be a reality for Asian and Pacific cities if they pursue sustainable development by means of planning frameworks to support transformational change on overriding challenges and ensure progress on the Sustainable Development Goals. However, the region is vast and diverse, so this chapter must consider both universal recommendations and subregional limitations. First, it will bring to the fore those urban and territorial planning frameworks and innovative initiatives which convincingly respond to the major development challenges across the region: natural resource management; climate change; disaster risk reduction; and socioeconomic inequalities. Against such challenges, this chapter also emphasizes planning that can deliver impact at real scale.

The search in this chapter applies the United Nations-endorsed definition of urban and

territorial planning: a decision-making process making use of spatial visions, strategies and plans (UN-Habitat, 2015, p. 2). This process, which varies widely across the region, responds to institutional, regulatory, technical and participatory mechanisms and procedures defined at the national level and executed locally (see figure 2). Urban and territorial planning can cover a jurisdiction as large as a transnational network of cities, a city-region or a cluster of cities. It can also zoom in to a single city, town or neighbourhood. Importantly, this type of planning encompasses all residents and economic activity, including informality and vulnerability, acknowledging that a lot of conventional planning omits or struggles to account for these populations. Innovative planning should address social, cultural, environmental and economic challenges comprehensively.

# 1.2 Planning and planning frameworks are growing with increasing urbanization

More planning is now done in the region than ever before, with more professional planning capacity, better government institutions to support planning policy and decentralization in many countries propelling more and better local planning. Through technological innovation, planning data and tools have also become more accessible, affordable and efficient. This development benefits more stakeholders, including more levels of government, a larger private sector and most importantly civil society. Monitoring and participation are now easier, but regulatory frameworks have not caught up in many places.

As confirmed in the New Urban Agenda, planning is now acknowledged as an important implementation tool to promote coherent development policies for sustainable urban and territorial development. <sup>4</sup> Planning strengthens people-centred development and protects ecosystems with such key future resources as fresh water and carbon sequestering trees. <sup>5</sup>

Countries are moving forward with national spatial frameworks, city-region planning and local planning for urban regeneration. First, national territorial planning frameworks are becoming stronger and more ambitious, extending their economic development goals and incorporating a range of sustainability issues. Systems thinking about networks of cities is in vogue and they are becoming greener. Second, city-region planning arrangements are becoming more effective at coordination as they seek to bring effective and resilient benefits from continuing city expansion. Finally, planning for urban regeneration is wide

spread. In Asian and Pacific cities, urban renewal was for too long the heavy-handed and often-feared tool for slum clearance. However, in many cities in the region, the era of a black-and-white differentiation between formal and informal, decent and underserviced, liveable and unhealthy is over. Informal, underserviced neighbourhoods are the daily reality for many people in the region. However, even in newer, rapidly built urban areas in the so-called formal city, quality-of-life issues abound. Hence, effective regeneration strategies are again sought after.

# Success in the region shapes planning in the region

Mainstreaming new approaches to planning is driven not only by the pressure of shared challenges. Successful cities also influence planning elsewhere, and there are increasingly more of them in the region. Peer influence originates from developed economies in the region, through overseas development assistance, sponsored city-to-city collaboration, outward private sector investment and, at a slower pace, through overseas students graduating from planning schools in the countries with leading educational institutions.

Certain Asian and Pacific cities inspire their peers because they are among the world's best planned and managed. The Global Liveability Ranking of 2018 puts Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney and Osaka and Tokyo in the global top 10, with Melbourne coming in second in the Economist Intelligence Unit Global Liveability

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> General Assembly resolution 71/256, paras. 15a, 81, 88 and 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid., paras. 15c(iii), 65 and 72.



Ranking 2018. <sup>6</sup> Another 2018 index ranks Seoul in the global "social" top 10, and places Hong Kong, China, and Singapore in the overall global top 10 because of their economic performance, although this same ranking does not include any Asia-Pacific entry in its top environmental cities (Arcadis, 2018). Chinese cities other than Hong Kong, China are usually not at the top of sustainability rankings, but Chinese outward investment carries along the image of strong performance.

Japan is now putting emphasis on more capitalintensive innovations in partnership with the private sector, such as urban regeneration for key inner-city transport nodes. Significant examples are Tokyo Station's now quarter of a century old regeneration (Kido, 2014) and Tokyo's ongoing Shibuya Station regeneration (Bureau of Urban Development, Tokyo, 2018). The projects overhaul ageing transport structures, add space for inner-city jobs and create trendsetting new public spaces. The private sector ensures the financial viability of these projects, which may take a decade or more to realize, by negotiating selective deregulation and other planning decisions (UN-Habitat and others, 2019). In terms of overseas investment, the private sector often seeks similar opportunities. With most know-how held in the private sector, the transfer modality is more business-to-business than city-to-city.

Australia has peer influence in the region at a lesser scale than East Asian countries, but

it compensates for that through a significant weight in planning education. Australia is offering more planning courses than the United States or the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland with hands-on education; graduates often do detailed planning approvals for state and local governments during their course of study (Sipe and Vella, 2017, p. 357).

What degree of influence students carry with them when they return home is an open question: the latest in the planning of shopping malls and public buildings, an appetite for innovative pilots or an appreciation of the governance context of Australian statutory planning? After graduating, young planners continue learning in planning associations. There is a diverse landscape of national planning associations, with influence being uneven. International and regional planning associations, such as the International Society of City and Regional Planners and the Eastern Regional Organization for Planning and Human Settlements play a role, but membership is not a professional requisite and remains geographically uneven. Planning associations are an important vehicle for continuous professional education, but they focus on compliance and solutions while academic planning research prefers multidisciplinary exploration. Knowledge transfer in the area of planning is not easy.

Planning institutes and education in the Republic of Korea and Singapore are also influential, but their presence is more recent than Australia's.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Economist Intelligence Unit publishes the annual Global Liveability Ranking, which ranks 140 cities for their urban quality of life based on assessments of stability, health care, culture and environment, education and infrastructure. For details, see www.eiu.com/public/topical\_report.aspx?campaignid=liveability2018.

"National spatial frameworks and national systems of cities traditionally have an economic policy function associated with spatial economics and industrial policy."

China's planning capacity is catching up very quickly, and its planning institutes are numerous and large; they will soon be a business disruptor for planning in the region. While India is not yet fully exporting planning services, as East Asian countries do, Indian planning professionals and companies will increasingly benefit from the country's open information economy. In the future, aided by artificial intelligence, Indian planners could undertake the upgrading and maintenance of statutory or other planning processes in many countries. They could also support virtual planning consultation processes in the same way that international engineering companies are already doing with current technologies, for instance for municipal utility management. All these cross-border interactions in planning will enhance the peer influence of top cities and of the planning institutes and companies that service these cities.

### Scanning spatial planning in the region

National spatial frameworks and national systems of cities traditionally have an economic policy function associated with spatial economics and industrial policy. However, more comprehensive and integrated approaches are emerging in the Asia-Pacific region, as illustrated in figure 3 and evidenced by the sustainable planning frameworks that have preceded the United Nations global sustainable development agreements (UN-Habitat, 2015, p. 10).

Malaysia's national planning framework has become more comprehensive and integrated

in recent years and its National Physical Plan is an important component. Across the board, Malaysia has acquired a reasonable institutional capacity for strategic spatial planning with regulatory controls at the national, state and local levels. The National Physical Plan is an important framework, especially for subregional spatial planning, that supports development of specific corridors and city-regions. Planning procedures and controls interact with many stakeholders, including the strong Malaysian private sector at the subnational and local levels, yet at the same time government institutions have tools to engage in public sector led strategic spatial planning and develop strategically negotiated outcomes (Malaysia, Ministry of Urban Wellbeing, Housing, and Local Government, 2016). This approach results in more public processes of decision-making, which have nurtured urban development institutions and organizations, such as Urbanice Malaysia and ThinkCity, also in Malaysia (ThinkCity, 2017).

Japan's experience in developing and greening economic corridors preceded Malaysia's. Japan introduced successive national comprehensive plans supporting economic growth with a strong industrial policy focus. These plans took advantage of Honshu's linear economic corridor, promoted scale and density in key urban centres away from Tokyo and optimized national connectivity (World Bank, 2017, pp. 3-4). This approach requires infrastructure-led regional and city expansions, public housing and social development investments. It is well documented that Tokyo kept expanding and its economy bubbled and crashed, but also that

Figure 3
Champions of emerging integrated planning systems



Source: UN-Habitat, 2015.

environmental and decentralization pressures, which had steadily grown, won out (UN-Habitat, 2017a). Ageing and the depopulation of rural areas and secondary towns, an increasingly pressing concern for Japan, came to the fore. At the national level, environmental priorities were pivotal to the 2005 National Spatial Planning Act (Japan, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism, 2016, p. 15).

Japan accomplished a national spatial framework, with strong sustainability assurances, that addresses head-on the development challenges when ageing and depopulation set in. Japan is facing the reality that entire rural regions will be depopulated and its population will decrease from the current 127 million people to 88 million by 2065 and about 50 million by 2115 (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2017). Consequently, government policies are focused on urban regeneration: while people age, so does infrastructure. Urban districts need to upgrade amenities and buildings to accommodate an ageing population working and living longer. Meanwhile, central government policies no longer

rely on stimulating local growth through public capital investment, but rather seek private sector support for new innovation districts and zones in second-tier cities, with negotiated regulatory incentives. Fukuoka, in south-west Japan, has such a strategy, pulling in new investment and, for now, a modest population inflow. The municipality and the surrounding prefecture drive the advocacy of the "Fukuoka Next" innovation strategy and its strategic projects to investors and city stakeholders (Takashima, 2015).

The Philippines has done a lot to strengthen local planning while mainstreaming national priorities, including resilience and climate change preparedness. The first National Physical Framework Plan was developed in 1993 with a 30-year planning horizon. As an archipelagic connectivity is geographically country, constrained and spatial development can be long range. National economic development plans have a shorter five-year cycle. However, a new framework was already introduced in 2001, also for 30 years, to better enshrine sustainable development and social equity (Philippines, 2016).



Indonesia's emerging planning framework is aimed at accommodating more strategic investment in the infrastructure of a system of cities while accommodating diverse planning agendas for local sustainable development. Greening cities and ensuring resilience are intermediate objectives needing capital investment to create the conditions for prosperity. The key feature of this framework, enshrined in the National Spatial Plan, is its system of tiered cities and growth poles. This structure supports development planning in the National Urban Policy and Strategy, which treats green and resilient urbanization as a stepping stone (Indonesia Habitat National Team, 2016). By 2025, Indonesian cities should have basic liveability principles; by 2035, they should be environmentally sustainable and resilient in the face of natural and human-made disasters; and by 2045, they should be truly prosperous, technologically smart and economically competitive (Sucahyono, 2019). The National Spatial Plan has been an important foundation for the fast-track strategic infrastructure investment programme rolled out by the Government in 2014. The Ministry of Public Works has been instrumental in delivering planning coordination implementation support nationally. Indonesian spatial planners now handle a variety of challenging urban development programmes, from the relocation of the national capital to East Kalimantan, to new towns, land reclamation development, transit-oriented development programmes and urban regeneration (IAP, 2018).

Progress on statutory spatial planning in Indonesia has been more difficult. In 2014, the

Government moved the regulatory oversight of spatial planning from the ministry overseeing infrastructure to an enlarged Ministry of Land and Spatial Planning. The ministry was set up by merging respective departments of the Ministry of Public Works, the role of which was spatial planning, into the former National Land Agency, the role of which was administration of land registration. This move was made to improve coordination among decision makers and stakeholders by having a single window for land and planning information. It also separated the statutory land use planning authority from implementation mandates. Oversight and monitoring should have become more neutral and evidence-based rather than implementation driven. For too long, spatial planning was used mainly to provide a sufficient physical rationale for sectoral capital investment, but the coordination between sectoral investments was often not aligned, let alone spatially optimized.

The 2014 changes were an admirable departure from previous approaches. Local authorities are now acknowledged as the owners of their planning processes, but they have insufficient capacity and means to implement plans due to such issues as poverty or city-region coordination. Progress shows that good statutory spatial planning at the local level is mostly an indication of administrative and legislative capacity. Spatial planning does not drive development. In 2017, as the Indonesian Planning Association reported that, of the 1,838 local spatial plans Indonesia needs, 10 per cent had not yet been started, 88 per cent were in development and only 2 per cent had been approved by local councils (IAP, 2018).

"National spatial plans in many countries endeavour to encompass sustainability issues, such as resilience, tourism, culture and rural revitalization, but planning frameworks are incomplete and lack institutional coordination."

The incremental progress of local planning in Indonesia reflects structural problems unresolved to date. In particular, there is a continuing structural disconnect between infrastructureled strategic planning and comprehensive local planning. By merging land administration and planning functions, a non-executive ministry attained new national regulatory functions but lacks a direct coordination line to local authorities. Many certified Indonesian planners deliver a variety of services outside the slow statutory planning process, for instance as development advisers in support of a myriad of local government, private sector or community programmes. Such work more easily produces innovative results in districts and cities with open-minded and capable local leaders. Local government associations and other capacitybuilding initiatives also provide constant support to help local developers and stakeholders navigate cycles of vision planning, planning development and action programming. These engagements also open up opportunities to advise on cross-cutting issues in relation to human rights, equal participation, gender issues, circularity, climate adaptation and disaster prevention. There is scope for innovation, yet the safeguards of a robust regulatory urban and territorial planning framework are still missing.

# Many planning frameworks are still in the making

National spatial plans in many countries endeavour to encompass sustainability issues, such as resilience, tourism, culture and rural

revitalization, but planning frameworks are incomplete and lack institutional coordination. For example, Bangladesh hopes to draft a national comprehensive development plan for 2050, encompassing close to 500 growth centres, highway corridors, flood vulnerability and regional disparities (Taufique, 2018). According to the author of the report describing that plan, Bangladesh conducts planning on an ad hoc basis, based on political, donor and public demand. Data and technology have become more accessible and affordable, but not necessarily sufficiently timely and disaggregated in order to respond to the statutory planning needs of districts. As a result, strategic and rapid planning approaches are being applied but once more without a proper regulatory framework (Taufique, 2018).

In other countries, important issues are being reflected in current planning, but often only as projects and pilots. Aid agencies have long treated spatial planning as grant assistance, done by overseas consultants in order to prepare for loan-funded capital investment. However, there is a trend towards multilateral loans funding strategic urban and territorial planning with stronger emphasis on institutional strengthening and local capacity-building. This happens in Nepal, which has a tremendous need for integrated urban development planning. Numerous new municipalities were created in the Himalayan country as a result of its 2015 constitutional reform and federalization. It is now planning for two urbanizing corridors with subregional urban centres. Strategies and capital investment planning are being

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demonstrated in two pilot areas along the corridors (Nepal, Ministry of Urban Development, 2016, p. 108).

Issues of coordination and statutes remain unresolved in several countries, where national spatial plans exist more as visions than as frameworks. Often, the two main reasons are the persistence of technocratic master planning. which plans only what needs to be formally built, and a regulatory inability or unwillingness to allow planning to encompass and potentially regularize informal areas, contested zones or even urbanizing expanses in rural areas. Pakistan's Habitat III National Report lists these issues as the root cause of why plans are made but rarely implemented (Pakistan, Ministry of Climate Change, 2016, pp. 29-32). Sri Lanka produced a National Physical Plan prescribing compact urbanization, yet planning implementation is hampered by institutional fragmentation (Sri Lanka, Ministry of Housing and Construction, 2016, pp. 19-21). The planning framework puts the onus for sustainable spatial development on local authorities while encouraging ad hoc solutions, for instance by means of development concessions with uncertain participation protocols (ESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2015, p. 168). Cambodia started with a draft national urban development strategy in 2015 in order to move from a few urban master plans to more comprehensive urban policies (Cambodia, General Department of Housing, 2016, pp.18-19). The national planning system is still dominated by sectoral agencies involved in corridor planning, for instance through the official development assistance-funded development for the economic corridor and priority border areas of the Greater Mekong Subregion (Japan, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism, 2016). Corridor planning at this transnational level exposes future urbanization challenges without necessarily providing more local capacity to deal with them.

Meanwhile, in Central Asia, spatial frameworks are still essentially technocratic and dominated by master plans. For instance, Kazakhstan produced a national 2050 strategy with a territorial plan and maintains master planning standards but has yet to prepare an integrated vertical governance framework (Kazakhstan, Ministry of National Economy, 2016, pp. 12-23). Tajikistan also maintains a master planning approach developed in central agencies (Tajikistan, 2016, pp. 29-48). A recurring issue is that planning strategies still follow the approach used during the era when Kazakhstan was part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, heavily bureaucratic but also unpredictable. The prevailing trend in the region is that each elected mayor develops a new urban development strategy different from his or her predecessor, thereby undermining integration and continuity (UN-Habitat and ESCAP, 2018).

# Transforming national planning frameworks for national sustainability

The region's most recent and far-reaching transformation in sustainable national spatial planning frameworks occurred in China. In March 2018, the central Government moved the mandate to regulate the national planning



strategy to a strengthened Ministry of Land Resources, ensuring that a single agency would oversee the utilization of both land resources and natural assets across the entire regulatory spectrum of land use and strategic planning (China Centre for Urban Development, UN-Habitat, 2018). The change is similar to Indonesia's in 2014, but the impact is potentially more far-reaching as China has a strong spatial planning framework.

Reinventing sustainability rationales Chinese national spatial development and the institutional planning framework is turning out to be extremely challenging. The coordination challenges are significant given China's size, but also because the economics that have driven national spatial development are no longer clear. At a macroeconomic level, China's policy to overcome the socioeconomic disparity between the coastal provinces and inland China continues. New infrastructure, including new connectivity brought by highways, airports and the high-speed rail network, creates new corridors and city cluster networks that can grow along transit nodes. At the microeconomic level, senior economic policymakers have argued for land market reform, for instance by reducing the supply of industrial land in favour of development for mixed-use projects with both commercial and residential areas. They also call for marketing rural land in city cluster areas so as to increase the supply of land for urban development and revenues for rural communities (China Centre for Urban Development, UN-Habitat, 2018). China's disparity has now been reframed. The country is no longer divided between an affluent seaboard

and impoverished inland areas, but between urban prosperity and rural citizens at risk of being left behind.

Low-carbon urban development is a key planning tool in the current Chinese national spatial planning context, but it is no panacea. China developed incremental experience in clean and green urban development, originally derived from the need to remediate heavily polluted urban industrial sites and waterways into usable urban land. Moreover, as air quality dramatically worsened over the past few decades, China has hastened factory closures in urban areas and invested in new energy sources, including renewables. Fiscal revenue for cities to service debts and pay for low-carbon development relies on land value conversion. Regeneration is a slower and more complex process with more stakeholders. Furthermore, low-carbon solutions increasingly include expansive greenways, urban wetlands, urban forests and other green resources which attract higher-end real estate development. Exemplars include Hangzhou's decade-old "Forest City" concept and Chengdu's newer "Park City" concept that both introduced high-quality, lowcarbon development expectations, but not necessarily compact urban development (UN-Habitat, 2014, pp. 41-45). Jiangsu Province's innovative multilevel governance approach to provincial spatial planning is a good practice, which reinforces a future pathway for integrated rural-urban sustainability planning.

### .BOX 2

### Integrated, coordinated, adaptive planning in China's Jiangsu Province

Not counting China's four principal city administrations, including Beijing and Shanghai, Jiangsu is the country's most prosperous province. Its 80 million residents have a GDP per capita valued at close to \$18,000, representing an increase of more than 40 per cent over the past five years. Jiangsu Province is now almost 70 per cent urban, up from less than 18 per cent urban in 1978. As is the case anywhere else in China, Jiangsu's cities first introduced master plans to plan new city districts and industrial parks. In the past 20 years, the province instituted citywide strategic planning, abolished the role of counties in large cities and added metropolitan planning frameworks. Jiangsu's Urban System Planning 2001-2020 was China's first territorial provincial planning framework.

In Jiangsu, planning decisions are disaggregated to eight sectoral departments. The simplistic idea of returning to a singular master plan is now giving way to the realization that China needs "comprehensive blueprints". Moreover, the real difficulty is organizing the functions of spatial decision-making, planning delivery, monitoring and regulatory oversight. Internalizing all functions will not necessarily lead to more coordination and could easily defeat the need for more participation between stakeholders – a vital requirement in a context of significantly increased complexity in regeneration and peri-urban areas. Leading planning experts in China advocate the shift to blueprint planning processes with defined goals and clearly laid out options for intervention. The "blueprint" concept is designed to supplant "visions", which have always been tied to linear, top-down decision-making in China. On the contrary, the notion of blueprint points to a working drawing, a layout that needs to be actualized, adapted and complemented by action plans and many forms of collaboration strategies – city and region, government and community, public and private. Provincial and urban regional blueprints should be holistic and sustainable but allow diversity, change and participation where needed.

Source: National Bureau of Statistics China, 2018; -Nan and Wang, 2019; and Chen, Y., 2019.

# Urban expansion and negotiating informality

With or without improved national frameworks, Asian and Pacific cities beyond China are still expanding. Metropolitan development remains strong and city-region planning is increasingly important. Since 2006, Malaysia has established five subnational economic corridors and regional development areas, each supported by regional development authorities. The approach enables differentiated integrated solutions for the environmental and ecological context of each subregion, for medium-term planning for infrastructure and for more equitable

services development for both cities and rural communities (Mentek, 2019). In the last five years, Indonesia has set up 35 strategic development regions across the country as part of its strong territorial development strategy. The previous development strategy had more simplistic infrastructure principles, mainly focused on national logistics, not the least in support of a natural resources economy. The new programme has the features of a genuine industrial policy, with a focus on subnational productivity and competitiveness in order to reduce national disparities. In the regional development areas, integrated planning and investment planning can be more devolved and adjusted to local

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needs. At the same time, the programme is aimed at delivering economies of scale and encouraging agglomeration benefits. Thematic priority programmes can be nationally supported across a number of subregions, providing more potential planning synergies and making better use of limited specialized planning know-

how (Sucahyono, 2019). However, industrial policy that makes intelligent use of urban and territorial planning still requires improved planning legislation and governance with regard to data sharing and transparency, cityregion governance solutions and independent implementation monitoring.



### THE FUTURE OF ASIAN & PACIFIC CITIES



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Subnational corridor planning that encourages economic development away from national centres is also becoming a key instrument for national sustainable development in least developed countries. They are moving on from the simplistic approaches of stand-alone bonded zones and industrial parks. Corridor planning complements the economic solutions of bonded zones, special economic zones, specialized and incentive-loaded industrial parks and other

tools in the realm of special-purpose vehicles for territorial development planning. Integrated territorial planning was often missing and freeriding agglomeration effects would ensue. Less advanced factories outside the special zones were more polluting and labour conditions more exploitative. The newest corridor planning in Nepal, as mentioned previously, is conceptually about two continuous, parallel economic corridors, one in the Terai lowlands and one more central, traversing Kathmandu. They are conceptualized as integrated development plans for three or four municipal authorities, and planning development comprises strategies on electrification, connectivity, agribusiness, industrial and logistics development and the development of shared municipal basic services (Nepal, Ministry of Urban Development, 2019). Common planning methodologies include capital investment planning. Solutions can cater to local challenges and priorities with regard to customary land or tourism potentials, and ideally a regulatory framework should be developed to ensure both devolved initiatives in response to challenges and national-level safeguards.

Transit-oriented development (TOD) solutions, which situate high-density housing and commercial land near public transport nodes, are another approach to negotiate sustainable urban expansion into adjacent regions. The method is catching on, especially in many middle-income countries in the region. Urban expansion has led to car or motorcycle-saturated cities in many Asian countries. By contrast, TOD solutions were crucial in the development of contemporary Japanese city agglomerations and such cities

## "New and satellite town development will remain an important component of city-region expansion strategies in Asia."

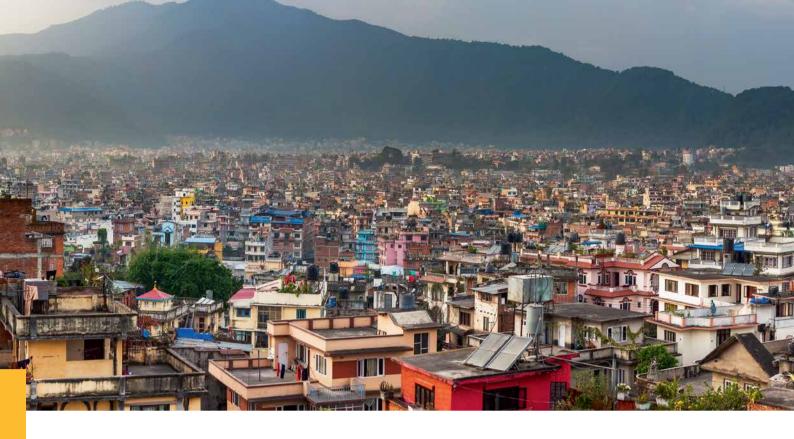
as Mumbai in India (Adusumilli, 2016). TOD makes use of new rapid bus and rail networks, thereby reducing spatial development sprawling outward along highways. Multinodal approaches distribute housing expansion, and land-value capture can accommodate peri-urban settlement upgrading. Improved and subsidized public transport can also increase labour mobility.

In Indore, India, TOD is a crucial instrument to plan for job access and housing affordability for the expanding ICT sector (India, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, 2016, p. 51). The approach requires a strong vision and regulatory support with regard to density; mixeduse, walkability, park-and-ride requirements; and public-private joint development (Kidokoro, 2019). In general, planning restrictions easily send signals to the market concerning land supply restrictions. Hence, the approach works only if sufficiently ambitious in scale and scope as well as being supported by governance that stretches beyond short-term electoral cycles. Kuala Lumpur's application of transit planning zones, with standards both for population and jobs density, is a good example. These zones need to be complemented with mixed-use regulations, incentives and walkability standards (Hashim, 2019).

New and satellite town development will remain an important component of city-region expansion strategies in Asia. As mentioned previously, Indonesia announced its intention in August 2019 to begin planning for a new capital city in East Kalimantan on the thinly populated island of Borneo in order to relocate

from drowning Jakarta, a city with an outsized historical influence on the country's politics and culture. The Capital Development Authority of Dhaka has begun planning for Purbachal, a new town for 1 million residents, with a range of social and environmental safeguards (Bangladesh, Urban Development Directorate, 2019). New town development has always been a contested aspect of urban and territorial planning. Traditionally, State authorities have been responsible for making available free and clear land. New town development spearheaded by the private sector usually leads to community land conflicts or to a handful of landowners who hold out and refuse to sell. These scenarios do not realize the intended economies of scale while potentially stressing the banking system. The region has not yet forgotten the 1997 Asian financial crisis. Innovative approaches to make land pooling less risky, in a context of weak State institutions in many Asian countries, are still being sought.

National planning frameworks in Asia and the Pacific must continue to accommodate land tenure informality and complexity, a task which requires national legislative safeguards and subnational planning approaches. The overriding concerns of policymakers in Pacific countries are informal settlements and customary landownership (UN-Habitat and others, 2019). Comprehensive planning cannot be integrated without ensuring free, prior, informed consent and fair compensation while building sustainable relationships and partnerships with customary landowners. In most countries, the building of land administration systems has not kept pace



with the building of cities. Local planning needs to accommodate the concept of the continuum of land rights, reflecting documented and undocumented tenure, formal as well as informal, for individuals as well as groups, legal or not legal, men and women (GLTN, 2016).

There is ample scope for solutions and innovations in the region. Indonesia's property tax certificates were long understood as a halfway recognition of tenure rights.7 India's slum upgrading has been making use of the instrument of notification, which recognizes slum areas for upgrading programmes without according formal tenure (Raines, Krishna, and Wibbles, 2018). Kabul introduced more than a million land-use certificates to citizens in informal neighbourhoods through community-based land surveys. The certificates are the basis for the start of ward-level property tax levies. Authorities ensure community collaboration by providing grants for community-based smallscale infrastructure upgrading schemes. Data technology and data-sharing applications are also making area-based land pooling initiatives easier to manage transparently. (UN-Habitat, and others, 2018). In Kampong Bharu, a traditional neighbourhood of Kuala Lumpur, transferable

development rights endowed to residents have set in motion a complex redevelopment programme in which residents will retain a share in its future value (Hashim, 2019).

In many Asian and Pacific countries, incremental upgrading of informal settlements has been successful, although often without applying citywide strategies that would ensure the fully equitable outcomes and benefits of working at scale. Many interventions regularized neighbourhoods by providing essential basic services, stabilizing erstwhile slum neighbourhoods and putting them on a path towards incremental improvement. Several community development initiatives have flourished in Asia and the Pacific over the past 30 years, occupying the political-economic space of collaborative incremental upgrading, which reduced forced evictions, increased health and well-being and maintained a casual labour force within cities and in city peripheries. If improvements are too generous, then gentrification sets in; if too meagre, then low-quality neighbourhoods with low-quality amenities persist, waiting to be bought out and taken down by real estate interests.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bruno Dercon, Senior Human Settlements Officer, UN-Habitat Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, email to author, 10 September 2019.



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"Urban policies are needed to define and support informal settlements as valuable assets in developing cities that contribute to social and economic diversity and resilience."

# Accommodating informality in future planning strategies

Urban policies are needed to define and support informal settlements as valuable assets in developing cities that contribute to social and economic diversity and resilience. Longterm planning strategies should be aimed at retaining many informal and often very liveable neighbourhoods in cities, rather than reducing them to heritage curiosities of a forgone time. In Indonesia, Solo and Surabaya are two cities where successful leaders were able to forge such strategies. In Solo, President Joko Widodo introduced a strategy of incremental improvements of neighbourhood markets across the city in 2008, followed by steadily stepping up the regeneration of main streets and the central market. In Surabaya, the city introduced a 10year strategy of greening slum neighbourhoods, consolidating a 30-year compact between city leaders in order to maintain a low-income workforce within the city rather than to rely on low-income casual workers from rural villages or small towns from outside the city. As part of these challenges, the city government holds to a remarkable strategy of not making cityregion transport too efficient, for instance by

holding off on highway schemes or by refusing to increase significantly minivan transport through the city-region. Surabaya's priority is to increase public transport and walkability within the city (Silas, 2014; 2016). However, strategies such as these that selectively reduce capital investment are easily contested in the political arena. Furthermore, integrated planning often requires trade-offs, which are not easily communicated between different professional communities. Integrated planning needs national and subnational institutions ensuring transparency, public dialogue and, above all, strong territorial development frameworks. Planning should always stimulate intersectoral dialogue solutions. Collectively supported strategies can bring more benefits than simply seeking formal land titles in all informal settlements. Surabaya City is a positive example of how the process of engaging communities in city governance can form a pathway for other cities to implement inclusive and green territorial development planning.



# S Niko Liana

### BOX 3

### Championing green community development in Surabaya

Surabaya is the second largest city in Indonesia with a population of more than 3.5 million inhabitants. The city is an important economic centre for Indonesia, anchoring a metropolitan area of about 13 million people. This large industrial conurbation produces for the consumption markets of Java and across Indonesia. As the capital of East Java Province and as a port city supporting trade and services, Surabaya has rapidly developed, and its urban landscape is nowadays characterized by new medium-rise office blocks as well as modern markets and hotels along green boulevards that coexist with early 20th century heritage buildings. The kampongs – low-income, popular neighbourhoods of traditional low-rise buildings – are particularly important to preserve the indigenous sociocultural values of the city, as they are home to 60 per cent of the city's population. Successive land use plan revisions have oscillated between a modern city vision or reverting to unplanned urbanization where mangroves face extinction, rivers remain heavily polluted and indigenous kampongs remain poor.

Surabaya established its flagship Green Kampong programme in 2014. The programme has become an innovative citywide planning and development strategy that combines tools, such as decentralizing planning decisions, while encouraging local democracy, participatory planning and budgeting, and environmental management. At the city level, Surabaya manages the "Citizen Park Space Programme", which works with slum communities to relocate them from degrading riverbanks and transform the areas into popular community parks, each sponsored by private companies. At the neighbourhood level, Surabaya has encouraged communities to adopt a zero-subsidy kampong greening approach, instead generating revenue through their own small-scale entrepreneurship. Local companies and media are sought to promote competitions, award innovation and encourage best practices at the local level. National poverty reduction programmes are recorded through a collaborative e-governance mapping platform, enabling easy identification of gaps in service provision.

Through these strategic territorial planning policies, a more compact and environmentally friendly city has emerged with green neighbourhoods at the centre of urban development. The Green Kampong programme has delivered a community-based solid waste management system, leading to revenue generation, employment and a decrease in disease among more than 100,000 participating households. The e-governance platform for map-based community budgeting has strengthened social cohesion and participation and enabled a more equitable distribution of resources. Local media and key private sector players have been mobilized in support of community-driven initiatives for green and safe public spaces. The increasingly active and informed citizenry have influenced decision-making in favour of the long-term vision of sustainable urbanization for Surabaya and the region.

Source: UN-Habitat, 2015, p. 24.

"Asian cities are seeing a host of creative initiatives in the upgrading of public spaces in and around informal and heritage neighbourhoods in cities."

# Compact urban development, regeneration and public space strategies

The planning community in Asia and the Pacific is quickly awakening to the fact that urban regeneration is one of its main challenges. After accommodating rapid development in the post-war era, Asia-Pacific countries are now framing an agenda to reinvest in cities, with a focus on quality in addition to quantity. There are multiple drivers: economic land use has changed quickly with the deindustrialization of cities and the introduction of environmental regulations; earlier rapid urban development was of low quality; needs and tastes are changing quickly alongside demographic and incomelevel changes; real estate businesses seek new opportunities for land value capture, for instance with the introduction of new public transport; the economic realization that mixeduse spatial patterns combined with affordable housing brings more job mobility and hence benefits the services and creative sectors; and the environmental and health benefits of mixeduse and walkable communities. Hence, there is a change in demand and supply, realities and expectations. Nonetheless, complex urban contexts require more complex regeneration processes with more collaboration than demolish-and-rebuild renewal. When done well, they create considerable value out of existing assets. The prospect of regeneration captivates planners and other stakeholders and can create a lot of sustainability benefits. It also invites collaboration and action planning for concrete areas and tangible people-centred accomplishments, which is one more way to reduce the technocratic stigma of modern planning.

Planning for regeneration and place-making more easily introduces governance renewal without requiring broad national legislative and regulatory changes. Malaysia is introducing business-improving district schemes, which allow area stakeholders to set up a special-purpose vehicle for area-based upgrading. This localized approach can tailor funding to solutions rather than relying on upgrading as the sum of initiatives of private investors and city interventions in streets and public spaces (Hashim, 2019). Asian cities are seeing a host of creative initiatives in the upgrading of public spaces in and around informal and heritage neighbourhoods in cities. Where initiatives are successful, they usually create pride and can easily be replicated. The place-making movement in Asia is alive and increasingly connected. It thrives on such initiatives as upgrading community markets, building better public spaces for children, introducing safer streets for women and creating barrier-free access for the elderly and disabled. Public space programmes create thriving urban places. Place-led development can support improved quality of life, upgrade the environment, build strong local economies, preserve cultural traditions, inspire creativity and achieve social equity for all residents and visitors (Wuhan Planning and Design Institute and others, 2018).

In going forward, regeneration needs to be captured in regulatory planning frameworks, which provide template solutions for investment,



ensure rights and responsibilities for stakeholders and encourage cities to apply equitable citywide approaches. As previously discussed, regeneration is not about deregulation, even though that may be a necessary component. The Government of the Republic of Korea has started an ambitious urban regeneration programme in the face of dissatisfaction with the liveability of recently built neighbourhoods and an ageing population. The programme mobilizes youth and seeks to increase the economic attractiveness of city neighbourhoods to support a more diverse economy with a greener footprint.8 Malaysia invests in citywide heritage programmes, with components of social mobilization, public space innovation and revival of traditional markets (ThinkCity, 2017). Similar initiatives are taking place across the region, unleashing a wave of creativity and optimism for more liveable cities and decades of opportunity for grass-roots planners, urban leaders and creative businesses.

The capacity for innovation should never be underestimated in Asia and the Pacific. A recurring governance hurdle in several countries in the region is that the governance for formal and informal settlements remains separated. For instance, the Islamic Republic of Iran has a solid legacy on urban development, yet it has maintained the dual structure of the New Towns Development Corporation and the separate Urban Development and Renovation Corporation. The latter is responsible for catalytic projects in older areas, regeneration in declining city areas, informal settlements and related issues

of urban governance (Islamic Republic of Iran, Ministry of Roads and Urban Development, 2016). An important condition for urban and peri-urban regeneration to flourish is to abolish or reform institutional structures that treat informality separately from integrated and comprehensive planning structures. Regeneration is a citywide and city-region agenda.

## Feeding the city and the rural-urban continuum

Cities would not exist without their rural hinterlands. Residents and the planning community alike are discovering new opportunities for the urban-rural integration of Asia-Pacific city-regions that connect nature-based solutions, eco-based services and food production.

With Asia-Pacific's expanding populations, the major focus of urban and territorial planning is on urban development, but there are strong examples where planners conceived of resilient, sustainable urban-rural connections, even though they took time to materialize. Reshaping nature often takes more time than building cities. In 2001, a cross-boundary planning initiative was set up conceptually encompassing the Iskandar development region, its metro development and Indonesia's Riau Islands' uncertain border area development strategy. What materialized was a nature-based, ecobased services strategy for Indonesia's Bintan Island, tapping its short-visit tourism potential.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For further information on the overall regeneration programme, see www.unhabitatyouth.kr/sdgscamp2019.

## "Planning to restore biodiversity is critical for Asia and the Pacific, both on land and in its oceans and seas."

As a result, local authorities developed a planning dialogue and set aside forest land as a reserve (Vegara, Dwyer, and Kawaguchi, 2012). Planning to restore biodiversity is critical for Asia and the Pacific, both on land and in its oceans and seas (ESCAP, 2019b). This will be an undertaking of several generations.

In the medium-term, planning can help to reverse the ecological cost of suburbanization and sprawl. It can encourage and incentivize productive greening with hobby gardens, small-scale agriculture and community forestry. Planning strategies can anticipate rural depopulation as a result of ageing and prepare for enhanced biodiversity as well as large-scale solar and wind energy production away from urban centres.

There is also an increasing recognition that urban agriculture brings genuine sustainability benefits, although technologies for urban food production at scale are still in their infancy. Fortunately, Asia and the Pacific already has urban agriculture, often abundantly, as an ingrained component of local cultural practices. In the majority of cities and small towns in developing countries in Asia and the Pacific, urban agriculture never disappeared. Even in Japan it remained part and parcel of the urban fabric. Tokyo could produce more than 15 per cent of its annualized food requirements, up from 4 per cent now. Tokyo's hobby gardens and community forests are also essential evacuation sites in case of a major earthquake (Sion, 2017). Urban agriculture is an optimum investment for net-zero carbon emissions from cities and regions. It should

be strongly included in urban and territorial planning, from national planning frameworks to subnational and city-region strategies to urban regeneration plans. Solutions for the rural-urban continuum should become the newest chapter of innovation in Asia and the Pacific.

# From urban and territorial planning to urban resilience

Urban and territorial planning is also increasingly important for reducing vulnerability to natural disasters and building resilience to shocks and stresses. Because of sea level rise and land subsidence, adaptation planning strategies for many large delta cities in the region require expansion planning towards safer areas, in addition to adaptation action in inner cities and along waterways, such as in Ho Chi Minh City's 2013 Climate Change Adaptation Strategy. Many adaptation features are about local as well as technical solutions, from tidal barriers to pavement permeability improvements (Vietnam Climate Adaptation Partnership, 2013). Ho Chi Minh City's experience highlights how planning for water can accommodate high-quality urban development and design, but can result in gentrification if not distributed equitably to all high-risk parts of the city. For this reason, comprehensive planning at a city-region scale is important. Furthermore, contemporary dyke management in estuary or river basin contexts requires city-region planning approaches, accommodating both new development and passive flooding areas (Smolders, 2019).

### THE FUTURE OF ASIAN & PACIFIC CITIES



Masa Photo

ESCAP supports the trend of "blue urbanism", which is a new field of planning particularly relevant to Pacific island countries that focuses on cities' relationship to the ocean (ESCAP, 2019b). For example, the draft national urban policy of the Solomon Islands mainstreams climate change issues into the country's decisionmaking for spatial planning, capital investment for infrastructure development, and environmental and ecosystems management. This perspective is crucial for informal settlements in the country's urban and peri-urban areas, which are home to 40 per cent of the country's urban population. Integrating these considerations into Honiara's local vulnerability assessments has supported a pathway described below that has helped to future-proof the city against climate risk.9

The main body of this chapter has navigated planning developments in a region which is large, complex and dynamic. Urban and territorial planning has become more comprehensively aspirational at the macro level, and countries are incorporating strong environmental and resilience dimensions. Planning in the region is also focused on results, seeking more benefits at the subnational and micro level. Regeneration improves the use of existing assets and promises well-being benefits. The region must evolve better planning governance and monitoring as well as the means for planning to support expanded and State-driven capital investment. Frameworks and solutions are worked out iteratively, and regions, cities, local leaders and planners are experimenting in many ways. In the face of such a wide range of choices, that begs the question concerning which bold choices should be the focus of attention.

#### .BOX 4

### Vulnerability to climate change in Honiara

Land tenure is a sensitive matter in Honiara. Within city boundaries, land is held mostly under formal land-lease title, while land beyond such boundaries is held according to customary laws. Even the city boundaries are contested on customary land claims and settling requires informal agreements with the customary communities. Temporary occupation licenses, once conceived as a stop-gap measure, are another form of tenure in Honiara's continuum of land tenure rights. In addition, many informal settlements created on reclaimed land are exposed to the risks posed by cyclones and flash floods. The Government is mapping and planning infrastructure as settlement expansion continues.

Planning for resilience requires citywide hazard mapping and mainstreaming this information into land administration. It also requires participatory and inclusive land readjustment data, creating transparency about who requires relocation and where upgrading can be done, irrespective of title. Dispute-free evacuation sites in case of emergencies need to be pre-identified. Relocation policies and strategies also need intensive community engagement and stakeholder consultations.

Sources: UN-Habitat, RMIT, and Global Land Tool Network, 2019, pp. 28-33.

# 1.3 Future policy pathways for urban & territorial planning

There are certain future policy pathways in urban and territorial planning that apply to a broad swath of the region's cities. They involve regulatory frameworks, national planning and technology. These recommendations come at a time when macro-level urban and territorial planning has become more comprehensive and aspirational, while countries are incorporating strong environmental and resilience dimensions into their long-term visions. Planning in the region is also focused on results in order to deliver more

micro-level economic benefits; to renew support for expanded State-driven capital investment; and to work out frameworks and solutions on the go. In turn, urban regeneration improves the use of existing assets and promises long-term benefits to communities. Overall, local leaders and planners in the region are experimenting in many ways. All of these aspects combine to create a ripe environment for bold action to enhance urban and territorial planning in Asian and Pacific cities.



Before setting out concluding pathways for the future, it is worthwhile to again underscore guiding principles. For the practical-minded planner, one can uphold a simple set of aspirations for effective planning in support of the Sustainable Development Goals. Urban planning can focus on Goal 11 and the New Urban Agenda, but integrated and comprehensive urban and territorial planning should mainstream all the Goals, climate targets and disaster reduction commitments. Planning needs to be rights-minded, ensuring equitable benefits from urban development and the realization of the right to housing. It should always be mindful of vulnerability. Meanwhile, planning should be about implementation, as well as investment in and retrofitting of infrastructure. Overregulated planning never helps the poor or makes housing more affordable. Rather, planning should be devolved, diversity-minded, simple, rapid and able to generate results. Finally, the planning process should be mindful of national and local contexts and encourage comprehensive participation and participatory budgeting so as to remain politically legitimate. It should encourage collaboration over specialization, but also remind stakeholders of long-term focus (UN-Habitat, Republic of South Africa, and the South African Local Government Association, 2018, p. 11).

In the light of those guidelines, this report recommends three overarching policy pathways:

Integrate sustainability and quality-of-life targets into urban planning to future-proof public and private investment in cities

Co-produce with citizens urban planning solutions that align technological investment with adequate local government capacities

Identify specific urban regeneration and growth strategies that optimize urban-rural and city-region collaborations that spur sustainability and investment



The future of urban resilience



The future of smart & inclusive cities



The future of urban finance

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### Integrate sustainability and quality-of-life targets into urban planning to future-proof public and private investment in cities

Planning for economic growth alone is not a 21st century approach. Instead, countries should integrate sustainability issues into regulatory frameworks and urban policies. Environmental and resilience issues need to be strengthened, translated into territorial goals and measured in order to steer subnational development. The same is evident for social development goals, such as poverty reduction and vulnerability reduction. Urban quality-of-life targets need to reflect forward-looking policies with regard to dynamic urban economies, which covers such issues as access to jobs and amenities, mixed-use neighbourhoods and safety for women and girls.

Moreover, regulatory roles in the context of sustainable development are about setting and maintaining goals, targets and indicators for comprehensive development. These should include a new generation of spatial targets and indicators in order to ensure that planning stakeholders in the public and private sector can be held accountable. National urban policies can support the development of the Sustainable Development Goals, targets and monitoring capacity. Efforts to develop coherent urban policies across adjacent countries should help economic connectivity policies. Subregional urbanization policies are important, taking on board essential long-term drivers of prosperity and sustainability, including demographic changes.

Finally, finance institutions should continue to update planning reviews in the light of the current and future challenges of urban development. Regulatory frameworks should encourage participatory consultations and territorial reviews of investments supported by banks and finance institutions. If planning is becoming more accessible and more affordable, banks and investment authorities should make better use of it.

. 2

### Co-produce with citizens urban planning solutions that align technological investment with adequate local government capacities

Technology has already been making planning more accessible and affordable. Territorial assessment technologies should be applied and developed, especially with regard to city expansion and urban-rural interdependencies. Developing single-plan transparency should be focused at this level, where economic growth is most complex but also carries the most potential. The massive use of social media across the region encourages dissemination of broadly popular results, which benefits the replication of tangible initiatives, including small-scale upgrading and regeneration. Social media is also increasingly used to alert local authorities of mishaps. Future technology changes and artificial intelligence for planning, however, should not see local planning capacity again be replaced by even more remote private sector planning. Local planning is an essential local public activity that can make use of new and more intelligent tools than remote teams can bring.



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Identify specific urban regeneration and growth strategies that optimize urban-rural and city-region collaborations that spur sustainability and investment

While planning creativity bubbles up from the local level, it is vital for national Governments and institutions to set criteria for local governments and make citywide planning frameworks and regeneration strategies a mandatory condition for implementation. Most consultations and implementation processes involving planning are made locally, and integration is too easily lost. There is a need for planning know-how about inclusive, equitable, citywide approaches, as planners in the public realm have by and large been trained on the basis of increasingly outdated paradigms of formal versus informal, which hampers practical planning for regeneration. Furthermore, national urban policies need to address increasingly antiquated planning concepts hampering equitable and effective implementation by taking on obsolete principles enshrined in law and practice formulated at very different times less relevant to the urban contexts found today and in the future.

National government regulators and planning associations also have to start considering the impact of smarter planning. The delivery of remote planning services and other business and technology environment changes can bring cost and quality benefits for local governments and

local stakeholders. By strengthening planning at the local level in most countries, heavily centralized, top-down government planning has been significantly diminished. Historically, international private sector planning has been tied to overseas development assistance or overseas investment, with planners having been trained at best to promote better urban quality but deliver privatized liveability.

While not always part of Governments, planning associations should be involved in stronger regional collaboration. They should not simply promote leading cities or countries, but rather focus on streamlining planning goals, targets and indicators and mainstreaming collective risk and development issues. Planning associations should also collaborate to develop common standards, tools, technologies, standards of accountability, anti-corruption protocols and ethics training. Subregional markets of planners could be promoted by subregional certification.

National planning frameworks in the region have accommodated sustainability principles in national visions. More and more, national frameworks absorb ecological and climate change goals. National spatial frameworks apply the concepts of systems of cities beyond simple economic interdependencies. They increasingly emphasize urban-rural and city-region collaboration, which is critical for sustainability, growth and investment.

### Conclusion

Urban and territorial planning is the basic building block for creating better urban places. Cities that were guided by plans in the past can point to better outcomes in the present. They provide adequate housing, efficient transport and plentiful jobs aligned with the expectations of a growing or shrinking population. Ideally, these plans do not stop at the city limits but consider the entire metropolitan area across local jurisdictions and even extend into rural areas, accounting for the full economic geography of a city-region.

However, even for cities that grew chaotically or otherwise have not benefited from thoughtful planning, it is never too late to start. Planners must be flexible and deal with current circumstances, as only in the case of new towns are planners starting from a blank slate. Whatever the current state of a city, its future will be better assured if guided by a plan. Ultimately, planning is a lynchpin in establishing a baseline ahead of an uncertain future of global shocks and stresses, ranging from climate change to natural disasters and automation.

Without adequate planning, there can be no resilience, which is the subject of the next chapter.

