Urban infrastructure in Sub-Saharan Africa – harnessing land values, housing and transport

Inception Phase

Document 2 of 3

Literature review on planning and land use regulation

Preliminary report – for discussion purposes only – conclusion revised

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Executive Summary

This review of land use planning and regulation in Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) is one of five sub themes in a project commissioned by the UK Department for International Development's (DfID) entitled 'Urban infrastructure in Sub-Saharan Africa – harnessing land values, housing and transport'. The research looks at global and regional views on best practice in land use planning and regulation, and discusses the extent to which current paradigms and practices of master planning and their associated land use regulations are leading to improved urban outcomes, including the necessary infrastructure provision. A total of 95 sources were reviewed, the majority of which were found in peer reviewed journals, followed by research documents of multinational and regional organisations. The academic literature was evenly split between "Western/Northern" and African authors.

Background to issues and concepts

Master planning: The colonially inherited practice of master planning still persists in Sub Saharan Africa today. While the purpose of these plans was to create orderly, pre-approved development using regulatory mechanisms, this form of planning is now widely seen as aggravating urban challenges. Master plans have been criticised for being ill equipped to deal with the realities of fast growing, informal, and heterogeneous African cities, the governments of which are often riddled with corruption and capacity constraints; the diversity of tenure arrangements that characterize these cities; and for rationalising oppressive slum clearances in the name of orderly development.

Land Use Regulation: Land use regulations such as zoning, minimum plot sizes, and Floor Area Ratios are intended to operationalise master plans. The literature shows that these restrictive regulations have made land more costly than most city dwellers can afford, restricted the densification of cities, and led to a proliferation of unplanned slums.

Global and Regional Positions

New views on optimal planning and regulation practices have been shaped by a variety of multilateral and regional organisations. In general master planning is seen to be outdated, with calls for more flexible, strategic and decentralized urban governance. The need to review land use regulations in light of the growing informality of cities, as well as the importance of secure tenure, are commonly agreed on, though what constitutes secure tenure is viewed differently by some organisations. The African Ministers Conference on Housing and Urban Development has made some progress from 2005 – 2014 in detailing its views on good practice.

Emerging themes in planning and regulation

Bilateral and donor agencies tend to see land use planning as a necessary step in enabling more sustainable urban forms. Common themes regarding what form of planning this should be are emerging.

Strategic planning: Many perspectives argue for the co-implementation of strategic plans to deal with urban challenges. But argue that these plans should be linked to broader infrastructure and service delivery plans. A common approach to strategic planning is the use of city development strategies (CDS), which focus on good governance, city creditworthiness, liveability, and competitiveness. Cites Alliance has helped over 200 cities develop such plans, with 95 projects in 28 Sub-Saharan African countries (Cities Alliance, 2014)

Governance: The literature argues that the top down management found in master planning should be replaced with decentralisation that is characterised by vertical and horizontal coordination between government departments, agencies, and civil society. It further emphasises that this devolution of responsibility to local government must be accompanied by complementary fiscal empowerment, and that community participation through a supportive political system is critical.

Responding to informality: Granting security of tenure is a dominant theme in the literature. The UN Habitat and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency argue for a range of tenure options other than formal titling. While the World Bank encourages the formalisation of land systems and markets for goods and services, its view on tenure security has evolved to recognise that incremental approaches may in certain contexts be more appropriate in SSA. A specific challenge mentioned in the literature is the management of peri-urban areas, where the encroachment of urban land threatens traditional tenure arrangements.

Competitive Cities: The notion of competitive cities is hinged on the belief that economic growth is the solution to development challenges, and underpins the African Development Banks new Urban Strategy. UN Habitat, however, warns that many socio spatial challenges have arisen from cities trying to position themselves competitively globally. The literature also discusses a new form of master planning, for comprehensively planned, "completed" new cities based on a Singaporean sense of wellbeing and competitiveness. It is argued that this is as problematic as the traditional master planning approaches.

Integrating Green and Brown Agendas: There is a growing focus on ways in which development and environmental sustainability can be addressed in a mutually reinforcing way – for example by enhancing eco-efficiency or slum upgrading to reduce vulnerability to natural hazards.

Implementation: Finally, it is being recognised that planning must be accompanied by effective and inclusive political systems and institutions, which are often lacking in the African context. A number of studies that show that implementation and context matter – a common example being that decentralisation of political power is often not accompanied by the necessary local capacities and resources.

Do outcomes in countries with formal planning differ from those without?

The paper finds no clear relationship in the Sub-Saharan African context between planning and regulation on the one hand and economic development on the other. It is likely that factors such as good governance and economic policy play a mediating role between these relationships, making a causal link difficult to establish. In general there is a need for comparative case studies in this regard. The literature also unveils differing opinions on whether poor regulation or too much regulation is a cause of urban decay, with some suggesting that the lack of compliance with regulation is the issue. Circumventing these disagreements is the argument that what is needed is more appropriate regulation, such as the relaxing of strict zoning or building regulations.

Planning, Regulation and Land Values

The unclear relationship between land planning and land values is also discussed, referring to selectively applied regulation and patchy land registration systems. Insufficient capacity to implement land valuation systems, a lack of data and weak institutions are cited as problems to address in this regard.

Gaps in the literature

Finally, gaps in the literature are discussed. The authors find that there is little literature on the relationship between long term planning instruments and land use regulation in SSA. While much is said about the theoretical need for planning

frameworks to be integrated with long term spatial and infrastructure frameworks, there is little evidence of what constrains this relationship or where it may be working. Planning literature further does not address the role of macroeconomic policy in guiding productivity and job creation outcomes. Lastly, the connection between master planning, land use regulation and state capacity to implement needs to be explored further, particularly in terms of specific plans and instruments in relation to specific spatial, economic and political contexts.

Conclusion

In the final section of the literature review we identify the preliminary findings that arise from the literature. We also identify the priority tasks for implementation in the next phase of this assignment. Essentially this section advocates exploring ways of better understanding how particular types of planning instrument or land use regulation result, or don't result, in particular spatial outcomes in the context of the countries of Sub Saharan Africa.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

As part of a project commissioned by the UK Department for International Development's (DfID) entitled 'Urban infrastructure in Sub-Saharan Africa – harnessing land values, housing and transport', this paper examines the literature on urban planning and regulation for Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) and asks if the current paradigms, practices, and tools are up to the task of guiding the urban transition. The critical role of effective urban planning in avoiding what Pieterse (2014) has called an "urban poly-crisis" has been well recognised by international agencies and governments alike (House of Commons, 2009; AMCHUD, 2012; UN 2014), in that it will determine whether 21st century challenges such as job creation, social protection, climate change, and demographic pressures are either mitigated or reinforced (UN ECA, 2014; Clarke Annez & Lin, 2010).

In this context, the Sub-Saharan Africa planning environment has shown inertia in shedding colonially inherited laws which underpin traditional "master planning" approaches. These assume that the designation of land use, within a forward planning frame, provides certainty and predictability. The implication for urban infrastructure - and the ability of government to harness land values to fund this infrastructure - is that a stable spatial planning framework predicts future bulk infrastructure need and associated land demand. It is also assumed that this stability provides operational certainty and clear parameters with regards to the value and release of land and associated density outcomes, as well as a frame for land use regulation.

Yet it is increasingly being recognised that these master planning approaches are unsuited to 21st century African urban realities and have served to reinforce development challenges (UN Habitat, 2009). Further, even where regulations have been modified, their successful implementation can be and has been constrained by - amongst other factors – a lack of technical capacity and a lack of understanding of how the land markets which they should regulate actually work in practice (Berrisford, 2013).

1.2 Research Questions

A number of questions therefore emerge with regards to the relationships between planning, land and infrastructure:

1. *what is the relationship between master planning and land development;*

2. *if master planning has been superseded by other forms of planning, have these been more effective at negotiating these relationships;*

3. *whether the assumed clarity of parameters with regards to land value and density outcomes leads to more or less potential for increasing productivity and job creation*; and

4. *whether countries with formal and structured planning systems are more adept at managing land and infrastructure demand?*

1.3 Research Methodology

An initial list of approximately 30 relevant research documents from organisations such as the World Bank, Cities Alliance, or Urban Landmark, was already in the library of the lead author and used as a starting point for collating the non-academic literature.

For academic literature, search engines such as Primo, EBSCOhost, and Google Scholar, were used to search various scholarly databases using English keywords. These same keywords were used to search Google for additional grey literature, and the websites of the following agencies were searched for their view on planning and land use regulations:

- The World Bank

- UN Habitat

- Cities Alliance

- UN Economic Commission for Africa

- UK Department for International Development (DfID)

- The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)

- African Development Bank (AfDB)

- African Ministerial Conference on Housing and Urban Development (AMCHUD)

A draft of the literature review was presented to both an internal peer-review panel appointed by the African Centre for Cities as well as a review panel appointed by DfID. The comments received from these reviewers have been incorporated wherever appropriate.

This initial search was deepened and broadened through snowballing, which taken together generated a list of approximately 85 references. During subsequent internal reviews and comments in the initial research phase, additional authors were added to the list to produce a final document with 95 references.

In reviewing this literature, the authors summarised the articles and coded for key words and phrases to themes, grouping common concepts together. This was then written up into a literature review format, structured in terms of the following thematic groupings that were used to guide the authors in answering the four overarching research questions outlined above:

1.3.1   Global and Regional Positions

What are the dominant global and regional positions on a) master planning and b) land use regulations as a tool to shape space, density, and land use patterns in Sub Saharan African countries in general?

1.3.2   Expert Opinions and Literature

a) In the literature, what are the key themes that arise with regards to master planning and land use regulation?
b) What does the literature say about differences in outcomes with respect to productivity and job creation between countries with formal planning and those without?
c) What are the gaps in the literature?

1.3.3   The Challenge of Legal Reform

What are the challenges to reforming and improving planning and land use regulations in Sub Saharan Africa? Berrisford (2011) argues that legal reform in the region is dominated by good intentions, but fails to yield the desired outcomes for reasons that can often be found in the process of law-making. In particular he points out that there is a widespread tendency on the part of both country government officials as well as representatives of international development cooperation partners to over-estimate the scope of new urban laws to achieve change in practice. This is fuelled by law-making processes that de-emphasise

stakeholder consultation and that do not develop proposed legislative changes in terms of reasonably foreseeable impacts of those changes in a particular country context. The tendency thus is to overestimate both the capacity of the state to implement and the incentives for the private sector to comply with new laws. McAuslan (2013) also cites the reluctance on the part, again, of both country government officials and international development cooperation partners to translate the policy prescripts of international agreements such as, for example, the Habitat Agenda into new country legislation. This, he argues, leads to a continuation of the approach developed in the colonial era of developing urban legislation that is premised on top-down control and the assumption that government planners will be able to enforce land use regulations in the face of largely compliant public. The disjuncture between this approach and the practical realities of cities and urban citizens of the region is a significant contribution to the failure to meet the challenge of effective legal reform.

1.4   Quality and quantity of the literature

In systematically analysing the origin and authorship of the 101 documents reviewed, each was categorised by source type, including peer reviewed or non-peer reviewed journals, organisation's views, book chapters, and conference presentations.   Further, the origin of the authors for each paper was coded into whether they would be considered "Western/Northern", "Southern" or jointly authored.   From this analysis the following observations can be made:

The majority of documents – 49% - was found in peer reviewed journals and 35% from Regional/Multinational/Research organisations.   A further 8% was found in published books, 4% from conference presentations or speeches, and 4% from non-peer reviewed journals.   In the category of Regional/Multinational/Research organisations, the majority of work on these topics has come from UN Habitat, followed by the World Bank and Cities Alliance.

The vast majority of relevant peer review literature was found in *Habitat International*, followed by *Environment and Urbanisation*, *Urban Forum*, and *Cities* with a total of 32 different journals consulted for one or more articles.   The literature was relatively evenly split between what could be considered from "Western/Northern" authors and "Southern" authors, the latter being associated with Sub Saharan African based universities and almost all found in peer reviewed journals and book chapters.   There were also six peer reviewed journal articles jointly written by African-based and "Western" scholars.

This analysis reflects a body of literature that is relatively balanced with respect to origin, and of sufficient quality to draw reliable conclusions.   There is a broadly consistent view proposed in all the literature, with very little in the way of direct contradiction or conflict between the different authors and institutions.   Some differences in approach are evident, and some ideological starting points differ, but in the main the literature coheres and is mutually supportive.   There is however a relative paucity of work that derives from comprehensive analysis of the legal tools and their spatial impacts.   Almost all the literature reflects the views of officials, planners and academics reacting to their observations of what has gone wrong with the implementation of planning and land use tools in the region's towns and cities.   The literature tends not to approach the question of planning and land use from a position in which it analyses the specific impact, or impacts over time, of planning tool x in city y. This is a weakness in the overall body of literature. This weakness is aggravated by the relative absence of a comparative analysis that examines how similar (or even identical) legal tools and instruments have impacted on different country and city contexts. Two exceptions to this are Goodfellow's comparison of the impacts of planning law in Rwanda and Uganda (Goodfellow, 2013) and

McAuslan's examination of the impacts of similar urban planning laws in the countries of East Africa (McAuslan, 2013).

2 Background to Issues and concepts

2.1 Master Planning

In most African states, the use of "master plans" - imported from the US and Europe into African countries after World War II – still persists (Todes at al, 2010). Njoh (2009: 310) explains that town planning "was born at about the same time when Western European countries were scrambling for territories in Africa … (and) presented European planners with a unique opportunity to test the workability of newly acquired planning theories and concepts".

The purpose of these plans was to create orderly development based on a technical picture of how orderly towns and cities should look. They were concerned with three primary aims: addressing public health concerns through spatial ordering, the production of housing for native populations in colonial towns, and the commodification of land (Mabogunje, 1990). Regulatory mechanisms would then be used to guide development toward these pre-approved plans. This form of planning is now widely seen as aggravating urban challenges rather than alleviating them (Watson, 2009; Todes at al, 2010).

2.1.1 Master planning out of step with urban realities

Historically African cities have lacked well-resourced and technically capable administrations to implement these plans, while populations have been less affluent than assumed (Watson, 2011;UN Habitat, 2009). Urbanisation rates and demographic changes unfurled at a pace not foreseen in the post war era, ultimately leading to informal development exceeding plans' projections (Goodfellow, 2014a: 84).

Rigid approaches are applied in stark contrast to fluid systems of informality – what Watson (2009) terms a 'clash of rationalities'. As argued by Todes et al: "the social, political and economic dynamics shaping the city and driving change were typically neglected, as were the many actors and interests involved, and the probability of conflicting interests" (2010b: 415). Planning officials and related actors are often alien to these dynamics. For example, in Kigali, Rwanda, where master planning is generally believed to be "working", the government hired Surbana, a Singaporean firm, to create detailed plans (Goodfellow, 2014a). Büscher and Vlassenroot (2010:1) found that in Goma, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the presence of humanitarian organisations became a "significant factor in the recent shaping and reshaping of the city's profile and … reinforced competition over the urban political and socio- economic space" – ultimately leading to spatial marginalisation.

This gap between what the prevailing approaches to master planning need and what cities are able to implement is particularly acute in the Sub-Saharan African context, which is riddled with resource inequality, corruption, unimplemented plans and limited efficacy of the planning system (Odendaal, 2012).

2.1.2 Master planning ignores land market realities

The vast majority of Africa's land markets are informal and in this sense only respond to regulation indirectly through their interplay with formal markets. The reality that operates below regulations, plans, and policies involves a rich diversity of tenure options, including customary recognition of land and the culture attached to it, as well as the non-monetary value of land for many cultures (Napier, 2013).

Critical to this is the concept of peri-urban space where formal and informal systems are most likely to collide. As areas outside urban boundaries come under urbanisation pressure, competition builds between the agricultural and residential sectors, and between the formal and informal sectors (Mbiba, 2000; in Mbiba & Huchzermeyer, 2002). However, simple dichotomies, such as formal/informal, rural/urban, belie the fact that city officials, for example, are often implicated in illegal land trading and that informal land exchange is often a more realistic alternative to protracted, expensive and time consuming formal systems of exchange.

2.1.3   Master planning does not serve interests of the poor

The spatial configurations of African cities generally consist of a planned, colonial core - now bursting at the seams with informal economic activity, lack of maintenance and over-burdened infrastructure - surrounded by planned suburbs. Beyond this lies the peri-urban fringe discussed above.

Here, planning can translate into the oppressive use of state force in contexts where resources are acutely contested (Watson, 2009). Examples include displacement and slum clearance where informal settlements are deemed nuisances in 'prime' areas. At best they are relocated, at worst they are driven out and left to their own devices (Kamete & Lindell, 2010: 912). Two high-profile examples of this are cited by Kamete and Lindell (2010): Operation Murambatsvina/Restore Order launched in Zimbabwe, in May 2005 and an attempt to relocate a marketplace to the outer periphery of Maputo, Mozambique in the run-up to the Africa Union Summit in 2003.

2.2   Land Use Regulation

Land use and building regulations have been used to operationalise urban plans. These include building standards, zoning and development control, subdivision regulations, standards such as minimum plot size and floor coverage, and provisions for public space (AMCHUD, 2006). Their blanket application, however, has led to inefficiencies - in most cases associated with rising costs of land and housing (Quigley & Rosenthal, 2005). Some examples are discussed below:

- *Zoning*: these regulations segregate land into separate and singular use, such as residential, commercial, industrial, and recreational. Insistence on zoning in a context of rapid change and increasing informality is technically and socially inefficient. It prevents the poor working from home, further limiting income generation. It increases the demand for transport and the cost of supplying it, as citizens have to travel further distances.   It further separates urban areas socially and loses the creative and innovative gains from heterogeneity (AMCHUD, 2012).

- *Minimum plot size*: when plot sizes are larger than optimal – which is often the case - the unit cost of land and the cost of services and maintenance increase (AMCHUD 2006).

- *Floor Area Ratios*: These restrictions give the maximum area of plot that can be covered on available land. This limits densification and again drives up the per unit cost of land: a unit of construction demands more land than necessary while services have to spread out (Bertaud, 2010).

These restrictive regulations make the use of land more costly than the majority of city dwellers can afford, explaining much of the unplanned sprawl of slums. Citizens have had to "step outside the law to gain access to urban land and housing" (Fernandes, 2001). When land prices are high, this dynamic also affects middle class households (Clarke Annez & Linn, 2010).

3 Global and Regional Positions

It has thus been argued that master plans are static and inflexible in the face of rapid urban change and that unreasonable standards cause social exclusion - fuelling the "urbanisation of poverty" (Todes, 2009; Tibaijuka, 2006). In response to these criticisms a new wave of planning theory and practice has emerged over the last three decades. This view recognises urbanisation as a key factor in determining the nature of development and has been shaped by a number of multilateral and local organisations including the World Bank, the UN Economic Commission for Africa's (UN ECA), the African Development Bank, and UN Habitat. Various platforms of collaboration on a new urban paradigm have been created such as: Cities Alliance (a partnership between various bilateral and multilateral development agencies, government and non governmental organisations); the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) – including its African Chapter (UCLGA); and The African Ministerial Conference on Housing and Urban Development (AMCHUD) – a Biennial conference of African ministers responsible for housing and urban development. Table 1 highlights the key characteristics of the dominant voices in the international policy discourse.

Table 1: Global and Regional Positions

GLOBAL POSITIONS	
Planning	**Land use regulations**
World Bank	
• Master planning ineffective and outdated • Supports National Urban Strategies • Supports City Development Strategies (See Annexure A) • Planning must be participatory • Democratisation, Decentralisation, Collaboration • Urban planning to be integrated into comprehensive development plans • Focus on "liveable cities": competitive, well governed, and bankable • Strategy of Planning, Connecting (to markets) and financing • Urban planning to be market sensitive • Leverage competitive markets alongside Government action to expand basic Infrastructure; focus on markets and efficiency • Focus on role planning in facilitating economic growth	• Existing regulations too restrictive and not in touch with socioeconomic realities • Urban regulations to be audited for impacts on land and housing supply: regulations such as zoning, floor area ratios and minimum plot size are necessary but must be changes to enable density and mixed use development • Focus on market liberalisation – regulations distort markets; except for targeted subsidies for the poor • Focus on formalising the informal • Focus on creation of formal property rights and registry system, but recognises that more incremental approaches to tenure security can be more effective in some contexts
UN Habitat	
• Master planning ineffective and outdated • Supports strategic rather than comprehensive planning • Planning must be participatory but at the same time complemented with a redistributive approach so that participation is not inconsequential • Local governments should increasingly take on a more central role in cities and towns in order to lead development initiatives and ensure that basic needs	• Existing regulations too restrictive and not in touch with socioeconomic realities • Urban regulations to be audited for impacts on land and housing supply: regulations such as zoning, floor area ratios and minimum plot size are necessary but must be changes to enable density and mixed use development • Focus on adopting policies and lows to facilitate informal sector operations

• are met. Limits of private sector exposed in financial crisis • Focus on role of planning in reducing inequality • Strong support for spatial planning which defines public space, high density, mixed use • Calling for national urban policy. • Growing concern with planning and climate change, disaster risk and resilience	• Focus on security of tenure, which does not have to be formal title • Exploring land readjustment as a tool for 'participative, inclusive' urban expansion
Cities Alliance	
Traditional master planning ineffective and outdated • Focus on "Cities without Slums", improved governance and planning and mobilisation of huge investments in much-needed infrastructure • Focus on local government capacity building • Targeted strategies and investments, incremental and flexible • Focus on partnerships and community buy-in	• Tenure security requires clear legal framework: tenure as either ownership or lease • Regulations and standards must be appropriate for slum conditions
UN ECA	
• Urbanisation to be mainstreamed into economic planning; integrate land, space, and infrastructure policies • Decentralisation • Partnerships	• Current regulations are penalising informality
DfID	
• Traditional master planning ineffective and outdated • Focus on strategic and integrated planning and infrastructure investment • Focus on linking green and brown agendas • Focus on public private partnerships • Concern with promoting urban economic growth and job creation.	• Zoning and building regulations have been inadequately enforced • Regulations should encourage mixed use zoning • Property rights and defined ownership seen as important first step to managing land
Sida	
• Urban integration could be promoted by more encompassing state interventions in planning or land market regulation, but could also be achieved by closer cooperation between formal and informal sectors	• Supports a range of tenure options, where security is not necessarily a function of formality • Calls for a revision of building and planning standards
REGIONAL POSITIONS	
African Development Bank	
• Urban development to be incorporated in national development plans, poverty reduction strategies, Country Strategy Papers and Regional Integration Strategy Papers	• Little mention of view on tenure, zoning, and building regulations

• Decentralisation with capacity building • Collaboration, public private partnerships • Pro poor socio economic development • Focus on competitive and bankable African cities • Focus on linking green and brown agendas	
AMCHUD	
• Traditional master planning ineffective and outdated • Promote and support the development of strategic urban planning at national and local level that is more participatory, inclusive and linked to budgeting processes • Adopt city development strategies • Decentralisation to be accompanied by capacity building • Slum upgrading, in the context of overall housing and development strategies, should constitute an essential component of national plans • Promote partnerships and innovative ways to finance infrastructure and housing	• Policies and laws to be revised and amended, including flexibility of codes • At the same time Governments must strengthen the capacity to enact building by laws and regulations • Ambiguous on best way to secure tenure although recognises this security as important

While there is a growing convergence in views regarding issues requiring urban reform (discussed below), there are a few important areas where these voices diverge.

For example, the main focus of the World Bank is to facilitate economic growth through the market economy. This includes a focus on creating the conditions for competitive service delivery by the private sector as well as formalising property rights and creating registries. UN Habitat, on the other hand, sees service delivery as a public responsibility, with the shortfalls of the private sector being exposed in the financial crisis. The focus is not on formalising the informal, but working to recognise the informal. UN Habitat also places greater emphasis on the need to address inequalities in the economic system rather than assuming economic growth will take care of these. These issues will be discussed more fully in section 5.

AMCHUD's voice is highly influenced by UN Habitat, their key international partner. A review of statements following each conference reveals consistency in their approach: a focus on strategic and integrated planning, participation, collaboration, decentralisation, capacity building for administration and implementation, and an explicit focus on the need to upgrade the conditions of the urban poor. The evolution of the meetings also shows movement from statements towards potential solutions or outcomes, for example from "implementing a monitoring and evaluation mechanism for urban governance reforms" (AMCHUD I) to "adopt the Review and Monitoring Mechanism on Housing and Slums as a tool" (AMCHUD II). Further, specific "themes" for each meeting, given below, change the focus accordingly. Lastly, it is notable that Climate Change was only mentioned in the AMCHUD IV declaration.

Table 2: Strategic focus of AMCHUD meetings

Meeting	Focus
AMCHUD I *Durban 2005*	Decision to establish the African Ministers Conference on Housing and Urban Development as the consultative mechanism on the promotion of sustainable development of Human settlements in Africa
AMCHUD III *Abuja 2008*	Leveraging resources in the provision of housing and infrastructure and slums
AMCHUD IIII *Bamako 2010*	Land governance: promoting housing reforms that can make land available for sustainable urbanisation and bring housing opportunities at scale as a key element in slum prevention
AMCHUD IV *Nairobi 2012*	Territorial Planning and Access to Basic Services for all with a subtheme on implications of climate change for Territorial Planning and Access to Basic Services in Africa
AMCHUD V *Ndjamena 2014*	Case studies in Financing Human Settlements in Africa: Appropriate legislative frameworks and innovations in Implementation

Note that while AMCHUD's statements/declarations do not specifically mention issues of rigid zoning or tenure security, more detailed strategy documents[1] explicitly confront the impacts of strict zoning, unattainable standards, and lack of implementation capacity.

4 Emerging themes in planning and regulation

These voices unearth some common characteristics of what is seen as good practice in alternatives to master planning (globally and in SSA). Bilateral and donor agencies tend to see land use planning as a necessary step in enabling more sustainable urban forms (UN Habitat, 2005). Planning and regulation can create a frame for land valuation through transparent and systematic assessment, allocate land in order to allow for infrastructure improvements and allow for an equitable distribution of basic services (World Bank & Cities Alliance, 2012). Yet if master planning does not perform well, then the question is what other forms of planning are used and are they more effective? In the section that follows, these themes are addressed, drawing on the global and regional views as well as the findings in the literature.

4.1 Strategic planning

Many of these emerging perspectives argue for the co-implementation of "strategic urban plans", "transformative national urban policies" (AMCHUD, 2012), or "national urban strategies" (UN Habitat, 2009) which are intended to cope with rapidly growing environmental, social, and economic challenges (Badarulzaman et al 2013: 62; UN Habitat: 2009, xxvii).

The call for more strategic forms of planning resonates across a number of country contexts. An example is Kombe and Kreibisch's (2000) call for a more differentiated, strategic intervention that is mindful of a broad range of actors in the Tanzanian context. However, the adequacy of Tanzania's Strategic Urban

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[1] See AMCHUD, IV. 2012. Territorial Planning and Basic Services in Africa: Optimising the Urban Advantage

Development Plan in guiding land development has been questioned (Kasala, 2008; in Todes, 2009), thus showing that merely labelling a plan as being 'strategic' does not necessarily lead to a substantive change in the nature of the planning contained in it.

A common approach to strategic planning has emerged in the form of city development strategies (CDS), based on "a participatory approach in which local stakeholders are involved in setting a vision … and in implementing such vision for their city through partnership-based approaches" (Badarulzaman et al, 2013: 63). These plans have been developed by over 200 cities globally, and are supported and sponsored by City Alliance members, though their success has varied across local conditions. CDS's in theory are designed to help cities reach new levels of productivity, efficiency, and service delivery by focusing on the enabling conditions for growth: good urban governance, fiscal balances (Credit worthiness), liveability, especially for the urban poor, and competitiveness (Cities Alliance, 2000).

It should be noted that strategic planning deals with key elements of city development and structure rather than the entire city (UN Habitat 2009). Yet in the broader African context spatial planning often occurs in isolation from infrastructure planning and delivery. It is therefore important that these are linked to wider spatial and infrastructure plans rather than assuming infrastructure will naturally follow (UN Habitat, 2009, Todes, 2008).

This is best encapsulated by integrated development planning in South Africa, which provides the tools for municipal planning to be linked to budgets and spatial plans. The spatial showpiece is the municipal Spatial Development Framework (SDF), a strategic plan intended to give guidance to public sector spending and facilitate private investment. The efficacy of spatial frameworks in South Africa has been questioned, however, in that they do not necessarily provide the strategic direction and detail necessary for political certainty. Todes (2009) refers to a number of studies that decry their inability to give clear direction and guide infrastructure investment and land use decision-making. Watson (2009) warns against direct translation of the South African frame afforded by stronger institutions and relatively more planning capacity and resources.

4.2   Governance: Decentralisation and Participation

UN Habitat (2006) argues that efficient implementation "requires inter-agency coordination between lands, planning, local government and (sometimes) justice offices, as well as vertical coordination with the national ministry taking the lead role in new policy, regulations and administrative procedures development, but with implementation remaining at local government level".   This is the concept of decentralisation, the success of which depends on the level of coordination that can be achieved between all these layers.

The rationale behind decentralisation is that the rate of urbanisation and the emergence of megacities require a political and economic shift of power to the city level, and that this must be reflected in a parallel institutional shift (Cities Alliance, 2000). Clos (2012) argues, in his capacity as head of UN-Habitat, that it this should rather be called "local government empowerment" because in essence it empowers local governments to raise taxes, to create local fiscal systems.   The United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLGA) – a network of local governments - has highlighted the need to understand the capacity needs for effective decentralisation (UCLGA, 2007).

Central to this notion of good governance is the task of mobilsing and coordinating participation by citizens and stakeholders. This requires the institutionalisation of community participation through a supportive political system, a basis for local politics and planning, and a mechanism for socially marginalised to have a voice

(Sida, 2007; UN Habitat, 2009). Since the 1990's the there has been a rise of participatory approaches used by different agencies to capture the voice and knowledge of poorer local populations in local development planning (Mitlin & Thompson, 1995).

The role of governance in planning processes is apparent in much of the literature examined. Rakodi (2001) contends that the effectiveness of planning and regulation will be limited until governance problems are corrected. Goodfellow (2010) found that in Uganda, planning procedures have been undermined by political bargaining between governing elites and urban interest groups. This has weakened any attempts to provide basic services to the majority of urban dwellers (Goodfellow, 2010). Norton-Griffiths (2010) found in two cases in Kenya that foreign NGOs can use their financial and political power to set land-use policy direction, thereby avoiding democratic processes involving Kenyan citizens. International NGOs, he writes, circumvent democratic processes to enforce their own top-down urban strategies. In Rwanda, Goodfellow (2014b) questions whether the acclaimed Land Tenure Regularisation programme has benefited the poor or if it has essentially been an exercise of gentrification.

To this end, Miescher (2012:1) argues that better congruency between those who are drafting plans and those living with the outcomes of those planning processes is necessary for "best for all" results.

4.3   Responding to informality

UN Habitat (2014: 134) states that the informal sector is "the real economy of Western African cities… through which sociocultural and economic linkages are formed, interrupted, reproduced and transformed through competitive and cooperative practices."

It argues that policies need to be revised with the view of supporting the informal sector. Measures include a range of options for tenure security other than formal titling, where an incremental approach to tenure is seen as more relevant to developing countries (Sida, 2007). Embracing rather than ignoring informality would also include finding alternatives to insisting on forced evictions of informal areas in the name of implementing preconceived plans (UN Habitat, 2004 UN Habitat, 2009; COHRE, 2006).

The World Bank's view on informality encourages the integration of rural and peri urban areas with formalised, functioning urban markets, which are seen as critical to growth and investment (World Bank: 2000). While the Bank has traditionally emphasised the importance of secure tenure, its notion of what this constitutes has evolved. Its 1975 Land Reform Policy recommended that freehold titles replace communal land; more recently – as a result on the prevailing research showing an ambiguous link between formal title and investment in land in Sub-Saharan Africa (Deininger & Jin, 2006) - the World Bank recognises that "the ways in which individuals gain access to land before titling, whether through collective, communal, or informal means, as well as the broader trajectory of economic development, will affect the costs and benefits of specific titling instruments, their incidence across population groups, and the scope for public intervention" (Deininger & Binswanger, 1999: 260). The Banks's 2009 Urban and Local Government Strategy states that it will "explore other emerging incremental approaches to consolidating property claims including those linked to legally recognized forms of land tenure (World Bank, 2009: 19)

In the literature, Lund and Skinner's (2004) study on informal economies in urban Sub-Saharan Africa concludes that the informal economy is an integral component of effective planning processes. Kombe and Kreibich (2000:1) highlight collaborative case studies in Tanzania to show that problems with the formal

planning system can be corrected by including the informal planning system into decision-making, especially in regards to housing land supply, security of tenure rights, lay-out regulation and land servicing. Ghana is perceived as having poor land use planning processes and outcomes because it does not consider the informal sector in master planning (Awuah, 2014).

Spatially, the biggest challenge repeated by authors is what to do with peri-urban areas, where demand for land requires re-designation of land to fit urban purposes through extension of the urban boundary. As explored in Tanzania and Ethiopia (Adam, 2014; Kombe & Kreibich, 2000; Kombe, 2005), such re-designation can take the form of expropriation, with the subsequently granted rights not necessarily benefiting those living on the periphery, but rather an urban elite (Adam, 2014). Allen (2003:135) argues proper planning and management must respond to "the specific environment, social, economic and institutional aspects of the peri-urban interface".

An examination of two cases in Tanzania show how local communities can actively opposed the implementation of plans to re-designate customary land as a result of urban expansion. In both cases the potential application of the plan increased insecurity and prompted informal, sometimes unscrupulous, land sales. (Magigi & Drescher, 2010: Nnkya, 2008). Legislation does in some cases provide for oppositional action. In Lesotho, the Land Act of 1979 (LA 1979) has enabled urban residents to challenge state attempts to appropriate their land without compensation (Leduka & Setšabi, 2008).

4.4   Competitive Cities

The notion of 'competitive cities' is hinged on the belief that economic growth is the solution to development challenges. The African Development Bank's Urban Strategy places emphasis on creating the conditions to support city competitiveness, and has identified the three areas of infrastructure, governance, and private sector development as key to fostering economic and social development (AfDB, 2011). This will be done in partnership with, amongst others, the World Bank, UN Habitat, Cities Alliance, and a number of development agencies.   The World Banks Urban & Local Government Strategy notes that is it vital to remove government failures such as inappropriate regulations or corruptions that may stand in the way of local and international investment (World Bank, 2000: 51).

However, UN Habitat (2009, xxiii) points out that many socio spatial challenges, such as extreme separation between affluent and declining areas, are a response to policies based on competitive approaches. It is therefore important to keep in mind the welfare distribution effects of policies.

The focus on global competitiveness has further underpinned a new form of master planning emerging in Africa, parts of Asia and China. It is characterised by the increasing involvement of international architects, urban designers, and property developers in proposing 'completed' new cities to cater for rapid urbanisation (Waston, 2013). The marketing language is about moving away from the messy, congested, existing city towards a new, ordered metropolitan, inhabited by blue-chip companies and conveying a Singaporian sense of well-being and order. In line with UN Habitat, Watson (2013) argues that these 'fantasy plans' are likely to be more problematic than old-style colonial master planning as they ignore the facts of informality, poverty, and weak institutions, and are likely to lead to even more exclusion and marginalisation, as the poor are dispossessed to make way for glass towers.

4.5   Integrating Green and Brown Agendas

An important theme for Sub-Saharan Africa – albeit only briefly mentioned here - is the integration of development and environmental prerogatives. If cities cannot mitigate environmental challenges in the path to development, these challenges will in themselves become inequality-enhancing, for example through increased water scarcity or vulnerability to natural disasters (UN Habitat, 2009).   This has led to a focus on ways in which development and environmental sustainability can be addressed in a mutually reinforcing way. Examples of this thinking include enhancing eco-efficiency so that waste products may be used to meet the material and energy needs of cities; development of sustainable public transport and energy systems; or slum upgrading that will provide clean water and adequate sanitation as well as reduce vulnerability to natural hazards UN Habitat (2009).

4.6   Implementation: taking into account the institutional context

Finally, it is being recognised the failure of planning reforms to have made a meaningful difference in many countries can be attributed to inefficient implementation. This requires that planning be accompanied by appropriate political systems and institutions (Clos, 2012), which in many cases are lacking in the African context (UN Habitat, 1999).

In general there has been a failure to recognise that in many parts of Africa urbanisation is taking place in the absence of industrialisation, or that the relationship between urbanisation and economic growth depends on the *form* of economic growth. Turok (2014:24) suggests the "resource-based character of [Africa's economic] revival is not conducive to inclusive growth and large-scale job creation": where economic and political elites and expatriates benefit form extractive industries, they drive up the price of housing, vehicles, and consumer goods, speculate on land, and underpin import-driven consumption.

The literature further provides a number of case studies that show that implementation and context matter. In reviewing Zambia's reform from its inherited laws to more pro-poor planning legislation, Berrisford (2011a) argues that incremental rather than sudden reform would be more effective, especially where reform may reflect a belief that changing laws provides a panacea to development hurdles while the institutional coordination is lacking.

Another example is that many African countries have adopted decentralisation policies which have not been accompanied by the necessary legal instruments that give power and recognition to local forms of government. In a concept paper by the United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, it was argued that "the challenge here is to improve the capacities of local governments to deliver on their mandates" and that "this is far from being the case for most African local governments" (UGLGA, 2007). Galal and Razzaz (2001) make the point that changes in laws and regulations must be accompanied by the necessary changes in behaviours and institutions. For example, if property rights are established, they need to be exercised. This, in turn, requires a range of capacities such as the collection and updating of information on all land and real estate assets.

5   Do outcomes in countries with formal planning differ from those without?

5.1   Planning, Regulation and Economic development

The discussions above suggest no clear relationship in the Sub-Saharan African context between planning and regulation on the one hand, and economic development outcomes on the other. In general, master planning has been largely out of step with every-day dynamics while the more strategic and flexible forms of

planning in some countries have had mixed results. Yet it is difficult to see how a direct causal link between forms of planning and outcomes could be established when it is likely that factors such as good governance and macroeconomic policy are more important.

Still, there is a clear need for comparative cases between African countries that have formal planning and those that do not. Goodfellow's (2014) comparison between Uganda and Rwanda is an exception. Both countries have formal land use planning but show significant differences in urban outcomes. Rwanda has 'good planning outcomes', because laws and regulations are enforced. Conversely, Ugandan planning processes are marked by corruption where regulation and law is bent for political and financial gain. This does however beg the question of what is considered 'good'. Rwandan laws may be effective but also seem to contribute towards significant removals of informal settlements from the city centre. Kampala's laws may be less effective but the municipality is in a partnership with Slum Dwellers International on slum upgrading.

Some views in the literature see poor regulation as the reason for urban decay (see UN Habitat, 2014). These are steeped in the welfare economics notion that government intervention is necessary to allocate resources efficiently by correcting inevitable market failures (Awuah 2014: 38). Yet others argue that deregulation is the key to economic growth. Donald Kaberuka of the AfDB argues that deregulation and the opening of boarders is necessary to attract investment (Africa Progress Panel, 2014: 34).

Other reports point to the lack of compliance with regulations as the major impediment to development, where "compliance is influenced by the benefits of regulations balanced against the cost of compliance" (World Bank, 2013: 18). Awuah & Hammond (2014: 1) argue that planning interventions such as upgrading slums, tenure of property, infrastructure, provision of secure housing ultimately improve the economic status of individuals if developers and land users adhere to these planning interventions. They therefore argue that officials need to show the public supportable evidence that there are far more benefits to planning policies than costs. However, Payne (2001: 1) points to the high cost of access to formal land due to "the existence of inappropriate planning regulations, standards, and administrative procedures". In other words, non-compliance is also a function of the high costs of complying.

In this context, Talen (2005) argues that more *appropriate* regulations would lead to better development outcomes. The World Bank (2000: 51) argues, for example, that relaxing strict zoning regulations supports efficient land markets by removing the barriers to appropriate demand and supply responses, encouraging mixed-use, more efficient use of resources through densification (World Bank, 2000: 17). The relaxing of building regulations can lead to similar outcomes. According to Clarke Annez & Linn (2010), countries with less restrictive building and land use regulations – for example non binding or high Floor to Area Ratio's – have been more successful in providing affordable housing to their citizens.

5.2   Planning, Regulation and Land Values

Another important implication of this discussion is that the process of land valuation that would emerge under efficient markets in practice often does not hold. Master plans tend to become artefacts on a shelf, land regulation is selectively applied, and land exchange, on the periphery in particular, is either done through unofficial exchange or through customary processes (Njoh, 2004; Leduka, 2006). Land registration, or procuring some form of security of tenure, is an expensive and time-consuming process and thus often sidestepped. Private access to public land is not transparent and fraught with corruption. This mismatch between planning

and outcomes, coupled with the lack of credible land documentation, has led to an unclear relationship between land planning and land values.

The World Bank and Cities Alliance (2012:5) call for transparent land valuation systems and consistent registration protocols – based on data and institutions - as prerequisites for the land market to operate effectively. However, in African countries in particular, the incapacity to implement such systems, the lack of autonomy in local government with regards to taxation powers, and centralised land administration systems all undermine these institutional criteria. The impact of corrupt and/or unofficial land exchange practices further negatively affect prospects for long-term investment and growth.

6   Gaps in the literature

There is little academic (or other) literature on the relationship between long term planning instruments and land use regulation in SSA. Although there is such a literature in relation to more developed economies such as the UK's this is likely to be of limited guidance. Whilst the original assumptions of the relationship between these two scales and forms of planning is that one informs the other, there is a need for a clear understanding of the strategic intentions of long term spatial planning and how that is then implemented through land use regulation. Njoh (2004; 2009) and Mabogunje (1992), together with Watson (2009) provide important overviews in this regard, exploring the conflicts between planning and land. What is missing is an engagement with the evolution of a planning system in relation to land use regulation.

Little is written about the integration of long term spatial and infrastructure investment planning frameworks in the region. Normative work argues that this is necessary for planning to be effective as a tool for guidance but little is explored, outside Todes's work (2008 – See also UN-Habitat, 2009), on what constrains these relationship and/or where they may be working in the African context. The implication is that where the two do align, such as in the construction of new towns (African fantasy urbanism), this is done within the larger frame of a particular type of master plan, but these cases are isolated islands of 'splintering urbanism' that do little to give overall urban direction.

The planning literature also fails to precisely address the differences between cities with different planning approaches to job creation and productivity, and does not recognise the role of macro-economic policy in this regard. Planning literature addresses problems with planning and regulation in African countries. For example, there is considerable literature on whether or not master plans and regulation are implemented, how they shape present day outcomes, and how spatial form has developed, but it fails to articulate the connection between land use and economic development. In some cases, this connection is implied.

Economics literature and reports from the World Bank focus on regulations for enterprises, business development, and growth, but fail to consider land use planning. Therefore there is a need to marry the two bodies of literature in order to obtain better understanding of the link between land use and regulation, and job creation and productivity. This is closely linked to finding a better understanding of the nexus between land use regulation and land value, particularly in a Sub-Saharan African country context.

The connection between master planning, land use regulation and state capacity to implement needs to be explored further. The literature is replete with assertions that weak capacity is a reason for non-implementation, but there is very little that unpacks the skills, the institutional arrangements, the workforce required to achieve the objectives of a planning framework.

There is a growing body of writing on the subject of climate change and its implications for urban development and urban growth. There is however very little literature that expressly links this relatively new concern with the need to change the way in which urban planning is done in the region. This is a significant gap in the literature.

Finally, there is an absence of deep research that analyses in detail either how a particular plan-making process has evolved in practice or how different, specific land use regulations have been implemented in particular parts of countries or cities. As indicated above, much the literature is generally mutually supportive, raising similar concerns and repeating familiar themes. There is nothing to suggest that these concerns or themes are necessarily wrong, but the absence of in-depth analyses of particular plans or tools in particular contexts is a gap. Vanessa Watson's account of the evolution of Cape Town's metropolitan spatial development framework is an exception to this (Watson, 2002). In relation to the specific aspects and instruments of land use regulation there is very little literature that ties together a causal relationship between the particular instrument or rule and a set of spatial outcomes in a particular place.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Interim findings

The literature shows us that there appear to be significant gaps in the way that researchers have analysed the actual planning and land use regulatory instruments in operation in the region. These apparent gaps are set out below.

1. **The relationship between long term planning instruments and decision-making on land use change and land development**. The literature broadly supports the view that where land use changes or land developments are approved by a public authority the relationship between that decision and the requirements of the applicable planning instruments is weak, or absent. Land use approvals are made independently of these instruments. On the other hand the planning instruments are often introduced to justify evictions or demolitions on the grounds that particular developments, usually of poor people, are non-compliant and thus illegal. The surprise expressed by planners and officials at the non-implementation of particular plans appears to be disingenuous as there has been relatively little attention paid to understanding what are the characteristics of plans that do result in consistent decision-making around land use changes and developments. City Development Strategies have emerged relatively recently as instruments that are expected to strengthen the relationship between long term planning and decision-making, but their efficacy has not yet been tested sufficiently.

2. The terms of reference guide us explicitly to the question **whether or not planning instruments and land use regulations promote cities that are economically more productive and efficient**. This is another area that has received little attention in the literature. The literature is replete with arguments against the practice of master planning, a practice that is uniformly seen as been anti-poor, difficult to implement and driven by inappropriate understandings of the African urban context. These consequences of master planning are certainly negative. However, the infrastructure investment needed to make cities more productive and efficient does require a form of master planning. It may not necessarily be comprehensive master planning and it should be more participative than current and historic practice has been, but investment in infrastructure does

> need plans that are relatively consistent over time and clear in terms of areas of future growth.

3. One of the reasons why there is **so little satisfactory literature on the causality between the provisions of particular regulatory instruments and tools and spatial outcomes** is that there is no established methodology for making that assessment in a context such as that presented by most Sub-Saharan African countries.

4. It is almost trite to say that plans are good but implementation capacity is too weak. It is certainly not a helpful conclusion to reach and in particular it distracts attention from the important question: **what is a good plan in a Sub-Saharan African context?**

5. A common theme that runs through the literature is **the absence of a strong linkage between the provisions of spatial plans on the one hand and investment plans**, especially public sector infrastructure investment plans, on the other. Building and strengthening this linkage is clearly important if the ultimate policy objective is the development of an efficient and inclusive land market that can be used to create land value to finance infrastructure.

7.2 Priorities for the implementation phase

In the implementation phase there will be three main areas of work:

1. expanding on and updating this literature review;

2. testing whether or to what extent the findings here correspond with actual practice in three case study countries (Ethiopia, Kenya and Zimbabwe); and,

3. finally, a shallow survey of 31 major cities in terms of their preparedness to implement land value capture for infrastructure finance.

Priorities for the first two of these areas of work are set out below, followed by those for the shallow survey of major cities.

7.2.1 Updating literature review and case study work

There is considerable scope thus for the case study research to seek out ways to show how in practice particular planning instruments or land use regulations have, or have not, resulted in particular outcomes. It will be important to draw out the practice in each case study country and city in this regard and so to obtain a better understanding of the different factors that influence the outcome of land use and development decision-making.

The question of whether or not planning and land use controls contribute to economic growth and productivity is not one that we can answer per se in the case studies, as it requires analysis over time that is not available in the context of this project. However, there is important scope for the case studies to seek out ways in which this question can be answered, or methods for evaluating particular instruments or regulations in the light of their impact on economic productivity. Methodological examples can be used from the literature on 'ease of doing business'.

A focus of the case studies will be on identifying methodological approaches that could be developed to work in the region in order to establish a better understanding of the causal connection between the provisions of particular land use instruments and spatial outcomes.

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The case studies provide an opportunity to identify how planning instruments and land use regulations can be designed in ways that fit the available capacity, rather than on the hope that improved capacity will materialise in the future. We will use the case studies to look for examples where there is effective implementation on instruments and regulations, despite weak capacity, as well as examples of regulatory requirements that are obviously not matched by the likely and current capacity. The target here will be cases where authorities have made the trade-off between following the law and achieving results, which is likely to lead to compromised outcomes on both the legal and operational levels. Have authorities negotiated this trade-off successfully, or has their inability to do so resulted in dysfunctional decision-making?

We will use the case studies to investigate the opportunities to develop a stronger understanding of the linkages between spatial plans and infrastructure investment plans, as well as to identify countries and cities where a linkage may in fact have been made.

Finally, the case studies present an opportunity for the team to investigate which issues and linkages need to be better understood in the development of new urban development management instruments in order to achieve specified economic and social outcomes. The reason for this is to develop improved methods for assessing the range of possible social and economic impacts of proposed new regulations or instruments (often called regulatory impact assessment). The ways in which new rules and instruments for planning and regulating urban development have been developed to date have reflected a hope rather than a demonstrable likelihood of the envisaged outcomes actually materialising. The case studies provide an opportunity to consider which factors should be taken into account when designing an approach to regulatory impact assessment that will work in the context of the urban development sector in Sub-Saharan Africa.

7.2.2 Shallow survey

Where possible we will obtain data relating to land use planning, land use control and land tenure and insert that into the database that will be the basis for the shallow survey. In addition, and also where possible, we will seek out data that reflects patterns of spatial growth in cities as well as urban land governance systems.

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9   List of acronyms

AfDB	African Development Bank
AMCHUD	African Ministers' Conference on Housing and Urban Development
CDS	City Development Strategy
DfID	Department for International Development
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UCLGA	United Cities and Local Governments Africa
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

Annexure 1: Programmes

In response to what can be seen as a call to more effective planning, a number of programmes are being implemented. Countries that have attempted to review their urban land policies, including pro poor tenure arrangements and decentralisation of functions, include Kenya, South Africa, Mozambique, Rwanda, Uganda, and Tanzania, and Zambia (UN-Habitat, 2006; Berrisford, 2011). Multilateral and national projects and policies have been attempted with varying degrees of success and in the form of different planning strategies.

- A joint initiative by UNEP and UN Habitat, the Sustainable Cities Programme aims at building capacity and institutions to support environmentally sustainable development.   Under the SCP, national partners will adopt Environmental Planning and Management (EPM).[2]   In Nigeria, this was piloted in three of its cities falling under the Sustainable Cities Programme (Ibadan, Kano, and Enugu). While there was success in supporting wider participation and coordination among sectors, the process has not yet been able to gain political support for the use of laws and regulations to ensure successful implementation on environmental policies, which "underscores the need for professional support in the shift towards a new approach" (Ogbazi, 2013:115).
- Cities Alliance, in collaboration with its African partners (Governments of Ethiopia, Nigeria, South Africa, as well as United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLGA) and Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) are in the process of developing an Action Plan for the continent. The process started with a meeting in March 2013 in Addis Ababa to identify the key challenges facing African states and has since then covered specific capacity topic such as information systems, data, and empowering local governments (Cities Alliance, 2013). Cities Alliance has also developed Country Programmes to address the specific needs of countries. Initial results include national fora in Uganda and Ghana, looking at alternative solutions to forced relocation in Ghana, and the active engagement of slum dweller associations in Uganda, Ghana, and Burkino Faso; the support for infrastructure projects in 14 of Uganda's secondary cities (Cities Alliance, 2013).
- UN Habitat has developed a policy decision making tool – the City Prosperity Index – that allows policy makers to design interventions that will maximise holistic urban wellbeing based on a matrix of factors including productivity, environmental sustainability, quality of life, infrastructure and social inclusion (UN Habitat, 2013)
- UN Habitat is exploring and promoting the use of land readjustment as a tool for urban expansion. The agency is adapting the tool commonly used in some developed countries to make it both participative and inclusive and effective for creating serviced land at scale in both formal and informal areas in SSA.
- The UN Urban Management Programme is a collaborative effort between UN-Habitat, UNDP and the World Bank largely followed an urban management approach in tying strategic planning with budgets, formulating actions plans and linking those to budgets and allowing for broader consultation (Watson, 2009). The program was particularly active in Tanzania and largely successful in renewing forward planning but was limited in addressing the real source of decision-making power: land use regulation.

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[2] This approach was conceptualised by UN Habitat and UNEP and envisages a more participatory, coordinated, and action oriented approach to urban planning

- In support of capacity buildings, the African Centre for Cities initiated the African Urban Research Initiative In 2013, funded by the Rockefeller foundation, to create "an active network of durable knowledge institutions, focused on applied urban research and capacity-building", which sees understanding urban dynamics is a prerequisite for effectively addressing them. This programme will be a knowledge support for City Alliances' Sub-Saharan Africa Action Plan.
- The World Bank has set up a City Creditworthiness Program to help African cities invest in their sustainable development needs such as infrastructure. The first training programme for senior administrative officials was held in October 2013, and focused on topics of financial management, capital-raising, and revenue collection.

- Various work on-going in preparation leading up to Habitat III, the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, taking place in 2016. This includes a call for a standalone Sustainable Urbanisation Goal as part of the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals.

However, many of these reform attempts have ended up as "add ons" to existing planning approaches rather than systemic reforms (Watson, 2009).