

**School of Built Environment
Department of Urban and Regional Planning**

**The Realities of Participation in Planning in Bangladesh: The Role
of Institutional and Socio-political Factors in Shaping Participatory
Planning in Developing Countries**

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**This thesis is presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of
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DECLARATION

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

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Date: 11 July 2013

ABSTRACT

Despite similar rhetoric and stated policies, there are major differences found in planning and management of cities in developed and developing countries. These differences are most evident in the degree of involvement of citizens in planning and urban governance processes. Democratic traditions prevalent in these countries stemming from historical factors and the evolutionary paths of urbanization followed and the resulting socio-economic and cultural condition could partially explain these differences.

Multifaceted challenges and unpredictable political environment in developing countries, however, complicate the nature of governance and community participation to the extent that theoretical models explaining community participation found in the literature do not adequately reflect the widespread realities of developing countries. The gap between planning theory mainly evolved in the developed western nations' context and development practices in the developing countries thus warrants a comprehensive investigation from an interdisciplinary outlook.

Over many decades, the discourse of planning and development theory and practice in developing countries has been largely prescribed by international aid agencies. This may be seen as transplanting theoretical concepts evolved in the developed western countries with inadequate regard to local conditions and realities. As such the prescriptions for community participation focus largely on reform of institutional factors while largely ignoring socio-political factors that also affect individual's propensity to participate in planning processes.

Relying on an empirical study carried out for this dissertation on citizens' experience regarding participation in urban planning in Dhaka, Bangladesh, this study focuses on the dynamics of citizens' participation. It seeks to develop a community participation model that reflects the realities of citizens in developing countries. Taking an interdisciplinary perspective, it attempts to map out the major dimensions that characterise the complex phenomenon of participation.

Empirical evidence suggests that participation is low due to a range of internal and external factors. Lack of public awareness, trust in planning agencies and a sense of urgency were identified as prime internal factors negatively affecting citizens' participation. The study also points to the existence of high levels of social networking and an established client and patron system operating parallel to and outside the formal urban planning framework that tends to undermine community participation in urban planning processes.

The study concludes by proposing a community participation model that is not concerned solely with transferring power from government to citizens, but also takes into account participants' realities that shape the attitude and tendency of citizens towards participation. It is found that citizens' decision to participate in planning processes depends on the interactions between citizens and government, prevalent socio-political context and external forces. Citizens tend to avoid engaging in formal participation processes where there is an option to engage in a parallel system of informal transactions that they perceive to be more effective than formal planning system.

The community participation model developed through the study of the Bangladesh context could be used to redefine the role of institutions and concerned authorities to inspire genuine participation that could lead to sustainable urban development outcomes.

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CHAPTER: 1

Introduction

1.1. Background

‘Community participation’ is, perhaps, one of the most overused concepts in planning of today’s world. For the past few decades, it has featured as the core of development initiatives in almost every country and has become a prominent concept in shaping sustainable development on space (Botes and Rensburg, 2000; Marfo, 2007). In scholarly literature as well as in development practitioners’ technical reports, the term is also referred to as community engagement, public or citizen participation, and forms the core principle for democratic decision-making and participatory development. In general, community participation refers to almost everything that signifies peoples’ involvement in a democratic way (Cornwall, 2008). More precisely, community participation refers to the provision of opportunities to the community to take part in governmental decisions and planning processes while increasing their levels of social and political empowerment (Glass, 1979; Mohammadi, 2010). In this dissertation, the scope of discussion is confined to the participatory practices followed in preparing physical plans for urban areas. In urban planning, participation is conceptualized and practiced within the framework of the “efficiency of sustainable planning process” through a comprehensive understanding of communities’ demand and transformation of commitments made to stakeholders into planning actions (Amado et al., 2010 p.102).

The concept of participation in modern day planning was primarily developed in the late 1960s in response to inefficiency of dominant top-down models and expert driven approaches to planning (Tandon, 2008). Realizing the needs for democratic planning, developed countries such as the UK and USA began their journey to involve citizens in planning during 1970s as the political ideology shifted with the breakdown of paradigms. The Skeffington Report published around that period set a precedent for public participation in planning at the local government level in the United Kingdom (Williams, 2002). This inspired other developed countries to take up major planning reforms to effect legitimate democratic planning (Mahjabeen and

Shrestha, 2011). The participatory approach has been widely adopted in various sectors (like environmental decision-making, neighbourhood development projects, urban planning, and public health) and has assumed different forms by adapting methodological processes to cope with local contexts. Historically, the concept of participation in planning has been closely related to community development that could be traced back to the end of World War II and the independence of former European colonies in Asia and Africa with a view to create dynamic, inclusive and socially just communities in both North and South (Cornwall, 2008; Tandon, 2008; Taylor and Mayo, 2008).

The intellectual evolution of the concept of ‘participation’ and subsequent practices reveal a widely varied genealogy which has been “.. periodically regenerated around new schools of thought, institutional agendas and changing political circumstances” (Hickey and Mohan, 2004 p.5)¹. Moreover, each phase was influenced by a range of contemporary approaches to development that has contributed in shaping the trajectory, contextual specification, theory-practice debate and empirical experiences related to participation. The maturity and wide acceptance of the concept of participation and the nature of resulting participatory approaches to planning over time have largely been influenced by a range of factors. These include the dominant theories of development philosophy and practice², socio-political reforms, aid conditionality, globalisation and the local ethos in place (Cornwall, 2008; Tandon, 2008). Thus, the concept and practice of effective participation in planning took substantial theoretical direction from development models and practices that directed community development worldwide. It is contended that distinct conceptual and functional transformations in the development discourse have ultimately shaped the pattern of participatory planning models and actions.

Western countries have been practicing various forms of community participation in planning since the ideological shift in planning began to occur during 1960s. By now, participation has become the central concern of city planning with a view to

¹ See Hickey and Mohan (2004) for a complete table on intellectual history of participation in development.

² I adapt the term ‘development philosophy and practice’ to refer to the approach and interventions (projects or programs) predominantly promoted by the NGOs and international aid organisations dealing with socio-economic and environmental development in both urban and rural areas of developing countries.

ensure the rights of the disadvantaged groups, become more acceptable to the community, minimise conflicts among the stakeholders and to guarantee the benefits of participatory democracy can offer (Cates, 1979; Mäntysalo, 2005; Zhang, 2006; Campbell and Marshall, 2000). A shift from the rationalistic planning approach to more democratic planning demonstrates significant progress in legitimating participation through appropriate statutory and policy formulation, redefining the role of the planners and orienting communities to have sufficient skills for effective participation (Thomas and Thomas, 1999; Lane, 2005; Hopkins, 2010; Mahjabeen and Shrestha, 2011).

In developing countries, the idea of community participation has been advocated largely by ‘development’ scholars and practitioners, that is, those driving the socio-economic and environmental development agenda at local level. More recently, the concept has received further impetus from international aid agencies and has been popularised as a prerequisite for good governance (Blackburn et al., 2000; Tandon, 2008). In response, planning agencies in developing countries, largely dependent on external funds, increasingly demonstrate willingness to involve communities in the preparation of development plans (Rahman, 2008). It is contended that it was the donor³ organisations requirements for local governments to form partnership ventures with the local community (as required by Chapter 24 of Local Agenda 21) that made significant impact on planning practices in developing countries in the late 1990s. The adoption of participation resulting from increased pressure from aid agencies rather than growing out of sustained debates often led local planning agencies to attempt to transplant foreign concepts of participatory planning and decentralisation of central government functions. For the most part, these attempts have been unsuccessful in achieving meaningful community participation.

In recent times, a growing body of critical work has accumulated around the concept of participation, where scholars question the participatory prescription by donor organisations that lacks due consideration of the capacities and contextual appropriateness of receiving countries. Cooke and Kothari (2001) coin the term as

³ ‘Donors’ or ‘aid agencies’ refer to the large international aid agencies only, such as World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), and United Nations development organisations who fund major development interventions in developing countries. In this dissertation ‘donors’ and ‘aid agencies’ are used interchangeably.

'the new tyranny' with reference to this phenomenon. The development philosophy that emerged, shaped largely by international aid agencies responded to this criticism with the introduction of the 'good governance' agenda in the form of investment aid earmarked for the promotion of institutionalised efficiency and citizen empowerment. The 'good governance' agenda underlines the need to re-think the participation process looking at best practice and learning from the mistakes (Hickey and Mohan, 2005). It remains to be seen, however, whether an effective governance system could be achieved in a developing world context in the face of inefficient bureaucracy, entrenched corruption and volatile political situation. Meanwhile, another relatively recent development that could potentially affect the realisation of community participation through effective governance is the advent of globalisation. Tandon (2008) argues that "(d)velopment, participation, civil society, governance and democracy have all acquired a new colour due to these forces and the pressures towards globalization" (p.291).

Based on an empirical study from Bangladesh on citizens' experience regarding participation in planning process related to Dhaka Detailed Area Plan (DAP), this research attempts to study the dynamics of citizens' participation in decision-making of urban planning projects within complex governance and socio-political peculiarities within the context of a developing country. In this study, dynamics of participation refer to existing participation mechanisms that could determine who participates and who doesn't. It also takes into consideration the possible reasons for non-participation, citizens' aspiration to participate, and so on.

1.2. Research Problem

"Recent planning praxis in the developed world advocates processes of dialogic democracy, incorporating difference and oppositional views and representatives into policy decision making, trying to find some common ground as a basis for negotiation" (Hillier, 2000, p. 33). Unlike most developed countries, many cities in developing world (for example, cities in South Asia such as Dhaka, Karachi and Delhi) are characterised by politicised power and unequal social structure. A combination of severe socio-economic disparity and ineffective administrative setups seem to be largely responsible for stifling participatory urban planning and development in this region (Rahman, 2008; Waheduzzaman, 2008; Waheduzzaman

and Mphande, 2012). In terms of preparing physical plans for metropolitan cities, institutional and social composition in developing countries is reported as unfavourable in mobilising citizens to involve in the decision-making process (Makerani, 2006; Parnini, 2006; Sarker, 2009; Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012). Blueprint planning and top-down planning approach such as that practiced in South Asia have yielded master plans that have been especially blamed for a non-participatory approach and technocratic rather than democratic planning. The blueprint approach to planning is seen to lead to inefficient urban planning, non-participatory decision-making, underestimating of stakeholders' demand, underperforming development authorities, and non-cooperative service provisions (Devas and Rakodi, 1993).

Endemic corruption further diminishes any prospects for genuine participation in those countries. Thus, institutional mechanisms in developing world are commonly found incapable as well as disfavoured to integrate citizens into the planning process. Empirical evidence suggests that only few citizens, on the other hand, have interest or motivated in participating who are likely to have specific skills for effective participation (Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980; McKenzie, 1981; Syme and Nancarrow, 1992; Njoh, 2002; Makerani, 2006; Nahiduzzaman et al., 2006; Mohammadi, 2010; Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012). Consequently, ineffective planning administration and public apathy jointly leads to low level of citizen participation in developing countries. Moreover, public dissatisfaction with the process and output of planning is becoming increasingly evident in the form of mass rejection of planning and various forms of confrontations against the enactment of new policies and projects (Fakolade and Coblenz, 1981).

Effective community participation in planning proves to be difficult to achieve in cities in developing countries characterised by a complex socio-political context and a governance setup influenced by foreign aid dependency. These cities characterised by weak economy have for long been influenced by planning practises and ideals developed in the west, largely transmitted through the conduit of projects funded by international aid agencies. For the past two decades, these aid agencies have insisted that participation is placed high on the good governance agenda that they require their funded projects to follow. While this is a positive development, the results of

such requirements may not be as effective as desired because the requirements of participation are conceptualised around models of participation that have evolved in the 'west'. Besides, numerous studies have reported failures of attempts to promote participation in developing countries which could contribute to both institutional limitations and increasing public apathy towards participation (Wandersman et al., 1987; Khawaja, 2004; Rahman, 2008; Alam and Ahmed, 2010; Khan and Swapan, 2013). In this regard, Torres (2006) denotes that:

practice in participatory urban planning is still standing behind theory. It is noticeable that many of the experiences reviewed still find hard to find a good theoretical and, therefore, a good operative framework. Even when found a good technique of participation (such as focus groups or strategic planning) the urban planning effort shows unsatisfactory results when considering proper inclusion in participation. (p.7)

A number of literature representing socio-political perspective of participation have raised several critical concerns: "if neighborhood participation is so rewarding and effective, why doesn't everyone participate?" (Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980 p.218; also see Wandersman et al., 1987; Tosun, 2000; Khawaja, 2004; Parker and Murray, 2012). Empirical evidence suggests that relatively few citizens come forward to participate when given the opportunity. "This has led to an interest in the issue of who will participate under what circumstances. In other words, what types of situational and individual difference characteristics affect participation" (Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980 p.219; Wandersman, 1981; Rydin and Pennington, 2000); Tosun, 2000; Wandersman and Florin, 2000); Njoh, 2002). However, Parker and Murray (2012) argue that "if people do not get involved it is not enough for planners and other professionals to blame this on apathy. It is more likely that the structure and process are not fit for their purpose and are not matched to the profile of participants" (p.23). Such concern signifies the importance of knowledge and understanding regarding 'actor motivation and the condition of the 'spaces' required for effective participation, but are neglected (Parker and Murray, 2012 p.1).The absence of literature on community participation in urban planning with reference to developing countries is also noted (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2000).

Many scholars, however, have attempted to reconcile the theoretical concepts and principles of participation under the umbrella of good urban governance to their application in practice. Numerous participation models have been developed to define frameworks within which participatory actions take place. However, Jackson (2001) claims that most of the models were designed by government agencies and practitioners and they lack sufficient empirical evidence of effective participation and theoretical backup. More specifically, they are criticised for merely focused on institutional dimension and not considering realities reflected in socio-economic dimensions of citizens (Murray, 2011). In practice, these participation models were originally conceptualised to deal with development problems in western countries and analyse participation in specific contexts. It is also widely documented that true democratisation of planning in developing countries has largely remained unsuccessful. Despite entrenched democratic traditions, cities in the developing world are prone to a wide range of factors that underscore the need to integrate the citizens into the planning process and have done little to take the citizens beyond tokenism (Rahman, 2008; Parker and Murray, 2012). Hence, there is a need to find an appropriate way for unpacking participation models to ensure their adaptability and suitability into local settings. Furthermore, it can be argued that urban planning in developing countries may require consideration of a different set of conditions to realise effective participation within complex urban governance systems and socio-political context.

Extensive research has already been carried out in search for relevant planning ideology and framework for participatory urban development in diversified context though mostly in western countries (Woltjer, 2000; Watson, 2002; Hou and Kinoshita, 2007; Maginn 2007). Woltjer (2000) showed the implication of consensus-planning (type of communicative planning) in Dutch infrastructure planning focusing on critical evaluation of theories and planning practice. Based on empirical evidence from two cases, he concluded that planning theory was not sufficient to inform practice and went on to develop a complementary framework. Watson (2002) explored the rise and fall of metropolitan spatial planning in Cape Town (South Africa) under political transition. Taking position beside the planners and the community, she identified how power is concerned with planning and also affects the planning process. Maginn (2007) argued that collaborative planning and

applied ethnography provide a governance and methodological framework that have the potential to promote more effective community participation in urban regeneration projects of UK. It is apparent that community participation in developed countries is more a matter of legal compliance in comparison to less developed countries, where community participation issues in the development process have generated much recent debate (Lahiri-Dutt, 2004).

As a newly introduced field of theoretical application, very little research has been conducted on south Asian cities. Different urbanisation experience shaped by different cultural and socio-economic conditions have yielded significantly different urban context. It is imperative therefore to sail out in depth research in order to find out the factors behind poor performance of planning activities in development context and to guide the planning system to achieve sustainability utilising available resources. Considering the importance of community participation for sustainable urban development, success stories in international cases and the potentials in Bangladesh, I intend to develop a participation model that defines the realities of citizens in developing countries.

1.3. Concept of Community Participation in Urban Planning

The concept of ‘participation’⁴ in planning and decision-making is defined from various perspectives and development strategies. From a citizen perspective:

Community or popular participation is about communities having decision-making powers or control over resources that affect the community as a whole, such as [...] community development. But, for such decisions to internalise social and ecological costs or to assure equitable decision-making and use, they must be devolved to a body representing and accountable to the community. (Ribot, 1996 p.40)

Jennings (2000) defines participation from an organisational standpoint:

Participation has been variously described as a means and an end, as essential within agencies as it is in the field and as an educational and empowering process necessary

⁴ It is termed as ‘community participation or involvement’, ‘citizen participation or involvement’, ‘public participation’ and ‘community engagement’ in different literature; however, they are used interchangeably in this research.

to correct power imbalances between rich and poor. It has been broadly conceived to embrace the idea that all “stakeholders” should take part in decision making and it has been more narrowly described as the extraction of local knowledge to design programs off site. (p.1)

Both definitions emphasise on equity and local knowledge-based decision-making. In urban planning, community participation is encouraged to incorporate the views, demands and aspiration of the citizens in the planning process in order to achieve an effective and sustainable plan. In planning, however, participation “has always been viewed as an uneasy marriage between local authorities and members of local neighbourhoods” (Nelson et al., 2008 p.38). Arnstein (1969) and Meppem (2000) acknowledge existence of power struggle in involving citizens in decision-making and suggest that full participation would require distribution of power and genuine interests of both parties to offer a forum for exploring options (Nelson et al., 2008). A number of literature suggest a careful engagement of expert contribution and understandings of community preference for the successful implementation of participatory initiatives where the experts should act more like facilitators and, rather than merely listing community concerns, listen to them (Meppem, 2000; Lahiri-Dutt, 2004)

Since the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, community involvement has become the key principle for sustainable development (UNCED, 1992). The agenda for sustainable development explicitly recognise the contextual contingency of knowledge and emphasise on exploring diverse knowledge meanings through local participation (Meppem and Bourke, 1999). Participation is justified in terms of seeking solutions for sustainable planning and management of ‘public good’ or ‘common property resource’ (Meppem, 2000). The United Nations calls for broad public participation for formulating decisions towards sustainable development (UNCED, 1992). Local Agenda 21, perhaps the most significant outcome of the Rio Summit in 1992, offers a holistic and inclusive approach to incorporating the principles of sustainable development into local policy making. It includes a major reference to public participation in the context of SD strategies (UNCED, 1992):

One of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of sustainable development is broad public participation in decision-making. Furthermore, in the more specific context of environment and development, the need for new forms of participation has emerged. This includes the need of individuals, groups and organizations to participate in environmental impact assessment procedures and to know about and participate in decisions, particularly those which potentially affect the communities in which they live and work. (para 23.2)

Local Agenda 21 has stimulated local authorities to experiment with new participatory structures and techniques such as round tables, focus groups, future search conferences, consensus-building and planning for real. However, these techniques have not in many instances been transferred to mainstream development planning activities, which are still seen essentially as top-down (Counsell, 1999 p.24-25).

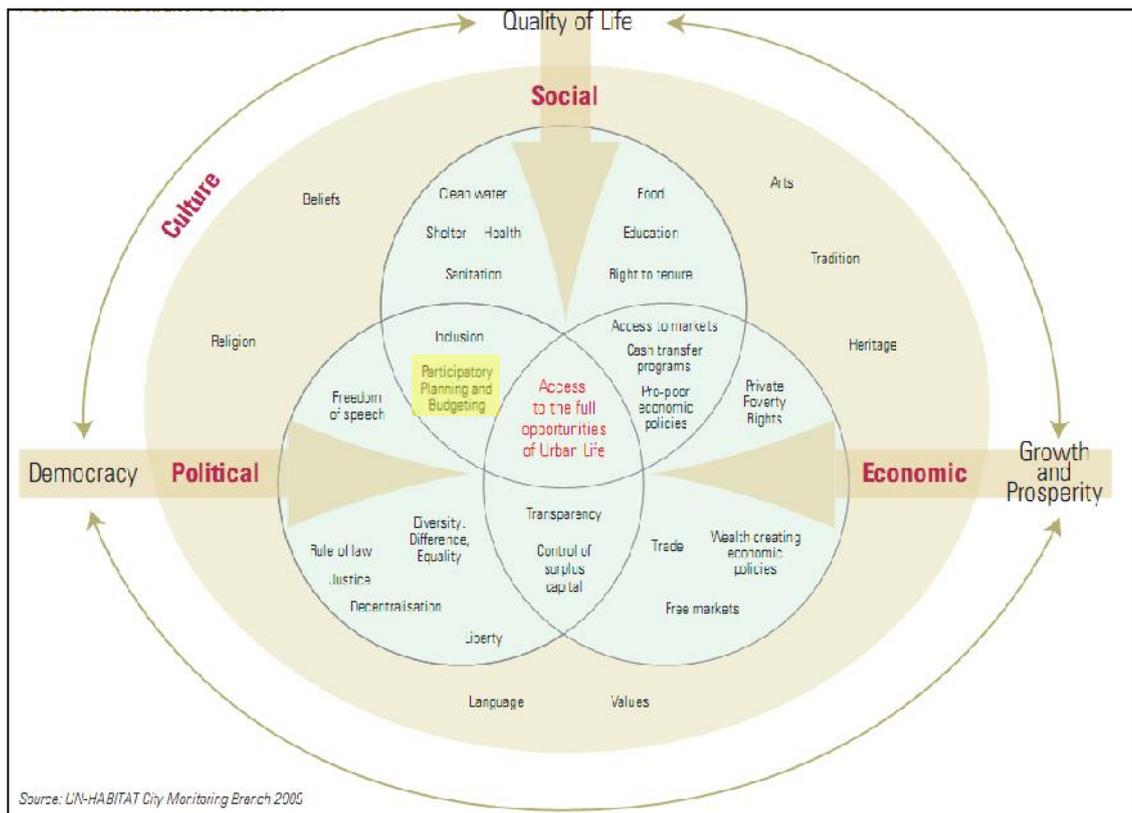


Figure 1.1: An illustration of the inclusive city.

(UN-Habitat, 2010 p.57)

Recently, UN-Habitat (2010) has identified ‘community participation’ in planning and decision-making as the pre-requisite of an “inclusive city” (p.57) addressing economic, social, political and cultural equality across all segments of society (Figure 1.1). The idea of an inclusive city stresses on the rights of citizens to enhance involvement in the planning process for building up capable social capital in developing countries required to enable sustainable development.

1.3.1. Participatory modes of urban planning

Participation in planning has both instrumental and intrinsic values. In terms of instrumental perspective, planning outcome is considered to be improved as the effort is sensitive to local knowledge creating greater ownership of the planning process and the planning outcomes (Schafft and Greenwood, 2003). Intrinsic values are concerned with practicing democracy, empowerment, social justice and improved social capital (Daley and Angulo, 1990). Referring to the substantial criticisms of conventional expert-oriented rational planning models, participatory approach underlines the need to understand and consider local preference in which “community members are not simply beneficiaries of planning advice, but are themselves agents of social change” (Schafft and Greenwood, 2003 p.20). Table 1.1 illustrates a broad set of distinction between conventional and participatory planning approach.

Table 1.1: Distinction between conventional and participatory planning approach

<i>Themes</i>	<i>Planning mode</i>	
	Conventional	Participatory
Planning Process	Less emphasis on the specifics of local context, often driven by concerns for economic efficiency	Approach is multi-dimensional and context specific, driven by local knowledge and concerns for economic equity
Management Strategy	Top-down in management and implementation; hierarchical power structure	Bottom-up, or synergy between top and bottom; collaborative; egalitarian power structure
Location of Knowledge and Expertise	Outsiders are experts, locals are beneficiaries	Locals are experts, outsiders are facilitators
Outcome Objectives	Pre-determined, concrete	Evolving outcome objectives; Process and outcome in constant dialogue

Source: Schafft and Greenwood, 2003 p.20.

1.3.2. Why there is a need for community participation?

There is a general consensus on requirements of community participation in progressing towards sustainable urban development (Rahman, 2008). True involvement of citizens in decision-making processes leads to better decisions that allow wise planning and management of long term initiatives. Participation, in practice, ranges from simply informing people about the plan to ensuring that the plan is made by the people (Arnstein, 1969). Glass (1979) identifies two schools of thought regarding the purpose of citizen participation, “one adopting the citizen perspective and the other advocating the administrative perspective” (p.181). The former thought perceives citizens as a reliable instrument to achieve the administrative goal while the latter one provides citizens a legitimate role in decision-making. Leading scholars such as Forester (1989), Healey (1992), Sandercock (1998) and others have emphasized the need for participatory, need based and socially acceptable planning in place of the conventional top-down expert-driven approach (Khan and Swapan, 2010). To achieve these objectives, sustained and on-going planning reforms have been inevitable. Planning reforms during the 1980s and 1990s in developed countries have led to a shift away from conventional urban planning and management towards approaches that combine technological innovation in planning administration with the experiences, knowledge and understanding of various groups and citizens (Mitchell, 1997; Wandersman and Florin, 2000). There is a wealth of examples of community involvement in planning with varying qualities and credentials because of its axiomatic desirability (Parker and Murray, 2012).

The critics of planning agree that despite of theoretical development and reforms in practice, planning is not democratic enough to ensure integrated representation from various sectors of the society (Forester, 1989; Healey, 1992; Sandercock, 1998). In order to foster a democratic urban environment, community participation is identified as most effective tool for sustainable urban policy and physical developments towards collective interest (Alfasi, 2003). Community participation is considered fundamental to fair and representative decision making in contemporary urban planning practice (Mahjabeen et al, 2009 p.167). Community participation has been encouraged for its unreserved benefits for planning and development of the society

ranging from the individuals to state level. A summary of reasons for advocating increasing participation in planning is presented below:

- Representative democracy is not enough when political decisions are made. It should be complemented by elements of direct democracy, i.e. by the direct participation of the public or organised groups of citizens (Enyedi, 2004 p.15).
- Citizen participation is considered as an important technique for improving the quality of the residential environment and the satisfaction of residents with the environment as well as having positive psychological effects (Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980 p.218).
- Community participation fosters the capability of being united in solving community problems (Perkins et al., 1996).
- Compromise plan through the engagement of planners and the community always possible as solution to avoid conflicts (Lang, 1987).
- Participation is a mean to empower people to decide and in this way to avoid undesirable imbalances (Torres, 2006 p.3).
- Participation can stimulate an ongoing learning process increasing the awareness of collective responsibility within the community. This should be seen as an asset by professional agencies rather than a threat (Buchyand Hoverman, 2000 p.17).
- Citizen oriented planning can be implemented more efficiently and raise the democratic legitimacy of the final decisions (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2006). Thus, the implementation of citizen participation initiatives can be explained as a response of public organisations to narrow the legitimacy gap (Yetano et al., 2010 p.285).
- Broader participation increases the representativeness and responsiveness of administrative and political institutions, but also heightens citizens' sense of efficacy, and acts as an important check on professional or administrative discretion (Fakolade and Coblenz, 1981 p.121); and
- Participation is a means of reducing power differences, and is therefore contributory to equalization and social justice (Fakolade and Coblenz, 1981 p.121).

1.4. The Context of Developing Countries

There is an ongoing debate on defining the terms ‘developing countries’, ‘the Third World’, or ‘less developed countries’ (LDC’s) among the world system theorists and international aid agencies. It is not an easy task to regrouping a large number of heterogeneous countries in a single category as reality might be quite different to justifiably draw a deviation line (McQueen, 1977). In essence, it depends upon the objectives and purpose of the project or research that are doing the classification (Tosun, 2000)⁵.

Urban planning systems in developing countries such as those in South Asia, seen to represent orthodox style of planning, characterized by a top down planning approach that is influenced by politicized patron-client networks, development experts, and large corporations (Hamdi and Goethert, 1997). In most South Asian cities, urban development mainly comprises major projects supported by international aid agencies. The planning agenda to a large extent, therefore, tends to become donor-driven. Bangladesh, for an example, is one of the highest aid-recipient countries in the developing world with an annual flow of aid ranges US\$ 1.0 billion to US\$1.5 billion (ERD, 2011). As Hamdi and Goethert (1997) point out, external financial assistance often carries along strict conditions, such as employing donors’ expert systems, theories and technologies which may at times, not be suitable to the recipient country’s planning context.

Besides, nearly half of the urban population in developing countries living below the poverty line is socially and economically marginalised. The basic literacy rate is also very low, narrowing down the community’s access to information. The resulting lack of planning knowledge and social awareness among citizens makes the carrying out of even a simple planning activity a complex task. Being a democratic country, these countries also suffers from poor governance that could be attributed to an administrative system developed around colonial heritage, a highly politicized bureaucracy, entrenched corruption and non-participatory planning approach (Khan

⁵ In this research, reference is made to developing countries/nations, which are “.. not regarded by the World Bank as High Income Economies, as well as about a dozen oil-rich states and a few island economies with relatively high GNP per capita” (Harrison, 1992 p.2). In order to generalise the characteristics of such classification, in the context of this article refers to developing countries in South Asia.

and Swapan, 2013). The situation highlights the necessity of empowering the citizens in order to prepare them for effective participation.

Inefficient planning systems and unequal socio-political relations within cities conspire to ensure that participatory initiatives are not effective in these countries. However, several studies show that developing countries have strong commitment in developing and practicing of participatory approaches for urban planning (Torres, 2006). In this context, many cities have in Asia, Africa and Latin America have carried out strategic planning exercises in recent years. For example, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Singapore and Tanzania have introduced strategic planning instruments emphasising local participation (Halla, 2005; Steinberg, 2005; Soh and Yuen, 2006). However, Torres (2006) indicates that “few [developing countries] have normative instruments and even fewer have the technical and management tools required for applying strategic planning instruments and much of the success stories are yet to come” (p.7).

1.5. Research Goal and Research Questions

The primary focus of this research is to study the dynamics of citizens’ involvement in urban planning process in developing countries, with special reference to Bangladesh. The aim is to develop a participation model representing the realities of the socio-political context that affects the individual’s propensity to participate. Taking an interdisciplinary perspective, this dissertation attempts to map the major dimensions that characterise the complex phenomenon of participation. Based on preliminary literature review, it is contended that both institutional and socio-political factors contribute towards determining the role of citizenry with respect to participation. In this regard, a primary investigation of the broader concept of participation (covering planning, environmental and resource management, sociology, political science and social work) discussed in the previous section, yield the following central concerns regarding citizen participation that need investigation:

- (a) How are western planning ideas regarding participation reported in literature from western countries transformed and adopted in the context of developing countries?
- (b) What are the factors that facilitate or inhibit effective participation?

- (c) What are the characteristics of people who participate? Why do they participate? Who are the people who don't participate? Why not?
- (d) What are the different forms of participation that occur in developing countries?
- (e) What is the level of participation that citizens aspire to in developing countries?

To address the research questions, I have setup a systematic research framework under a set of objectives to guide the goal reduction process. The following objectives for this research have therefore been formulated:

1. **Diffusion of planning theories into developing countries:** Defining and examining the diffusion of types of planning theories and associated concepts of participation in developing countries and their strategic impacts on scoping public participation in the planning process.
2. **Participatory planning and urban governance:** Determining the links and relationships between participatory urban development in developing countries and the dominant philosophy of democracy and urban governance prescribed by aid agencies.
3. **Popular models of participation:** Examining the suitability of various popular models of participation for guiding participation in the context of urban planning in developing countries.
4. **Institutional and societal factors affecting participation:** Exploring both theoretical and empirical evidence of institutional and socio-political factors and how they affect citizens to participate in the planning process; and,
5. **An appropriate participation model:** Developing a participation model that reflects the realities of citizens in a developing context.

1.6. Theoretical Orientation

This research is divided into three fundamental fields of investigation: relevant planning theories, governance framework and the socio-political context of participation. The above components are widely identified as the essential steps in assessing the potentiality of participatory urban development in the face of democracy and power imbalance (Forester, 1989; McGuirk, 2001; Healey, 2003;

Maginn, 2007). Considering the restriction of time and resources, the study will be limited to physical planning issues under the jurisdiction of local planning agencies. Planning issues dealt with at local government level are focused on because local planning agencies play an important role within the sphere of democratic participation and in shaping citizens' living environment (Musso et al., 2000; Yetano et al., 2010). The following sections describe the theoretical grounding of the fundamental themes of this research.

1.6.1. Planning theory

Community participation in the planning process became a central concern of communicative planning theories that emerged in the late 1980s and 1990s. Moving away from rational comprehensive approach, planning has increasingly focused towards more participatory and inclusive method (McAllister, 2011). The dimensions of participatory planning have undergone several refinements and redefinitions. Building on Habermas' (1987) theory of communicative action, prominent writers in the field of planning attempted to reconcile the idea of participation with planning decision-making through collaboration between stakeholders and by using information to empower citizens.

Innes (1996) advances the concept of consensus building highlighting the need for equality in the collaborative process (Mahjabeen et al., 2009). This collaborative approach suggests the need to consider all stakeholders equally within the process of collaborative decision making (Innes, 1996). It leads to maintain a collaborative forum for conflict resolution and hosting innovations for implementing collaborative decisions (Innes and Booher, 2004). However, Hillier (2003) cautions that equal participation of various stakeholders with different interests and levels of power and authority may be misleading (Mahjabeen et al., 2009 p.50). Healey (1999) refines communicative planning theory in relation to institutional and societal capacity by stressing the importance of both - a common platform and social capital - for solving problems.

1.6.2. Governance framework

The shift from government to governance in recent years has created significant new opportunities for people from disadvantaged communities to participate in the

decisions that affect them (Taylor, 2007). Governance theory tends to differentiate between power used for ‘social control’ and ‘social production’. It moves away from fixed ideas about power as a commodity rooted in particular institutions to more fluid ideas of power developed and negotiated between partners. The dispersal of power is in itself already a well-developed idea that largely depends on the relationship status between State, civil society and market (Stoker, 1998; Innes and Booher, 1999; Kumar and Paddison, 2001). It follows that the decision making processes is usually tailored according to the shared power game played between the above mentioned actors (after Bryson and Crosby, 1992).

The governance discourse includes propositions about an ‘enabling’ state, that is ‘steering’ not ‘rowing’ (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). McGuirk (2001) agreed that implementation of participatory mechanisms need a governance framework that actively promotes pluralistic and democratic decision-making. Governance includes various components such as favorable policy/statutes, bottom-up planning, capacity to improve service delivery, meeting local needs, gaining trust, accountability, transparency, and building enabling relationships with citizens.

In many cases, however, government and citizens act as two different groups starting from disparate backgrounds and interests, often clashing with each other. As the community is essentially diverse and can comprise a wide range of interest groups – a lobby, a pressure group, a religion, a neighborhood, rural and urban, rich and poor – its preferences can be taken as a system of knowledge that is not institutionalized but does exist nevertheless (Lahiri-Dutt, 2004). Conflict and mistrust are, of course, inevitable facts of life within all kinds of decision-making structures. The question, therefore, is how can conflict be minimized and managed more productively.

Realizing the importance of the above discourse, I intend to evaluate statutory arrangements, and resources or capacities of local government and / or civic society available for community participation. I also intend to identify the extent to which the ‘dispersal of power’ has occurred within the context, that is, what is the relation between State, civil society and market. This will allow me to identify the actors and stakeholders that wield power or influence in decision making related to urban governance.

1.6.3. Socio-political context of participation

Community participation leads to a redistribution of power within the society (Lahiri-Dutt, 2004). However, many experts have noted the continued existence of a gap between academic inquiry and development practice regarding participation (Schuurman, 1993; Slater, 1993; Booth, 1994; Peet and Watts, 1996). Most studies focus on institutional aspects while the characteristics of consumers or the community are often neglected. There is an obvious need to study attitude and actions of individuals at the consumer citizen end. This study looks at three aspects of participation: the individual's access to relevant information; their experience of interaction with planning agencies; and their aspiration towards participation in the planning process. In order to get further insight into factors affecting participation, I refer to theories relating to social context and community resource mobilization.

Social context theories

Several scholars have analyzed the relationship between social connectedness or neighborhood ties and sociopolitical participation (e.g., Huckfeldt, 1986; Giles and Dantico, 1982). Much of this research is based on social network or social exchange theories, which posit that social networks and other contextual factors affect individual's participatory behavior and the role assumed in community development matters. However, the attitude of citizens towards participation is mainly studied under the environmental psychology and landscape literature rather than in planning (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980; Ajzen, 1985; Kaiser et al., 1999; Balram and Dragicevic, 2005). For the most part, low income communities such as those found in cities in developing countries have been conspicuously absent from this research.

Community resource mobilisation model

Somewhat similar to social context theories of participation, scholars argue that involvement in voluntary associations (NGOs and CBOs) stimulate individuals to become politically active. The underlying theoretical assumption of this model is that interaction with organizations and institutions creates space for participation opportunities for the citizen (Alford and Scoble, 1968; Olsen, 1972; Leighley, 1990; Verba et al., 1993). This model clearly indicates the necessity of capacity building of citizens and the role voluntary organizations and civil society can play to ensure effective participation.

1.7. Research Framework

A comprehensive and well-defined research framework is required to understand the dynamics of community participation process that could lead to developing a community participation model for developing countries. A research framework is a diagrammatic version of concepts, process and relationships leading to achieve the research goal (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). In this study, the research framework is developed around three key ideas reflecting the broader field of study of participation in developing countries (Figure 1.2). These are:

- Development and diffusion of planning theory and its impacts on developing countries.
- Engagement between donor-driven development discourse and planning theories to shape participatory practice in developing world, and
- Status of participation space (institutional factors and socio-political factors affecting the participants individually)

Firstly, this research attempts to investigate the pattern and magnitude of diffusion of planning theories and its impacts on local planning system in developing countries. It will help to trace the evolution pattern of participatory planning in developing countries.

Participation in urban planning is a relatively new phenomenon in the developing world. However, a number of studies carried out in environmental management, health care, education and economic development fields suggest a growing realisation within government agencies of the requirement of local integration in decision-making process. In this regard, the effort of international aid agencies and NGOs is notable. They have mainstreamed community participation through the good governance agenda in planning and management, which is predominantly derived from the theories of development and democracy. Therefore, a secondary research objective is to explore the theoretical foundations of development theory and practice affecting the approach to participation. The research attempts to expose

the links and relations with participatory urban development in developing countries in the light of dominant philosophy of democracy and urban governance.

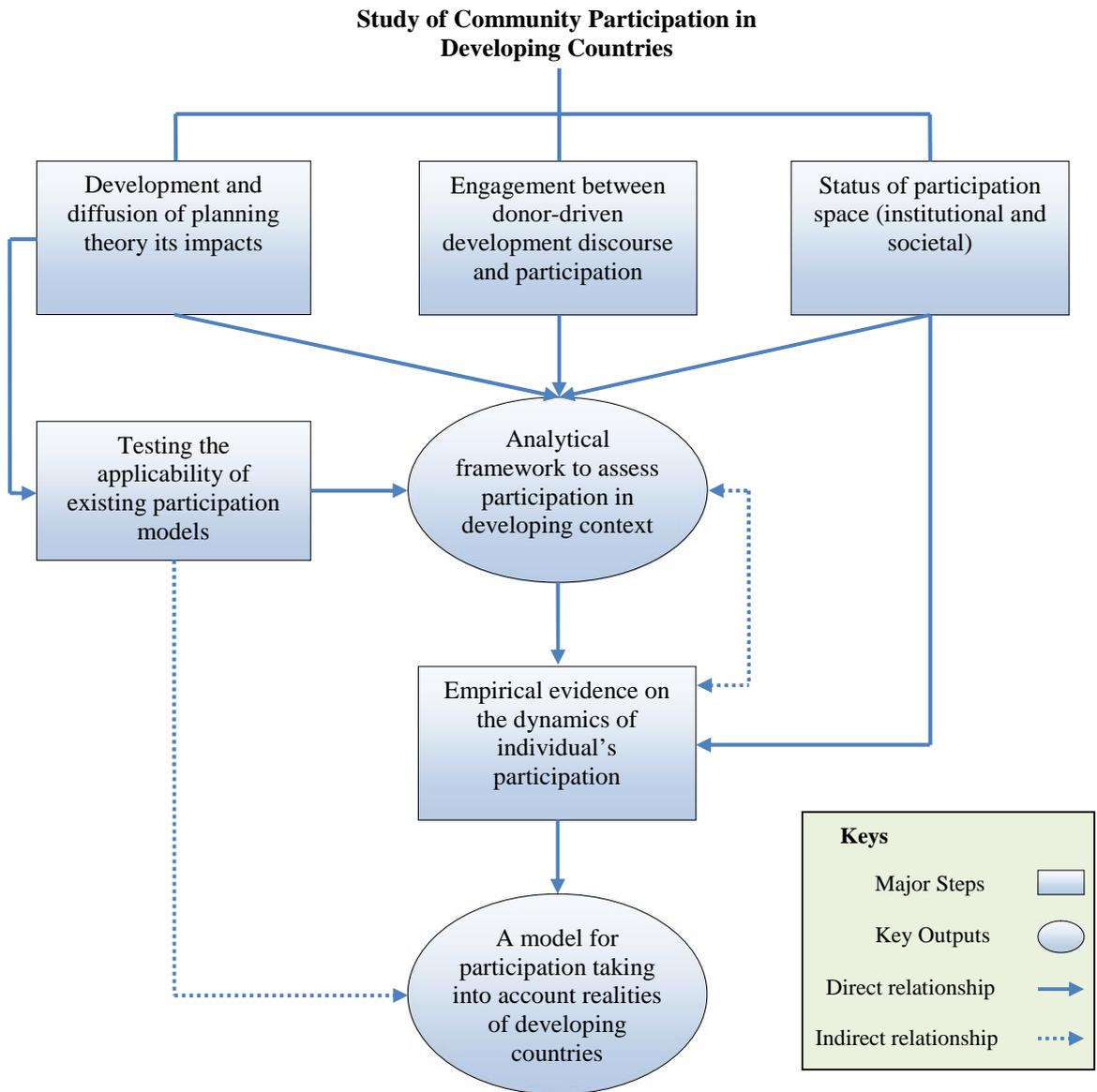


Figure 1.2: Research framework.

Along with institutional arrangement, socio-political factors affecting individual's views and actions largely determine the spectrum of participation. The study of the spectrum of participation from the perspective citizens' realities is a relatively unexplored field of knowledge. In this regard, this research introduces a theoretical discussion of the applicability and limitations of existing participation models in responding to the urban complexities and citizens' profile in developing countries. It

allows outlining a preliminary list of external (institutional) and internal (representing socio-economic dimensions of the participants) factors that shape the participation space of a developing context.

To explore and validate the operationalisation of participation space, the research takes a closer look at Bangladesh, as a case study from the developing world context. The field study was carried out during 2011 by the researcher. Participants' perceptions towards participation were studied by conducting an empirical study through field works.

Finally, this research aims to develop a participation model pointing to specific recommendations for institutional innovation and the integration of good governance practices to enhance community participation in planning.

1.8. Research Design

This research utilises an interdisciplinary approach to examine the dynamics of participation in developing countries taking Bangladesh as a case study. The design aims to develop a greater understanding of citizens' perceptions of participation which is closely tied with their social political environment and attitude towards participation. The research includes both qualitative and quantitative strategies to offer a unique perspective of social exploratory and evaluative research (Creswell, 2009; McAllister, 2011).

Based on desktop studies and field investigation, qualitative research focuses on a case study and is constructivist (exploratory and interpretive), while quantitative research takes a positivist approach emphasising on numbers and measuring variables affecting citizens' participation (Yin, 1994; Kumar, 2005; Kitchin and Tate, 2000; Creswell, 2009). Figure 1.3 provides a general synopsis of the overall research process⁶.

⁶ Chapter 5 demonstrates a detail version of research process and methods.

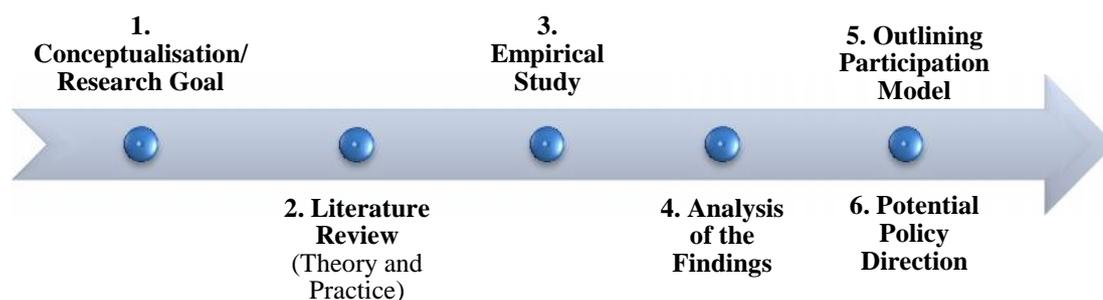


Figure 1.3: General overview of the research process.

Step 1 to 5 in Figure 1.3 describe involves the fundamental components of this research. Based on desktop study, step 1 sets out the research problem and exposes the gap between theory and practice regarding community participation in planning in developing countries. Step 2 takes an in-depth review of literature regarding planning theories and the participation debate in order to define the research problem and establish a link between theory and practice. Kitchin and Tate (2000) note that:

Whenever research takes place we are either assessing the validity of a theory (using a deductive approach) or trying to construct theory (using an inductive approach) [Literature review provides] .. with a firm set of ideas about your specific topic. These ideas now need to be formulated into a theory that your research will then test or provide the context for the research that will underpin the construction of your theory.
(p.33)

With a view to provide a solid theoretical basis, the research defines the theoretical paradigm that affects participatory practice recognizing the tension between international aid agencies/ donor countries and the aid-recipient countries like Bangladesh. Various participation models available in the literature are also examined to test their applicability in addressing the socio-political dynamics of developing countries. The literature review outlines the broad parameters of participation space to explain the realities of the developing world's context. These parameters are further investigated and validated through theoretical analysis and empirical studies based on secondary sources with special reference to Bangladesh.

Step 3, reports on primary research involving a survey of 290 households in Dhaka city investigating their perceptions and experiences about participation in the city planning process. Fifty planning practitioners were also interviewed to gain an understanding of their awareness about community demands and aspirations. With a view to justify the reliability and validity of the collected data, triangulation was ensured through interviews with key informants' and numerous Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

Step 4 involves analyzing and reporting of findings from an inter-disciplinary perspective. The analysis offers empirical evidence and justifications of research questions, gap between theory and practice, practitioners' perceptions of citizens' demands and aspirations. It provides the basis for redesigning participation model reflecting citizens' realities. Step 5 presents an improved community participation model that reflects the participants' realities in a developing country, based on empirical evidence from Bangladesh. Step 6 discusses policy implications of the proposed model for developing countries. It points to potential avenues for improving the level of citizens' involvement in the planning process.

1.9. Dissertation Outline

The dissertation is organised into nine chapters to present the results across the entire doctoral study. Table 1.2 takes a closer look of each chapter addressing their overall coverage.

Table 1.2: Organisation of the dissertation

Chapter	Title	Contents and guiding principles
1	Introduction	The aim of Chapter One is to introduce research issues and outline the goal reduction process through the research components covered in other chapters in. It sets the background of the research by identifying gaps in literature on participatory planning in developing countries. Specific research questions and research objectives are outlined here to define the scope of the study. Referring to an interdisciplinary inquiry, this chapter briefly describes the theoretical orientation and the overall research methodology.

Chapter	Title	Contents and guiding principles
2	Evolution of Planning Theories and Participation	Chapter Two critically investigates the theoretical evolution of planning and its impact on developing countries. Looking at theoretical developments affecting participatory planning, the chapter attempts to carry out a comparative assessment between theory and practice using a cognitive map of planning knowledge. Further, it discusses the communicative turn in planning in detail to understand the theoretical proposition of community participation in the planning process.
3	Conceptualising Participation within the Developing World's Context	Chapter 3 describes the interventions of international aid agencies in development. It elaborates on deliberative democracy (referring to policy stage) and urban governance (referring to implementation stage). Chapter Three thereby characterises the nature of participation debate in practice. It establishes the theoretical foundations of the several approaches to development theory and practice exposing the links and relationships between development theory and participatory urban development in developing countries.
4	Envisioning a Community Participation Model for Developing Countries	Chapter Four analyses the suitability of popular participation models to translate the realities of the developing world's context. Considering the outputs of suitability analysis, this chapter outlines draft participation parameters to reflect the dynamics of participation in the planning process in developing countries with special reference to Bangladesh.
5	Research Design and Inquiry	Chapter Five outlines the research inquiry paradigm for a case study in Dhaka city. The study takes a mixed worldview to address community participation process in a complex social-political urban system. The empirical study involved household survey, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and interviews with planning practitioners.
6	Aid-recipient Context: Evolution of Urban Development in Bangladesh	Chapter Six explores the evolution of organised urban planning initiatives in Bangladesh. It investigates the institutional framework for scoping community participation in the planning process. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an insight into the planning process of developing countries that are largely influenced by the aid conditionalities and western planning ideals.
7	The Gap between Promise and Realities:	Chapter Seven investigates the institutional (external) and socio-political (internal) factors that determine individual's

Chapter	Title	Contents and guiding principles
	Analysing Participation Space in Bangladesh	attitude towards participation. Referring to the cases in Bangladesh, the chapter takes a closer look at the participation space comprising the internal and external realities of the citizens according to the draft outline prepared in Chapter Four.
8	Findings and Analysis: Citizen Participation in Preparing Detailed Area Plan (DAP) of Dhaka City	Chapter Eight represents the findings of the empirical study. The chapter starts with describing the context of field study. The results are presented and analysed under four key themes to understand the ground realities and citizens' perceptions on participating in DAP preparation process. Findings of the study re-examine the research questions and provide key ingredients for envisioning a participation model reflecting the realities of developing countries
9	Discussions and Conclusion	In the last chapter, findings are discussed against the objectives of the research. Emphasising both institutional and citizen perspectives, a participation model is drawn. An in-depth discussion is conducted to outline the key assumptions of the model. The conclusion largely focuses on the key findings of the research and indicates potential avenues for further research.

Versions of different chapters of this dissertation have been published and presented in international scholarly journals and conferences. An overview of these publications is given in Table 1.3

Table 1.3: Publications of the dissertation

Title	Journal/conference proceedings	Chapter	Remarks
From blueprint master plans to democratic planning in South Asian cities: Pursuing good governance agenda against prevalent patron-client networks	Habitat International Volume 38, April 2013, pp. 183–191.	2	Impact Factor of the journal: 1.434 (2011)
Contrast in participants' realities on democratic planning - Comparing cases from Australia and Bangladesh	Whitzman, C. & Fincher, R., eds. Proceedings of State of Australian Cities 2011 , Melbourne, Australia. University of Melbourne (ISBN: 978-0-646-56805-8)	7 and 8	

Title	Journal/conference proceedings	Chapter	Remarks
Rethinking Participation in the Planning Process: Search for an appropriate model in Bangladesh context	Nishimura, Y., ed. Proceedings of Asian Planning School Congress 2011 , Tokyo, Japan. University of Tokyo.	4	
Non-democratic Planning Environment in Democratic States: Examining the Complexities of 'Public Participation' Practice in South Asian Countries	Maginn, P. J., ed. Proceedings of World Planning School Congress 2011 , Perth, Australia. The University of Western Australia.	7	
Citizen Involvement in Cities with Politicized Power and Social Inequality: A Historical Profile of Urban Development in Bangladesh	Badarulzaman, N., ed. 4th International Conference on Built Environment in Developing Countries, 2010 . Penang, Malaysia. University Science Malaysia (USM), 1432-1446.	6	Awarded best paper of the conference

1.10. Significance of the Research

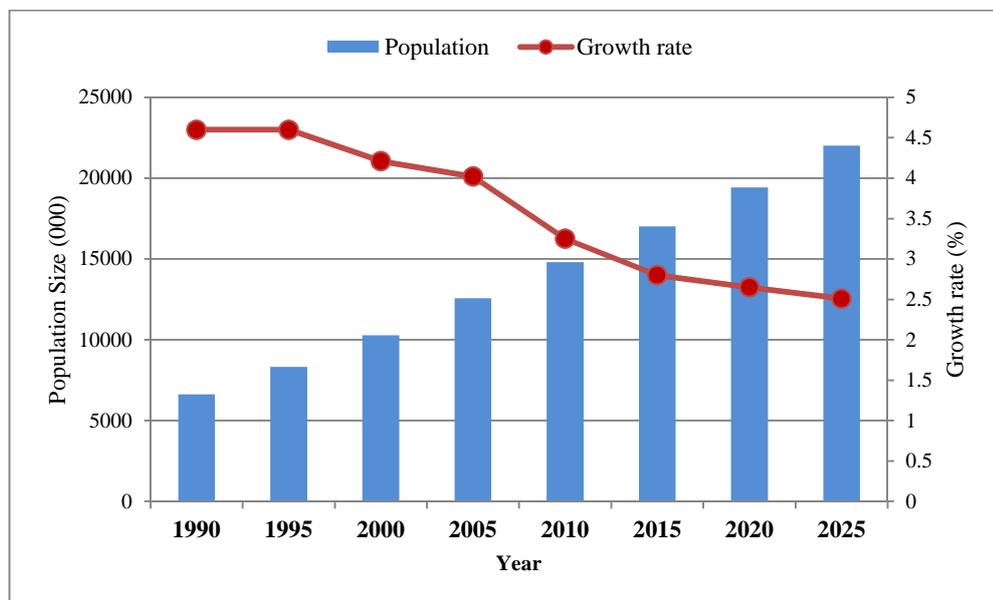
Third world countries suffer from degraded urban settlements, low levels of participation by stakeholders and lack of resources. Considering the resource scarcity and unequal power structure, an integrated, people-oriented and need based planning is crucial for sustainable urban development. Realizing the importance of this issue and considering the requirements sustainability principles, the research aims to develop a methodological framework to investigate effective participation in urban development. The research output will serve as a useful tool in achieving the targets of LA21 in developing countries. The end product will help to decide future course of action to guide existing planning processes using available resources towards delivering a sustainable urban development in the developing world context.

The communicative planning approach is an intensively discussed topic amongst western planning theorists and practitioners today (Woltjer, 2000). Most research, however, focus on urban development within a western societal context, paying little attention to the peculiarities and characteristics of the cities in developing countries. Though power imbalance affecting participatory planning has been extensively discussed, most research does not deal with community demands for urban services

and housing from a government which may not have the resources or the will to provide them (Choguill, 1996). So it is essential to redefine the Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation for cities in developing world along with thinking beyond citizen empowerment and power relationship among the stakeholders (government, NGOs/civil societies and citizen). My target is to find the relevance of planning theories that best describe and analyse the developing world context (such as that found in Bangladeshi cities) which can be carried out through direct application of one of the above model, amalgamation of a number of models or using a complementary framework. This will add to the applicability and comprehensiveness of planning theories and the body of knowledge related to participatory urban development to deal with democracy, political power and social inequality that defines the case of Bangladeshi cities. It will also suggest appropriate avenues or mechanisms to foster increased participation towards sustainable urban development in developing countries.

1.11. Case Study: an overview of Dhaka city

Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, is one of the fastest growing and most highly dense cities of the world.



Note: Projected data is presented from 2015-2025

Figure 1.4: Population growth pattern of Dhaka city (1990-2025).

(adapted from UN-Habitat, 2010 p.166)

The city covers about 1,529 sq km land area and accommodates 13.4 million and is expected to reach 22 million by 2025, with an annual growth rate of 4.4% (UN-Habitat, 2010), compared with an annual average of 1.43% for the country as a whole (BBS 2005; STP, 2005) (Figure 1.4). The megacity includes Dhaka City Corporation and five adjacent municipal areas. In 2005, Dhaka City Corporation, representing the core of the megacity had a total population of 8.4 million (DSCC, 2010). However, the megacity covers 1528 square kilometres representing the plan areas of Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan (DMDP) (1995-2015) (Alam and Ahmad, 2010). The area is also defined as Extended Metropolitan Region (EMR) for the planning purposes of the Capital Development Authority [locally known as Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha (RAJUK)] which includes DCC area and larger urbanized area adjoining the core city of Dhaka; with the surrounding five municipalities: Savar, Narayanganj, Gazipur, Kadamrasul and Tongi (Islam, 1996) (Figure 1.5 and 1.6).

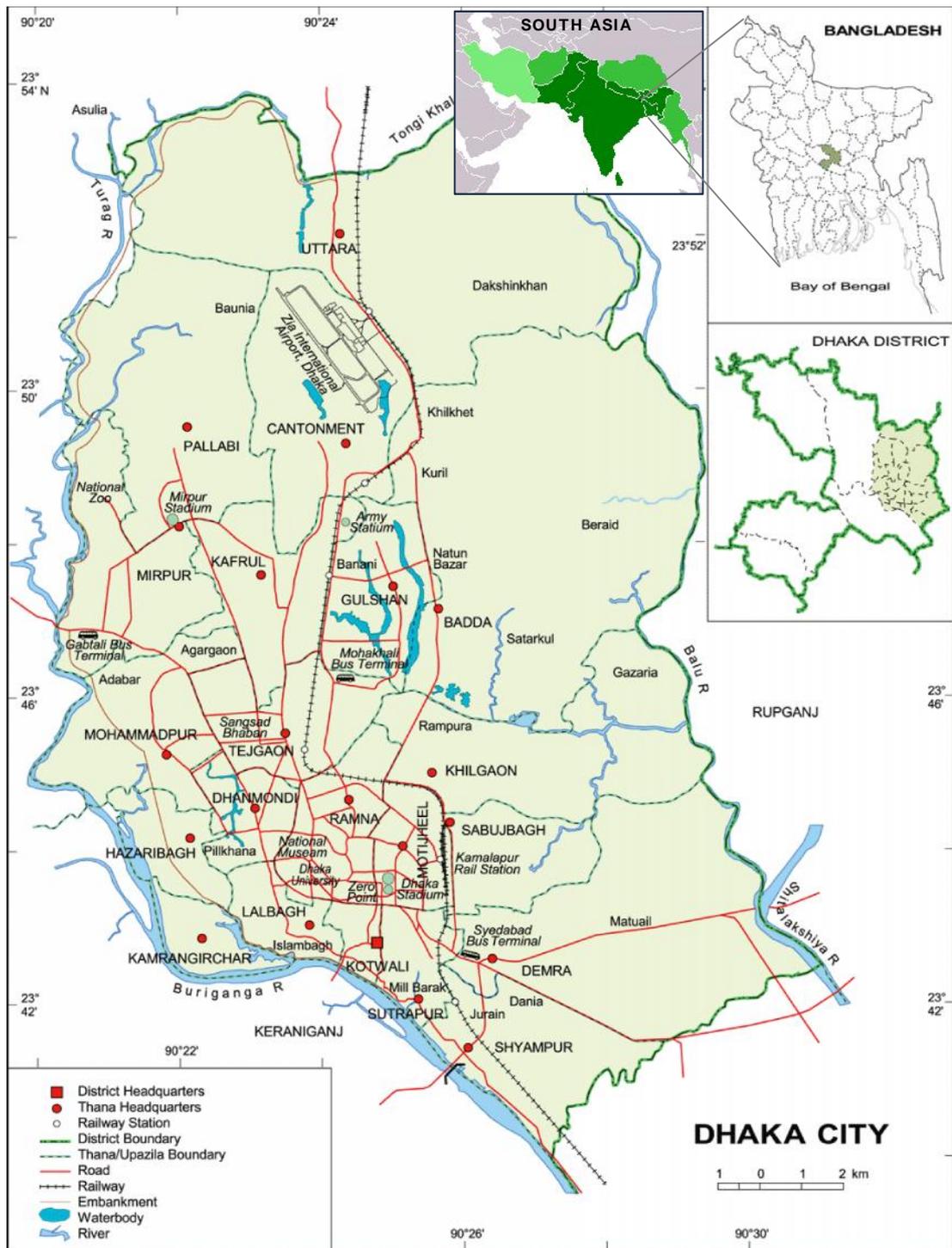


Figure 1.5: Administrative map of Dhaka city

(Sources: http://www.banglapedia.org/Maps/MD_0145E.GIF, accessed on 12/10/2012;
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:South_Asia_\(ed\)update.PNG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:South_Asia_(ed)update.PNG), accessed on 12/10/2012).

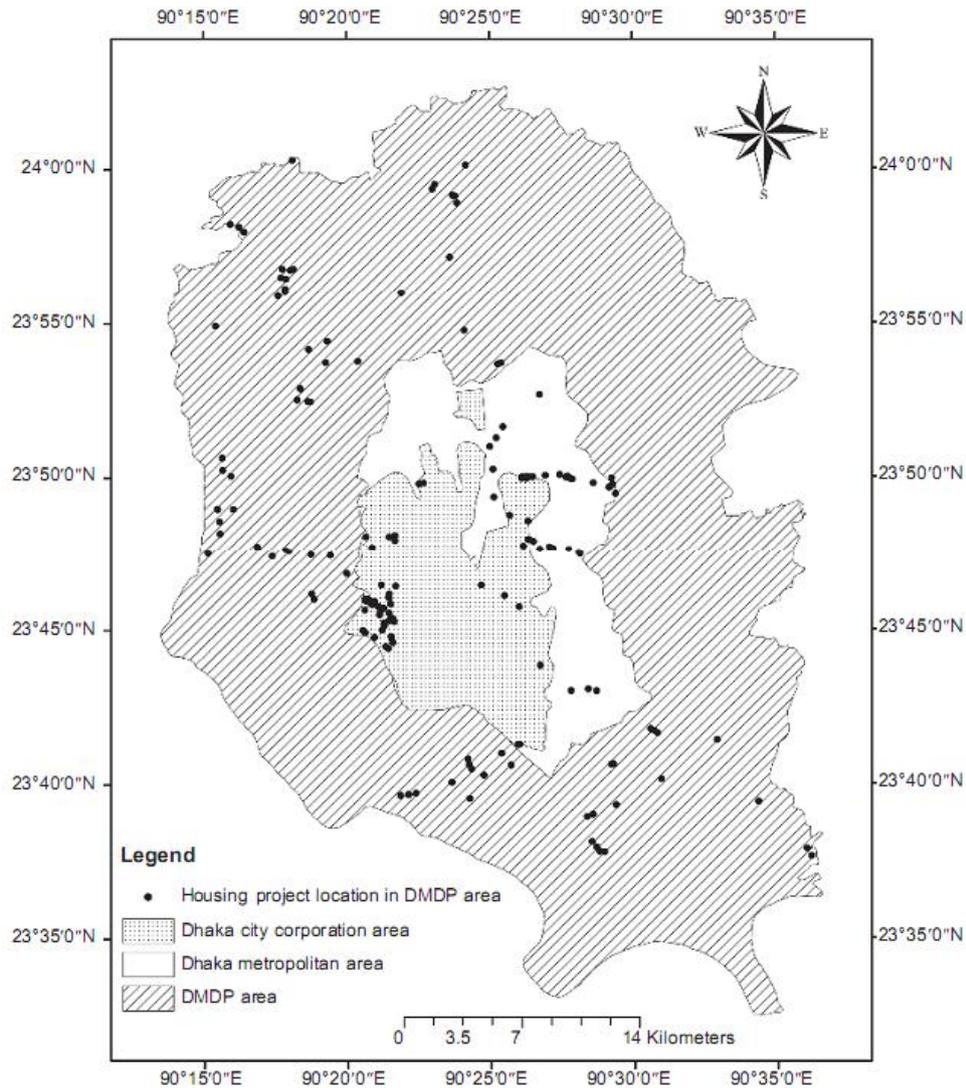


Figure 1.6: Different administrative boundaries of Dhaka city (Alam and Ahmad, 2010 p.87).

The elevation of most of the urbanized areas ranges between 6 - 8 metres. Majority of settlements in Dhaka and its surrounding areas are prone to yearly floods. Flood prone areas have 2 to 4 metres of flooding that extends to the edge of the city thus forming a real urban boundary (Alam and Rabbani, 2007). Due to the geographical location, expansion of Dhaka city has been “governed largely by the physical configuration of the landscape in and around the city, particularly the river system and the height of land in relation to the flood level” (Islam 1996, pp.62-63).

Over the last few centuries, Dhaka has experienced tremendous population as well as spatial growth. Alam and Rabbani (2007) note that:

Over the last 400 years, the city has experienced a number of dramatic historic events. Political changes and shifts in power have also brought about changes in demography and structural development. .. Dhaka has extended to approximately 40 kilometres from north to south and 14 kilometres from east to west. In 1951, it covered 85 square kilometres and had 0.4 million inhabitants. It experienced a very rapid expansion in area and population after independence in 1971. Since then, the rapid development of human settlements, the growth of national and international business, the opening of new trades and the expansion of private and public establishments, industry and infrastructure have made Dhaka one of the most unplanned urban centres. (p.82)

The government has employed substantial resources to meet the rapidly growing demands for urban services but has failed to keep pace with the overgrowing population. At present there are about 20 ministries and 42 different organisations involved in governance, planning, providing urban services and management of the city (Panday and Panday, 2008; Rahman, 2008). The organisations have specified jurisdiction and area for performing their activities, however, they are criticised for overlapping of tasks and wastage of resources (Panday and Panday, 2008). The role RAJUK and Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) is particularly relevant to this research.

RAJUK is responsible for the planning and development of the capital city. The organization has three major functions: planning, development and development control. RAJUK began its journey as Dhaka Improvement Trust (DIT) in 1956 under the provisions of Town Improvement Act, 1953. DIT prepared first Master Plan of Dhaka city in 1959 and Dhaka Metropolitan Area Integrated Urban Development Plan (DMAIUDP) in early 1980s (Rahman, 2008). DIT was restructured and replaced by Rajdhani Unnayan Kartripakkha (RAJUK) in 1987 under the Town Improvement Act (Amendment) Act 1987 that prepared the Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan (DMDP: 1997-2015) in 1995 (RAJUK, 1997). Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) is concerned with providing and managing of basic urban services, solid waste management and community development and health related projects (Rahman, 2008). DCC was previously established as Dhaka Municipality in 1864. In 1978, Dhaka Municipality was awarded the status of Corporation. The Local Government. (City Corporation) Amendment Act (2011) has divided Dhaka

City Corporation into Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC) and Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC) in 2011 for subdividing the management works (DSCC, 2012).

CHAPTER: 2

Evolution of Planning Theories and Participation

2.1. Introduction

The global planning history suggests a wide range of international flows of ideas and practices which set the fundamental shifts from modernism to today's democratic planning. Ward (2000) documented four major sources of ideological hegemony in the development of formal planning practice in the early twentieth century, namely – Germany (Städtebau), Britain (town planning), France (urbanisme) and the United States (city planning). These ideas are considered to be interpreted, exchanged, dissolved and imposed into specific national contexts throughout the world. Thus, the pattern of diffusion through internationalism has remained as the dominant theme in the field of planning leading to major shifts in both theory and practice. However, the study of western planning theory and practice for conducting research in developing countries may be justified due to two reasons. First, many developing countries have inherited the planning traditions from their western colonizers and secondly, planning education in most countries, especially in South Asia, is substantially loaded by western literature (predominantly from USA and UK). Therefore, “collisions between the technology of the west and the needs of developing countries” (Zetter, 1981 p.21) have become the key debates in planning literature of the South. The aim of this chapter is to investigate these shifts and debates critically in order to highlight the evolution of ‘participatory’ planning approach in theory and practice with special reference to developing countries.

Firstly, I attempt to define the types of planning diffusion encountered by developing countries and their strategic impact on scoping public participation in the planning process. In the second section, I examine paradigm shifts in the global planning arena using a comparative cognitive map of planning knowledge. The impact of developments in western planning upon South Asian countries is thus traced with a view of recognising the roots of participatory approaches in both theory and practice.

2.2. Determining the Typology of Planning Diffusion

A significant volume of literature is found on the nature and extent of planning diffusion throughout different nations which commonly reflects the following themes (King, 1990; Hall, 1996; Dick and Rimmer (1998); Ward, 1990; Ward, 2000 p.42):

- The mechanism of diffusion (i.e., by utopians, reformist, practitioners, or by inter-governmental actions)
- The extent of diffusion (i.e., how planning ideas are applied in certain context)
- The fundamental causation of diffusion (i.e., how far it reflects the international relations)
- The role of importing and exporting countries in shaping and controlling of diffusion (i.e., whether the idea is borrowed or an imposition)

The last theme provides an insight into the nature of the process of diffusion of planning practice in developing countries. It demonstrates a fundamental distinction in identifying the pattern of diffusion in developing countries and the western world. Where the importing country plays the key role in determining the diffusion process and has control in tailoring the planning approach according to the host context, the process is referred to as 'diffusion by borrowing'. On the other hand, when the exporting country determines and controls the diffusion process and outcome, the process is called 'diffusion by imposition' (Ward, 2000). The former type of diffusion is observed between the countries having equal economic and political status (e.g., among developed western countries) whereas power imbalance, colonial dominance and imperial command (e.g., in case of developing countries) commonly leads to diffusion by imposition.

Figure 2.1 illustrates different borrowing and imposition patterns of planning ideas in specific contexts based on the power relationships between external and receiving countries and their controlling capacity upon the diffusion process and outcomes. It is argued that higher degree of participation can be achieved where the importing country can effectively adapt the planning approach to suit the local context.

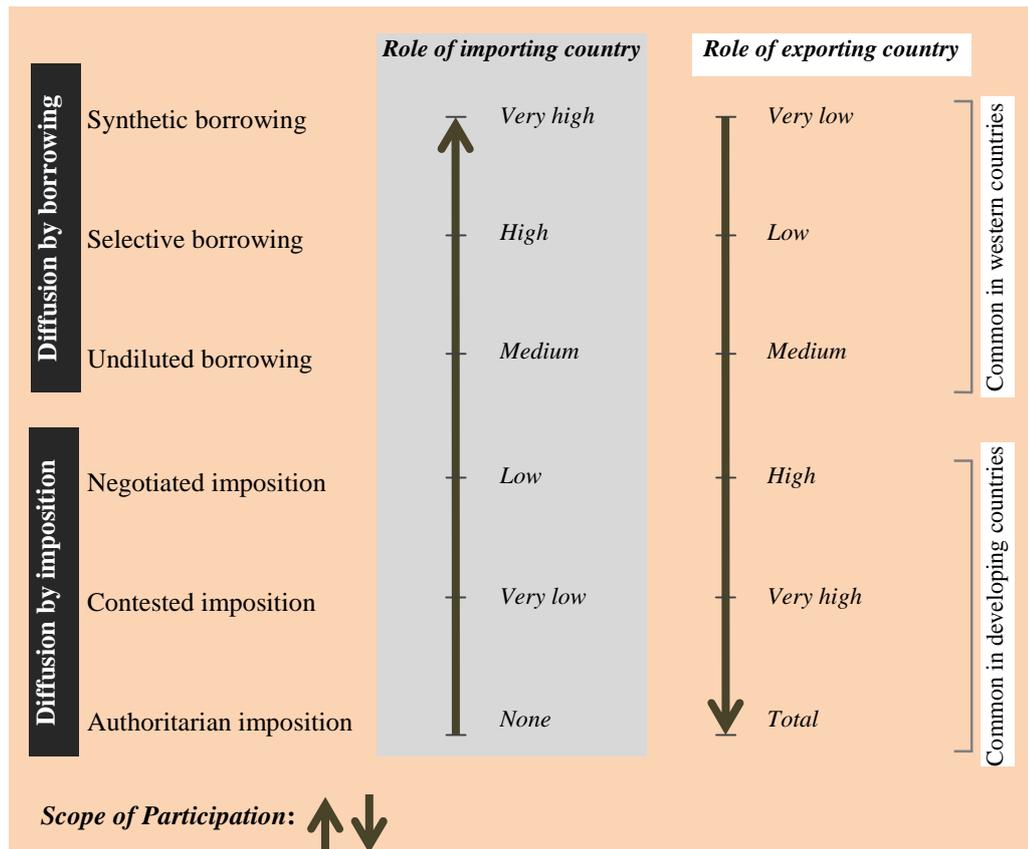


Figure 2.1: Typology of diffusion based on the role of host and external countries.

(adapted from Ward, 2000)

Conversely, the scope of participation loses its ground where the exporting country preserves the decisive authority on the diffusion process which often leads to inappropriate transfer of planning practice. According to Ward (2000), diffusion takes place by simply borrowing planning ideas and practice. In this kind of diffusion, planning models are either adapted in host country through intensive modifications to adjust with an already established planning system to create something distinctive and new (synthetic innovation), or imported to bridge up gaps in certain ideas and practices with some degree of selection and consciousness (selective engagement). A third category reveals a more derivative characteristic where external theory and practices are received in the importing country without any modification and conscious selectivity (referred to as ‘undiluted borrowing’). The process of diffusion by borrowing thus involves a range of opportunities for participation to adjust external ideas to fit into local context.

Diffusion by imposition, in contrast, is a one way flow of planning ideas and practices from developed to developing countries, where the exporting country controls the transformation process. The exporting country also plays “significant roles in setting and shaping the priorities and approaches” to planning (Okpala, 1990 p.205). Consequently, it narrows down the opportunity of public participation in the planning process within the receiving country. In most cases, such imposition is observed among countries having colonial or neo-colonial relationships. Unlike the case of ‘diffusion by borrowing’, recipient countries in this category mostly lack an established planning system and are often largely reliant on imported planning experts. For example, developing countries with colonial history were directly influenced by the planning practices and experts of the colonial power. After the decline of formal colonialism, they were exposed to “a neo-colonialism built around foreign aid and international institutions such as the United Nations or the World Bank” (Sanyal, 1990; Ward, 2000 p.41; Sanyal, 2005).

In some extreme cases, external planning practices were imposed on the host country with little consideration of indigenous interests (authoritarian imposition). Such diffusion was observed in former British and French colonies such as Algeria and South Asian countries (Malverti and Picard, 1991; Khan and Swapan, 2012). These countries often lacked effective democratic government and planning expertise and their underdeveloped civil societies left no option for modifying imported practices to accommodate local realities.

In many host countries, however, civil societies were not necessarily underdeveloped. They have shown their capacity to protest the adoption of alien forms of planning. Ward (2000) refers to this phenomenon as ‘contested imposition’. Despite the existence of a formal planning system and resources, such host countries had to seek technical and financial assistance from former colonial powers. This created situations that provoked indigenous obstruction against imported projects that were deemed not sensitive to the indigenous interests such as in case of Singapore, Morocco and Indo-China (Wright, 1991; Yeoh, 2003). Ward (2000) identifies a third category of countries that adopted a more sceptic view towards external practices and tended to ‘turn sharply away’ from the colonial planning ideals after the independence (p.52). In such cases, the recipient country had relatively more options

to tailor the imported planning models. Ward (2000) refers to this phenomenon as ‘negotiated imposition’.

Recently, international aid organizations have become increasingly involved in planning interventions in developing countries. Although initially such assistance was only available under several strict conditions (e.g., employing foreign experts)⁷, now-a-days aid agencies are more concerned about promoting and/or importing indigenous expertise, interests and participation in planning practice (Okpala, 1990; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997; Khan and Swapan, 2012).

2.3. The Changing Paradigm of Planning: Looking at the Big Picture

Major shifts in planning practice in developed countries are reflected to varying degrees in developing countries’ planning systems. In this section we examine such induced changes across South Asia. Rather than focusing exclusively on the planning theories that have influenced and shaped each paradigm, we propose to also deconstruct planning practices also from 1945 up to the 21st century. We borrow Dear’s (1986) definition of ‘deconstructing’ that refers to historicizing the tradition of planning practice, its categories and concepts, to aid in designing a cognitive map of planning knowledge. Dears (1986) mapped out the evolution of western planning context. Based on the work of Dear (1986) I have been developed a cognitive map that is reflective of the context of developing countries (Figure 2.2).

⁷ See chapter 3 for details on aid conditionalities

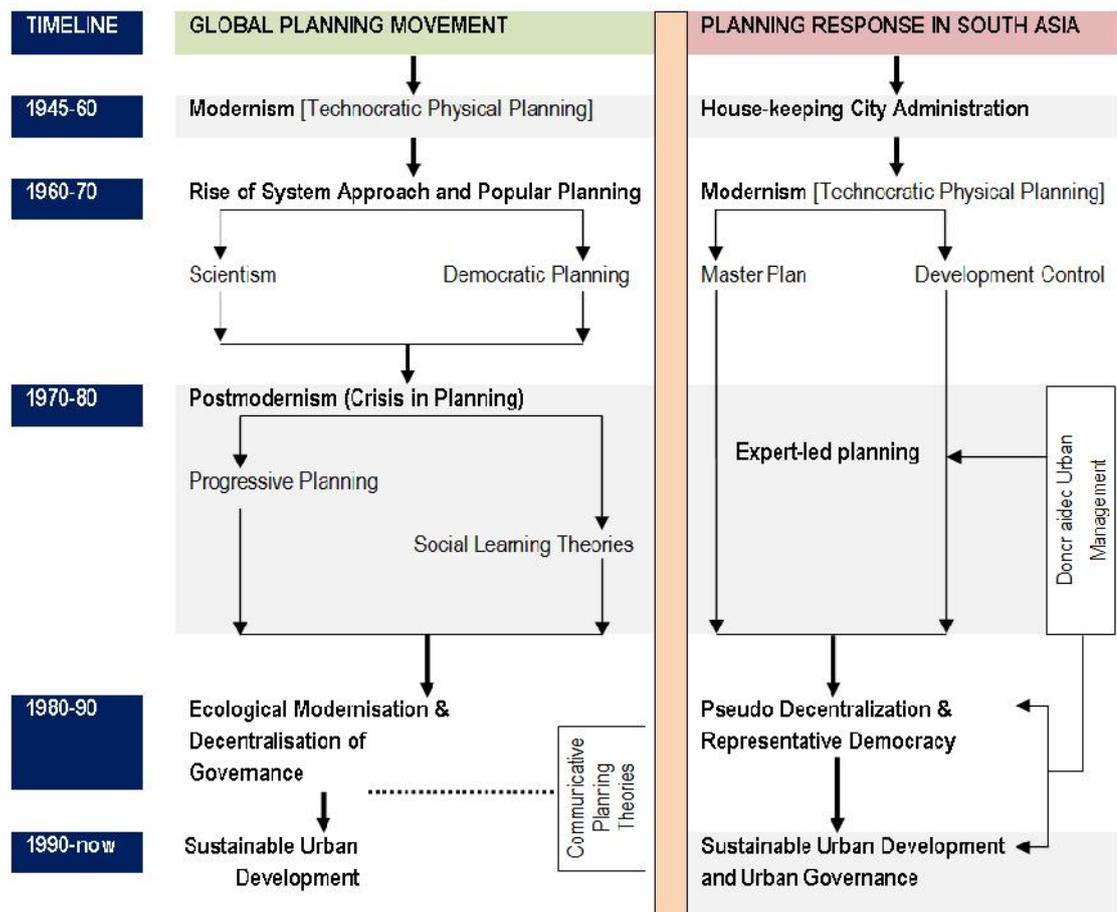


Figure 2.2: Mapping of Developments in Planning Approaches.

(Adopted and modified from Dear 1986; Davoudi 2000)

It is contended that the extension of Dear’s map allows us to gain a comparative understanding of the South Asian planning context and contemporary global movements in planning practice. In contrast to Dear’s (1986) motivation, the resultant cognitive map I have developed (Figure 2.2), seeks to trace the emergence of elements of participatory processes into the system. The British planning practice has been focused upon because of the British colonial legacy in South Asia. In view of more recent developments in contemporary planning practice the sustainability agenda and sustainable development paradigm have also been taken into account.

2.3.1. Modernism: 1945-60

Town planning in the developed world emerged out of a series of social concerns and a quest to pragmatise utopian ideas. During the late nineteenth century, most cities in the western world experienced major social crises due to rapid urbanization following industrialization (Davoudi, 2000). This inspired physical and architectural

appreciation from leading architects and thinkers of the time for improving the city form. As a result, three significant utopian ideas emerged between 1890 to 1930 associated with Ebenezer Howard (Garden City), Frank Lloyd Wright (Broadacres) and Le Corbusier (Radiant City) with a vision to create a better world. Rejecting the idea of gradual improvement, these three ideas from both sides of Atlantic, conceptualised the ideal city. These ideas were based on the belief that reforming the physical environment or the urban form could revolutionise the entire society (Fishman, 2011). Ebenezer Howard, the self-taught theorist, created the 'Garden City' concept which proposed for moderate decentralisation and cooperative socialism (Berke, 2002). Wright (1932), on the other hand, came up with the idea of 'Broadacres' that extended decentralisation beyond the small communities to the individual family home. In Broadacres, individual elements of the society were proposed to spread over the countryside and were joined together through a superhighway network. Unlike previous utopians, Le Corbusier tried to densify the capital city with his ideal "Radiant City". He proposed a vast array of large buildings in the city centre surrounded by classified areas for housing.

It is evident that the utopians focused on physical outcomes of the plan rather than the procedures involved in planning (Berke, 2002). Fishman (2011) pointed out that these ideal cities offered us a blueprint for a low density metropolis, featuring segregation of landuses, mono-functional centres and integration between the city and the countryside. Although these ideas contributed towards systemising urban development, they have been criticised for encouraging urban sprawl, a non-democratic planning approach and significantly the production of blueprints or fixed master plans (Lane, 2005). Lane (2005) identifies Patrick Geddes as the most influential thinker, who promoted the implementation of the blueprint planning concept through his logical planning structure and sequential stages of planning (survey-analysis-plan). Hall (1992) summarises the contents of these revolutionary concepts and notes that the pioneer planning ideas did not see planning as a continuous process that incorporates 'subtle and changing forces in the outside world'. He also adds that:

Their vision seems to have been that of the planner as the omniscient ruler, who should create new settlement forms ... without interference or question. The

complexities of planning in a mixed economy where private interests will initiate much of the development ... or in a participatory democracy where individuals and groups have their own, often contradictory, notions of what should happen - all of these are absent from the work of these pioneers. (p. 61)

The prescriptions of ideal cities were reinforced in the post World War II era that called for massive physical and social reconstruction in Western Europe. In response, British town planning legislations became an important model for controlled urban growth and modern town planning (Dear, 1986). During this time, blueprint planning or master plan approach was introduced. The approach was basically technocratic “.. based on rational planning (forecasting, analysis and landuse allocation), leading to the development of long term physical blueprint plans” (Rakodi, 2001 p.210). Master Plans had strong physical emphasis (landuse zoning) which lacked in strategic quality and adequate provisions for interaction with the citizens. This provided immense power to the State and planners (McNeill, 1983). Ward (2004) defines the earlier roles aspired by the planners as seeking to imagine and create Utopia, the ‘social city’. Davoudi (2000) termed this era as ‘the golden age of planning’ as planners enjoyed complete freedom in carrying out their tasks without political interference.

Soon after the adoption of blueprint plans, there was a growing recognition of the need to consider a wider range of issues, such as economic, social and environmental, to tackle rapid and complex urbanization. A series of shortcomings of the blueprint planning approach appeared in the planning literature. Some initial criticism raised concerns stemming from observations that blueprint plans were not implementable (Brown, 1966):

Every plan in the course of implementation is liable to come up against unforeseen occurrences or accidents. As an instrument of public policy it must have the capacity to survive .. . If it [blueprint plan] is mutilated beyond recognition or even finally abandoned, .. it brings into disrepute the whole concept of planning as a reliable instrument of public policy. (p.3)

Seen in retrospect, other wider impacts of blueprint and master plans were also reported. For example, Rakodi (2001) notes that the blueprint or master plans “paid

little attention to resource requirements and implementation” (p.210). The legacies of blueprint planning (e.g., apolitical, single and unified public interest) remained as a key issue in contemporary planning debate, which “played an important role in retarding” the growing realisation of community participation in theory and practice (Lane, 2005 p.289). Recent United Nations literature also notes that in this type of planning, the community and various stakeholders are not meaningfully involved in the planning process (Nallathiga, 2009).

Despite these shortcomings, the blueprint or master plan approach was exported to South Asia along with planning legislation and development control regulations replicated from the British system. Before inaugurating this approach in 1960s, urban planning in South Asia was carried out on an *ad hoc* and piecemeal basis. During the two hundred years of British rule over the Indian sub-continent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a colonial development pattern had been implemented. Colonial rulers were primarily located at the industrial agglomeration and communication nodes to exploit the colony’s resources and markets. Municipalities were established around the industry and ports to serve basic functions. In the case of present-day Bangladesh region, it was not until 1932 that the British introduced the Bengal Municipal Act in order to render better urban services, which was the first piece of legislation regarding urban government in the region (Panday and Panday 2008; Chaudhury, 2010). This legal framework strengthened the powers of municipalities in levying rates and taxes and in the utilization of development funds (Siddiqui 1994). There was, however, no organized effort at formal planning and development initiatives continued to take place on a piecemeal basis. Some exceptions, such as the plan for a residential development at Wari (a suburb in Dhaka city), were undertaken by the Dhaka Municipality, but these were mainly exercises in sub-division of land (Rahman, 2008; Chaudhury, 2010).

2.3.2. Rise of the Systems Approach and Popular Planning: 1960-70

Around the time when blueprint planning approach was implanted in South Asian countries, the western world was experiencing a fundamental shift in their planning systems to accommodate the criticisms of rigid master plans. Two major philosophies impacted upon the planning discipline: scientism and popular planning. Scientism brought the notion of systematic methodology into the planning and

popular planning promoted the concern of pluralism for decision-making (McLoughlin, 1969; Chadwick, 1971; Dear, 1986). A worldwide surge of the participatory democratic politics in western countries contributed in growing realisation of pluralism in planning. The resultant consequence of these new philosophies on planning was so significant that Thomas Kuhn termed it ‘a paradigm shift’ (Kuhn, 1996). Scientism brought the flavour of systems theory into the planning process providing rational decision-making and an initial impetus toward the substantive-procedural rift in planning (McLoughlin, 1969; Chadwick, 1971; Dear, 1986). To embrace rationalism in decision-making, contemporary planners focused on the technical soundness of planning methodology and emphasized the role of planners in controlling the system. Hence, rational planning is considered as the important departure from blueprint planning towards enhanced opportunities for targeting alternative goals and policy options (Lane, 2005).

However, the rational planning model was criticised for being ill-equipped to deal with complex urban problems that vary with time and place. First, the approach was developed around the perception of a homogenous society which rejected the diverse circumstances in which policy problems arise. Such notion deliberately reduces the imperative for community participation and justifies participation only to legitimise or validate planning goals (Kiernan, 1983; see also Lane, 2005). Secondly, the ideology of unitary public interest made it difficult to establish planning strategies upon which to take actions especially in dealing equitably with socially disadvantaged groups (Zhang, 2006). The model was also criticised for its over-emphasis on the need for intensive data collection and for its downplaying of the role of politicians in decision-making who, in reality, would have ultimate influence on deciding on a plan (Stiftel, 2000).

The deliberation and critiques of the rational model during this decade were also influenced by a radical change in global political ideology – as participatory democratic politics began to occur. Incremental planning by Lindblom (1959) and advocacy planning by Davidoff (1965) were two influential developments in this regard (Mäntysalo, 2005). Lindblom critiqued the rational planning model that referred to as ‘synoptic planning’ for its extensive preparation process, technical difficulties and greater uncertainty (Zhang, 2006). He reminded planners of the

‘critical role of politics in planning’ emphasizing the social practice of short term planning (incrementalism) adopted by planners instead of relying heavily on numbers and quantitative analysis (Mäntysalo, 2005 p.29; Lane, 2005). In this regard, he discovered a three-fold planning practice which reflected incremental characteristics of contemporary planning actions: short term planning; relying on existing planning policies and expertise gained from former similar projects; and broadening planning knowledge by involving various interest groups to the process (Mäntysalo, 2005). Referring to the third agenda, Lindblom sought to bring pluralism in public planning and decision-making through his ‘partisan mutual adjustment’ model. The model signifies the need of bargaining and mutual decision-making between various interest groups. Though such criticism led to more pragmatic models that provided mechanism for the incorporation of other actors, public participation in planning and decision-making remained largely restricted. Moreover, Cates (1979) argues that this model was established on the ground of seeking agreement between the interest groups and their competing values through compromise which she termed as a ‘lose/lose game’ (p.528).

Later, Davidoff (1965) pushed the idea of advocacy planning, challenging the notion of value neutral nature of planning and its indifference to the needs of disadvantaged groups (Zhang, 2006). The concept became popular with concurrent civil rights movement in the United States of America. The new turn in politics also pointed to a growing realisation of the need to involve citizens in planning and decision-making. Davidoff advocated a new role for planners to provide planning services on behalf of low income and minority neighbourhoods. He advised that a cadre of ‘advocate planners’ would be physically located in neighbourhoods to represent them in city planning process (Stiftel, 2000). Lane (2005) claimed that advocacy planning represented a fundamental breakthrough in public participation by bringing the unheard and invisible interests into consideration. According to Dear (1986), however:

. . . citizen participation did not significantly alter the balance of power in development decisions, although advocacy planning enjoyed a relatively brief vogue as a means of enfranchising citizen groups. The net effect of 1960s populism was to place planning irrevocably on the political agenda. Perhaps in no period since has

the structure of political power been so rawly exposed as in these early community battles. (p.378)

In contrast, following the break from their western connection due to national independence, South Asian cities latched on to the colonial legacy left behind by the British. They were thus aligned to and looking up to the west for cutting edge planning concepts and processes of the day. The partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 that marked the end of the colonial era saw state and provincial capitals receive huge influx of refugees who migrated between India, Pakistan and present-day Bangladesh (Banerjee and Chakravorty, 1994; Kochanek, 2000). While independence from the British rule provided an opportunity for the sub-continent to re-establish traditional indigenous governance systems from the pre-colonial era, this was not capitalised upon. In India, for example, Przeworski notes that while “some people advocated basing the 1950 Constitution of India on the tradition of the *panchayat raj* system, in the end the constitution ‘was to look toward Euro-American rather than Indian precedents’ (Guha 2007: 119)” (2010, p.3). Pakistan also followed suit. Instead, the Master Plan approach was introduced into the sub-continent during 1960s largely influenced by the British planning system. This led to enactment of Town Planning Acts in the newly independent countries (India and Pakistan including present-day Bangladesh) that provided legislative frameworks for the preparation of master plan for cities like Mumbai, Karachi and Dhaka. Blueprint plans aimed at planned landuse development and development control were designed by foreign consulting firms. These plans reflected neither adequate consideration of the local context nor the capacity and resources of local administration. As a result, the first generation master plans had limited effect in terms of action on the ground and the plans and maps thus prepared were eventually shelved. Rakodi (2001) also notes that the local authorities’ fiscal base and limited autonomy undermined their capacity to deal with issues arising from rapid urban growth contributing to the poor performance of first generation master plans.

2.3.3. Postmodernism: 1970-80

Stemming from the debate over incrementalism and advocacy planning, planning theories diverged into various directions regarding process and contents of planning. Faludi (1973) tried to refine these directions and identified two major typologies:

‘theory of planning’ (procedural) and ‘theory in planning’ (substantive). However, the debate on planning process and fundamental function of planning in a society remained unresolved. It led to a ‘crisis in planning theory’ by the mid-1970s (Stiftel, 2000 p.9). A group of scholars pushed for a more radical direction towards a new institutional arrangement to accommodate the needs of the poor. This bottom-up approach spawned the ‘progressive planning’ movement to promote social justice, participation and legitimacy (Grabow and Heskin, 1973; Zhang, 2006). Another radical critique was developed around the apolitical nature of contemporary planning and ascertained the importance of political manifestations of planning theory. This also brought forth the realisation that incorporating this complexity into scientism was overambitious and unrealistic. As a result, social planning theories were introduced into planning to deconstruct the facilitative role of planners as well as identifying political interest. Social planning theories emphasised social learning (face-to-face contact), sharing of experiences with related interest groups and building consensus. Based on social learning models, Friedmann (1987) promoted ‘transactive planning’, arguing that, “.. citizens and civic leaders, not planners, had to be at the core of planning if plans were to be implemented” (Stiftel, 2000 p.9). Thus, transactive planning suggested both citizen integration into the planning system as well as decentralising planning institutions to empower them (Lane, 2005). The ground breaking model first established the importance of institutional commitments towards participation along with encouraging citizen to actively take part in the decision-making process.

By the late 1970s, planners had a growing realisation that an over-emphasise on scientism and exacerbated isolation from political decision-makers narrowed down their influence on urban development (Zhang, 2006). Planners increasingly confronted with complex urban problems and traditional planning theories came up with unsatisfactory solutions. The globalising process stimulated to bring unified response from both sides of Atlantic towards diversified and pragmatic manifestations of planning theories. Forester (1989) emphasises on the need for widespread availability of data and consensus building through communication (Stiftel, 2000). Here the term ‘communication’ does not refer to communicating a chain of commands “.. but as a way of understanding the context of different individuals and interests and fostering mutual understanding (Brownill and

Carpenter, 2007p.403). Forester's communicative planning theory was largely influenced by the Habermas theory of communicative rationality developed around the late 1970s (Mäntysalo, 2005).

The social orientation of planning and the new communicative role of planners did not bring about any significant change to the South Asian planning practice during the decade that remained quite immune to the new wave of planning thoughts. Most of the cities continued to uphold the obsolete and unsuccessful tradition of master plans. Some cities, however, attracted attention from international donor agencies in the formulation of (*ad hoc*) plans for specific sectors, e.g. housing, water supply and transport. The Ford Foundation, for example, introduced plans in Kolkata (India) that focused on the economy and infrastructure of the city adopting the methodology promoted as part of Action Planning. Similar projects were commissioned in Lahore (Pakistan) by the World Bank to improve the water supply for the City (McNeill, 1983). However, working with international aid agencies did not necessarily lead to positive learning experience for the local authorities as they frequently failed to satisfy their appraisal requirements. International aid agencies were primarily concerned with economic viability and cost recovery of their investments and promoted project based development. They nevertheless contributed to effecting a shift in urban planning practice in these developing countries.

2.3.4. Ecological Modernisation: 1980-90

Towards the end of 1970s, a growing concern about environmental degradation was observed. The emerging concept of ecological modernisation promoted more environmental sensitive planning as the desired, refined product of planning along with addressing issues related to social complexity. It advocated the introduction of policy instruments to safeguard the city environment from the impacts of economic development, which was labelled and marketed under the banner of 'sustainability' (Whatmore and Boucher, 1993). Perhaps the landmark development in this regard was the publication of the Brundtland Commission Report (1987) that popularised the concept of 'sustainable development' in terms of social, economic and environmental objectives, marking the advent of new a paradigm.

Earlier utopian city forms such as Garden City, Broadacres and Radiant City did not explicitly promote the dimensions of sustainability. Though it could be argued that the Garden City model addressed these concerns, this concept was not applied to promote sustainability related objectives in the various forms of implementation of garden city projects. With the popularity of the sustainable development concept, traditional urban design and physical planning made a comeback, delivering a vision of sustainable and equitable community development. This new design oriented approach became popular as 'new urbanism' (Fainstein, 2000; Berke, 2002). The idea of new urbanism is rooted in Howard's vision of Garden City that evolved in the United Kingdom and the City Beautiful movement in the United States. New urbanism promotes spatial relations among landuses and social communities through mixed-use low-density development, an enhanced sense of community, a reduction in automobile dependency and the protection of open space (Berke, 2002). The promise of new urbanism can thus be seen as reflecting the three dimensions of sustainable development objectives. However, the movement has been criticised for repeating "the same fallacy of the architectural and planning styles it criticizes" and not recognising "the fundamental difficulty with modernism was its persistent habit of privileging spatial forms over social processes" (Harvey, 1997 p.2). Thus it appears as less convincing in its approach to addresses social injustice and inequalities (Fainstein, 2000).

Apart from the sustainability movement, theoretical debates in planning in developed countries also began to engage with concepts of communicative and collaborative planning. Communicative planning theories have substantial influence in shaping the nature of community participation in planning and in determining various facilitative roles of planners. They also address some key complexities of theoretical discourse in planning such as: uncertainty, ambiguity, mutual adjustment and power-relations in the society (Mäntysalo, 2005; Lane, 2005). Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002) identified a number of mutations of communicative planning theories since late 1980s, such as 'planning through debate', 'communicative planning', 'collaborative planning', 'argumentative planning' and 'deliberative planning' (p.5). These concepts are considered to have made critical contributions in emphasising and designing effective community participation in planning tasks. Section 2.5 takes an account of the development and manifestations of the communicative planning

debate in developing countries focusing on how this new direction in planning theory plays out in developing world and impacts on citizen participation.

Like previous paradigms of planning, environmental concerns entered into the planning system of the South Asian region with a time lag. Concerns for the sustainability of the environment had not entered the planning discourse as such when the 1992 Rio earth summit brought home the message with the ratification of LA21 by national governments. It is contended that it was the international aid agencies' requirements for local governments to form partnership ventures with the local community (as required by Chapter 24 of LA21) rather than the trend of 'new urbanism' or the concept of communicative planning that made any significant impact on planning practice in South Asia. Due to pressure from international aid agencies, rather than growing out of sustained debates and discussions, local authorities attempted [mostly unsuccessful] exercises in participatory planning and decentralisation of government.

The failure to capitalise on the opportunity to effect decentralisation could be explained in terms of unwise utilisation of a foreign prescription made possible by a non-democratic political environment. From national independence until early 1990s, South Asian nations, especially Bangladesh and Pakistan experienced volatile political environment with non-democratic (military) rule, which was characterized by centralized control (Rahman, 2008). It is noteworthy, however, that significant reforms aimed at decentralizing local government and administration were initiated by the army rulers (Westergaard and Alam, 1995). The stated aim of decentralisation reforms was to strengthen local administration and to ensure efficient and participatory urban management. In reality, there was no synergy between local government, civil society and the masses, which resulted in power imbalance between the various levels of government and polarization of resource allocations. At the end of the day, power was not transferred to the local authorities and they were made to serve as the franchise of the central government (Veron, 2001). These reforms were exercises in streamlining organisational structures to facilitate dealings between international development aid agencies and non-government organisations (NGOs) through local governments, reflecting LA21 principles as required by donor agencies. Because of their superficiality, perhaps, the decentralised structures have

been abolished and revived from time to time, coinciding with changes in government and in the process causing huge losses of physical and financial resources.

2.3.5. Planning Practice since 1990s: Sustainable Development and Urban Governance

LA21 inspired a global surge of initiatives from around the early 1990s that sought to address the dimensions of sustainable development and to strengthen local government. It led to realising the need for devising mechanisms to facilitate meeting good governance agenda within the local context. Planning in the West also faced new urban complexities such as multiculturalism, globalisation vs. localisation and managing global cities. Putnam (1995) identified the critical role of 'social capital' in seeking diversities in participation derived from multiculturalism and subsequent collective actions in the society. According to his social capital theory, social network has valuable positive impacts on the community and can help in solving urban problems regarding localisation (Zhang, 2006). Putnam (1995) observed a declining trend of sense of urbanism and civic engagement in the American society and cautioned that increasing social disengagement might lead to social crisis and unsustainable planning in the face of globalisation.

Western countries began their journey to effectively involve citizens in planning during 1970s as the political ideology shifted. The theory and practice regarding participation has already undergone a number of developments to accommodate contemporary urban problems derived from multi-faced manifestation of socio-political issues. The paradigm shift in metropolitan planning rooted in the 1970s came to be manifested in the South Asian region during early 1990s when a new phase of spatial planning was heralded by the new generation plans. As a result, metropolitan development plans were prepared for major cities across this region like Mumbai, Karachi and Dhaka. These plans were significantly more flexible than the first generation blueprint master plans and took into consideration economic, social and environmental factors. This shift of paradigm could, however, be attributed largely to efforts by international aid organisations (such as World Bank, ADB and UNDP) and foreign consultants, directed towards strategic planning and good governance (Sobhan, 1998; Imran, 2008). The shift of paradigm was again a reaction

to the agenda driven by international aid agencies rather than resulting from attempts to meet any shortcomings of the master plan approach previously in place. The new system, like its predecessor, did not take into consideration local realities.

It is evident from the above discussion that South Asian cities were heavily influenced by these colonisers' planning and legislative system. In opting to continue to build on their colonial legacy, the newly independent nations failed to undertake any serious reassessment of traditional governance models. City administrators were preoccupied with managing migration on unprecedented scales. The general transfer of rural poverty to urban areas was further exacerbated by millions of refugees created due to major political events of the Sub-continent's partition. From the start, these nations were forced to seek and depend on foreign aid for development. This established a mentality of dependence that looked to developed nations for both material and social technologies. The dependence saw the import of externally evolved ideology and planning approaches from time to time that did not necessarily match or respond to the local context.

The 'western' planning practice evident in developed economies, evolved in situations where economic standards were rising, technological development was guaranteed and political democracy ensured (Khan and Swapan, 2013). In stark contrast, the planning systems in developing nations of South Asia were beset with urban poverty, pseudo urbanisation (urbanisation without industrialisation) and political turmoil. The mismatch led to the growth of an extensive informal sector within the urban economy and expansive informal human settlements that generally fell out of the ambit of the planning and legislative frameworks in place (Swaminathan, 1991). This has been a common experience in much of the developing countries across the world. It serves to emphasize that planning procedures and concepts that work in one context should not be expected to be effective in a different context without at least deliberate and extensive alterations and adaptations.

2.4. Western Influence on Planning Education in Developing Countries

Western influence on planning education in developing countries is perhaps more pervasive in the longer term than the influence of colonial legacy of planning

practice. Developing countries tend to favour importing planning knowledge and technologies over attempt to develop locally evolved or indigenous planning education and planning practice (Blair, 1987). The western planning technology is channelised into the education system of developing countries for mainly two reasons. First, most planners seek higher academic qualifications from planning schools in the west to join the elite within the academics and/or profession. On the other hand, the structure and curriculum of planning degrees in developing countries was transplanted and thus reflects the British and American systems. Secondly, the western planning schools continue to play a significant role in training the local planners. Lack of planning literature with special reference to local context, in turn, compel the universities in those countries to design western based curriculum. As Qadeer (1993) notes, developing countries remain deficient in meeting the planning educational needs as well as incapable of dealing with the problems of massive urbanisation. In general, the planning profession in developing countries operates within a limited set of options: either the local planner is sent to overseas to acquire contemporary planning knowledge or technology or else foreign experts are recruited as consultants to guide urban development projects.

However, the applicability of British or American city centre skyline in developing countries seeking a solution to mass housing problems has always been questioned (Zetter, 1981). Planning education, to a large extent, evolves from local political, social and economic traditions of the country of origin (Koenigsberger, 1979). Therefore, the transferability and relevance of western planning knowledge to developing countries “may be much more limited than we are prepared to acknowledge” (Zetter, 1981 p.22)

2.5. Communicative Turn in Planning

There is an emerging consensus that there has been a communicative turn in the planning debate since the late 1980s (Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000; Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2002). This turn has been described as a new planning paradigm by Patsy Healey. The approach, often termed as ‘communicative or collaborative planning’ developed in response to the critiques of comprehensive rational planning and builds on Habermas’s theory of communicative rationality (Brownill and Carpenter, 2007). Fainstein (2000) also recognises its manifestation with American

pragmatism developed by John Dewey and Richard Rorty. Dewey and Rorty's philosophy focuses on empiricism that brings the examples of best practices in democratic planning, while communicative rationality represents an ideal framework of 'empirical knowledge to guide actions' (Healey, 1992 p.147; see also Fainstein, 2000). The 'Communicative turn' is considered as the shift in planning theory from technocratic solutions to more interaction-oriented types of planning, which sets out a vision of undertaking dialogue among all stakeholders and seeking consensus through communication. The idea entails significant participation from the affected groups and promotes a multidimensional model where communication, learning and action co-exist to achieve consensus. From the very beginning, communicative planning has received a number of theoretical directions from various intellectual schools of thought and has undergone a series of mutations. Some popular examples are: 'planning through debate' (Healey, 1992), 'communicative planning' (Healey, 1992; Innes, 1995), 'argumentative planning' (Fischer and Forester, 1993), 'collaborative planning' (Healey, 1997) and 'deliberative planning' (Forester, 1999) (also see Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2002 p.5). More specifically, it is referred to as 'collaborative planning' (Healey, 1997) in the literature and 'deliberative planning' in the US literature (Forester, 1999). Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002 p.6) refer to these transformations as 'theoretical pulses' of communicative planning allied to the Habermasian thinking. Despite various labels of theoretical pulses, their core proposition relies on promoting social justice and environmental sustainability through conflict management and seeking consensus among the stakeholders which emphasizes the importance of community participation and collaborative decision-making in planning (Kumar and Paddison, 2000; Mäntysalo, 2005).

2.5.1. Theoretical development and participatory proposition

During recent decades planning theories have undergone two dominant philosophies. Top-down approach (such as rational planning) shaped the theoretical directions and practice in planning until 1990s. Such planning was more concerned with planning outcomes rather than process and actors. The second approach promotes a concept of bottom-up planning focusing more on effective and efficient planning process. Unlike the top-down direction, this alternative direction stresses the emancipatory participation through debate, negotiation and discourse (Brownill and Carpenter,

2007; Mohammadi, 2010). Communicative planning has been presented as an alternative for rational planning and subsequent development in planning theories which are criticised for separating planning from politics and organisational complexities. Forester (1989) recognises that planning practice is more or less communicative and argumentative and involves not only formal procedures or technical elements but also informal consultation and political sophistication. Unlike rational planning, this new direction lays emphasis upon communicative rationality rather than instrumental rationality which is crystallised out of a discursive process. Woltjer (2000) lists the differences between rational planning and communicative or participative rationality to recognise the increasing opportunities for participation (Table 2.1):

Table 2.1: Key differences between rational and communicative approach recognising the scope of participation

Theme	Rational planning	Communicative/participatory planning
Strategy	Top-down	Bottom-up, or synergy between top and bottom; collaborative; egalitarian power structure
Planning process	Less emphasis on the specifics of local context, often driven by concerns for economic efficiency	Approach is multi-dimensional and context specific, driven by local knowledge and concerns for economic equity
Role of planners and citizens	Planners are experts/technical specialist and locals are beneficiaries	Locals are experts, outsiders are facilitators
Power	Centralised at planning agencies	Fragmented or dispersed use
Effectiveness	Based on goals achievement	Based on reaching agreement or consensus among stakeholders
Outcome Objectives	Pre-determined, concrete and empirically derived	Evolving outcome objectives; Process and outcome in constant dialogue

Sources: Modified from Woltjer (2000); Schafft and Greenwood, 2003

Mäntysalo (2005) notes the improved political manifestation of communicative planning over Lindblom's theory of partisan mutual adjustment. He argues that such adjustment does not consider the potentials of undertaking dialogues rather it suggests mutual agreement through bargaining and compromise of the related stakeholders only. Thus, it may lead to an unfair contest between the stakeholders in

the face of power. There is also a risk of exclusion of new interest groups who might be affected due to the implementation of the plan. Communicative planning claims to overcome these shortcomings by inviting potential stakeholders to contribute in debate and negotiation. Forester (1993) views communicative turn as a response to two critical dimensions of planning problems: uncertainty and ambiguity. Uncertainty, the technical dimension of planning, emerges due to lack of information, time and resources to carry out planning tasks. It requires professional inquiry and rational methodology which are mostly controlled by the planner. Forester (1993) argues that planning problem is also concerned with political complexities leading to ambiguity. Political dimension determines the 'legitimacy of the ends and means of planning' as well as the opportunities for co-existence of various stakeholders in the face of the 'power game' that persists in the society (Mäntysalo, 2005 p.8). Thus, planners need to address planning problems with political judgement and through the understanding of planning context and justifying proposed options. Habermas' theory of communicative action also brought similar distinction between the dimensions of planning problems, referring to them as: system (related with uncertainty) and lifeworld (focused on political dimension/mutual consensus) (Habermas, 1987).

Habermas defines system as a reproduction of power and money which is instrumentally oriented towards self-regarded success instead of mutual understanding. This mechanism often downplays the socio-cultural context of the society and disregards the prospect of mutual consensus by continuously distorting the communicative action in the lifeworld (Habermas, 1987). To determine the conditions of a lifeworldly communication for consensus, Habermas developed the concept of communicative rationality. Communicative rationality acknowledges the limitations of knowledge on planning problems and proposes an 'ideal speech situation'. This idealistic platform perceives a shared space in the absence of typical power and economic relations, where we can only exercise the power for better argument towards a mutual consensus irrespective of our conflicting interests (Mäntysalo, 2005). However, Habermasian view on utilising the power in defining lifeworld has also met with severe criticism by the Foucauldian planning theorists. In Foucault's thought the traditional role of power cannot be separated from the lifeworld, rather it is manifested with structuring of socio-cultural context of the

society (Flyvbjerg, 1998a; McGuirk, 2001; Hillier, 2002). Therefore, “. .. instead of an outer distortion to the individuals’ communication, power is thus seen as a constructive force, which shapes the individuals’ understandings and perceptions” (Mäntysalo, 2005 p.11).

2.5.2. Communicative planning in practice

In the late 1980s, communicative planning theory (cf. Healey, 1992) suggested a new role for planners from the ‘all knowing systematised planning to mediating planners’ (Lehtonen, 2005 p.150). Based on Habermas’ (1987) theory of communicative action, this body of theoretical knowledge recognised that planning actions were no more considered as non-political rather it became a political agenda involving power relation, consensus building and conflict resolution (Healey, 1997; Lehtonen, 2005). Forester (1989), Healy (1997) and Innes and Booher (1999) further develop the theoretical basis of communicative turn in planning and promotes this idea for planning and decision-making to exercise as the language of conversation and communication in practice (Bedford et al., 2002). Forester (1989) emphasising the utilisation of ‘information’ to empower the citizens, suggests planners can modify the exertion of political power in the planning process. Healy (1992, 1997, 2003), on the other hand, viewed planning practice through the debate among all stakeholders and called for a collaborative planning approach. She further refined the theoretical interpretation of communicative planning and underscored the importance of social and institutional capacity through increased collaboration and networks (Healey, 1999).

Collaborative planning was particularly welcomed by the practitioners for promoting commitment to implementation with creative solutions, enhanced social capital and diminishing risk of social conflicts (Margerum, 2002; Mahjabeen et al., 2009). It focuses on “formal institutionalised relationship among existing networks of institutions, interests and/or individuals” (Ladkin and Bertramini, 2010 p.73). Collaborative process “seek[s] to address the interests of all, [including] public agencies, powerful private interests, and disadvantaged citizens - [who] are treated equally within the discussions” (Innes and Booher, 2004 p.426). In this regard, scholars emphasis the requirements of free flow of information and trustworthiness between the stakeholders and the planning agency to ensure effective dialogue and

decision-making (Hanna, 2000; Ladkin and Bertramini, 2010). Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (1998) believe that individual citizen will morally decide to engage in the planning process where the participation space is founded on truth, openness, honesty, legitimacy, and integrity. Thus, it fails to consider that individual can obfuscate the facts and judgements for their own benefits or can deliberately refuse to participate (Mohammadi, 2010). Therefore,

a really successful process of communicative planning is impossible as long as power and political action are the dominant factors. In other words, in a severe political field like planning, reaching to consensus is completely utopian and unrealistic. There are always winners and losers and it can hardly be imagined all participants behave neutrally and impartially and relinquish their own interests and political positions forever. (Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger, 1998 cited in Mohammadi, 2010 p.29)

The idea of collaboration and dialogue and decision-making has been extensively practiced since the mid-1990s in municipal finance and participatory budgeting specifically in Latin American cities (Cabannes, 2004). Participatory budgeting is based upon three key principles that promotes wide practice of community participation in decision making (Sintomer et al., 2008): the first principle refers to grass root democracy carried out by involving individual citizen in the budget session; social justice, the second principle is maintained through allocating funds among the regions based on participants' need and priorities; finally citizen control is ensured through a monitoring council consisting of local representatives engaged in co-plan with the administration.

Innes (1996) further developed the concept of consensus building to signify the importance of equal treatment of all stakeholders in a collaborative decision-making process. The concept of stakeholder can be defined as a “net to capture the articulate and the silent, the powerful and the powerless, and those within a territorial political community and those beyond its boundaries” (Ladkin and Bertramini, 2010 p.73; also see Healey, 1997)⁸. There was a wide adoption of consensus building practice observed in regulatory negotiation, environmental and resource management, health,

⁸ It should be acknowledged that stakeholder theory is used in this research with a narrow view as it focuses only on a certain type of stakeholder (general citizen), as analysing the positions of other local governments' stakeholders goes beyond the scope of this study.

budgeting and many other arenas (Innes, 2004). However, equal participation of various stakeholders has been criticised for disregarding different interests and levels and power of authority (Hiller, 2003). Innes (2004), in response, showed her doubt about the process and context of consensus building against normative conditions required for the inclusion of a full range of stakeholders and for mutual understanding of interests. That notion signifies the participatory democratisation of planning process for effective outcomes. Ladkin and Bertramini (2010) emphasis on building trust between the actors (such as citizens and planning agency) that motivate the citizens to participate more willingly.

In more recent work, Innes and Booher (2004) argue that participation is more restricted to two-way formal interaction between citizens and government but should be seen as multi-way formal and informal interaction among all actors which “involves fluidaction and power distributed widely in society” (p.429). The concept provides a comprehensive view of citizens’ participation in the planning process and suggests that, “effective participation requires a systems perspective that supports and builds on the interactions among public sector agencies, non-profits, business organisations, advocacy groups and foundations which make up the complex evolving reality of contemporary society” (p.429). Araujo and Bramwell (1999), on the other hand, suggest that citizens must have the skills and willingness to participate. Furthermore, the success of the participatory process is not only vested upon planning agencies, but also on the "motivations, personalities and perceived roles of the [citizens]" (Ladkin and Bertramini, 2010 p.74; also see Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger, 1998).

The diffusion and subsequent incorporation of international planning concepts and techniques in developing countries takes considerable time to complete. Planning theories and practice evolved in the West therefore tend to be transferred with a time lag without much consideration of their limitations in local context. It is more a question of logistics rather than any process of identification and rectification of any inherent limitations or incompatibility of the concepts within the context of developing countries.

The recent communicative turn in planning theory (Healey, 1992) should thus be expected to be translated into the developing context. In keeping with past trend, the likely agents for the change are the international aid agencies who play an active role in urban development initiatives in developing countries and who accomplish for the bulk of the major planning projects. As these agencies have exposure to both developing and developed world, they have brought 'new' ideologies as part of their development agenda (e.g., sustainable development and good governance) in developing countries with a view of making its planning practice more pragmatic. The core ideas of collaborative planning and consensus building have initially been transplanted to mediate decisions regarding community development and environmental management issues. The development fund released for community development, forest management and conservation, tourism planning and water supply and sanitation projects in these countries is used to come with certain conditions such as stakeholder analysis, collaborative decision-making and consensus building (Njoh, 2002; Lise, 2000; Tosun, 2000 and 2006). Application of such concepts in promoting community participation in physical planning activities is still limited. Due to the dependency on foreign aids, city planning agencies in developing countries are increasingly concerned about the information dissemination and seeking community needs (Rahman, 2008). However, such initiatives incorporate major stakeholders (such as public departments, NGOs and professional bodies) and political and community representatives only rather than addressing the mass people, which is not sufficient enough to meet the core principles of community participation (RAJUK, 2000; Rahman, 2008; KDA, 2010).

2.6. Power-relations and participation in planning

Planning has a political nature and it is often sensitive to power structure exist within the society. In this research, power is conceptualised as the involvements of citizens in formal or informal network to dominate the flow and distribution of resources. Power is reflected from the energy flowing from the network which is understood as a complex set of social relations. Ideally, the planning system should direct, prevent, and stimulate such flows in various directions to ensure optimum level of participation and resource distribution (Hillier, 2000).

In relation to practicing participatory planning, Cornwall (2004) reminds us that

spaces for participation are not neutral, rather they appear as the fundamentals for exercising power which brings both positive and negative outcomes, contradictions and dilemmas (also see Foucault, 1984). Often it “leads to undesirable outcomes that are not compatible with social and moral criteria” (Mohammadi, 2010 p.30). However, this is not always about exercising power over others but the dynamics is highly contextual and derived from the local tradition, histories, experiences and practice. These contextual social ingredients “come to constitute particular spaces that infuse them with power” (p.80). For example, status of social capital and involvement in informal socio-political network often determines citizens’ access to the formal planning process and urban services in developing countries (Bardhan 1998; Khan, 1998; Hillier, 2000; Bedford et al., 2002). Gaventa (2004c) further adds that “power relations help to shape the boundaries of participatory spaces, what is possible within them, and who may enter, with which identities, discourses and interests ... [which may help to] understand power as the network of social boundaries that delimit fields of possible action” (p.34). Schafft and Greenwood (2003) notes that “participatory methods may foster democratic process, they do not erase power differentials. Participation may help to level the playing field, but the power relations that have historically structured community interaction will partially structure the processes and outcomes of participation” (p.21). There is a few research available on power-structure reflecting the socio-political network exist in developing countries, however, works regarding power-relations between the urban actors effecting participatory decision-making is absent Bardhan 1998; Khan, 1998; Bedford et al., 2002). Therefore, I intend to investigate the context of developing countries to determine the nature of power-structure prevails and how they affect planning decision-making as well as community participation in the planning process

2.7. Conclusion

A deconstructive view of the planning practice in South Asia suggests that a number of opportunities to develop local institutional capacities and systems may have been wasted. As British colonizers left, ‘western’ systems continued to be incorporated taking the focus away from the need to adopt, augment and revive traditional governance and administration systems. The challenge of dealing with unprecedented influx of refugees could largely explain why urban administrators opted for the imported state-of-the-art planning technology to handle the big

problems through equally large scale plans. Consequently, imported planning technology previously dispensed by colonial bureaucrats began to be delivered by foreign experts. Knowledge of the local context or cultural sensitivity did not, therefore, significantly temper the planning approach.

In recent years, international aid agencies frequently demand that specified targets of participatory planning, accountability and transparency are met through the implementation of the projects they fund. There is an urgent need to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of urban governance in this region. Setting up targets for good urban governance by aid agencies, although commendable, will not be sufficient by themselves. Continued reliance on imported planning technology will prevent the development of local institutional capacities.

Existing planning theories and practice, on the other hand, are often criticised for non-sensitivity towards the spectrum of social complexity (e.g., social capital and trust), power-relations among actors and status of democratic governance in the planning agencies. The recent conceptual development, as illustrated by Innes and Booher (2004), thus dissolve many dilemmas of theory and practice regarding citizens' participation in the planning process. It also provides this research a fundamental direction towards examining the context, actors and factors affecting effective participation in developing countries by going beyond the formal interaction between citizens and the planning agencies.

CHAPTER: 3

Participation in the Developing World's Context

“Participation” is no longer a concept belonging to people, although they originated it with their own philosophy. Participation excluded people long ago and now, it belongs to the international vernacular of development professionals (Siriwardena, 1991 p.123).

3.1. Introduction

The practice of public participation in developing countries is largely manifested with the increasing interventions of international aid agencies in development. The support, in fact, originally was channeled through an expert-driven approach, namely Official Development Assistance (ODA). The developed countries started the saga of ODA in the early 1960s by transferring resources, expertise, knowledge and tools to the developing countries (Tandon, 2008). The effort was further encouraged by the experts from affiliated organizations of the United Nations and international financial organisations [such as World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Asian Development Bank (ADB), African Development Bank] and donor countries⁹ [e.g., USA, UK, Japan and Sweden] contributing in the development of post-colonial world (Khan and Swapan, 2012). The past several decades of development funding utilised through top-down and expert-led approach has demonstrated failures in gaining project objectives and sustainability in these countries (Khwaja, 2004; Ferrero and Zepeda, 2008). It emphasised the need for theorizing and providing better frameworks and practical approaches for development interventions (Ferrero and Zepeda, 2008). As a result, aid agencies have shown a growing interest in local participation for channeling their fund. In response, the World Bank ‘formally adopted a Participation Policy in 1994’ (Blackburn et al., 2000; Tandon, 2008 p.289). This led to an increasing effort in scaling up participation in government programmes in developing countries around the world¹⁰. Furthermore, contemporary

⁹ Usually disburse fund through international development programmes for developing countries (Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012).

¹⁰ For a detailed analysis of these processes (followed in India, Indonesia and Tanzania), see Blackburn et al., 2000 and Long, 2001.

advancement in development theories (such as RRA/PRA, Community-based Development and participatory poverty reduction strategies) led to ‘a platform for synergizing donors’ approaches to mainstreaming participation in all their projects’ (Tandon, 2008 p.289). Mansuri and Rao (2003) note that the World Bank’s aid assistance for participatory projects (also referred to as ‘community-driven’ or ‘community-based’ projects) has gone up from \$325 million in 1996, to \$2 billion in 2003 (p.2). Such projects included both government and NGOs initiatives in local development highlighting the catalytic role of emerging civil societies.

By the mid-1990s, a global trend was observed in engaging communities at local level development programmes including urban development and management, afforestation, health care, education and economic development. The participation agenda was further reinforced by the emergence of participatory democracy in political arena and decentralisation of urban local government in developing countries around the world. It enhanced local representation in the planning process through elected community leaders and contributed to practicing more democratic planning. Although democratic decentralisation of local government could not ensure a full potential of participatory decision-making for urban development but the mainstreamed participation in planning and development was well on its way (McGee, 2003). For an example, India, Philippines, and Brazil adopted constitutional and statutory mandate in local governance institutions with “wide-ranging authority in resource mobilization, planning, implementation and monitoring of projects” (Tandon, 2008 p.290).

By the late 1990s, there was a growing debate on the appropriateness of representative democracy to ensure true participation for the mass people and particularly the marginal groups (Ataöv, 2007). Scholars and practitioners faced a critical discourse on the form of development and democracy that can effectively and efficiently transfer power to the citizens by reducing the authoritarian role of the state. “It was in this milieu that the ‘good governance’ agenda began to emerge” (Tandon, 2008 p.291). The aid agencies re-emphasised mainstreaming participation in developing countries through the good governance agenda in every sectors of development. Community participation is further signified as the key strategy to ensure accountability, transparency and sustainability of urban development projects.

As most of the urban planning initiatives in these countries are funded by the international donors, community participation in urban planning process is, therefore, mostly persuaded to achieve the outcomes of good governance agenda.

From the above discussions, it is evident that different strategies have been put forward to support the practice of development which is “influenced by assumptions, pragmatic needs and underpinning conceptualizations of poverty and development” (Ferrero G. and Fredian, 2009 p.1). The idea of participatory urban planning in developing countries is therefore, a reflection of the western-based donor-driven development discourse rather than being directly influenced by mainstream planning theories. The reason for such transformation can again be contributed to lack of indigenous and locally evolved planning theories and the tendency of contested imposition (see section 2.2) of western planning approach in developing countries with little or no regard to the complexities of local context. However, the motivation of the aid agencies to promote participatory decision-making as a prerequisite to sustainable urban development is seen as attributable to the concerns raised about indigenous expertise and knowledge (Okpala, 1990; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997).

It is also noted that beneath the broader umbrella participation discourse, two parallel discussions have contributed in emerging participatory research agenda, deliberative democracy (referring to policy stage) and urban governance (referring to implementation stage). The discourses of ‘deliberation’ and governance played a key role in shaping the institutional space of participation. Deliberative democracy explores normative implications of real-world decision-making arrangement, whereas urban governance deals with the institutional arrangements to undertake participatory actions (Melo and Baiocchi, 2006). However, the forms and structure of such discourses has given rise to debates on their appropriateness to reflect socio-political dynamics of developing countries and engaging citizens effectively. In the following sections, I emphasise the theoretical foundations of the several approaches being involved between development theory and practice, and attempt to expose the links and relations with participatory urban development in developing countries through the dominant philosophy of democracy and urban governance.

3.2. Participatory Democracy in Urban Contention

Democracy is generally defined as a means of ‘equal distribution of power to make collective decisions’ as well as ‘equal participation in collective judgment’ (Ataöv, 2007 p.334). Participatory democracy in the planning system is represented by the direct participation of ordinary citizens into the planning process. This is also termed as the deliberative or direct democracy. In recent years, ‘democratisation’ of decision-making has become *de rigueur* to deal with declining social capital, social exclusion, entrenched bureaucracy and inefficient governance in urban context (Silver et al., 2010; Melo and Baiocchi, 2006).

A review of prevalent democratic models reveals important notions for understanding varying types of democracy and level of participation involved in planning (Stokes, 2002). Ataöv (2007) argues that these models are built upon the notions of various degrees of citizenship, process of participation and individual development. Such a notion, civic republicanism emphasises individual’s capacity as an active citizen while development democracy considers political participation and deliberation as a means for personal development (Warren, 2002). Pluralist democracy (also referred to as ‘radical pluralist’), however, highlights the notion of partial participation, rejecting the idea of direct participation of ordinary citizens by pointing to the dark side of consensus building (Bobbio, 1987; Purcell, 2008). The radical critiques argues that consensus through direct participation often hides social inequalities and becomes hegemonic and exclusionary (Mouffe, 2000; Silver et al., 2010). Most of the models are criticised for excluding affected groups and not addressing procedural aspects of achieving citizenship and participation outcomes. In response, “deliberative democracy promotes open dialogue and encourages the emergence of shared solutions through the uncovering of new forms of knowledge and understandings” (Campbell and Marshall, 2000 p.327). It is favoured “as an attractive and less elitist basis for political legitimation sitting alongside traditional democratic representation” but has been criticised for disregarding “the conflict and politics that follow in real life situations” (Ataöv, 2007 p.336; Silver et al., 2010 p.453).

However, the framework of most of today’s governmental system follows representative democracy in which community’s wishes are translated by an elected

individual or a group. It is observed that the failure of elected representatives to fully represent urban communities with different socio-economic background has provided momentum for initiatives towards direct participation in development programmes of many developing countries (Tosun, 2000; Manowong and Ogunlana, 2006; Ataöv, 2007). It is important to note here that although representatives notionally represent their communities, in practice, representatives are often distanced from various sectors of the communities especially so in the case of developing countries (As-Saber, 2011; Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012 p.4). Moreover, the practice of representative democracy has largely accumulated disfavour for its inability to respond to the needs of a complex and heterogeneous social structure (Tosun, 2000; Ataöv, 2007; Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012 p.4). This has led to a shift towards direct participation in many developing countries but still there is a growing debate between the proponents of deliberative and representative democracy in planning literature in the quest for collective decision-making and actions for public good (Manowong & Ogunlana, 2006). Table 3.1 illustrates some basic arguments regarding these two types of democracy for addressing emerging urban complexities.

Table 3.1: Difference between types of democratic participation

Representative democracy	Direct democracy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotes indirect and unequal participation of the citizens • Exclusive and selective in nature • A collective judgment cannot be attainable • Citizens' demand and desire may not be represented properly • Underscores the elements of democracy such as deliberation, participation, commitment, and empowerment • More practical • Not responsible to heterogeneous social structure • Decision-making does not depend on the technical and political skills of the mass people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotes direct and equal participation of the citizens • Inclusive and promotes mass participation • Collective judgment can be attainable through deliberative reasoning • Citizens are involved directly to express their demands • Potential to achieve full range of democratic outcomes • More idealistic • Direct participation is untenable in the modern bureaucratic state • Citizens require a certain level of expertise and commitment to participate

Representative democracy	Direct democracy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher risk of elitist bias • Requires lower social and economic cost 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less elitist bias • Requires higher social and economic costs

Sources: Ataöv, 2007; Callahan, 2007.

There is also a widespread and increasing dissatisfaction with contemporary democratic practice which is indicated as unable to ensure the effective participation of citizens in decision-making process (Smith and Wales, 2000; Ataöv, 2007). Yetano et al. (2010) indicate that:

Although democracy provides all qualified members of the political community with a voice in political decision making, in practice, societies that are commonly called democracies fall far short of this ideal because of inequalities in wealth, voice, knowledge, and access to information (Kakabadse et al., 2003). There is a perception among politicians and governments that the population has become more and more disenchanted with the traditional institutions of representative government, detached from political parties, and disillusioned with old forms of civic engagement and participation (Smyth and Reddel, 2000). Participation, as a normative term, evokes and embodies ideals of how society and the polity ought to be, and of the role that people can play in government (Cornwall, 2008). (p.783)

Silver et al. (2010) identifies three key benefits of deliberative or participatory democracy as the promotion social inclusion, empowerment and social justice. In relation to social inclusion, democracy should ensure participation of all citizens irrespective of their immediate or indirect stakes in an issue. However, from the perspective of empowerment and social justice, “getting to the table is not enough” because marginal groups don’t have equal capacities to participate (p.455). Taylor (2007) argues that ordinary citizens are less voiced than educated and powerful groups, making equitable participation in direct democracy risky. Marginal groups, therefore, need to be empowered to take part in the participation process effectively. Empirical evidence further suggests that citizen participation is not always about guaranteeing a conflict-free decision-making, rather it is a struggle for a better environment and optimum arrangements for addressing multiple interests (Hernández-Medina, 2010; Silver et al., 2010).

Mouffe (1996) is sceptical of the growing literature emphasising deliberative democracy for participation, asserting that the process is substantially dominated by politics, conflict and agonism. Tensions between ordinary citizens and the elite regarding their demands, legitimacy and compliance of decisions complicate the process. From this viewpoint, direct participation has several drawbacks and does not necessarily bring the essence of participatory benefits. For example, power inequalities directed from active involvement in local politics or divergent socio-economic status may undermine the egalitarian characteristics of resource distribution. Therefore, despite prevalent democratic settings, disadvantaged groups are often excluded from the participation process due to the “practical barriers of time, money, culture and information” (Perrin and McFarland, 2008; Silver et al., 2010 p.455). In response to these issues, Ataöv (2007) suggests a set of conditions for the realization of direct democracy such as active citizenry, an enabling mechanism, a process for deliberation, effective participation, and action (p.334).

3.3. Conceptualizing Democratic Participation in Planning

Communicative planning theories accept the primary goal of deliberative democracy and suggest that “planners should facilitate collective decision making, which represent a reasoned agreement among equals” (Healey, 1997; Forester, 1999; Ataöv, 2007 p.334). In Planning, democratic participation is promoted for mainly two reasons (a) to generate credibility and commitment and (b) to ensure or protect stakeholders’ interests over a longer period of time (Innes, 1996; Burby, 2003). Participatory planning approach acknowledges full participation of the affected community through an idealised deliberative procedure (Forester, 1999). Such a notion, however, leads to theoretical controversy framed across the Habermasian and Foucauldian thoughts for consensus building. As discussed in section 2.4.2, Habermas (1987) conceptualises an ideal public sphere where deliberation is open to all, irrespective of power inequalities. Habermas suggests “rational deliberation and the bracketing-off of power in the name of attaining a discursive formation of the collective will” (quoted in Silver et al., 2010 p.457). Critiques argue that Habermasian idea is rooted in an insufficiently defined conception of power and strategies that are essential to seek democracy. It is also referred to as a utopia of communicative rationality that does not consider realities concerned with democratic participation (Flyvberg, 1998). Foucauldian ideology, on the other hand, perceives a

ubiquity of power inequalities and conflicts in the society (Silver et al., 2010). Foucault focuses on analysing power struggle in the society before taking actions as it provides basic conditions for understanding key elements of democracy such as exclusion, inclusion and civil society (Flyvberg, 1998). Based on this theoretical debate, Silver et al. (2010) see democratic participation an instrument to manage the disadvantaged or powerless groups and emphasise that even a limited opportunity of participation can contribute towards improving their *status quo*.

Silver et al. (2010) further advances the idea of seeking consensus through deliberation to maintain democracy in the overall political and institutional systems of the country. They recognise potential conflicts among various stakeholders and the controlling authority of the state and argue that democratic participation correlates to the degree to which urban governance is 'neoliberal'. Neo-liberalism of governance reduces controlling role of the state and promotes bottom-up citizen participation, as “.. bottom-up initiatives are considered more authentic expressions of citizen sentiment, claims and demands and forms of resistance to neoliberal goals” (Silver et al., 2010 p.454).

Warren (2002) further widens the scope of democracy by incorporating participation in socio-cultural issues and stressing the critical role of civil society with formal institutional innovations and suggests that “we must survey developments within the social and political landscape that provide the occasions for politics” (p.683). Therefore, in addition to institutional mechanisms new direction of democracy highlights the societal requirements concerned with political complexity, participatory practice within the society, and enhanced opportunities of participation through civil societies (Pateman, 1970; Stokes, 2002; Warren, 2002; Ataöv, 2007). In line with Warren, Ataöv (2007) argues that “the relative strengths of social forces, and in turn, the active citizenry are vital in advancing direct democracy” (p.336). The advocates of democratic planning thus value the use of deliberative reasoning or direct participation democracy through public deliberation and dialogue free of coercion (Forester, 1999; Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000; Alexander, 2001). However, this democratic participation must tune with the conflict and politics that follow in real life situations (Warren, 2002; Ataöv 2007).

3.4. Participation, Democracy and Urban Governance Interface

3.4.1. What is urban governance?

Governance is perhaps one of the most overused and fashionable words in today's planning and development lexicon. It has become the key component of aid-speak and is considered as a prerequisite for local development. The underlying principle behind urban governance is "the reduction of the functional authority of the central and local government by creating an urban dialogue matrix that is based on participatory leadership and management of urban affairs with all stakeholders equitably represented and participating" (Auclair and Jackohango, 2009 p.11). Simply stated, governance is the process of decision-making and the institutional setup for implementing that decision. Although 'government' and 'governance' are sometimes used interchangeably, many scholars draw a clear distinction between these concepts (Weiss, 2000). Osborne and McLaughlin (2002) perceive governance as a process of multiplicity or plurality which emphasizes coordination among the public sector and various stakeholders through horizontal linkages. The UNDP (1997) views governance as "the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels" (quoted in Weiss, 2000 p.797). It comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Auclair and Jackohango (2009) see urban governance as "shifting responsibilities at the local level by assigning them to the most competent group to perform the basic task at hand" (p.11). Perhaps, Paproski (1993) (quoted in Harpham and Boateng, 1997) provides the most comprehensive characterisation, who refers urban governance as:

a system of socio-cultural, political and economic interaction among the various actors of the public and private institutions of civil society. The character of the system varies and changes through processes involving the exercise of power and authority with the inherent aim of enforcing the legitimacy of the existing power and authority structures, particularly through selective delivery and distribution of goods and services to the individual and collective groups in civil society. (p.66)

Government, in contrast, refers to the agencies that make and implement laws and thus is not synonymous with governance. It is the “formal institutional structure and location of authoritative decision making” (Stoker, 1998 p.34). The urban government paradigm to use “functional and political means in serving citizens, known for promoting elitist interests at the expense of the wider society” (Auclair and Jackohango, 2009 p.11). Unlike governance, government does not include civil society representing “the public life of individuals and institutions outside the control of the state” (Harpham and Boateng, 1997 p.66). McCarney et al. (1995) (also quoted in Lange, 2009 p.16) highlight the distinction by pointing out that governance is a distinct from government, which refers to “the relationship between civil society and the state, between rulers and the ruled, the government and the governed”. The interactions between civil society and the state mainly distinguish “the study of governance from other studies of government” (pp.95-96).

3.4.2. Actors and dimensions of urban governance

Governance largely focuses on the formal and informal actors and structures that are involved in decision-making and implementation processes. Government is one of the actors in governance (UN-ESCAP, 2006 p.1). Other actors of the governance system are determined by the level and spatial dimension (e.g. rural or urban) of government under discussion. Urban governance is concerned with decision-making processes and the management of urban areas is invariably complex as it involves many actors operating at various levels. In comparison to developed countries, the actors involved in urban governance and their interrelationships are relatively more complex in nature in developing countries (Figure 3.1).

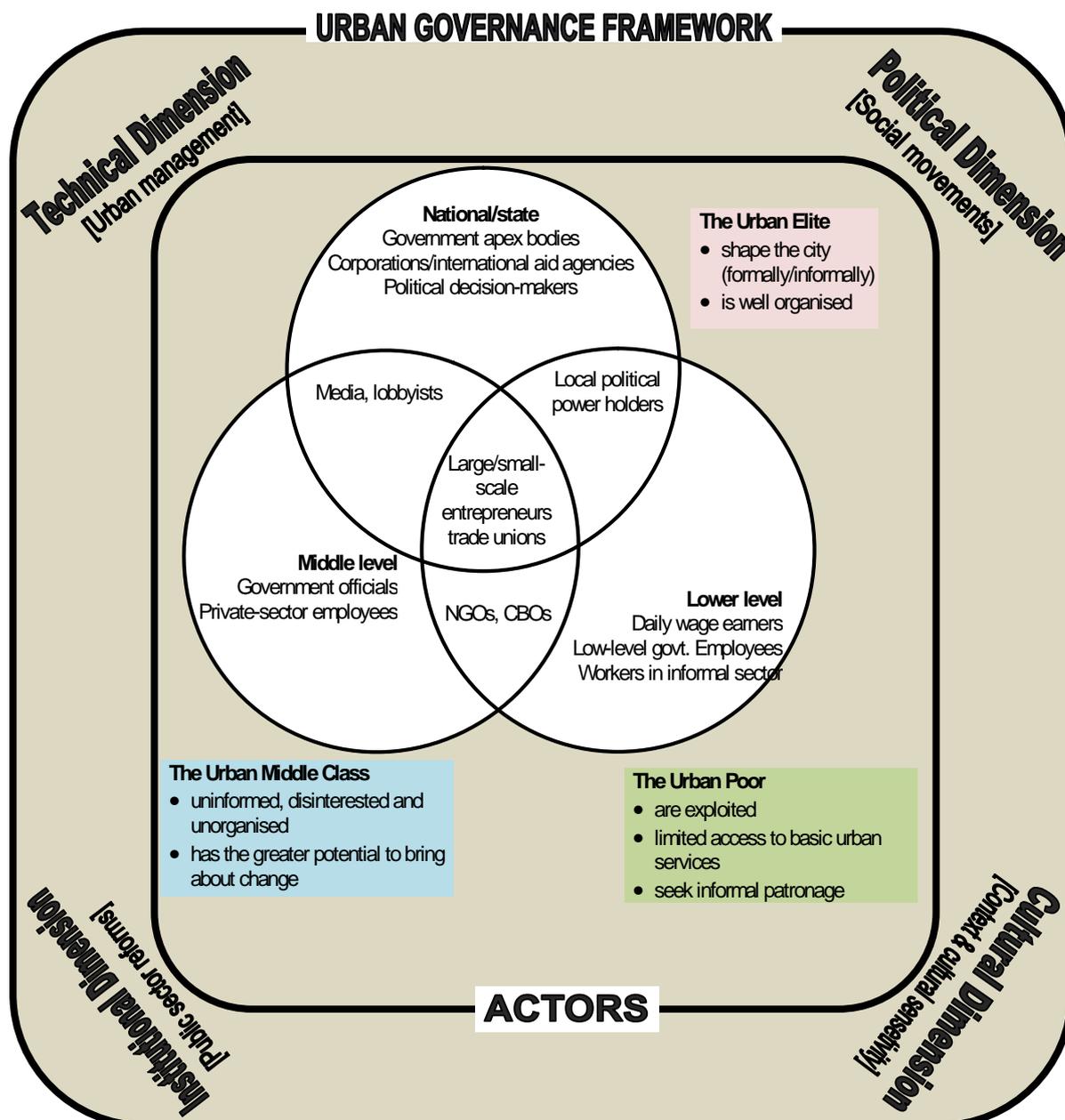


Figure 3.1: A framework of governance interactions among actors within urban context of developing countries

[Note: This model is inspired by and adapted from the following sources - UN-ESCAP, 2006; Harpham and Boateng, 1997; Parnini, 2006]

The framework of urban governance in developing countries primarily represents four dimensions namely, technical, political, institutional and cultural (Harpham and Boateng, 1997). These dimensions translate into the following four areas of urban governance respectively:

Issues with the technical dimension deal with the operation and management of urban services and are aimed at economic development. The recent restructuring of governance objectives, however, encourages a shift from performance based urban service delivery approach to more community led processes recognising the role of citizens and strengthening private sector interventions. Technical dimension of urban governance reflects a concern to address the prevalent disconnection between economic development and participatory governance. The political dimension is defined by the power relations among various actors within the governance system. It is aimed at developing political awareness of the citizens to form effective urban social movements. It is also concerned with the social milieu that provides a common platform for the government and civil societies to allow debate and exchange of ideas for good governance (Shuurman and Naerssen, 1989).

The institutional dimension proposes to restructure traditional institutional mechanisms representing the public versus the private sector. The new governance system acknowledges institutional pluralism by incorporating citizens and civil societies into the governance framework and dilutes the exclusive central political power. Most of the literature including strategic documents of international aid agencies promote a reform of public sector management (such as civil service reform, financial management and public enterprise reform) to establish a professional and accountable bureaucracy that can provide an ‘enabling environment’ for private sector-led growth” (World Bank, 1994 p.xvi). Thus, the dimension signifies the importance of a legal framework for encouraging more participatory approaches that reflects the needs of broader civil society in securing good governance. Harpham and Boateng (1997) further argue that to maintain good governance, the institutional framework of governance in developing countries needs to promote “the growth of relations [among actors] based on co-operation and trust and, therefore, ensuring a flow of information and commitment on the part of all actors ...” (p.72).

The cultural dimension is concerned with the sensitivity of the nature and characteristics of governance structure to local culture and values. It suggests that governance cannot be based upon the same foundations and mechanisms across all societies. The structure needs to recognise the local context, culture and values.

Harpham and Boateng (1997) argue that the notion of ‘ensemble of ideas’ included in the local cultures provides an essential input to perceive the appropriate governance framework for particular context. However, this ensemble is not static and is best understood as an evolving framework stemming from the interactions among societal groups. Thus cultures are “dynamic and change in response to the external influences on them, and the interplay between groups in any given society. In other words, the quality of governance derives from one culture in the society to another, and from one period to another” (Amselle, 1990 quoted in Harpham and Boateng, 1997 p.73).

At the national level, actors such as the media, lobbyists, international donors and multi-national corporations play significant roles in the decision-making process and influence the implementation of development actions (UN-ESCAP, 2006). Within the urban governance framework, a number of key players operate and interact. The framework represents complex informal relationships among three predominant social groups with various levels of political power, namely, the urban elite, the urban middle class, and the urban poor. These groups have a complex inter-relationship in power sharing and control over resources. In developing countries, they form an informal network (commonly referred to as patron-client network) to influence the decision-making process and to access urban services (see section 6.7 for a detailed discussion). The middle class and urban poor generally have little influence in urban governance but can play a significant role if empowered to strengthen, organise and activate themselves. Besides these key actors, civil society [that comprises of all major actors other than the government bodies] also plays a vital role in the urban governance system which is comprised of all actors except the government bodies (see 3.4.5 for details). Civil society seeks to work with the government to promote a transparent and accountable environment (Parnini, 2006).

3.4.3. A shift towards good governance

Urban governance has been demanded by the international aid agencies as a prerequisite for aid assistance in developing countries for the past three decades. Until the 1980s, the government was considered as capable of formulating and implementing policy and governing the system. Within an urban context, Rakodi (2003) describes this as a rigid top-down approach for urban planning and

development controlled by public sector organizations. The urban government was predominantly devoted to providing services and facilities to the residents including infrastructure, health and safety but there was much debate on how effectively they performed. The effectiveness of the urban governance was judged “in terms of its technical competence, efficiency in the use of resources, financial viability and responsiveness to the needs of urban growth” (p.525). The role of civil society, sensitivity to the social needs of the citizens and concern for environmental protection remained unresolved, resulting in increasing failure of development initiatives and mounting community dissatisfaction.

In the early 1980s, urban areas captured the attention of academics and practitioners as a powerful force of development in developing world (Harpham and Boateng, 1997). The importance of urban centers was re-evaluated basically for three reasons: the significant trend of ‘rural to urban’ migration; increasing economic importance of cities; and the realisation of the need for local institution building for development (Stren, 1993). But the “inefficiency of traditional approaches to urban planning, under-performance by local government and failures of service provision” made cities ineffective in directing sustainable urban growth (Rakodi, 2003 p.525). These factors emphasized the urgency of improving ‘urban governance’ for better management and to “rethink ways of bringing about improvement in the quality of life” of the citizens (Harpham and Boateng, 1997 p.67). This also gave rise to advocacy of a managerial rather than blueprint planning or administrative approach to urban demands (Devas and Rakodi, 1993 quoted in Rakodi, 2003 p.525). The literature regarding urban governance identifies two main reasons behind this shift. The first reason is that neo-liberal economic thinking leads to macro-economic policies that reduce the role of the state in encouraging bottom-up approaches to decision-making process (Batterbury and Fernando, 2006; Khan and Piracha, 2009). The second reason is “rooted in dissatisfaction with the ability of existing political systems to respond to the views and needs of all social groups ...” (Rakodi, 2003 p.525). Rakodi (2003) further clarifies that:

The emergence of broad social movements, the proliferation of new forms of social organisation and demands for increased political participation led to the dramatic (re-)democratisation of many authoritarian regimes in the late 1980s and early 1990s,

... [that refocused the] attention from formal political structures and governments as the locus of decision making authority to the role of civil society in exercising democratic rights and functions ... In towns and cities, recognition of the important role of non-state actors and civil society organisations in the production and management of the urban built environment, filling gaps in state provision of services, and holding formal democratic structures to account was coupled with renewed attention to democratic decentralisation. (pp.525-26)

The concept of ‘urban governance’ received further thrust when institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank significantly tightened their “policy lines by imposing the condition of public sector reforms as a core element of its aid strategy” with a view to eradicate poverty and ensure sustainable urban growth (Weiss, 2000; Waheduzzaman, 2008 p.1). This effort resulted in the formation of several structural adjustment programmes across developing countries aimed at ensuring maximum outcomes from development assistance. During that decade, governments in developing countries adopted the ‘donor’s agenda’ through a number of institutional reforms such as decentralisation or deregulation of their policies and putting in place local decision-making processes.

Such reforms in planning and urban governance have been spurred by the need for structural adjustment, a concept that has evolved from the neo-liberal economic thinking where macro-economic policies reduced the role of the state to encourage bottom-up approach in decision-making process (Rakodi, 2003; Khan and Piracha, 2009). These reforms also encouraged the co-opting of private sectors’ skills to improve the performance of government departments. However, as Waheduzzaman (2008) notes, “little emphasis is placed on issues of equity and community participation” and the reform initiatives “are left with weak, demoralised public sector institutions, growth of rampant corruption and no significant economic development” (p.2). For example, sub-Saharan Africa experienced a decline of 2.4 percent in its annual growth of per capita GDP as a result of structural adjustment programme during 19980-88 (Squire, 1991 p.178). Following the failure of structural adjustment programmes, international aid agencies introduced the ‘good governance’ agenda, emphasising citizens’ participation as an aid strategy. In the early 1990s, the donors began to stress on spending new aid productively by offering debt relief or

suggesting increasing aid assistance beyond its current levels only to countries with ‘good governance’ (Nanda, 2006).

3.4.4. What is ‘good urban governance’?

The term ‘good governance’ has been defined by various scholars and international agencies which demonstrates different context and purposes. Batterbury and Fernando (2006) conceptualized good governance as an “umbrella term for any package of public sector reforms designed to create lasting and positive changes in accordance with the [democratic governance] principles” (p.1853). These principles include participation, openness, accountability, coherence, effectiveness and civic space. International aid agencies, in contrast, set a more normative and tractable agenda to promote good governance in developing countries (Waheduzzaman, 2008). For developing countries, good governance is seen as an essential means to reduce corruption and mobilize efficient urban management and most critically as a precondition for granting aid to undertake development programmes. Ideally, good urban governance includes a number of criteria that have been advanced by leading donor agencies and commentators (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Criteria of good urban governance

Friedmann	Batterbury and Fernando	World Bank	UN-HABITAT
	Participation	Participation	Decentralisation of authority and resources (subsidiarity)
Inclusiveness	Openness		Equity of access to decision making and resources
Public accountability	Accountability	Accountability Transparency	Accountability Transparency
		Sensitivity to the needs of the poor	Civic engagement and citizenship
Non-violent conflict management	Coherence and civic peace		Security
Responsiveness	Effectiveness	Strong public management, cost effectiveness, sound financial management	Efficiency
Inspired political leadership			Sustainability

Sources: Friedmann, 1998; World Bank, 2000; Rakodi, 2003; Batterbury and Fernando 2006; UN-ESCAP, 2006; Auclair and Jackohango, 2009

Table 3.2 illustrates two distinct streams to conceptualise the term ‘good governance’: the academic stream and the donor driven framework. The academic stream largely concentrates on “developing a better understanding of different ways in which power and authority relations are structured” (Soksreng, 2007 p.649). It also focuses on the strategic vision of good governance. Donor agencies, by contrast, suggest a set of performance indicators and monitoring system to practice good governance within the planning and management system at various administrative levels. More specifically, they focus on the state structures designed to ensure community participation, accountability, rule of law for policy effectiveness and preparing terrain for the policy intervention.

In general, good governance is predominantly conceptualised as promoting community participation in the planning process to achieve a fair and consensus oriented decision-making process. The World Bank demonstrates good governance as “competent, efficient administration and a legitimate and democratically elected government” (Rakodi, 2003 p.535). The idea is also viewed as tool for poverty reduction in recipient countries. These indicators are provided as the goals and objectives of the World Bank’s development projects for sustainable cities in developing countries rather than putting them as criteria for good governance. Friedmann (1998) and Batterbury and Fernando (2006) developed criteria specifically for urban governance whose conceptualisation is translated into equity and access for all citizens, obtaining consensus and mobilising resource needed for implementation.

Most recently, UN-HABITAT has developed a comprehensive set of criteria in the form of operational principles specifically for efficient urban governance system. It promotes the principle of subsidiarity that refers to a cascading decision-making system through decentralisation and local democracy. It also promotes equity that ensures inclusion of all stakeholders into the decision-making process. The operational principles encourage equitable distribution of resources for all irrespective of gender, race, ethnicity, education, political affiliation or religion (Auclair and Jackohango, 2009). Transparency and accountability of local government are also promoted as the obligatory requirements of any form of good governance. These are seen as essential to reduce corruption and to enhance

acceptability and trust of local government to the citizens. The principle of efficiency is emphasised for the optimal utilisation and cost effective management of resources. To gain economic efficiency, the government is encouraged to enable private sector by fostering a conducive economic environment in cities.

The administration of most cities in developing countries does not allow a meaningful and constructive dialogue of the civic body (Auclair and Jackohango, 2009). Civic engagement is thus promoted by UN-HABITAT. This entails an active participation of the civic body into the decision-making process (p.7). Civic engagement also implies the effective engagement of unheard voices including women and marginalised groups through empowering them. The concern of security is also highlighted in the operational principle by identifying the city's role in preventing crime, conflicts and responding to natural disasters. Finally, the principle of sustainability is listed to advocate sustainable development in all dimensions of urban life. Sustainability demands that urban stakeholders balance the social, economic and environmental needs of the present and future citizens (p.6).

However, due to the instrumental nature of good governance it relies on four basic components: participation, predictability, accountability and transparency. Participation refers to the inclusiveness of the planning process and citizens' access to institution for a collaborative and informed decision-making. The principle of predictability suggests the existence of clear and uniform laws and regulating policies and their fair and consistent application (Waheduzzaman, 2008). Accountability and transparency are mostly concerned with the monitoring and tracking the performance of the urban government. These principles are also critical in trust building between the planning agencies and the citizens. Accountability ensures the answerability of public officials to the citizens and keeps the channel open to receive citizens' feedback for improving urban service delivery. Transparency entails the availability of information to the citizens required to maintain clarity about government's legislative structure and decisions. The four components or the four 'pillars' of good governance "are universally applicable regardless of the economic orientation, strategic priorities, or policy choices of the government" (Soksreng, 2007 p.649).

Furthermore, a recent trend in reforms suggested by the good governance agenda also insist on promoting technological innovation that are mainly concerned with improving the efficiency of the planning system, streamlining development control, and simplifying regulations. More specifically related to planning and urban management, structural adjustment often aims to speed up processes related to strategic land use planning, assessment of property tax, fast tracking of development application approvals and other activities of urban local government. Khan and Piracha (2009) maintain that technological innovation within the planning system mostly focuses on economic objectives rather than a quest for improved effectiveness in terms of community satisfaction and achievement of sustainability targets. E-government thus tends to be seen largely as a means of improving efficiency of government function rather than good governance, which must also consider the role of civic society.

3.4.5. Participatory urban governance: Citizens' interaction with the planning agencies

Governance literature suggests that with greater participation, greater degree of transparency, accountability and responsiveness may be achieved (Gaventa, 2004c; Waheduzzaman, 2008; Islam, 2012). However, effective participation largely depends on the institutional mandates, devolution of power and authority and social commitments. In terms of participatory urban governance, Islam (2012) illustrates that:

In urban governance it implies decentralization from Central government to the city level, and also from the city level to the ward or community level. Participation of all stakeholders, specially, the citizens, in urban development planning, financial management and service delivery is important. (p.7)

Thus participatory urban governance consists of adequate and effective participation of citizens and stakeholders in urban development planning, financial managements and service delivery by the planning agencies (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2: Elements of participatory urban governance
 [Author's own illustration].

The concept of sustainable development requires planning agencies to prepare technically and socially sound plans that extensively integrate local people and organizations into the decision-making process. Community participation in financial management of local government and planning authorities is well known as 'participatory budgeting'. Planning authorities are required to solicit citizens' participation in the budget preparation process (Islam, 2012). Recently, city planning projects supported by international aid agencies come with a predefined condition of organising participatory budget sessions to disburse annual fund for local development. There is a growing trend in involving citizens or private organisations through partnership for delivering basic urban services such as solid waste management, water supply, sanitation and tree plantation (Swapan, 2009). A public-private partnership (PPP) is a popular mechanism in which "government and private companies assume co-responsibility and co-ownership for the delivery of city services" (Ahmed and Ali, 2004 p.471). In this respect, private sector is considered to bring managerial efficiency, social responsibility and environmental awareness to facilitate public sector's role in city management.

The challenge of shifting from governance to participatory governance

The concept of participatory governance is related to rights of citizenship and to democratic governance (Gaventa, 2002a). The degree to which citizen participation can be linked to the governance system of local government defines the nature of democracy and strategies required to achieve it. Brinkerhoff (2000) defines participatory governance (also referred to as democratic governance) as combining features of a political regime that enables “citizens to hold the right to govern themselves (democracy) with structures and mechanisms that are used to manage public affairs according to accepted rules and procedures (governance)” (p.602). It broadly aims to assure inclusion, equity and fairness through increased citizen participation as well as to exhibit high level accountability and transparency in the urban management system (Waheduzzaman, 2008). Participatory governance has got wide acceptance for its unalloyed benefits envisioned by the scholars as well as some high profile examples of successful participatory governance. Examples “such as those of Porto Alegre in Brazil and the states of Kerala and West Bengal in India, ... have aroused great expectations among activists and policymakers all over the world” (Osmani, 2008 p.1). Gaventa (2004c) summaries the major propositions and challenges of transformation from traditional to participatory governance:

- Participatory governance demands a construction of new relationships between ordinary citizens and the institutions, especially the local government which affect their lives.
- It suggests rebuilding the relationships between citizens and their local governments. Thus participatory governance implies the mechanisms to go beyond ‘civil society’ or ‘state-based’ approaches and to focus on their intersection through new forms of participation, responsiveness and accountability.
- While the search for new democratic processes of local governance is critical, participatory governance aims to learn about how they work, for whom, and with what social justice outcomes.
- The enabling conditions for the better known ‘successful’ experiments in participatory governance are limited to a few countries. Effective intervention

strategies in most cases therefore must begin with how to create the pre-requisite conditions necessary for participatory governance to succeed.

Further, Healey (2004) adopts a three-level approach to map the conceptual and practical transformation from traditional governance systems to more dynamic participatory urban governance. She proposes the transformation through creativity and innovations in governance (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Characteristics of good urban governance and potentials for innovation

Level	Transformation of governance's dimensions	
	<i>Traditional urban governance system</i>	<i>Creative modes of urban governance</i>
<i>Governance context</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Actors - roles, strategies and interests ▪ Arenas - institutional sites ▪ Settings and interactive practices communicative repertoires 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Diverse range of actors ▪ Open and diverse arenas ▪ Stimulating, welcoming, respectful and knowledgeable ambiances; generative; insurgent potentials
<i>Governance processes</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Networks and coalitions ▪ Stakeholder selection processes ▪ Discourses - framing issues, problems, solutions, etc. ▪ Practices - routines and repertoires for acting ▪ Specification of laws, formal competences and resource flow principles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Diverse and mutually aware networks and coalitions; loosely-coupled; fluid ▪ Open, transparent and fluid stakeholder selection processes ▪ Open-minded, inclusive, informative and inventive discourses ▪ Facilitative and experimental practices, supporting self-regulating processes ▪ Laws, formal competences and resource flow principles which value local initiative and encourage experiment
<i>Governance culture</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Range of accepted modes of governance ▪ Range of embedded cultural values ▪ Formal and informal structures for policing discourses and practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Appreciation of diversity; focused around the concerns of multiple daily live; emphasis on performance not conformance ▪ Identity and open negotiation of values and ethics, beyond utilitarianism and consumerism; encouragement of open-minded tolerance and sensitivity ▪ Self-regulative and distributive; supportive and constraining

Source: Healey, 2004 pp.9.

Based on empirical evidence, Healey (2004) illustrates that the traditional governance system does not clarify the temporal transformation of dimensions derived from the continual interactions between specific episodes of governance, governance processes and governance cultures. These three levels of governance system are subject to continual interactions with internal and external forces:

External influences flow into specific episodes through the experience of actors, through the networks, discourses and legal frameworks which shape governance processes and through the broad social, economic and political forces which shape governance cultures. (p.95)

Table 3.3 explores the potential for cities to adopt imaginative and innovative attitudes in carrying out urban governance to enable the transformation from traditional to more dynamic and participatory governance. This dynamic and participatory governance framework is considered to help policy analysts to assess “how far an emerging governance trajectory may be realising some of the values of those advocating transformations in governance to enable more creative ideas and practices to emerge in urban regions” (p.98).

Urban governance within the democratic context

Gaventa (2004c) cites empirical evidence to highlight increasing public apathy and adverse attitude towards local government that results from lack of institutional commitment to democracy. This notion highlights the importance of community participation in decision-making to strengthen accountability and responsiveness of the institutions towards achieving good governance. Gaventa (2004c) argues that public apathy is caused not only from “concern about good governance and state responsiveness” but also due to the socio-cultural context of the citizens that determines “how citizens engage and make demands on the state” (p.27). While citizens’ preference is sought through electoral politics in democratic government, participatory democracy demands more direct participation of the citizens in the planning process. Such participation represents more active forms of citizenship and involves arrangements of democratic governance to perform higher level of interactions among citizens and the state. Re-conceptualization of participation as a right of citizenship and extensively involving citizens in the planning process beyond

merely voting, ensures citizen voices are heard in processes of democratic governance (Gaventa, 2004c). Ansell and Gash (2007) further outline the characteristics of such institutional arrangement:

A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets. (p.544)

Thus direct participation is conducive to establish good governance in the planning system. However, many countries irrespective of economic status (such as India, Turkey, Brazil, Philippines and Bolivia) have adopted constitutional framework for participatory governance “which incorporate a mix of direct forms of popular participation with more representative forms of democracy” (Gaventa, 2004c p.31; Cabannes, 2004; Fung, 2006; Ataöv, 2007; Waheduzzaman, 2008; Przeworski, 2010). These governance structure ranges from participatory governance to more deepen democratic governance such as ‘deliberative’ or ‘empowered participatory governance’ where ordinary citizens can effectively participate in the planning process and make sensible decisions (Fung and Wright, 2003 p.5; Fung, 2006; Fischer, 2006; Ansell and Gash, 2007). This kind of governance structure largely focuses on the process of participation and promotes institutional innovation and social mobilisation (Holden, 2011).

As-Saber (2011) provides another critical perspective of governance in maintaining democratic practice. He argues that democracy is not always capable of ensuring better governance. In the absence of true democratic culture and ideals, entrenched corruption in government system in many developing countries undermines the basic principles of democracy, making it dysfunctional. As-Saber (2011) adds that:

Bangladesh and Ukraine represent two valid examples of democracies where corrupt and inefficient democratically elected leaders are driving these countries to lawlessness, political bankruptcy and economic mayhem .. [due to] .. “feckless pluralism” and “dominant power politics”. Power, in this case, is being passed back

and forth between competing elites who are largely isolated from the citizenry but apt to use widely accepted democratic election process to their advantage. (p.5)

Thus democratic government may tend to resemble authoritarian rules as a result of a 'grey' system of governance. It matches with Aristotle's observation that an extreme form of democracy under law could lead to tyranny where the elected assembly of parliamentarians is led by demagogues who consider themselves above law and tend to rule the country by decree (Martin, et al., 2003 quoted in As-Saber, 2011 p.5).

3.4.6. Civil society and good governance

The meaning of civil society in developing countries

Although the concept of civil society has recently re-emerged as an essential criterion of democracy and good governance, it has a long history in political philosophy and community development (Rooy, 1998). Tocqueville (1900) (quoted in Parnini, 2006) and more recently Putnam (1999) perceive it as a network of association or groups [not necessarily political] which aim to safeguard democratic space between the state and family. Such depoliticised ideology has shifted the direction of civil society from the political arena to voluntary social and cultural platforms. This new social movement was especially important in Eastern European countries where civil society played a critical role in democratic consolidation of the late 1980s, and now becomes a source of inspiration for democracy movements in the developing world (Robinson, 1995). The idea of civil society mainly focuses on six incarnations in practice:

- **Social capital:** The rise of civil society is associated with the debate on declining social capital which is described as the informal governance, inter-relationship among community members, community volunteerism and social behaviour at family level (Putnam, 1995). The literature suggests building strong social capital to reach an active civil society (Rooy, 1998).
- **Collective noun:** In practice, civil society represents the sum of groups and organisations (such as NGOs) that are primarily engaged in advocacy, social movements and empowering citizens.

- **Space for action:** Civil society acts as the common ground for democratic practice and organising social movements. The space represents many diverse and sometimes contradictory social interests (UNDP, 1995)
- **Historical moment:** Civil society is not only about the community interrelationship and functional space but a product of historical and cultural conditions based upon political practice and traditions (Rooy, 1998).
- **Anti-hegemony:** Besides the popular concept of civil society regarding its relationship with the state, a number of authors indicate a different type of civil society organisations are disengaged from formal political process and attached to everyday life.
- **Anti-state:** While the predominant view promotes civil society as pairing with the state to run its governance system effectively, another popular viewpoint suggests that civil society acts in opposing a centralised or autocratic state. (White, 1993)

A number of literature suggest “a rich array of heterogeneous civic elements” (Parnini, 2006 p.192) as civil society including: (1) economic (productive and commercial associations and networks); (2) cultural (religious, communal and ethnic associations); (3) informational and educational (organizations dedicated to the production and circulation of ideas and information); (4) interest-based (designed to advance the interests of workers, professionals, etc.); (5) developmental (NGOs and self-help groups); (6) issue-oriented (movements for environmental protection, womens' rights, etc.); (7) civic (aimed at strengthening the political system and imparting democratic values) and (8) visual and print media (which contribute to the flow of information and ideas) (Diamond, 1994; Robinson 1995; Davis and McGregor, 2000; Mahjabeen, 2002; Islam and Mahjabeen, 2003; Rahman, 2008).

There has been upsurge in the uptake of the concept of civil society in the global south that closely follows changes in the development strategy of the international aid agencies. In 1990s, there were renewed commitments to aid agency programmes aimed at good governance agenda and poverty reduction (Davis and McGregor, 2000; Lewis, 2004). The civil organisations has also emphasised “the scope for the provision of public services through private” (Robinson, 1995 p.70). Thereafter, collaboration with civil society has been increasingly promoted as a critical element of successful planning (Friedmann 1992). In general, literature posits civil society as

the intermediate sphere between the state and the market, that reinforces societal pluralism and secures individual rights (Davis and McGregor, 2000; Lane, 2003). In many contexts it is equated to the existence of the voluntary sector through which “people can express themselves and resist abuses and intrusions by the government” and plays a complementary role in promoting efficiency and accountability of the government (Parnini, 2006 p.191). In this era of globalisation, market economy, civil society and other transitional forces act as critical driving forces to enhance efficiency of the government through good governance. However, the increasing role of these driving forces over the state does not imply diminishing functionality of the government as Parnini (2006) notes that “through governing interaction, such as cooperation, collaboration, coalition and partnership among states, donors, civil society and private sectors, the autonomous and unitary role of the [...] state can be ensured” (p.190).

In contrast to its historical and traditional role in most developing countries civil society, as prescribed by aid agencies, it tends to exclusively refer to the NGOs who play an important role in disbursing foreign-aid in implementing development programs at the grass-root level along with executing locally evolved economic and social development initiatives (Lewis, 2004). Uphoff (1995), however, argues that NGOs should be seen as an operational space between the public and the private rather than a representation of civil society. Parnini (2006) also indicates limited functionality of NGOs in representing the realities of civil society.

Role of civil society in accomplishing good governance

Since the 1990s, the contributions of civil society have been recognised as an ingredient of the process to gain democracies and good governance. Referring to such importance, the concept was re-oriented in the former Second and Third Worlds (particularly in Eastern Europe/Central Asia and in Africa) by the international aid agencies with a view to introduce democratic planning process and good governance agenda towards effective utilisation of resources and planning outcomes (Davis and McGregor, 2000). This notion signifies the importance of citizens’ participation in the city administration to safeguard home grown good governance and democratic practice. White (1994) notes that civil societies can facilitate democratic governance in four complementary ways (also see Robinson, 1995):

- **Balancing power:** by altering the balance of power between state and society, civil society aims to achieve a balanced opposition in favour of the latter. It plays role in establishing and maintain democratic polity; but also contributes in improving the quality of governance within that polity.
- **Ensuring accountability and transparency:** a strong civil society can play a disciplinary role in relation to the state by enforcing standards of public morality and performance and improving the accountability of both politicians and administrators.
- **Representing the demand of the society:** civil society plays a potentially crucial role as intermediary platform or two-way transmission-belt between state and society with a view to facilitate transmitting the demands and articulating the interests of the society; and
- **Instilling and upholding democratic values:** civil society can play a constitutive role by redefining the rules of the political game along democratic lines. New democratic norms which regulate the behaviour of the state and the character of political relations between state, society and individual citizens are essential for sustaining democratic values.

3.5. Conclusion

The discussions clearly state that the concept of community participation is the key driving force of democracy and good governance practice in developing countries. This signifies the way towards collaborative decision-making, the core proposition of contemporary planning theories (Forester, 1999; Healey, 2003, 2004). However, it is noted that participatory planning ideas in developing countries should critically reflect the democratic practice in real life situations. It is, therefore, no more limited to analysing the role of institutional mechanisms but also recognises democracy that is “placed in a social and political system” (Ataöv, 2007 p.336). The scope of democracy is further widened by incorporating participation in socio-cultural issues and stressing the critical role of civil society with formal institutional innovations (Warren, 2002). However, it is evident that democracy does not always capable of ensuring a better government especially in developing countries where entrenched corruption in government system is literally undermining the basic principles of democracy and making it dysfunctional. In response, Islam (2012) emphasis on

participatory urban governance through community participation especially in urban development planning, financial management and service delivery by the local government. Healey (2004) underlines the potential innovations in governance structure to respond to the socio-cultural complexity of the studied community. Thus, contemporary literature and empirical evidences collectively suggest a participation milieu that highlights ‘the system’ and ‘the people’ for effective translation of policies into actions (Ataöv, 2007 p.337).

CHAPTER: 4

Envisioning a Community Participation Model for Developing Countries

4.1. Introduction

Effective community participation in planning proves to be difficult to achieve in cities in developing countries characterised by a complex socio-political context, and a governance setup affected by foreign aid dependency. These economically weak cities have for long been influenced by planning practises and ideals developed in the west and largely transmitted through the conduit of projects funded by international aid agencies. For the past two decades, aid agencies have insisted on placing participation on the good governance agenda that they require their funded projects to follow. While this may be a positive development, it is contended that the results of such requirements are often not as effective as desired because the requirements of participation are conceptualised around models of participation that have evolved in the ‘west’. The absence of literature on community participation that reflects the urban complexities in developing countries is notable (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2000).

This chapter looks at the suitability of various popular models of participation for analysing and guiding participation in the context of urban planning in developing world and finally it sets out a draft set of parameters for examining participation space in the developing world’s context.

4.2. Participation Models: An Intellectual History

Participation has become a buzzword for planners in today’s world. In general, community participation refers to almost everything that signifies peoples’ involvement (Cornwall, 2008). The concept was primarily developed in the late 1960s in response to inefficiency of dominant top-down models and expert driven approaches to planning (Tandon, 2008). The participatory approach has been widely adopted in various sectors (like environmental decision-making, neighbourhood development projects, urban planning, and public health) and has assumed different forms by adapting methodological processes to cope with local contexts.

Historically, the concept of participation in international planning has been closely related to community development that could be traced back to the end of World War II and the independence of former European colonies in Asia and Africa with a view to create dynamic, inclusive and socially just communities in both North and South (Cornwall, 2008; Tandon, 2008; Taylor and Mayo, 2008). Since then, participation has been promoted to achieve an efficient and sustainable planning process through a concentrated understanding of communities' demand and translating them into planning actions (Amado et al., 2010).

The participatory approach to planning evolved from the dominant philosophy of development prevalent at the time in the 'west'. In this research, 'development philosophy and practice' refer to the approach and interventions (projects or programmes) dealing with socio-economic and environmental development in both urban and rural areas of the developing world context. In this context, development interventions are predominantly carried out by NGOs and international aid organisations. The concept and practice of effective participation took substantial theoretical direction from development models and practices that have directed community development worldwide. It is contended that distinct conceptual and functional transformations in the development discourse have ultimately shaped the pattern of participatory planning models and actions. In developing countries, for example, the idea of community participation has taken substantial directions from development thinkers and practitioners involved in socio-economic and environmental development at the local level. The concept has received further impetus from international aid agencies who have popularised it as a prerequisite for good governance agenda. In response, planning agencies in developing countries, largely depend on external funds, increasingly demonstrate a willingness to involve communities in preparing development plans.

The evolution of participatory approach in planning has progressed through five significant temporal phases of transformation influenced by intellectuals from various fields (Reed, 2008) (Table 4.1). The intellectual evolution of 'participation' concept and subsequent practices reveals a widely varied genealogy, which has been "periodically regenerated around new schools of thought, institutional agendas and changing political circumstances" (Hickey and Mohan, 2004 p.5). Moreover, each

temporal phase includes a range of approaches to development contributed in shaping its own trajectory, contextual specification, theory-practice debate and empirical experiences. The maturity and wide acceptance of participation concept and the nature of participatory approaches have largely been influenced by the dominant theories of development and planning, socio-political reforms, aid conditionalities, globalisation and local ethos. The following sections, however, focus on tracking the scope and nature of participation as it has evolved in response to theoretical directions in the form of participatory manifestations and practices in reality.

The historical manifestation of participation in planning theory and practice began in late 1960s/early 1970s with a major 'paradigm shift' in planning philosophy (Zhang, 2006). The growth of participatory practice turned into a common prescription in a range of development fields such as political, social, environmental and urban planning. Table 4.1 illustrates the evolution pattern of community participation in planning indicating intellectual development and progress in practice. Hickey and Mohan (2004 p.6) list the milestones of 'participation in development'. The chronology of preparing this selective evolution pattern of participation models to highlight the intellectual demonstrations pertaining to urban planning practice. Though, it is hard to draw a line between planning and other fields of knowledge in terms of integrating participation into practice, the analysis has recognised the substantial manifestation of development theories into planning.

Table 4.1 demonstrates the ideological underpinnings and political proposition of participation linked to the theories of development and planning. Following on from this, the second dimension illustrates the locus and level of engagement promoted through various approach of participatory practice on the ground.

Table 4.1: An intellectual history of progress in participation models

	Development in planning theory	Manifestation in practice (examples)	Developments in participation practice
1960s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incrementalism (Lindblom, 1959) • Advocacy planning (Davidoff, 1965) • Rise of system thinking (McLoughlin, 1969; Chadwick, 1971) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discrediting of rational planning on the ground reality studies (Jacobs, 1961; Gans, 1968) • Ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased political involvement and new role of planners (Advocacy) to provide planning services on behalf of low income neighbourhoods • Participation (e.g., voting and campaigning) as a right and an obligation of citizenship • Fadism among development agencies to undertake small scale movements (e.g., USAID) (Mansuri and Rao, 2003)
1970s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Era of unpacking participation (Pateman, 1970) • Progressive planning (Grabow and Heskin, 1973) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation defined as a prerequisite for social justice, democratic practice and legitimating political system • Redefining participation models in response to Arnstein’s Ladder. • The concept of ‘Collective Action’¹¹ popularised by the international aid agencies (Hardin, 1968; Olson, 1965) • Integrating participation in urban and rural development, health, education and resource management sectors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government social welfare programmes (organising community self-help initiatives) (Friedmann 1987) • “Worker-managed enterprises, tax reform, community organizations, and leveraging of public resources through partnerships with private organizations” (Stiftel, 2000 p.9) • Small scale urban renewal and environmental management projects in developing countries initiated by international aid agencies
1980s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emergence of rapid and participatory rural appraisal (Chambers, 1983) • Theory of Communicative Action 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capturing indigenous peoples’ knowledge • Emphasising on empowering the communities through information giving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failure of large-scale government-led development programs became evident (Mansuri and Rao, 2003). • The Self Employed Women’s Association (India), the

¹¹ Referred to as “.. action by more than one person intended to achieve a common goal or satisfy a common interest. A key issue in the literature is that the goods or services produced through such action must be non-excludable, jointly produced, and costly” (Mansuri and Rao, 2003 p.5).

	Development in planning theory	Manifestation in practice (examples)	Developments in participation practice
	(Habermas, 1981 and 1987)	(Forester, 1989) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The idea of 'put people first' adopted by development agencies like World Bank (Cernea, 1985) 	Orangi slum improvement project (Pakistan), and the Iringa Nutrition project (Tanzania) were acquiring fame because they were perceived as highly successful instances of community driven development (Krishna et al., 1997). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuing project-based (urban renewal/regeneration and slum improvement projects) investment of international aid agencies (World Bank/ADB/UN Agencies) in involving communities.
1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable Development (UNCED, 1992) • Mutations of communicative planning • Theories on social capital (Putnam, 1995) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normative participation through sustainable development agenda (UN, World Bank) • Collaborative planning (Healy, 1992 and 2003), deliberative planning (Forester, 1999), consensus planning (Innes, 1996) • Convergence of social and political participation, scaling up participatory methods and state-civic partnership • Management of common pool resources (Ostrom, 1990) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementing principles of LA21 • Citizens' demand mediation • Consultation for consensus building and conflict resolution • Investment in improving social capital of the community to enhance awareness and participation • Local institution building and support participation in networks and associations • Rise of civil societies
Late 1990s/ 2000s to present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good governance agenda • Globalisation theory • Globalisation vs. localisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory governance • Deliberative participation • Localisation strategies • Place making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory budgeting in local planning authorities • Public hearing, participatory poverty assessments • Local area revitalisation programme • Reclaiming local spaces

Sources: Modified from Hickey and Mohan, 2005; also see Reed, 2008.

The concept of participation in planning was introduced in development policy discussions during 1960s in reaction to earlier comprehensive, rationalistic and technocratic planning practice (Lehtonen, 2005). The rational planning model was charged with devising broader solutions built upon the rational planning process controlled by the expert knowledge leaving no room for community input (Mahjabeen et al., 2009). The shift in urban planning practice can be attributed to two significant works in planning and development fields. In 1949, the philosophy of development advocated by the former US President Truman, contributed to creating economic and political segregation among countries (Khan and Swapan, 2013). He also promoted the transfer of expertise and knowledge from 'west' to developing nations which was popularised as Official Development Assistance (ODA) (Tandon, 2008). The agenda was a crucial breakthrough in advancing 'dependency theory' shaping a new relationship among rich and poorer countries. This ideology also catalysed institutionalisation of modern environmental politics and improved political participation in western countries, which was launched by the anti-modernisation discourse (Tatenhove and Leroy, 2003).

Several competing planning theories emerged that challenged the inefficient process and non-democratic approach of rational models. During the period of a growing realisation of participatory democratic politics, incremental planning by Lindblom (1959) and advocacy planning by Davidoff (1965) called for a radical change in planning theories. Briefly, Lindblom reminded the critical role of politics in planning and Davidoff defined the new role for planners to provide planning services on behalf of low income and minority neighbourhoods. Meanwhile, Jacobs's (1961) significant criticisms on urban renewal policies of 1950s compelled planners to re-think about planning process and their role in decision-making. Jacobs (1961) [later Gans (1968)] challenged the contemporary rational planning models and called for a complete understanding of community social dynamics for effective planning practice (Manzo and Perkins, 2006).

Both ideologies called for a new role of the state that spurred on the need for structural adjustment, a concept that has evolved from the neo-liberal economic thinking where macro-economic policies reduce the role of the state in encouraging a bottom-up approach to the decision-making process (Rakodi, 2003; Khan and

Swapan, 2010). The agenda was quickly captured by United Nations (UN) organisations, World Bank and other mainstream donor agencies that further expanded the concept and started operating projects in developing countries aiming at economic, social and environmental development. They embarked upon promoting citizen control over the state's activities that affect their socio-economic situation.

By 1970s, a growing volume of literature sought to define participation in development projects and create typologies of participation using case studies and practical examples. Murray (2011) denotes it as the age of 'unpacking participation' when the scholars attempted to 'unpack' its meaning. As a result, terms like 'beneficiaries' or 'consumers' started to feature global policy debates in place of expert-driven decision-making. The era began with the Arnstein's (1969) classical ladder of citizen participation who framed the degree of citizen power (from 'full' to 'no' participation) in development actions. Provoked by Arnstein's model, communicative aspects were started to gain importance in developed world putting communities in the nucleus of planning. As a result, centralised blueprint planning was replaced by more contextual planning recognizing individual values and the local knowledge base. In the next decade, much effort was put in to carry out a series of development projects in developing countries by international donor agencies focusing on collective learning and the social reality. This helped to envision participatory research, the popular methodology applied by development practitioners. Tandon (2008) denotes the essence of participatory research as "... understanding the political economy of knowledge; its practice linked inquiry and investigation of social reality with learning and education, .. organising and action" (p.288).

In the 1980s, such visioning refined the tools and methods of participation in project planning and implementation to allow the greater use of participatory principles. Moreover, participatory research added a vast array of tools and techniques to create share, enhance and analyse indigenous knowledge, often referred to as rapid rural appraisal (RRA) (Chambers, 1994; Taylor and Mayo, 2008). Its further evolution into participatory rural appraisal (PRA)/participatory learning and action (PLA) drew attention of development practitioners and aid agencies. Thus significant research and projects were carried out to learn about rural life and agricultural farming

systems with and by the rural communities to plan and to act (Chambers, 1994). RRA is primarily concerned with local peoples' knowledge to be studied by outsiders (data extracting mode), whereas PRA/PLA focuses on local peoples' analytical capabilities to improve their social capital (empowering mode) and to undertake sustainable local action and institution (Chambers, 1994 p.958). The idea of PRA/PLA is considered to have vital influence over realising the importance of bottom-up planning approach in both urban and rural context and especially in community planning and action, slum improvement and reducing urban violence (Chambers, 2002 p.14). In the late 1980s, communicative planning theory (cf. Healey, 1992) suggested a new role for planners from the 'all knowing systematised planning to mediating planners' (Lehtonen, 2005 p.150). A detailed analysis on landscape of communicative turn in planning is provided in section 2.5.

Concerns for the sustainability of the environment had not entered the planning discourse as such when the 1992 Rio earth summit brought home the message with the ratification of LA21 by national governments. The concept of sustainable development brought about some major challenges in global policy and politics by requiring effective engagement between political leaders, bureaucrats, businesses and the community. In practice, a global agreement on sustainable development resulted in increasing use of community participation in local planning and decision-making as a norm. The normative standards set by this widely accepted agenda emphasized two essential criteria for designing wide ranging operational goals: consensualism and realism (Lafferty, 1996). Briefly, realism is concerned with ethical consideration of responsive human behaviour on nature. Consensualism signifies the rationale of collaborative decision-making and thus provides a strategic direction towards democracy and participation in the planning process. Later on, LA21 offered local planning authorities a clear direction to organise participative structures along with facilitating the development of mechanisms and tools to promote community integration into the system. In response, cities in western countries, quickly adopted strategies of LA21 for building local partnership and accountability (Freeman, 1996).

It is contended that it was the development aid agencies' requirements for local governments to form partnership ventures with the local community (as required by Chapter 24 of Local Agenda 21) that made significant impact on planning practice in

developing countries in the late 1990s. Due to pressure from aid agencies, rather than growing out of sustained debates, local authorities attempted mostly unsuccessful exercises of implanting participatory planning and decentralisation of central government functions.

By the late 1990s, growing body of critical work on participation had accumulated with scholars questioning the participatory prescription of aid organisations without considering the capacities and contextual appropriateness of receiving countries. Cooke and Kothari (2001) termed this as ‘the new tyranny’. The development philosophy dominated by international aid agencies responded to this criticism with the introduction of ‘good governance’ agenda to invest in the promotion of institutionalised efficiency and citizen empowerment. It also underlined the need to re-think the participation process looking at the best practice and learning from the mistakes (Hickey and Mohan, 2005). While it remains to be seen whether an effective governance system could be achieved in the developing world context in the face of an inefficient bureaucracy, entrenched corruption and a volatile political situation, the world has been hit by the forces of globalization. Tandon (2008 p.291) argues that “(d)evelopment, participation, civil society, governance and democracy have all acquired a new colour due to these forces and the pressures towards globalization”. Thus participation models needs to be more dynamic to take up the challenges of complex governance and socio-political peculiarities.

4.3. Unpacking Participation Models: Meanings and Practice

Before attempting to set out the criteria for defining appropriate participatory planning models, some of the popular participation models reported in the literature are analysed. I have selected three analytical models that seek to classify the type and levels of participation yielded by specific policies and programs sought to be achieved in community development actions. The participation models are representative of three broader categories: models that focus mainly on degrees/magnitude of participation; models associated with participatory planning process; and finally, models that define the role of planners/State. Each of these models seeks to illustrate the level of participation that could be achieved, classifying the levels under three basic labels, namely, non-participatory intention, tokenism (medium level), and citizen control (supreme level of participation) (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Typologies of participation models for urban planning

Aim of approach	Categorization		
	Typology	Process	Role of planners/State
	Arnstein (1969)	Mostert (2003)	Choguill (1996)
Citizen control	▲ Citizen control	Decision making	Empowerment
	▮ Delegated power	Co-decision making	Partnership
	▮ Partnership	Co-designing	
Tokenism	▮ Placation	Discussion	Conciliation
	▮ Consultation	Consultation	Dissimulation
	▮ Informing		Diplomacy
	▮		Informing
Non-participation	▮ Therapy	Information	Conspiracy
	▮ Manipulation		Self-management

The first typology is based on the degree and kind or form of participation. Cornwall (2008) suggests that “most typologies carry with them implicit normative assumptions which place these forms of participation along an axis of good or bad” (p.270). Arnstein’s (1969) ‘ladder of citizen participation’ is one of the best examples that set out degrees of participation along a gradient of power sharing between citizens and service providers (Rasche et al., 2006). In response to the limitations of contemporary American planning systems in mandating ‘maximum feasible participation’, she illustrated the metaphor of a ‘ladder of participation’ involving eight rungs (Burns, 2003). The ladder represents partnership and citizen control over project decision as the supreme degree of participation whereas manipulation and therapy as lowest degree of participation. It offers a solid ground to understand the level or degree of community involvement possible in the formal process of the government/planning agencies. This spectrum views participation from a citizen activist’s perspective and perhaps, is sceptical of participation choices generated within the political structures, relating it to the range of choices open to officials (Bishop and Davis, 2002).

Arnstein was aware of her ladder’s non-universality and cautioned fellow planners about its inability to incorporate significant ‘roadblocks’ to achieve meaningful participation such as paternalism and resistance of power holders; and political, socio-economic and psychological factors related to low income communities. Later, this model was also criticised for not having a logical progression among the rungs, unrealistic distribution of citizen power, and for not considering innovations in

participatory mechanisms and improved legislative framework (Connor, 1988; Fung, 2006). However, Arnstein's concept of participation has influenced later models and frameworks in urban planning and many other fields (Burns, 2003).

In response to the limitations of Arnstein's classic model, a number of participation models came into practice mostly suggesting new spectrum of public involvement focusing on democratic dilemma, citizen empowerment, consensus building and specific policies. Connor (1988) offered a new ladder of participation intended to better reflect 'logical progression' among the rungs with a cumulative approach in conflict resolution (Figure 4.1).

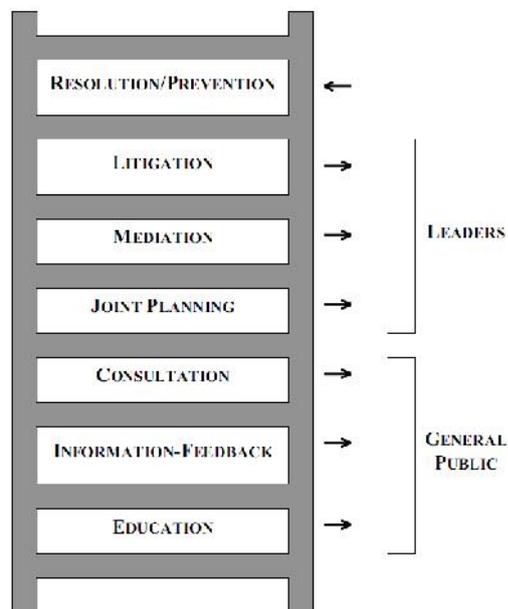


Figure 4.1: A New Ladder of Citizen Participation.

(Connor, 1988)

He proposed to undertake educational and information-feedback activities through surveys, organizational profile and other media in order to resolve public controversy. If it failed to mediate the conflicts, the ladder suggested higher level of mechanisms to reach a resolution such as consultation, joint planning, mediation, litigation and modification of organizational structures/policies. The ladder demonstrated a cumulative increment in level of citizen participation up to joint planning stage. Connor (1988) advocated for using mediation and litigation mechanisms to prevent dispute over public controversy although several approaches could be used simultaneously to satisfy related stakeholders involved. Unlike

Arnstein's model, this ladder made operational demarcation for general citizens and community leaders and excluded higher level of participation for the citizens like delegation or citizen control (Burns, 2003):

While Arnstein's scale was deliberately designed to emphasize citizen empowerment, Connor's ladder focuses primarily on situations where one party, usually government, holds primary authority to decide and may have to engage or even negotiate with others, but would not hand over decision-making power to them. (p.5)

By questioning the appropriateness of participation in the development context, Choguill (1996) proposed a modification of Arnstein's model and designed an alternative model (Figure 4.2). She argues that developing countries need special treatment in terms of designing participation model because of diversified socio-economic context that Arnstein's model was unable to respond to. In contrast to Arnstein, Choguill's model was developed on a scale "based on the degree of governmental willingness in carrying out community mutual-help projects" (Choguill, 1996 p.435). She points out eight cases to represent government's stance from neglecting citizens to support them in the form of partnership and empowerment (Figure 4.2). Choguill (1996) depicts community self-management as the worst case of participation, claiming that "self management implies situations that result from lack of governmental interest in or even opposition to the poor people's demands" (p.440). The revised model also highlights the fact that communities in developing countries needed external help (from government or NGOs) to be empowered so that they become capable of controlling the project over formal decision-making process to attain a superior level of participation. The model is primarily concerned with community participation in government's development projects for urban poor and how the extent of government support (to either manipulate or engage) creates participation space for the community (Burns, 2003). Choguill (1996) concludes that:

... governments can support, manipulate, reject or neglect the poor people's demands. And as the ladder of participation suggests, governmental attitude is essential in determining the potential results of the community effort. .. However, at any level of the ladder, it is clear that people's self-determination plays a significant role in the process of improving their own condition. (p.443)

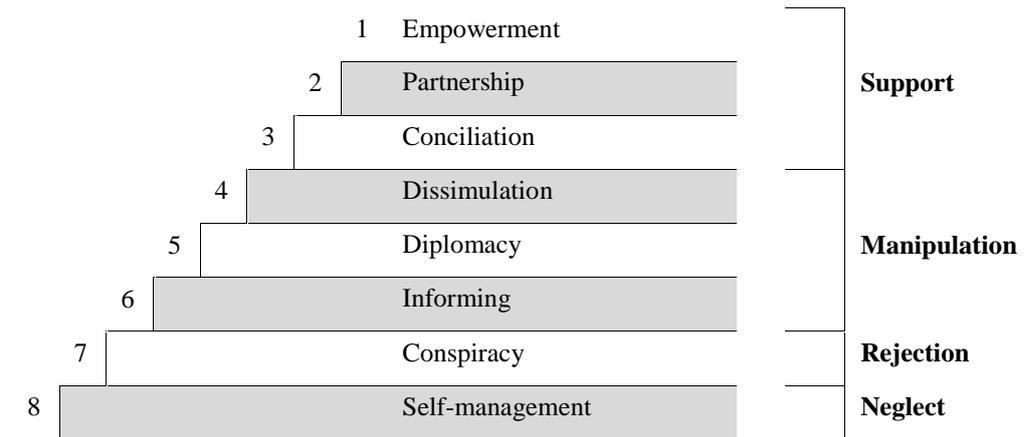


Figure 4.2: A Ladder of Community Participation for Underdeveloped Countries
(Choguill 1996).

A third category of model was envisaged by Mostert (2003) (Figure 4.3). The model shows six different processes or methods through which participation could be carried out. The rungs in the model describe the types of interaction occurred between stakeholders and responsible authorities which represents various degrees of participation. It also identifies that participation is done through a number of ways, such as:

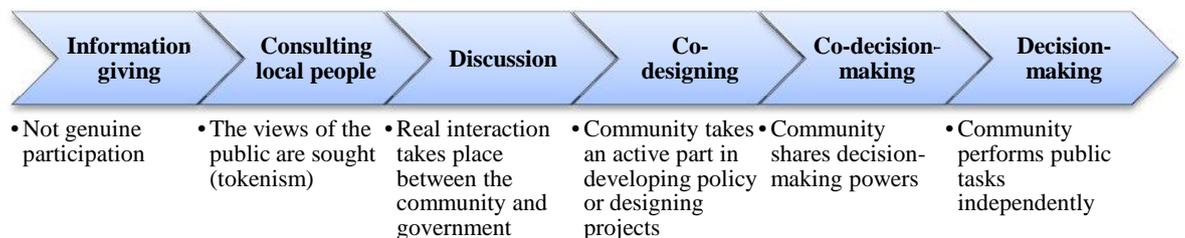


Figure 4.3: Degrees of public participation in planning and management (Mostert 2003 p.183).

4.4. Testing the Applicability of Existing Theories and Models

Based on a review of popular analytical models of participation found in the literature, it appears that no single model is fully applicable within the development context. Moreover, as Davies (2001) notes, legitimate and pre-organized approaches reflected in these models have resulted in consistently low levels of public involvement even since the concept came into practice in 1970s. Consequently, participation frameworks have been subjected to several modifications to better address the complex governance and socio-political context including power-sharing.

In the following sections, I discuss the shortcomings of the popular participation models by examining the degree to which they explain the role of the government/state or local planning authorities as well as the dynamics of socio-political context which affect participatory behavior and actions of citizens. In other words, I try to examine the extent of comprehensiveness of existing models and thereby their capacity to address complex governance and socio-political characteristics of developing countries.

The concept and application of the popular participation models are set within the theoretical discourse that uses “terminology and value judgments that high levels of participation are the desirable goal, and that low levels of participation are a result of government attempts to restrict and manipulate participation” (Burns, 2003 p.6). There is, therefore, a tendency to ignore potential impacts on the participation spectrum associated with the attitude of the community, which is very much contextual and has remained unexplored.

Though Arnstein’s model remains the benchmark for many participation models, it has a number of limitations. Tritter and McCallum (2006) point to its failure to capture “the dynamic and evolutionary nature of user involvement” (p.165). They contend that the model does not consider the process of framing problems by the citizens as it only focuses on designing solutions (Tritter and McCallum, 2006).

From a good governance perspective, I find that the model does not take into account the significance of institutional credibility. It needs to be emphasised that successful participation in the context of developing countries requires developing trust between citizens and the planning and development agencies. It is also imperative to enhance the capacity of the institutions to promote and incorporate effective participation. Tritter and McCallum (2006 p.162) stresses that “concentration on delegation of power from officials to users does not lead to citizen control unless authority and responsibility are also delegated”. Arnstein’s model is also criticized in the literature for its faulty assumption that seems to suggest that the level of community involvement in the planning process is always progressive. However, Silver et al. (2010) reminds us that:

While it is true that in some instances citizens demand more inclusive, responsive and efficient government that equitably redistributes resources, in other cases, such as

NIMBY conflicts, people selectively get involved to protest majority decisions, civic action or the public interest. (pp.453-54)

Choguill (1996) also criticises Arnstein's model because of its potential non-functionality in a diverse socio-economic context representing developing countries. The ladder is developed based on a stable political context of western countries and where social disparity is comparatively lesser than that of developing countries. She offers an alternative 'ladder' of participation that recognises the importance of empowering the urban poor. Choguill, however, doesn't propose how this could be achieved and what roles NGOs and civil societies could play in this regard. While it brings to attention some of the peculiarities of the developing world contexts, it does not address the prevalence of traditional or informal planning contexts that may run in parallel with the formal system. The socio-political networks that have survived in South Asia from colonial times to present, for example, must be acknowledged and provided for in conceptualising a model of participation that could be meaningful and effective in the context of reality. Relying on snapshot case studies from various contexts, Choguill fails to portray a complete picture of a planning system or its planning cycle within a particular setting. Furthermore, although she agrees that positive governmental attitude is essential for engaging community, she does not indicate how it affects the community's decision to undertake participatory actions. The role that prevalent socio-political relations and the socio-economic status of the participants play in shaping the individual's attitude towards or against participation remains unanswered in this model.

The participation model developed by Mostert (2003) does not clarify the characteristics of neither citizens nor public institutions required for effective participation. Both Arnstein and Choguill, meanwhile, seem to take for granted a stable political context in which to apply their models. Unlike the developed world, however, developing countries are much more prone to political turmoil for extended periods of time or at certain points during the growth of the nation. While beneficial for basic illustrative purposes of defining fundamental concepts, the utility of these models to either analyse or propose models of participation in the context of planning in developing countries is fairly limited. It may also be noted that in all the models reviewed in this section, the ultimate or highest level of participation is deemed to be

citizen control. I contend that true participation should also aim to ensure that such a state is maintained and perpetuated. It is proposed, therefore, that such models should also strive to incorporate good governance agenda through monitoring and feedback mechanisms that aim for accountability and transparency for all parties. Such mechanisms are essential to build and maintain sustainability of the plan. The following section discusses on integrating participation with various models of urban governance.

4.5. Integrating Participation with Governance: An Emerging Framework

The concept of participation in planning demonstrates that citizens have access to the planning process to different degrees to influence development initiatives and planning decisions that affect them. It is also viewed as a social transformation process to transfer the power and control of planning agencies over to the civil society including private sector organizations, NGOs, elected representatives and general citizens (Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012). The degree of citizens' participation spreads over a spectrum ranges from informing to empowering the citizens where they can share or control the planning process. Arnstein's (1969) seminal work in this regard shows an eight rung ladder of participation: manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership and delegated power (see chapter 6 for details). Despite several limitations of Arnstein's work the idea has conveyed the basic framework to perceive the participation process in various field knowledge and practice.

Gaventa (2002) identifies participation as a tool for empowering citizens and a catalyst to enable suitable structure within the institutions for establishing good governance. It is well documented that local planning programmes become effective and sustainable when citizens are involved in the planning process (Khwaja, 2004). Thus citizens' participation is considered as a central element amongst the four pillars of good governance. Participatory government is necessary to establish good urban governance (JICA, 1995; Brinkerhoff, 2000; Gaventa 2002a; Hickey and Mohan, 2004). For example, JICA (1995) stresses that good governance is the foundation of participatory development inasmuch as it provides the government functions needed to promote participation and create the environment in which participatory processes take place.

Waheduzzaman and Mphande (2012) also show a strong correlation between the degrees of participation and the urban governance models such as authoritarian, bureaucratic, political and democratic (Table 4.3). These models are considered as ideal types rather than specifically contextual and empirically tested (Pierre, 1999). Authoritarian model demonstrates a system with no components of good governance, while democratic model upholds higher quality of urban governance featuring the full range of the four pillars of governance. While Table 4.3 defines the stages of participation and corresponding governance models, Figure 4.4 illustrates how increased participation level contributes to improving the governance system.

Table 4.3: Stages of citizens' participation represented by governance models

Stage of Citizens' Participation	Model of Governance
<p>Informing</p> <p>Inform- a one-way process, when the governing agency tells people about their decision before or during implementation of development programs.</p>	<p>Authoritarian Model:</p> <p>In this model a decision comes from the top and is implemented mostly by bureaucrats. Total process of program is not transparent, accountable and predictable.</p>
<p>Consulting</p> <p>Consult- a two-way communication, but engagement of people is limited within the decision making of the program. Governing agency is used to inform people to get feedback but makes decision and implements unilaterally.</p>	<p>Bureaucratic Model:</p> <p>In this model people's participation is not enough to ensure the transfer of power. The process of program is less transparent and less predictable, and the agency remains accountable to the top not to the people.</p>
<p>Involving</p> <p>Involve- at this stage governing agency not only listens to people to make decision, but also engages people for budget distribution and implements the program together. Usually the whole community does not get the scope to be engaged in this process.</p>	<p>Political Model:</p> <p>In this model people's participation is enough, but people are engaged in the development programs in different segments that may evolve conflicts. Governing agency is transparent and accountable to a group of people but not to the whole community.</p>
<p>Empowering</p> <p>Empower- at this stage the governing agency allows developing the capacity of people to come with their decisions and resources to implement development programs jointly. Agency works as a facilitator.</p>	<p>Democratic Model:</p> <p>This model allows developing partnerships with people, delegate authority to make decisions and implements program with the sharing of local knowledge. Total process of the program is highly transparent, accountable and predictable.</p>

Source: Waheduzzaman, 2008 p.4; Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012 p.7.

Table 4.3 shows a gradual increment in the empowerment status of the citizens along with the stages of participation. Here, empowerment refers to the capacity to share and control the planning process which can be achieved through increased levels of participation of citizens into the planning process (World Bank, 1996). Referring to the good governance agenda, Waheduzzaman and Mphande (2012) suggest that “the higher empowered people can ensure higher accountability, transparency, and predictability of governing agencies .. [and thus] the [quality] of good governance increases through higher people’s participation in development programs” (p.6) (Figure 4.4).

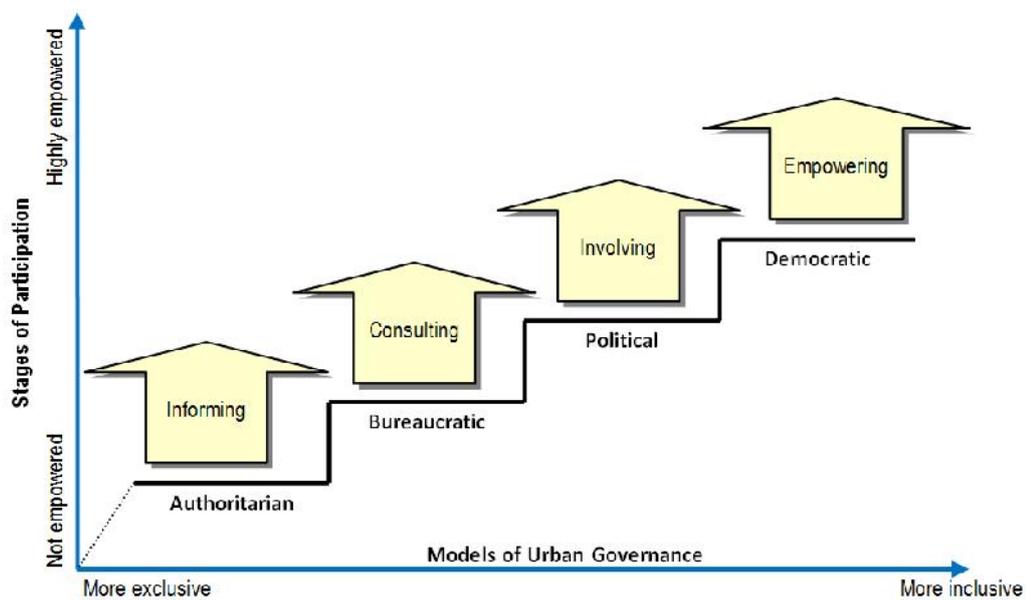


Figure 4.4: Interrelationship between degrees of citizens’ participation and governance models
(Adapted from Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012).

The above discussion demonstrates an important proposition that the levels of participation directly reflects to the quality of governance; In other words, more functional participation of citizens can establish good governance by enhancing accountability, transparency and predictability in the planning system. This also signifies the need to heighten the participation level in the planning agencies of developing countries, which is actually desired by the aid agencies and donor countries (JICA, 1995; World Bank, 2000, 2002; LGED, 2009).

Proponents of participatory planning insist that local governance is not a single actor’s function. It is seen as a pluralistic and people led function, which can be

termed as community governance (Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012). From a strong democratic perspective, planners are seen as enabler rather than an expert while citizens become active participant from passive observer (Evans, 2010).

Empirical evidence suggests that integrating community into the decision-making process bring substantial improvement in project outcomes. For example, a local government development project (financially supported by the United Nations Development Program and United Nations Capital Development Fund) undertook in Sirajganj District of Bangladesh (2000-2006) (Sarker and Hassan, 2010; Hossain and Sen, 2012). The project introduced various participatory activities including participatory budgeting, enhancing transparency and accountability, innovative procedures for enhancing women's participation and resource mobilisation. The outcomes of the project were quite satisfactory and demonstrates that "participation processes could ensure accountability of service providers, increase transparency of works, reduce project costs, and reduce corruption during implementation of local development projects" (Sarker and Hassan, 2010; Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012 p.4). Rao and Ibáñez (2005) demonstrate similar community driven project in Jamaica assisted by the World Bank. They observe that local participation in the planning process enhance citizens' satisfaction over development agencies and in turn develop trust between the community and the service providers.

4.6. Setting Criteria for Participation Framework in Developing Countries

In response to the inadequate representation of the developing context by existing participation models highlight the urgent need to outline the contextual framework within which participation is to be operationalised. A draft list of parameters that truly reflects the context of developing countries should take into account the full range of variety of forms of participation that prevail. This would range from institutional governance to participatory behaviour and actions of the citizens. In this regard, Fung (2006) suggests that participation can take place in a space with three dimensions: scope of participation; mode of communication and decision; and extent of authority available to citizens. The form of participation largely depends on the characteristics of these three dimensions. In this study, Fung's 'institutional design space of decision-making' provides essential input for illustrating the nature of criteria that can influence decision-making process. Considering poor urban

governance and dynamics of the community, I therefore, contend that a comprehensive set of parameters illuminating institutional and citizens' concerns should be operationalised while designing frameworks for engaging communities in the planning process of developing countries (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Proposed parameters for understanding the participation space in developing countries

Space of participation	Dimension of space	Potential outcomes
<i>Institutional space</i>	Mandates of the institutions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Legislation and policies emphasising participation ▪ Political motivation ▪ Aid conditionalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Normative and legitimate participation
	Governance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Effective communication interface for the citizen ▪ Practice of good governance agenda in decision-making (transparency, accountability, equity and inclusiveness) ▪ Influence of informal network 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enhancing awareness of the citizen on the planning process ▪ Demand mediation ▪ Negotiation and trust building
	Extent of authority <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Practitioners' perceptions on citizens' demand and aspiration ▪ Intention to transfer of power ▪ Offer of engagement to the citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Better understandings of participation needs of the community ▪ Political will and commitment to allow/solicit participation ▪ Creation of options for community to participate
<i>Societal space</i>	Capability/Capacity of the citizens <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Socio-economic condition ▪ Trust in local planning agencies/state ▪ Status of social capital ▪ Practice of informal governance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Choices to participate ▪ Attitude towards participation
	Communication & decisions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Access to planning information ▪ Awareness of the planning process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participatory actions and significant level of engagement
	Extent of authority <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Aspiration of the citizens (level of engagement) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Realisation of participation expected from citizens

These criteria capture the status of institutional governance of planning authorities as well as the socio-political context that, together largely shape citizens' attitude towards participation. Such characterisation of the participation space would acknowledge the several factors that may have intrinsic value in determining the level of participation in an uneven socio-political context. Table 4.4 suggests that apart from legitimacy instruments of participation and political democracy, governmental attitude (political will, support and performance) are also critical for promoting participation in planning and decision-making. While supportive attitude and practice of good governance principles can contribute to increasing opportunities for citizens to participate, manipulative attitude of government agencies alienate citizens or demoralise them. On the other hand, however, citizens' attitude may also affect participatory actions undertaken by the community. Existing socio-political context of the citizens, their trust on local government and aspiration or apathy could influence the attitude building towards participation. In order to understand the full spectrum of participation, a range of additional factors also need to be taken into consideration. Ross et al. (2002) lists such factors as flexibility, pragmatism, equity and diversity among horizontal and vertical links. For a comprehensive understanding, chapter 6 focuses on these key issues of factors affecting citizens' tendency to participate. Meanwhile, chapter 8 shows the ground reality of these factors using a case study in Bangladesh.

4.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, it is identified that existing participation models are limited in their ability to account for the uneven topography of the society as found in many developing countries. They are also of limited value when used as a guiding framework to achieve the objectives of good governance and globalisation. There is an urgent need to re-design a comprehensive planning framework that identifies an account for urban poverty, illegal flow of resources, deep-rooted corruption and political unrest.

Participatory initiatives have been limited to those undertaken to meet the conditions set by international donors who usually tend to insist on applying universal (read inflexible and non-contextual) planning approaches. Development practitioners and scholars have long been opposed to importing strategies of developed world into the

countries struggling with socio-economic obstacles. An up-to-date framework of participation needs to be defined that can bring into focus the collaboration between civil society, NGOs and the State to effect intervention aimed at empowering people. In response to this urgent need, a list of criteria for understanding the participation space in developing countries is proposed to capture the various aspects and dimensions that are essential to promote institutional reform and critical to reduce corruption and undue political influence. Considering the limitations of existing participation models, both external and internal factors are identified to produce a comprehensive framework for participation.

CHAPTER: 5

Research Design and Inquiry

5.1. Introduction

Research designs are plans, procedures and frameworks for research that begin with broad assumptions which lead to detailed methods of data collection and analysis. Generally, research design is divided into three phases including deciding what, planning how and actually doing (Sarantakos, 2005). According to Thyer (1993)¹²:

A traditional research design is a blueprint or detailed plan for how a research study is to be completed – operationalizing variables so they can be measured, selecting a sample of interest to study, collecting data to be used as a basis for testing hypothesis, analyzing the results. (p.94)

A well planned design is the key to a successful research. It serves the following purposes (Kumar, 2005; Creswell, 2009): rationalise time and resources; direct research activity in a sequential and logical order; ensures reliability and validity of the data; and open avenues for future research. In this research, the plan includes several key decisions such as determining research problem, informing the assumptions of the worldview, strategies and procedure of inquiry, data collection methods, data analysis and interpretation for justifying the contribution to the field of knowledge. This chapter discusses the experience in the field research and the research approach adopted in the field work. It starts with orienting research paradigms to explain the philosophical and strategic directions of the research approach. Empirical research section describes the research methods, data collection procedure and explains the techniques of data analysis employed in this research. Finally it outlines the strategies applied to ensure reliability and limitations.

5.2. Research Paradigms and Methods

In general, three types of designs are applied in most research projects: qualitative, quantitative and a mixture of these two methods (Creswell, 2009). The appropriate

¹² Cited in Kumar, 2005

methodology is chosen on the basis of the purpose of the research, the nature of the expected outcome and the underlying theoretical paradigm (Sarantakos, 2005). Qualitative research is a means of exploring and understanding the perceptions of individuals or groups attributed to social or human problem. Quantitative research, on the other hand, seeks to test objective theories by examining the relationships among variables (Creswell, 2009). A mixed method utilise the assumptions of both qualitative and quantitative strategies to understand and examining complex social issues.

The choice of research design is largely influenced by the broader philosophical ideas they espouse, known as “Philosophical Worldviews” (Creswell, 2009 p.5). Guba (1990) defines worldview as a meaning “a basic set of beliefs that guide action” (p.17). The term is also known as paradigms, epistemologies and ontologies (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Robson (2002) outlines two predominant worldviews of social research that guide researchers to decide research methodology (e.g., data collection, analysis, write-up and validation) and strategies of inquiry (qualitative/quantitative or mixed method strategies) including: Post-positivist and Social Constructivism (Figure 5.1).

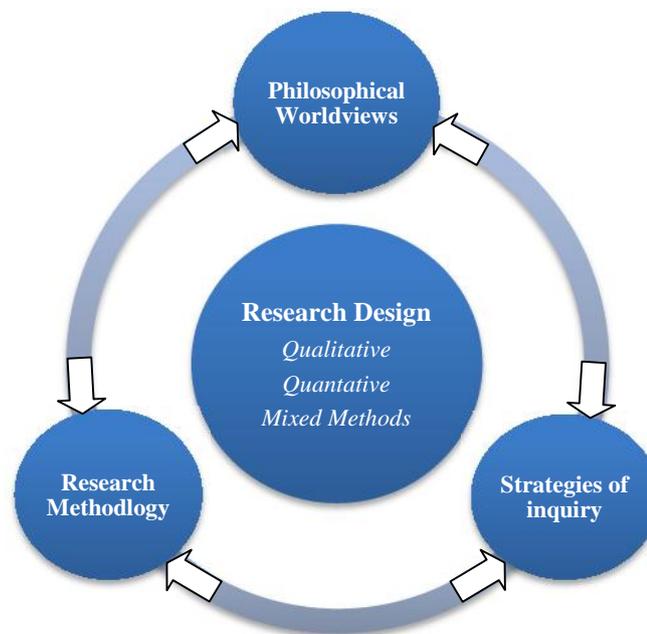


Figure 5.1: A framework for design – the interconnection of worldviews, strategies of inquiry and research methodology

(modified from Creswell, 2009 p.5).

However, Creswell (2009) outlines another two worldviews including Advocacy/Participatory worldview and Pragmatic worldview which are concerned with the needs of marginalised groups and freedom of choice respectively. Depending on the nature of the study, profile of the participants and expected outcome, research design may be determined by following either single or composite worldviews as necessary (Al-Attar, 2011)

The post-positivist represents traditional form of research inclined to scientific methods. According to Creswell (2009), this worldview holds:

a deterministic philosophy in which causes probably determine effects or outcomes. (...) The knowledge that develops through a positivist lens is based on careful observation and measurement of the objective reality that exists “out there” in the world. Thus, developing numeric measures of observations and studying the behavior of individuals becomes paramount for a post-positivist. (p.7)

In this regard, quantitative research is clearly referred to as post-positivist, experimental or the empiricist paradigm. Quantitative research paradigm is also characterised by value free, context free, deductive and relatively more deterministic in nature (Snape and Spencer, 2003). Research methods derived from quantitative paradigm is predominantly includes the use of experiments and surveys with structured questionnaire and interviews to collect required data.

The social constructivists seek understanding of individual’s subjective meanings of experiences. Thus, it leads the researcher to look at the “complexity of views [and perceptions] rather than narrowing meaning into a few categories or ideas” (Creswell, 2009 p.8). Qualitative research paradigm is also characterised by value-laden and biased, contextual, inductive and more probabilistic in nature (Snape and Spencer, 2003). It acknowledges that planning knowledge and solutions are not universal, instead, they should be constructed differently based on the context of culture and time (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). It is relatively flexible and includes a range of approaches.

Being a study based on participants’ realities and understanding of the socio-political dynamics of how they participate in the planning process, a constructivist approach is most appropriate. It is particularly useful to examining subjectivity of realities and actions to be government by socio-cultural contexts, political environment and institutional arrangements (Flick, 2009). In terms of the goal of this research, ascertaining a participation model for reflecting realities of developing countries, a strategy embedded in ‘grounded theory’ concept seems appropriate (Cresswell, 2009). Grounded theory is a method suitable for researchers who aim at developing own theories from a research project. It requires a systematic data collection and analysis to establish the perceptions grounded in the views of participants (Willig, 2008). However, it is difficult to adopt a single worldview to address complex social-political urban systems as community participation issue demonstrates in reality. This research contends that “a level of quantification of certain issues within this research is possible and a need may arise to adopt a quantitative method for that specific issue or issues within the overall research” (Al-Attar, 2011 p.112). Therefore, a combination of both worldviews representing a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods is applied for this study.

5.3. Rationale for the Empirical Study

The field study was conducted at Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh to examine the ground reality of the participation framework discussed in Table 4.4 (Chapter 4). Dhaka is one of the highest populated cities in the world having multi-dimensional urban problems. RAJUK, the city development authority has recently completed the preparation of Detailed Area Plan (DAP) for this mega city. The research aims to determine citizens and practitioners’ viewpoint on the process and level of community participation maintained in the planning process. The key questions were mainly: who participated and how? Who didn’t participate and why not? How would they want to involve? The purposes of the empirical study are as follows (Table 5.1):

Table 5.1: Justifications of conducting the empirical study

No.	Issues addressed in this study	Purposes of investigation
1	Demographic information of the respondents and their interactions with planning agencies	Understating the context of the case study

No.	Issues addressed in this study	Purposes of investigation
2	Status of the citizen-planning agencies communication interface	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Determining the nature and effectiveness of information dissemination process • Level of public awareness of the planning process • Impacts of information dissemination process on citizens' participate on
3	Dimension of patron-client network prevailed in urban context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effects of involving in patron-client network on participatory behaviour of the citizens
4	Dynamics of participation (process and factors)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pattern of citizens' participation • Reasons for non-participation • Aspiration of participation
5	Internal and external realities of participation: Citizens and practitioners' perspective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dimensions of factors • Determining the significance of each realities affecting citizens' participation • Relationship between individual's social capital and participation • Similarities/gap between the viewpoints of citizens and practitioners

5.4. Empirical Research: Method and Process

The empirical study, conducted during 2011, interviewed 290 heads of households residing across nine locations within DAP areas. Empirical research was conducted under the broader umbrella of participatory governance. A study of all three elements of participatory urban governance (urban development planning, financial management and service delivery) (see section 3.4.5) is not within the limit of this thesis. It is aimed to examine citizen participation in urban development planning. The questionnaire sought to investigate communities' views on their participation in the planning processes carried out by RAJUK while preparing DAP. It focused factors affecting their participation and aspiration towards engagement in the planning process at local context. The survey was administered in areas where DAPs have been carried out and verified as such by RAJUK. The following sections present a detail look into the methods and process of the study.

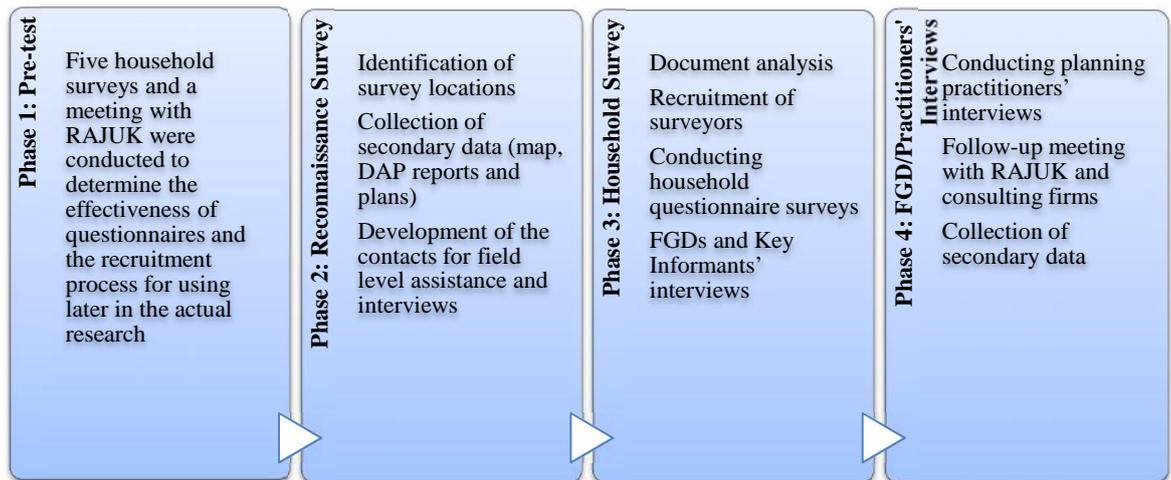


Figure 5.2: Research Chronology

The field study was consisted of four phases (Figure 5.2). After obtaining the approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee of Curtin University, questionnaires and research methods were pre-tested before actual field work took place. The researcher first established contact with RAJUK and Development Design Consultants Limited (DDC)¹³ officials to discuss the preliminary arrangement and support to carry out the field study. With the help of these organisations, pre-testing was carried out in Tajgon area of Dhaka city to test the materials prepared for field works including recruitment letter, questionnaire and information sheet. Five households were randomly picked for questionnaire pre-testing each of the interviews took around 30 minutes and there were no cases of distress. Most of the participants co-operated mainly because the researcher was a student and did not represent any commercial or political organisation. Moreover, the participants were eager to share their experiences and views. The meeting with RAJUK broadly covered the availability of secondary materials including maps and reports, outlining the field survey locations and schedule and identification of key informants.

At the next stage, an in-depth review of collected secondary materials was carried out. The findings of the document analysis provided valuable input in constructing survey instruments. However, the collection of secondary materials continued to update information and to obtain data for writing the thesis. Simultaneously, the location and sample size of household survey were decided along with developing

¹³ A key consulting firm engaged in preparing DAP

local contacts as well as collection of secondary data regarding DAP. In the third and fourth phases, household surveys and interviews of practitioners were carried. The results of field investigations were triangulated through FGD and key informants' interviews for the test validity of collected data.

5.4.1. Document Analysis

The study participation in DAP preparation process, a review all relevant documentation was carried out which included policies and strategies, government reports, DAP reports, national and city wide statistics, and GIS based maps. Analysis of relevant documentation aimed to:

- Understand the evolution pattern of formal planning in Bangladesh and practice of participatory decision-making;
- Examine institutional participation space; and
- Prepare a profile of DAP preparation process and community engagement

In Chapter 6 - 8, I present a review of the above mentioned issues with particular focus on community consultation and involvement in line with the relevant theoretical and empirical analysis. The review is primarily based on the legal documents, DAP reports prepared by the consulting firms, media releases and other secondary sources which is aimed at clarifying the institutional perspectives regarding the preparation of DAP. The objective of this review is to establish a context to understand the results of the field study and to convey critical information to undertake a comparative analysis between institutional and citizens' perspectives in Chapter 8 and 9.

Findings derived from document analysis set the foundation of the context of the case study and help to compare between published information and ground realities leading to form a part of the triangulation process (Yin, 2003; Creswell, 2009). In this regard, relevant documents were carefully reviewed and applied within the field study for data validation and enhancing reliability of the research.

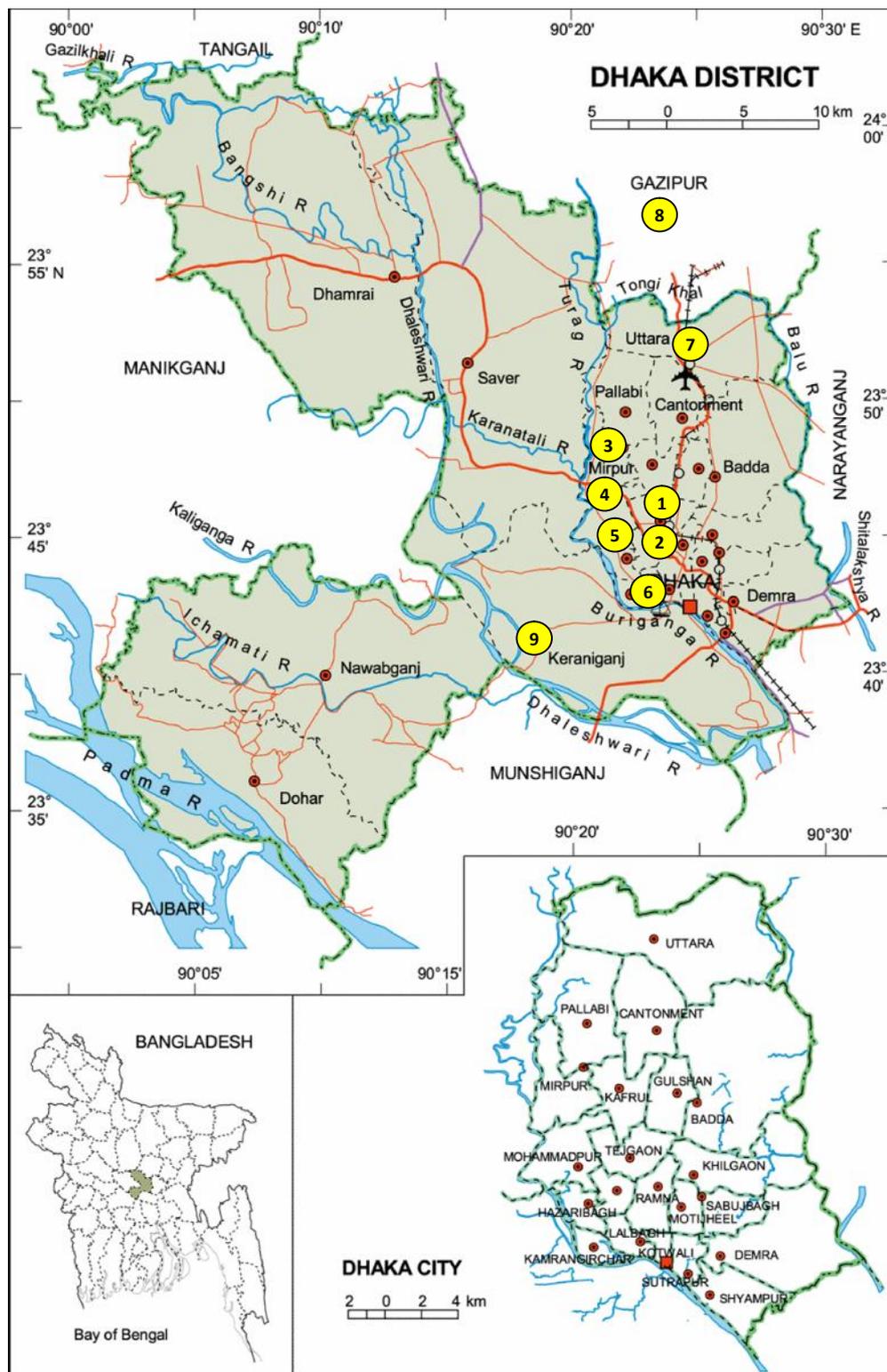
5.4.2. Household survey

Nine neighborhoods were selected in consultation with RAJUK from the primary list to administer questionnaire survey (Table 5.2 and Figure 5.3). Selection process carefully considered relative representation from core areas, newly developed areas, organic residential areas, planned residential area and areas having conflicts with RAJUK in terms of implementing DAP. The reasons behind taking larger sample in newly extended areas of DAP than that of the core areas of central Dhaka city is that the participants living in the extended areas were supposed to have more interactions in terms of DAP with RAJUK and to face major planning interventions. This might expose them to the increasing challenges of participation in the planning process.

Table 5.2: Locations of household surveys in DAP areas

SL	Location	Character of landuse	Sample size/ total participants involved	
			For questionnaire survey	FGD
1	Tejgaon	Industrial and residential	20	4
2	Dhanmondi	Mixed use	30	6
3	Mirpur	Organic residential	30	5
4	Kollyanpur (Mirpur)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newly extended areas • Organic residential 	20	6
5	Mohammadpur	Organic residential	30	6
6	Choukbazar (Lalbagh)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mixed use/old settlements • Community conflicts reported 	30	8
7	Uttara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newly extended areas • Planned residential/real estate developments 	30	5
8	Gazipur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newly extended areas • Community conflicts reported 	70	10
9	Keranigonj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newly extended areas • Community conflicts reported 	30	8
Total			290	

Total population of Dhaka city is 13.4 million (BBS 2005; STP, 2005)



Keys: (1) Tejgaon; (2) Dhanmondi; (3) Mirpur; (4) Kollyanpur (Mirpur); (5) Mohammadpur; (6) Choukbazar (Lalbagh); (7) Uttara; (8) Gazipur; and (9) Keranigonj.

Figure 5.3: Location of household surveys in DAP areas

(Source: http://www.banglapedia.org/HT/D_0156.HTM)

Sample design

In this study, population implies the households within DAP areas. It aimed to understand and analyse their perceptions on participating in the preparation of DAP. A semi-structured questionnaire was applied to carry out the face-to-face survey. At first, the sample size was decided based on the entire population. The key purpose of sampling is to determine a set of elements from the larger population so that the characteristics of those elements reflect a fair trend of the total population (Babbie, 2012; Creswell, 2009).

There are primarily two types of sampling techniques: probability sampling and non-probability/purposive sampling (Walliman, 2005). Probability sampling is widely used in social research for selecting the samples. The method assumes that individuals of the population are identical and possess different characteristics, attitudes, experience and behaviours and therefore no need to stratify them in certain groups (Babbie, 2012). Non-probability sampling, on the other hand, is used for specific purpose and targeted population. Since the households are homogenous in terms of investigating single issue, probability sampling is appropriate for this survey. However, interviews with the planning practitioners were purposeful and targeted to certain group of people, non-probability sampling technique was applied.

Along with selecting the methodology, the accuracy of the research findings largely depends upon sample design. Sampling refers to the selection of a specific segment of the population for investigation (Bryman, 2008). The sampling procedure enables researchers to carry out the study within time and resource constraints. In the next stage, sample size was determined for the survey. It is a general consideration that larger samples produce more accurate and reliable statistics, however, Kitchin and Tate (2000) argue that:

a large sample with a poor sampling design will probably contain less information than a smaller but more carefully designed sample. .. sample size also depends on the variability of the population [under study]. If you already know something about this variability, you can estimate the size of the sample needed to estimate population values with a certain degree of confidence. (p.59)

The study is specifically focused on respondents' participation in preparing DAP and certain variables are already determined to measure. This notion permits the researcher to estimate a desired sample size with a certain degree of confidence. It is considered that higher confidence level provides a more precise estimation of sample size by decreasing standard deviation from mean. As the population is very large, this study refers to Dixon and Leach (1977) where level of confidence is 95% assuming a variability of 50% (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: A guideline for determining sample sizes for a very large population with given levels of confidence assuming a variability of 50%.

Confidence limit (±% of mean)	Confidence level	
	99%	95%
5	663	384
6	461	267
7	339	196
8	259	150
9	205	119
10	166	96
15	74	43
20	41	24

Source: Dixon and Leach (1977 p.10)

A sample size of 290 households was finally decided considering very large population and level of confidence required for a valid research and representativeness of data. The issue of limited time and resources was also noted. To avoid potential bias, simple random sampling approach was applied. This approach is particularly useful when "each unit of the population is given the same probability of independent selection" (Kitchin and Tate, 2000 p.56).

Recruitment of survey team and code of conduct

The survey was conducted by the final year undergraduate students from local universities (from the departments of urban and regional planning, geography, and social science). Team members were recruited on the basis of prior fieldwork experience, conducting questionnaire survey and familiarity with local culture and the interactions between communities and government offices. Members were the

native speakers of Bengali (the local language) and have good command in English. Participants are randomly drawn and no particular ethnic or religious group is targeted. The survey team was given training and orientation on research ethical issues and how to conduct the survey. A training session focusing on developing sensitivity regarding the welfare, rights, beliefs, perceptions, custom and cultural heritage formed a part of the induction of the survey team. The team was also instructed to inform (reading out information sheet) the respondents that the participation in this survey is voluntary and participants are at liberty to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences. It is also ensured that non-participation will not affect an individual's rights or access to other services.

Process of household survey

In the next step, households were selected randomly from listed neighborhoods and no prior notice was given to the respondents. The survey team used layout maps of selected neighborhoods to get the road network and housing pattern. At first, they approached the second household from the corner of the road and continued towards east direction. Participants were provided with the information sheet¹⁴ and asked if they agree to participate in the survey voluntarily. In case participant does not agree, next (alternative selection) household was approached. The survey continued until the target sample size was reached within selected neighborhoods. The information sheet was translated into Bengali (the local language) and a printed copy was handed over to the enumerators in order to read out before conducting each interview. Most of the time oral consent was accepted in the interviews.

The interviews were conducted with the heads of households using a questionnaire including both structured and open-ended questions. All the participants were asked the similar set of questions to ensure cross-variable analysis and comparative studies at the later stage (McAllister, 2011). High levels of flexibility was also maintained to record participant's comments and views in details. Structured questions were included to record data to be utilised for comparative analysis. Community participation issues involve a number of matters which require to understand the subjective meanings of a situation or context such as respondents' attitude towards

¹⁴ A Bengali and English version of information sheet are attached in Appendix

participation and impacts of involving in socio-political network that affects their values and decisions (Creswell, 2009). The researcher and other field investigators were careful to record such issues for further interpretation. Above all, a daily meeting was conducted with the survey team to discuss about any conflicting issue, communication difficulties and progress of fieldwork.

Questionnaire

The design of a questionnaire is related to the studied population, research questions and the unit of analysis (Yin, 2003). The urban development issues covered in the questionnaire are those that are widely discussed in the open forums and do not include any personal or highly controversial matters. The issues identified for investigation are not confidential and do not include any potential of risk or loss to the participants. The contents of the questionnaire are divided into the following five categories in line with the objectives of the research¹⁵:

- Socio-economic profile of the respondents.
- Process of communication between planning agency and the respondents:
- Experience of dealings with the planning agency.
- Experience of participation in DAP preparation including reasons for non-participation.
- Citizens' aspiration and opportunities for enhanced participation.
- Status of individual's social capital; and
- Identification of internal and external factors affecting their participation in the planning process.

The questionnaire involves both close-ended and open-ended questions (Yin, 2003). To ascertain respondents' judgment on the planning services provided by the planning agencies, satisfaction scales were applied. At the end, an open-ended question was asked to mention factors affecting their participation along with rank them according to their level of influence. However, few critical factors identified in literature review were included in the questionnaire to understand their influence on individual's participatory attitude. For example, the levels of informal governance practiced by individuals were measured through three other sub-factors such as: trust

¹⁵ See Appendix 1 for the questionnaire used for household survey.

in neighbours, sense of duty and attitude towards taking part in community actions. This allows the research to collect the information in a more structured way and to guide the respondents to organise their thoughts.

FGDs

Nine FGDs were carried out simultaneously with the household surveys in the locations listed in Table 5.2. The FGD sessions were aimed to discuss the key questions raised in the survey questionnaire in order to get more clarifications of the factors affecting participation. They researcher also had the opportunity to collect data on personal or collective experiences of the community regarding participation. It allows the researcher to triangulate the information collected through household surveys. Each session included 4-10 persons who were randomly invited through open invitation organized by the respective local government representatives. The discussions took around 60 minutes to conclude and the research acted as a facilitator to guide the dialogues (Mikkelsen, 2005).

5.4.3. Practitioners' interview

To determine the factors affecting one's tendency or lack of tendency to participate in the planning process, planning practitioners and key players who were actively involved in preparing master plans for mega city Dhaka, three metropolitan cities (Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi) and small towns in Bangladesh were interviewed. A detail discussion on key research issues and questions asked during household surveys were also conducted to get in-depth knowledge and practitioners' perspectives. In this regard they served as the key informants of this research. A key informant is defined as a source of information who is able to provide a deconstructed view and a complete ethnographic description on certain issue and is undergone through an intensive interview over an extensive period of time (Tremblay, 1957; Mikkelsen, 2005).

An open ended questionnaire¹⁶ was applied for these interviews along with informal conversation. Fifty key informants were selected using snowballing sampling method for the interview (Table 5.4). The researcher used his personal contact and

¹⁶ See Appendix 2 for the Key Informants' questionnaire.

professional network to identify key informants. The key informants were contacted in advance to attain their consent for participating in the research. The respondents were planners of city development authorities and consulting firms, mayors of the municipalities and academics teaching in urban planning programmes. In line with Marfo's (2007) guidelines, selection of the respondents was vested upon their direct involvement in preparing master plans, long professional experience within the local context and familiarity with community interests.

Table 5.4: Summary of selected respondents interviewed

Type of respondents	No.
Planners from city development authorities	12
Planners from local government and municipalities	16
Planners from consulting firms involved in Dhaka master plans	8
Mayors of Municipality	9
Planning Academics	5

Participants were provided with an information sheet and a consent form to sign. It was confirmed that responses would be presented aggregately and personal information would not be disclosed. They were interviewed to determine their perception of the factors that affect community attitudes towards participatory actions in Bangladeshi context. Each interview took around 30-45 minutes and the respondents were asked to list the external and internal factors that determine participants' reality i.e., factors that influence the level of community participation in the planning process. Based on their response, a draft list of significant factors was developed. Practitioners were then asked to rank the factors listed. The discussion was focused on the justification of their ranking of factors and explanation of the different dimensions of each factor.

5.4.4. Data management and analysis

Data collected from household surveys were managed through Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS ver.18) software tool. Responses were recorded and categorised for analysis purpose. SPSS also allowed to record comments against respective respondents. The data analysis involves both qualitative and quantitative in nature. Quantitative techniques were applied for coding, categorisation of the responses, statistical analysis (such as mean, percentage, and cross-tabulation) and

graphical presentation. Results derived from quantitative analysis were then interpreted using empirical evidence, case studies and arguments raised in surveys, FGDs and key informants' interviews. The content analysis of relevant reports, plan, policies and media reports (such as visual and print media) provides descriptive information and cross check of research findings (Babbie, 2012).

To reduce the subjectivity, an independent coding and rank-order analysis were conducted to analyse and compare the views derived from general citizen and practitioners. Rank-order analysis was performed in line with Malhotra (2008) approach, with a view to prioritise participants' realities affecting peoples' actions towards participation (see chapter 7 for details). The biases that shape practitioners' perception of the community were also analysed.

5.4.5. Validity and reliability of data

All good research projects must be valid and reliable. Validity refers to “the soundness, legitimacy and relevance of a research theory and its investigation” (Kitchin and Tate, 2000 p.34). Reliability indicates consistency of a finding and utilising a coherent “deductive strategy of inquiry” (*ibid.* p.34-35). However, the issue of validity and reliability does not refer to the same meaning in qualitative and quantitative studies. In quantitative research, validity indicates that “the researcher’s approach is consistent across different researchers and different projects” (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative studies, on the other hand, are subjective and case-specific in nature and the researchers usually take several strategies to establish the validity of their research (Yin, 2003). Creswell (2009) outlines the following strategies to establish the validity in a qualitative research:

- Triangulate different data sources on a single theme. Validity can be achieved when there is a convergence of several sources;
- Clarify the bias and self-reflections of the researcher. A clear and honest narrative on the influence of researcher’s background (such as gender, culture and history) in interpreting the findings gets easy acceptance to the readers; and

- A negative and discrepant arguments and contradictory evidence that runs against the empirical findings, “becomes more realistic and hence valid” (p.192)

In this study, data was triangulated through several sources of information including survey participants, FGDs and key informants (Figure 5.4). Relevant published materials and reports were consulted to check the validity of the data.

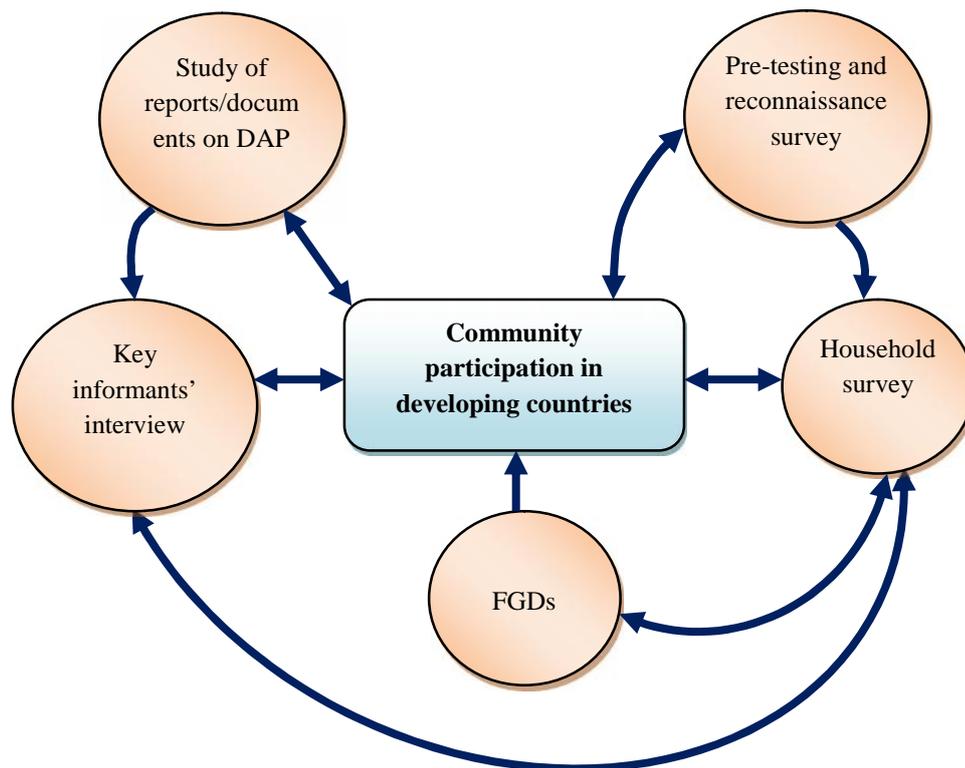


Figure 5.4: triangulation of information using multiple data collection methods and sources to explore process of community participation in developing countries

(adopted from Yin, 2003).

Apart from that the reliability of the data was kept through the following strategies (Gibbs, 2007):

- Checking transcript to remove inconsistency from the database;
- Conducting regular meeting with the research team to share the documentation and analysis; and
- Cross-checking with other studies for comparative analysis

5.4.6. Ethical issues and data storage

Research involving humans are required to comply with current ethical standards in Australia. The ethical standards research involving humans are set by the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMR) and National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research. The Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) of Curtin University ensures that research carrying out in the university maintain the standards through appropriate instruments. HREC (2010) clarifies that:

The aim of ethical review of human research is to ensure that participants in research are not put at risk of harm, are not disadvantaged and are made aware that they may withdraw without prejudice. Broadly, the process of ethical review concentrates on three main areas: A. Gathering informed consent to participate in research projects; B. Protection of privacy and confidentiality of records; and C. Risk of harm to subjects or to groups in the community. (p.3)

As this research involves human participants for questionnaire survey on the issues with minimal risk, an ethics approval sought to the concerned committee at Curtin University. The researcher was well aware about the nature of data collection and ethical issues relating to data collection and reporting. The research did not require identification of the participants at any stage and data collection process would not disrupt their daily activities or unduly raise their expectations. Following tasks were carried out to comply with the ethics guidelines prescribed Curtin University:

- In regards to collect secondary materials (published or unpublished), an information sheet was supplied to the organizations prior to collect them. Information gathered for the research was not confidential and entirely accessible for academic purposes.
- While conducting key informants' interview, an information sheet and a consent form were handed over to the respondents to sign. Interviews were carried out with only those respondents who agreed to take part in prior correspondence. Information sheet and consent form let the participants know about the aim of the research, what information is required from them and what will happen to the data they provide after the research is completed (Gibbs, 2007).

- Another information sheet was provided to respondents participating in household surveys regarding the purpose and use of the research. Oral consent was also obtained prior to commence the interviews. The language of the information sheet was in Bengali (an exact translation of the English version done by a certified translator) which was read out by the interviewer.
- It is noted that participation in household survey undertaken for the research was completely voluntary and participants were at liberty to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences. It was also ensured that non-participation would not affect an individual's rights or access to other services.
- Moreover, the urban development issues covered in the questionnaire were those that were widely discussed in the open forums and did not include any personal or highly controversial matters. The issues identified for investigation were not confidential and did not include any risk or loss to the participants.
- Responses from the interviews were collected on a confidential basis without having any personal identification. Moreover, only the aggregate results (community's response) of the field surveys have been produced ensuring complete anonymity in the information.

All material collected (questionnaire and electronic database) during the study are kept confidential in a safe and secure place at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning in Curtin University. Only researcher and his supervisor have the access to the interview transcripts which would be held securely for a period of five years after the final submission of thesis.

5.5. Conclusion

The current chapter presented research strategies, the data collection methods and approaches involved in the research. A mixed approach including both qualitative and quantitative methods was used as well as various primary and secondary data sources were interpreted to relate to the research questions. Methods such as household surveys, key informants' interviews and FGDs were employed in the fieldwork to obtain information about the dynamics citizens' involvement process in the planning process. Statistical software (SPSS) was used to analyse the quantitative

data and to produce cross-tables, graphs and other statistical presentations. Results are discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.

CHAPTER: 6

Aid-recipient Context: Evolution of Urban Development in Bangladesh

6.1. Introduction

Urban planning in Bangladesh, per se, does not seem to have a long history. The planning system was rooted in the urban government system which started earlier in the sixteenth century during the Mughal Period. The urban government system in the Indian Sub-continent (comprising of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) evolved and initially grew following a similar pattern. Several studies into the history of urban government system in Bangladesh suggest that it has mainly focused on governance and city management while lacking in aspects of urban planning (Blair, 1985; Westergaard and Alam, 1995; Panday and Panday, 2008).

Unlike the situation in most western countries, Bangladeshi cities today are characterized by politicized power and unequal social structure despite entrenched democratic traditions (Khan, 1998; Kochanek, 2000; Rahman, 2008). Socio-economic disparity and an ineffective administrative setup seem to be largely responsible for stifling participatory urban planning and development in Bangladesh. This chapter aims to investigate the evolution pattern of formal planning practice in Bangladesh with particular focus on evaluating the degree of community participation realised by major planning initiatives carried out recently. It is contended that, more than the presence of basic democratic traditions within the society, it is the transition from representative democracy to participative democracy that is crucial to the democratization of the planning system. The chapter thus analyses the historical profile of urban planning in Bangladesh and major reforms in urban local government and sets out to identify the forces that tend to stifle participatory urban planning in the country. In doing so, it focuses on the socio-economic reality within cities and the resulting ineffectiveness of the administrative setup. It also analyses the political system in terms of the power and influence of political parties as well as the role played by international donor agencies and NGOs.

6.2. Institutional Framework of Urban Planning and Governance in Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, local government is sub-divided into two major categories: urban and rural. Two departments are largely responsible for undertaking urban planning and administration in Bangladesh, namely the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives (MLGRD&C) and the Ministry of Housing and Public Works (MH&PW) (Figure 6.1). Local government bodies serve under the MLGRD&C. Local government in urban areas includes city corporations and municipalities (locally referred to as 'pourashava'). The Bangladesh Census Commission recognises 522 urban centres in Bangladesh based on population size, infrastructure and occupational characteristics (Rahman, 2008). Out of these, 398 larger urban areas centres are awarded the municipality status. Each pourashava is authorised to prepare landuse plans and to take up urban management activities. The largest nine cities across the nation have independent city corporations that are responsible for urban service delivery and management, infrastructure development and tax collection. However, the roles and responsibilities of these organisations may be changed by the government from time to time through legislative reforms. Local government also includes district, sub-district (locally referred to as 'thana'/'upazila')¹⁷ and union level bodies at regional and rural level respectively. District and 'upazila' centre statuses are awarded to areas that possess mostly urban characteristics and are required to prepare formal urban plans. Unions, on the other hand, comprise of villages and are subject to small scale infrastructure development and maintenance (Parnini, 2006).

¹⁷ Bangladesh has three tiers of local government: District (Zila), Thana/upazila (sub-district) and Union. Union is the lowest tier of local government comprising several villages. Only certain numbers of sub-district hold the municipality status.

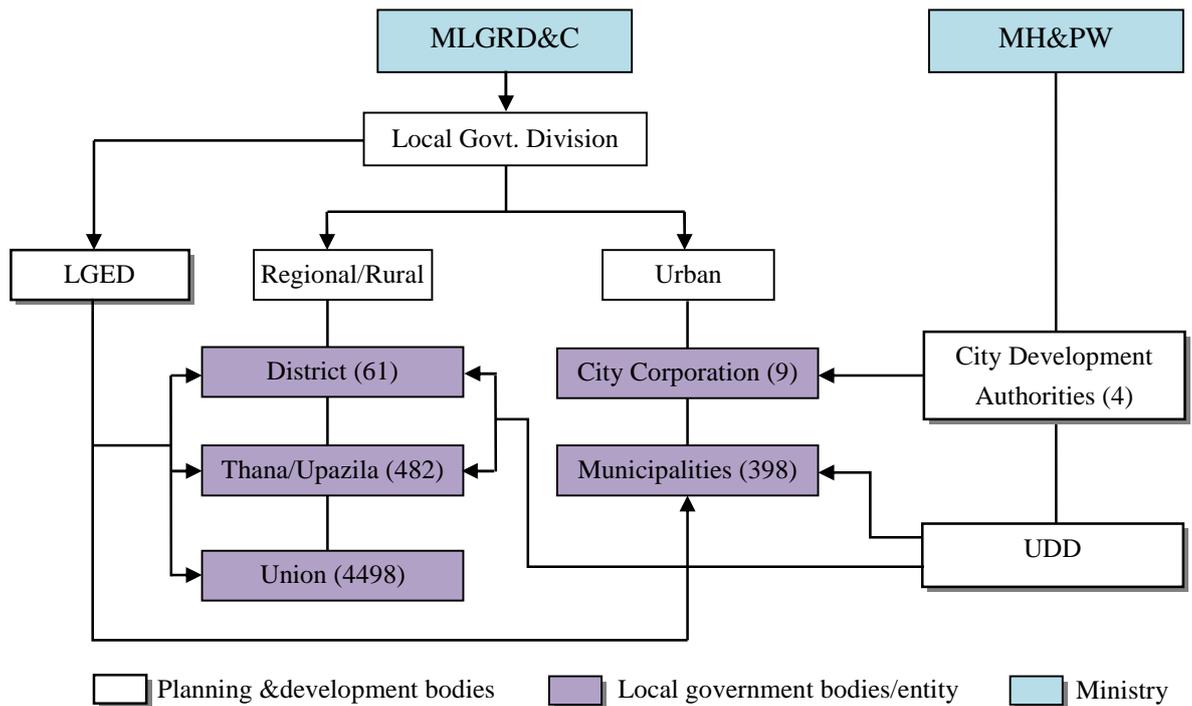


Figure 6.1: Key structure of local government and planning authorities in Bangladesh (modified from Rahman, 2008; Jamil and Panday, 2012)

The MH&PW plays a leading role in legal and formal planning practice in Bangladesh. Each of the four major metropolitan cities (Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi) is run by autonomous/semi-autonomous development authorities responsible for plan formulation, adoption and implementation. The metropolitan area usually includes City Corporation and adjacent areas having urban characteristics comprising comparatively larger population and administrative functions (Rahman, 2008). The respective city corporations in these cities fall within the planning jurisdiction of city development authorities. Planning and research for other urban centres, such as newly formed city corporations, municipalities, district and thana/upazila towns is carried out at the national level by the Urban Development Directorate (UDD). UDD requires approval from MLGRD&C to perform planning activities within its jurisdiction (e.g., municipalities, district and thana/upazila). Thus, the implementation of planning efforts largely depends on inter-organisational coordination and management. In mid-1980s, UDD undertook the preparation of master plans for thana/upazila towns throughout the country with a vision of guided development towards liveable neighbourhoods (Chaudhury, 1996). These plans were eventually shelved due to functional and jurisdictional conflicts,

lack of inter-organisational coordination, and financial limitations (Panday and Panday, 2008; Sarker, 2009).

The Local Government Engineering Department (LGED) operating under MLGRD&C is responsible for infrastructure improvement throughout the country (excluding metropolitan areas). LGED was also involved in preparing master plans for municipal/non-municipal towns not covered by UDD. Over the last ten years, the department has also undertaken the implementation of improved models of urban planning and development in selected urban areas with the assistance of international aid agencies.

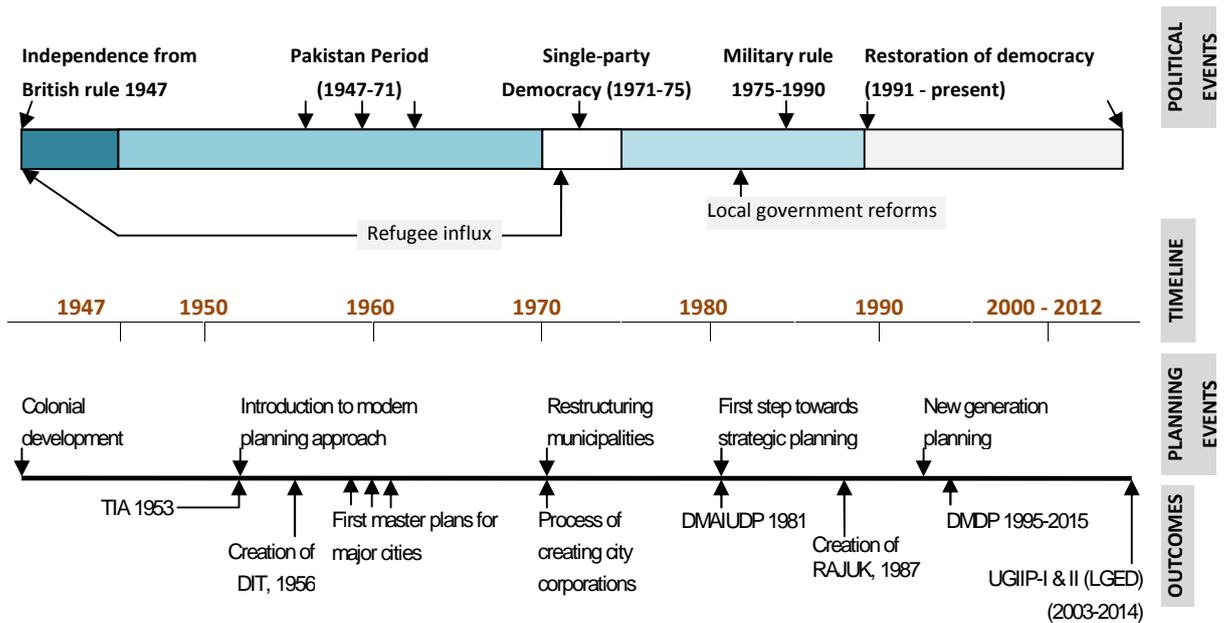
Apart from the key functional bodies for local level urban planning and development discussed above, there are a number other agencies that operate within urban areas. For instance, National Housing Authority (NHA) is responsible for dealing with housing issues particularly for the disadvantaged and those belonging to lower income groups. Meanwhile, specialist agencies such as Public Works Department (PWD), Roads and Highways Department (RHD) and Department of Public Health Engineering (DPHE) are responsible for the construction and maintenance of public buildings, roads, water and sanitation infrastructure.

6.3. Transformation of Planning Approach: A Retrospective Analysis

The historical evolution of urban government system in this country until mid-nineteenth century was mostly associated with city management rather than formulation of formal urban planning. The milestones of the urbanization process in Bangladesh are directly linked to major historical and political events that brought about new phases of government. It is also characterised by a number of reforms in urban local government, its structure and composition.

Major historical and political regimes impacting the pattern of urban management and development can be divided into the following categories: Mughal Period (early 16th century - 1757); British Colonial Development (1757-1947); Pakistan Period (1947-1970); Autocratic Democracy (1971-1990) and the Period of Democracy (1991 to date). Charting transformations in the approach to planning and major reforms in urban local government across the historical and political phase can

help to understand the political-economic context of these transformations and to analyse its effects on resulting planning systems. Figure 6.2 portrays the political-economic context of Bangladesh's planning. The timeline model is adapted from Banerjee and Chakravorty (1994) who developed it for analysing Calcutta's (India) planning history. As India and Bangladesh share their colonial history and have adopted similar planning approaches in the initial post-independence years, the timeline model for Calcutta is relevant in analysing Bangladesh's case.



Note: TIA = Town Improvement Act; DIT = Dhaka Improvement Trust; DMAIUDP = Dhaka Metropolitan Area Integrated Urban Development Plan; RAJUK = Rajdhani Unnayan Karttripakkha (Capital Development Authority); DMDP = Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan; UGIIP = Urban Governance and Infrastructure Improvement (Sector) Project; and LGED = Local Government Engineering Department.

Figure 6.2: Temporal map of the evolution of urban planning and development process in Bangladesh (adopted from Banerjee and Chakravorty, 1994)

6.3.1. Imperial and colonial development

Urbanization process during the Mughal period was characterized by the extension of imperial power with very little concern for city management practices. The Mughals employed basic administration to govern the towns in Bengal including Dhaka. The town management administration (called Office of the Kotwal) possessed an extensive range of powers over magisterial, police and fiscal matters (Kochanek, 2000; Rahman, 2008; Panday and Panday 2008). Being the capital of the eastern province of the Mughal kingdom, the surrounds of Dhaka city were subjected to

urban management actions and a few rudimentary planning functions. Panday and Panday (2008) note that the Mughal's urban government system was non-representative and non-participatory: "*the urban government created by the Mughals suffered from lack of representation since there was no outlet for the common people to express their opinions to a top-down administration*" (p.561).

During the two hundred years long British rule (1757 - 1947) over the Indian Sub-continent that followed, a colonial development pattern was implemented. Progress in legitimising the role of urban local government was steady but sluggish. Colonial rulers established municipalities around industrial agglomeration and communication nodes. In order to render better urban services, the British introduced the Bengal Municipal Act of 1932, which was the first piece of legislation regarding urban government in the region (Panday and Panday 2008; Chaudhury, 2010). This legal framework strengthened the powers of municipalities in levying rates and taxes and in the utilization of development funds (Siddiqui 1994). There was, however, no organized effort at formal planning and development initiatives took place on a piecemeal basis. As an exception, Dhaka Municipality prepared a plan for a residential development at Wari that was mainly an exercise in sub-division of land (Rahman, 2008; Chaudhury, 2010). Due to various financial difficulties, however, the municipality could not implement it. Wari was eventually implemented by the District Administration which had no planning expertise. In reality, the municipalities heavily suffered from financial resources to maintain the supply of basic amenities to the citizens (Panday and Panday 2008). However, municipalities were the key functional bodies to implement the directives of colonial rulers.

With the end of the colonial era and partition of Indian Subcontinent in 1947, Dhaka became a Provincial Capital of Pakistan and received a huge influx of Muslim refugees from India (Banerjee and Chakravorty, 1994; Kochanek, 2000). Still, Dhaka continued to develop through executive decisions and adhoc plans to tackle emerging urban problems (Rahman, 2008). While independence from the British rule provided an opportunity for the sub-continent to re-establish traditional indigenous governance systems, this did not occur. In neighbouring India, for example, Przeworski notes that while "some people advocated basing the 1950 Constitution of India on the tradition of the 'panchayat raj' system, in the end the constitution 'was to look

toward Euro-American rather than Indian precedents” (Guha 2007:119 quoted in Przeworski, 2010 p.3). Pakistan also followed suit. In pursuit of a ‘new’ urban local government system, the authoritarian government of Pakistan intended to restructure the governance system through the enactment of Municipal Administration Ordinance, 1960. The regime introduced the idea of guided democracy (also known as ‘Basic Democracy’) on the belief of non-viability of Westminster-style of representative government at local context “.. which was to be characterised by authoritarian government at the top and representative government at the local level” (Siddique, 1994 p.54). In practice, the legislation failed to maintain a clear definition of responsibilities and community representations among newly created urban government bodies, which eventually led to frequent confusing and conflicting situations (Panday and Panday 2008).

6.3.2. Introduction to modern planning approach

The challenges emerging from the unprecedented rise in population of Dhaka underscored the urgency of applying modern planning approaches. Following the neighbourhood planning concepts prevalent then in the West, a few micro level plans were prepared by an ad-hoc committee and the Construction and Building Department (C&B) in the early fifties to tackle future urban growth (Ahmed, 1986). Most of the projects aimed to deliver residential subdivision for the higher income groups, ignoring increasing numbers of urban poor that had emerged both as refugees from across India and rural migrants.

In the mid-fifties, the Pakistani autocratic government introduced the conventional British master plan approach to promote organized development in cities, including Dhaka. As a result, the Town Improvement Act (TIA) 1953 was enacted which subsequently led to the establishment of Dhaka Improvement Trust (DIT) for urban planning and development control in 1956 (GoB, 1953). Under TIA, DIT undertook the first master plan project for Dhaka city in 1959 covering an area of 830 sq. km and with a target population of little over one million, and assuming an annual population growth rate of only 1.75% (RAJUK, 2004; Islam et al., 2009; Bari and Efrogmson, 2009). The project, executed under British technical assistance of Colombo Plan Agreement, was designed by a team of foreign experts from a British consulting agency (Chaudhury, 2010). Similarly, attempts were made to accelerate

and guide the pace of urban development in other cities (i.e., Chittagong and Khulna). Accordingly, Chittagong Development Authority (CDA) and Khulna Development Authority (KDA) were established in 1959 and 1961 respectively (Elahi and Rumi, 2005). The power and functions of KDA and CDA were modelled on DIT, disregarding the local context. Thereafter, both organisations prepared master plans following similar pattern of guidelines as prescribed in Dhaka city.

A review of these plans reveals the following key features (Khan and Swapan, 2010; Chaudhury, 1996; Elhai and Rumi, 2005; Rahman, 2008):

- These were foreign expert driven, long term (20 years), rigid plans proposing various urban services and development projects. The failure of these plans could be largely attributed to wrong forecasting, non-anticipation of major political events and a misunderstanding of local contexts.
- As the planning process recommended by the master plan did not establish any legitimate provision for citizen participation, it made no provision for integrating local input in plan preparation. Local problems and demands could thus not be conceptualised or accommodated.
- The plans were generic in nature and made no attempt to incorporate local knowledge of the context or local colour. They also did not take into consideration local institutional capacities or lack thereof, because they had been imported and implanted rather than locally evolved.

It is not surprising that these plans reflected the spirit of modern planning in vogue at the time in the United Kingdom. The absence of emphasis on public participation is explained by the fact that they pre-date the 1969 Skeffington Report that, according to William (2002), really set a precedent for public participation in planning at the local government level in the United Kingdom. Also because they were developed by foreign experts, these ‘transplanted’ plans were prone to make wrong assumptions about local skill levels and institutional capacities.

Apart from metropolitan master plans, the Pakistan government also established a number of planning agencies to institutionalise urban planning. The Urban Development Directorate (UDD) emerged in 1965 as a central agency to tackle

planning issues throughout the country. Housing and Settlement Directorate (HSD) was also created around the same time to solve the housing problems of refugees and the urban poor (Chaudhury, 1996).

Although metropolitan master plans prepared in 1960s expired in the early 1980s, no major planning milestones appeared until 1990 due to the major upheavals during the independence from Pakistan in the 1970s and the military takeovers through the 1980s (Westergaard and Alam, 1995). Planning organizations as well as planning processes in the 1960s were highly centralized and predominantly non-participatory in practice (Ahmed, 2010). As the importance of participatory decision-making in effective urban management began to be established, some decentralized planning was attempted to bring in democracy in the urban governance systems. The enactment of new municipal ordinance during that period was intended to integrate local elected representative into the organisation of the municipalities (Panday and Panday, 2008).

6.3.3. Paradigm shift in planning approach

The first steps toward a paradigm shift began after the independence from Pakistan in 1971. Rahman (2008 p.164) reports that during early 1970s, ‘all local bodies operating under the legacy of colonial practice were dissolved ..(and) .. municipalities were revived with a few marginal alterations in its structure and composition’ but surprisingly were more concerned about the nomenclature of tiers of local government. Ironically, those attempts turned into scant means for making the system functional. However, a significant reform occurred with the enactment of the Local Government Ordinance, 1976 and the Pourashava (municipality) Ordinance, 1977. Finally, the legislations set clear demarcation between three tiers of local government in Bangladesh namely: union, thana/upazila (sub-district) and district. The ruling government, however, proposed an additional tier at village level called Gram Sarker (village government). The local government bodies (except at union level) were run by government bureaucrats leaving no scope for participatory governance and planning. Consequently, the vision of a functional decentralisation of local government and the culture and values of democratic tradition remained blurred. Later on in that decade, municipalities in major metropolitan cities (i.e. Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi) were transformed into city corporations by

scaling up urban management and service delivery activities. In early 1980s, the first initiative to introduce strategic planning in the form of the Dhaka Metropolitan Area Integrated Urban Development Plan (DMAIUDP) was undertaken by an overseas consulting firm with participation of local experts (Islam et al., 2009). The strategic plan was comparatively flexible and subject to periodical evaluation and change. This plan, however, was not implemented due to financial limitations and lack of coordination among related public departments.

From independence up to the early 1990s, Bangladesh experienced political instability environment with non-democratic military rule, characterized by centralized control (Rahman, 2008). It is noteworthy, however, that significant reforms aimed at decentralizing local government and administration were initiated by the army ruler in 1982 (Westergaard and Alam, 1995; Kochanek, 2000). A number of local government legislations were also passed during this decade with the revival of the three-tier local government. The Upazila Parishad Ordinance (1982) was seen as one of the significant pieces of legislations that enabled the realisation of democratic decentralisation of local government in Bangladesh. It introduced a new upazila governance system chaired by an elected community representative for a five-year period. According to the ordinance, the chairperson (locally referred to as 'chairman') had the principal authority in running the affairs of upazila and coordinating public administration. Thus, the system opened a channel of indirect participation for the citizens through their elected representatives contributing to the local level decision-making process. Moreover, it is reported that "the upazila system lasted for nine years and seemed to be effective, in the sense that there was a balance of power between people's representatives and government officials" (Panday and Panday, 2008 p.564).

The focus of decentralisation process in 1980s was intended to strengthen local administration and to ensure efficient and participatory urban management. However, the system was abolished with the re-orientation of democratic government in 1991. During the last two decades, the structure and composition of local government has been changed back and forth coinciding with changes in

government. These changes have caused huge losses of physical and financial resources.

6.3.4. The new generation plans

There is a general agreement in the literature and among planning practitioners that modern town planning is imbedded within democratic and deliberative decision-making, which emphasises the genuine involvement of the citizen. In early 1990s, the political restoration of democracy in Bangladesh brought a broad range of reforms in public administration and local government. The political democracy, in turn, led to a growing consensus among the civil societies and development practitioners that good governance is an essential component of sustainable growth of the country (Rahman, 1999). Consequently, a paradigm shift towards democratic metropolitan planning that was initiated in the 1970s came to be realised in 1991 when a new phase of spatial planning was reinforced by the new generation plans. In the mean time, DIT was replaced by Rajdhani Unnayan Kartripakkha (RAJUK) in 1987 under the Town Improvement Act (Amendment) Act 1987 through an organizational reform of DIT's administrative structure and spatial jurisdiction (Rahman, 2008). RAJUK was conceived emerged to develop, improve, extend and manage the city and the peripheral areas through a process of proper development planning and development control (RAJUK, 2004).

RAJUK began its journey through designing Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan (DMDP) 1997-2015. Unlike rigid master plans, the new planning approach stated strategies and policies to optimize existing urban land resources in the short to medium term period (Islam et al., 2009; RAJUK, 2000). However, the planning process showed much resemblance with rational planning or Geddesian regional planning approach (Figure 6.3).

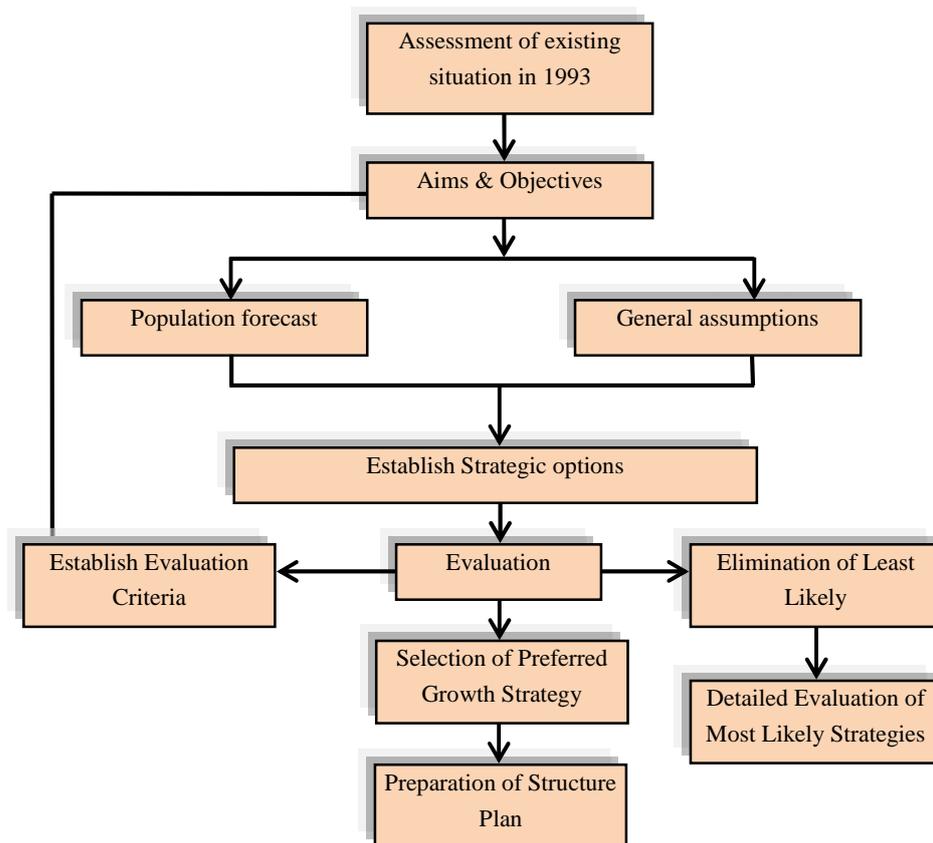


Figure 6.3: Strategic Planning Process of Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan
(modified from RAJUK, 1995)

This shift of paradigm could, however, be attributed to an attempt by the international aid organisations (such as World Bank, ADB and UNDP) and foreign consultants towards strategic planning and good governance (Sobhan, 1998; Imran, 2008). This suggests that the shift of paradigm was a reaction to the donor driven agenda rather than resulting from attempts to solve the deficiencies or problems stemming from the master plan approach previously in place. The new system, like its predecessor, did not take into consideration local realities.

A growing realisation of the benefits of community participation along with an increasing pressure from aid agencies for it, has resulted in a new wave planning reforms beginning to take place. International donor agencies have included participation under their good governance agenda. Good governance, on the other hand, offers the potential to deal with the negative results of traditional planning process. Sarker (2008), for example, lists accountability, efficient government, control of corruption, political stability, regulatory quality and rule of law, as crucial

indicators of good governance. During the last two decades, significant transformation has also been observed in planning and development of secondary urban areas.

In response to this concern, Local Government Engineering Department (LGED¹⁸) of Bangladesh introduced bottom-up planning approach developed under the Urban Governance and Infrastructure Improvement (Sector) Project (UGIIP). UGIIP includes infrastructure, capacity building, resource mobilization, community participation through the establishment of good governance system in municipalities (secondary towns). In 2005, LGED started Secondary Town Infrastructure Development Project (STIDP) which aimed to prepare/update master plan/landuse plan for 223 municipalities. The organisation also undertook significant planning initiatives through Urban Governance and Infrastructure Improvement (Sector) Project (UGIIP-I) (2003-2010) and is now implementing UGIIP-II (2009-2014) with the financial and strategic assistance of Asian Development Bank (ADB). They particularly,

.. adopted performance-based allocation of investment funds for the municipalities with defined performance criteria on governance improvement. The performance criteria emphasize citizens' participation, accountability, urban planning, and financial management as key areas for governance improvement. (LGED, 2009 p.4)

The projects aimed to establish an efficient and effective infrastructure improvement and service delivery mechanisms by introducing urban governance reforms in selected secondary towns. UGIIP projects also took notable initiatives to promote active participation of women citizens in municipal management (LGED, 2009).

Recent trends in urban development initiatives in Bangladesh representation significant reform of the planning approach. In response, the Bangladesh Government has replaced previous municipal legislations with the Local Government (Pourashava) Act 2009 with a view to strengthen citizens' participation and

¹⁸ LGED is a public agency in Bangladesh responsible infrastructural development throughout the country outside metropolitan areas.

accountability. The new legislations and planning approaches are expected to establish a sustainable urban development trend in this country.

6.4. Scope of Participation in New Generation Planning Process

6.4.1. Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan (DMDP)

Dhaka faced unprecedented growth than the pace visualized earlier and consequently the earlier plans became useless as the instrument of development control. Due to intense necessity to stop unplanned growth and sprawling, in early 1990s, a new plan was undertaken by RAJUK with the assistance of UNDP/UNCHS (RAJUK, 1997). Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan (DMDP) was finally prepared. The project became operational in January 1992 with consultants fielded in March 1992 (Sheltech, 2010). DMDP was developed for a population of 15 million adopting a hierarchical planning approach and addressed urban planning issues at the geographical levels of sub-regional, urban and sub-urban (Bari and Efroymsen, 2009). The DMDP is a three-tier plan package, such as the Structure Plan, Urban Area Plan and Detailed Area Plan (DAP), which enables a systematic approach in goal reduction process.

The Dhaka Structure Plan (1995-2015) and the Urban Area Plan (1995-2005) were completed under DMDP package. Dhaka Structural Plan (1995-2015) provides long term strategic land use planning for Greater Dhaka; Urban Area Plan (1995-2005) provides an interim mid-term strategy for ten years and covers the urban areas within Metro Dhaka Management Areas; the Detailed Area Plan (DAP) provides more detailed planning proposals for specific sub-areas in accordance with the Structure Plan and the Urban Area Plan (RAJUK, 1997). The plan was characterised by scoping of interim review and ensuring sustainable urban development. The aim of the plan illuminates a strong reflection of the development agenda upheld by the international aid organisation. The Rajdhani Unnayan Karttripakka (RAJUK) is the government implementing agency for Dhaka Metropolitan Development Planning (DMDP). RAJUK is responsible for providing national counterpart staff for preparing the metropolitan plans.

After the completion of the Dhaka Structural Plan and Urban Area Plan, the development of the Detailed Area Plan (DAP) was delayed due to a paucity of funds. In the meantime the city experienced unprecedented and uncontrolled spatial development mainly inspired by private developers (Bari and Efroymson, 2009). After a long pause due to political developments and bureaucratic complexities, DAP was officially launched with government approval on 4th august, 2004. Despite being the product of a new style of planning, the process adopted by DAPs has not been significantly different to that of its predecessor in terms of its treatment to community involvement in plan making. A detailed review of DAP is presented in Chapter 8.

6.4.2. Urban Governance and Infrastructure Improvement (Sector) Project (UGIIP)

Under the broader umbrella of UGIIP, LGED came up with Municipal Infrastructure Development Plan (MIDP) with a view to address planned infrastructure development along with efficient and planned land use management. The MIDP has been executed through Town Planning Unit (TPU) under the jurisdiction of the municipal authority.

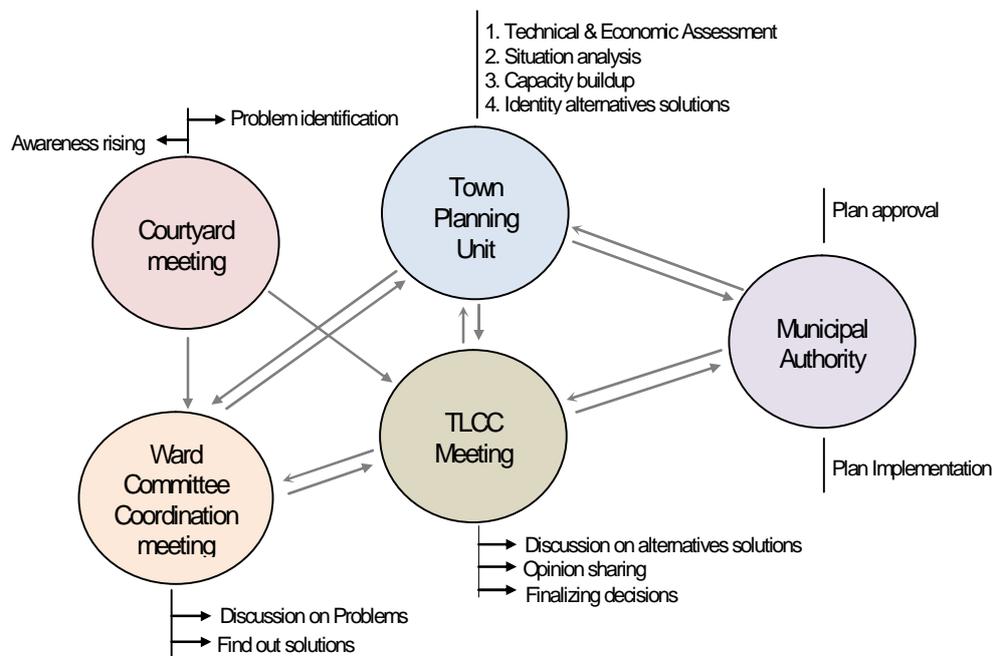


Figure 6.4: Participatory planning process of municipal development plan

(Source: Unpublished project reports from LGED)

MIDP has developed a model focused on intensive public participation which encourages plan preparation that considers and incorporates local needs. The planning process starts from a courtyard meeting (Figure 6.4). The participants of courtyard meetings are grass roots actors who are encouraged to freely share the problems of own locality. A member of the technical committee from MIDP compiles a list of local problems according to their priorities and demarcates the spatial issues on a base map. The participants are also provided with an orientation of the role of the community members regarding the plan and its implementation process in this meeting. In the second phase, ward¹⁹ level coordination committee (WLCC) meetings are held in order to revise and formulate ward level problems and needs considering the findings from courtyard meetings. WLCC consists of local elected and community leaders and professional groups. In the next phase, TPU carries out technical tasks and conducts various analysis and feasibility study to formulate planning strategies, alternative solutions that finally contribute in preparing the draft plan of the municipality. A consultation and information-sharing event run regularly with WLCC and Town Level Coordination Committee (TLCC). This kind of triangular information sharing allows the process to welcome continuous feedback and to become transparent. At this stage TPU handover the draft plan to TLCC. While incorporating the opinions and recommendations of TLCC members, the plan is finalized and forwarded to municipal authority for formal approval and gazetting to award legislative status to the plan. Although this model has substantial improvement over RAJUK planning process in terms of community engagement, still limitations of existing urban governance structure has not been considered. It is also difficult to figure out whether citizens would be in a position to contribute effectively (knowledgebase and attitude) and any parallel systems (socio-political networks) that can over shadow any participatory initiatives.

6.5. Conclusion

A historical view of the situation in Bangladesh with reference to urban governance and planning systems suggests that a number of opportunities to develop local institutional capacities and systems have been wasted. As British colonizers left, Western systems continued to be incorporated instead of adopting, augmenting and

¹⁹ Municipalities are divided into wards which are represented by elected ward members.

reviving traditional governance and administration systems. Faced with the challenge of dealing with a huge influx of refugees, the administrators opted for the state of the art planning technology imported from abroad to handle the big problems with large scale plans. Imported planning technology that was previously dispensed by colonial bureaucrats began to be delivered by foreign experts. Knowledge of local context or cultural sensitivity did not, therefore, temper the planning approach. This allowed the traditional client-patron networks to continue as a parallel system in addition to first the colonial and later the imported system.

As Bangladesh gained national independence in 1971, some steps towards municipal and local government reforms did take place. However, the reforms were suspended when military rule disturbed the democratic process in 1975. Due to the intensity of political turmoil of the 1970s, *ad hocism* prevailed to the extent that the first master plan that expired in 1980 was not renewed till the 1990s. In 1990s, democracy was restored and new generations of plans were created with the financial and technical assistance from international aid agencies.

Donor agencies nowadays frequently demand certain targets of participatory planning, accountability and transparency to be achieved in the implementation of their projects. However, the local system has learnt to showcase tokenistic gestures to satisfy the donor agenda without bringing into effect any meaningful reform of the system. This means that the politicization of bureaucracy remains unchanged and the networks of patron-client relationships continue to prevail unabated. Without confronting these endemic causes or improving the institutional capacity, it appears that the chance for meaningful reform of the system is being wasted yet again like it was in the 1950s.

CHAPTER: 7

The Gap between Promise and Realities: Analysing Participation Space in Bangladesh

7.1. Introduction

Participation in planning is increasingly recognised as the more consensual system of decision-making. However, the developments in participation in planning do not suggest a revolution in practice yet (Davies, 2001). Moreover, despite increasing interests in community participation in planning, “there is much less understanding of, and even lesser agreement on, what community participation means and entails, and under what conditions is it necessary” (Khwaja, 2004 p.428). Davies (2001) also indicates that there is a significant gap between theory and practice. Flyvberg (1998) further specifies this dilemma as the gap between the political rhetoric and the ‘realpolitik’ or real rationality of planning process. The literature on participatory practice suggests that much emphasis has put into leveling the institutional platform required for involving citizens while their perceptions of participation has remained unexplored (Healey, 1996; Buckingham-Hatfield and Percy, 1999). Relentlessly, the efforts have focused on institutional efficacy such as improving consultation mechanisms and the attempts to empower the stakeholders but the motivations and the expectancy of the participants has remained untold. Manzo and Perkins (2006) add that community planning literature used to overlook peoples’ emotional connections to place. As a result, an on-going trend of low level community involvement in the planning process irrespective of developed and developing countries implies that ideal institutional context supportive to participation merely has failed to guarantee a fair public turn out (Syme and Nancarrow, 1992). Such notions pose question on the inclusiveness of current participatory methodologies and practices in place.

Nevertheless, the importance of participatory planning practice sensitive to social issues was spelled out with the beginning of post modernism era. For an example, Jacobs (1961) and Gans (1968) advocated for a comprehensive understanding of community social dynamics to enrich planning efficacy (Manzo and Perkins, 2006).

While ‘planners enthusiastically pursued’ institutional aspects of participation, the study of socio-cultural factors affecting individual’s motivation of involving in the decision-making process were left largely to environmental and community psychologists and managers (Syme et al., 1991; Syme and Nancarrow, 1992; Perkins et al., 1996; Lise, 2000; Davies 2001; Balram and Dragicevic, 2005; Manzo and Perkins, 2006 p.336; Marfo, 2008). In this chapter, I attempt to reconnect planning practice with other cross-disciplinary issues. With a view to address this emerging challenge, I propose to investigate and analyse both institutional and socio-cultural settings and how they affect community engagement in the planning process. Considering the limitations of planning literature, effort is also given to establish the significance of peoples’ perceptions of participation and to investigating the hidden causes limiting participant’s voluntary participation in developing countries. Finally, literature across social science and psychology disciplines and relevant secondary data are examined and synthesised to develop the foundation of an analytical framework for engaging community in planning within development context.

7.2. Theoretical Concept of Participation Space

Community participation in the planning process is largely influenced by several factors, which may have intrinsic value in determining the level of participation in an uneven context. These factors range from socio-cultural to political, technological, and logistical and “are spread over a seemingly endless spectrum” (Botes and Rensburg, 2000 p.42). The participation space is defined as a virtual place for configuring the interactions among different actors and to delineate the boundaries of participation. It upholds the autonomous forms of action through which citizens make decision on participation; more specifically “create their own opportunities and terms for engagement” (Cornwall, 2002 p.3-4).

The idea of community participation in developing countries has been translated into practice mostly by development thinkers and practitioners. To a large extent, development projects jointly carried out by NGOs and government departments represent an organized effort in this regard. In recent years, research on participation has mostly focused on debates over rights, legitimacy and the practicing framework (Parker and Murray, 2012). However, Parker and Murray (2012) argue that “actor motivation and the conditions or spaces maintained for participation are also

important concerns” (p.1) to understand the prospects for effective participatory planning. The space for participation includes both physical (institutional) and perceptual (socio-cultural) dimensions where the interaction between the planning system and the citizen take place (Davies, 2001). Despite the axiomatic desirability of participation in planning within developing countries, attempts to explore their institutional and socio-cultural context (i.e., the ‘space’ for participation) that determines the actualising participation in planning are limited. The participation space pertinent to planning not only has substantial effect on legitimating participation but also shapes the choices made by participants to engage in the planning process. Developing countries represent a predominant top-down decision-making tradition where the space for participation is delimited by a wide range of factors that could encourage non-participatory attitude among potential participants.

Botes and Rensburg (2000) and Njoh (2002) indentified a plethora of ‘plagues’ (impediments/obstacles) for outlining the characteristics of those factors that limit participation in environment and development projects. A similar study was carried out by Tosun (2000) to investigate the barriers of community engagement in tourism development. Botes and Rensburg (2000) distinguished the obstacles of participation as external factors (such as the paternalistic posture of authorities, prescriptive role of the state, embellishment of successes, selective participation, and techno-financial bias of development agencies) and internal factors (such as intra/inter-group conflicts, gate-keeping by leaders, excessive pressures for immediate results, disinterest within the primary beneficiary community, population size and traditional belief) (Njoh, 2002 p.240). Botes and Rensburg (2000) suggest that external factors remain outside of the beneficiaries but affect their participation in decision-making. Here, external factors are referred to as the components of institutional space that are essential to give the citizens a platform to perform participatory actions. Internal obstacles, on the other hand, manifested with the issues that emerge from within the community and deals with the societal space of participation. Davies (2001) defines them as the “set of cultural patterns competing pressures on individuals in society that affects cultural patterns of socio-cultural and political behaviour and hence attitudes to voluntary participation” (p.210).

A comprehensive coverage of these issues lies beyond the scope of this research. A critical investigation of the most relevant obstacles regarding community participation in planning as listed in Table 4.4 (Chapter 4), however, reveals an unfavourable institutional structure, administrative inertia, political instability, influence of international aid agencies and strong socio-political attachments of individuals. The classification of such issues found in the literature may be modified and adapted to present the following broad categories of factors that define the participation space for the planning context in developing countries (Figure 7.1):

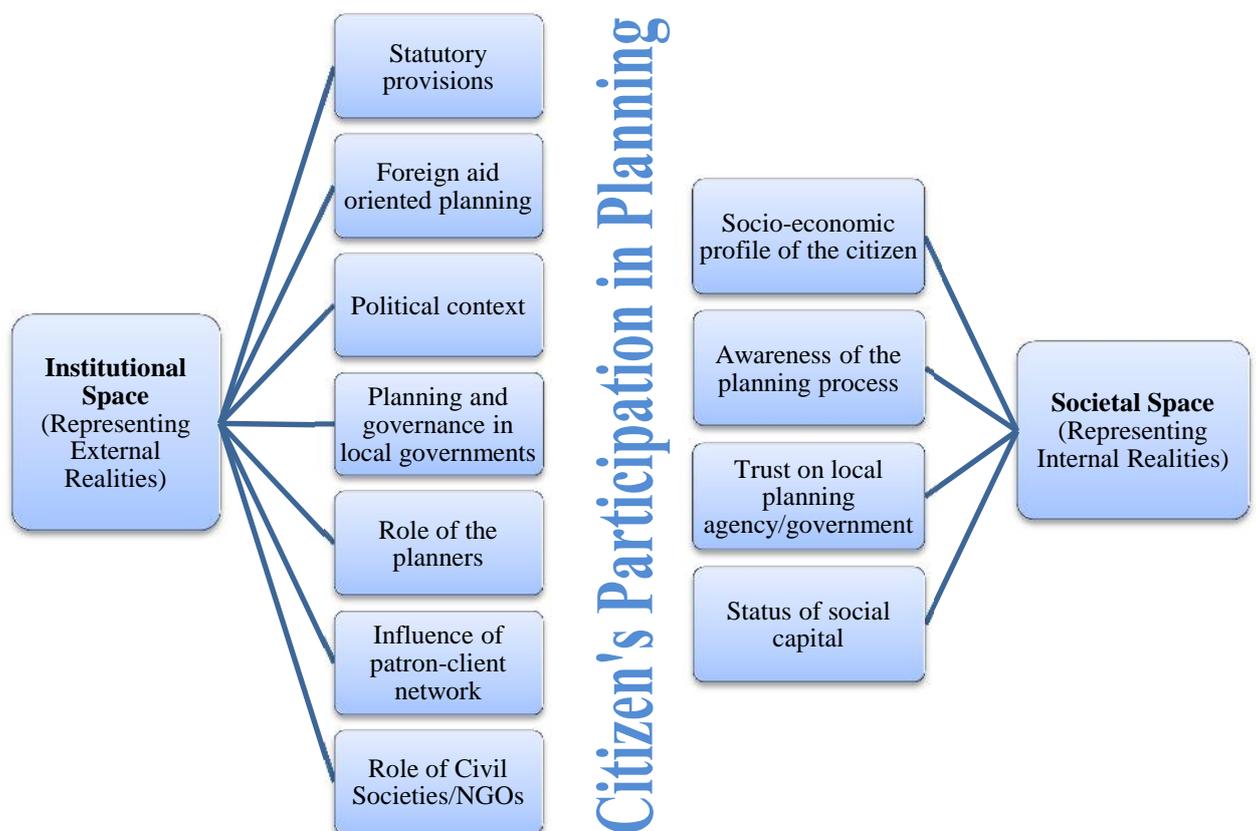


Figure 7.1: Factors affecting participation space in developing countries

Aligning with the participants' perspective, this research terms external obstacles as 'participants' external realities' which represents institutional dimension affecting participation process. They are also seen as causing deviation from a legitimate and promotive role of the state and planning authorities towards participation (Parker and Murray, 2012). Tosun (2000) further sub-divides these external factors into: structural and operational barriers. Structural barriers are usually associated with the legislative framework, institutional capacity and resource constraint. Operational

barriers are more concerned with issues pertaining to participation process and approaches undertaken by the planning authorities. Internal obstacles, termed as “participants’ internal realities’ are more related to the cultural affairs that are concerned with the socio-economic and psychological circumstance of the community and individuals. There exists a strong relationship between internal and external factors as institutional dimensions much affect the rational choices made by the participants to involve in the planning process. The following sections provide an account of factors inhibiting participation in developing countries highlighting the cases of Bangladesh. This will aid in understanding existing participation space and prerequisites in order to maintain effective participation through improved institutional and social capital (Parker and Murray, 2012). An increased understanding of participation space is likely to explain why public involvement has remained consistently low in those countries.

PART 1

INSTITUTIONALFACTORS AFFECTING COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION SPACE IN BANGLADESH

7.3. Statutory Provision and Practice

A legal structure is essential to define community interests and ensure community's participatory right. In general, developing countries lack a well defined legal context that would usher in legitimate practice to encourage community involvement in local decision-making (Tosun, 2000). The constitution of Bangladesh recognizes significance of democratic process and participatory governance through (MLJPA, 2010),

the Republic shall be a democracy in which fundamental human rights and freedoms and respect for the dignity and worth of the human person shall be guaranteed, and in which effective participation by the people through their elected representatives in administration at all levels shall be ensured. (Article 9 and 11)

However, the constitutional provisions results in an unfulfilled promise due to lack of institutional framework and political motivation. Rahman (2008) identified a range of factors which broadly limit the exercise of good governance agenda in developing context such as, centralisation of planning administration, lack of intra/inter coordination and functional overlap between local government and planning authorities; lack of human and financial resources and finally underestimating the role of civil societies.

United Nations (UN) noted that “centralization has stifled popular participation in planning. It has increased the vertical distance between planners and the broad mass of the population” (UN, 1981 p.15 quoted in Tosun, 2000). Therefore, realizing the urgency of devolution of power, the trend of reforms regarding urban local government in Bangladesh shows that each government was primarily aimed to strengthen local government through involving community representatives in the decision-making process. Eventually, institutionalising participatory planning practice through effective policy formulation and the expansion and development of

city planning authorities have been remained neglected and out of their political agenda. In reality, even the devolution of power and ensuring community representation through general elections became mostly an unsolved task which precluded an emergence of participatory and responsive local government (Tosun 2000; Asaduzzaman, 2009). Despite of having political democracy, the last four successive governments (in 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006) failed to create elected representations in most of the tiers of local government (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Structural trend of urban local government structure of Bangladesh in different regimes

Type of government	Single-party democracy	Army ruling		Democratic government			
Tenure of Government	1971-1975	1975-1980	1981-1990	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006	2009-present
Nature of local government structure and composition	District Level (dominated by the bureaucrats)	District Level (dominated by the bureaucrats)	District Level (dominated by the bureaucrats)	District Level (dominated by the bureaucrats)	District Level (dominated by the bureaucrats)	District Level (dominated by the bureaucrats)	District Level (dominated by the bureaucrats)
	Municipality level - Election held in 1973 (elected body)	Municipality level - Election held in 1977 (elected body)	Municipality level - Election held in 1984 and 1989 (elected body)	Municipality level - Election held in 1993 (elected body)	Municipality level - Election held in 1999 (elected body)	Municipality level - Election held in 2004 and 2008 (elected body)	Municipality level - Election held in 2010-11 (elected body)
	Thana Level (dominated by the bureaucrats)	Thana Level (dominated by the bureaucrats)	Upazila Level - Election held in 1985 and 1990 (elected Chairman)		Upazila Level (dominated by the bureaucrats, election was not held)	Upazila Level (dominated by the bureaucrats, election was not held)	Upazila Level - Election held in 2009 (elected Chairman)
Note: City Corporations Elections was held in 1988, 1994, 2000 (Chittagong), 2002 (Dhaka, Rajshahi, Khulna), 2003 (Barisal, Sylhet), 2005 (Chittagong), 2008 (Sylhet, Barisal, Khulna, Rajshahi), 2010 (Chittagong), 2011 (Narayanganj).							

Source: ECS, 2012; Asaduzzaman, 2009

As a result, public bureaucrats with administrative tutelage became the key decision-makers maintaining the traditional top-down planning approach in the system. Asaduzzaman (2009) concluded that:

the democratic governments have empowered the Members of Parliament (MPs) and civil and army bureaucrats to make the local government more and more subservient to the central state...the successive governments in Bangladesh, have simply twisted the inherited local bodies to suit their political needs. (pp.100-101)

He also identified that the reforms of local governance noticeably bypassed the necessary steps towards expanding and developing an appropriate institutional frameworks due to political instability and lack of long-term strategic planning.

In terms of planning regarding urban areas, TIA 1953 is the key legal document that promotes formal urban planning in Bangladesh. This act does not make any provision for consultation with citizens during plan preparation and need assessment which may be explained by the fact that it is an old act (GoB, 1953). Other legal documents (e.g. city corporations' ordinances) are also designed by following the structure of TIA. These documents are also unable to provide citizens any explicit mechanisms to access the planning processes or planning administration (see Table 7.2).

A review of more recent plans for other metropolitan cities (e.g., Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi) adopted during 1990s also reveals a lack of emphasis of the legal basis for participatory decision-making. However, the ToR (Terms of Reference) provided to consultants engaged for the preparation of master plan in the cities does include a few clauses encouraging participation. The ToR is not legally binding, nor is the standards to be.

Table 7.2: Nature of Participation recommended by recent master plans

Phases	Task	Nature of participation proposed
1	Communication Plan (First Consultation)	According to the ordinances of city development authorities, consultation has to be carried out (separate from communication) with the communities/ beneficiaries, agencies and interest groups, at every planning process, base map preparation, action program and legislation process. Consultation with communities/ community leaders about problems/wishes and government support is also suggested.
2	Formulation of Planning Principles/Standards (Second Consultation)	At the second phase, consulting firms are advised to conduct consultation with the mass people regarding building design, public space, willingness of local people to participate and adopt prescribed principles and standards.
3	Community based Development Approach (Third Consultation)	In this phase, consultation is required not only with community leaders but also with the community as a whole (on some selected pilot areas). The following steps are to be followed in community consultation process: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of local communities • Holding community meetings • Ascertaining any intervention by public agency requested by the community to address their planning problems.

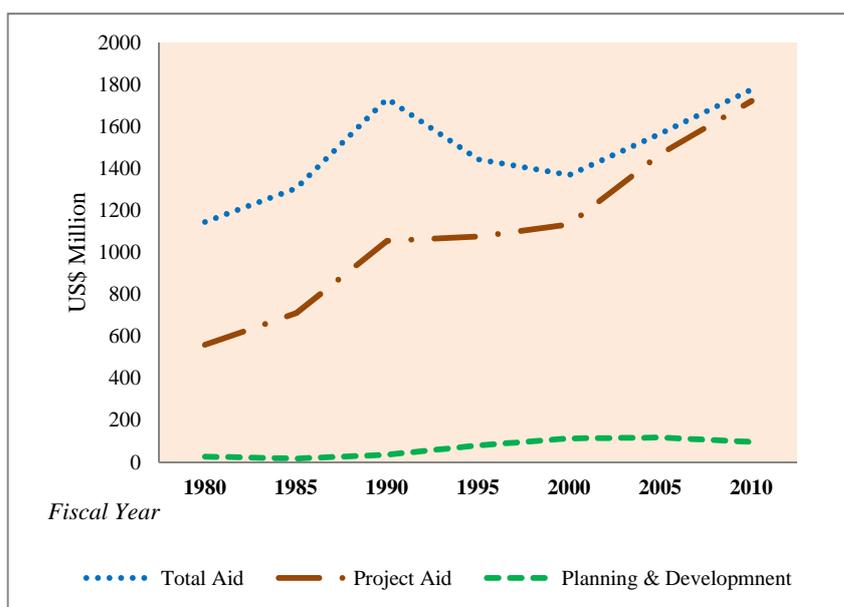
Source: RAJUK, 2000; KDA, 2000 and 2007; RDA, 2004

7.4. Foreign Aid Oriented Planning

According to Sobhan (1996 p.9), “aid dependence is a structural phenomenon which derives from the incapacity of the economy to react to external shocks”. In most South Asian cities, urban development mainly comprises major projects supported by international aid agencies. The planning agenda to a large extent, therefore, tends to become donor-driven.

In an orthodox planning context, development projects that bring in external financial or technological assistance are more likely to be approved even if they might cause environmental or social damage. Currently all development projects (including master plans) are either partially or fully funded by international aid agencies such as the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB) United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Japan International Cooperation Agency

(JICA). Bangladesh is one of the highest aid-recipient countries in the developing world with an annual flow of aid ranges US\$ 1.0 billion to US\$1.5 billion. The largest share (65.5%) of the received fund goes to the Annual Development Programme (ADP), which is disbursed to the various sectors of the economy such as agriculture, power, transport, communication, education, health and planning (physical planning, water supply and housing) (Figure 7.2) (ERD, 2011). This refers to the recent shift of aid agencies' role from direct relief and financing the balance of payments deficit to more proactive towards sectoral development (Ahmed, 2011). Planning sector shows a consistent upward trend in last two decades (Figure 5.2). In terms of direct assistance in urban development, ADB and World Bank has been financing for the development of 32 secondary towns (STIDP) and 32 municipalities respectively since early 1990s (LGED, 2009).



Note: The graph does not include foreign assistance made available through NGO Affairs Bureau (US\$ 6162.38 million) from 1989/90 to 2010/11.

Figure 7.2: Amount and categories of aid disbursement in Bangladesh (1980-2010) (ERD, 2011)

As Hamdi and Goethert (1997) point out, external financial assistance often carries along strict conditions, such as employing donors' expert systems, theories and technologies which may at times, not be suitable to the recipient country's planning context. They also list the following disadvantages of aid-dependency:

- The potential to deny possible innovation and finding alternative solutions of least cost or resource utilisation due to set of guidelines and mandatory implementation framework that are attached.
- Setting higher standard outputs and levels of progress over time that could be difficult for a poor country with its limited financial ability and insufficient organizational capacity to deliver.
- Setting out specific policy at national level or requiring governance reforms to disburse the fund, which may not fit with the recipient's own national agenda or development priorities (Hamdi and Goethert 1997).

Moreover, a group of social scientists argued that foreign aid dependency has a number of shortcomings including decreasing trend of domestic resource mobilisation and uneven distribution of local resources; undermining 'the feeling of responsibility amongst political decision-makers'; low growth, persistent poverty, and above all perpetuation of aid-dependence (Sobhan, 1996 p.2). Sobhan (1996) also identified several risks of donor-influenced polity in the form of diminishing democratic consensus behind policy reforms through effective dialogue between the government, civil society and the community representatives. He argued that under aid-conditionalities, such debates remain as a private dialogue between the donors and government bureaucrats leaving the parliament as an ineffective arena for policy debate. In this circumstance, there is a greater tendency to select economic reforms over the democratic ones leading to narrowing down the scope of community participation in the planning and decision-making.

It has been observed that the more recent donor-driven projects tend to have certain good governance requirements, such as special clauses setting targets to be achieved with respect to accountability, transparency and public participation in the implementation of the projects (LGED, 2010). Because of corruption and political pressure, however, city development authorities often showcase false or ineffective participatory mechanisms as part of their planning practices. In such a situation, where local agencies are required to engage the community in consultation, it is commonly opined among planning practitioners that city development authorities tend to seek out ways to satisfy the donor demands without undertaking any

reforms²⁰ (Khan and Swapan, 2010). Intended community participation exercises thus end up amounting to mere exercises in informing people of decisions already made without their input, which, at best, represents the lowest level of participation in Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation. In the process, any potential benefit from adopting 'western' planning technology is lost.

7.5. Political Context

7.5.1. Representative democracy: Does it ensure democratic planning?

Most South Asian countries exercise the Westminster style of democracy or representative democracy, but formal public participation in practice is largely limited to participating in general elections. As Ataöv (2007) points out, the representative model of democracy, by itself, is unable to respond to complex and heterogeneous social and political systems. Moreover, traditional representative democracy is susceptible to potential biasness of the elected leader along with the elite groups who hold the power to influence political decisions (Silver et al., 2010). It is also noted that, in practice, particularly in developing countries, elected representatives are often distanced from the communities and become involved in accumulating personal benefits (Ataöv, 2007; As-Saber, 2011). Enyedi (2004) also claims that:

elected politicians no longer represent certain sectors of society, professions and lifestyles; specific social groups organise their own lobbies and therefore have privileged access to politicians, whereas other groups which are poorly organised are excluded from formal politics; members of the public are often suspicious of political decisions and oppose their implementation, etc. (p.15)

Therefore, where elected representatives (politicians) engage in decision-making for the complex society in the absence of wider or direct public participation, public accountabilities remain vague. Representative democracy with only the politicians as the key players can be susceptible to corruption, allowing inactive public administration. Wignaraja (2001) reports:

²⁰ This was a common comment made by the planning practitioners and academicians interviewed for this study.

... some analysts of the problems of Third World bureaucracies have argued that their central problem is the lack of a legitimate and respected political class genuinely rooted in the society and capable of exercising a disciplined control over the administration. (p.11)

The situation becomes worse when planning agencies are controlled by politicians whose political parties are in power with weak opposition leaving little space for citizens to participate in meaningful decision-making.

7.5.2. Political instability

Many regions within South Asia have long suffered from a volatile political situation hindering the pursuit of sustainable development and eroding the efficiency of development agencies. The national political scene in Bangladesh dominated by two major political parties locked in bitter battle for over two decades, serves to highlight the nature of political instability and its impact upon urban development. The two parties have conflicting positions over the very definitions of Bangladeshi identity, its national heroes and liberation war symbols (Khan, 1998; Kochanek, 1997). Both parties have largely failed to fulfill their election manifesto regarding the country's development. Consequently, the volatile political environment has contributed to decreasing foreign investment, wasting money on non-development activities, creating ineffective political institutions, centralized decision-making, and inefficient public enterprise management (Sarker 2008; Rahman, 2008).

The resulting politics have led to overwhelming corruption, non-transparency and non-accountability in the governance systems despite having a democratic polity, with good governance remaining as an elusive phenomenon (Sobhan, 1998). Absence of political consensus on most issues among the major political parties greatly affects the overall development process of the country. Moreover, the politicians only prefer quick gain from short term planning within their tenure and ignore establishing long-term and sustainable interventions, as Rakodi (2001) notes,

the short time horizons of politicians who may feel that they have nothing to gain from either investment that only yields long term benefits, or regulatory systems that seem negative rather than positive - preventing rather than promoting development. (p.211)

Ongoing political unrest and lack of consensus and unwillingness to plural participation also seriously hinder the implementation process of city development projects. According to an estimate, for example, only 25 percent of major master plan proposals for Khulna city were implemented in forty years between 1961 to 2000 (Chaudhury, 2010).

7.6. Planning and Governance in Local Government

7.6.1. Bureaucracy in public sector

The public administration system in Bangladesh is highly bureaucratic and non-participatory (Mazumder, 2010). The administrative practice and service delivery approach growing out of its colonial legacy are predominantly manual and paper-based. In terms of planning administration, large land related databases are manually recorded and physically filed in numerous bound register books accompanied by hand drawn maps using pen and paper. The inefficient and cumbersome system thus tends to contribute to non-transparent systems, subject to delayed processing of citizen's requests for information and susceptible to potential corruption and wastage of resources. Tracing progress of applications for building approvals, for example, can be difficult simply due to manual data storage and retrieval, and also often due to deliberate 'misplacement' of files that are 'located' once the bribe is provided.

The apparent lack of transparency and participatory processes imply that democracy in Bangladesh is not functioning fully. In effect, it is likely that the manual system allows illegal flow of resources and discourages a pro-citizen orientation of the planning and governance systems. The situation may be seen to result from not only from low-tech cumbersome processes but also from the politicization of bureaucracy, whereby bureaucrats and politicians, for mutual benefits, create a complex network with their clients to channel illegal flow of resources (Khan 1996; Kochanek, 2000).

Existence of intense bureaucracy in the public sector and the current political context are not conducive to efficient urban management in Bangladesh (Rahman, 2008). Empirical evidence also suggests that developing countries practice Bureaucratic Model of governance at local level where people's participation is not enough to ensure the transfer of power (see Figure 4.3) (Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012). Moreover, the process of program is less transparent and less predictable, and the agency remains accountable to the top not to the people. For example, "Bangladesh is still at the top of the Corruption Perception Index reported by Transparency International, in spite of having a multiparty democracy inside the country" (p.195). In general, metropolitan master plans in Bangladesh fail to achieve their goals or targets. Their failure may be attributed to a general lack of coordination, appropriate forecasting, resources, and technology. Diminishing success rates of realizing plans' goals and lengthy project completion periods of development projects and above all deep-rooted corruption also cause aid agencies to lose interest in investing further for urban development in Bangladesh. For example, the World Bank withdrew about 50 per cent of allocated grants (US\$110 million) for the improvement of the transport infrastructure in Dhaka city (Moinuddin, 2010). The organisation also suspended its committed fund (US\$2.9 billion) for a mega bridge construction project over the allegation of corruption in the bidding process (Sultana et al., 2012).

7.6.2. Nexus between political representatives and bureaucrats

The political context of Bangladesh yields different types of clientelism that lead to illegal flow of resources. This network has largely contributed to crafting corrupt and inefficient urban governance systems. Despite having democracy in the country, the systems remain non-participatory, personal benefit-oriented, highly politicized and inaccessible to the majority of citizens (Figure 7.3). As a result the nexus between elected representatives and government officials predominantly determines the course of actions within local government leaving the formal systems ineffective and inaccessible for the general citizens.

Thus, components of local government agencies become a machinery of political resources rather than an instrument of good governance. Sobhan (2000) warns that "in such a polity, the state cannot discharge its regulatory or operational role with integrity, impartiality or efficiency and mis-governance is perpetuated" (p.345).

Furthermore, Hasanuzzaman (2009) portrays the hard realities faced by the local government due to the practice of politicised bureaucracy in democratic Bangladesh:

Since the return to democratic rule in 1991 the parties in power gradually took advantage of their position to capture and strengthen the partisan hold on state institution and public administration by developing a system of patronage and dependencies. The winner-takes-all system that developed in Bangladesh gave no incentives to change the formal framework of the state and to reform the governance system. (p.124)

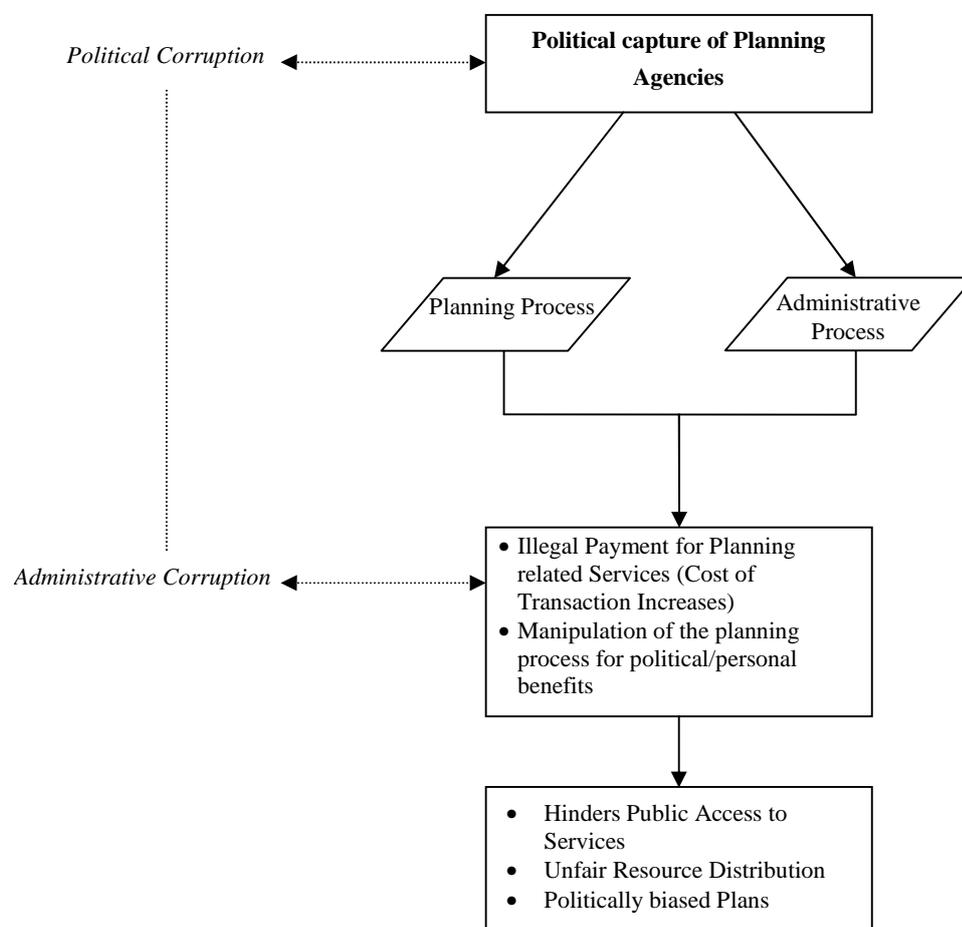


Figure 7.3: Nexus between political and administrative corruption (adapted from Hasan, 2007)

Because of endemic corruption and a build up of political pressure from time to time, city development authorities often showcase false or ineffective participatory mechanisms in city planning. These end up as exercises in merely informing people of decisions already made without their input. These represent the lowest level of participation on Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969). A number

of studies reveal that both bureaucrats and locally elected political representatives are not interested to make people's participation effective (Sarker, 2008; Zafarullah and Huque, 2001) because:

In the absence of accountability mechanisms, local government officials and elected representatives do not see any value of direct people's participation in local government affairs nor do they want to attend to this structural gap for fear it would work against them, that is, to be held accountable to the local people.
(Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012 p.13)

Although within the current democratic context in Bangladesh, political representatives are set on behalf of the community to hold the government officials accountable for their services, but the representatives usually overlook this issue due to their dependency on local government officials who have the authority and control over development funds (Mollah, 2008). Waheduzzaman and Mphande (2012) add that "there is no effective statutory mechanism to make the local government officials directly accountable to the local people. Available laws regarding ensuring accountability of elected officials are also inadequate" (p.12). Moreover, there is a trend to leave the democratically elected representatives without proper authority to formulate and implement local plans and development projects leading the local government officials reluctant about the accountability and transparency of their performance.

7.7. Role of the Planners

7.7.1. Technocrat or facilitator?

Bureaucratic and corrupted planning system and undue political pressure also have significant influence in performing planning tasks by the planners:

- The planners have very little opportunity to act as facilitators and tend to be viewed as technocrats by the administration itself (Rahman, 2008). As a result, there is a growing gap between the community and the planners which limit planners' ability to take realistic decisions for local development.

- An enabling role of planners to ensure community engagement is still not in vogue. This could reflect a bias towards technical expertise which in turn is seen as a source of authority. With planning being a newly recognised profession in Bangladesh, planning tasks and consultancies are mostly vested upon engineers and geographers. Thus, citizens' participation is often ignored or downplayed.
- Previous experiences reveal that most of the master plan projects in Bangladesh fail to maintain the anticipated timeline for the completion of the project. Significant time is wasted in administrative and technical matters such as budget approval, staff recruitment and physical survey. Therefore, little time is left for community consultation and plan preparation, which results in superficial and non-participatory planning process.
- The planning decisions in Bangladesh are also highly influenced by ruling political parties. Community responsive development proposals often fail to progress due to the disagreements with the urban elites and elected representatives who are mostly motivated by personal benefits. For example, execution of the Detailed Area Plan for Dhaka (DAP) city prepared in 2010 has been halted for about two years due to the undue objections from real estate developers. According to DAP, they have illegally encroached the flood flow zones restricted for any kind of development for large scale site and services projects.

7.7.2. Practitioners' perceptions on citizens' demand and aspiration

The new direction in planning advocated by numerous scholars recognises planner as a facilitator who needs to manage the demand and aspiration of all stakeholders. This notion is justified on the basis of the getting unreserved benefits of participatory planning. Duhl (1969) asserts that a planner:

“must decide what in the system should be changed; persuade a majority that his decision is valid on empirical, moral, and legal grounds; and, finally, find ways to involve large segments of the affected population in implementing the actions he is advocating”. (p.338)

Therefore, a planner is not only an agent of change but should have profound idea about the community to guide the change as a “community therapist” (p.339). It is argued that the degree of synchronism between the views of practitioners and the community about planning issues and community aspirations is critical to the level of participation that prevails (Khan and Swapan, 2011). Sound perceptions of the planners on community needs and aspiration help to devise sustainable plans as well as provide critical input in trust building with the community. For this reason, it is important to analyse practitioners’ view as it allows an insight into the considerations that go into decision-making, plan formulation and the organising of implementation process.

Several literature have documented that synchronisation between the planners and the community in developed countries is comparatively higher than that of developing world. In other words, planners in developed countries hold comparatively better perceptions about community needs and aspiration which is considered as a key element in making the development plans successful. For example, a series of eight community forums carried out in 2010 at Perth, Western Australia with a view to compare local councils’ technical staff’s perception of their community’s aspiration for an effective public transport service to that of the community view as recorded directly (Khan and Schapper, 2011). The results of this case study is particularly useful for this research as Australia (a developed world perspective) and Bangladesh (representing developing context) share common colonial legacy but contrasting socio-economic development and political situation.

The Australian case study

Australia represents a functioning democracy with well-defined tiers of government and elaborately defined statutory community participation requirements (Hopkins, 2010). The Environmental Planning and Assessment Act, 1979 (section 5), for example, includes providing “. .. increased opportunity for public involvement and participation in environmental planning and assessment” (reported in Mahjabeen and Shrestha, 2011) as one of its major objectives.

To break away from the conventional ‘release and defend’ approach to planning, the East Metropolitan Regional Council (EMRC), in partnership with Curtin University,

initiated a community engagement exercise to ascertain community preferences and opinions for consideration beforehand. Over two hundred people from the local government areas of its six member Councils attended seven community forums that were open to all. The participants were asked to map significant regional linkages by identifying popular destinations outside their region, identify major locations within the region and the preferred ways of incorporating them into a public transport network. In order to test the degree to which the technical staff of local councils could read community preferences and aspirations for a public transport system for the Region, an eighth forum, specifically designed for local government, technical staff was convened. This forum was attended by twenty-four technical officers including planners and community development officers who were asked to involve in similar kind of exercises as the community forums.

Figure 7.4 (a) shows the result of combining the proposed public transport routes identified by all seven community forums through superimposition. The intensity (thickness) of the lines suggests the number of times a route was chosen by a group in any one of the forums. The number of red dots represent the frequency of selection of a location by the groups at all forums. Figure 7.4 (b) similarly shows the configuration of the preferred transport route for the region based on the outcomes of the councils' technical staff forum.

Upon comparing the configuration of the overall routes yielded from the community groups and that from local council staff, significant similarities are found. The degree to which the two configurations are similar clearly suggests that the local council staff are well aware of their community's needs and desires. On the other hand, this also suggests that the members of the community make reasonable demands, overcoming the NIMBYism or other highly individualistic interests.

An analysis of patron-client network has been used in the anthropological literature for long to define and understand interpersonal power relations. Study on informal socio-political networks has been popularised since the traditional model of planning and policy making directed by the government started to face decreasing validity at the end of 1990s. The traditional model is criticised due its non-sensitivity to socio-political interactions between urban actors (Hillier, 2000). In informal patron-client network, the relationship occurs between actors of unequal power and status. It is self-regulating form of interpersonal exchange which is built upon rational economic calculation and ceases once the expected rewards fail to materialise (Sarker, 2008). Networks are often defined as “relational links through which people can obtain access to material resources, knowledge, and power” (Hillier, 2000 p.35). It represents a power struggle between different citizen groups who seek informal ways to secure access to the formal system. Table 7.3 distinguishes between two major urban actors: groups that usually achieve direct access to the formal urban governance system and groups that, for various reasons, “must enter the political competition at a more informal level” (Scott, 1969 p.328).

Table 7.3: Urban actors and their means of access to the urban governance system in developing countries

Actors having access to formal governance system	Actors seeking informal ways to secure access to the formal system because denied formal access by virtue of:	
	Ideological Reasons	Lack of organisation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political elite • Groups/branches of ruling party • Civil servants’ associations • Professional associations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political opposition • Indigenous commercial and industrial groups • Foreign business interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban middle class • Urban poor

Sources: modified from Scott (1969); also see UN-ESCAP, 2006

Table 7.3 reveals that urban middle class and poor groups, who are predominantly unorganised, are often blocked from formal participation. Existing urban governance system, in most instance, favour urban elites and the unorganised groups are seldom represented at the policy-making stage (Scott, 1969; Harpham and Boateng, 1997; Parnini, 2006). As a result, disadvantaged groups (client) seek informal means to influence and achieve access to the formal governance system through the groups

(patron) who already have direct access. On the other hand, elite groups also maintain such network outside the formal planning processes with the disadvantaged groups in search of certain ideological, political or economic benefits. Therefore, informal network forms due to mutual benefits of various urban actors (Hillier, 2000).

Informal networking can be formed due to the gap in the formal decision-making processes and failure of planning agencies in delivering information and ensuring grass-root participation in the planning process. It often leads to formation of lobbying groups or local community groups protesting unfavourable planning interventions or demanding participation in decision-making. Several studies, however, show informal networking often leads to corruption, unfair political patronage and uneven distribution of resources (Scott, 1969; Khan, 1998; World Bank, 2003; Mahmud, 2007; Banks, 2008; Przeworski, 2010).

It is contended that citizens' ability to influence planning process as well as planning decisions may lie in the forms of power relations, strength of ties and above all the socioeconomic and political richness of the networks maintained by the citizens (Hunter and Staggenborg, 1988; Amin and Hausner, 1997). Therefore, informal patron-client network may have significant role in shaping the governance mechanism and outcomes along with the formal process setup by the government. This may, in turn, affect community participation in the planning process resulting in unanticipated outcomes "which may never formally enter the public domain, may never be publicly expressed, visible, or recorded. They are unlikely to be normalised into a rational, communicative, consensus-seeking debate" (Hillier, 2000 p.34). However, research to date has been focused on formal networks exist between citizens and planners/agencies or on inter-agency networks in the form of communicative relationships that shape the processes and functionality of public participation in the planning process (Hillier, 1997; Khan, 1998; Rahman, 2008).

In South Asian countries (like Bangladesh), a number of factors have contributed to shaping complex patron-client networks within the country that add to the complexity and social divisions and thereby discourage participatory planning and development. Literature on the dimension of socio-political network exist between

urban actors in South Asian countries affecting their participation is comparatively limited. However, few studies focus on the overall socio-political network and how it contributes in illegal flow of resources among patrons and clients (Khan, 1998; Kochanek, 2000; Blair, 2005; Sarker, 2008). Section 8.6.2 attempts to develop a patron-client network model reflecting the realities of citizens to investigate how involvement in the network affects their participation level.

7.9. Miscellaneous Factors

Makerani (2006) and Tosun (2000) indicated that urban peculiarities in developing countries (e.g., urban poverty and growth pattern) create special set of barriers:

- Firstly, the mass people are traditionally excluded from the development affairs and decision-making, which have rendered them apathetic about involving in matters ‘beyond their family domain’.
- Secondly, metropolitan cities in developing countries are characterised by large number of urban poor who predominantly depend on the informal sectors for their livelihoods. Due to unsecured land tenure, occupation and lower education level, this group often suffer from powerlessness, thus decrease their tendency to participate.
- Thirdly, Rosener (1982) argued that most of situations, citizens are not motivated to participate. This can be driven from a general belief that their proposal and ideas will not be taken into consideration to prepare the final plan. Such belief leads them to rationally ignore or avoid participation events and ‘does not motivate them to express an interest’ (Tosun, 2000 p.625; Krek, 2005).
- Finally, organic urban growth and irregular physical fabric results in massive destruction of existing settlements while implementing formal planning projects. This phenomenon often leads to citizens’ resistance and downgrading status of their trust on the planning authorities. The level of trust can also be declined due to corruption, conspiracy, political and elite biasness and above all non-participatory actions.

7.10. Civil Society's Engagement in Urban Development in Bangladesh

The idea of civil society has accumulated multiple local meanings due to transformation in political and development discourses (Davis and McGregor, 2000; Parnini, 2006; Islam, 2012). Within the donor-driven development discourse, a large number of NGOs in Bangladesh have embraced the identity of civil society to legitimise their development quests and perhaps to gain access to donor funds (Lewis, 2004). Sarker (2008) claims that “the poor performance of the public sector and pressures from international donor agencies have paved the way for NGOs and the private sector to play an important role in society” (Sarker, 2008 p.1427). Many NGOs claim to promote non-political principles of civil society by constructing alliance between different social groups with a view to mobilise citizens for public good. A wealth of literature highlights critical role of NGOs in urban and rural development. There has been, however, limited research on “home-grown elements of neutral and voluntary civil society [platforms and] movements” (Sobhan, 1997, 2000; Haque, 2002; Blair, 2001; Lewis, 2004; Rahman, 2006; Parnini, 2006 p.195).

Civil societies can be categorised into five broad groups based on the characteristics of activities and mechanisms of involvement in public interest such as: non-governmental organization (NGOs), community based organization (CBOs), professional organizations, advocacy and pressure groups and media (the print media briefly). NGOs are usually target oriented and interested in various urban development projects mostly funded by the international aid agencies and foreign governments. For example, UNDP is more active in promoting greater involvement of civil society in strengthening local level democratization, sustainable environmental protection and poverty alleviation (Islam and Mahjabeen, 2003 p.33). CBOs have emerged as voluntary organisations in urban areas in response to the needs of local communities. CBOs are run by the contributions from subscribed members, individual donors and possibly small scale assistance of the government. Professional organisations work for the professional development of specific groups such as engineers, planners and doctors. Advocacy and pressure groups refer to the voluntary civic and research organisations such as Bangladesh Poribesh Andolon (BAPA), Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association (BELA), Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD), Centre for Urban Studies (CUS), Bangladesh Unnayan Parishad (BUP), and Bangladesh Centre for Advanced Studies (BCAS). In Bangladesh, the media including newspapers and television channels enjoy a fair

degree of freedom since the proliferation of satellite television stations. They play an important role in planning and development issues especially by drawing attention of the public and the government, mobilizing public opinion and working as watch dogs (*ibid.*).

The range of composition of the civil society working in urban planning and development in Bangladesh is indeed very large. They are active in opposing any policies and plans that fail to comply with the public interest. Civil society groups in Bangladesh are engaged in several urban development issues such as poverty alleviation, environmental improvement and protection, social movements, access to housing by the poor, provision of water and sanitation, and waste management. Table 7.4 illustrates various types of civil society active in development actions in Bangladesh.

Table 7.4: An overview of civil societies' engagement in urban development issues in Bangladesh

Issues of engagement	Categories of civil society	Activities	Mechanisms of engagement	Civil society actors
Poverty alleviation	NGOs	Providing economic and employment support through services, training and education.	Package programmes in slum areas	Proshika, Shakti, and Dustha Shasthya Kendra (DSK)
Environmental issues, local government's policies, plan and actions	Voluntary civic groups	Creating social pressure on Government	Agitation, rally, raising public awareness and sentiment through leaflets and posters	BAPA and BELA
	Print media	Creation of public awareness and public sentiment	News features, news on pressure groups' activities, experts comments	National newspapers (The Daily Star and Prothom Alo)
Access to urban land and housing	NGOs	Provision of housing facilities	Construction of low-cost house	Nariuddug Kendra (NUK)
		Advocacy for housing rights of urban poor	Rally and symbolic starvation	Coalition for the Urban Poor (CUP)
Provision of potable water	NGOs	Alternative option for providing safe water for the urban poor	Social intermediation for the urban poor	Dustha Shasthya Kendra (DSK)
Urban waste management	NGOs	Making compost with the collected waste and selling in the market	Through community participation	Waste Concern

Issues of engagement	Categories of civil society	Activities	Mechanisms of engagement	Civil society actors
	Community Based Organizations (CBOs)	Collection of waste from house to house	Service on cost recovery basis with contribution of service charge by the community	Many CBOs
Land use control	Media & voluntary civic groups	Working as watchdogs	Protests such as hunger strike	Newspapers BAPA, CUS, Hunger Project
Urban Governance	Professional and Research bodies Media	Watchdogs, Advocacy	Dialogue, Research Reports	CUS, CPD, Democracy Watch, Daily Star and Prothom Alo

Sources: Islam and Mahjabeen, 2003 p.35; Lewis 2004; Parnini 2006.

Although civil society in developed countries have played key role in social movements regarding urban environmental improvements, similar process has yet to unfold in Bangladesh (Islam, 2000). Various external forces are responsible for deviating them from creating social pressure for public good. Recent studies show that civil society organisations are aligned with mainstream political parties to advance their political interests (Siddiqui, 2006; Sarker and Rahman, 2007; Sarker, 2008). Therefore, “despite the great potentials, NGOs have failed to act as autonomous civil society organizations” (Sarker, 2008 p.1427). Moreover, current state of NGOs have been criticised for their dependency on donors’ funding which fail to acknowledge the rich tradition of civil society that has historically persisted in Bangladesh (Davis and McGregor,2000). Parnini (2006) also shows her reservations about the donor-driven development prescriptions:

‘good governance’ conditionality prescribed by the donors in Bangladesh could hardly improve the indigenous governance system in Bangladesh. Moreover, the western concept of civil society, meaning only NGOs, cannot help genuine civil society to flourish and to have an impact on ensuring the indigenous bottom-up nature of good governance. Moreover, the donor-driven governance conditionality is prescribing governance reforms in favour of trade liberalisation and privatisation in the recipient country that will ultimately promote western commercial interests, causing nothing but the erosion of sovereignty in Bangladesh. (p. 193)

PART 2

SOCIETAL SPACE: A NEW AGENDA FOR PARTICIPATION

“as planners, we should only proceed on the basis of a thorough understanding of the socio-spatial and political processes which shape the contexts in which we work” (Watson, 2002 p.28)

7.11. Significance of Societal Space

In earlier section of this chapter (Figure 7.1), I have listed out the criteria that should be considered to outlining the framework for community participation in the planning process. Besides a favourable institutional space of participation, this research emphasises that community participation is also closely associated with the socio-cultural aspects of the citizen (Parker and Murray, 2012).

Citizens’ participatory attitude, on the other hand, may develop based on their societal space and indirect influence of institutional space (local/national level). Factors that shape individual’s attitude (tendency to participate) and subsequent participatory actions are referred to as ‘participants’ internal realities’ [also referred to as ‘predictors of individual participation’ (Perkins et al., 1996 p.87)]. Participants’ realities possess both positive and negative impacts upon the formation of community attitude towards participation. Lise (2000) argues that the absence of a proper understanding of participants’ realities wasted most participatory efforts in developing countries and the policy remained as an inappropriate prescription for sustainable urban development. Therefore, “it is essential to understand why some individuals and communities participate more actively than others” (Perkins et al., 1996 p.86). Determining participant realities affecting the attitude towards participatory actions are, however, not well operationalised in urban planning research. In the following sections, an effort is made to illustrate the theoretical dimension of participants’ internal realities and to examine the aspect of how does it affect participation structures and process. A field investigation to examine the state and dimensions of participants’ internal realities in Bangladesh is presented in Chapter 8.

7.12. Participants' Attitude towards Participation: A Psychological perspective

Models of participation described in contemporary literature tend to focus solely on institutional dimensions affecting participation. Even, self-efficacy and economic self-interest are not the only causes of citizen participation (Perkins et al., 1996). Research has uncovered a range of individual psychological dimensions of participation (Kumar and Paddison, 2000; Tosun, 2000; Van Deth, 2003; Lelieveldt, 2004; Balram and Dragicevic, 2005; Swain and Tait, 2007). I argue, however, as Parker and Murray (2012) point out that community participation is closely associated with the rational choices made by the participants. I contend that in reality, the attitude of citizens towards participation is a product of rational choices made. It refers to major paradigms to build the theoretical framework within which to define the relationship between attitude and behaviour of individuals. To do so, I borrow from the environmental psychology and landscape literature. Environmental psychology deals theoretical aspects of environmental attitude towards ecological behaviour and thus provides critical understanding of empirical research (Balram and Dragicevic, 2005). The basic attitude-behaviour theory within this field of knowledge suggests a range of factors that shape individual's attitude and predicts the dynamics of behavioural aspects induced by the modified attitude. I contend that such theory might be useful in understanding the factors affecting citizens' attitude to participate in the planning process.

According to Kaiser et al. (1999), "... attitude is formed and affected by socio-economic, cultural and biophysical interactions. Attitude is also a powerful predictor of behaviour and thus an important tool in determining human response to policies and planning decisions" (Balram and Dragicevic, 2005 p.148). This research framework refers to the theory of reasoned action and its developed version, the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980; Ajzen, 1985; Kaiser et al., 1999; Balram and Dragicevic, 2005).

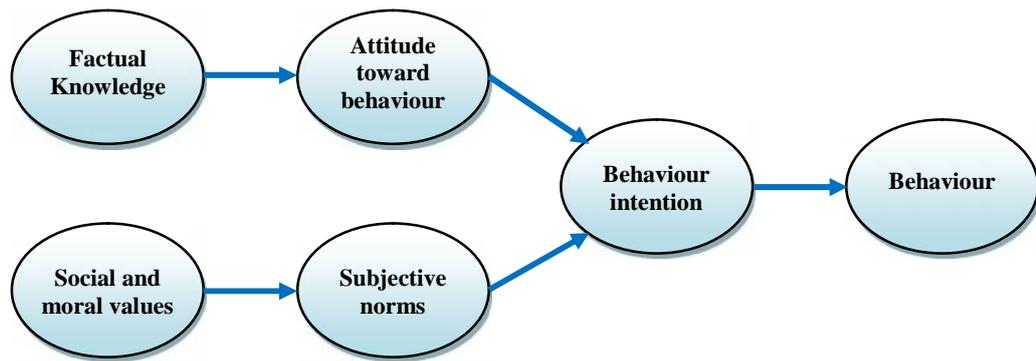


Figure 7.5: The Theory of Reasoned Action (Kaiser et al., 1999 p.3)

According to the theory of reasoned action (Figure 7.5), behaviour intention is seen as a function of one’s attitude towards performing certain act and his/her subjective norms. Attitude can be formed from individual’s access to information and experiences (factual knowledge) where as subjective norms largely depend on person’s own social values and beliefs. Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) argue that “barring unforeseen events, a person will usually act in accordance with his or her intention” (p.5). The resultant intention derived from attitude and subjective norms might be in favour or against performing certain behaviour or action. Within the context of urban planning, I consider attitude to be a function of a summary evaluation of realities based on socio-political factors (termed as participants’ internal realities). Internal realities thus influence one’s thoughts (attitude) and actions (behaviour) towards participation (also see section 6.2). For an example, lack of awareness, poor socio-economic profile and distrust of local authorities may discourage citizens from engaging in the planning process. Participants’ realities are structured around the relevant knowledge, trust, social values and moral principles of the citizen that construct one’s attitude. These are the internal factors or internal realities that are within the control of the participants. A narrower view of the theory demonstrates that attitude determines whether a person is in favour or against participating in the planning process providing that other externalities remain constant.

The theoretical framework adopted is particularly effective in systematically examining internal participants’ realities and their impact upon peoples’ action or inaction towards participation. It facilitates categorisation of the influencing factors

by recognising their preconditions and inter-relationships found in practice. While this study does not attempt to measure the attitude and behaviour of the community towards participation in the planning process, it seeks to determine the realities within a local context that influence the formation of their attitude in favour or against the decision to participate. Lise (2000) argues that the absence of a proper understanding of participants' realities wasted most participatory efforts in developing countries, yielding policies that offer inappropriate prescription for sustainable urban development. It is thus contended that a combination of both institutional and socio-political space should be considered in attempting to understand the dynamics of participatory planning.

7.13. Participants' Internal Realities Affecting Citizens' Attitude towards Participation

7.13.1. Socio-economic profile

Tosun (2000) identified a broad spectrum of cultural factors that limit citizens' participation including low socio-economic profile and apathy in community towards participation. According to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) (2011), 35% of the urban population in Bangladesh lives in sub-standard housing urban areas in developing countries. The literacy rate is close to 69% and the average income is around US\$ 201 per month (BBS, 2011). Thus, majority of the urban inhabitants are having difficulty in meeting basic and felt needs which limit them from involving in community concerns and city-wide development issues. Tosun (2000) notes that, "... according to Maslow's need hierarchy, they are motivated to meet their basic needs and felt-needs by ignoring wider socio-political issues which indeed prevent them from satisfying their needs in more efficient ways" (p.625). Apathy in participation may arise from lower socio-economic status. The communities in developing countries are characterized by lower education level, lack of awareness of the planning process, rights and responsibilities, and possession of poor social capital which collectively may leads to inadequate perceptions and interests in participation. Most of the citizens have very little perceptions about the technical matters of planning process and show reluctance to involve in the planning process. Such ignorance is also vested upon the planners who need to take initiative to circulate planning matters making easily understandable to the citizens.

Participants' realities vary according to the socio-economic context of the studied community. A general hypothesis is that citizens in developed countries have better socio-economic condition than that of in developing context which means they possess high tendency to participate (Syme and Nancarrow, 1992). According to Perkins et al. (1996)

. . . active members and leaders were more likely to be homeowners and long-term residents and have more material resources, skills, education, satisfaction, and benefits from the organization, social/political contacts, and involvement in other community organizations. (p.91)

On the other hand, poor economic condition as well as lower social capital is largely responsible for diminishing participation level developing countries. As a result, lack of awareness of the citizens about the benefits of participation due to their poor socio-economic profile, illiteracy/lack of education and ineffective information dissemination by the planning bodies restraint them from taking part in the planning process. Unlike developing countries, citizens in a developed context are likely to participate as they mostly bear positive attitude towards participation. Moreover, lack of accountability and transparency in planning agencies result in loss of trust of the community, which in turn discourage them (community) to participate in the planning process. A discussion on the formation of public apathy is presented in the following sections.

7.13.2. Citizens' awareness of the planning process

Recent planning praxis emphasises on communicative strategies through enhanced flow of information between planning agency and the citizen. The availability and access to the information concerned with the profile of the agencies as well as new development plans or projects is considered as the critical factors in implementing the core ideas of communicative planning theories. Moreover, public awareness and understandings of the plans are essential to empower the citizens sufficiently enough to take part in the planning process. However, critics of Habermasian theorists point out that planning decision must embrace distortions, politics and power embedded in the society. Such theoretical developments introduce the realities of power and politics into the communicative action. Knowledge is one of the key indicators of

power that enable the citizens to be involved in decision-making. Hillier (2000) states that, “Power is integral to planning decisions. Knowledge and power are intrinsically interrelated. The forms of power at work in society are embedded with knowledge - both of substance (what) and process (how), and equally those forms of knowledge are embedded with power relations” (p.34).

Laurian (2003) identifies from contemporary planning research and practice that participation needs to fulfil two prerequisites: (a) potential participants are aware of the issue and clear understanding of the technicalities to contribute; and (b) participants are informed enough to engage meaningfully. It well demonstrates that public awareness and information can enhance individuals towards participation. It is unjustified that citizen will have technical expertise of the planning issues but they should at least have proper orientation of the development issue, transparent perception of planning process and generalised knowledge of the technical matters. Planners have immense role in make the technical matters presentable and understandable to the community. Rahman (2008) argues that “planning education is really needed for every people of a country to promote transparent and accountable development” (p.90). It has been observed that lack of planning knowledge create feeling of powerlessness among the people which negatively affect in participatory actions. Besides, understandings of the plans and awareness of the planning process facilitate citizens to play an active role in decision-making which tend to minimise potential conflicts among stakeholders. In developing countries, citizens commonly suffer from inadequate knowledge of the planning process due to their low socio-economic profile and poor urban governance (Rahman, 2008). This study attempts to understand the ground reality through assessing public awareness of DAP and it’s planning process, which is presented in Chapter 8.

7.13.3. Effects of trust

Citizens’ attitude towards participation may be substantially affected by the level of trust they have exist in planning agencies seeking to engage them to participate. Dobson (2006) claimed that people are highly likely to be involved in the planning process who believes their demand will be incorporated in the final plan. Participation cannot be achieved unless such belief does exist. Realising the

importance of trust in ensuring community engagement in the planning process, Swain and Tait (2007) denote that:

The practice of “public involvement” serves as a particularly pertinent example of how trust is embedded in planning work. Participatory approaches to planning arose in part as a reaction to “traditional” modes of representative democracy but also dissatisfaction with scientific, technocratic and professionalised systems of planning.
(p.232)

According to Kumar (1996), trust is “a leap of faith [whereby stakeholders] believe that each is interested in the other’s welfare and that neither will act without first considering the action’s impact on the other” (p.95). The stakeholders (individuals and institutions) among which the trust is placed is termed as ‘symbol complexes’ surrounded by a space involving conditions, norms and attitudinal factors (Luhmann, 1979). These complexes are shaped (improved or downgraded) depending on the ways the stakeholders are ‘projected on the environment’ (Kumar and Paddison, 2000 p.211). In fact, the study of trust has entered into the planning and decision-making discourse rather recently. It is, perhaps, because the dynamics of interrelationship between individual and institutions has been dominated by the state of power as theorised by Foucault (Stein and Harper, 2003; Tait, 2011). Davies (2011) asserts that planning practice has essentially lost the trust of the citizens due to its centralised and technocratic approach where there was no room for them. Trust is emphasised as the “lubricant” for collaboration and is seen offer “ontological security” to the stakeholders which enables them to interact and discourse in a comfortable space (Putnam, 1993 p.171; Giddens, 1984; Kumar and Paddison, 2000). For the purpose of this research, It refers to as the faith of the individuals/community in local planning institutions and the planning system or can be regarded as “a human passion and a modality of human action” (Kumar and Paddison, 2000 p.209). A growing concern on trust building is observed with the decreasing level of trust in government services, which is commonly used as ‘crisis of trust’ in the contemporary literature (Swain and Tait, 2007; Tait, 2011).

In developing countries, a range of factors can be identified that are traditionally embedded in degrading relationship between individuals and the planning administration:

- As Tait (2011) reports, “. . . planning systems are particularly mistrusted for their bureaucratic and technical nature, their inability to capture and act in the interests of citizens . . . , and their bias toward powerful groups” (p.157).
- Distrust can stem from various actions undertaken by local planning authorities, such as poor implementation of planning policies and enforcement of legislations, poor compensation to individuals affected by planning interventions and forced evictions.
- The role of the state and planning authorities is also important in gaining or loosing trust of the community. Choguill (1996) reported the conspiratorial role of the State in Dhaka city (Bangladesh) eroded the trust the squatter population had in planning service providers (p.440)²¹.

Therefore, gaining the trust of the community is a central concern of planning practice as the profession stands at the nexus of public and private interests. Democratic planning is rarely entirely successful without proper attention to trust in the city administration by the individuals (Laurian, 2009).

7.13.4. Social Capital

Community planning is a collective task which requires genuine effort of the planning agencies as well as commitment from the citizens. Social capital is considered as the aggregate measure determining the cooperative behaviour of the citizen at neighbourhood level. Social capital is studied to understand individual’s mindset and willingness to invest time and effort in the provision of collective goods (Rydin and Pennington, 2000; Lelieveldt, 2004). Therefore, it is a critical predictor of one’s participation in the planning process either voluntarily or when formally invited by the planning agencies. Putnam et al. (1993) defines social capital as a socially determined and locality-based concept which encompasses both structural and cultural (or attitudinal) dimensions (also see Lelieveldt, 2004) (Figure 7.6). The following sections analyse how the elements of social capital drive participation.

²¹ See Choguill (1996) for details of the case study.

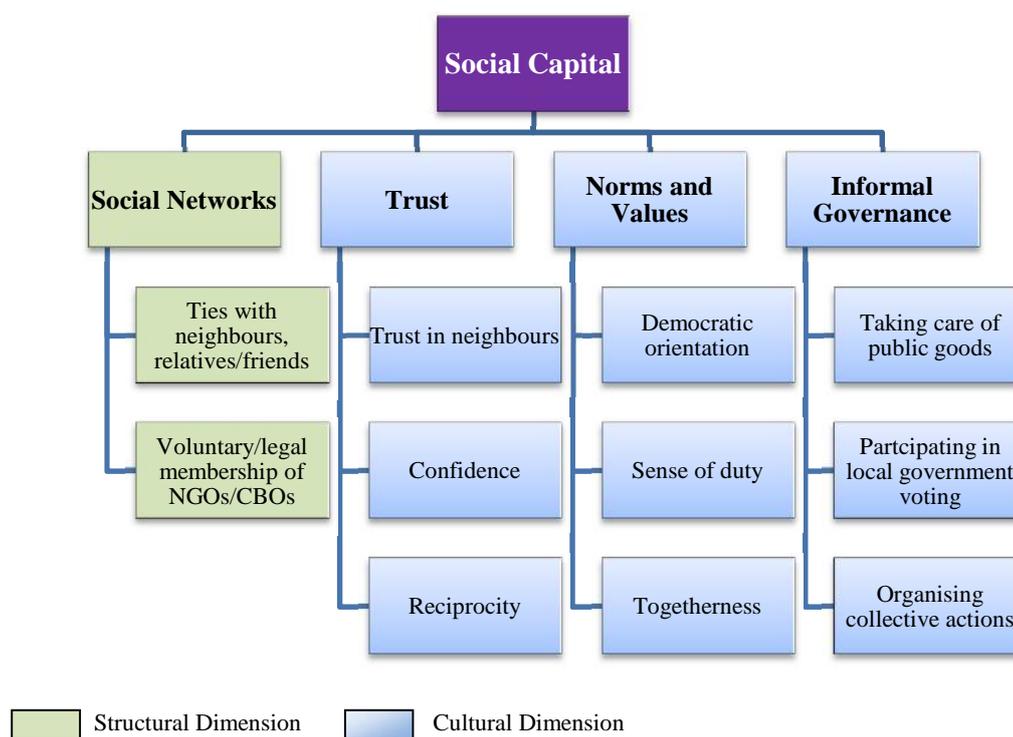


Figure 7.6: Social capital model affecting individual's willingness to invest for public goods.

Structural dimension refers to the extent to which citizens are involved in formal or informal social network (Van Deth, 2003). It includes their relationships with neighbours, relatives and friends or with NGOs and CBOs through voluntary/legal membership. Involvement in a functional social network or being connected to others provides a citizen better opportunity to be informed and to take collective actions. The cultural or attitudinal dimension encompasses individual's trust in neighbours, norms and values and informal governance maintained them. Due to the common interest on public goods and potential conflict between self and common interest lead to collective action dilemma²². Trust in neighbours determines one's relative behaviour in terms of collective goods. It helps to overcome the collective action dilemma through directing citizen more willing to participate in improving the quality of the neighbourhood having confident that others will do their own turn as well as will take equal stake (Ahn and Ostrom, 2008). Norms and values, on the other hand, refer to personal democratic attitude, sense of duty (such as helping

²² See Olson (1965); Hardin (1968); Ostrom (1998) and Ahn and Ostrom (2008) for in-depth research on collective action dilemma (also known as tragedy of the commons).

others spontaneously or voluntarily participate in community activities) and togetherness. In this regard, Lelieveldt (2004) clarifies that:

Where trust is much more experience-based and contingent on a resident's impressions about the cooperative behavior of others, norms guide someone's behavior irrespective of what others do. The relevance of such a distinction becomes clear when one thinks of a person who does not trust his neighbors too much—and would not be motivated to do something out of a sense of reciprocity—but at the same time has a considerable sense of duty that nevertheless makes him engage in some kind of participation. (p.535)

Informal governance, the third aspect of cultural dimension, refers to the citizen's ability to maintain the quality of the neighbourhood and to tackle smaller problems within the community. It encompasses one's participation in a whole range of activities that "do not fit customary definitions of political participation but within the context of neighborhoods should be regarded as essential forms of neighborhood self government" (Lelieveldt, 2004 p.534), popularly termed as informal governance (Crenson, 1983). For example, informal governance includes individual's participation in cleaning the locality, maintaining public greens and voting in municipal/national elections. Practicing informal governance enable citizens to be self sufficient and to taking part in formal community development initiatives.

7.14. Conclusion

This chapter shows that a number of risk factors pertaining with planning administration and the planning system may lead to citizens' dissatisfaction, which adversely contribute in shaping the distrusting interpersonal attitude. Most of the literature in planning is inclined to investigate institutional factors affecting participation including legislative framework, political context of the state, status of urban governance and role of the planner. However, there is growing concern of incorporating social and psychological factors observed in environmental management literature. It is argued that societal space representing social and psychological factors contribute in shaping attitude and behaviour towards participation. It is observed that public awareness of the plan, trust in local government and status of individual's social capital may have significant impacts on

determining who participates and who doesn't participate. Along with examining the institutional arrangements for participation in Bangladesh, this chapter provides a comprehensive theoretical discussion on societal space of participation to outline a working strategy for investigating ground realities through empirical study.

CHAPTER: 8

Findings and Analysis: Citizen Participation in Preparing Detailed Area Plan (DAP) of Dhaka City

8.1. Introduction

In chapter 4, I have outlined a draft set of parameters (Table 4.4), which clarifies the understanding of participation and how it works in developing countries. Considering the limitations of previous studies in this field of knowledge, this framework demonstrates an interdisciplinary approach to investigate the major dimensions of institutional and societal space that affect citizens' participation process in planning and development of metropolitan cities. Chapter 7 has largely explored the dimensions and characteristics of external realities representing institutional space of participation and set the theoretical concepts of internal realities of participation. In this chapter, I focus on examining the major dimensions of internal realities through interviewing the citizens residing under the jurisdiction of recently completed Detailed Area Plan (DAP) for Dhaka city. The interpretive analysis of this study serves to determine citizens' perspective on participation practice in developing countries, factors affecting their decisions to involve in the planning process and inter-relationships among internal and external realities.

The participation framework depicted in Table 4.4 and subsequent discussions on institutional aspects of participation reveals the following significant themes that play a critical role in determining individual's participation in the planning process and hereby guides the presentation of my empirical findings:

- Status of communication interface between citizens and planning agencies and level of public awareness
- Effects of involving in informal network
- Dynamics of participation including research questions c) to e)
- Citizens' perceptions of factors limiting their involvement in the planning process

In this chapter, the above mentioned issues are examined through the findings of the empirical study. Considering the importance of consensus between the citizens and practitioners, I further sought practitioners' perceptions of internal and external realities of participation that affect citizen to participate in order to understand the conceptual convergence or divergence between citizens and practitioners. The findings of this study based on participation framework are further utilized to design the participation model (Chapter 9) that reflects the local context and realities of the citizens of developing countries.

8.2. Rationale for studying citizens' perceptions

I have provided a broader elucidation of the institutional and socio-cultural background of participation in previous chapters. The discussions reinvigorate the participation debate in practice and establish the urgency of greater institutional sensitivity to citizens' perceptions of participation (Healey, 1996; Davies, 2001). It also set out a number of issues that are centred on participants' realities and need to be explored through a comprehensive empirical analysis. There is a great volume of work done that details participation by focusing on institutional perspective, however, seeking citizens' perceptions in notably limited (Buckingham-Hatfield and Percy, 1999). In this regard, I decided to examine citizens' perceptions of participation space in order to uncover hidden causes behind establishing participation as "open, legitimate, fair and inclusive" (Davies, 2001 p.198).

8.3. Context of the Empirical Research

To recognise the ground reality of the key issues associated with the participants' realities, an in-depth field study was conducted in the mega city Dhaka, Bangladesh. The study aimed to investigate community perceptions regarding the level of participation realised in the recently completed Dhaka Detailed Area Plan (DAP) carried out under the jurisdiction of RAJUK (Capital Development Authority).

8.3.1. Background of Detailed Area Plan (DAP)

The Structure Plan identified 26 Strategic Planning Zones (SPZ) extending over approximately 1530 sq. km. for preparing Urban Area Plan (Khatun, 2011) (Figure 8.1). The Structure Plan recommends the preparation of DAP for each SPZ. In order to prepare DAP; RAJUK divided the whole Greater Dhaka Metropolitan Area into

five study areas (representing all SPZs) and 11 locations with rapid development trends including potential high growth urban fringes (DDC, 2004)²³.

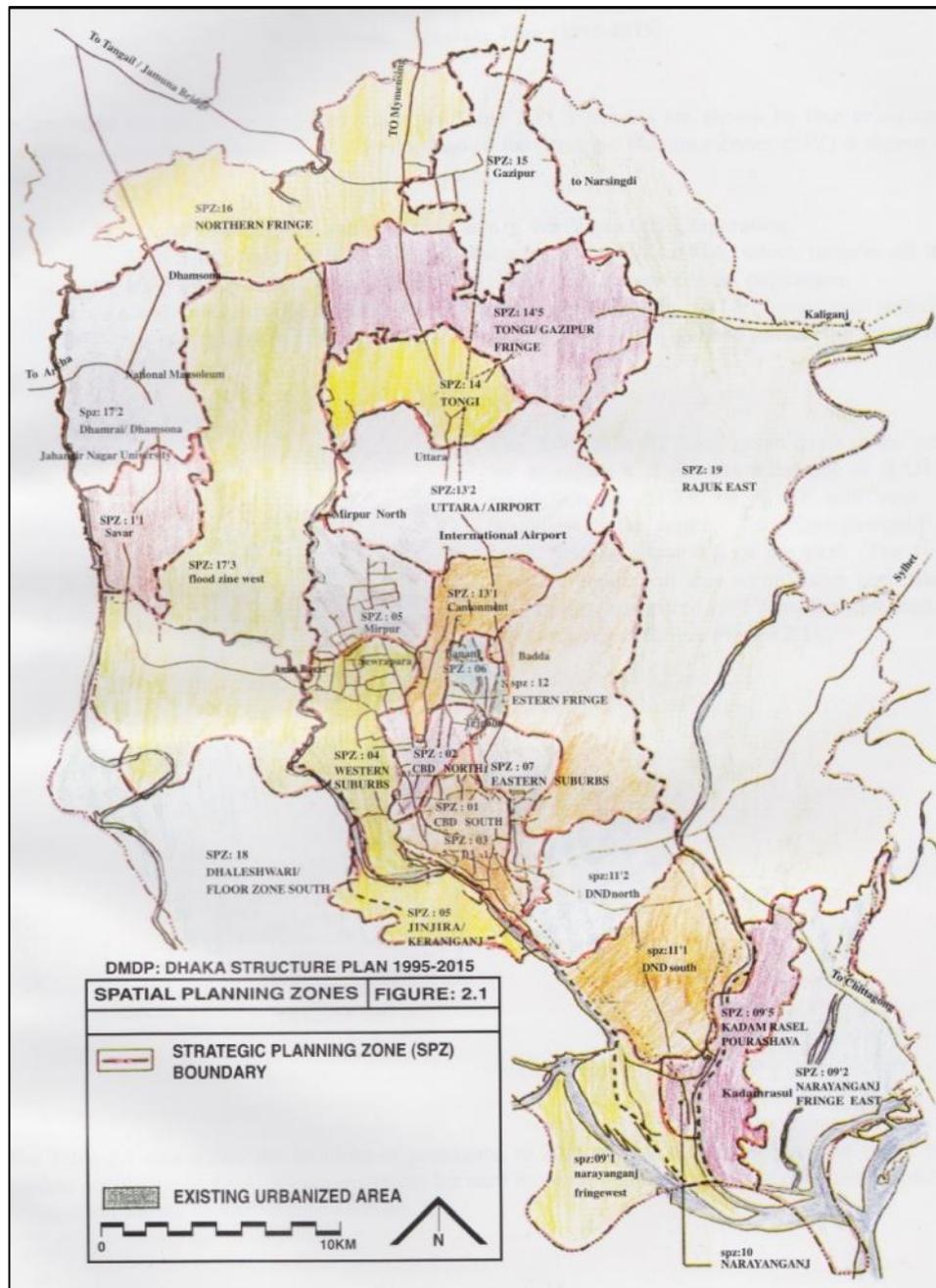


Figure 8.1: Strategic Planning Zones (SPZs) for Detailed Area Plan (DAP) of Dhaka (RAJUK, 1997).

²³ To have a closer look into the development proposals set by the consultants, the entire study area allocated to each planning organisation was regrouped into several Detailed Planning Zones (DPZ). The reclassification was carried out based on development trend, population density and physical boundary as lines of demarcation between DPZs (Sheltech, 2010 p.3-37).

The total DAP area covers Tongi (municipality), Gazipur (municipality), Kaligonj and surrounding rural settlement at the North-East part, Narayanganj (municipality), Kadamrasul (municipality) and DND flood protected areas at the South-East part, Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) area at the central part, Keraniganj and Zinjira at the South-West part and lastly Savar EPZ and Turag Flood Plain at the North-West part (Khatun, 2011).

Fringe areas are facing unplanned and haphazard manner developments due to the lack of instrument to rationalize the growth in an organised way. DAP was designed to control the haphazard sprawling growth and to guide planned development. Following are the key objectives of DAP (EPC, 2010):

- Providing a detailed analysis the project areas and to ensure a basic urban design of good quality, functional, aesthetics and flexibility.
- Set a standard guideline for land management activities, data management and dissemination.
- Providing a program for public sector investment aiming at the implementation of the plan.
- Providing controls and guidance for private sector land use and development in the area of the plan.
- Providing clarity and security with regard to future development for inhabitants and investors; and
- Providing planned development to ensure sustainable environment for DAP areas.

8.3.2. An assessment of the planning process

The task of preparing DAP has been awarded to four different consulting companies. However, prior to assigning these tasks, no attempt was made to set out goals, targets, objectives, standard criteria, verifiable indicators, data collection approach, working methodology and standard formats for presentation of outputs and reports. Interviews were held with relevant RAJUK staff and the consultants charged with developing DAP in order to understand the process that was actually employed in the preparation of DAP. Figure 8.2 represents a generalised procedural framework

within which the DAP was prepared, based on the findings from the interviews. The findings reveal that only selected representatives of the community were provided initial information about the master plan project. A range of consultation meetings were conducted with representatives from different public departments and local governments, professional groups, civil society organisations, business groups, media, elected political leaders and academics. The stakeholders provided critical information on different infrastructure problems of the locality, causes of the problems and finally came up with a list of suggestions to be reflected in the final plan. This list is termed as the “stakeholder’ wish list” which was utilized to prepare the draft layout plan of DAP as reported by the consulting firms.

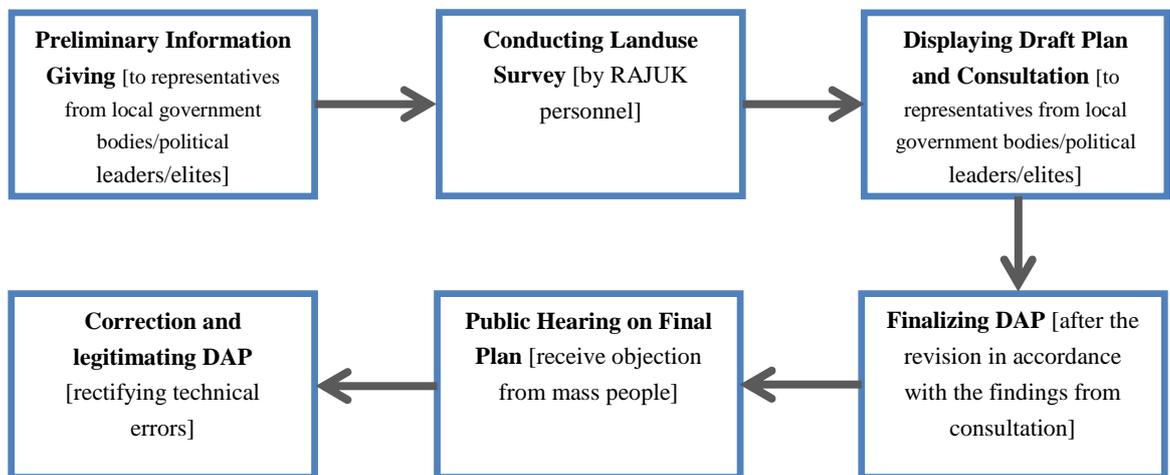


Figure 8.2: Steps followed in DAP preparation

The plan was initially drafted by the planners from RAJUK and its consulting firms. The draft plan was then displayed to a select group of people for feedback. This step of the process carries a substantial risk of allowing in bias to suit vested interests of the select group members. To give top priority to environmental considerations and also to ensure civil society participation in plan making process, RAJUK organised a 13 member Technical Working Group (TWG) representing professional groups and environmental activists (Sheltech, 2010 p.1-14). The TWG examined the various aspects of the plan proposals including the environmental issues. A series of meetings were held with representatives from RAJUK, consultants and the TWG. The major observation of the TWG covered the following issues:

- Population projection
- Conformity of the proposed land use of DAP with DMDP and from planning principles and norms
- Standards for amenities
- Issues of transportation
- Development management tools/strategies
- Issues of Data discrepancy

In the meantime, the revised, and possibly biased, plan was put up for public hearing through RAJUK's field offices. According to section 73(4) of Town Improvement (TI) Act 1953, RAJUK carried out a two-month long Public Hearing on the Detailed Area Plan from October 5, 2008 to December 4, 2008 (Khatun, 2011). The Public Hearing was carried out through: Media coverage (print and visual); Press conference; Web based Publication; Display of maps (printed copy). The planning team explained different aspects of the Plan to the stakeholders, displayed GIS based maps and collected complaints in prescribed format.

Therefore, the level of citizens' involvement in decision-making seems to be passive i.e. merely by informing people about different decisions made by the city authorities without any consultation with the stakeholders or general people during the drafting or revising of such plans. As a result, local problems and necessities are overlooked in most planning decisions, and local interests seem to be perceived as being in direct conflict with the interests of the policymakers, who typically represent the powerful and the elite sections of the society. Rather than try to reconcile such differences or adapt an equitable approach that would be absolutely progressive, the socially vulnerable groups are simply excluded altogether. The critics also indicate serious inconsistencies between the consultants, including the lack of a standard and coherent approach to problem identification, development of solutions and presentation of outputs. Moreover, most of the proposed development initiatives of the study are essentially hypothetical in nature without providing definitive land use data. It would therefore be a difficult undertaking to translate the recommendations of DAP into practical and meaningful action plans for future implementation. Bari and Efroymsen (2009) demonstrate that:

. . . it would seem to be a norm in the urban planning process in Dhaka to adopt important planning approaches without conducting either any knowledge-based analysis or utilising a participatory approach involving major stakeholders and socially deprived sections of the city. As has been the case with other such projects, the planning initiatives in DAP were mainly directed toward construction-oriented, car-friendly and capital-intensive land use and transport development, all of which encourage urban sprawl. (p.1)

A total of 5,326 complaints / comments were made on the plans by individuals, groups, institutions / organizations, local co-operatives and Private Developers. Most of the complaints were related to proposed road network, unwanted landuse and restricted developments. A large number of citizens, who were affected by the proposed layout of the roads, launched complaints due the for fear of eviction. Such conflicts can be avoided through involving local people into the decision-making process. EPC (2010) clarifies that:

Complains have been made from the fear of eviction as traditionally in [Bangladesh] these types of development activities are carried out through compulsory land acquisition. But land acquisition can be avoided by involving land owners in the development process. In the process land owners become partner in the project and contribute land voluntarily to secure right of ways for roads and civic amenities. ... All the aspects of an area are taken into consideration and plots are re-plotted according to an agreed plan. Land owners get back their plots after proportionate deduction of land for roads and other uses. This way the land owners get a fully serviced plot and their land value enhances and become easy to use. On the other hand the development authority implements the plan with no cost from public fund other than the seed capital needed for the kick start of the project. (p.19)

8.4. An Overview of the Surveyed Participants

The survey was conducted on 290 households in DAP areas. Among total respondents 88% were male and 12% were female. More than half of the respondents completed graduations from university, 21% passed Higher Secondary Certificate examination and rest of them either went to high school or completed primary education only. Seventy nine percent of the participants represent the medium income group (BDT 12500-55000 per month), 11% belongs to higher income group

(more than BDT 55000) and 9% are from lower income group²⁴ (less than BDT 12500). In contrast with previous research, this study did not find any significant relation between citizens' economic profile and attitude towards participation.

8.5. Communication interface, public awareness and self-efficacy

First sections of Part 2 and Part 4 of the questionnaire were designed to establish respondents' awareness of the planning process. The citizens' lack of understandings and awareness of DAP was a predominated issue in statements made by the participants of FGD and planning practitioners. The result of the household survey also reflected similar notion which was identified as one of the reasons for their non-participation. The survey findings reveal that more than fifty percent of the respondents did not have a proper idea about the plan (Figure 8.3).

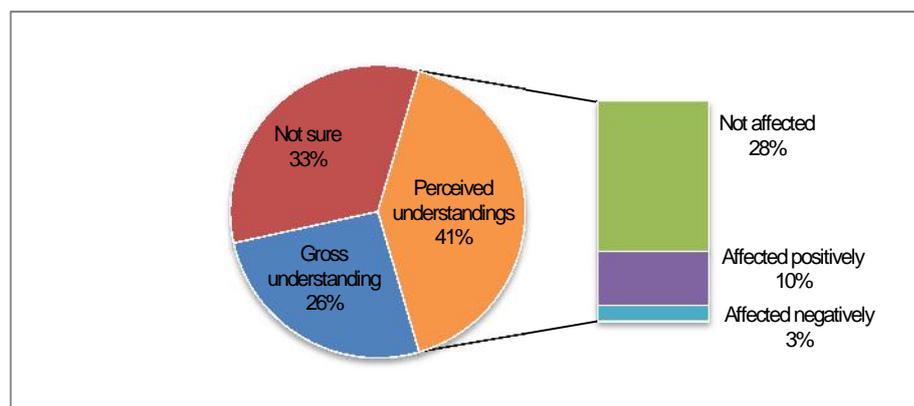


Figure 8.3: Perceptions of the respondents on the Detail Area Plan (DAP) of Dhaka.

Figure 8.3 shows that only 41% of the total respondents had perceived understandings among which 10% perceived that they would be benefited from the project and 3% confirmed that they would be affected negatively by the plan. Negative impacts upon individuals included loss of land, complete eviction and above all risk of getting insufficient compensations from the planning agency. The respondents also reported that lack of knowledge undermined individual's self-efficacy to be involved in voluntary participation. The dominant perception among all the groups was that ignorance due to incomplete understandings of the planning process was deliberately perpetuated by the planning systems and it reinforced the respondents' sense of dislocation from the planning process of DAP.

²⁴ Household income level is categorised in the Strategic Transport Plan for Dhaka (STP, 2005)

The use effective communication tool is also important to enhance the knowledge base of the citizens. Hillier (2000) defines communication tools as “the intermediaries which actors utilise in order to persuade or enrol others to their particular points of view. Intermediaries may be texts, such as planning documents, consultants' reports, letters, surveys, petitions, newspaper articles, TV coverage, photographs, etc.” (p.42). Figure 8.4 represents a comparative picture on how the respondents were informed about DAP as well as the profile and planning activities of RAJUK. The survey findings identifies national daily newspaper as a popular and mostly unintended source of information regarding DAP and RAJUK. The study shows that in both cases, highest number of respondents (20-25%) trusted newspaper as a reliable source of information. In case of DAP, TV/Radio coverage also played significant role (15% reported) in orienting people about the plan and provided regular update.

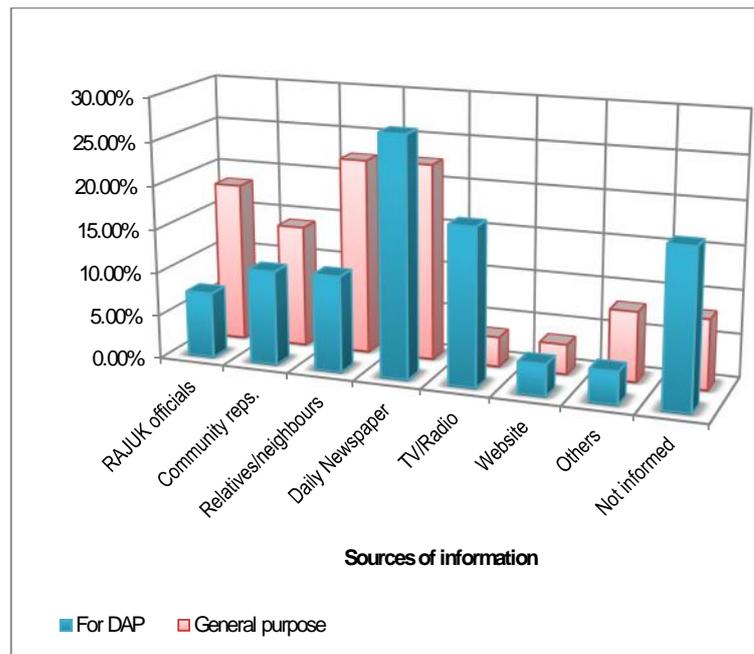
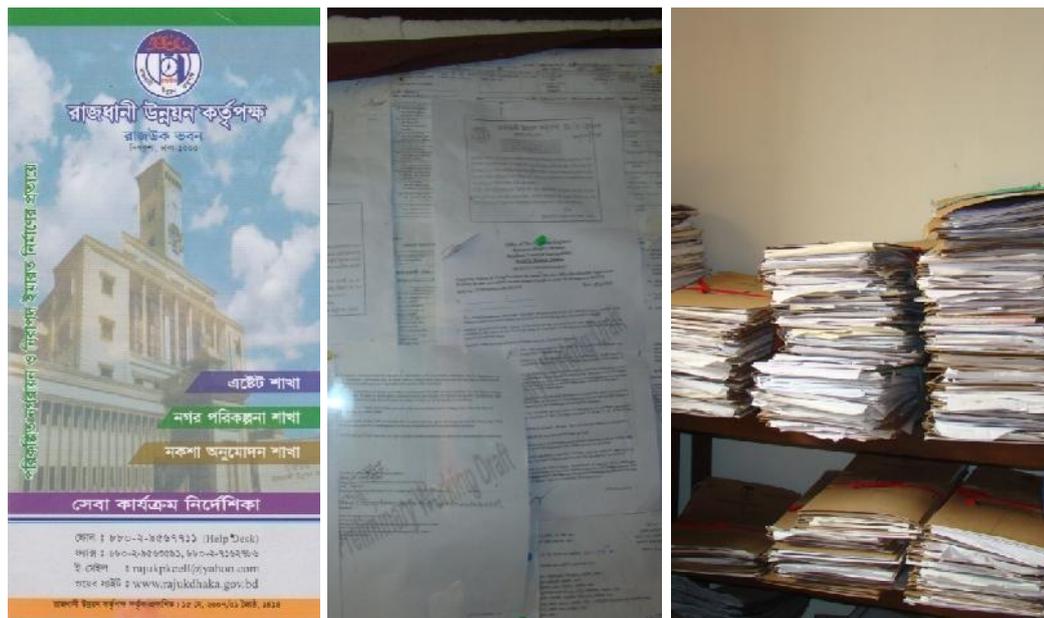


Figure 8.4: Sources of getting information about the DAP and general purposes.

There was a general consensus among the survey respondents and FGD participants that people were poorly informed about the venue and schedule of the public hearing, resulting in low attendances at the event. However, a gradual rise in attendance was experienced over time. It was suggested that the late higher attendance resulted from the fact that the news of the hearings gradually circulated within the communities through their socio-political networks. The dissemination tools applied by RAJUK

to inform citizens about DAP were found inefficient in this regard. Moreover, people were much concerned to know if they were negatively affected by DAP (sense of urgency) rather than providing any meaningful proposals or comments to improve the plan. Increased public apathy was also identified from the sky-mounting number of complaints lodged against DAP by the affected citizens. RAJUK staff, however, admitted that only technical faults in the plan were rectified before submitting the DAP for gazetting. The findings indicate RAJUK's limitations in building public awareness of the planning process as well as making genuine effort in consulting local residents to minimise potential conflicts. Furthermore, there was no provision adopted within the procedure for further follow-on updates or feedback for either those who attended in the hearing sessions or the community at large. The community were not informed whether or not their objections and suggestions were incorporated in the final version of DAP which motivated them for non-participation.



Booklet

Notice Board in front of RAJUK office

Manual style of keeping records

Figure 8.5: Traditional information dissemination modes used by RAJUK (Source: Author).

The findings also reveal that the respondents possessed a higher level of social capital and maintained informal network to get information. The tendency was observed higher in case of getting general information about RAJUK. It is identified that 22.40% of the respondents got informed by neighbours or relatives about the planning activities including process of getting approval for new construction; new housing projects, procuring residential plots and solution for any other planning

problems. In this regard, significant number of the respondents (18.30%) collects information from RAJUK officials. Again, dissemination mechanisms used by the planning agency (e.g., booklet/citizen charter, website and direct announcement) seem to have little role in informing the citizens effectively (Figure 8.5).

8.6. Citizens' Involvement in Informal Networks and Participation

8.6.1. Characteristics of informal network

Questions 10-12 were designed to investigate whether the respondents use informal network to obtain planning services including. Figure 8.6 reveals that all most 51% of the respondents different types of socio-political networks they have.

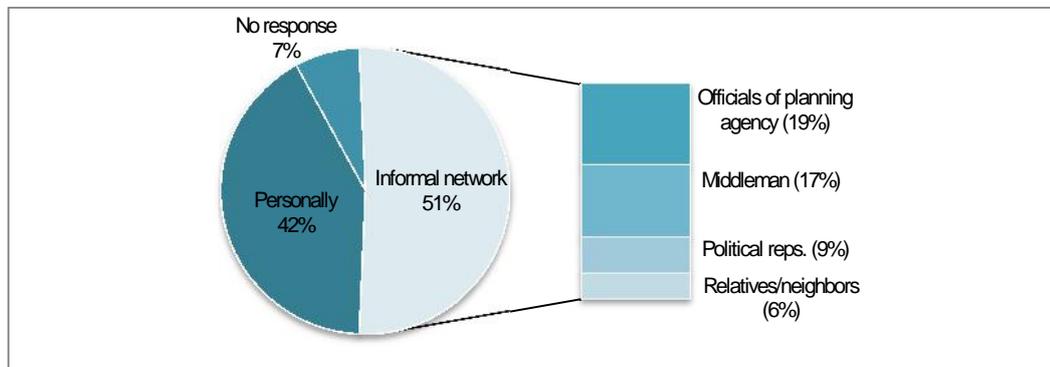


Figure 8.6: How do the respondents approach the planning agency to seek services?

A detailed investigation tells that 19% of the respondents, who maintained networks, went through personally known officials of the planning agency in order to get their tasks done. Seventeen percent of them sought help from middleman who already had an informal relationship with the planning agency. Financial transactions are common for utilising this kind of indirect network. Others used to take help from local political representatives and relatives or neighbours. However, this relationship become complex when citizens use variety of networks in both direct and indirect manners. A general model of this complex network system is outlined in section 8.6.2.

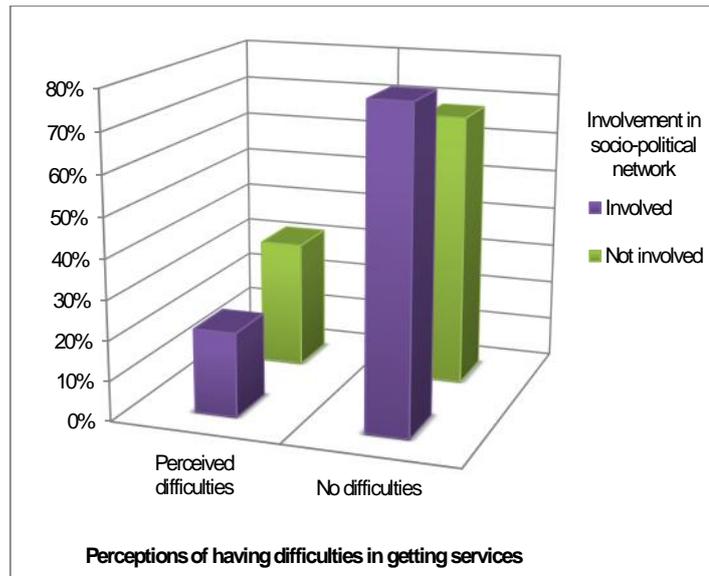


Figure 8.7: Relation between the perceptions of respondents in getting services from planning agency and their involvement in patron-client network.

A subsequent question asked respondents whether their involvement in socio-political network and membership in civil society organisations had any significant impact while dealing with the planning agency. Figure 8.7 demonstrates following findings in this regard:

- Involvement in informal network or organisational membership had no significant impact upon the level of services received by the respondents unless they had political attachment. It was reported that respondents faced a number of problems while dealing with the planning agencies including taking long for processing development applications; non-cooperation from the staff while seeking assistance and unfair demand made by the staff. Respondents having political involvement perceived to face comparatively less problem in getting development approvals or in any other planning services.
- In reality, involvement in civil society organisations does not matter to the community in perceiving getting services provided by the planning agencies. Likely situation may be the perception of involvement in group activities most probably equate with participation and getting benefits.

8.6.2. Outlining the complex network system in urban context

The discussions with the participants of FGDs and the planning practitioners revealed deeper issues associated with the informal network. They provided key information for understanding and outlining the complex patron-client network representing the urban development and management context in Bangladesh. Based on literature review and empirical data, Figure 8.6 represents a patron-client framework defining citizens' strategies to seek and obtain planning services.

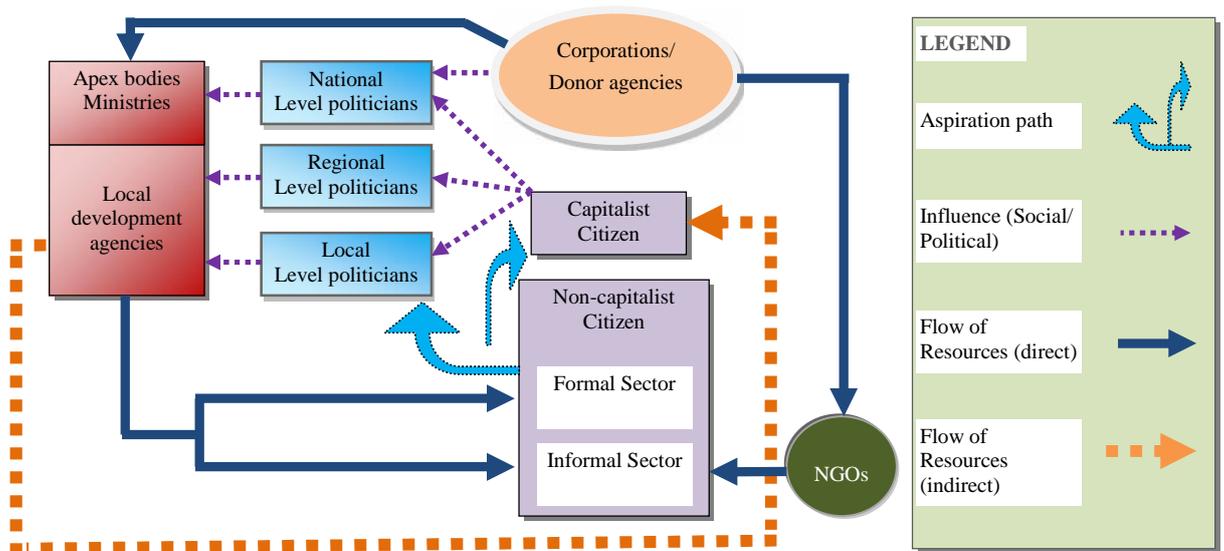


Figure 8.8: Flow of resources and influence within the patron-client network

(Author's own illustration).

The model builds on the basic conceptual model developed by Khan (1998), which I have modified and expanded to reflect the current urban reality reported by the respondents during the field investigation. It is contended that the urban reality of Bangladesh is generally representative of that of all South Asian countries. This is defined by the prevalence of extensive informal settlements, the presence of a donor-led agenda of international development aid agencies and elements of civil society. The civil society²⁵ often found in the shape of civil groups, NGOs and professional associations is an important element of urban reality in developing countries where the government is not capable of guaranteeing citizens' social welfare.

²⁵ Douglass and Friedmann (1998) define 'civil society' as "part of social life that lies beyond the immediate reach of the state" and argue that civil society "must exist for a democratic state to flower" (p.2).

The model (Figure 8.8) describes the political context typical to South Asian countries in terms of patrons and clients of the State (citizens). The patrons are identified as bureaucrats and politicians in their roles of resource allocators and power brokers. The model distinguishes between two social groups within the citizenry, the capitalist and the non-capitalist clients with respect to their socio-economic status. Both economic and the political influences intermingle within the social structure with a dominant middle class (or the 'capitalist client') and the bulk of the population (the 'non-capitalist' citizens) (Bardhan, 1998). The most successful individuals within non-capitalist clients aspire to become capitalists or political leaders over time (Khan, 1998).

In most cases, the middle class obtains favour from local bureaucrats and politicians using their social networks or by offering bribes. In effect, they expend either their social capital or fiscal wealth in return for patronage. Non-capitalist citizens with no access to the political/bureaucratic patronage, usually seek help through a middleman with the exchange of bribes (Mahmud, 2007). In South Asian cities, inhabitants of the extensive informal settlements (loosely referred to as slum dwellers) generally represent the bulk of the urban poor.

Despite their marginal status, slum dwellers do carry the right to vote. Przeworski reports that "poorer people do not vote at distinctly lower rates than wealthier ones..." and also that "(m)any very poor people vote in exchange for clientelistic favors for wealthier candidates .." (2010, p. 94). Because of this, politicians patronize slum dwellers. By helping slum dwellers secure basic services and access to utilities, politicians count on their political support in return. During the elections, slum dwellers are thus often referred to as the "vote bank" of politicians (Banks, 2008 p.369). At the end of the day, allocation of public services often becomes the currency of political patronage for the urban poor (WB, 2003).

Various actors within the patron-client network extend their influence to facilitate transfers of resources at various levels to suit the interest of the clients. In the specific context of planning and urban management, resources marked for development may be transferred by purposeful deviation from land use plans in favour of the client's interest. This could be done, for example, by extending

residential real estate business into non-residential zones (Mahmud, 2007). This result from a nexus formed between the vested interests of politicians and bureaucrats at different levels. Khan (1998) observes that historically, in Bangladesh, “(p)olitical “corruption” led to economic corruption as each group of politicians organised their own networks of resource collection and distribution” (p.29). Over the years, transfer of resources across established client-patron networks is seen as a means to maintain political stability. Given the situation, Khan (1998) notes that attempts to change any particular allocation can prove very difficult, provoking severe opposition from many quarters.

8.7. Dynamics of participation in the planning process of DAP

8.7.1. Who participates, who doesn't and why?

Part 4 of the questionnaire (Questions 14 - 22) aimed to identify respondents' perceptions on their participation in the planning process. The study revealed that more than 50% of respondents were not involved in the planning process of DAP (Figure 8.9A).

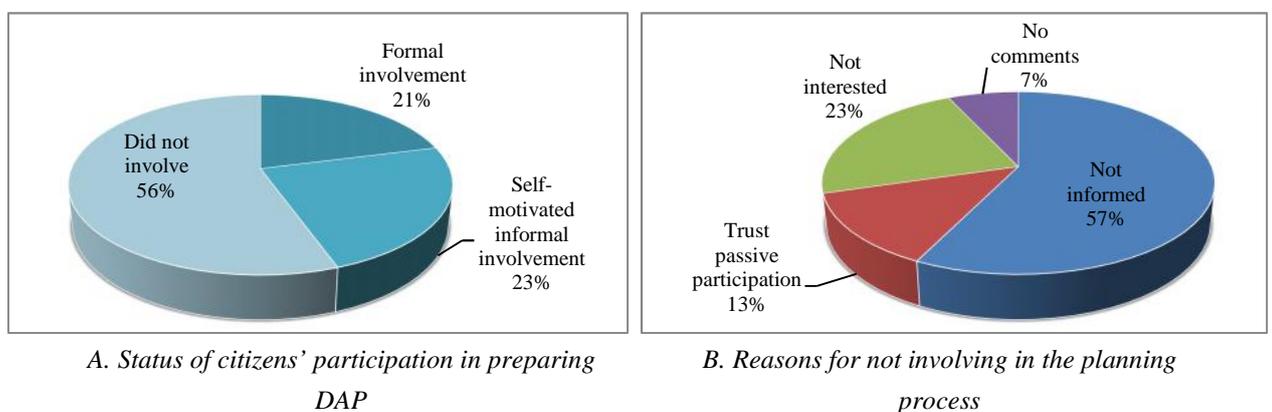


Figure 8.9: State of citizen participation in preparing DAP

Around a fifth (21%) of those participated, engaged in some kind of formal participation, i.e. they took part in participatory exercises and events organised by the planning agency such as public hearings, consultation meetings and meetings designed to share opinion on proposed layout plans. It was noted, however, that public hearings drew attention mainly of those respondents who saw themselves as being potentially negatively affected by the proposed plan. Others were involved

indirectly through informal means such as either by sharing their concerns with political/community leaders with better access into the planning system or by forming groups to organise protest rallies or written complaints against the plan. This group of citizens were mostly self-motivated to act and finding themselves left out of the formal planning process, they resorted to informal group actions. From an institutional perspective, this represents a group that was left out of the formal planning system but who could potentially have participated in DAP's preparation process.

Figure 8.9B demonstrates that over half (57%) of respondents who did not participate reported a lack of awareness of the DAP process, blaming it on the poor information dissemination process of RAJUK. Thirteen percent of the participants preferred indirect/passive participation and believed that engagement by community/political leaders with RAJUK was sufficient to represent their demand. The remaining respondents (23%) were simply not interested in taking part in the DAP process implemented by RAJUK. Lack of trust in RAJUK was indicated as the prime concern for such public apathy. The findings of the empirical study also revealed other reasons that dissuaded people from engaging with the DAP process. These include the followings:

- The respondents believed citizens' comments and feedback would be ignored in the final plan.
- They believed that because if they were not affected by the plan they need not be bothered.
- They prioritised spending time for securing their means of livelihoods rather than wasting time by engaging in the planning process, and
- A group of respondents were absent during the participation events because they were not regular residents of the area.

8.7.2. Attitude towards contributing in community development

Question 16 investigated respondents' attitude towards sharing or contributing personal resources in terms of time, money or land for implementing community development plans. Community development plans refer to construction of new roads or widening existing roads, parks, playgrounds, graveyard and preservation of

natural forest/bush lands. Hardin's (1968) tragedy of commons suggests state intervention to develop and manage common resources. However, Lise (2000) proposes community participation as more effective strategy for long term sustainability of the common resources. The study shows a quite variety of perceptions regarding contributing in community development.

Figure 8.10 shows that 20% of respondents were ready to participate in community development with the planning agency. Thirty five percent of total respondents were conditional in agreeing to support the community. They agreed to do so if their neighbours and other community members came forward for this purpose. About 9% of them showed strong NIMBYism. They wished to see community development but did not want those to affect their personal resources. Therefore, the overall findings indicate strong existence of social capital in the community which can be capitalised to enhance community participation in planning and implementing community development plans.

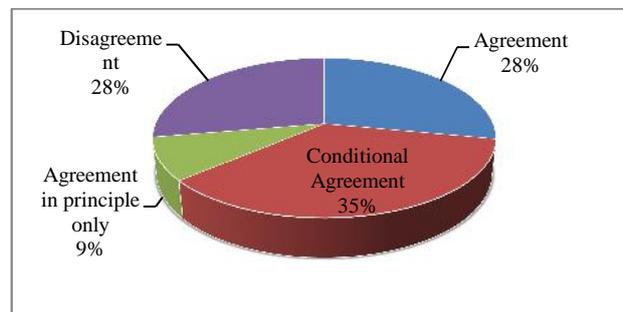


Figure 8.10: Willingness of the respondents to contribute in community development initiatives taken by the planning agency

8.8. Aspiration/motives of the citizen towards participation

Figure 8.11 represents the manner in which citizens would prefer to participate in planning for their city. A significant number of respondents (44%) either displayed a negative attitude towards participation or a preference to rely on indirect or passive participation through community leaders or political patrons. A proportion (34%) of respondents believed that their interests were best served by involving local leaders and thus did not pursue their own rights of participation. Such prevalent perceptions lead to a higher tendency of relying on prevalent socio-political network.

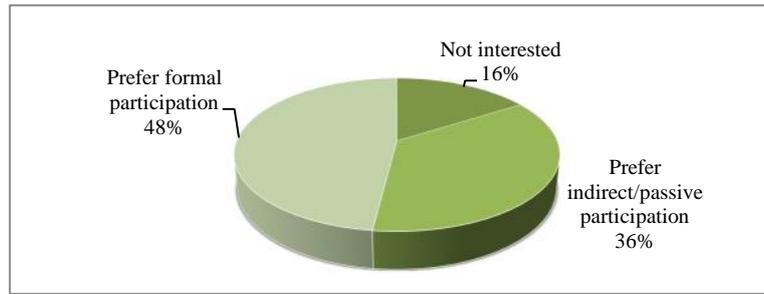


Figure 8.11: Spectrum of citizens' aspiration towards participation in the planning process

Forty eight percent of respondents reported a desire to engage with the formal system representing various levels of participation. This included acquiring information regarding the plans and processes personally; attending consultation meetings to express their needs; or being consulted. Many desired to get feedback on the proposals they submitted while some showed a higher tendency towards participation by taking part in the layout/landuse planning. These preferences show a continuum spectrum of participation which can be best described in congruence with the Arnstein's seminal work.

Level of participation achieved	Arnstein's ladder of participation	Citizens' aspiration towards participation in the empirical study
Degrees of citizen power	Citizen control	
	Delegated power	
	Partnership	
Degrees of tokenism	Placation	Taking part in the layout plan
	Consultation	To be consulted and feedback
	Informing	To be consulted only
		To be informed personally
Non-participation	Therapy	Information available at community representatives
	Manipulation	

Figure 8.12: Spectrum of citizens' aspiration towards participation in the planning process

The aspiration for participation in planning among respondents seems to be clustered around ‘informing’, ‘consultation’ and ‘placation’ levels of Arnstein’s ladder. With reference to Arnstein’s ladder, these could be described lying between lower to higher levels of tokenistic participation (Figure 8.12). Arnstein (1969) describes such levels of participation as those where the right to make decisions continues to be retained by the planning authorities. The findings depicted in Figure 8.12 further illustrate that a higher levels of participation (such as partnership, delegated power and citizen control) as identified by Arnstein, were not aspired by the respondents. The relatively lower expectations among participants could reflect an extended distrust with planning administration, limited accountability of planning authority and their lack of knowledge and understanding of the context and the concepts of higher degrees of participation (Mohammadi, 2010; Parker and Murray, 2012; Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012). In this regard, all actors including planning authorities, aid agencies, and NGOs need to work together to broaden the level of expectations of the citizens in order to achieve their more active roles in the planning process. However, Parker and Murray (2012) also cautioned that muted or restricted expectations,

.. present both a challenge and an important characteristic that could be managed such that expectations are not set unrealistically high. If they are formed dialogically between the participants and the sponsors .., then a shared rationality can be developed. Although..., the risk of co-option will still remain and may tempt sponsoring agencies unless checks and balances are present and enforced and where shared goals and preferences are formulated through negotiation. (p.21)

8.9. Participants’ Realities towards Participation in the Planning Process

In question 24, participants of household survey were asked to list down the internal and external factors affecting their level of participation in the planning process. Later they were requested to rank those factors according to the magnitude of influence of that particular factor upon their decision to participate. The planning practitioners were also asked to do the same exercise to determine the synchronisation of perceptions between citizens and practitioners.

8.9.1. Internal realities

Citizen's perspective

The following eight themes were identified by respondents in FGDs as the key factors that affect their attitude to participate in the planning process:

- (a) Economic condition
- (b) Awareness of the planning process
- (c) Effectiveness of communication strategies taken by the planning agency
- (d) Trust in planning agency
- (e) Involvement in informal network
- (f) Dependency on neighbours' initiatives
- (g) Sense of urgency (i.e. whether or not they were personally affected by the plan).
- (h) Status of social capital

The list of factors mostly represents various dimensions internal realities outlined in Figure 7.1 were then put into the questionnaire for empirical investigation. Among the factors identified by the respondents, informal governance depends on several sub-factors such as: neighbourhoodness, sense of duty, trust in neighbours and practice of informal governance (see section 5.13.4). Question 25 was designed to determine the status of social capital maintained by individuals. The responses were then put into the following rank-order model (Figure 8.13):

$$R = \frac{\sum\{(r_1 \times f_1) + \dots + (r_n \times f_n)\}}{N}$$

[Here, R = Final rank value; r = Individual rank given by the respondent; f = frequency; n = No. of factors identified; and N = Number of total respondent]

Figure 8.13: Model Applied for Rank-Order Analysis of Participant Realities towards Participation (adapted from Malhotra, 2008)

The model aimed to arrive at a quantifiable average rank value (R) to demonstrate the relative importance of the identified factors in a graphical representation (Figure

8.14). The rank value was derived from the priority ranking assigned to each factor by the respondents. Rank value was calculated from the individual rank based on a score of importance (8 being the highest and 1 the lowest) given to each factor by all respondents.

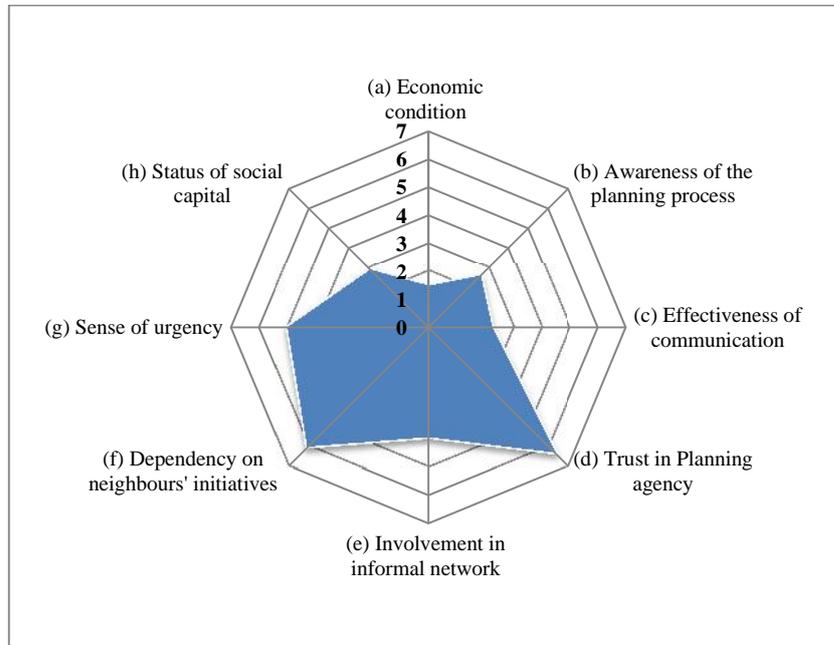


Figure 8.14: Comparative importance of participants' realities affecting respondents' attitude towards participation (citizen perspective).

Figure 8.14 shows that 'trust in local planning agencies' has the highest impact upon the respondents' attitude towards participation. It establishes the fact that diminishing level of trust in planning agencies discourages citizens from taking part in the participatory process. Evidence from other sources also claims that lack of trust in planning agencies is a significant factor. As a case in point, I refer to wide-scale community protest and conflict around the implementation of Detailed Area Plan (DAP) and residential sites-and-services projects in Dhaka. The following excerpt from the local media suggests there was much concern about the distrust of the intentions of the planning authority:

“Acting on a rumour that [planning authority] was acquiring land for the purposes of constructing a satellite town in the region, hundreds of local people went on a rampage. In the process, they ended up vandalizing as many as 200 vehicles, torching a garments factory and laying siege to a public highway for hours together. The

difficulties which such mob action can put citizens into can only be imagined” (The Daily Star, 2010).

Another media report suggests conspiracy and collusion:

“We protested the plan as the government is trying to take our land,” said .. (a citizen of Gazipur), referring to Saturday’s protest against the [planning authority]. (...) Interviews with about 100 people including a local lawmaker, a chairman and members of Union Parishad, businessmen, teachers, students and farmers in Gazipur made it clear that the locals were motivated by propaganda from a vested quarter against the DAP ... A campaign against the DAP .. was initiated .. through reports by three Bangla [Bengali] dailies owned by two well known land developers” (Roy, 2010).

“A group of ‘land owners’ set fire to a site office .. at Uttara .. in protest at ‘land acquisition’ by the city development authority for its extended Uttara Model Town project” (New Age, 2012). “.. Chairman of [planning authority], said that they had already handed over all the plots to the affected local people as per rule”. However, “one of the affected.., said that hundreds of villagers went to the [PA’s] project site office .. to demand plots and got locked in a clash ..” (The Daily Star, 2012). In response, Chairman of [planning authority] claimed that “a group of [illegal] ‘land grabbers’ who were evicted from the area a few days ago launched the attack ..” (New Age, 2012).

Whether or not the incident reported above is seen to be the result of deliberate manipulation by external political forces, it suggests the prevalence of low levels of trust of local authorities. Even when seen as a political conspiracy, it suggests that the manipulators capitalised on their knowledge of the prevalence of low levels of trust for the city development authorities. In such a context, the existence of trust or its absence could indeed influence the tendency of an individual to participate based on the experience of their past interactions or even rumours that prevail.

Practitioners’ perspective

The planning practitioners also recognised the eight internal realities identified by the respondents in household survey. However, the practitioners perceived different rank

value for those factors. In addition, they perceived that traditional beliefs of the citizens also have substantial impact on their decision to participate. Traditional beliefs are emerged from the socio-economic context of the community which largely influence to form attitude. The practitioners were concerned that most of the communities felt comfortable to rely on chief or elders, traditional leaders. Common citizens like to support them and hence restrain themselves from direct participation. It is contended that individuals usually convey greetings to the leaders as their positive standpoints on whatever they decide.

Like the household survey, practitioners were also asked to rank the indicated factors where higher value carried greater importance. The responses were again put into the rank-order model (Figure 8.13) and finally rank value was calculated from the individual rank based on a score of importance (9 being the highest and 1 the lowest) given to each factor by all respondents.

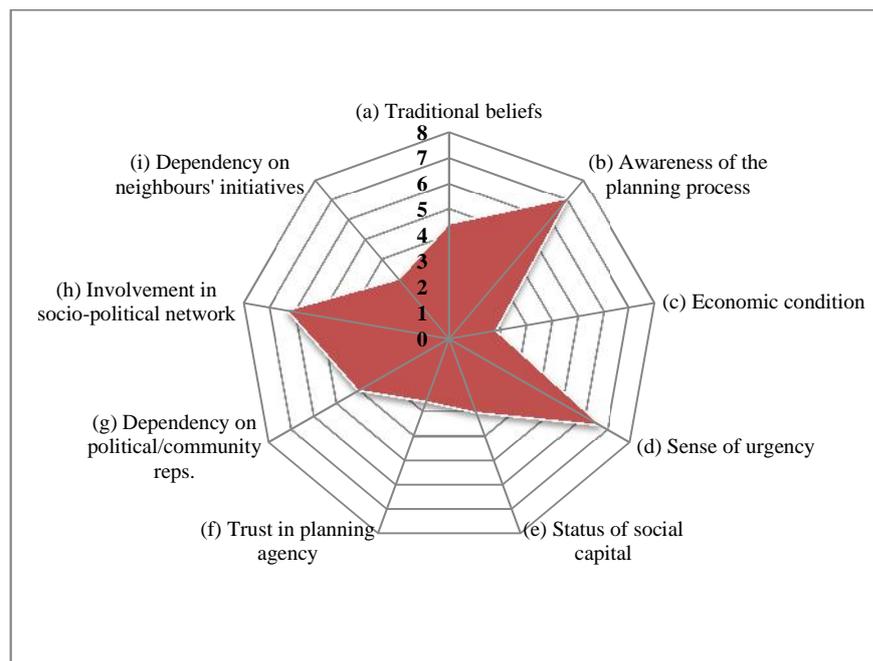


Figure 8.15: Comparative importance of internal participants' realities perceived by the practitioners

The study findings (Figure 8.15) reveal that practitioner perceive 'awareness of planning process' has the highest impact upon the respondents' attitude towards participation. Basic education and planning knowledge of community members, as well as their sense of urgency and involvement in informal networks were seen as

important by over 50% of the practitioners. Other factors such as traditional beliefs, status of social capital and trust in planning agency were considered unimportant.

The low score awarded to ‘trust in planning agency’ suggests, compared to other factors, practitioners did not regard this factor as significant in influencing individual’s tendency for participation. Perhaps this could be explained by the fact that most respondents were aligned to the city administration in their professional capacities. One could assume this to be a deliberate attempt to down play the significance of the factor to deflect any possible criticism of their performance in explaining the situation. It is more likely, however, that practitioners hold a positive understanding of their own performance which they judge in the light of better knowledge of operational difficulties and other limitations that force compromises in carrying out their jobs due to a host of contextual factors.

When their attention was drawn to above mentioned media reports about violent protests by certain community groups against the implementation of DAP in Dhaka, all respondents acknowledged being aware that certain initiatives taken by local authorities (like land acquisition for new suburb development and allocation of serviced plots) had caused conflicts. They also confirmed reports of poor participation rates from those communities when they were revisited. The practitioners, however, generally understood that such conflicts did not represent the general attitude of the community towards the local authorities – but were deliberate, politically motivated events.

8.9.2. External realities

The following seven themes were identified by respondents of the household survey as the key external factors that are perceived reasons for lower level of participation in the planning process:

- (a) Political instability
- (b) Lack of good governance
- (c) Capacity of RAJUK
- (d) Role of political representatives
- (e) Role of planners

- (f) Legislative framework
- (g) Planning approach of RAJUK

It was observed that respondents were quite unsure about differentiating detail issues between various kinds of factors, however, they came up with a broad spectrum of external factors. The respondents also noted that these issues were closely interrelated and might jointly create an atmosphere that was responsible for public apathy and subsequently led to lower level of participation.

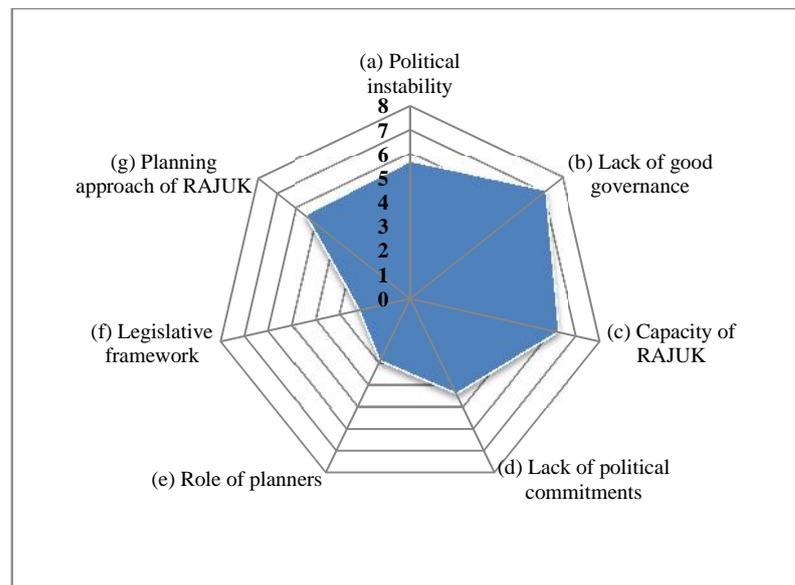


Figure 8.16: Comparative importance of internal realities affecting respondents' attitude towards participation (citizen perspective)²⁶.

Figure 8.16 shows that respondents of the household survey perceived a number of reasons are equally responsible for public apathy including lack of good governance, financial and technical capacity of RAJUK and non-participatory planning approach. Political instability and lack of genuine political commitments were selected as factors having medium magnitude of impacts. From the picture that emerges from their comments, it is clear that the procedure adopted by the master plan approach to planning by RAJUK remains plagued by bureaucratic control, political bias and averse to community engagement and consultation. They were also aware that participation could be enhanced through relevant legislations and sincere efforts of planners. Planning practitioners, on the other hand were quite specific in determining

²⁶ Individual rank value was calculated using the model presented in Figure 8.11.

external realities that affect citizens' participation in the planning process. They identified the following factors:

- (a) Legislative framework
- (b) Political instability
- (c) Role of planners
- (d) Lack of good governance
- (e) Influence of patron-client network
- (f) Role of donor agencies/NGOs

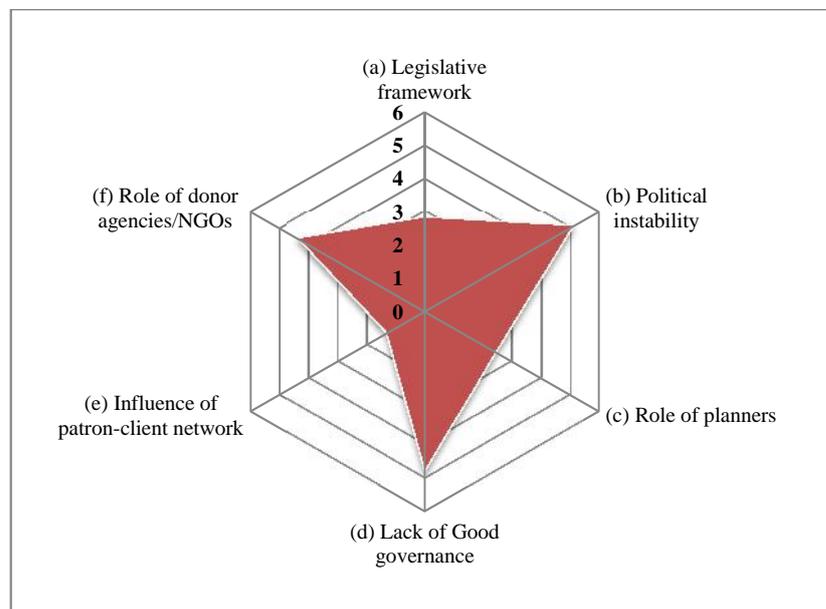


Figure 8.17: Comparative importance of external participants' realities perceived by the practitioners

The respondents of the practitioners' interview indicated three prime factors (Figure 8.17) in this regard including: political instability, lack of good governance and role of international donor agencies who fund major development projects in Bangladesh. They acknowledged that participation should be emphasised through a strong and clear legislative framework and by defining a participatory role of the planners. However, they also mentioned that citizen participation often make the planning process complex. It was reported that the citizens without having proper orientation about the project and technical variability of planning issues, they often made undue and impractical proposals to incorporate in the plan.

Conversely, in a situation where citizens were potentially able to deliver critical inputs in community development plans, planners had to step back due to political decisions showing limited authority given to the professionals. Therefore, political biasness and administrative barriers sometimes forced planners to skip design and implement participatory mechanisms. Like many other developed countries, a defined legislation indicating compulsory practice of involving communities in the planning process was proposed by the practitioners. Political commitments to ease the enforcement of such regulations were also voiced. The key informants clearly indicated that planning agencies in Bangladesh had to follow strict guidelines of the donors to utilise their funds. A growing emphasis on participation in donor-funded project was perceived as a vehicle to undertake planning reforms in order to get rid of the traditional planning approach.

Few respondents reported that obstacles to governance such as the prevalent patron-client networks that effectively undermined the system. They also noted that continued reliance on imported planning technology would prevent the development of local institutional capacities. It was concluded that without the required institutional capacities and a wide-based general acceptance of the governance regime in place, citizens would continue to rely on patronage to obtain the required services.

A comparative picture of citizen and practitioners' view point suggest that a range of factors indirectly affect citizens' attitudes towards participation. Due to limited knowledge on technical matters, respondents of household survey were less voiced about legislative frameworks and role of donors. Both groups were divided in terms of highlighting the most important factors. This also indicates a gap between their perceptions which may be critical to materialise successful participatory efforts.

8.10. Conclusion

The chapter intensively explores the dynamics of citizens' participation in preparing DAP. The findings suggest that participation is low due a range of internal and external factors, however, there is debate on which factor affects most. Lack of public awareness, trust in planning agencies and sense of urgency were identified as the prime internal factors affecting citizens' participation. The practitioners strongly

claimed that despite of genuine effort by the planners to involve citizens in plan preparation, people responded only when they were personally affected. The results also show the existence of high level of social network among the citizens which can be critical to planning for public good. Furthermore, a range of external issues were indicated by the respondents that indirectly impact upon them such as political context, lack of good governance and traditional planning approach. The analysis of the findings provide an insight into the process and perceptions on citizen participation in planning in developing context which have significant role in developing the participation model discussed in chapter 9.

CHAPTER: 9

Discussions and Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

The results discussed in the previous chapters paired with the literature review, provide fairly substantial responses to the original research questions of this study. Chapter 2 and 3 have largely explored the nature and characteristics of planning evolution in developing countries. They reveal a detailed picture of how western planning concepts are imported to solve planning problems of developing context [refers to research question (a)]. The reviews recognise that the progression of participatory concepts much associated with the discourse of development theories and has primarily prescribed by international aid agencies. In most cases, local context and institutional capacity were not considered resulting in low level of participation and dropping out of development projects. Chapter 4 provides an assessment of existing participation models suggest that the models narrowly address process of participation and do not reflect the widespread realities of developing countries. It is identified that most of the models are concerned about the institutional mechanisms affecting citizens' participation in the planning process; the significance of societal space is remained unexplored in planning. However, the issue is well operationalised in contemporary literature on health promotion, environmental conservation, water management and tourism. The research gap in planning thus leads chapter 7 to investigate a comprehensive and interdisciplinary outlook of the participation process in the developing world's context acknowledging the impacts of institutional factors as well as citizens' internal realities influencing their participatory attitude [refers to research question (b)]. The findings of the empirical study described in previous chapter essentially contribute in understanding the dynamics of participation process in planning of Dhaka [refers to research questions (c) and (e)]. It largely determines who participates and who doesn't. The findings critically explore the answer of the popular puzzle in the participation literature, "if citizen participation is such a good thing, why don't more people participate?" Finally, the chapter supplies the ground realities and perceptions of the stakeholders

(citizens and planning agency) to build the participation model for developing context.

In this chapter, I will focus on deconstructing the theoretical arguments and empirical results in discussing the root causes of low level participation, the politics of participation process and developing a participation model reflecting the realities of developing countries [refers to research question (d)].

9.2. Reasons for Low level of Participation in Developing Countries

The study findings clearly demonstrate a range of factors that cause low of level of participation in the planning process. Chapter 8 substantially described the findings, however, few issues was identified as representing the local context. The following sections discuss those institutional and societal issues to understand the realities of developing countries.

9.2.1. Institutional Issues

The empirical study suggests that citizens are either unaware, disinterested or have refused to participate. The institutional factors reveal that planning agency's capacity and effort was significantly poor in terms of disseminating information to the wider communities. Using traditional modes of dissemination tools failed to grow interest of local people as well as resulted in ineffective to enhance public awareness of the planning process. However, regular update on DAP published in print media (e.g., national newspapers) was a useful and trusted but unintended source in raising public awareness. The planning process of DAP (see Figure 8.2) also failed to integrate options for effective community participation. The strategy was predominantly limited to informing people only and was unable to ensure collaborative decision-making. Public hearing, the only event that engaged local people to comment on the physical plan, did not provide feedback after receiving complaints from the citizens. Though DAP was initially designed to reflect the core ideas of sustainable development through local participation, it only involved elite stakeholders in decision-making including representatives from different public departments and local governments, professional groups, civil society organisations, business groups, media, elected political leaders and academics. In this regard, Waheduzzaman and Mphande (2012) ascertain that:

The majority of the actors - government officials, elected representatives, and local stakeholders - did not demonstrate awareness of the higher stages of people's participation that can ensure better levels of good governance. Local government officials think they are perfectly pursuing a "Democratic model" of good governance [see Figure 4.3] by simply informing local people about development programs. In fact, these officials are pursuing an "Authoritarian model" of governance by only informing local people about their programs. (p.19)

It has also been reported that local political leaders and elite groups manipulated the plans to ensure the protection of their personal interests (The Daily Star, 2010). From the picture that emerges from this study, it is clear that the procedure adopted by the master plan approach to planning by RAJUK remains plagued by bureaucratic control, political bias and averse to community engagement and consultation.

Apart from institutional mandate and participatory strategies, planners are required to acquire good command on local problems and demands to mediate the participation process. In developing countries, traditionally planners have a limited knowledge of local problems, demand and aspiration. In reality, statistical data cannot express exactly what is fit for local context or suggest acceptable solutions to the community. In developed countries, planners have comparatively better perceptions on community demand and aspiration. The Australian case suggests a considerable similarity of views between the practitioners and the community about community aspirations (see section 7.7.2). This suggests the prevalence of a set of factors defining the participant's reality that is conducive and which encourages community participation in planning. The practitioners' interviews of this research, however, present a context where practitioners tend to view the community perceptions of the local authorities quite differently. The practitioners seem to perceive the limitations of the community as the main internal factors that shape participants' reality and, consequently, their tendency to participate (refers to section 8.9). They tend to emphasise the community's lack of orientation to planning and development issues, NIMBYism and reliance on traditional patron-client networks offering an inferior alternative to the local authorities and planning systems as reasons for the community's limited participation in planning. While these observations largely tend to confirm findings and observations from other sources, there is a clear conflict of

the practitioners' perception of the significance of the community's trust (or its absence) in the local authorities.

Besides, planners who are involved in plan-making process do not have legislative obligations to involve citizens (Fakolade and Coblenz, 1981). Therefore, they show reluctance to exercise participatory events and often consider it as extra work and thus skip such activities. Enyedi (2004) also claims that:

Sometimes, planners do not take seriously complaints of local people, when they are not properly formulated or do not fit general rules. Planners' behaviour may generate suspicion and a lack of confidence on the part of the public. (p.15)

Few key informants suggested that in many cases, community involvement is less favoured due to potential complexities which may arise from unrealistic demand and opposition of the citizens. The perceptions of the planning practitioners could, among other factors, explain the reluctance within the community to participate in the planning process in the case of Bangladesh. This suggests that there could be significant improvement in the extent and effectiveness of community participation by motivating practitioners to the need to be more critical of and accountable for their dealings with the community.

9.2.2. Societal Issues

The research has addressed some key questions pronounced in participation literature such as who participates, who doesn't participated and why? The results of field study suggest that public ignorance and apathy derived from various institutional reasons leads to either no participation or low level of participation. The majority of the respondents supported that lack of access to information, low literacy rate and above all low level of awareness reduce individual's self-efficacy to participate. The findings resembles with much of social science literature on participation (Wandersman et al., 1987; Siriwardena, 1991; Davies, 2001). The striking aspect of the results from psychological perceptions of respondents reveals that they retrospectively justify their participatory behavior. It is observed that citizens do not appear as ignorant or are not neglecting their civic duties, they rationally avoid participation based on their experience of past interactions with the planning agency.

For example, respondents claimed that they had reports on several incidents of significant corruption associated with housing projects, plot distribution and development control. Few people did not receive right compensations for their lands taken by the planning agency for development activities. There were also reports on force evictions in DAP areas leading to severe protest by the local people against implementing any further plan carried by RAJUK. Such records seemed to have had impacts on the reputations of the planning agency and perceived to lose trust of the citizens. The proposed plan also faced severe criticism and citizen resistance. Bari and Efroymsen (2009) identify a number of issues with DAP that could potentially lead to public apathy and citizen resistance:

The plan to evict most of the slum dwellers (such as slum and squatter settlements of the DPZ-8 including West Zafrabad, Mohammadpur Bihari Camp and Bari Bagh of the central area of the city), representing 40% of the urban population, from near their current work places and settle them in economically less vibrant areas like DPZ 12 and 13 (outskirts of Mirpur) far way from the central area of Zone C, i.e. the main central city area of the Dhaka City (Absolutely Regressive);

The plan to convert low-income areas of Noadda, Badda (North, Middle and South) surrounding Gulshan and Baridhara into a posh area by providing government lands to rich sections of the society at a subsidised rate;

The plan to implement the environmentally disastrous Eastern Bypass project with significant reduction of water retention areas from 12.1%, which was proposed in the original Flood Action Plan, to only 5% (disastrous for the environment and for human settlement). (p.6)

In Bangladesh, participation becomes a survival strategy of the general citizens: resistance, bargain, struggle against external forces of planned interventions (Siriwardena, 1991). However, sense of urgency (when personally affected) was identified as the only indicator that made them self-motivated to participate in planning. The key informants and officials of RAJUK reported that sense of urgency encourage not only individual participation but also mediate voluntary community participation as a whole. For example, a community in Gazipur area launched written complaints to RAJUK when they came to know DAP proposed a graveyard on a big

chunk of land adjacent to their locality. This case as well as the results of this study suggest that citizens had higher social capital in terms of strong social network within neighbourhood, trust in neighbours and practicing informal governance. They showed strong inter-dependency and positive attitude towards involving in community initiatives in local development.

The general citizens were also inclined to political patronage to mediate their demand and obtain urban services. It is identified that patrons with political authority and monetary capacity support local clients for their own interests. The groups having relations with political patrons can indirectly influence planning decisions. Hillier (2000) demonstrate that, “virtually all actors used their networks informally to obtain information, either (or both) for reasons of speed in the course of their duties (a telephone call is far quicker than writing a formal letter) or to give them perceived knowledge advances which may be translatable into power” (p.46).

The complex patron-client model discussed in chapter 8 suggests that in a situation such as that prevalent in this region, citizens without access to the patron-clients network become isolated and remain outside the decision-making process. Despite any number of reforms and organizational restructuring or tokenistic consultation that may appear to happen at the behest of international development agencies, citizens’ access to the planning system remains minimal.

9.3. The Politics of Participation: Process and Outcome

The findings of the study and above discussions suggest that besides mainstream planning system in developing countries, a parallel planning system prevails using patron-client network and citizens with unfair opportunities. Based on citizen perspective, the entire participation process can be divided into four stages: political context, intervention stage, nature of citizenship and participation outcomes (Figure 9.1).

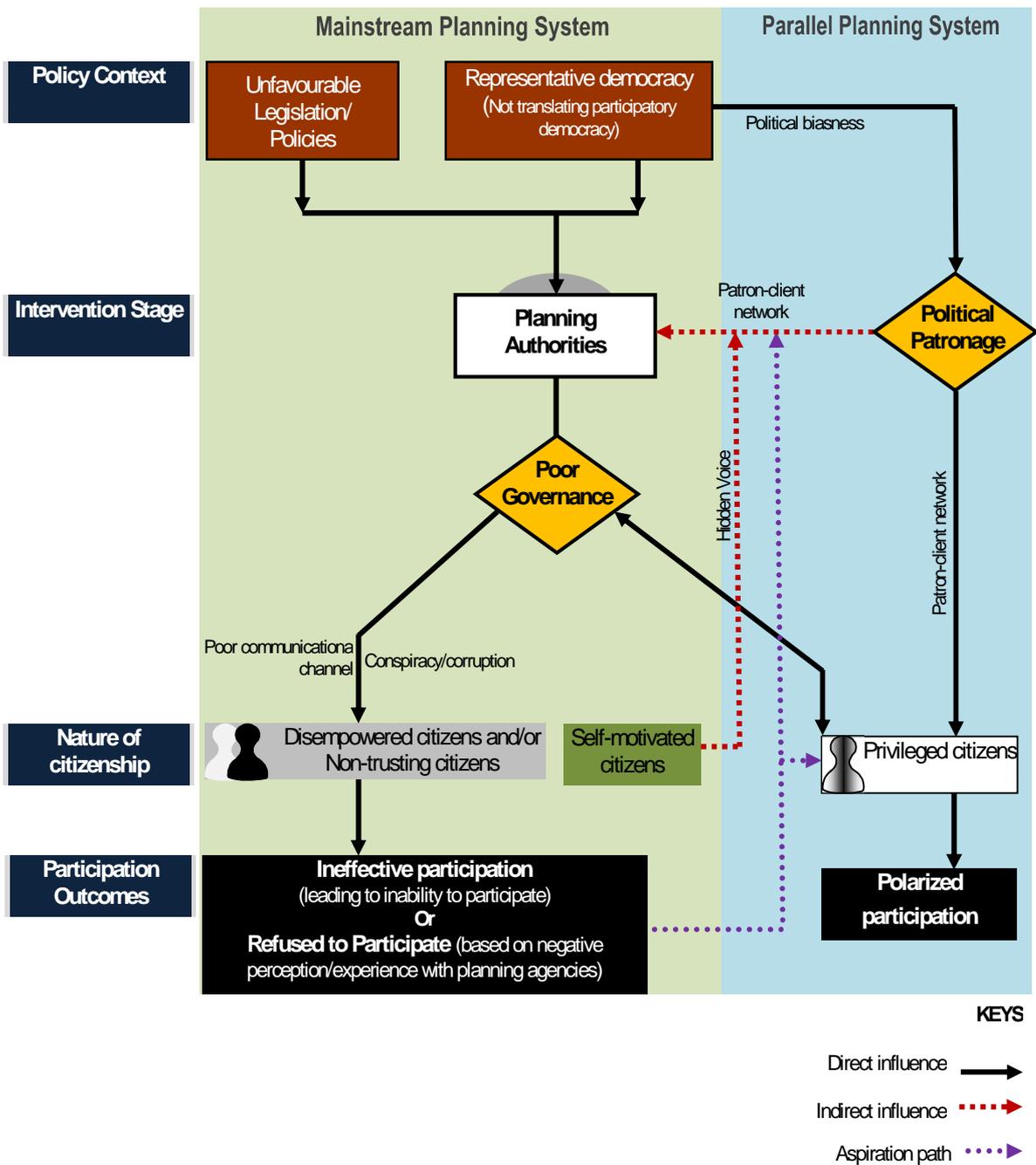


Figure 9.1: The dimensions of planning process and participation outcomes in developing countries (Author’s own illustration).

At policy level, developing countries fail to develop participatory instruments for legitimating citizens’ involvement in decision-making. In Bangladesh, major statutory documents regarding urban planning lack in providing mandatory requirements for community participation in the planning process. Without a statutory requirement and clear authority of planners, community participation is either neglected or receives very low importance within mainstream planning system.

The prevalent representative democracy has also proved to be ineffective in genuine participation (Ataöv, 2007; As-Saber, 2011). Though democracy could minimize the imbalanced power structure in the society through increasing involvement of the citizens, elites have been evolved as representatives of the poor groups in existing political context leaving the same dominance in the development process (Siriwardena, 1991). The democratic environment in Bangladesh has failed to uphold citizens' rights in decision-making due to political instability, bureaucratic administration and deep-rooted corruption. As a result, planners become inactive and are often found to follow the prescriptions of political power or elite groups in the society. Enyedi (2004) also state similar findings from a series of international case studies:

In many countries, where political climate is unfavourable for the functioning of grass-roots democracy or it has no traditions, planners seem to be a part of an alien political power. Consequently, regardless of their intention or the quality of their plan, they have to face resistance by the representatives of local communities. (p.15)

At the intervention stage, planning-decisions are substantially influenced by the political power and by the groups who win the political patronage. In parallel with the mainstream planning system, political biasness and patronage invest time and resources to manipulate planning decisions. As discussed earlier, people use this channel to get quick and unfair services which leads to social injustice leaving the general citizens deprived and eliminated from the formal planning system. Capitalising bureaucracy and corruption in planning administration, in most cases, the parallel system degrade the functionality of the governance structure leading to poor urban services to citizens and formulating non-participatory metropolitan plans. The long existence of poor governance in the planning system inhibits the process of innovation in urban governance (Healey, 2004). Such planning framework, in turn, adversely affects participation process for not having appropriate strategies and enabling mechanisms to create an 'invited space' for the citizens to participate (Gaventa, 2004c).

The nature of existing planning framework, co-existence of mainstream and parallel planning systems, and lack of good governance lead to various types of citizenship

and participatory behaviour among the citizens. In political participation, “citizens are commonly categorised in terms of demographic factors such as gender, age, education, race and income” (Agger, 2012 p.31). Citizens can be categorised into the followings based on their motives for participating or not: disempowered citizens; non-trusting citizens, self-motivated citizens and privileged citizens (Figure 9.2).

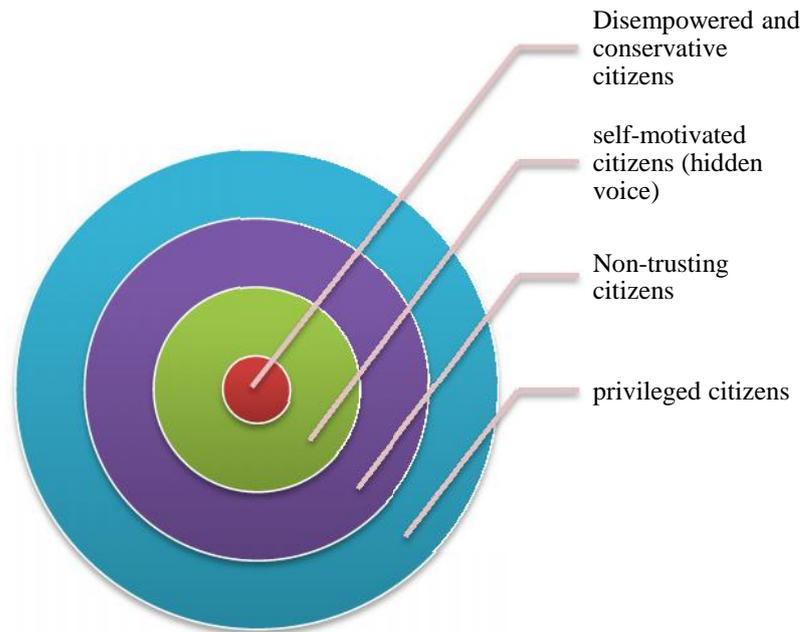


Figure 9.2: Categorisation of citizens representing their motives for participation (Author’s own illustration).

9.3.1. Disempowered and conservative citizens

The study shows that planning agencies in developing countries lack in good governance and lack of financial and technical capabilities that inhibit effective participation of the local communities. Due to poor socio-economic condition, general people in developing countries are typically disempowered. Poor communication channel, ineffective information dissemination process and limited technical knowledge cause low level of public awareness of the planning process. It was identified that more than half of the non-participating respondents in household survey did not participated because they were not informed about the plan. Such situation indicates an urgent need to modify the traditional mechanisms for effective information dissemination. Another important aspect of the citizens in developing country’s context is that they are also conservative in interacting with the

government deriving from traditional culture and values. People are much comfortable to share their views with local leaders and elected political members rather than expressing in an open forum.

These disempowered and conservative citizens are unable to contribute effectively in the planning process for not having proper information and technical knowledge about the plan. The planning agency should take appropriate measures to empower citizens on planning matters, to understand and prioritising local problems and to organise collective actions for community development.

9.3.2. Non-trusting citizens

A second category of citizens have either limited or no trust in local planning agency due to unsatisfactory interactions. This group of people may have capabilities to participate but often refused to participate in any projects taken by the planning agency. A recent trend of research on decreasing trust factor in planning is generally concerned with the interplay between interpersonal, institutional and ideological level. However, Tait (2011) argues that mistrust does not solely emanate from the personal experience of government services but can be reflected from “a wider matrix of social, economic, political and cultural ideas” (pp.158-161).

9.3.3. Self-motivated citizens

A third category of citizens as identified in the empirical study, have interest in participation to contribute in the planning process but don't have access to the formal planning system. Davies (2001) has termed them as 'hidden voice'. However, traditionally general citizens become personally motivated when they are affected by the proposed plan. The earlier groups usually try to attach with the political networks to obtain urban services.

9.3.4. Privileged citizens

This kind of citizens maintains good relationship with the political network to obtain services and to fulfill their demands using unfair exchange of resources. This group usually seeks help from either political patrons or takes advantages of corruption in planning agency to manipulate planning-decisions.

It is observed that privileged citizens can access and benefit from the formal planning system through the parallel planning system based on political patronage through involvement in the patron-client network. The remaining categories of citizens without having direct access to the formal planning system wish to express their demand and to obtain services through privileged citizens or political representatives. Sometimes, non-trusting citizens form groups to protest against proposed planning interventions in their locality.

Referring to the empirical results representing the realities of developing countries, subsequent discussions on participation process and nature of citizenships, the following section focuses on drawing a participation model.

9.4. Community Participation Model for Developing Countries

In this research, I have shown that existing participation models are limited in their ability to account for the uneven topography of the society as found in many developing countries. Existing participation models are also of limited value when used as a guiding framework to achieve the objectives of good governance and globalisation. To develop a model of citizen participation reflective of the developing context, I have proposed to concentrate on the participants' realities on the ground and their aspirations for participation in decision-making. Further, I have considered community participation in the urban planning process rather than looking at the broader spectrum of planning and development. This allows maximising comparative reference to established models participation such as Arnstein's ladder. A general model of community participation arising from the research should be transferable across other developing countries' context.

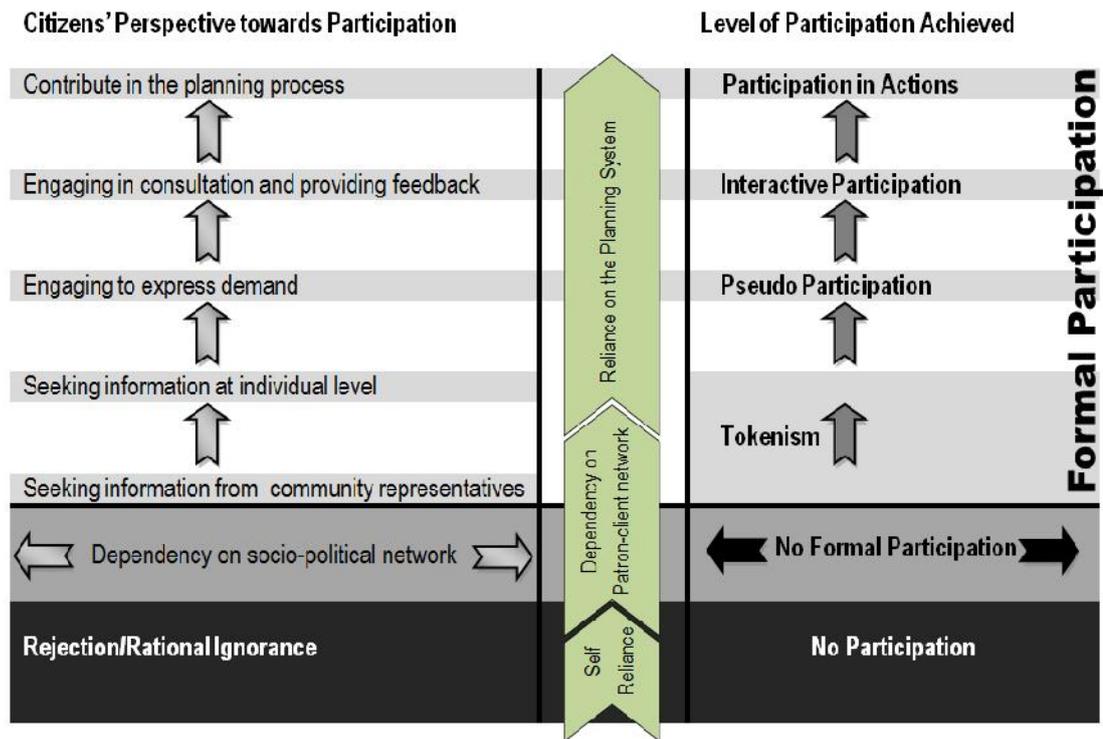


Figure 9.3: A community participation model for the developing world's context - a citizen attitudinal perspective

Figure 9.3 roughly compares the range of citizens' perspective towards participation as found from the empirical study with the levels of participation achieved using Arnstein's classification. The hierarchy of levels of participation are also compared to the hierarchical scale of citizens' dependency (middle column) resulting from prevalent socio-political structure and institutional framework, namely: self-reliance, dependency on prevalent socio-political network and reliance on the formal planning system (Figure 9.3). Here, three levels of participation (no participation, no formal participation and formal participation) are conceptualised along the dependency scale reflecting the findings based on the empirical study and subsequent discussions. The following sections illustrate this model in detail placing the dependency scale at the centre of the discussion.

9.4.1. Self-reliance

In describing the reliance of individuals on institutions and the choice they make regarding participation, the lowest level of the hierarchic model equates to the level of 'no participation'. In this stage, individual's decision not to participate is generally attributable to disempowered and non-trusting citizens (see section 9.3).

The individual either reject or ignore the proposition of engaging in community participation. This attitude could result from the individual's lack of awareness, discouraging perceptions about participation outcomes and lack of trust in the planning system. Consequently, it results in a tendency to avoid participation.

Such non-participatory attitude has been referred to as 'rational ignorance' based on citizens' perceptions about the potential outcome of the decision-making process (Krek, 2005). According to the public choice theory, a branch of economic analysis, an individual's ignorance is considered as rational when he/she finds the time and effort involved in taking part in the planning process can outweigh any potential benefits. It would be irrational to waste time and resources to do so. From this perspective, Krek (2005) denotes, "... citizens feel that they cannot really influence the final planning decisions. In such cases, they decide to ignore the possibility of involvement and participation. Economists say that these poorly informed citizens are rationally ignorant" (p.1). Thus, citizens may decide to avoid participation considering the controlled outcome of a planning process prevalent in developing context.

Non-trusting attitude direct citizens to refuse or avoid participation even if the planning administration makes genuine effort to involve them in the planning process. However, time is considered as an important factor for developing and sustaining trust among the citizens and the planning administration. Time allows the stakeholders to mediate inter-stakeholders' learning process and to validate their actions for gaining or revive the trust. Initiating good governance practice and showing respect to public interests may not necessarily improve the attitude of the citizens overnight, rather "trust once withdrawn has to be earned by taking slow steps in a positive direction, that is, by behaving in the manner expected of the particular stakeholder" (Kumar and Paddison, 2000 p.211).

In contrast, the field study reveals that there is a general tendency among citizens in Bangladesh to be self motivated in participation only when they see themselves personally affected by the proposed planning interventions. There is traditionally low level of citizen participation observed in developing countries due to various inhibiting factors already mentioned. Empirical evidence suggests that the citizens

are usually reluctant to participate in community development matters (e.g., plan for open space or road networks) but they become active when the proposed plans affect their own lots or homes due to the sense of urgency. As shown in the fieldwork in Dhaka, the people that participated in public hearings²⁷ to share their concerns represented those groups who were affected either positively or negatively by the plan. The tendency of such skewed participation can be seen as the flip side of NIMBYism (not in my back yard). NIMBY syndrome in planning refers to ‘intense, sometimes emotional, and often adamant local opposition to siting proposals that residents believe will result in adverse impacts’ (Kraft and Clary, 1991 p.300). Here the individuals are moved to action only when the issue is close to home – resulting in either positive or negative outcomes for the individual.

9.4.2. Dependency on socio-political network

In the next level, citizen involvement largely depends on the strength of political and social network they belong to resulting in informal participation. Firstly, the more resourceful citizens (refer to privileged citizens in section 9.3.4) embedded in the patron-client network are found reluctant to participate directly in city development activities or decision making processes that could change the status quo. These are the ones who have acquired power through their social networks or through payment of bribes. They are assured that they can, through their patrons, manipulate any decision to assure their personal benefits using informal or backdoor connections or bribes. Secondly, citizens closely tied with the community representatives (political/community leaders or elite groups) traditionally perceive the involvement of community leaders at representative level as sufficient and thus, feel no need to exercise their personal rights to participate. Such indigenous and socially embedded perceptions of the citizens lead to a ‘passive’ form of participation, preventing them from entering into a formal participation process conducted by the planning authorities such as public hearing and consultation.

9.4.3. Reliance on the planning system

The next spectrum of participation is conceptualised according to the preferences of the citizens on how they wish to participate in the planning process. The variations in

²⁷ Organised by RAJUK to receive comments on DAP

perceptions can again be built upon many factors that control the tendency of individuals towards participation. In contrast to the negative attitude towards participation as defined in the first level, this section of the model shows a gradual improvement in citizens' perceptions and expectations. This improved trend can be attributed to citizens' personal belief, inherent social capital, higher academic background and awareness, and involvement with civil societies which enable them to keep the hope alive and to expect changes despite the prevalence of adverse factors limiting participation to occur.

It suggests a level of expected involvement (low to high) based on citizens' responses gathered from the field study. Based on Arnstein's work, I propose a range of participation options that can be achieved through the level of involvement aspired by the citizens:

- At the lowest level, access to information only: Tokenistic participation
- Expressing demand with higher aspiration: Pseudo participation
- Engaging in consultation and feedback mechanism: Interactive participation
- Functional role and contribution in the planning process: Action oriented participation.

Therefore, at the lowest level, a tokenistic participation can be achieved when the citizen wish to access information on plans and local development strategy at the individual level. The citizens with higher aspirations decide to get to involved in consultation exercises run by the planning authorities to express their demand for local problems to be attended to during plan preparation. Because this kind of involvement in the planning process does not ensure whether or not their recommendations will be incorporated in the final plan, it leads to a type of 'pseudo participation'. My field investigations discovered a group of citizens who showed a more advanced attitude towards participation. These were citizens who expected to receive feedback from the planning authorities about matters raised during consultation exercises. This kind of 'interactive participation' envisages greater certainty of a planning outcome that reflects their views and ensures accountability of the planning administration. Finally, at the highest level, this research found

citizens keen on participating in plan preparation and achieving action oriented participation. In this case, the citizens wished to be involved in demand mediation sessions and wanted to contribute towards preparing layout plans. They are the ones with high socio-economic profile and a high awareness level. Such a situation demands that planning authorities are more responsive and nurturing of democratic approaches to encourage a superior kind of citizen participation aspiring towards achieving partnership and citizen control in the planning process.

9.5. Policy Implications

The research questions investigated in this research have important implications for good urban governance through institutional development of community representations framework and process. The study has identified the root-causes of low level participation in developing countries. It has also mapped the perceptions held by potential participants, in order to explain who participates and who doesn't and their reasons? In doing so, it also addresses the popular puzzle in the participation literature, "if citizen participation is such a good thing, why don't more people participate?" (Wandersman et al., 1987). The study characterises the aspired levels of participation among the citizens and open up the windows to foster strategic interventions by concerned stakeholders. The study suggests that citizens' participation is an interdisciplinary concept which includes both institutional factors as well as social and psychological factors.

In Bangladesh, the government should focus on creating statutory basis for community involvement. At intervention stage, the local government needs to put organised efforts in reviving the trust of the citizens along with taking initiatives for empowering disempowered and conservative citizens. Reconfiguration of state-society relations through active role of civil society organisations can mediate the participation process significantly (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007). The self-motivated groups could be effective participants in decision-making if their access to mainstream planning system is ensured. Above all, institutional arrangements need to be in place to guarantee trust, transparency and civil rights.

In terms of broader implications, to realise the vision of good governance in Bangladesh, technological innovation in the planning systems is vital. Such planning reforms should not be limited to focus investments in the automation of planning administration that deal with the bulk of routine tasks while neglecting innovation in strategic planning and improved participatory decision-making functions. Incorporating meaningful technological innovation in urban governance would not be an easy task as the groups that continue to benefit from the current administrative setup and political patronage networks will resist any new development. On the other hand, we cannot expect citizens to fully adopt interaction with electronic means of decision-making and actively get involved in participating in the planning process. As outlined earlier, in the prevalent patron-client system, Bangladeshi citizens often rationally choose not to engage with government institutions and the planning process due to political distrust, lack of confidence in government institutions and the opportunity to obtain illegal favour from various patrons. The situation highlights the need to search for an appropriate mechanism that can handle local peculiarities to ensure effectiveness of planning system towards more successful participatory decision-making. There is also a strong case to educate the community about the virtues of effective governance that can replace the need for seeking patronage as well as increase direct communications with the planning agency. The optimal role that NGOs could play in this regard needs to be carefully determined and assigned. A generic approach to integrate citizens in the planning process without a careful investigation of the social and political context in which it is to operate may serve to fulfil aid conditionalities, but is highly unlikely to deliver effective governance in the long run.

9.6. Conclusion

Participatory initiatives in developing countries are largely limited to those undertaken to meet the conditions set by international aid agencies. The aid agencies tend to insist on applying universal (read inflexible and non-contextual) planning approaches. Instead of importing strategies from the developed world into countries struggling with socio-economic obstacles, an up-to-date framework of participation focusing on collaboration between civil society, NGOs and the State needs to be defined for effective interventions aimed at empowering people. The model also needs to be designed to capture the various aspects and dimensions essential to

promote institutional reforms that could reduce corruption and undue political influence.

In response to the urgent need, the model proposed in this research is built on the premise that participation should not be concerned solely with transferring power from government to citizens, but must also take into account participant realities that shape the attitude and tendency of the citizen towards participation. Theoretically, the point of departure of this study is the need to go beyond Arnstein's ladder of participation, making the case for conceptualising a participation model based on citizens' attitude. It is also proposed that participation model based on participants' attitude (as opposed to Arnstein's ladder that focuses on the degrees of authority's role in engaging communities) does not always maintain a continuum (Silver et al., 2010). Citizens' decision to participate depends on the interactions between citizens and government, prevalent socio-political context and external forces. This study reveals that Arnstein's ladder of participation does not fully reflect the realities of developing countries. Arnstein's (1969) ladder suggests a continuum of progressive increases in participation along the rungs that are more or less equally spaced. This study observes that the lower rungs of the ladder in fact represent deliberate non-participation by citizens. Citizens choose to avoid engagement in formal participation because of the availability of a choice to engage in a parallel system of informal means of acquiring services. These are the situations where citizens find engaging with the informal system more effective than formal planning system.

The two lowest classifications regarding participation that I propose in addition to Arnstein's levels are very common in developing context where the perception of government conspiracy and collusion with private interests are widespread. Thus, there is a possibility for citizens to be affected by government conspiracy and strong tradition of socio-political patronage. As the empirical study suggests, half of the citizens are left out from formal participation. This sets a challenge to the planning authorities to incorporate those excluded from the formal planning process into formal system through effective information dissemination and education measures. Furthermore, muted expectations and a general citizen apathy towards participation highlight the room for institutional innovation and the integration of good governance practices within the planning system. The study also shows that the range

of participatory aspirations in developing context is quite limited. Even among those who formally engage in planning process, their expectations do not go beyond tokenism. This perhaps suggests that citizens are conditioned by their past experiences shaped by limited responses by the planning authorities.

Through this study, I have proposed a pragmatic theoretical framework of participation for developing countries that could help proponents of participation to design workable policies aimed at improving the citizens' propensity to engage in formal planning system. Moreover, planning authorities should try to keep engaging citizens in formal participation processes which could increase the range of their aspirations over time.

A broader perspective suggests to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of urban governance in Bangladesh. Targets for urban governance set up by donor agencies will not be sufficient by themselves. These will only be meaningful if they are preceded by genuine efforts to replace deep rooted problems. Failure to do so may lead to yet another missed opportunity to capitalise on the potential benefits that projects such as the newly evolved citizen-oriented planning process by MIDP may offer. The research particularly suggests further research in examining the institutional and socio-political context in various context to understand the dynamics of participation. The participation model developed in this research for the Bangladesh context should be used to redefine institutional role of concerned authorities and bring in genuine participation leading to sustainable urban development outcomes. It should be considered that achieving democratic planning process is not a one-off event; the planning system is required to participation space where "people will gradually go to the higher level of participation until they attain to the control of decision making" (Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2012 p.7).

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSEHOLD SURVEY



Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of the Built Environment
CURTIN UNIVERSITY
Perth, Western Australia

[NOTE: The questionnaire is to collect data of households under the jurisdiction of Rajdhani Unnayan Kartripakkha (RAJUK) to get citizens' response and opinion regarding participatory urban planning in Dhaka city. This household survey is a part of a PhD research and survey responses/data will be used for academic purpose only without any identification.]

ETHICS APPROVAL NO. HR166/2010

Part 1: Demographic Information

1. Profile of the respondent : Household information: (a) Age: (b) Sex: M/ F
(c) Education: (d) Occupation: (e) Income/month (BDT):
(f) Family size: (g) Religion: (H) Home district:
2. For how many years have you been living in this area? (years):
3. Household ownership pattern (circle): 1-Owner; 2-Tenant
 - If owner, then how long have you owned this or any other property (years)?
4. Do you/any member of your household participate actively in the any group activities? 1-Yes; 2-No.
If yes, which one (MR): 1-Political, 2-NGO, 3-Religious, 4-Community based,
5-Environmental groups, 6-Social service groups, 7-Credit/finance 8- thers _____
5. Have you ever had any dealings with RAJUK? 1-Yes; 2-No.
 - What was the purpose?
 - 1-To get information/guidelines [Please specify: _____]
2-to obtain building plan approval; 3-to buy a plot; 4-to support/ oppose/ demand any
development projects in your locality [Please specify the project and whether you supported/
opposed/ demanded the project:

Part 2: Familiarity with Planning Authorities (RAJUK)

6. RAJUK is responsible for city planning, offering planned residential plots and it provides approval for all building plans to prevent illegal construction and unplanned development. They have a citizen charter that describes RAJUK's activities, roles and responsibilities in details.
- Were you aware of this information about RAJUK: 1-Yes; 2- No
 - If yes, what was the source of the information?
1-RAJUK officials (known/unknown); 2-Ward Commissioners/community leaders;
3- Mosques; 4- Relatives/neighbors; 5- Booklet/leaflet; 6-Newspaper;
7-Website; 8-Others (please specify):
7. RAJUK takes various steps to disseminate information on its roles and responsibilities and new projects (master plan/housing projects). It uses a number of media such as 'miking' (announcements over megaphone), newspaper ads, posters/ billboards, TV/radio advertisements, community meeting etc.
- Are you familiar with this dissemination process: 1-Yes; 2-No
8. Have you ever read citizen charter/ Building plan requirements/information leaflet/DAP information of RAJUK? 1-Yes; 2- No
- If yes, from where did you obtain that? 1-You collected it from RAJUK in your personal capacity; 2-You collected it from someone you knew who works for RAJUK; 3-You got it from ward commissioner/community leaders; 4-You got it from neighbors/relatives; 5-It was distributed in your locality by RAJUK; 6-Other (please specify):

Part 3: Dealings with RAJUK

9. How many months did it take you to get the approval of building plan from RAJUK (months)?
- When did you first approach RAJUK officially with your building plan? (month-year):
 - When did you get the final approval from them? (month-year)?
10. How did (or would) you normally approach RAJUK officials/master plan team?
1-Personally; 2-Through someone you knew at RAJUK; 3-Relatives/Neighbours; 4-Through Ward Commissioner/community leader; 5-Middleman; 6-Other (please specify): _____
11. Did you face any difficulties/delays in the process? 1-Yes; 2-No
- If yes, what type of difficulties did you face in this process?
1-Your plan did not meet essential criteria (Please specify): _____
2-Bureaucratic problems (Please specify): - Less than cooperative staff; - Unfair demand made by the staff (Please specify): _____ other (Please specify): _____
12. If you are faced with any development related/ planning problem in your locality under RAJUK jurisdiction, how would you most probably react? 1-Remain silent; 2-Try to organize and solve by yourselves; 3-Inform commissioners/community leaders; 4 -lodge complaints to RAJUK office; 5- Others: _____
13. Do you think it is useless to register complaints with RAJUK? 1-Yes; 2-No

- If yes: You are not interested to register complaint to RAJUK because if a problem needs to be fixed, the officials will not take action unless -

1-You go through some influential local leaders; 2-You take some educated person with you;
3-You pay gratification; 4-You belong to a specific political party; 5-Others:

Part 4: Participation in Dhaka Master Plan/DAP preparation

14. Have you heard about the recent Dhaka Master Plan/DAP project? 1-Yes; 2-No **[go to Part 5]**

If yes, how do you know? 1-From RAJUK officials [please specify: known or unknown],
2-Ward Commissioners/community leaders; 3-From mosques; 4-Relative/neighbor,
5- Booklet/leaflet, 6-Newspaper; 7-Website, 8-Others:

15. Are you aware of any changes proposed in your locality (such as land use, building construction rules, new residential/commercial area, park, community place etc.)?

1-Yes [please specify: _____]

2-No

- If yes,

- Do you support the proposed plan? 1-Yes, 2-No

- How will the proposed change affect you?

1-Not affected; 2- Affected positively [explain how: _____]

3- Affected negatively [explain how: _____]

16. Are you ready to share your land for road/park/community place or services? 1-Yes 2-No

- If no, what is the reason? 1-You have a small piece of land; 2-You are afraid of getting appropriate compensation; 3-You like to have these but not in your land; 4-You are interested to have more residential use; 5-Others:

17. Have you been involved in any activities of master plan/DAP project? 1-Yes; 2-No **[go to Q.24]**

- If yes, who informed/invited you to be involved: 1-RAJUK officials [please specify whether it was through someone known to you or not – a. known; b. unknown], 2-Ward Commissioner/community leader; 3-Mosque network; 4-Relative/neighbor, 5- Announcements over megaphones ('miking') by RAJUK; 6-Newspaper notice; 7-Website, 8-Other: _____

- If yes, what kind of activities did you take part in:

1-consultation meeting [Did you propose anything Y/N, explain: _____];

2-participation in Public hearing [Did you propose anything Y/N, explain: _____];

3-responded to survey questions;

4-shared opinion on proposed layout plan [Did you propose anything Y/N, explain: _____];

5-submit proposal in writing [explain about the issue: _____];

6-talked with local leaders on this issue [Did you propose anything Y/N, explain: _____];

7-lodge an application to change the plan

8-Others:

18. Do you believe your opinion has been reflected in the final plan: (1-Not at all, 4-Significantly)

[please specify:

]

19. In preparation of master plan/DAP for Dhaka city; RAJUK conducts consultation meetings/survey/public hearing to identify the demand and aspiration of citizens. Do you think that RAJUK has performed these tasks effectively to incorporate citizens' demand: (1-Not at all, 4-Significantly)

20. **If you did not participate** in the DAP preparation process, what was the main reason?

1-Not informed/invited

- If informed, would you have attended?

Yes [Do you think any positive result would have come out of it? 1-Y, 2-N]

No [explain why:

]

2-Not interested [Any specific reason for lack of interest?]

]

3-You feel that it is more important for community leaders to participate rather individuals: 1-Y, 2-N

4-Other (Please specify): _____

21. How reliable is RAJUK?

a. When RAJUK proposes DAP/new projects or initiatives as part of the Dhaka master plan, do you believe they will be fully implemented/ delivered as described?

(1-Not at all, 4-Fully):

b. When RAJUK undertakes the distribution of residential plots, do you believe the process is administered in a rational, accountable and transparent manner as claimed? (1-Not at all, 4-Fully):

22. What are the major problems associated with RAJUK for not performing as you expect?

1-Citizen demand and aspiration are not reflected in plans; 2-Financial problems;

3-Lack of skilled manpower and resources; 4-Employing incapable consulting firms

5-Political instability; 6-Corruption [please specify: a. influence of political parties; b. illegal transaction of resources; c. others:

Part 5: Factors Affecting Participation

23. What are the socio-political/internal factors affecting your participation in the planning process
[Note: surveyor will explain the nature of the factors and will record details]

Factors	Rank (1 = highest magnitude of influence; 2,3... = comparatively lower magnitude of influence)

24. What are the external factors affecting your participation in the planning process [Note: surveyor will explain the nature of the factors and will record details]

Factors	Rank (1 = highest magnitude of influence; 2,3... = comparatively lower magnitude of influence)

25. Measuring social capital reflecting citizen's attitude towards participation.

Neighbourliness: Can you please indicate to what extent in the last couple of years you were sometimes, often, regularly, or never engaged in (insert ✓)				
	Often	Regularly	Sometimes	Never
• Visiting and helping neighbours				
• Talking about neighbourhood problems				
• Talking about personal problems				
Sense of Duty	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
• If neighbours face problems, it is my duty to help them				
Trust				
• When I have problems, I know that I can always find support from people in this neighbourhood				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
• People in this neighbourhood are willing				

to maintain or improve the quality of this area				
• People here are ready to approach RAJUK together for community problems				
Does respondent	Often	Regularly	Sometimes	Never
• Sweep the street or clean up trash				
• Maintain public greens				
• Comment upon neighbours' behaviour				
• Voted in last municipal/national election?	Yes		No	

End

Name of Surveyors:

1.

2.

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE PLANNING PRACTITIONERS



Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of the Built Environment
 CURTIN UNIVERSITY
 Perth, Western Australia

[NOTE: The questionnaire is to collect opinion regarding participatory urban planning in Bangladesh. This interview is a part of a PhD research and responses/data will be used for academic purpose only without any identification.]

ETHICS APPROVAL NO. HR166/2010

1. Please identify and rank the ***internal factors*** that affect individuals of the community to decide participate/not to participate.

Internal Factors: Socio-economic condition of the participants and the concern of planning authorities that directly affect individuals.

Factors	Rank (1 = highest magnitude of influence; 2,3... = comparatively lower magnitude of influence)

2. Please identify and rank the ***external factors*** that affect individuals of the community to decide participate/not to participate.

External Factors: National/local issues, agenda or practice that indirectly or directly affect the individuals/community to decide on participation.

Factors	Rank (1 = highest magnitude of influence; 2,3... = comparatively lower magnitude of influence)

APPENDIX 3A: INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM



Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of the Built Environment
CURTIN UNIVERSITY
Perth, Western Australia

INFORMATION SHEET FOR THE PARTICIPANTS OF HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

- My name is Mohammad Shahidul Hasan Swapan, I am currently completing a piece of research for my doctoral degree at Curtin University, Australia.
- The aim of my research to investigate the current state of participatory planning in Bangladesh, factors affecting community involvement in the planning process and to recommend future strategies for increased level of participation in urban development activities.
- I would like to invite you to participate in a questionnaire survey to contribute in my research. I will ask a series of questions on your demographic information, your familiarity and experience of dealings with the RAJUK, status of involvement in master plan preparation and over all comments on how to ensure community participation for sustainable urban development. The interview process will take approximately 30 minutes.
- Your involvement in the research is entirely voluntary. You can take an overview of the questionnaire and can either agree to respond or can decide not to participate. You are also at liberty to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences. It is also ensured that non-participation will not affect an individual's rights or access to other services.
- You will not be asked any personal and sensitive question. The information will not be identifiable at any stage of the research. Moreover, only the aggregate results (as community's response) of the field surveys will be produced ensuring complete anonymity in the information.
- The interview transcript will not have your name or any other identifying information on it and in adherence to university policy, the interview scripts and transcribed information will be kept in a locked cabinet for seven years, before it is destroyed.

Further Information

This research has been reviewed and given approval by Curtin University of Technology Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval number HR166/2010). If you would like further information about the study, please feel free to contact me on <<+61-0423969178>> or by email: <<m.swapan@curtin.edu.au>> alternatively, you can contact my supervisor Dr. Shahed Khan <<+61-8-9266 3276 >> or <<s.khan@curtin.edu.au >>.

Thank you very much for your involvement in this research, your participation is greatly appreciated.

APPENDIX 3B: INFORMATION SHEET [Bengali Version]



আইডিয়াল অুবাব
IDEAL TRANSLATION آيدال للتروجمة
89/1 KAKRAIL SUPER MARKET (1ST FLOOR), DHAKA-1000, BANGLADESH



GOVT. APPROVED
GOVT. APPROVAL NO. 2542(4)
TRANSLATED TRUE COPY

(মনোথাম)

কার্টিন ইউনিভার্সিটি

ডিপার্টমেন্ট অব আরবান এন্ড রিজিওনাল প্ল্যানিং, স্কুল অব বিল্ডিং এনডায়রনমেন্ট

অংশগ্রহণকারীদের জন্য তথ্য

- # আমি মোহাম্মদ শহীদুল হাসান স্বপন, বর্তমানে অস্ট্রেলিয়ার কার্টিন বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে পি.এইচ.ডি ডিগ্রীর জন্য একটি গবেষণা সম্পন্ন করছি।
- # গবেষণার মূল উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে বাংলাদেশে অংশগ্রহণমূলক নগর পরিকল্পনার বর্তমান অবস্থার অনুসন্ধান, পরিবর্তনের বিভিন্ন ধাপে সাধারণ জনগোষ্ঠীর অংশগ্রহণ প্রভাবিত করণের কারণসমূহ নির্ধারণ এবং ভবিষ্যতে অংশগ্রহণমূলক নগর পরিকল্পনার অধিকতর ব্যবহারের জন্য সুপারিশমালা প্রস্তুতকরণ।
- # আমি আপনাদেরকে এই গবেষণার প্রশ্নপত্র জরীপ কার্যে অংশগ্রহণ করার জন্য আমন্ত্রণ জানাচ্ছি। এই প্রশ্নপত্রের মাধ্যমে আপনার কাছে গবেষণার সাথে জড়িত বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে জানতে চাওয়া হবে যেমনঃ আপনার আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থা, রাজস্ব এর কার্যকলাপ সম্পর্কে আপনার মতামত এবং কাজের অভিজ্ঞতা, ঢাকার মহাপরিকল্পনা প্রণয়নে আপনার ভূমিকা ইত্যাদি। এই স্বাক্ষরকারী সম্পন্ন করতে প্রায় ৩০ মিনিট সময়ের প্রয়োজন হবে।
- # প্রশ্নপত্র জরীপ কার্যে অংশগ্রহণের বিষয়টি সম্পূর্ণভাবে আপনার ইচ্ছার উপর নির্ভরশীল। সম্পূর্ণ প্রশ্নপত্রটি পড়ে শোনানোর পর আপনি নিজেই সিদ্ধান্ত নেন আপনি এই জরীপে অংশ গ্রহণ করবেন কি না। জরীপের যে কোন সময়ে আপনি প্রশ্নপত্রের উত্তর প্রদান হতে নিজেকে বিরত রাখতে পারেন। আপনাকে আরো নিশ্চয়তা দেয়া হচ্ছে যে এই জরীপে অংশ গ্রহণ না করার জন্য আপনার ব্যক্তিগত অধিকার এবং যে কোন প্রকার সেবা গ্রহণ বা প্রাপ্তি ব্যাহত হবে না।
- # আপনাকে কোন প্রকার একান্ত ব্যক্তিগত ও স্পর্শকাতর প্রশ্ন করা হবে না। গবেষণার কোন পর্যায়েই আপনার প্রদেয় তথ্যের মাধ্যমে আপনাকে চিহ্নিত করা হবে না। এছাড়া প্রশ্নপত্র জরীপের মাধ্যমে প্রাপ্ত তথ্যের শুধুমাত্র সামষ্টিক উপাত্ত প্রদান করা হবে।
- # স্বাক্ষরকারীর প্রশ্নপত্রে উত্তর প্রদানকারীর নাম ও ঠিকানা উল্লেখ করা হবে না। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পলিসি মোতাবেক পূরণকৃত প্রশ্নপত্র এবং তথ্যসমূহ ধ্বংস করার পূর্বে সাত বছর বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের নিরাপদস্থানে তালাবদ্ধ অবস্থায় রাখা হবে।

পরবর্তী তথ্যের জন্য যোগাযোগ করুনঃ

এই গবেষণাটি কার্টিন বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের এথিক্স কমিটি কর্তৃক অনুমোদন দেয়া হয়েছে (অনুমোদন নং XXX)
গবেষণার বিষয়ে আরো তথ্যের জন্য আমার সাথে যোগাযোগ করুনঃ + 61-423969178 (email: m.swapan@curtin.edu.au) এবং আমার সুপারভাইজারের সাথে যোগাযোগের মাধ্যমঃ ড. শাহেদ খান, + 61-8-92663276 (email: s.khan@curtin.edu.au)

জরীপ কার্যে অংশগ্রহণ করার জন্য আপনাকে অসংখ্য ধন্যবাদ।

স্বাক্ষর- অস্পষ্ট



Encl : Photocopy of translated document is enclosed as reference. Phone : 9343132

APPENDIX 3C: INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM



Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of the Built Environment
CURTIN UNIVERSITY
Perth, Western Australia

INFORMATION SHEET FOR THE OFFICIALS OF ORGANIZATIONS

- My name is Mohammad Shahidul Hasan Swapan, I am currently completing a piece of research for my doctoral degree at Curtin University, Australia.
- The aim of my research to investigate the current state of participatory planning in Bangladesh, factors affecting community involvement in the planning process and to recommend future strategies for increased level of participation in urban development activities.
- I would like to invite you to participate in a questionnaire survey to contribute in my research. I will ask a series of questions on It focuses on their roles/responsibilities and mechanisms to engage community in the planning process, and opportunities for increased level of participation. The interview process will take approximately 30 minutes.
- Your involvement in the research is entirely voluntary. You can take an overview of the questionnaire and can either agree to respond or can decide not to participate. You are also at liberty to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences. It is also ensured that non-participation will not affect an individual's rights or access to other services. When you have signed the consent form I will assume that you have agreed to participate and allow me to use your data in this research.
- You will not be asked any personal and sensitive question. The information will not be identifiable at any stage of the research. Moreover, only the aggregate results (as organizational response) of the field surveys will be produced ensuring complete anonymity in the information.
- The interview transcript will not have your name or any other identifying information on it and in adherence to university policy, the interview scripts and transcribed information will be kept in a locked cabinet for seven years, before it is destroyed.

Further Information

This research has been reviewed and given approval by Curtin University of Technology Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval number HR166/2010). If you would like further information about the study, please feel free to contact me on <<+61-0423969178>> or by email: <<m.swapan@curtin.edu.au>> alternatively, you can contact my supervisor Dr. Shahed Khan <<+61-8-9266 3276 >> or <<s.khan@curtin.edu.au >>.

Thank you very much for your involvement in this research, your participation is greatly appreciated.

APPENDIX 3D: INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM



Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of the Built Environment
CURTIN UNIVERSITY
Perth, Western Australia

CONSENT FORM

- I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.
- I have been provided with the participant information sheet.
- I understand that the procedure itself may not benefit me.
- I understand that my involvement is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time without problem.
- I understand that no personal identifying information like my name and address will be used and that all information will be securely stored for 7 years before being destroyed.
- I have been given the opportunity to ask questions.
- I agree to participate in the study outlined to me.

Signature

Date

Investigator

Signature

Date