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Building **Inclusive** Urban Communities

URBAN PLANNING EDUCATION FOR INCLUSIVE CITIES: GLOBAL AND INDIAN PERSPECTIVES

Darshini Mahadevia, Neha Bhatia – 2018

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ABSTRACT

This case study asks the following questions, which it then attempts to answer:

What kind of constituency does urban planning as a profession cater to? And, historically speaking, what has been the global response to it?

How has the trajectory of urban planning developed in the Indian context? How has the latter shaped urban planning education in India?

What are the new ideas found in the global urban planning discourse, considering that it has undergone changes globally in terms of paradigm and approaches? Have these influenced urban planning education in the Indian context?

The paper argues that while there have been long-standing debates about the definition of 'urban planning' at the global level, which, in turn, has influenced the urban planning education curricula at the global level in India, both the profession and its education have largely been inherited from the British and carried forward with minor modifications during the post-Independence period.

The urban planning practice in India remains 'bureaucratic', with the Master Plan and other physical plans being used as tools for the exclusion of the socio-economic aspects of Indian reality, leading to a vast expansion of 'informality' which urban planning is then unable to address. The study of planning, since it follows the practice, is also not able to deal with Indian reality, despite the addition of new courses that deal with urban development projects, their financing, and implementation. Urban planning education seems to focus only on two types of professionals: a spatial planner and a sectoral planner; it does not include all the professionals engaged in the various processes of urban development. There is, therefore, a dire need to diversify urban planning as a profession as well as highlight the different types of skills found in the global literature on planning. And to support this change, there is a further need to diversify the education programmes. Needless to say, the current accreditation system of urban planning education requires serious reforms. ◆

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ABBREVIATIONS

AESOP	Association of European Schools of Planning
AICP	American Institute of Certified Planners
AICTE	All India Council for Technical Education
AMRUT	Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation
BPlan	Bachelor's in Planning
BRTS	Bus Rapid Transit System
BSUP	Basic Services for Urban Poor
CAA	Constitutional Amendment Act
CEC	Commission of the European Communities
CEPT	Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology
CPT	Communicative Planning Theory
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
EWS	Economically Weaker Section
FP	Faculty of Planning
FSI	Floor Space Index
GIS	Geographic Information System
GNDU	Guru Nanak Dev University
GRD	Guru Ram Dass School of Planning
IIHS	Indian Institute for Human Settlements
IIM	Indian Institute of Management
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
ITPI	Institute of Town Planners, India
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
KMSS	Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
MoHUPA	Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
NBA	Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan
NCU	National Commission on Urbanisation
NDC	Nationally Determined Contribution
NID	National Institute of Design
NITI	National Institution for Transforming India
NRY	Nehru Rozgar Yojana
NSDP	National Slum Development Programme
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organization
NUA	New Urban Agenda

ABBREVIATIONS

PMAY	Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana
QoL	Quality of Life
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
RTPI	Royal Town Planning Institute
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SHS	School of Habitat Studies
SJSRY	Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana
SPA	School of Planning and Architecture
TCPO	Town and Country Planning Organisation
TDR	Transfer of Development Rights
TISS	Tata Institute of Social Sciences
TPI	Town Planning Institute
ULB	Urban Local Body
ULCRA	Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
VAMBAY	Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana

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PART 1
DYSTOPIA, DISPOSSESSION, AND DISCONTENT IN URBAN INDIA

An expected high rate of urbanisation, the multiple challenges of climate change, rising economic and social inequalities, large development deficits, and violence have necessitated planned interventions in cities and towns in India. Global agendas such as the New Urban Agenda (NUA) of Habitat III in 2016, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations General Assembly in 2015[1], and India's Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) from the Paris Agreement on Climate Change in 2015 too have laid an emphasis on urban planning to address the above challenges.

Since 2006, the Indian government has allocated large funds to urban infrastructure, housing and slum development, and IT-enabled services in cities, under different programmes—Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT), Smart Cities, Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY): Housing for All (Urban), and Green Mobility. Governance reforms towards decentralised and participatory mechanisms initiated through the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) in 1994 and later under the JNNURM have been implemented, albeit half-heartedly at best. Scholars have alleged that urban reforms have promoted privatisation in the name of cost recovery,[2] paving the way for the elite capture of urban resources (Mahadevia 2006; Bhan 2009; Kundu 2009; Baud et al. 2009; Mahadevia 2011a). There is a reaffirmation of the need for planned interventions (Aranya & Vaidya 2016, 33; MGI 2010) to address these multiple urban development challenges and create capacities to implement the various programmes mentioned above.

But, India's urban planning has been criticised for its poor state, esoteric nature, and impracticality (MGI 2010), given the impossibility of its implementation resulting from various subversions by the agencies of state itself (Roy 2009a). For example, the projects proposed under the JNNURM were not identified in the city's plans, i.e., the Master/Development Plans. Moreover, the state has neither made land available for developments—most lands in urban India are privately held—nor resources, as municipal governments are not autonomous and do not have financial resources at their disposal (Sivaramakrishnan 2015). Private land ownership in most urban areas, except a few such as Delhi and those in the Union Territories, makes the implementation of Master/Development Plans all the more difficult. The Master/Development Plans are made as statutory tools, but are not implemented due to these two bottlenecks. In reality, the urban areas, especially metropolitan cities, are changing through projects and ideas which Roy (2011) calls 'worlding'[3] in the race towards their branding (Mahadevia 2011a). Yet, conceptualisation of urban planning and its education continues in traditional ways, with the curricula still being located in the paradigm of top-down and technocratic planning that is practised through the Master/Development Plans.

The urban challenges have mounted in India. The preamble to the GoI's National Report to the Habitat III (MoHUPA 2016b) mentions that service and housing deficits persist (MoHUPA 2016b, 19), while highlighting the achievements related to the improvement of the quality of life (QoL) in urban areas, such as lifting 15 million persons out of poverty, reducing the proportion of urban population

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1   Accessed March 12, 2018. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sustainable_Development_Goals.
2   See Mahadevia et al. 2018 for housing; Kamath et al. 2009 and Sampat & Koonan 2012 for water and sanitation.

3   "The concept of worlding seeks to recover and restore the vast array of global strategies that are being staged at the urban scale around the world" (Roy 2011, 10). It is often enmeshed with homegrown neo-liberalisation, representing the local elites' aspirations of world-class cities.

living in slums to 17.4 per cent, and the coverage of (tapped) water supply reaching 75 per cent and of toilets reaching 81 per cent. In 'Urban Land, Planning and Mobility' (Chapter 2), the report highlights existing lacunae in the governance of urban planning—the lack of a single planning authority having clear powers has led to fragmented efforts. The report suggests the following measures to improve urban land management: (i) the use of a land-sharing and land-readjustment mechanism for land use planning; (ii) reviewing and revising urban legislation and regulations to establish enabling systems; (iii) integrating urban design within the urban planning framework; and (iv) integrating land use planning with transport planning (MoHUPA 2016b, 56).

The Government of India, interestingly, in the guidelines of a former urban housing programme named Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), acknowledged lacunae in urban planning. It stated that the urban poor lived in inhuman conditions which deny them dignity, shelter, security, and the right to basic civic amenities or social services; an environment where crime, ill health, and diseases thrived and drew them deeper into vulnerability and poverty. It also stated that a quarter of the urban population living in slums was an indication of the inequitous and exclusionary urban planning system, urban land management practices, and land legislation that have not been able to adapt themselves to the pace or profile of indigenous urban growth. Further, urban planning had not created spaces within the formal system of planned living and working spaces to accommodate the informal working classes.[4]

Although India is still at the lower end of the urbanisation graph—31.7 per cent of its population lived in urban areas in 2011—there is a significant housing distress, particularly in metropolitan and large cities. The 12th Five-Year Plan estimated a housing shortage of 18.8 million dwelling units[5] in 2012 (MoHUPA 2012), i.e. 23.8 per cent of the total housing stock as per the 2011 Census,[6] which also stated that 13.36 million households—16.9 per cent of the total number of households—were living in slums then.[7] Urban housing shortage has been brought down to 10 million units by the Government of India in 2017.[8]

In addition to the above, large segments of all cities comprise informal housing. For example, nearly 65 to 67 per cent of the households in the bottom 40 percentile live in their own dwellings (NSSO 2014, A-6)—a significant proportion of these constitute self-constructed, informal houses that have no regulatory clearances. Mahadevia (2010, 2011b, 2015a) has described the processes through which urban lands come under the informal housing sector and has shown the different routes through which both private and public lands enter the informal land market.

Development deprivations are more severe among certain groups than others, such as low-income migrants to the city who are at a constant disadvantage with regard to housing and access to basic services. Residents of informal settlements continuously struggle for access to water supply, for example, and are under the perpetual threat of violence from non-state actors who provide these services (Desai & Sanghvi 2017; Desai 2018). The land situation of these settlements is such that it is nearly impossible to formalise the land titles (Mahadevia 2015a). The transport options available are either walking (for low-income women) or cycling (for low-income men), apart from the use of para-transit such as autorickshaws which are considered unsafe for women—studies point out that women have been sexually harassed or assaulted by such para-transit providers.[9]

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4 Retrieved June 20, 2018. http://mohua.gov.in/upload/uploadfiles/files/RA-YGuidelines.pdf.
5 Housing shortage includes temporary housing, housing which is older than 80 years, and congested housing, i.e., where married couples do not have an independent room.
6 Proportion calculated on the basis of the total housing stock data from the Housing Census of 2010, which was undertaken as an enumeration exercise of Census 2011. Accessed May 13, 2017. Housing census data, http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/hlo/hlo_highlights.html.
7 Accessed May 13, 2017. The number of households living in slums, http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/hlo/Slum_table/hl-slum/SHH0101-crc.pdf.
8 Retrieved June 20, 2018. https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/wealth/personal-finance-news/housing-shortage-in-urban-areas-down-at-10-million-units-government/articleshow/61657624.cms.
9 See Mahadevia 2015b and Mahadevia et al. 2016 for Guwahati; Desai et al. 2017 for Ahmedabad.

The planning authority's intervention to legalise informal housing, which usually results in evictions, is one example of how urban planning leads to exclusions. This happens through multiple ways (Mahadevia 2015a):

(i) People living in informal houses constructed on public lands get evicted because there is always some or the other use allotted to these spaces under the city's Master/Development Plan. The existing informal development does not conform to the proposed plan.

(ii) Often, informal developments mushroom on private lands with the consent of the owner(s) who is/are avoiding acquisition of his/her/their land(s) that are notified as 'Reserved' under the Master/Development Plan. If indeed such reserved lands are acquired, then the informal households living on them have to be evicted.

(iii) Often, the state does not have the discretionary powers to legalise all types of informal developments. For example, the Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation (ULCR) Act has been repealed, but new legislation to nullify past notifications for land acquisition does not exist. Hence, these lands remain locked up in the informal land market. And consquentially, Master/Development Plans do not get implemented. But, urban planning continues to make plans for such areas without taking cognisance of such realities; at best, the Master Plan declares such developments as 'illegal' and marks them for eviction (Ramanathan 2006). Urban planning and development projects also create dispossessions, referred to by Burte and Kamath (2017), due to the process of 'worlding'.

However, the discontent resulting from such dispossessions have periodically overflown on to the streets, either as protests or as violence led by the dispossessed—we call this 'counter-violence' as it is done in response to the state's violence of displacing them and denying them basic services and housing. A case in point is the counter-violence by the Krishak

Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) in Guwahati against the state government's selective eviction of encroachments on ecological resources, which led to further violence on the protestors by the state. This then led to the death of a protestor through self-immolation and the arrest of the protest leader (Mahadevia et al. 2017). On the Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) sites in Ahmedabad, people have protested and vandalised local government offices for non-supply of water (Desai & Sanghvi 2017; Desai 2018). Urban development in India results from such complex political dynamics; at times, people also negotiate with the state for services and a no-eviction guarantee. However, urban planning education and its curriculum, in particular, does not reflect these dynamics.

The predominant form of urban planning, which is through the Master/Development Plans, is now being questioned by citizens' groups in some of the large cities such as Bengaluru, Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, etc.[10] In Gujarat, farmers, whose lands are to be acquired under the town planning mechanism (the local planning mechanims), have challenged the legislation and, thereby, the process of urban planning as well (Rabari 2016; *The Indian Express* 2016; Sampat 2015). Urban planning, therefore, does not remain as a neutral technocratic exercise, but has become fraught with protests and litigation.

While simultaneous urban challenges are to be addressed, planning has been turning into an engine of exclusions in practice—"in many parts of the world, current urban planning systems are actually part of the problem: they serve to promote social and spatial exclusions, [and] are anti-poor" (Watson 2009, 151) in much the same way as 'development' has been in the Global South (Rehnema 1997). The Global South is thus faced with a quintessential dilemma with regard to the need for urban planning—'to do or not to do'.

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10 See Kumar 2018 for the case of Bengaluru; Verma 2003 for Delhi; Indorewala 2015 and Mathews 2015 for Mumbai.

While urban planning cannot be solely blamed for not being able to address issues in the cities of the Global South, the fact remains that the planning systems in place in most of these regions have either been inherited from previous colonial governments or have been adopted from northern contexts to suit particular local political and ideological ends (Watson 2009), which, in many cases, have remained unchanged over a long period of time, in spite of significant changes in the contexts they operate in. Post-colonial governments in the countries of the Global South have tended to reinforce and entrench colonial spatial plans and land management tools, sometimes even more rigidly than the colonial governments themselves had done (Njoh 2003); they have continued to follow the colonial mindset of wanting to control entire populations despite being a democracy now. Given this background of the urban situation in India, this paper attempts to link current urban planning practices and education to understand how the profession has developed historically. ◆

PART 2
HISTORY OF URBAN PLANNING IN THE GLOBAL NORTH

Urban planning, as it evolved in the 18th century, is rooted in a much broader philosophical and social transformation of the time—the 'Enlightenment' (Hall & Gieben 1992). A whole body of ideas developed together in science, philosophy, and economics, emphasising the value of scientific knowledge and empirical inquiry and involving deliberate opposition to religious dogma and a monarchial political system. Contemporary Western concepts of democracy, based on individual franchise, rights of individuals to pursue their lives and livelihoods, and primacy of profit-seeking and self-interested economic organisations, were significantly shaped during this period (Hall & Gieben 1992). Enlightenment also led to the Industrial Revolution in the Global North. Post World War II, some countries (namely the Eastern Bloc) presenting a structuralist critique of capitalism pushed industrialisation under state leadership through state-led collectivisation, moving away from the *laissez-faire* industrialisation of the Western Bloc. Both approaches, rooted in rationality and scientific knowledge, were in pursuit of economic growth.

The *laissez-faire* economic approach accompanied by electoral democracy in the Western Bloc was called the democratic capitalist system. This resulted in social inequalities; systematic exclusion of class, gender, ethnicity, and race; environmental pollution; and, a periodic collapse of market processes (Healey 1997). In a bid to stop socialism in its stride towards the 'Western capitalist economies', a compromise between the Left and the Right gave birth to 'welfare economies', the political systems of which were called 'social democracies'.

Taylor (1998) has stated that after Britain emerged from World War II and the aftermath of economic depression, there was a view that the state should play an interventionist role in providing universal education, healthcare, and social security; in some instances, it was also expected to play a more active role in managing the economy, including the nationalisation of major industries and services. The Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, framed in Britain, was a part of the politics of the welfare state. Other Western Bloc countries too followed a similar development approach. *Urban planning, as we know it today, emerged as a manifestation of this compromise in organising urban activities, largely spatially, to halt the monopolisation of urban land*. The idea of state control over land (through 'eminent domain') or nationalisation of land was promoted. In the Eastern Bloc, urban planning emerged as a result of the socialisation of land.

Urban Utopias and Anti-Urbanism

Even before the post-war social democracies grew roots and urban planning emerged as a profession, the idea of town planning was present as an exercise comprising the physical planning and design of human settlements—it was seen as a natural extension of architecture or civil engineering. Thus, town planning was essentially 'physical' planning, as opposed to 'social' and 'economic' planning.

"*Town and Country Planning might be described as the art and science of ordering the use of land and the character and siting of buildings and communicative routes... Planning, in the sense with which we are concerned with it, deals primarily with land, and* is not economic, social or political planning, *though it may greatly assist in the realisation of the aims of these other kinds of planning*" (Taylor 1998, 5–6, quoting Keeble 1952, 1)[11].

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11 Insertion by Taylor 1998 in the quote is not in italics.

But, contrary to what Keeble and the post-war planners[12] who followed him believed, urban planning did evolve into economic, social, and political planning. Since it dealt with land, which, in a market economy, is an economic good, planning came to deal with economic issues. To the extent that the professed goal of urban planning was improving the quality of life of the people, it also came to deal with social issues. Land use planning, by its very definition and character, "entails an acceptance of some form of state intervention in the property market…Decisions about how land should be used and developed necessarily involve making choices which affect the interests of different groups in different ways, and so these choices are also 'political' in the sense" (Taylor 1998, 7).

Early urban planning—called 'town planning' (few noteworthy proponents of which included John Dewey, Patrick Geddes, and Lewis Mumford)—laid an emphasis on improving the living conditions of people. Its physicality attracted architects who were preoccupied with aesthetics. The poor living conditions of the working class in industrial cities, particularly in Britain, which have been aptly described in the works of Charles Dickens and Friedrich Engels as well as in the 1885 report of the Royal Commission titled 'The Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes'. The response was utopianism rooted in socialist ideas. With relation to urban planning, this was reflected in Ebenezer Howard's idea of garden cities, wherein he envisaged land to be collectively owned (in contrast to private land ownership). Here, we also need to remember Saint Simonians who saw private land ownership as a roadblock to the construction of large infrastructure, and thus promoted the idea of land as something that must be socially owned (Rich 1994), much before Marxists suggested it. Howard's proposal of city development comprised recreating rural living conditions in cities, with each working-class household having its own garden space.

The idea of utopian cities was characterised by turning attention away from the existing world to an imaginary ideal world that was desirable—Garden City and Radiant City had this vision of creating an entirely new city by 'turning their backs upon the existing cities'. The suburbs in Britain had housing design that was based on the ideas of Garden City, while the post-war slum clearance and comprehensive redevelopment of the inner city areas were based on Corbusier's Radiant City idea (Taylor 1998). Corbusier's 'city of future' was especially a modernist, ordered city with motorways connecting different districts or zones, a geometrical plan, and functional buildings. It also assumed wholesale clearance of existing cities or large parts of them to make way for the new. Note that the term used then was 'town planning' and not 'urban planning'. The former is still widely used and even the related legislation in many countries, including India, is collectively called 'Town Planning laws'.

Early town planning was anti-urban, a fact that was reflected in the literature of the period[13]. The common denominator of the pioneer figures of the time was their whole-hearted rejection of the industrial-urban society as it had developed. "This rejection, coupled with their love of countryside, led them all to advocate a new form of urban living based on the house and the garden, the neighbourhood and the small town" (Mellor 1977, 141, quoted in Taylor 1998, 29). Howard's ideal city was a small country town, not a busy metropolis, and hence he was not an outright anti-urbanist (Wilson 1991). But, paradoxically, these were the first planners and hence 'urbanists', who preferred small towns and not industrial cities. In particular, some new industrial cities were teeming with labour unrest, such as Chicago, and represented urban dystopia. The urbanists' anti-urban stance quickly turned into an anti-migrant stance, overlooking the fact that urbanisation as a process itself is an outcome of migration. Urban planning consequently became an exercise of discouraging migration to cities, through the development of the idea of satellite towns.

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13 For example, Morton and Lucia White's (1962) *The Intellectual versus the City: From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright*, which presented a wide range of American intellectual history as evidence of the hostility towards cities and urban values.

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12 This term is used to represent urban planners throughout this document.

A few common principles reflected in the town plans made at that time, which we now call 'planning orthodoxy', are as follows:

(i)   Clear segregation of land uses, in effect, segregating industrial areas from residential areas, leading to the practice of zoning as a way of ordering activities in space;

(ii) The notion of neighbourhoods resembling that of village-like communities (when, in essence, cities were highly heterogeneous and have become more so, making the social construction of a community increasingly difficult), and these neighbourhoods functioning as cellular entities;

(iii) Dispersal of new developments to neighbourhoods outside the cities (subsequently called satellite towns);

(iv) Improving the living conditions in the cities through public health, i.e., provision of sanitation;

(v)   Improving accessibility through (private) motor vehicles.

Utopian planning viewed planning as a product to be produced (designed) in the studios of architects and urban planners. These ideas continue to dominate the making of a Master Plan even today.

Modernism: Rational Model and Systems Approach

Planning as a general societal management process, called 'procedural planning theory' (also referred to as the 'rational model'), first emerged in the United States of America (USA) in the 1950s and then in Britain in the 1960s through the works of McLoughlin, Chadwick, and others (Healey et al. 1981). It was based on the central value of promoting the 'rationality' of societal choice.

Rational planning provided finite alternatives for defined problems and encouraged choosing the optimum option through an evaluation of these alternatives. This involved the iterative process of problem identification, developing alternatives, evaluating each one, and taking the final decision only after the optimal solution was identified. The rational planning process was meant to reconstruct and communicate a conclusion in such a way that somebody else was led to draw the same inferences (Faludi 1973). For example, an environmentalist may advocate for controls on industrial effluents that are discharged into rivers by describing the consequences in the absence of such measures.

Planning theorists have advocated rational planning to be good planning, not because it produced better decisions, but because it accepted accountability for the proposed course of action. Its advocates invoked identification of all conceivable courses of action and their evaluation against all relevant ends, hence suggesting that rational planning must necessarily proceed comprehensively. This was the high watermark of modernist optimism in the post-war era that continued till the end of the 1970s in the capitalist Global North.

The 'systems view of planning', a parallel view (by Chadwick), emerged during the same period, with the idea that urban areas are a system of interconnected parts and the functioning of each part was central to the functioning of the whole system. Geddes had, as early as 1915, stated that since cities were composite entities which functioned like organisms, each of their parts was interconnected. However, his ideas remained marginal in the race to construct utopian cities. The systems view necessarily meant that change in one part of the city would also affect areas where development was proposed, so planning had to look at the city as an interrelated whole. This view gained importance because of the criticism of the design-based approach to planning as well as the emergence of technology that could statistically model cities using data.

Faludi (1973) differentiated between 'substantive' planning, which is about the objects, and 'procedural' planning, which is about the process or procedures.

Faludi also called 'substantive' theories as 'theories *in* planning' and 'procedural' theories as 'theories *of* planning'. Since rational planning and the systems approach began by analysing the existing situation to identify the problem and then planning as an activity to solve the problem, survey became the starting point of any such planning exercise.

– Critique of Modernist Planning
Rational planning, based on collecting current data, provided solutions only to current problems, whereas planning is technically futuristic. So, planning ended up responding to existing challenges instead of setting the agenda for future cities. Further, much of comprehensive planning or systems planning is based on the availability of large data sets, which were and still remain a constraint in developing countries. Thus, it was restricted to solving current issues which were identified through available data. In other words, the reality that could not be captured through data was not addressed by rational or comprehensive planning.[14]

The concepts of rationality and rational-comprehensive planning were criticised and rejected on several other grounds as well: for not having either the subject or the object (Beauregard 1987); ignoring the nature of agents who carried out planning (Beauregard 1987); not being able to justify the goals that were set; not allowing for participation and accountability in decision-making (Healey et al. 1981); and, not taking into account subjective knowledge—personal, societal, or of human values; individual intuition and common sense; socially and culturally constructed cognition and imaginative vision (Alexander 2000). The desire to create optimum solutions led to the neglect of feasible options. These were politically naïve plans that lacked serious analysis—more like a pretty colouring of maps by planners, detached from the social turmoil brewing in the cities—and remained merely wishful thinking due to the control exerted over these plans by architects and engineers (Sanyal 2008).

Urban planning, dominated by the preparation of Master Plans/blueprints which specified a desired pattern of urban development 15–20 years ahead, was seen merely as a technocratic process. These plans were underlined by a number of assumptions: that planning is a project of a state-directed future; the state possesses developmentalist features; planning operates in public interest; and, that planners are equipped in a neutral way, arbitrating between competing interests (Sandercock 1998a). The Master Plans/blueprints paid little attention to resource requirements and implementation (which were to be achieved through investments), and development regulations (Rakodi 2001).

Rejecting the role of a planner as a technician and in view of rediscovering poverty in American cities, in his paper *Advocacy and pluralism in planning*, Paul Davidoff (1965) argued that to equate physical planning with city planning was a myopic view. He questioned the notion of planners staying value-neutral and suggested that planning must be open to diversity and plurality of interests; as a practice, it must acknowledge the need for humility. He also posited openness in the adoption of social goals to effectively deal with the myriad problems afflicting urban populations.

Post-modernist Views of Planning

– The Global North
Throughout the second half of the 1960s, the inner cities of most of the large American metropolises literally exploded due to numerous grassroots mobilisations—ranging from massive riots in the African American ghettos to rent strikes and demands for welfare rights to fighting urban renewal or stopping highway construction. In the context of a general upheaval of civil society in the United States, there were the civil rights, women's liberation, and anti-war movements. The desire for an alternative, conflict-free, and post-industrial society that could shake off basic mechanisms of social control saw

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14 The three terms—rational planning, systems planning, and comprehensive planning—were often used interchangeably.

student protests and militant labour demands (Habermas 1973). These had a definitive impact on urban planning in the 1960s, when a number of social planners, led by Davidoff, turned from being advocates of presumptive public interest to the advocacy of the disempowered sections of the cities (Friedmann 2011).

In Western Europe, Latin America, and the USA, urban social movements—generated from within the working-class ethnic, radically distinctive communities, and dispersed groups of society (including women, homeless, disabled, etc.)—acted as a progressive force in reshaping cities and ensuring the provisioning of services for the poor and other marginalised groups.[15] Planners were beginning to turn from framing master visions of the city to spontaneous action in the streets (Piven & Cloward 1979). Modernisation and industrialisation were not seen as neutral projects, as they had given rise to inequality and exclusion. Thus, post the 1980s, emerged multiple views on what urban planning was and how to intervene in the urban space, rather than a single, static view of the future that was presented through the Master Plan.

Many new ideas about urban planning and what it was meant to achieve were promoted post the 1970s. The first among these, '**transactive planning**', stated that since the future was difficult to predict, planners must get as close as possible to the action for planning to be effective (Friedmann 2011)—this would thus bridge the communication gap between planners (i.e., technocrats) and the society (clients). Twenty years later, this idea reappeared as '**communicative planning**' (influenced by German sociologist Jurgen Habermas) and was only applied to local community settings (Forester 1989, 1999; Fischer 2009). The communicative planning theory (CPT), also known as the '**collaborative model**', was popularised in the 1980s and 1990s. Focussing on communication, interaction, and dialogue, it emphasised the planner's

role as a mediator amidst *stakeholders* who listened to people's stories and assisted in forging a consensus among different viewpoints. Here, the planner becomes an experiential learner by identifying points of convergence, and does not remain a technocratic leader (Fainstein 2000). The planner's role then is that of a broker, mobiliser, facilitator, mediator, and educator (Innes 1995; Forester 1989; Rabinowitz 1969; Susskind & Ozawa 1984). The question asked, particularly by the Marxists, was whether consensus through mediation was possible in highly unequal soceietes where planners were required to intervene through the state as a welfare distributor.

The response to the protests of the civil society came through planning for local spaces, which is called '**radical planning**' (Castells 1983; Friedmann 2002). Friedmann (1987) describes it as a practice that (i) consists of a large number of autonomous (or quasi-autonomous) centres of decision and action whose co-ordination remains loose and informal; (ii) has great deal of local experimentation suitable to local environments; (iii) and, is self-reliant through social mobilisations and a non-dogmatic view of the problem; just the opposite of planning by the state, with its single-track vision, its remoteness from people's everyday concerns, its tendency to gloss over differences in local conditions, and its hierarchical ladders. In this transformative process, the planner's role involved framing a locally suitable theory, creating opportunities for the critical appropriation of such a theory by diverse groups organised for action, and **refining the theory based on first-hand experiences of actual practice** (Friedmann 2011).

In parallel, widespread dissatisfaction with regard to anonymity and the sprawl of contemporary urban growth led to New Urbanism, a design-oriented approach to planned urban development. Bearing resemblance to the early planning theorists' orientation (Ebenezer Howard, Frederic Law Olmstead, Patrick Geddes, etc.), in terms of using spatial relations to create a close-knit social community,

15 These became an important theme of public discourse in the 1990s and were referred to as citizen movements (Castells 1983). Holston (1995) described these movements as unprecedented in many cases—firstly, they forced the state to respond to new social conditions of the working poor; and secondly, they created new kinds of rights, outside of the normative and institutional definitions of the state and its legal codes.

the designs of New Urbanists included a variety of building types, mixed uses, intermingling of housing for different income groups, a strong emphasis on the 'public realm', and walkable cities. The basic unit of planning was the neighbourhood which was limited in physical size, had a well-defined edge, a focussed centre, and where the daily needs of life were accessible within a five-minute walk (Kunstler 1996). While appreciating New Urbanism's emphasis on the creation of public spaces, the relationship between work and living, and the importance of environmental quality, Harvey (1997) criticised it from the social justice perspective—"the fundamental difficulty with modernism was its persistent habit of privileging spatial forms over social process"—stating that change in physical environment could not take care of social inequalities.

The ideological triumph of neo-liberalism caused the allocation of spatial, political, economic, and financial resources to favour economic growth at the expense of wider social benefits. In urban areas, neo-liberalism led to imposition that exacerbated the disadvantages suffered by the low-income, female, LGBTQ, and minority residents. Thus, this led to the notion of '**the just city**', wherein public investment and regulations could produce equitable outcomes, rather than support those who were already well-off (Fainstein 2010). The vision of 'the just city' developed largely from the vast outpouring of scholarship on justice, including positive law theories and the social contract views (historically attributed to Rousseau and powerfully revived by John Rawls in his foundational work, *A Theory of Justice*, in 1971). Indicating that it is not possible to formulate an abstract definition of 'justice', Harvey (2006) argued that the content of this term takes on different meanings depending on social, geographical, and historical contexts.[16] Fainstein's (2010) concept of 'the just city' as one with equity, democracy, and diversity encouraged planners and policymakers to

embrace a different approach to urban development. Depicting a picture of a 'just city' presented planning theorists as advocates of equitable urban development (Fainstein 2000). Sandercock (1998a) defined 'just city' as socially inclusive—where difference is not merely tolerated but treated with recognition and respect—and which values participation in decision-making by relatively powerless groups.

– The Global South
Scholars researching on as well as from the Global South observed that those excluded from the urban policies engaged with the state through insurgency, leading to the coining of the term 'insurgent citizenship'—first articulated by Holston (1995, 2008) and incorporated into the planning discourse by Sandercock (1998a, b), Friedmann (2002), Miraftab (2006, 2009), and Miraftab & Wills (2005). Describing insurgency as a counter-political process that destabilised the present and rendered it fragile, Holston (2008), in his seminal text, *Insurgent Citizenship*, conceptualised Brazil's informal settlements as arenas of insurgent citizenship through which residents claimed their entitlement to the city and urban livelihoods and disrupted the normalised state-citizen relationship produced through "differentiated citizenship".[17]

Miraftab (2009) synthesised '**insurgent planning**' as counter-hegemonic, seeking to destabilise the normalised order of things; transgressive in time, place and action, and transnational consciousness at the heart of its practice; and, imaginative in promoting the concept of a different world as being. Friedmann (2002), in *Prospect of Cities*, has listed the normative principles of insurgent planning that concern marginalised and oppressed groups: offer critical analysis and an understanding of the structural forces that marginalise and oppress people; understand that a problem must be attacked simultaneously at multiple levels; aim for both material and political rights; and, engage in negotiations with the state and state-like formations for access to various rights.

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16 He built on Iris Marion Young's (1990) five propositions to govern a just planning and policy practice that incorporated these 'everyday meanings': non-exploitation of labour power, elimination of the forms of marginalisation of social groups, access to political power and self-expression by oppressed groups, elimination of cultural imperialism, humane forms of social control, and mitigation of the adverse ecological impact of social projects—this last (sixth) principle is an addition to the above-mentioned five propositions of Young (Harvey 2002).

17 Holston (2008) has explained that "differentiated citizenship" offers equal rights to equal people and, correspondingly, unequal rights to unequal people.

Another important point of discussion in the context of the Global South is 'informality', which is the unregulated part of the economy and urban systems—"it is because there is a formal economy that we can speak of an 'informal' one" (Castells & Portes 1989, 13). Davis (2006) saw informality as synonymous with poverty; the 'slum' as the global prototype of a warehousing of the rural-urban poor, marginalised by structural adjustment and deindustrialisation. De Soto (1989, 2000) saw informality as a revolution from below—the entrepreneurial strategy or tactical operations of the poor who were marginalised by bureaucracy and state capitalism. However, Roy (2009a) contended that "informality, which was once primarily located on public land and practiced in public space, today is a crucial mechanism in wholly privatised and marketised urban formations, in [the] form of informal subdivisions in peri-urban areas of many cities that are substantially different from the landscape of slums."

– **The Market Approach**
In parallel to the challenges posed to modernist planning, a new stream of the New Right emerged, which criticised urban planning as a state-interventionist project for its inefficiencies in delivering education, healthcare, subsidised housing, and transport. In development policies, this led to the rise of Thatcherism in the United Kingdom (UK), Reganism in the USA, and a rollback of the state in a lesser or larger extent in many of the welfare systems of the capitalist Western world. The New Right turn is also referred to as 'neo-liberalism'. The world moved towards the liberal arguments of free market and the efficiency of the market system. Countries such as India—which, in true essence, were never 'welfare' as there were no public funds to invest in welfare systems, i.e., public health, education, housing, and transport—too joined the neo-liberal project of privatisation and state withdrawal, although the state was not even present in the public goods realm in the first instance. The New Right's proactive elements promoted entrepreneurial rather

than regulatory styles of governance (Harvey 1989; Healey et al. 1997), an idea that found urban roots in the form of 'Entrepreneurial City'. In urban planning practice, the ideas of land management through changes in Floor Space Index (FSI) and Transfer of Development Rights (TDR), land value capture, market-based affordable housing through fiscal incentives, etc., as practised in the USA, further gained ascendancy globally. It also supported the deregulation of land, permitting land markets to allocate uses and density, and suggested that the role of the state planner was only as an enabler of urban infrastructural development. In the UK, during Thatcher's time, the private sector benefitted from the benevolent eye of the state and planners saw themselves as partners of the private sector, working along with the market. Soon, planners began to speak the private-sector language.

We find a similar situation in India today. A section of urban planners—deriding 'bureaucratic planning' in which the role of the planner is to regulate land uses and development directives—has been canvassing market-led planning. Here, the planner merely creates the instruments that help facilitate the markets' decisions with regard to the use and density of land parcels.

With the New Right's ascendancy in the early 1980s, there was a threat to the discipline of town planning, "but in the event, the state's role in town planning has remained, albeit in a changed political context" (Taylor 1998, 152). In the present condition of climate change and environmental concerns, publicly accountable forms of environmental regulations have further grown stronger. ◆

PART 3
URBAN PLANNING PRACTICES AND PLANNING EDUCATION: GLOBAL TRENDS

Urban planning started as a multidisciplinary project combining the elements of its 'parent disciplines'—the three 'land-based professions' of architecture, engineering, and surveying (Davoudi & Pendlebury 2010). In Britain, the early trends of training in the discipline were largely dominated by an architectural approach which continued till the 1950s—during this period, it saw the establishment of the first planning department, the Department of Civic Design, in 1910 at the University of Liverpool; the Town Planning Institute (TPI) in 1914; and, the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) thereafter.

In 1950, in Britain, the *Schuster Report* articulated the need for planning and its education to be informed by social sciences, which led to the admission of, in particular, geographers into graduate planning education, eventually changing the make-up of both planning education and the profession in the United Kingdom (Faludi 2009). It rescinded the earlier position that planning professionals could only be architects, engineers, or surveyors (Faludi 2009). The report also recommended that students could pursue a postgraduate diploma in planning by specialising in any subject. Consequently, a new generation of social science planners (qualified planning postgraduates with a background in geography), who asserted the independence of planning and its education from the 'parent disciplines', emerged in the 1960s. During this period, the profession's image was recast from being one that chiefly consisted of people with a basic qualification in another discipline (geography, architecture, engineering, etc.) to one with its own identity (Faludi 1978).

However, the scenario across the Atlantic was quite contrasting, given the little cross-Atlantic exchange of ideas in those times. The Graduate School of Design at Harvard University, set up in the 1930s, became the first provider of a degree in city planning. Unlike the British planning schools, it incorporated "a deeper understanding of economic trends in city growth and sharper appraisal of competitive urban land uses", reflecting an appreciation of the role of competitive real estate in land development in cities such as New York and Chicago (Perkins 1950). Although early American planning education reflected an architectural approach, by the mid-1940s, it had begun to embed and recruit students from wider social sciences (Kent 1950). Also, the Chicago School of Planning, set up in the late 1940s, provided a significant stimulus to planning education and research by formulating the 'generalist-with-a-specialism' model, thereby articulating a lasting solution to the problem of unity-in-diversity in planning education; it also laid the foundation for the contemporary planning school of thought with regard to the 'rational planning model'.

It was in the USA, rather than in Britain, with its well-developed planning system, that the synthesis of social science experts and city and regional planners—attempting to broaden the foundations of their professional expertise—took place. Thus, Chicago became the ". . . pioneering locus of the use of social science techniques for the analysis of and attempt to solve planning problems. And the war and the immediate post-war period were fertile in technical advances . . . . These advances encouraged a kind of scientific optimism which became the hallmark of the rational planner" (Sarbib 1983).

By the time the Chicago School of Planning closed in 1955, the core curriculum of planning had developed, drawing from social sciences—based on the assumptions that (i) planning is a generic term; (ii) it includes decision-making as well as implementation; (iii) and, it relates to public policy (Faludi 2009)—with an emphasis on research, in terms of research training for students and research activities for the staff (Adams 1949; Perkins 1950). These mainstream planning ideas were challenged in the 1970s; this had a profound impact on planning education and scholarship (as we have seen in **PART 2**).

In Europe, during the 1940s and 1950s, planners saw themselves at the forefront of the transforming effort of building 'welfare states', which was to deliver a reasonable quality of life to a majority of the population, after the horrendous experiences of the economic depression and war (Boyer 1983; Davies 1972; Ravetz 1980). Europe largely followed the UK model of free-standing planning education, at least in the Dortmund School in Germany as well as the institutes at Amsterdam and Nijmegen in the Netherlands (Faludi 2009). In some European countries, the hold of planning around the 'parent professions' still remains strong, but there is also a mutual recognition of different professional qualifications due to the precondition of the functioning of the European Single Market (Faludi 2009). The Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP), established in 1987, allowed for diverse views on planning education. Today, with 162 institutional members from 38 countries, it is the only representative body to bring together the various planning schools of Europe.

This diversity was a response to four major approaches to planning, as categorised by the Commission of the European Communities (CEC 1997):
(i) The regional economic planning approach largely found in France and, to a lesser extent, in Portugal, which focussed on wider social and economic objectives (in relation to disparities in wealth, employment, and social conditions between different regions of the countries), with their respective central governments playing an important role in managing development pressures across the country and in undertaking public-sector investment;
(ii) The comprehensive integrated approach, common in Northwestern Europe (including Nordic countries, Netherlands, Austria, and Germany), which has a systematic and formal hierarchy of plans, from the national to the local level, all co-ordinated by the public sector;
(iii) The land use management approach, of which UK was a key example, was closely associated with the narrower task of controlling the change of use of land at the strategic and local levels;[18]
(iv) The urbanism approach, popular in countries around the Mediterranean, which stressed on urban design, townscape, and building control. This approach also travelled to Latin America, where there were very few undergraduate planning programmes (UN-Habitat 2009)—a majority of these, in fact, were undertaken by architects, who had undergone no formal training as urban planners or designers (Irazabal 2009).

In socialist countries, urban planning is a top-down process (Xu & Ng 1998), with administrative hierarchy being influenced by the Communist Party at different stages of the process (Khakee 1992) and the responsibility for sectoral planning being scattered among various service departments. Dominated by the approach of Master Planning,[19] the socialist principles of urban planning drew from scientific rationality with the intention of building cities in a progressive and reformative manner (Tang 2000). Socialist planning stressed on the specialisation of land uses and systemic linkages through transportation and infrastructure, and on social collectivity and monumentality (Leaf 1998).

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18 In this situation, local authorities undertook most of the planning work, but the central administration was also able to exercise a certain degree of power, either by supervising the system or setting central policy objectives (CEC 1997)

19 Preparation of comprehensive city plans and detailed district plans was largely seen as an integral part of the Soviet package of socialist development in the mid-1950s.

With urban planning being subservient to the complex hierarchy of economic planning, as Golubchikov (2004) described, the role of the Soviet urban planners was to translate detailed instructions of a state developer into a finished design—that of a complex of settlements, a particular city, or a part of a city. Normally, urban plans focussed on servicing industrial enterprises. Urban planning in Russia meant allocation of social infrastructure based on the standard norms of minimum individual needs. The educational model during the Soviet times was to produce an 'architect with a broad professional profile' who could also be an urban designer. Graduates from architecture schools worked collectively with economists and engineers in the state institutes of urban and city planning on all kinds of urban planning and design projects—from national schemes of setting up Master Plans for towns and cities to plans of city districts and quarters.

Another country that we can take as an example, under the socialist regime, is China. The expansion of urban planning in China spanned three periods, which were referred to as the 'three springs' by Chinese planners (Leaf & Hou 2006):

(i) The 'first spring' of modernist planning, i.e., the period of co-operation with the Soviet Union in the 1950s, along with the establishment of the first planning programmes, development of industrial city Master Plans for major projects with Soviet assistance, and the Soviet model of housing districts (*xiaoqu* in Chinese) for urban redevelopment and expansion;

(ii) The 'second spring', i.e., the period immediately after the 1978 economic reforms, when planning schools were reopened, new legislations were put in place, and urban planning was once again recognised as a profession;

(iii) The 'third spring'—roughly dating from the late 1990s following the Asian financial crisis—when significant foreign direct investment was redirected to China from elsewhere in the region, resulting in a renewed boom of urban and industrial expansion. The new wave, post 2010 in China, was the period when the New Countryside was constructed and villages were converted into urban living spaces, in a bid to propel the urbanisation level.

Traditionally, planning programmes housed in the country's architecture schools largely emphasised spatial planning and architectural design skills, while those housed in geography departments stressed on economic and regional planning (Zhang 2002; Zhang & Fang 2004; Leaf & Hou 2006). The China Academy of Urban Planning and Design, set up in 1982, which, as Leaf (1998) implied, led to the structural separation of urban planning as a technical profession from other urban bureaucracy.[20] In 1998, the Chinese central government established a planner registration system, similar to that of the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) which had been issuing certificates on behalf of the government[21].

In the African context, European colonial authorities were primarily responsible for introducing Western urban planning concepts. The post-independence period in Africa saw political instability and volatile situations. With governments, largely unstable, adopting a technocratic approach to national development, participatory processes in planning and decision-making had been quite restricted. Unlike the Global North, many African nations shared a legacy of limited decentralisation that was mainly implemented under pressure from bilateral and donor agencies, limited autonomy in local government, and weak bureaucracy (UN-Habitat 2009). Thus, urban policy in many African countries was simply absent or blatantly anti-urban, thereby creating a public policy vacuum that led to unregulated and unmanaged processes of surreptitious urbanisation (Pieterse 2010). Other interrelated issues such as resource inequality, corruption, plans not being implemented, limited efficacy of the planning system, and lack of data further added to the acuteness of challenges in this situation (Pieterse 2010). ◆

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20 The former refers to professional planners working in planning institutes, under the auspices of the academy, whereas the latter are municipal engineers in planning bureaux—the local arms of the Ministry of Urban Construction.

21 The Chinese planning registration system differs from the AICP in one important aspect—without the certificate (which is a government requirement and not a professional one), planners can neither be employed, nor can they open their own practice firm. This restricts foreign planners/ architects from getting involved in projects in China as they need to work with registered local partners.

PART 4
URBAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

Urban planning in India essentially has British roots, as evident in the following:

(i) Patrick Geddes's diagnostic surveys, conservative surgery, and integrated planning;

(ii) Ebenezer Howard's Garden City principles (applied by Edward Lutyens in the development of the colonial capital, New Delhi);

(iii) Planning of the new industrial town Jamshedpur by Fred Temple (a British sanitary engineer) and the new capital cities of Bhubaneshwar and Chandigarh;[22]

(iv) Construction of cantonments or civil lines (separate residential colonies outside cities for military and/or British rulers);

(v) Enactment of the Town Planning Acts in Bombay (now Mumbai), in 1915, and Madras (now Chennai), in 1920, on the lines of the British Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909. At the city level, the efforts were chiefly related to administration and public health; the latter was addressed through the creation of improvement trusts in a number of cities that did not undertake any planning activity. A variety of improvement schemes, some sectoral in content and others that were precursors of town planning schemes, remained the dominant form of planning. Throughout the British period, the involvement of Indians in town planning remained lamentably poor (Kalia 1987); a paltry number of Indian town planners and architects in most of the city governments were confined to drawing beautiful elevations of building façades.

Post Independence, the first major town planning efforts comprised quickly planned and constructed refugee towns by the respective governments around large cities in repsonse to the emergency situation of the flood of refugees (Sarin 1982). Thereafter came the stage of nation-building in the modernist mould (scientific thinking, rationality, and democracy), but with the socialist ideology of laying faith in the welfare state delivering services to the population. This ideology was also expected to address emerging urban development challenges such as rising population, densification of urban living spaces, lack of urban services, and poverty and underdevelopment. The aspirations to build a modern, socialist republic of India through industrialisation, with new towns to host either new capital cities or industries on the one hand and a paucity of professionals on the other, led the then national leaders to look for international expertise. Le Corbusier was invited to design Chandigarh by Jawaharlal Nehru and help from institutions such as the Ford Foundation was sought to set up state-of-the-art, professional education institutions such as the National Institute of Design (NID), Ahmedabad,[23] Indian Institute of Technology (IIT),[24] Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology (CEPT), Ahmedabad,[25] Indian Institute of Management (IIM), Calcutta (now Kolkata),[26] etc. Professional education was promoted through the establishment of new institutions outside the existing university system, following a modernist, technocratic vision of development. Chandigarh shifted the urban planning priority from refugee towns to a new symbolism of modernism (Sarin 1982; Kalia 1987; Ansari 2009).

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22 Gandhinagar was designed indigenously, drawing inspiration from and with an attempt to model it on Chandigarh which had been designed by Le Corbusier.

23 Accessed May 13, 2017. http://www.nid.edu/institute/history-background.html.
24 Accessed May 13, 2017. http://www.fordfoundation.org/regions/india-nepal-and-sri-lanka/history/.
25 Accessed May 13, 2017. http://cept.ac.in/6/establishment.
26 Accessed May 13, 2017. https://www.iimcal.ac.in/about.

The wholesale, literal transference of European design and physical planning concepts, in the absence of transformation within the Indian social structure, as Sarin (1982) and Kalia (1987) have noted through their analysis of the Master Plan of Chandigarh, represented a complete separation of physical planning and design from economic issues, even as it replaced social and economic considerations in decision-making with abstract professional norms. Through his study on Gandhinagar, which became a battleground for competing and conflicting visions between modernity and tradition, Kalia (2004) argues that India's experiments in urbanism and modernism accentuated the gap between what the country professed and what it achieved. Urban planning, as a profession, restricted itself to Master Planning, first for a city and subsequently for a wider metropolitan region with the city as its nucleus—an idea that was imported from the Bretton Woods institutions (Arabindoo 2009). Thus, urban planning in India post Independence was characterised by the preparation of Master Plans (also called Development Plans), as per British planning practices and new town development, all of which fell short of responding to local needs and priorities. Roy (2009a) argued that India's high urban growth has invariably outstripped even the most perspicacious planner's vision for it; Indian planners have consistently underestimated infrastructure and service needs, thereby failing to "future-proof" "unforeseen growth"; and, the splintering of cities through privatisation of planning too has contributed to an urban crisis in the Indian context. Urban planning, as pursued through Master/Development Plans have failed to address the challenges of Indian urban reality.

Extensive literature (Shaw 1996; Mahadevia 2003; Batra 2009; Mishra & Dasgupta 2014) has covered the discussion on the trajectory of urban policy in the country during various planning periods, which can be broadly divided into the following three: (i) from the 1950s to the 1990s; (ii) from the 1990s to 2010; (iii) and, from 2010 onwards.

From the 1950s to the 1990s

A significant event in the first period is the establishment of the Institute of Town Planners, India (ITPI), a professional town planning institute similar to the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) in Britain, in 1951. From the Second Five-Year Plan (1956–1961) onwards, although planned development of cities became a major focus, little attempt was made to reconcile the technocratic blueprint of Master Plans with the complex realities of a predominantly poor, newly Independent, post-colonial country (Batra 2009). These plans also displayed an obsession with the removal of slums. After the Third Five-Year Plan (1961–1966), the national urban policy became more reactive. It responded to the problems of rapidly growing cities, interspersed with bouts of a populist rhetoric of equity and redistribution for securing short-term political gains. With the limited availability of planning institutions, training was undertaken by Indian urban planners in the educational institutes of the Global North.

The piecemeal, reactive urban interventions did not meet the goal of socialism, as enshrined in the Indian Constitution in 1976. For example, the construction of a large number of housing units by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), meant for low-income groups, were claimed by higher-income groups (Das 1981); moreover, the Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act (ULCRA), 1976, created an artificial land shortage in cities and went in favour of the large land developers and builders who could manipulate the system. Balanced urban growth, which stressed on the prevention of further growth of population and its decongestion in large cities, was accorded high priority in the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans (1969–1974 and 1974–1979 respectively). The Planning Commission's Task Forces on Housing and Urban Development (1983) examined the issues of urban land policy through the lens of equity. The Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985–1990) highlighted the need to entrust the responsibility of housing construction to the private

sector even when continuing to tackle the issues of redevelopment/upgradation of slums. Emphasising the close links between urbanisation and economic development, the 1988 National Commission on Urbanisation (NCU) marked a significant departure from the pronouncements of earlier government policies and plans. Clearly, under the five-year plans, urban planning (envisaged through Master Plans) and development (through programmes and projects) remained delinked.

From the 1990s to 2010

The second period synchronises with what is called neo-liberalism, wherein urban areas are seen as 'engines for economic growth' (a pronouncement in the JNNURM preamble);[27] a phase when the private sector was ascribed a higher role than before in urban development and decentralisation was pushed for at the same time, giving Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) more responsibilities with the state finance commissions devolving funds to them (after the 74th CAA). This paved the way for a change in flagship national programmes on urban issues—from an entitlement-based to a demand-based approach (Mishra & Dasgupta 2014). The agendas of the Right (privatising urban development) and the Left (democratising and decentralising it) consequently merged.

Ever since, urban development has continued with an emphasis on projects. For example, the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1992–1997), recognising the role and importance of the urban sector in the nation's economic growth, launched various schemes such as the National Slum Development Programme (NSDP) for slum upgradation and Nehru Rozgar Yojana (NRY) for providing employment to the urban unemployed and the underemployed poor. The Ninth Five-Year Plan (1997–2002) launched a new convergence-based scheme of urban poverty alleviation, Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY), with the aim of providing gainful employment to the urban unemployed and underemployed poor by encouraging self-employment ventures or through the provision of wage

employment. The Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002–2007) witnessed the launch of the Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) for the construction and upgradation of housing for slum dwellers; improvement of the urban environment through the provision of community toilets under Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (NBA); and, the development of India's largest and ambitious urban investment programme, JNNURM, in 2005. The delinking of the Master Plan from urban development projects further deepened. For example, the Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS), implemented in Ahmedabad under the JNNURM, was not in the then existing Master Plan of the city. In effect, most JNNURM projects were inserted post factum in the Master Plans, indicating the declined importance of these plans in the urban development trajectories of cities.

From 2010 onwards

The third period continues till date, including the schism between Master Plans and urban development projects. In its first phase, from 2010 to mid-2014, the focus was on the inclusion of urban poor through poverty-alleviation programmes such as the SJSRY, JNNURM's BSUP, and RAY.[28] This was in response to the criticism faced by the exclusionary outcomes of the 'world-class city' notion that was being promoted.[29] The endeavour of slum-free cities through RAY indicated a shift from the basic needs approach, gave centrality to the slum in the making of urban futures, recognised the exclusionary nature of Indian urbanisation and urban planning, and represented the ubiquitous idea of inclusive growth—although premised on the market-oriented agenda—thus expressing aspirations of both economic prosperity and social inclusion. Scholars have argued that the dual-track urban policy in India—"building state-of-the-art cities and addressing the manifestations of poverty such as slums, lack of services, weak employment opportunities for the urban poor, etc." (Mahadevia 2011b)—has been one of deliberate confusion, conflict, and fragmentation that served as the conduit for the neo-liberal agenda (Banerjee-Guha 2009).

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27 MoUD (n.d.) 'Overview: Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission', http://mohua.gov.in/upload/uploadfiles/files/1Mission%20Overview%20English(1).pdf. Accessed January 5, 2017.

28 Introduced in 2009–2010, the programme was discontinued in 2014. Approved projects are still works in progress, but no new projects have been undertaken since 2014.
29 See Bhan 2009 for Delhi; Mahadevia & Narayanan 2008 for Mumbai.

In its second phase, from mid-2014 onwards, drastic changes have been brought into policymaking institutions and programmes: the erstwhile Planning Commission was replaced with the policy think tank, National Institution for Transforming India (also called NITI Aayog), and the announcement of flagship schemes such as Smart Cities, AMRUT, PMAY, etc.—all with the framework of 'enabling markets'. However, due to a lack of clear processes for implementation and finance, the schism between planning and project implementation with regard to the new flagship programmes continues to exist. Early evidences, which as yet are anecdotal, suggest that since the funds available from the central government for these new programmes are limited, and the state and local governments are struggling to contribute their own share of funds, they have not yet taken off. The market-based approach has also slowed down their implementation, and the revenue models embedded in them have the potential to encourage exclusion. Amidst these, the rhetoric of planned development through the Master Plans approach continues.

While urban development is progressing through projects, the restrictive nature of Master Plans is impeding their implementation. Master Plans, which are statutory, often do not integrate sectoral plans, for they are non-statutory. Urban planning is plagued by fragmentation; an outdated focus on land use planning; centralisation and a top-down, technocratic, and expert-driven activity; and, the neo-liberal agenda devoid of an inclusive, bottom-up, participatory, and democratic paradigm. The intentions of the 74th CAA, including the functional and fiscal decentralisation of urban governance and the empowerment of ULBs as well as of people, remain unrealised. There is, therefore, a lack of clarity on how planned urban development will progress. And this is reflected in the planning education curricula and pedagogies. ◆

PART 5
GLOBAL DEBATES IN PLANNING EDUCATION

Ever since the ascendancy of neo-liberalism (late 1970s) and the thence presumed decline in the need for planning, professionals and academicians have considerably reflected on their profession and, consequently, its educational content and pedagogy. Especially in the capitalist Global North, one heard views such as, "We cannot be certain whether planning education has a future" (Faludi 1982); and, "Planning in Britain is in crisis... [and] is out of fashion" (Batty 1983). Here, we attempt to review such critical debates related to planning education.

Its Disciplinarity

Due to variegated interpretations of the discipline and its interdisciplinarity[30] since its foundation, planning is often perceived as an academic field without its own set of theories and traditions. While the unconditional addition of new subjects to planning education has been justified, even celebrated as interdisciplinarity over the years, some scholars such as Davoudi and Pendlebury (2010) have argued that what planning and hence its education offered was multidisciplinarity. Professionals, educators, and researchers specialised in a wide range of topics within the field of urban issues, yet they worked independently and primarily within their own frame of references and methods. Pinson (2004) argued that urban planning must construct its own disciplinary identity, i.e., have its own set of clearly identified theoretical and practical assets.

Neccessariness of a Core Curriculum

A question that has often arisen is, 'Is there any core curriculum or ideal curriculum for planning education?' In other words, the raison d'être of the profession. So, its education has time and again come up in debates about planning. An early notable work by Harvey Perloff (1957) in this regard stated that the core curriculum in planning should consist of three elements: basic knowledge in planning; basic methods and techniques of planning; and problem-solving experiences, including case studies and workshops to train generalist-planners. The urban planning programmes have been typically at the graduate level on account of the basic nature of its interdisciplinarity or multidisciplinarity. Perloff's idea of planning as a discipline with appropriate core curriculum was universally accepted (Friedmann 1996) in the USA and it influenced the Planning Accreditation Board (PAB) there (Vidhyarthi et al. 2012).

John Friedmann (1996) analysed the core curricula of urban planning across 20 North American schools and challenged Perloff's influential planning education paradigm. Friedman argued in favour of the inclusion of three broad components:

(i) Substantive knowledge about the dynamics of the urban habitat;

(ii) A cluster of related planning specialisations;

(iii) A set of methods and skills, common to all planners in standard practice.

Substantive knowledge referred to six macro-level social, spatial processes[31]—urbanisation (how and why people move to cities), regional (and interregional) economic growth and change processes, city-building processes (the development and redevelopment of urban landscapes from public housing to docklands), cultural differentiation and

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30 Choi and Pak (2006) have put together an exhaustive literature review concerning the usage of these three words—interdisciplinarity, multidisciplinarity, and transdisciplinarity—and have recommended the following definitions: 'interdisciplinarity' analyses, synthesises, and harmonises links between disciplines into a co-ordinated and coherent whole; 'multidisciplinarity' draws from the knowledge of different disciplines in its approach to a topic or problem, but stays within their boundaries; 'transdisciplinarity' integrates the natural, social, and health sciences in the context of humanities and, in doing so, it transcends each of their traditional boundaries.

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31 A socio-spatial process is one that takes place in space and at the same time acts upon that space. It refers to specific social relations in both their temporal and spatial dimensions, which affect our lives by both maintaining and reconfiguring the life spaces we inhabit (Friedmann 1996).

change (arising due to migration and mobility), the transformation of nature, and urban politics and the empowerment of citizens (Friedmann 1996). Specialised knowledge pertained to sectors such as redevelopment, housing, historical preservation, regional economic growth, land use, transportation, community development, social policy, development planning in the Third World, etc. The third component, Friedmann (1996) suggested, regardless of the specialisation must include history, theory, and contemporary practice of planning; quantitative methods; spatial analysis and geographic information system (GIS); communication and group work; negotiation and mediation; programme and project evaluation; and, professional ethics. Often, these were assumed to fall outside the ambit of the academic curriculum, although they were directly related to everyday practice.

Between Theory and Practice

Some scholars have propounded the need for practicality or pragmatism in planning education to help hone students' ability to plan (Baum 1997, 2000; Gunder & Fookes 1997; Ozawa & Seltzer 1999; Dalton 2001), emphasising the need for 'special skills' as prerequisites for a practising planner to develop students' ability to plan. Ozawa & Seltzer (1999) and Seltzer & Ozawa (2002), based on their survey of planning practitioners, suggested laying an emphasis on communication, negotiation, ethics, and critical thinking. Baum (1997, 2000) went so far as to suggest eradicating the differences between 'academic' and 'professional practice' and following 'in-service learning', i.e., 'experiential learning' instead.

Among those propounding the practicalness of planning education, one group laid emphasis on the physicality of planning, i.e., physical design (Carter 1993). Another suggested reforming the social-science-based curriculum of the 1970s to increase the emphasis on skills pertaining to the diagnosis of problems, policy design, decision-making, and

communicative action that is distinctive in the context of planning (Myers and Banerjee 2005).

Given that the types of knowledge and skills needed for planning practice are diverse and, often, context-dependent (Alexander 2001), there has been a stress on possessing diverse professional skill sets. Whitzman (2009) argued that these may well strengthen the interdisciplinarity and broad outlook demanded of a new generation of planners. Schon (1987), considering the task of educating the reflective practitioner, argued that while planners must learn to work with data and write clearly, they must also learn the communicative nature of planning—dealing with people who have different views, dealing with political conflict, and working productively to resolve disagreement. Innes (1997) noted a shift away from modernist rational planning towards the collaborative model, with education emphasising communication skills. Dalton (2001) suggested that planning education must teach effective professional skills for dealing with difficult problems such as communication, facilitation, and negotiation. Several studies of skill utilisation in practice, especially those of Seltzer & Ozawa (2002), Guzzetta & Bollens (2003), and Greenlee et al. (2015), point out the importance of written and oral communication skills in planning and planning-related occupations over technical skills such as working with statistics, data manipulation, and economic analysis.

Ethics of Planning

Another group of scholars laid emphasis on recognising the social and political nature of planning, which necessitated research and analysis of the existing reality. Among these were scholars who stressed on an ethical approach, since planning has always been and still is a contested arena, fashioned by power relations and conflicts. The need for ethical content was highlighted in both planning practice and educational curricula (Gospodini & Skayannis 2005). It was argued that a professional planner is one who works on an ethical perspective, not an apolitical, value-neutral

person without commitment and carrying a toolkit of technical problem-solving skills (Sandercock 1999). Thus, "the goal of planning education is not how to stuff the most facts, techniques, methods, and information into the students' minds, but how to raise the most basic question of values" (Sandercock 1999).

Inherent Contradictions

Fischler (2011), in *Fifty Theses on Urban Planning and Urban Planners*, summarised the expectations from planning education—it enables students to acquire a good understanding of the process of urban change (and of all actors and factors involved), develop the ability to frame urban problems comprehensively and critically after analysing real situations, learn to design places and processes, become good team players and communicators, and understand their own learning processes. These discussions and, in particular, the summary by Fischler (2011) highlight that the scope of what is considered core in planning education—whether oriented towards physical planning, socio-political processes, or the creation of a wide range of practical skills or theoretical knowledge—is too large to be included in the curricula. Further, due to the diverse backgrounds from which students enter a graduate programme, it is difficult to set a common curriculum which would address the gaps in knowledge and skills among the students (Edwards & Bates 2011). Lastly, after graduating, the students may work as generalists or specialists in the public, private, or non-profit sector on a variety of substantive topics. It is thus difficult to define a single core curriculum.

While such debates appeared far-off and irrelevant in the context of India, these have arrived at our doorstep as well. All the articles in *Urban and Regional Planning Education – Learning for India*, a book edited by Kumar, Meshram, and Gowda (2016), point to this fact. The articles argued in favour of covering a range of knowledge and skills as a part of the planning programme. However, since the scope of its curriculum is so wide, all of it cannot be covered

in a two-year graduate programme; therefore, there is a general plea for an undergraduate programme in planning called Bachelor's in Planning (BPlan) and an integrated Bachelor's and Master's programme in planning. While the duration of both programmes have been mentioned, the decision depends on existing regulations rather than a well-thought-out curriculum. Indian planning education proponents in academia, the profession, and regulation together believe that having a common core curriculum for urban planning education is essential.

Additions to Core Curricula

The planning education core curricula have also seen revisions due to the need for new knowledge areas to be included in them. For example, with the rise of the environmental movement, environmental issues and climate change have been integrated into the planning curriculum through particular courses or specialisations (Dalton 2001). Similarly, planning for developing countries, or development planning, has been a popular theme in the education programmes of the Global North. Gender and urban planning is also being pursued in many programmes.

Innovative Pedagogies

A notable shift in planning education has been in terms of adopting effective learning approaches, moving from traditional, classroom-based pedagogies (lectures, studios, workshops, etc.) to innovative ones such as case-based learning, individual reflection, deliberative peer learning, community service learning, etc. As discussed above, some scholars have argued for in-service learning or experiential learning to bridge the theory-practice gap (Baum 1997, 2000; Ozawa & Seltzer 1999). Illustrating the application of community service learning[32] as a framework for course development, Roakes and Norris-Tirre (2000) have argued that it is appropriate for applied disciplines such as planning, because, beyond a conceptual understanding of knowledge and skills, effective professional practice also requires operational understanding. Recently,

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32 Community service learning, as a pedagogical strategy, takes students into the community with the goal of complementing and implementing student learning (Kinsley 1994).

advocating for the integration of experiential learning[33] activities into planning programmes, and not just within individual courses, Baldwin & Rosier (2017) suggested a framework comprising core principles applied to a range of experiential activities, in order to provide increasing engagement in practice. Proposing a model blending case-based learning, individual reflection, and deliberative peer learning, Hoey et al. (2017) argued that these instructional approaches were not only relevant to teaching more globalised perspectives and skills, but they also responded to broader appeals from planning educators to integrate more active and practice-based learning into planning pedagogy.

Vidyarthi et al. (2012) pointed out that North American planning schools were predominantly oriented towards integrating social sciences into spatial plan-making. In their programme at the University of Illinois, the Department of Urban Planning and Policy, a shift had been made to place plan-making at the core with the understanding that 'space' was the focus of the discipline and students needed to learn to use their judgement in their professional work. The theory courses fed into the plan-making exercise which was undertaken in the studios. The lectures shifted from classrooms to studios and great emphasis was laid on improving skills—which also included statistics. Vidyarthi et al. (2012) argued that integration of theory and practice must not be confused with studio education. In the USA, other terms have also been used for such a pedagogy, laboratory, or workshop. The term 'laboratory' indicates the experimental nature of work, wherein multiple options are offered as solutions to existing problems as well as for future scenarios. 'Workshop' suggests the deliberativeness of an exercise, unlike 'studio' which hints at the definitiveness of the final output. The term 'studio' comes from an architect's workplace, wherein he/she has the final answer or solution to a problem or situation.

Relevance of the Global South's Urbanisation

The scholars and academics from the Global South critiqued the comprehensive planning paradigm as not being commensurate with the developmental needs of their specific contexts (Watson et al. 2002; Kalia 2004; Roy 2002, 2009a; Mahadevia & Joshi 2009; Odendaal 2012). This critique was extended to planning education as well. Based on the field experiences in the Global South, many planning academics and practitioners had expressed concern over the relevance of Western planning education in meeting the requirements and developmental needs of the Third World planners (Oberlander 1962; Richardson 1980; Qadeer 1983). Supporting this view, authors such as Okpala (1987), Alexander (1983), Mabogunje (1978), and others argued that students from the developing countries were infused with ideas and concepts that were typically commensurate with Western value systems, without being encouraged to look into their indigenous, socio-cultural value systems. Further, the socio-economic-political contexts of the Global South, being different from those of the Global North, required situated responses.

There have also been criticisms of the production of what is called 'planning theory' by scholars in the Global North (Stiftel & Mukhopadhyay 2007). Watson (2016) argued that universalised theorising and narrow conceptual models related to planning theory have become invalid, considering the practice requirements of the Global South. Urban and planning theorist Roy (2009b) argued that the centre of theory-making must move to the Global South; that there has to be a recalibration of the geographies of authoritative knowledge. Roy has also called for new ways of understanding the dynamics of urbanism and taking into account global processes such as 'worlding' (the art of being global), rather than conceptions being dominated by 'world city' and 'global city' discourses. Watson (2011) pointed out that in many parts of the Global South, planning students were possibly taught that urban informal economy was a negative feature of cities and that their planning skills should be used to remove and repress it. ◆

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33 It is "a purposeful process of engaged, active learning, in which the student constructs knowledge, skills, or values by means of direct experiences in authentic, real-world contexts" (Kassem 2007).

PART 6
URBAN PLANNING AND ITS EDUCATION IN INDIA

Urban planning programmes have been in place globally since the past century and in India since the past six and a half decades or so. In anticipation of an expected high rate of urbanisation and recognition of the need for planned cities, a large number of urban planning programmes, at the Bachelor's and Master's levels, have opened up. Many questions that arise from the proliferation of the BPlan programmes remain unanswered:

(1) What is urban planning supposed to achieve and for whom?

(2) What would be the contents of urban planning?

(3) What should be the contents of the education programme for urban planners—what ratio should be followed for theory and practice?

(4) Is it interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary or even transdisciplinary?

(5) How must this education be imparted?

For decades, following colonialism and disillusionment with Western experiences of development (Sanyal 1990), academia in India and many other countries in the Global South were engaged in an endeavour to find their own roots (Chettiparamb 2006). However, the paradigm remained predominantly empirical and positivistic, rooted in the industrialised surplus of the Western capitalist economy (Afshar 1990). The history of urban planning education in South Asia is only half a century old; the first two planning schools in this region were established in India (Ansari 2009)—SPA, New Delhi, in 1955, followed by IIT, Kharagpur, in 1956—both offering Master's programmes. Presently, there are 23 planning schools in India (ITPI 2016), operating under both public and private sectors, with a majority of them directly under the Ministry of Human

Resource Development (MHRD) or the various state governments. Early intake of students into the postgraduate programmes was confined to architecture and civil engineering graduates and geography postgraduates, further expanding to include those from the fields of sociology and economics. In the academic year 1989–1990, with persuasion from the ITPI, SPA, New Delhi, started a four-year undergraduate programme in planning called Bachelor's in Planning (BPlan). Many other planning schools/departments followed suit thereafter (**Annexure 1**). Subsequently, specialisations such as environmental planning, housing, regional planning, transportation planning, infrastructure, etc. have been added in a few of the planning schools/departments.

However, urban planning education in India is largely defined by the curriculum set by national-level regulatory bodies, such as the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), and the non-statutory professional body, ITPI. And while the contents have evolved with the addition of new subjects, the profession remains limited, for it continues to follow the early physical planning approach. Older institutes have added specialisations, while newer ones continue to provide a programme for generalists, differently titled 'Master's in Urban and Regional Planning', 'Master's in City and Regional Planning', etc. Some of the programmes of recent origin—of the past decade or so—refrain from using the term 'planning' and call it 'urban practice', just as the Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS) does, or as 'urban studies' that lay an emphasis on the politics and governance of cities/urban areas, as the School of Habitat Studies (SHS) at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) does. Traditional urban

planning schools do not consider the later entrants as planning schools, but both—the former, due to the contingencies that may emanate from the job market, and the latter, through design—deal with the implementation of various urban development programmes. Quintessentially, programmes related to urban planning, development, and practice consist of an overlap of three components:

(1) Plan (which includes land use plan, housing plan, transportation plan, environmental plan, and infrastructure plan);

(2) Programme/scheme/project planning, financing, and implementation;

(3) Governance/management of cities and related programmes/projects/schemes (Figure 1).

However, for our review, we have only selected the curricula of traditional urban planning schools.

Figure 1

Contents of urban planning and, thereby, its education
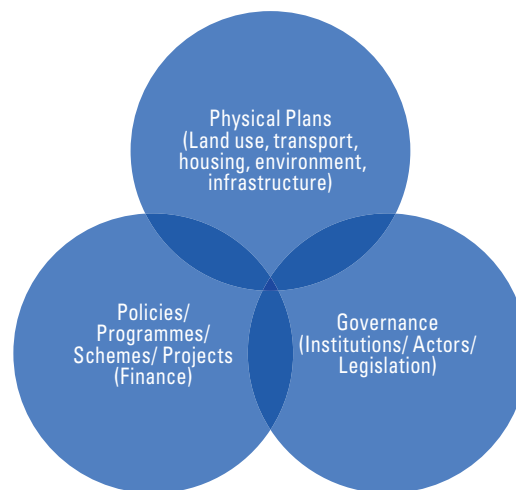
Source: Prepared by the authors

The Contents: Moulding Standardised Planners

This case study has limited the review to the contents of the postgraduate programmes, postgraduate planning curricula, and the strengths of academic and research activities of three national planning schools—School of Planning and Architecture (SPA), New Delhi; Guru Ram Dass (GRD) School of Planning, Guru Nanak Dev University (GNDU), Amritsar; and, Faculty of Planning (FP), CEPT University, Ahmedabad (**Table 1**).

The review of their curricula is against the debates related to planning education presented above. The CEPT curriculum has been under revision and we have selected the one that was under implementation for the 2016–2017 batch. We have compared these curricula with the model curriculum of AICTE (AICTE 2012) (**Annexure 2**).

Table 1

Selected planning schools from India

Sr. No.	Name of Selected Schools	Year of Establishment	Number of Master's Programmes and Specialisations offered	Levels offered	Affiliations
1.	School of Planning & Architecture (SPA), New Delhi	1955	5 (UP, RP, TP, HSG, EP)	PhD, Master's, Bachelor's	Autonomous institute, MHRD, GoI
2.	Guru Ram Dass (GRD) School of Planning, GNDU, Amritsar	1972	2 (UP, I)	Master's, Bachelor's	State government university
3.	Faculty of Planning (FP), CEPT University, Ahmedabad	1972	5 (LU, EP, HSG, IP, TP)	PhD, Master's, Bachelor's	Private university under Gujarat State Act
UP – Urban Planning; RP – Regional Planning; TP – Transportation Planning; HSG – Housing; EP – Environment Planning; LU – Land Use Planning; IP – Infrastructure Planning; I – Infrastructure.					

Source: Compiled by the authors

In the light of changing sociocultural and political economy in contemporary India and given the need for professionals in not just government departments to prepare Master Plans, Zonal/Local Plans, and project planning and implementation, but also in the private sector, the three selected institutions have included courses to prepare students for these multiple roles. Theory courses related to socio-economic aspects as well as those that introduce students to specialised sectors have also been included.

Firstly, we will discuss the model curriculum proposed by the AICTE—it covers all urban sectors, namely housing, transport, environment, infrastructure, and heritage. There is a course on history and the theory of planning as well as one on the socio-economic basis for planning. Proposed courses with regard to methods/techniques are to include basic planning techniques, advanced techniques, GIS, and statistics and data management. Interestingly, politics of planning has also been suggested as a core course. Instead of regional planning, a course on city and metropolitan planning has been included. Courses such as urban governance, urban development and management, project planning and management, and development finance that will help students understand governance and the management of urban areas and urban projects better have also been added to the curriculum. The professional practice course deals with legislation. Learning is expected to happen through studios wherein theory has to be deployed with regard to plan proposals—this may be done through problem-solving, project planning, preparation of Master Plans, etc. The new concerns of energy, climate change, and inclusive planning are offered as electives.

Relegating inclusive planning to the list of electives itself indicates that the model curriculum essentially deprives students of a key ethical element of the profession. Inclusive planning could have acted as a cross-cut to address the real issues of a city. In essence, the notion of inclusion is seen as an additional responsibility to what urban planners deal with. The curriculum does not state as to how the need for diversity and the inclusion of marginal groups would take place during the planning exercise. So, if the Master Plan and Zonal/Local Plans make up what is construed as planning, is there space at all for inclusions, when it comes to housing, in these plans? In particular, as argued earlier with regard to the rise of the New Right, if the only mechanism to deal with housing for the low-income populations is through the idea of land-value capture—i.e., land being used as a resource to generate finance for subsidising low-income housing—will there be inclusion? Whether we are able to bring these issues into the curriculum remains a key question. It is assumed that such learning happens through what are called 'studios' in some institutions, 'practicals' in others. But, is there space to question the preparation of statutory plans which deal only with the land and, thereby, create legalities and illegalities? Is there a way forward for inclusive planning?

The AICTE curriculum is focussed on spatial or physical planning and depends on the rational planning paradigm of the preparation of Master Plans. Planning education should ideally deal with three broad aspects: (i) substantive knowledge; (ii) skills; (iii) pedagogy. The names of current courses in the curriculum do not suggest what kind of pedagogy is being used. On discussions with the faculty members of different planning schools, we find that the education programme leaves no scope for experiential learning as that requires a different pace of teaching, along with the need to engage students in live projects. Indian planning schools do not tend to take on live projects for the following reasons: the restrictions of professional regulating bodies that are prescriptive of the curricula—for instance, the AICTE curriculum; and, the privatisation of professional programmes, wherein students, after paying high fees, are inclined primarily towards finding employment. Professional education then becomes instrumental in losing its own intrinsic value.

Substantive knowledge would deal with the theoretical underpinnings of interventions in the urban space (economics, politics, society), legal knowledge, and value systems (ethics, the notion of justice, and philosophy). Courses related to these theoretical underpinnings are absent, except for a course on the socio-economic basis of planning. Courses related to development theories, gender and development, environment and development, cities and people, poverty and inequality, informal city, etc. should at least be available as electives, which the AICTE curriculum does not mention as of now. Questions such as for whom to plan, what to plan, and who benefits from plans—all of which lead to critical thinking—are absent from the model curriculum. A course on ethics, values, and justice, which could have provided clarity on the repercussions of planners' actions and would have helped assess proposals from the points of view of the marginal and excluded populations of a city, is also conspicuously missing. Sectoral knowledge that students could have learned on their own is being imparted, while courses that encourage critical thinking and should have actually been a part of the core courses have been left out. Adequate project planning and finance knowledge, which will be required if the graduates were to work in private consultancies, are also absent.

On the skills front, courses related to planning techniques, which are a part of the AICTE curriculum, deal with physical planning skills such as GIS, existing land use surveys, and statistics. Qualitative and participatory methods are not included even as electives. The other essential skills of negotiation, deliberation, consensus building, communication, role playing, and practical judgement are not mentioned at all in the curriculum. There is no course on research methods either for those who may wish to take up policy planning or urban studies as a career. It is presumed that the students would learn about data sources and their collection methods in practice through studios. For those who may find work with civil-society organisations and in community development also do not have courses to orient them to the tasks that lie ahead. In other words, even the skills imparted are for those who would work largely in the government sector, especially on the preparation of physical plans and project reports, without dealing with communities, stakeholders, clients, etc. Urban planning, as a profession, is therefore conceptualised only as a government activity, suggesting that there is not much to do for other actors in urban development—essentially, those who create as well as govern large parts of Indian cities in the absence of the state.

On the whole, the AICTE curriculum has a large set of courses to prepare technocratic, expert, top-down, and government planners for preparing the Master Plans, physical local plans, and project reports. There is higher emphasis on core courses, which means that the kind of 'professional' being created remains uniform. More electives would have created a 'diversified professional'. And by these parameters, the planning curriculum is largely unsuitable for the planning practice required of those who would also be involved in the planning and monitoring of projects and policies; working with communities; and, working as academics. Inclusion will happen in urban areas only when we have diversified professionals who are able to deal with all the contemporary challenges of a city.

When we compare the courses of the three institutions, there does not seem to be any identifiable pattern between them. Of the three institutions, the SPA (nearly wholly) and the GRD School of Planning (to some extent) have adhered to the AICTE-prescribed model curriculum. There has been some rejigging of the courses offered at GRD School of Planning. For example, the first semester usually begins with the Master Planning/city development exercise, wherein students are meant to work out detailed requirements of the area being studied, with respect to the formulation of goals, objectives, planning proposals (including zoning and phasing), and the implementation strategy—covering its organisational and financial

aspects. The students' exposure to basic knowledge about institutional mechanisms, governance, and municipal finance remain missing as these are either covered in later semesters or are offered as electives (in some cases), leaving the students unequipped when they start their first studio exercise. Keeping aside the argument of inclusiveness, there is also a need to restructure the curriculum so that there is coherence between theory and the studio exercises being offered within each semester. The syllabi need to be integrated vertically—with the studios being included in the higher semesters, as well as horizontally—with theory courses being offered in the same semester.

At present, the three schools are lagging behind when it comes to the interdisciplinary component, since the programmes' emphasis is still on physical planning. The curricula need to include subjects such as anthropology, political science, law, sociology, and the like. Since these are independent institutes, except the GRD School of Planning, they cannot fall back on the social science departments of the university (as these are not anchored within a university); these subjects have to be offered in the independent institute itself. New subjects such as gender, equity, inclusiveness, global issues, etc. are either missing from the core curriculum or are being offered as electives (that too, only in some cases). While research methodology has not been included in the AICTE curriculum, all three selected institutes offer this subject, mostly in the third semester, prior to the students' dissertation—usually, the programme's last semester is dedicated to dissertation. Community engagement through real-life projects is largely absent from both the curriculum and the method of pedagogy.

The Missing Notion of Inclusivity
'Inclusive planning' is a buzz phrase. It is an addendum on the curricula (made available as an elective in some institutions) only because it is a part of the AICTE curriculum. The need, however, is to move away from the existent comprehensive planning approach in order to be able to address wider urban development issues. There seems to be a misunderstanding that urban development issues are the domain of urban studies and not urban planning. The problem with the comprehensive approach of urban planning is that it is able to deal with greenfield developments, albeit to some extent, but is unable to address the development needs of brownfield sites, where people are already residing and working. For example, most Master Plans mark a boundary around their respective old cities. Most plans do not have an earmarking of areas for slum redevelopment as the assumption is that this scourge has to be eliminated and new housing constructed. Planning exercises in studios too, therefore, have become technocratic.

Lack of Innovativeness
A new challenge has come up for planning educators: with the profession being considered technocratic by the regulators of education at the national level—the model curriculum being designed by the AICTE committee—the argument has veered in support of privatisation of planning education like it has happened with other technical programmes. Except a few, all other institutes have now been asked to raise their own resources, forcing planning programmes to increase their fees. As a result, students, under the pressure to repay study loans, become risk-averse when weighing career options and choose to remain on the safe path of technocratic learning. This has adversely affected the already minimal innovativeness present in the content and pedagogy of planning programmes.

Since the duration of the Master's programme is two years, within which period many schools even teach the specialisation subjects, there is little time left for students to engage with real problems and obtain feedback on their proposed solutions from stakeholders. Easy access to the virtual world, thanks to constantly improving computer technology, has further alienated students from the real world, once again leading them to remain within the safe limits of technocratic approaches.

Besides, while there is a growing acknowledgement of the multiplicities in planning knowledge, which are either produced by independent researchers working in this domain, planning teachers, or by communities through everyday practices and negotiations, this diversity is largely missing from the syllabi of most planning schools. Another opportunity to explore these multiplicities comes through students' internships that are a part of the Master's programme. However, internships are usually perceived as a stepping stone to future employment opportunities, with conventional sectors such as real estate, private consultancies (finance and project-based), and mission-mode programmes being preferred by students over research institutions, community-based/non-governmental organisations, and ULBs. Thus, the students miss out on innovative experiences.

Diversity in Dissertation Topics

Inclusive and innovative content, however, does get addressed in the programme through dissertations of individual students. **Annexures 3** and **4** provide a comparative overview of postgraduate dissertation topics undertaken in the afore-mentioned three schools over the past five decades. **Annexure 3** segregates the dissertations by topic and their respective orientation to either physical planning or social science. All three institutes showcase a high degree of diversity, in terms of the dissertation topics, projecting an equal emphasis on physical planning as well as on social science. The dissertations are also contemporary—topics related to climate change, gender, poverty, inclusion, land tenure for the slum dwellers, the concerns of inclusive planning, etc. have also been taken up, although by a limited number of students. The selection of topics is as much a student's choice as it is of the respective guide. However, these diverse topics do not bear any link to the learning that happens in the studios! Students tend to take up the new topics in thesis to compensate for topics not taught in theory or in the studio.

In Conclusion

Urban planning education is now at a juncture where there is the realisation that employment opportunities are limited in the traditional discipline of 'utopian urban planning', whereas areas of urban development such as project planning and implementation (in housing, transport, and other infrastructure), urban governance, participatory processes, township planning, and even urban design projects are opening new doors. This realisation has led to the addition of subjects to the otherwise traditional physical-planning-based curricula. The new buzzword, 'inclusion', too has found space in the field, with it being an additional agenda. Not all planning schools have such diversity, except the earlier ones and independent institutions such as SPA and CEPT University.

As mentioned above, the new programmes have stopped using the loaded term 'planning', in a bid to move away from the term's legacy. The older programmes that continue using the term 'planning' are unable to move away from it, despite them beginning to deal with the larger as well as sectoral issues of urban development. The fact that urban planning as a discipline attached to the idea of land-related interventions has created informalities in cities is now accepted. That urban planning can play a role larger than it has so far has also been realised. But, for this larger role to actually materialise, some questions need to be answered—particularly for the sake of those institutes that have been offering urban planning programmes for a long time now: Should the legacy of the term be abandoned? Or, must the term be reinterpreted? Or, must the term be replaced by a new term with a wider definition? ◆

PART 7
TOWARDS INCLUSIVE URBAN PLANNING EDUCATION

Roy (2011, 11) has called "planning itself as a world-ing practice", by which she refers to comprehensive plans, i.e., the Master Plans/Development Plans that have been inherited from the British by Indian planners. We see a strong influence of the orthodox global planning approach, which is based on utopian ideas, and an anti-urbanism slant in the early Master Plans prepared in India. These ideas continue to find a place in plans even today in the form of segregation of land uses and private motor-vehicle-based mobility, although, in the last decade or so, mixed land (as against segregated land) uses and public transport and low-carbon mobility (as against personal motor vehicles) seem to have caught on. Cities continue to expand/change at a faster rate than the speed at which planners are able to collect data. Not only does data get outdated by the time the plans are prepared, but many city-level Master Plans have, in fact, been created in the absence of data.

Master Plans did not work because, in the beginning, in the socialist mode, it was envisaged that the state would make investments. However, this did not happen. There was no clarity on how lands would be utilised for the specific purpose that they had been earmarked for, especially those allocated to low-income or economically weaker sections' (EWS) housing. City-level projects became possible only after funds were made available through national-level programmes/projects/schemes/missions. In essence, as illustrated in **Figure 1**, urban planning stands for the functions shown in all three circles and its actual work happens at their intersections.

As mentioned earlier, there are now two approaches to Master Plans:

(1) The bureaucratic approach, which is based on rational planning (comprehensive planning approach), is largely regulatory and it assigns land uses and density to parcels of land;

(2) The market-based approach suggests that assignment of land uses and density to parcels of land happens through market decisions, while planners only provide infrastructure networks.

Both are top-down and technocratic approaches and they have no solutions for informalities. The two approaches are led by experts; but, as Roy (2011) noted, the neutrality of the experts or their definition of 'public' is questionable. For example, the market route, i.e., the neo-liberal route has often constructed 'public' based on the interest of the private sector, particularly real estate groups. In the bureaucratic planning route, 'public' was construed as legal citizens.

Nonetheless, the preparation of Master Plans as an academic exercise in the studio continues to dominate the urban planning education landscape. Moreover, the absence of large-scale data required for positivist planning has led to students addressing the issues identified through available data and not the other way round—collecting data required to capture Indian reality. The predominance of architects in the planning programmes as students and faculty has led to the focus on physical plans with utopian ideas, distanced from reality. However, as we see in the curricula, policy-/programme-/project-related courses (depicted through the second circle) were added to the syllabus that dealt with the physical planning (depicted through the first circle) (**Figure 1**), thus expanding its overall scope. However, the distinction between the making of

physical plans and the preparation of project proposals often remains independent of one another. Finally, courses pertaining to the third circle (governance and institutions), along with courses on political economy and politics, were added.

The curricula's focus has been on adding new courses without giving up on existing ones. Thus, the syllabus has become unwieldy, leading to the idea of a Bachelor's programme in planning and an integrated five-year-long Bachelor's and Master's programme in planning. In contrast, some schools such as CEPT University have gone back to dealing with the functions of only the first circle, limiting the definition of urban planning to physical plans. Sectoral plans such as in housing, transportation, and infrastructure do not come under 'planning'. On the other hand, institutions such as the IIHS have done away with the term 'planning' and instead call it a practice of intervening in urban space through any one of the three circles. The curriculum of IIHS not being known, it is not clear as to what kind of path it would chart for students or what type of road each student would lay out for herself/himself to walk on.

Urban planning education, as it stands now, offers no possibility for real inclusions in the planning curriculum. For responsiveness to the Indian urban reality, the following broad changes in the curricula are required:

(1) Firstly, the term 'planning' itself requires a redefinition that is supportive of the processes of urban transformation in general, rather than one that is technocratic.

(2) Urban planning, as a discipline, should diversify from just physical planning or preparing Master Plans, Regional Plans, and Local Plans to all other forms of planning such as policy planning, advocacy planning, community planning, legal planning, etc. Diversified programmes can be envisaged. The programme of each institute could be defined through the type and process of intervention sought. Each type

of intervention, be it based on policy, advocacy, or space, requires interdisciplinarity as well as inter-sectorality.

(3) A vital question is, 'Is it possible to offer all these options at an individual institution level?' The answer is 'yes'. Each institute can decide its specialisation with regard to the type of planners it wants to create, who can be trained as per the strength and skills of its faculty. They need not offer all options, but at least a few of them.

(4) The profession, that is the employment market, raises a need for planning graduates who are able to deal with multidisciplinarity of the practice. Planning education should have an inbuilt mechanism to introduce exercises in theory and in the studio/laboratory for challenging students to transcend disciplines and find answers to the problems posed.

(5) Academic programmes must take up the challenge of influencing the practice, rather than the case being the other way round. Privatisation has made education cater to the job market. Such an approach has also led to the displacement of courses for critical learning, while introducing and emphasising courses based on skill learning and presentation. Education programmes should influence the practice, especially in the case of inclusiveness, through changes in the knowledge content, skills, and pedagogy.

> (a) In the knowledge content, subjects encouraging critical learning should be introduced and all students must take up at least one such core subject.
>
> (b) Skills should not only include technical skills, but also communication, negotiation, mediation, role playing, etc.
>
> (c) Pedagogy should be such that it opens up scope for experiential learning and motivates students to take up live issues for interventions. It is important that students deal with the real world, i.e., they are encouraged to critically understand the real world and respond to it through proposed interventions.

(6) To be able to bring in inclusive agendas in the curricula, new knowledge and vocabulary are required. The academics in planning programmes need to generate suitable knowledge in the form of case studies that will help students to think of indigenised responses to local challenges.

(7) For the curricula to change, the accreditation mechanism for planning education needs to change too—from the 'one size fits all' approach to a more flexible or tailor-made one. The accreditation machinery should assess the rigour of the content and not just the contents per se. ◆

ANNEXURES

Annexure 1

Planning courses and institutions recognised by the ITPI (2018)

Sr. No.	School/Institution	Courses (Year of Recognition by the ITPI)
01	Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, West Bengal	1. Master's in City Planning (1955) 2. Master's in Regional Planning (1965)
02	School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi (Deemed University)	1. Master's in Planning – Housing (1985) 2. Master's in Planning – Transport Planning (1985) 3. Master's in Planning – Urban Planning (1987) 4. Master's in Planning – Regional Planning (1987) 5. Master's in Planning – Environmental Planning (1990) 6. Bachelor's in Planning (1989)
03	School of Architecture and Planning, Anna University, Chennai, Tamil Nadu	1. Master's in Town and Country Planning (1964)
04	Government College of Engineering, Pune, Maharashtra (Now Pune Institute of Engineering & Technology, Pune, Maharashtra)	1. MTech Town and Country Planning (1972) 2. BTech – Planning (2016)
05	Institute of Development Studies, University of Mysore, Mysuru, Karnataka	1. Master's in Urban and Regional Planning (1971)
06	Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology (CEPT) University, Ahmedabad, Gujarat	1. PG Diploma in Planning – Environmental (1972); now Master's in Environmental Planning 2. PG Diploma in Planning – Urban and Regional Planning (1972); now Master's in Urban & Regional Planning – Land Use Planning 3. PG Diploma in Housing (1989); now Master's in Urban & Regional Planning – Housing 4. Master's in Transport Planning and Management (2010); now Master's in Urban and Regional Planning – Transport Planning 5. Master's in Infrastructure Planning (2010); now Master's in Urban and Regional Planning – Infrastructure Planning 6. Master's in Planning – Industrial Area Planning and Management (IAPM) (2012) – Dropped 7. Master's in Rural Planning and Management (RPM) (2012) – Dropped 8. Bachelor's in Planning – 4-year course (2014); now Bachelor's in Urban Design – 5-year course
07	Guru Ram Dass School of Planning, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Punjab	1. Master's in City and Regional Planning (1972) changed to MTech – Urban Planning (1996) 2. BTech – Urban and Regional Planning (1991) 3. Master's in Planning – Infrastructure (2010)
08	IIT Roorkee, Uttarakhand	1. Master's in Urban and Rural Planning (1973)
09	Indian Institute of Engineering Science and Technology (IIEST), Shibpur University, Kolkata, West Bengal	1. Master's in Town and Regional Planning (1984)
10	Visvesvaraya National Institute of Technology, Nagpur, Maharashtra (Deemed University)	1. MTech – Urban Planning (1985)
11	School of Planning and Architecture, (a) Jawaharlal Nehru Technology University, Hyderabad (Telangana) (b) Jawaharlal Nehru Architecture and Fine Arts University (JNAFAU), Hyderabad (Telangana)	1. Master's in Urban and Regional Planning (1992) 2. Bachelor's in Planning (2000)
12	Maulana Azad National Institute of Technology, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh	1. Master's in Urban Development and Planning (1996)
13	Sardar Vallabhbhai National Institute of Technology, Surat, Gujarat	1. Master's in Town and Regional Planning (2005)
14	Arvindbhai Patel Institute of Environmental Design, Bhaikaka Centre for Human Settlement, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Anand, Gujarat	1. Master's in Urban Planning (2005)
15	College of Engineering, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala	1. Master's in Planning – Housing (2009)

Source: ITPI, 2017. Accessed June 19, 2018. http://www.itpi.org.in/uploads/pdfs/list-of-recognized-schools-or-institutions-upto-2017.pdf.

Annexure 1

Planning courses and institutions recognised by the ITPI (2018)

16	Malaviya National Institute of Technology, Jaipur, Rajasthan	1. Master's in Planning (2012)
17	School of Planning and Architecture, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh	1. Master's in Planning (2012) 2. Bachelor's in Planning (2012)
18	School of Planning and Architecture, Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh	1. Bachelor's in Planning (2013) 2. Master's in Urban and Regional Planning (2016) 3. Master's in Environmental Planning (2016)
19	Deenbandhu Chhotu Ram University of Science and Technology, Murthal, Sonepat, Haryana	1. Master's in Urban and Rural Planning – 2-year course (2013)
20	Birla Institute of Technology, Mesra, Ranchi, Jharkhand	1. Master's in Urban Planning – Town Planning (2013)
21	Institute of Town Planners, India, New Delhi	1. Associateship Examination (AITP) (1955)
22	The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, Gujarat	1. Master's in Urban and Regional Planning (2015)
23	Lovely Professional University, Phagwara, Punjab	1. Bachelor's in Planning (2016) 2. Master's in Planning – Urban Planning (2016)
24	Nirma University, Ahmedabad, Gujarat	Bachelor's in Planning (2017)
25	National Institute of Technology, Calicut, Kerela	Master's in Planning – Urban Planning (2017)
26	Guwahati College of Architecture and Planning	Master's in Urban and Regional Planning (2018)

Source: ITPI, 2017. Accessed June 19, 2018. http://www.itpi.org.in/uploads/pdfs/list-of-recognized-schools-or-institutions-upto-2017.pdf.

Annexure 2

Comparative table of the postgraduate curricula of the AICTE and the selected three planning schools

Urban Planning Curricula of the Selected Planning Schools			
AICTE, Model Curriculum (2012)	SPA, New Delhi	GRD School of Planning, GNDU, Amritsar (2016–2017)	FP, CEPT University, Ahmedabad (2016–2017)
Name of the Programme			
MPlan/ MTech (Planning) with a specialisation in Urban Planning	MPlan with a specialisation in Urban Planning*	MTech (Urban Planning)	Master's in Urban and Regional Planning (with major in Land Use Planning, Housing, Transport Planning, Environment Planning & Infrastructure Planning)
Course Structure			
(Semester I)			
Core Subjects			
Planning History and Theory	Planning History and Theory	Planning History and Theory	Economics
Socio-economic basis for Planning	Socio-economic basis for Planning	Principles of Planning	Quantitative and Analytical Tools
Planning Techniques	Planning Techniques	Housing	History of Urban Transformations
Infrastructure and Transport Planning	Infrastructure and Transport Planning	Transportation Planning	Area Planning Studio
Housing and Environmental Planning	Housing and Environmental Planning	Planning for Utilities and Services	
Planning Studio Course	Planning Studio Course	CAD and GIS	
Film Appreciation	Film Appreciation	Master Plan	
Literature Review	Literature Review		
Area Appreciation	Area Appreciation		
Site Planning	Site Planning		
Statutory Development Plan	City Development Plan		
Electives			
			GIS for Planners
			Understanding of Indian Society
			Introduction to Transport Planning
(Semester II)			
Core Subjects			
City and Metropolitan Planning	City and Metropolitan Planning	Urban Planning Legislation	Financing Urban Development
Infrastructure Planning	Infrastructure Planning	Techniques of Planning	Urban and Regional Economics
Urban Heritage Conservation	Sustainable Planning and Development	Urban Development Policies	Urban Land Use Planning and Legislations – I
Advanced Planning Techniques	Project Planning and Management	Transportation Planning	Land Use Theories and Debates
Urban Planning Studio – I	Studio	Site Planning	Fundamentals of Housing
Geo-Informatics – I	Geo-Informatics – I		Community Development and Housing
Development Plan	Statutory Development Plan		Introduction to Infrastructure Planning
			Infrastructure Subsystems
			Transportation Planning and Modeling
			Public Transport Planning
			Environment and Development
			Urban Environment Planning and Development
			Comprehensive Urban Development Studio

Annexure 2

Comparative table of the postgraduate curricula of the AICTE and the selected three planning schools

Electives**			
Inclusive Urban Planning	Urban Information System and Spatial Analysis	(A) Urban Heritage and Conservation	Disaster Management
Planning for Tourism	Land Use and Transport Planning	(A) Urban Transportation Systems	Environmental Infrastructure and Services
		(B) Landscape Planning	Settlements in Transition: Rural-Urban Interactions
		(B) Urban Design	Development Innovations
			Public-Private Partnership in Infrastructure Projects
			Advanced GIS
			Environmental Legislations and Management
			Appropriated Urban Spaces
			Local Economic Development
			Social and Environment Impact of Transport
			Real Estate and Finance
			Cities for People
			Primavera for Planners
			Street Design
			Negotiation and Consensus Building
			Settlement Geography
			Industrial Development and Urban Planning
			Theory of Urbanisation and Cities
			Planning Theory
			Cities, Climate Change, and SDGs
(Mandatory Training of six weeks after Semester II)	(Mandatory Training of six weeks after Semester II)	(Mandatory Training of eight weeks after Semester II)	(Office Training is not Mandatory)
(Semester III)			
Core Subjects			
Urban Development and Management	Urban Development Management and Governance	Urban Land Economics	Regional Planning and Development
Project Planning and Management	Development Finance	Urban Project Management	Research Methods
Urban Governance	Urban Risk and Disaster Management	Research Methodology in Urban Planning	Built Form and Regulations
Politics and Planning		Metropolitan Planning	Land Statutes and Land Economics
Urban Planning Studio – II	Urban Planning Studio – II	Detailed Project Report of Urban Project	Housing Program and Project Development and Evaluation
Geo-Informatics – II	Strategic Urban Infrastructure Plan	Replanning of an Area	Housing Finance and Real Estate
Management and Governance Plan	Thesis Research Seminar	Educational Tour	Infrastructure Project Finance and Appraisal
			Water and Sanitation
			Transport Economics and Finance
			Transport Infrastructure Planning and Design
			Environmental Law and Policy
			Environment Impact Assessment
			Specialisation Project Studio (DPR Preparation)
			Regional Planning Studio
			Urban Extension Planning and Design Studio

Annexure 2

Comparative table of the postgraduate curricula of the AICTE and the selected three planning schools

Electives			
Environment, Development, and Disaster Management	Community Planning and Participation	Planning for Climate Change	Rural Development
Energy, Climate Change, and Urban Development	Urban Design and Heritage	Environment Planning and Management	Environment and Quality of Life
	Inclusive Cities		Modeling Land Use and Transport
			Smart Cities
			Microsoft Project
			Transport Modeling – II
			Communication and Public Engagement
			Introduction to Transport Planning
			Environmental Modeling
			Industrial Area Planning
			Urban Development and Real Estate
			Streets and Urban Morphology
			Urban Politics and Governance
(Semester IV)			
Core Subjects			
Development Finance	Planning Legislation and Professional Practice	Thesis	Dissertation (Thesis/Directed Research Project)
Legal Issues and Professional Practice	Urban Development Policies	Educational Tour Viva Voce	
Thesis	Thesis		
Electives***			
	Climate-resilient Urban Development	(A) Urban-development Management	
		(A) Urban Governance and Finance	
		(B) Professional Practice	
		(B) Community Participation in Planning	
		(C) Planning for Tourism	
		(C) Planning for Disaster Management	
Notes: * SPA, Delhi, also has specialisations in Housing, Transport Planning, Environmental Planning, and Regional Planning. We have not reviewed their curricula. ** To select two elective courses, one each from (A) and (B). *** To select three elective courses, one each from (A), (B), and (C).			

Source: Compiled by the authors

Annexure 3

Thematic segregation of the thesis undertaken by students of the selected planning schools – Physical Planning vs Social Sciences

Decade	SPA, New Delhi		GRD School of Planning, GNDU, Amritsar		FP, CEPT University, Ahmedabad	
	Physical Planning	Social Sciences	Physical Planning	Social Sciences	Physical Planning	Social Sciences
1960–1970	• Built environment, built form • Commercial development • Conservation and redevelopment • Housing development • Housing for urban poor • Inclusive urban design • Industrial development • Infrastructure development • Land valuation • Outline Development Plan, Development Plan, Master Plan, etc. • Public open spaces • Regional planning and development • Rural development • Rural housing • Special Areas/SEZ • Tourism and recreation • Traffic and transportation • Urban design • Urban land management	• Disaster management and mitigation • Displacement, rehabilitation, and resettlement • Economic development • Education systems • Environment, pollution, and responses • Land tenure and upgradation of slums • Livelihoods and skills of the urban poor • Policies, programmes, and schemes • Tribal development • Urban governance • Urbanisation and urban development	Not available, since the school was established in 1972.		Not available, since the school was established in 1972.	
1970–1980	• Built environment, built form • Commercial development • Conservation and redevelopment • Development Plan, Master Plan, etc. • Housing development • Housing for urban poor • Industrial development • Public open spaces • Real estate development • Regional planning and development • Rural development • Special Areas/SEZ • Tourism and recreation • Traffic and transportation • Transport modelling • Urban design • Urban land management	• Agriculture development • Community development • Disaster management and mitigation • Displacement, rehabilitation, and resettlement • Economic development • Education systems • Energy sector, energy efficiency • Environment, pollution, and responses • Housing finance • Infrastructure development and financing • Livelihoods and skills of the urban poor • Participatory processes • Policies, programmes, and schemes • Tribal development • Urban governance • Urbanisation and urban development	• Conservation and redevelopment • Development Plan, Master Plan, etc. • Inclusive urban design • Industrial development • Infrastructure development and financing • Regional development and planning • Tourism and recreation • Traffic and transportation • Urban land management	• Land tenure and upgradation of slums • Project Proposal formulation, appraisal, monitoring, and evaluation • Urban governance	• Built environment, built form • Commercial development • Development Plan, Master Plan, etc. • GIS and remote sensing • Housing for urban poor • Industrial development • Public open spaces • Regional development and planning • Rural development • Tourism and recreation • Traffic and transportation • Urban land management	• Banking, credit needs, and indebtedness • Community development • Displacement, rehabilitation, and resettlement • Education systems • Energy sector, energy efficiency • Healthcare systems • Labour and migration • Land tenure and upgradation of slums • Municipal finance • Policies, programmes, and schemes • Poverty • Tribal development • Urban governance • Urban poverty • Urbanisation and urban development

Annexure 3

Thematic segregation of the thesis undertaken by students of the selected planning schools – Physical Planning vs Social Sciences

1980–1990	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1960–1970 and 1970–1980: • Infrastructure development and financing • Urban transportation • Gender studies and safety • Labour and migration • Municipal finance • Rental housing • Rural governance	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1960–1970 and 1970–1980: • Gender studies and safety • Labour and migration • Municipal finance • Rental housing • Rural governance	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decade 1970–1980: • Built environment, built form • Commercial development • Housing for urban poor • Public open spaces • Real estate development • Rural development	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decade 1970–1980: • Displacement, resettlement, and rehabilitation • Education systems • Policies, programmes, and schemes • Urbanisation and urban development	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decade 1970–1980: • Infrastructure development and financing • Real estate development • Special Areas/SEZ	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decade 1970–1980: • Disaster management and mitigation • Environment, pollution, and responses • Housing finance • Livelihoods and skills of the urban poor • Participatory processes • Rental housing • Urban mobility
1990–2000	Thematic areas as outlined in the decades 1960–1970, 1970–1980, and 1980–1990 were undertaken.	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1960–1970, 1970–1980, and 1980–1990: • Healthcare systems • Housing finance • Mobility/Urban mobility • Poverty/Urban poverty	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980 and 1980–1990: • Special Areas/SEZ	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980 and 1980–1990: • Economic development • Energy sector, energy efficiency • Environment, pollution, and responses • Healthcare systems • Urban mobility	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980 and 1980–1990: • Conservation and redevelopment • Industrial development	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980 and 1980–1990: • Agriculture development • Economic development • Gender studies and safety • Communication skills
2000–2010	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1960–1970, 1970–1980, 1980–1990, and 1990–2000: • Affordable housing • GIS and remote sensing • Urban planning and development • Urban transportation	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1960–1970, 1970–1980, 1980–1990, and 1990–2000: • Climate change • Housing for urban poor • Urban mobility	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980, 1980–1990, and 1990–2000: • Housing • Urban transportation	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980, 1980–1990, and 1990–2000: • Environment, pollution, and responses	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980, 1980–1990, and 1990–2000: • Inclusive urban design • Urban transportation	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980, 1980–1990, and 1990–2000: • Agriculture development • Climate change • Economic development • Rural development

Annexure 4

Comparative table of thesis topics taken up by students of the selected planning schools

Decade	SPA, New Delhi	GRD School of Planning, GNDU, Amritsar	FP, CEPT University, Ahmedabad
1960–1970	• Built environment, built form • Commercial development • Conservation and redevelopment • Disaster management and mitigation • Displacement, rehabilitation, and resettlement • Economic development • Education systems • Environment, pollution, and response • Housing development • Housing for urban poor • Inclusive urban design • Industrial development • Infrastructure development • Land tenure and upgradation of slums • Land valuation • Livelihoods and skills of the urban poor • Outline Development Plan, Development Plan, Master Plan, etc. • Policies, programmes, and schemes • Public open spaces • Regional planning and development • Rural development • Rural housing • Special Areas/SEZ • Tourism and recreation • Traffic and transportation • Tribal development • Urban design • Urban governance • Urban land management • Urbanisation and urban development	Not available, since the school was established in 1972.	Not available, since the school was established in 1972.
1970–1980	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decade 1960–1970: • Agricultural development • Community development • Development Plan, Master Plan, etc. • Energy sector, energy efficiency • Housing finance • Infrastructure development and financing • Participatory approaches • Real estate development • Transport modelling	• Conservation and redevelopment • Development Plan, Master Plan, etc. • Inclusive urban design • Industrial development • Infrastructure development and financing • Land tenure and upgradation of slums • Project/Proposal formulation, appraisal, monitoring, and evaluation • Regional development and planning • Tourism and recreation • Traffic and transportation • Urban governance • Urban land management	• Banking, credit needs, and indebtedness • Built environment, built form • Commercial development • Community development • Development Plan, Master Plan, etc. • Displacement, rehabilitation, and resettlement • Education systems • Energy sector, energy efficiency • GIS and remote sensing • Healthcare systems • Housing for urban poor • Industrial development • Labour and migration • Land tenure and upgradation of slums • Municipal finance • Policies, programmes, and schemes • Poverty • Project/Proposal formulation, appraisal, monitoring, and evaluation • Public open spaces • Regional development and planning • Rural development • Tourism and recreation • Traffic and transportation • Tribal development • Urban governance • Urban land management • Urban poverty • Urbanisation and urban development

Annexure 4

Comparative table of thesis topics taken up by students of the selected planning schools

1980–1990	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1960–1970 and 1970–1980: • Gender studies and safety • Labour and migration • Municipal finance • Project/Proposal formulation, appraisal, monitoring, and evaluation • Real estate development • Rental housing • Rural governance • Urban mobility • Urban transportation	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decade 1970–1980: • Built environment, built form • Commercial development • Displacement, resettlement, and rehabilitation • Education systems • Housing for urban poor • Policies, programmes, and schemes • Public open spaces • Real estate development • Rural development • Urbanisation and urban development	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decade 1970–1980: • Disaster management and mitigation • Environment, pollution, and responses • Housing finance • Infrastructure development and financing • Livelihoods and skills of the urban poor • Participatory processes • Real estate development • Rental housing • Special Areas/SEZ • Urban mobility
1990–2000	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1960–1970, 1970–1980, and 1980–1990: • GIS and remote sensing • Healthcare systems • Livelihoods and skills of the urban poor • Mobility • Poverty/Urban poverty	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980 and 1980–1990: • Economic development • Energy sector, energy efficiency • Environment, pollution, and responses • Healthcare systems • Special Areas/SEZ • Urban mobility	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980 and 1980–1990: • Agriculture development • Conservation and redevelopment • Economic development • Gender studies and safety • Communication skills • Urbanisation and urban development
2000–2010	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1960–1970, 1970–1980, 1980–1990, and 1990–2000: • Affordable housing • Banking, credit needs, and indebtedness • Climate change • Healthcare systems • Participatory approaches • Urban planning and development • Poverty/Urban poverty	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980, 1980–1990, and 1990–2000: • Housing • Urban transportation	Following themes were taken up in addition to those taken up in the decades 1970–1980, 1980–1990, and 1990–2000: • Climate change • Gender studies and safety • Inclusive urban design • Participatory processes • Urban transportation

Source: Compiled by the authors

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