

**URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING,
REGENERATION AND PUBLIC
PARTICIPATION: A COMPARISON
BETWEEN THE UK AND IRAN**

**A thesis submitted to Newcastle University (UK) in fulfilment of
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Planning**

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Abstract

Challenges facing local authorities for inner-city development and regeneration have been identified as a multi-faceted impetus which requires a comprehensive action plan. Government at both central and local level in the UK, with the help of academics, experiments and evolves its approaches in imposing development plans and revitalising urban neighbourhoods.

Creating this opportunity for local residents to be part of the planning procedure has found its place amongst local authorities, which in turn increases the level of regeneration achievements and capacity of institutions. However, Iran, as a country with newly established councils, is trying to bypass failure and emulate the success of other developed countries' experiences by adapting the latest planning theories, teaching its professionals Western-oriented theories and practices.

Although the dissimilarity of the Iranian urban planning context with others makes it unique and limits the extent of available choices of development and regeneration experiments, however, studying, analysing and learning from other countries' knowledge can help to expand skills and make decisions wisely. This research reviews the process of urban development and regeneration from theoretical to practical aspects at national, regional and local level within the UK and Iran by analysing their governance and institutional capacity. Institutional capacity of planning governance of both case studies will be evaluated and studied. Local residents, as the first and last elements subject to urban planning decisions and projects, are the link that is looked at throughout the research. Because of differences between two case studies, direct comparison is not possible. Each case is critically studied within its context, which has helped to draw lessons from their institutional. This is highlighted in the recommendations for Iran, alongside increased coordination and transparency of planning authorities.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Table of Figures	x
Abbreviations	xiv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 The Research Problem	2
1.2 Research Aims	2
1.3 The Comparison of the Two Case Study Cities.....	3
1.4 The Research Questions.....	5
1.5 The Organisation of the Study	7
Chapter 2: Conceptualising the Analytical Framework of the Research	10
2.1 Introduction.....	11
2.2 Background to the Urban Planning and Regeneration in the UK and Iran	12
2.3 Analytical Models of Planning	13
2.4 Dimensions of the Collaborative Planning and Institutional Approach.....	21
2.4.1 Communicative Rationality	22
2.4.2 Institutionalist Approach.....	24
2.4.3 Collaborative Planning	27
2.4.4 Institutional Capacity for Collaborative Planning	30
2.4.5 Citizen Participation	36
2.4.6 Deliberative Governance: an answer to the old problem.....	37
2.5 Using an Institutionalist and Collaborative Model in the UK and Iran	38
2.6 Conclusion	41
Chapter 3: Methodology	43
3.1 Introduction.....	44
3.2 Research Aims and the Relationship with the Research Problem	45

3.3	National Level Analysis.....	46
3.4	Case Studies	47
3.5	The Research Development Process	48
3.6	Case Study Selection	53
3.7	Methods for the Case Study Research	54
3.8	Sources of Information	58
3.9	Local Documents	59
3.10	Interviewing of Officers.....	60
3.11	Surveying the Project Area Population.....	62
3.12	Approaches to Analyse the Questionnaires and Interviews	64
Chapter 4: Development of English Urban Regeneration Initiatives.....		65
4.1	Introduction.....	66
4.2	Urban Changes in the UK.....	67
4.3	The Birth of the Concept of Urban Regeneration.....	69
4.4	Area-Based Regeneration	70
4.5	Urban Regeneration in the 1960s and 1970s	72
4.6	The Urban Programme.....	75
4.7	The Community Development Projects.....	78
4.8	Policy Development in the 1970s	82
4.9	Urban Regeneration in the 1980s.....	82
4.10	Urban Development Corporations (UDCs)	83
4.11	Urban Regeneration in the 1990s.....	86
4.12	City Challenge	88
4.13	Single Regeneration Budget	91
4.14	Regeneration Policy after 1997.....	95
4.15	Social Exclusion	95
4.16	New Deal for Communities	99
4.17	Urban Renaissance.....	101
4.18	Conclusion	106
Chapter 5: Urban Planning and the Art of Regeneration in Iran.....		111
5.1	Introduction.....	112
5.2	Urban Changes in Iran	112
5.3	General Background to the Urbanisation of Iran.....	115

5.4	Dimensions of Modern Urbanisation.....	117
5.5	Economic Activities in the Cities and their Impact on Urban Development	118
5.6	Mechanism of Urban Growth	120
5.7	Initial Regulatory Forces of Land for Urban Services.....	125
5.8	Urban Planning Evolution	128
5.9	Development of Urban Planning and Regeneration	135
5.10	Strategies for the Housing Sector.....	136
5.11	Housing Policy Impact on Urban Development	139
5.12	Local Government Functions.....	143
5.13	Urban Development Plan Process.....	147
5.14	Iran: A Centrally-dominated Planning System	152
5.15	Urban Spatial Planning	162
5.16	City Councils and the Notion of Participation.....	163
5.17	Decentralisation or Reorganisation?	166
5.18	Conclusion	169
Chapter 6: Approaches to the Regeneration of the City Core in Iran		171
6.1	Introduction.....	172
6.1.1	General Background to Urban Development in Iran	172
6.2	The Development of Ideas about Conservation and Regeneration	174
6.3	Reform in the Role and Policies of Institutions	178
6.4	Regeneration Organisations	185
6.5	The Ten-Year Practical Plan for Renovation and Regeneration of Old Urban Fabric	188
6.6	Gorgan Regeneration Project.....	194
6.7	Conclusion	195
Chapter 7: Manchester: Growth, Decline and Regeneration		197
7.1	Introduction.....	198
7.1.1	Ancient Manchester	199
7.1.2	The Birth of Modern Manchester	200
7.2	First Half of the 20th Century: Dispersal, Slum Clearance and Industrial Change	201

7.3	General Background to the City	204
7.4	The Strategic Planning Framework	206
7.5	Economic Development and Regeneration – The Move to an Entrepreneurial Approach.....	210
7.6	Central Manchester Development Corporation	212
7.7	Hulme City Challenge	214
7.8	Olympic Bid.....	216
7.9	City Pride	217
7.10	The IRA Bombing	218
7.11	City Development Guide	220
7.12	East Manchester	222
7.13	Conclusion	224
Chapter 8: Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester.....		
	Manchester.....	226
8.1	Introduction.....	227
8.2	The Initial Steps for Regeneration of Hulme.....	227
8.3	Hulme City Challenge	229
8.4	New East Manchester: Another Regeneration Challenge.....	232
8.5	Beswick Case Study.....	236
8.6	Institutional Capacity in the Hulme and East Manchester Regeneration Process	239
8.6.1	Knowledge Resources.....	239
8.6.1.1	Knowledge Resources and the Lessons of Hulme.....	240
8.6.2	The Development of Knowledge Resources in East Manchester	242
8.6.3	Developing Knowledge Resources in the Beswick Case Study.....	247
8.6.4	Knowledge Resources and the Public.....	252
8.7	Relational Resources and Regeneration Partners	255
8.7.1	Relational Resources and the Lessons of Hulme.....	255
8.7.2	Relational Resources of the East Manchester Regeneration Team	259
8.7.3	Relational Resources and the Public.....	263
8.8	Mobilisation Capacity.....	265

8.9	Conclusion	270
Chapter 9: Urban Development Planning in Sari.....		272
9.1	Introduction.....	273
9.2	The Geographical Situation	274
9.3	The General Historical Background of Sari	275
9.4	Modern City Structure and Activities	279
9.5	Forms of Development Plans.....	283
9.5.1	Sari City Master Plans	286
9.5.2	Sari Old Area Comprehensive Plan	288
9.6	Institutional Capacity in Sari's Development and Regeneration Process	291
9.7	Knowledge Resources.....	292
9.7.1	Knowledge Resources in City Master Plans.....	292
9.7.2	Knowledge Resources in the Old Area Comprehensive Plan...	300
9.7.3	Stakeholder Knowledge Resources	307
9.8	Relational Resources and Regeneration Partnerships.....	313
9.8.1	Key Actors' Relations for Development Plans.....	313
9.8.2	Key Actors Relations for the Old Area Comprehensive Plan...	315
9.8.3	Views on Relational Resources of the Sari Regeneration Team	320
9.9	Mobilisation Capacity.....	324
9.9.1	Mobilisation Resources and the City Development Plan	326
9.9.2	Mobilisation Resources and the Old Area Comprehensive Plan	328
9.9.3	Promoting Mobilisation Capacity: The Example of Extending Khayam Street	330
9.10	Conclusion	333
Chapter 10: Conclusions and Recommendations.....		335
10.1	Introduction.....	336
10.2	Use of the Institutional Analytical Approach	337
10.3	Key Facts of the Urban Planning in the UK and Iran.....	340
10.4	How the Collaborative Planning Results Work	345
10.5	Urban Governance in the UK and Manchester	349

10.5.1	Policy Development at National Level.....	349
10.5.2	Policy Development at Local Level.....	350
10.6	Knowledge Resources.....	353
10.7	Relational Resources.....	356
10.8	Mobilisation Capacity.....	357
10.9	Urban Governance in Iran and Sari	360
10.9.1	Urban Development at National Level	361
10.9.2	Urban Development at Local Level.....	362
10.10	Knowledge Resources.....	363
10.11	Relational Resources.....	365
10.12	Mobilisation Capacity.....	366
10.13	Similarities and Differences in the Planning Systems of the UK and Iran	369
10.14	Recommendations.....	374
10.14.1	Improvement of Knowledge Resources.....	376
10.14.2	Improvement of Relational Resources.....	378
10.14.3	Improvement of Mobilisation Resources.....	381
Appendices.....		384
Appendix 1: Questionnaire prepared for local residents.....		385
Appendix 2: The New East Manchester Steering Group.....		387
Appendix 3: Questionnaire distributed by council in the East Manchester area		388
Appendix 4: Description of detailed information needed for comprehensive plans		390
Appendix 5: Proposal framework for old area of Sari’s comprehensive plan.....		393
Appendix 6: Questionnaire for urban professionals who work with local authorities.....		396
Appendix 7: Questionnaire produced for engineering consultants who work with local authorities.....		401
Bibliography.....		404

Table of Figures

Figures

Figure 1–1: The organisation of the research.....	2
Figure 2–1: The process of discussion	2
Figure 2–2: Social learning process (Innes and Booher, 2003, p.45)	2
Figure 2–3: Arnstein’s ladder of public participation (Arnstein, 1969, p.216).....	2
Figure 3–1: Analytical arena of the research	2
Figure 3–2: The research problem and its objectives.....	2
Figure 3–3: Case study chart (Healey, 2003).....	2
Figure 8–1: Stakeholders’ analysis of the participants in the East Manchester regeneration	2
Figure 8–2: Learning pattern of East Manchester regeneration.....	2
Figure 8–3: Core objectives of regeneration in East Manchester (MCC, 2008, p.22).....	2
Figure 8–4: Partial outline of groups active in Hulme regeneration (Carley, 1995, p.52).....	2
Figure 8–5: Network morphologies around East Manchester.....	2
Figure 8–6: The mobilisation trajectory of Hulme regeneration	2
Figure 9–1: Process of planning.....	2
Figure 9–2: Network of dynamic in the Iranian planning process.....	2
Figure 9–3: Network morphologies around the Sari Old Area Comprehensive Plan.....	2
Figure 9–4: Relations between stakeholders.....	2
Figure 10–1: Comparison of institutional capacity in the UK and Iran.....	2
Figure 10–2: Key facts of UK urban development	2
Figure 10–3: Key facts of Iranian urban development.....	2
Figure 10–4: Degree of citizen empowerment: comparison of the UK and Iran...2	2

Graphs

Graph 8–1: The level of participation based on the survey	2
Graph 9–1: Question 1 of research questionnaire, 2008.....	2
Graph 9–2: Question 2 of research questionnaire, 2008.....	2

Maps

Map 5–1: Geographical map of Iran (www.parstimes.com/images/iran_pol_2001.jpg).....	2
Map 7–1: Site of Roman fort at ancient Manchester (PETCH, 1952).....	2
Map 8–1: Beswick Ordnance Survey map (NEM, 2002)	2
Map 8–2: Manxchester Regeneration Framework (MCC, 2008)	2
Map 8–3: Regeneration Plan of Beswick (MCC, 2008)	2
Map 9–1: Map of ancient Iran, CE 224-640 including provincial centres (Eslami, 1995, p.23).....	2
Map 9–2: Old gates of the city (Abr Dasht Consultant Engineers, 2002, p.145) ..	2
Map 9–3: Sari Master Plan: proposed land-use plan (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1995, p.104)	2
Map 9–4: Residential density map of Sari, Sari Master Plan (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1995)	2
Map 9–5: Sari’s Old Area Comprehensive Plan (Abr Dasht Engineering Consultants, 2002, p.125)	2

Pictures

Picture 8–1: New housing development, Beswick regeneration (MCC, 2008).....	2
Picture 9–1: A view of traditional agricultural land, outskirts of Sari (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1999).....	2
Picture 9–2: Sari’s partially covered bazaar route (Abr Dasht Consultant Engineers, 2002, p.76).....	2
Picture 9–3: Abanbar-e-no Street, up to some decades ago; new buildings (foreground) confronting the old urban context (background) (Abr Dasht Consultant Engineers, 2002, p.90)	2
Picture 9–4: The Clock Tower, Sari city centre (Author, 2002).....	2

Tables

Table 2–1: Dimensions of governance (Healey, 2003, p.93).....	2
Table 2–2: Dimensions of institutional capacity building (Healey, 2006, p.93) ...	2
Table 2–3: Discourses (Innes and Booher, 2003, p.39)	2

Table 3–1: The relationship between subjects and methodology of chapters.....	2
Table 3–2: Details of those interviewed in Sari and Manchester in 2008	2
Table 4–1: The evolution of urban regeneration (Roberts and Sykes, 2000, p.14)	2
Table 4–2: Analysing levels of governance of Urban Programme initiative.....	2
Table 4–3: Analysis of levels of governance of Community Development Projects	2
Table 4–4: Dimensions of governance of Urban Development Corporations.....	2
Table 4–5: Dimensions of governance of City Challenge	2
Table 4–6: Dimensions of governance of Single Regeneration Budget	2
Table 4–7: Dimensions of governance of Social Exclusion	2
Table 4–8: Dimensions of governance of New Deal for Communities.....	2
Table 4–9: Dimensions of governance of Urban Renaissance.....	2
Table 4–10: Comparison of governance dimensions of some UK urban regeneration initiatives	2
Table 5–1: Employment structure in Iran (1956-1976) (SCI, 1976, p.35; 1982, p.94).....	2
Table 5–2: Urban and rural populations and their annual growth rates (MHUD, 1995).....	2
Table 5–3: Process of producing urban development plans (Karimi,1998, p.34; Pakdaman, 2001, p.41; President’s Deputy for Strategic Planning and Control, 2006; Rafiee, 2001)	2
Table 5–4: Local government functions (Pakdaman, 2001)	2
Table 5–5: Dimensions of governance in Iran	2
Table 6–1: Analysing levels of governance of the recent reform in planning strategy	2
Table 6–2: Analysing levels of governance of Bafte Masaledar Shahr	2
Table 6–3: Total cost of implementing the Ten Year Plan (HUDO, 2006, p.12)..	2
Table 6–4: Analysing levels of governance of the Ten Year Practical Plan for Regeneration of Old Fabric	2
Table 6–5: The area of proposed use in the Aftab Project in Gorgan (UDRC, 2007, p.2).....	2
Table 7–1: Chronology of major plans for Manchester	2
Table 7–2: Metropolitan Manchester’s population (Williams, 2003, p.54).....	2

Table 7–3: Formal government structure in Manchester (1974-2008)	2
Table 7–1: Policy objectives of the Unitary Development Plan, Manchester UDP Consultation Draft (MCC, 1995; Williams, 1996, p.208).....	2
Table 8–1: Manchester case study outlines.....	2
Table 9–1: Formal government structure in Sari	2
Table 9–2: Percentage of uses of land in the city (MHUD, 1999, p.33).....	2
Table 9–3: The chronology of the evolution of Sari’s planning	2
Table 9–4: Calculation of Sari’s population according to the First Master Plan (Amco Consultants, 1976).....	2
Table 9–5: Population growth based on the country’s censuses.....	2
Table 9–6: Details of permitted building density in different areas of the city (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1995, p.134).....	294
Table 9–7: The second Sari master plan's proposed per capita and percentage of achievement (Tarh and Amayesh Consultant, 1995 in Pakdaman, 2000, p. 103).....	298
Table 9–8: Sari’s old city population in comparison with the rest of the city (CPOPS, 2002, p.43)	2
Table 9–9: The population age group within the Old Area (CPOPS, 2002, p.49).2	
Table 9–10: Use of buildings in the old fabric of the city (CPOPS, 2002, p.35)...2	
Table 9–11: Property prices on some of the main roads of the city centre (CPOPS, 2002, p.54)	2
Table 9–12: How people are willing to participate in the project.....	2
Table 10–1: Similarities and differences: evaluating two countries and two cities (UK/ Manchester, Iran/Sari).....	2
Table 10–2: Recommendations to enhance institutional capacity.....	2

Abbreviations

ABIs	Area-Based Initiatives
BNP	Beswick Neighbourhood Plan
CABE	Commission for Architecture and Built Environment
CBI	Central Bank of Iran
CDG	City Development Guide
CDPs	Community Development Projects
CMDC	Central Manchester Development Corporation
CPS	Comprehensive Plan of Sari
CPOPS	Comprehensive Plan of Old Part of Sari
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government (UK)
DETR	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (UK)
DTLR	Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions (UK)
DoE	Department of the Environment (UK)
EMLIS	East Manchester Landlord Information Service
EMSRF	East Manchester Strategic Regeneration Framework
FYDP	Five-Year Development Plan (Iran)
GDM	Guide to Development in Manchester
GMC	Greater Manchester Council
GMPTE	Greater Manchester Passenger Transport Executive
GMSP	Greater Manchester Structure Plan
GNP	Gross National Product
GORs	Government Offices for the Regions (UK)
HCAUD	High Council of Architecture and Urban Development (Iran)
HCHL	Hulme Community Homes Limited
HDCC	Housing Development and Construction Company
HDG	Hulme Development Guide
HMR	Housing Market Renewal
HRL	Hulme Regeneration Limited
HTPP	Hulme Tenant Participation Project
HUDO	Housing and Urban Development Organisation (Iran)
ICHO	Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation
ICHTO	Iran Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organisation
IU	Information and Intelligence Unit
IMD	Index of Multiple Deprivation
LA21	Local Agenda 21
LDDC	London Docklands Development Corporation
LGPLA	Local Government and Planning and Local Act
MCC	Manchester City Council
MCS	Manchester Community Strategy
MHLG	Ministry of Housing and Local Government (UK)
MHUD	Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (Iran)
MIDA	Manchester Investment and Development Agency
MIDAS	Manchester Investment and Development Advisory Service
MLSP	Manchester Local Strategic Partnership
MML	Manchester Millennium Ltd

MOI	Ministry of the Interior (Iran)
MPO	Management and Planning Organisation (Iran)
MPUDHC	Mazandaran Province Urban Development and Housing Company
NDC	New Deal for Communities (UK)
NEM	New East Manchester
NEML	New East Manchester Ltd
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NHTO	National Heritage and Tourism Organisation (Iran)
NSNR	National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (UK)
PBO	Planning and Budget Organisation (Iran)
PDPC	Provincial Development Planning Council (Iran)
SCI	Statistical Centre of Iran
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit (UK)
SMUDRC	Special Mother Urban Development and Revitalization Company (Iran)
SNAP	Shelter Neighbourhood Action Project
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget
TPHC	Town Planning High Council (Iran)
UDCs	Urban Development Corporations
UDG	Urban Development Grant
UDP	Unitary Development Plan
UDRC	Urban Development and Revitalisation Company (Iran)
UDRO	Urban Development and Revitalisation Organisation (Iran)
ULDO	Urban Land Development Organisation (Iran)
ULO	Urban Land Organisation (Iran)
UNDP	Urban National Development Plan
URBED	Urbanism, Environment and Design
UTF	Urban Task Force (UK)
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Research Problem

Iran, like many countries, has been using imported planning theories and government structures to deal with modern urban development. This is valuable in providing solutions for urban issues. However, the shortcomings of development plans, government structure and practical approaches have raised concerns, and put valuable inner-city areas on the edge of decline. The problem exists in dimensions of governance which do not allow diversity and enrichment of the institutional capacity system from the early stages of decision-making to the later stages of providing services. The causes of the problem can vary, but the focus of this research is on the nature of urban development planning. Based on my personal academic and practical experience, the problem exists within the structure of the planning process. It runs through from the very top level of government, as the main body which approves the strategic framework, to the lowest level of city management, the city council and other local organisations that work closely at a neighbourhood level. The thesis is more concerned with two main issues which are important for improving the planning system in Iran: the nature of integration between actions of government agencies and of individual people, and communication and collaboration between agencies within the government bureaucratic system, and between agencies and the public.

1.2 Research Aims

Promoting the quality of urban planning through collaborative governance is the aim of this research. This will be achieved through looking at different challenges and experiences for achieving sustainability in the social, physical and managerial dimensions. The thesis has two parts. Firstly, there will be a review of urban regeneration policies in the UK and the process of the development of planning in Iran, focusing on the philosophy of regeneration theories by using dimensions of governance on specific cases, governance processes through which bias is mobilised, and governance culture. It will continue in the second part by examining the collaborative planning and

dimensions of institutional capacity through the case study example of Manchester, which is included as one of the most important and successful examples of urban regeneration. The same framework will then be considered in the circumstances of Iran and the case study city of Sari.

The aims of the following study are:

- To discover the weaknesses of local authorities' planning and management structures in theory and practice;
- To develop a conceptual understanding of the governance process of networking, public consultation, discourses and practice;
- To discuss how the urban government mobilisation capacity is developed in the UK and Iran;
- To investigate public participation methods in the city planning process;
- To learn from the UK's experiences in regeneration;
- To highlight advances and develop lessons which are adaptable for the Iranian context.

1.3 The Comparison of the Two Case Study Cities

Institutional adaptation implies a broad range of challenges. It starts with the dynamic process of urban governance "where competencies and responsibilities are continuously transformed or added to the tasks of local authorities and their partners in urban management" (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), 2003, p.2). It is committed to improving the quality of the urban environment and management tools, and raising the standards of life (Edwards and Turrent, 2000). These prevailing guidelines are interpreted differently due to the conditions of each context, particularly for a comparative study. There are disparities in the political, social and overall economic statuses of the two countries, leading to dissimilarities in urban policy and management. For example, the very recent commencement of city council involvement in the urban management structure of Iran is a huge difference

compared with the well-developed arrangement of local government in the UK. Another example is the sociological institutionalism approach in urban planning in the UK, which challenges even the contemporary local government structure, and is aiming to climb up the ladder of citizens' empowerment (see Figure 2–3) from consultation to participation; whilst Iranian urban planning is moving towards more integrated and strategic policies and the building up of networks of relations and institutions. The differences in the general policymaking method of urban development plans between Iran and the UK – for instance, the important role of consultancy companies and lack of flexible strategic framework in Iran – makes applying lessons from the UK experience harder. However, identifying major factors in urban development policy will help to understand the influences which lead towards decline, and to illustrate residents' desires. In other words, collaborative planning covers various areas and its implication requires an integrated approach.

Manchester, like many other UK cities, has undergone substantial regeneration projects to recover from post-industrial decline. Hulme and East Manchester are two examples of where urban regeneration and planning have tried to make changes in the physical conditions, social, economic and employment features, and in the neighbourhood environment quality of the area. To do so, a variety of organisations work in partnership with each other in order to fulfil the final goal, which is a new and community-oriented governance of the area. Integration, teamworking, risk-taking, using the private sector, voluntary groups and other forms of community representation are amongst the methods used. Although the complexity of the slum areas requires a multi-agency approach, the creation of connections between them, in order to minimise contradictions in their differences and exploit the best use of their knowledge in illuminating problems of rundown neighbourhoods, is the technique that is implemented by local authorities, especially the city council in Manchester. Central government is the other main role-player in this process by providing guidelines, initiating a flexible framework and funding urban development projects.

In the case of Iran, Sari is a typical city in an era of fast growth and considerable changes in its spatial environment. Extensive housing activities within and around the urban boundary of Sari is the first impression of any new arrival visiting the city. The agriculture-based economy of the city has caused many private investors to invest in housing development in the peripheral areas, and pay less attention to the city centre – where stricter planning regulations apply. The city council planning policy has a negative impact on the central area, causing social and physical degeneration at the economic heart of the city. The attitude towards urban development plans needs to move from the single-issue approach to a more integrated and multi-dimensional approach. However, the question is how. The research questions highlight the fundamental issues in the field of urban planning in Iran.

1.4 The Research Questions

The study begins with the concept questions and an emphasis on the opening issues of the study which are relevant to urban regeneration, to the dimensions of governance under the criteria of a collaborative and integrated planning approach, and to the role of the people. The concept questions lead to the research questions, which are developed from the literature review in interaction with the case studies. This research looks for answers, from within the research literature, regarding the relationship between local residents, local authorities, regeneration plans and urban governance, and also to seek to highlight any ambiguities concerning these areas within the literature.

The aim of the research is to answer the following question:

How can the quality of urban development planning in Iran be improved by greater emphasis on building the institutional capacity for collaborative and more participative governance?

In order to answer the main question, the research has to construct the literature review as a chronological and analytical study of urban planning theories and governance in a transformative era. This will consequently raise sub-questions which look for a detailed answer to the specific episodes of policy and planning in the empirical examples. The sub-questions are:

- What are the conceptual frameworks of regeneration initiatives?
- What are the challenges of a collaborative approach, at the government and community levels, in theory and practice?
- What are the key challenges and experiences of urban regeneration governance in the UK and the selected case study?
- What are the key problems in the Iranian planning system, how does it develop and what is its governance structure?
- How important is the role of a collaborative planning approach and how do the regeneration authorities develop their institutional capacity in a real case study from the UK?
- Where does the general public stand in the UK process?
- Does the term governance have any meaning in the Iranian planning system in a specific case study?
- How do the institutions and public interact in the case study from Iran?
- Where does the general public stand in the Iran process?
- Is there any transferable lesson to enhance collaborative planning in Iran?

The research aim is to study, evaluate and analyse the current appropriate and effective methods in institutional evolution and planning governance within the two contexts, with special focus on collaboration amongst planning authorities themselves and with the stakeholders within the process of decision-making and practice.

1.5 The Organisation of the Study

In order to fulfil the aims of the research, and find proper answers to the questions, this study uses a qualitative research method in an institutionalism approach criteria as the basis for gathering information and analytically reviewing the urban planning process of the two case studies.

The research begins with the conceptual chapter (Chapter 2). This explores a range of analytical models of planning, looking at different types of rationality in the planning process and the relationship between planning and the community. This identifies the collaborative planning as the most useful approach for the study of planning and regeneration in Iran and the UK. This conceptual framework forms the guidelines of research development, through the literature review and case study information and data.

The methodology is then be described and analysed in Chapter 3. It is based on two main categories of data. First is a literature-based study which is derived from secondary sources and documents, allowing a review of regeneration policies and practices in the last few decades to be described and analysed within the dimensions of governance criteria. In this way, the literature review will not only be a review of available written materials, but will be part of the flow of the research analytical process, which studies, evaluates and compares the planning theory literature of the two countries. Second is the data collected during the fieldwork and by questionnaires, which has more focus on the capacity of institutions at local level.

Unlike many other PhD theses, this research sees and uses government and academic literature in the area of regeneration as part of a study which not only fulfils function of a literature review, but enriches the comparison of the theoretical part of the research. In other words, it is not only fieldwork which plays a role in the structure and process of lesson learning in this research. The author is aiming to look at both literature (secondary sources) and case study

work (primary sources) of the two countries, and to gain a balanced development of the theory and practice.

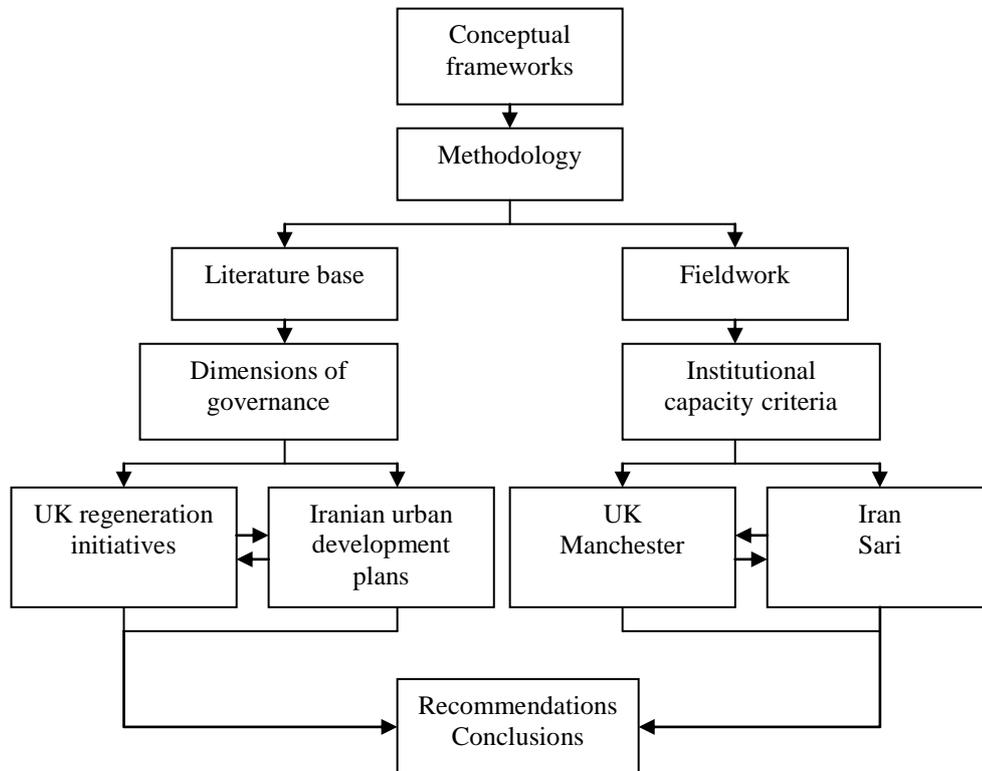


Figure 1–1: The organisation of the research

After conceptualising the analytical tool of the research, in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, (which are mainly based on the literature review), the national trend of urban development policy, with special focus on regeneration initiatives, will be studied in the UK (Chapter 4) and in Iran (Chapters 5 and 6). This will give a picture of central government policies and the impact of these strategies on local planning procedures.

Manchester and Sari have been chosen as ‘instrumental’ case studies providing typical example of regeneration and planning in non-capital cities in the UK and Iran

Manchester is regarded as a good example of the UK practice of urban regeneration. In Chapters 7 and 8 the details of Manchester’s regeneration project in Hulme will be presented as an example of a successful 1990s council integrated management process, followed by a review of the strategic regeneration framework of East Manchester. In doing so, the institutional

capacity of each case study will be evaluated under its three main categories of knowledge resources, relational resources and mobilisation capacity. Chapter 9 is all about Sari in Iran, which again is a detail local example of Iranian planning system, its urban planning mechanism and the authorities in charge of urban services, and the result of primary field work on the extent of participation from the public's point of view. Again this will be analysed using the three categories of institutional capacity. Chapter 10, the concluding part, will highlight the main points of the research and the lessons that can be drawn out from case study experiences.

Chapter 2: Conceptualising the Analytical Framework of the Research

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to identify the general conceptual elements of the research. It is necessary to utilise planning theories which shape the most recent regeneration policies and practices. It is conceptual as it is derived from academic and research ideology, which influences and directs planning initiatives; yet it is general because there is no specific theory which underpins regeneration frameworks from all aspects. It is valuable in itself as it expands the researcher's understanding of the theories behind regeneration plans, and at the same time it provides a framework to study and analyse the literature review and empirical material. Identifying and analysing these appropriate tools are the foremost aims of this chapter. However, in a fast-changing world of theoretical and spatial features, finding a thorough answer is difficult and almost impossible.

The research question focuses on the challenges institutions face in developing inclusive and participatory planning governance; therefore, adapting the most relevant contemporary research theory is useful. Having the research question in mind, the literature review supports the key questions of this research. Based on the context of the literature review, and in support of the aims of the research, the case study discussions will answer these questions:

- What are the challenges of a collaborative approach, at the government and community levels, in theory and practice?
- How important is the role of a collaborative planning approach and how do the regeneration authorities develop their institutional capacity in a real case study from the UK?
- Where does the general public stand in the UK process?
- Does the term governance have any meaning in the Iranian planning system in a specific case study?
- Where does the general public stand in the Iran process?

This chapter starts by looking at some models of planning which are related to social, economic and physical strategies that have influenced planners for the last few decades. It then looks in detail at the institutionalist approach that was developed by Healey and other scholars which will be used as the main theory for analysing the case studies.

2.2 Background to the Urban Planning and Regeneration in the UK and Iran

The aim of this section is to review the background of urban regeneration policies in the two countries, in order to understand various urban initiatives and extract the lessons learned.

The UK government has developed a comprehensive and integrated policy and approach within the planning system, following nearly five decades of revitalisation and regeneration practices in UK cities. The nature of urban decline, which left many inner-city areas with unpopular old housing and rundown industries, was accompanied by social, economic, cultural and employment problems. This pushed the British government to develop a variety of regeneration initiatives. Various regeneration agencies and organisations were formed over time; their functions and major aims are discussed and critically reviewed later on in Chapter 4. Central government has been the main engine for providing frameworks and controlling general regeneration policies. However, local authorities, who are at the heart of local decision-making processes, play the practical role of developing plans and projects. These plans, to a large extent, and especially after 1990, are prepared according to local needs and tailored for local people. Regeneration authorities are the main arms of project implementation, and they usually work in partnership with local agencies, the private sector and local communities.

The portrait of Iranian planning contrasts with this because of the nature of the urban problem and the stage at which the country stands. The extent of

specialist regeneration policies and planning is not anywhere near the level of the UK's; partly because of the rapid population growth and inward migration which leads to the construction of new buildings on green fields, and partly due to the weakness of the culture of revitalisation, and the failure of the government to recognise this as a priority.

2.3 Analytical Models of Planning

Planning relies upon a number of models¹ working together in very different fields. The basic question of how power is exercised provides us with an initial understanding of the opportunities available in order to incorporate an explicit power strategy into planning (Albrechts, 2003). Studying the most recent planning theories for their practical experience is a good start in putting forward a selected model for addressing the research questions.

Although some of the past planning theories failed to address urban issues in certain aspects (some of the relevant ones will be discussed in the following paragraphs), many of them managed to deal with a specific situation at a particular point in time. Generally speaking, planning policies are conceived through time, based on the constitution of each country, whilst taking into account social, economic and cultural constraints. Sandercock (1998a) believes planning theories also have to be context-dependent. In a democratic society such as the UK, it is more a matter of improving the decision-making processes and management systems. In a centralised system such as the Iranian case, the degree of improvement is far more in-depth and should happen at every level of governance. This does not mean that different planning theories have to be used for different contexts, but the context has to be considered and will affect the way the theory is used. This will be discussed for the UK and Iran later in the chapter.

¹ Planning models, which is a synonym for planning theories in this research, are derived from different social contexts, economic conditions, political and ideological backgrounds.

Within the relevant chapters (4, 5 and 6), the literature review will explore various strategic planning policies, the main actors, settings, networks and coalitions, and the cultural values of the UK and Iranian urban planning context. This is the foundation of the following chapters which will look at the case studies in detail to understand their institutional power. Before explaining and analysing the selected theory of this research, it is beneficial to briefly review and evaluate some of the relevant theories and models of planning.

The Rational Comprehensive Model: This post-Second World War model has an underlying faith in rational methods in the characteristics of public life: rational because it believes in setting goals and objectives, examining alternatives to achieve these goals, forecasting the outcome of the actions in that specific context, analysing consequences based on certain set of goals and selecting the best approach with possible best result (Camhis, 1979). By doing so, it follows a rational scientific method that tries to satisfy all the goals, general public interest and future consequences. It believes in state intervention in the market and spontaneous social processes without recommending proper societal conduct (Sandercock, 1998a). In this model, planners try to coordinate more specialised and narrowly defined activities, as well as relying on their professional experience and knowledge. It offers logical and clear rules for the planners to study both alternatives and consequences, and to propose professional legitimacy with a “paradigm of rational resource allocation” (*ibida*, p.32). This is an advantage from the academic or government point of view. It believes in giving power to those who have knowledge about it. Therefore, planning authorities can make decisions without needing to involve members of the public and other stakeholders. However, in this method, planners do not necessarily investigate different social classes. It is comprehensive in giving equal attention to the options and evaluating them fairly. But as Sandercock (1998b) and Hudson (1979) discuss, this theory’s focus is on having a coherent decision-making approach.

The theory faces critiques due to the deficiency of democratic opportunities in practice. The critics stress that the top-down system as well as

the dilemmas inherent from instrumental rationality are still present. It can not be an ideal conceptual theory for the research question and the Iranian planning deficiency. It partly reflects the present scenario (in that it gives autonomy to the professionals and official government authorities to make decisions in the form of development plans), but lacks comprehensiveness and inclusiveness in terms of identifying the problem or the management required for the particular case (within the Iranian context).

The Advocacy Planning Model: In the article entitled ‘Advocacy and Pluralism’ written by Davidoff in 1965, it is suggested that the Rational Model of Planning could not express dissenting opinion, and planners should suggest several plans which have different values and interests. In the advocacy model, planners are recommended to address the needs of poor and deprived neighbourhoods, explore requirements and make their plan based on consideration of their interests.

This model goes far enough to encourage planners to move from land-use and physical planning to the social and economic planning, but it has its deficiencies. One is in identifying the real poor, representing them and turning decisions into a practical plan. Many critics point out the fact that planners are not working with the really poor wards (Campbell and Fainstein, 2003; Heskin, 1980). A different criticism is that hearing the voice of the poor, or those who have never been part of the process, is necessary, but does not make the plan and planning process inclusive. The capacity of various stakeholders should be promoted equally, which is not part of this theory. A third point is that in this theory, planners are encouraged to become representatives of disadvantaged people, rather than promoting the active involvement of the poor from the very early stages of planning to practice. There are planners (Grabow and Heskin, 1973; Faludi, 1973; Clavel et al., 1980) who believe that this model is about representing the poor in a planning process, rather than giving them a voice (*ibid*).

The Equity Planning Theory: The original idea of this theory is inspired from the Advocacy model, and it aims to encourage more engagement by politicians and further development of traditions. The aim is to make a stronger connection between planners and government (at all levels that include politicians) to make the best use of their research, knowledge, influence and opinion. It also aims to distribute the benefits of planning, investment and revitalisation amongst all social classes. These are some interesting attempts to make a stronger connection between stakeholders, policies and the inclusiveness of the plans.

Its founders (including Norman Krumholz, 1982) seek to attribute power, resources and opportunities to poorer areas and low classes (Huxley and Yifrachel, 2000). There was stress on the role of planners as the main engine to make positive contributions and force new and expert ideas into the planning system. Creating this chance to communicate with people, especially from a poor and hard-to-reach background, can be a step forward in making the plans locally originated. The theory started to raise some questions regarding transparency, urban inequality, the impact of urban policy and who gains and loses from plans (Huxley and Yifrachel, 2000). Also, they illustrated both sides of the picture of a planner, working even with politicians as long as they were willing and supported them, and also represented indigent communities as a key factor in the planning procedure. Unfortunately, it still suffers from some of the same problems as the Advocacy Model. It is about including the poor and poor neighbourhoods, not about the complete inclusion of all of society. Critics also believe that it holds a state-centred policy (Fainstein, 2005). The theory is still far from participatory planning as, to a large extent, it relies on planners and the connection between government and people, and as with Advocacy Planning does not actually give the people a voice.

These models involve giving advocacy to the poor. In the Iranian system using this concept would partially work, if the planners were able to connect with poor people and represent them impartially. This is obviously part of the Iranian planning system problem. But in the case of Iran more changes are needed: the expansion of the network of connection, citizens' empowerment, direct

involvement of all social classes and a reform in the bureaucratic system. These are not the main points in these theories.

The Social Learning and Communicative Action Model: Alongside theories targeting the connectivity of planning professionals with the poor communities and collecting their knowledge and political skills, the above named model was formed. After experiencing conflicts between experts and clients, one of the ways forward was to create new and stronger relations between planners and people's experience.

Its origin (Habermas's (1979) neo-Marxist paradigm) is from communicative action and the rationality of learning (Mitrovic, 1999) from professional experts, social experience and errors which can help to improve knowledge, and experience and communication with those who even have traditional expertise. The added value of experiences and the learning of lessons from them (whether experienced by individual or group) would certainly help to enrich the knowledge base of the plans and make connections morally and mutually with ordinary people as well as other stakeholders. The advantage of this model is that there is an emphasis towards utilising experiential knowledge rather than professional knowledge legitimacy and monopoly (*ibid*). By this, it points to a very fundamental issue, which is that at this stage, government and professionals are not the only groups who are considered capable and eligible to make decisions and plans. Using local knowledge and experiences can help to solve the problem, and this is part of the aim of this research in order to improve the Iranian planning system.

Some planners, for instance Healey (1997; 1999), introduced interactive and communicative activity by pointing to contextual knowledge and rational planning. Planners who utilise this theory believe that they have the ability to solve problems, by using and distributing their knowledge and opening up debates, allowing the possibility of either successful or failed experiences; however, the theory does not help to break down the problem of structural inequalities. It has insufficient balance between knowledge, management and

capacity. Therefore, although it provides solutions by making new connections and using experiences, it cannot be an ideal theory with which to analyse the Iranian planning system.

The Radical Planning Model: More than other models, this theory has criticised social transformation as well as unequal distributions of power, resources and opportunities (Beard, 2003). Its ambition is to work toward structural transformation, essentially, by getting serious about questions such as: “what would a non-sexist city be like?” and the toughest question: “what can planners do about any of these inequalities?” (*ibid*, p.15).

As the questions suggest, the point is to make alterations in the planning system by distributing power to the lower levels of social class and communicating with society, giving the planners more autonomy to facilitate public decision-making opportunity and management. The intention for planners is to work with communities, have less of a relationship with the state, and to act outside the bureaucracy. The aim is to enhance bottom-up programmes by listening to people’s concerns and gaining their trust. The goal is to manage conflicts using people’s own ability. The theory suggests that working with local people increases their social power, lessens their dependency on global capital and gradually releases them from relying wholly on central government power (*ibid*). In this way community, to a large extent, can influence the decisions and be actively involved (Friedman et al., 1987). It brings together the advocacy of the poor from the Advocacy and Social Equity models and the use of the knowledge of people from the Social Learning and Communicative Action Model. A planner acts as a part of the community (like an ally), does not force his/her idea on the community, and offers help and advice to people without giving inflexible opinions (*ibid*).

Although under this theory’s concept transferring the decision-making and management power to the local community through planners has strong advantages, its credibility for different contexts, culture and capacity remains uncertain. Its radical approach in weakening the position of formal government

does not necessarily enhance the quality of urban management and planning. For instance, Lyotard (1984) argued that the state is not the enemy and that maybe in a small civil community there would be some contrasts and disagreements between two multicultural communities. In my opinion, the problem with this approach is similar to what a fully centralised planning system would have but in the opposite direction. Having a balanced and respectful power distribution amongst involved parties from government authorities to planners and local people could be a better answer to the Iranian planning problem, which involves reviewing the planning system, management and practice. This would guide the argument to the next model which has tried to answer most of the questions raised by research objectives.

Collaborative Planning and Institutional Approach: The ever-growing role of national government in providing policy agenda “to meet the universal needs (education, health and welfare) and support for economic sector (agriculture, industry ...) ... left the local government to work out how to coordinate these programmes” (Healey et al., 2003, p.60). This demands a model in planning which is more socially-oriented, tends to use diverse knowledge, is less engaged with the bureaucratic hierarchy and has the capacity to absorb various groups and interests (Amin and Thrift, 1995).

This model has been at the forefront of some of UK government policies, pointing to some key ideologies such as “integration”, “joined-up” policy, “place focus” and “collaborative policy dialogue” (Innes and Booher, 2003). It is particularly relevant because of what is talked about as the change from government to governance, which has involved a variety of different institutions in planning instead of centralised planning by government (Healey, 1997, p.205). Although there are debates around the legitimacy of the deliberative collaboration concept and consensus building, this is one of the most contemporary planning theories which welcomes “an innovative governance” in the decentralisation of power, “policy of talk”, “learning region”, “new connections between government arenas” and between government and citizens (Healey, 2006a, p.301). Different aspects of this theory, with particular interest in

the role of government, community and planning authorities, will be discussed in the following pages to analyse its applicability for the Iranian case.

As stated in the research problem and question, the governance of urban planning in Iran is in need of reconstruction. “Governance” here means the process in which planning takes place, from the bureaucratic system, planning authorities’ working relations, urban planning frameworks and policies to local communities’ role and level of involvement, and the decision-making process.

Looking at examples of deliberative democratic practices (see Connelly, 2009) and consensus building (see Healey et al., 2003) shows how a change of attitude towards enhancing the capacity of stakeholders (government, planners, community, private sector, etc.) can make the difference and open the doors for further and future decentralisation of power and public participation.

It seems from this review of theories that the planners’ position has shifted from central decision-making to community-based participation. The target is the same but the tools vary according to the context. This trend in the development of Western planning theories and approaches is relevant to the need, as stated in the research problem and question, for the reconstruction of the governance of urban planning in Iran to make it operate more effectively at the local level and make it more responsive to participation by the community. The collaborative, institutionalist model of Healey, which works on three levels of theory, management and practice, seems to be a particularly useful approach and in the next pages it will be explained further. However, it is an approach which was developed mainly in relation to planning in developed Western countries, and particularly in the UK. The question of whether this approach can be used to analyse and make suggestions for improvement to planning in a country such as Iran will also be discussed.

2.4 Dimensions of the Collaborative Planning and Institutional Approach

In this section, the dimensions of collaborative planning will be discussed to guide the research through a progressive but purposeful process, to understand how the ideologies of urban planning and management evolved from giving full power to the formal government to sharing decision-making power and collaboratively action plan amongst government, the private sector, voluntary groups and local people (stakeholders). This simply means the transition from government to governance. Therefore, first of all, the nature of making connections with various parties would be discussed. This helps to create the benchmark for the character of more democratic institutional planning. In fact, it explains how the concentration of power in the hands of government institutions is redistributed between them as well as to other stakeholders in a mutual-relational pattern.

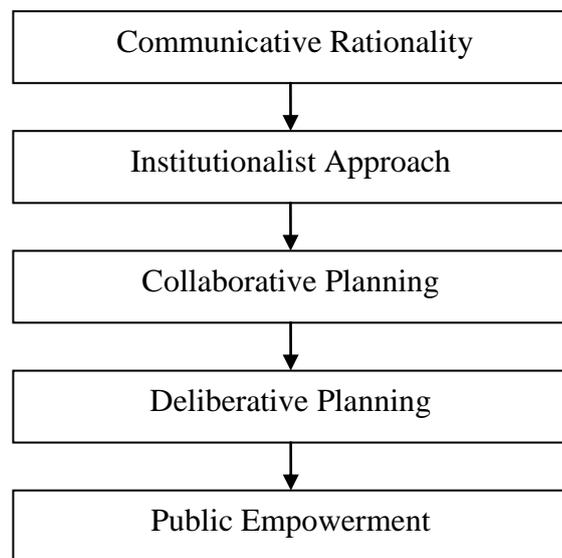


Figure 2–1: The process of discussion

This will then lead the research discussion development to the next stage, which is practical collaborative planning in a real experience. But the most important part is how the new institutional capacity development and connections work under certain criteria of knowledge resources, relational resources and mobilisation resources. The other important point, discussed later,

is how these theories can be put into practice to change the traditional top-down planning system and make and use new connections and exchange knowledge through deliberative planning dimensions. This will build up a logical progressive discussion for the research and the angles that the research will use for the following chapters' discussion, and most importantly discuss the applicability of these approaches for the case study contexts.

2.4.1 Communicative Rationality

A communicative approach to planning can be seen as an alternative to the instrumental rationality of the rational comprehensive models described above. Communicative rationality (life world rationality) has been influenced by the ideas of Habermas (1984) on how planning should be. This inspired Healey (1999) to discuss and develop her ideology, which is now one of the pillars of collaborative planning. Communicative rationality believes in reasoned plans within the day-to-day lives of individuals and communities (Healey, 2006a). It is contained in "the worlds of taken for granted, meanings and understandings of everyday living and interaction of emotions, traditions, myth, art, sexuality, religion and culture" (Dixon and Sindall, 1994, p.303). Its inclusiveness of people's life is an approach which hardly been considered in the past. However, the interpretation of emotional relations or cultural matters into practical plans is a difficult and sensitive challenge that should be considered and managed by planning authorities.

Paying equal attention to all of these aspects in a fairly distributed power relation is still a point of uncertainty for an undemocratic society like Iran. The two main pillars of the communicative rationality theory are based on "the structures of economic order (the market place) and political order (bureaucracy)" of everyday life (Healey, 2006a, p.50), and have roots in the differences in people's societal lives and the way in which we manage our world. The theory believes in more than just "instrumental-technical reasoning, and brings about two other aspects, which are moral and emotive-aesthetic reasoning,

meaning what shapes and influences our world is more than science and political impetus” (Healey, 2006a, p.51).

In a communicative planning process, everybody, whether an individual or a group, is looking to create common ground and meet a common goal through mutual consensus and positive discourse. It opens the way for a variety of opportunities (Alexander, 2001) and moral values, which are not the outcome of mathematical or material concepts. All three categories of material, moral and emotional values (Healey, 2006a) are equally treated in an equal debate whilst they explore each other’s context and concern, accept each other’s values, create common principles, and ultimately reach an action plan.

Idealistically, the theory can make connections between those parts of the society that were never connected in the past, under the category of planning. But the enforcement of economic or political pressure, for instance, would not be reduced, as these forces are stronger than the opinion of an ordinary member of the community without strong background support or influential power. In other words, its openness to negotiation and discourse can not be a perfect tool for a society like Iran where the public are in need of fundamental empowerment.

Important points developed by this concept are facilitative discourse and constructive dialogue for knowing, learning, communication and endeavour (Healey, 2006a). Planners, politicians, authorities and people should improve their communication skills, the quality of their activity, and be respectful to different ideas. Despite the fact that the desirability of “communicative consensus” and the belief of “collective dialogue” prevails within this concept, many scholars have questioned how this communicative consensus would form in a diverse and even contradictory cultural and ideological situation (Healey, 2006b; Albrechts, 2003). Personally, I think there are uncertainties around some of the main elements of communicative concept when it is trying to reach common ground and consensus for urban planning issues, if it is going to be practical in a fragmented society. Fragmentation here means differences in the

values and goals of individuals or organisations, or differences in the impact of plans on each group or individual economically, socially or environmentally.

In a religiously influenced society like Iran, there are other influential powers forcing their way into the planning decision-making process which do not necessarily involve the municipality, the city council or even the landowner. For instance, division of a plot of land occupied by Islamic court order (without the landlord's consent), would never follow a normal planning committee-based or land-use planning procedure. It is an example of a deep difference between the general public's beliefs and moral identity and the dictatorship of government, which makes it difficult to communicate logically and influence decisions. Would it be possible to turn this dialogue into practical plans or carry out "strategies of involving citizens that are directed ... by bureaucracy, rather than ... by politicians or citizens initiatives" (Fagence, 1977, p.118) undermine real democracy?

2.4.2 Institutional Approach

The meaning of institutionalism depends on the discipline and the structure of the theoretical approach, but in most cases institutionalism focuses on the procedures and the organisations that make up the system. The emergence of new approaches in governing urban planning brought a series of debates over the governance system, involving what was referred to above as the change from government to governance. In a more democratic planning context like the UK, governance can be defined as the formal government (central, regional and local) structure and bureaucracy, in partnership with various stakeholders including the (beneficial) private sector and communities, as well as the process in which the decision-making and practice takes place. However, it is completely different to a top-down restricted context like Iran, where governance is a synonym for government, as there is a regular pattern under rigid frameworks where everything starts with government (central, provincial and local) and ends with government.

“Within planning theory, this ‘sociological institutionalism’ has developed as a way of locating policy actions and practices in geographically specific governance contexts and connecting the phenomenology of micro-practices to wider structural forces”

(Gonzalez and Healey, 2005, p.2057)

Various concepts, such as governance, capacity building, policy discourse and networks are some of the main debates shaping institutionalist academic literature and are more of interest for this research. Scientific reasoning reaches the same level as everyday human experiences and emotions, and a bureaucratic system is given the same space as an ordinary community (Healey, 2006a). This is a holistic approach, ideally giving equal rights of being represented in a democratic society to all stakeholders. These positive points build the next steps of the evolution ladder of collaborative planning. An institutionalist approach believes in “individual identities” that build the society, the “social relations” that form the economy, and the knowledge that makes social history and values (Healey, 2006a). Healey (2006) believes that “social life is thus both socially constructed and actively made as we live our daily lives” (p.56).

This can be challenged, in my opinion, by the impact of the globalisation economy, the most recent telecommunication and internet technologies, the tendency towards a strongly centralised and dominating government, the decreasing distance between international cultural connections, migration, and by many more of this century’s scientific inventions. If we are the only communicator of our neighbourhood lives (going back to the discussion above), how is one planning theory from the other side of the world, which is developed within a certain cultural and social context, used and developed, or adapted, for another country with a different culture? Therefore, although the social aspects of planning discourse are essential, they are not the absolute answer to the world’s complications and communication problems.

The other question of communicative planning is the relationship between power and powerful interests or forces. Power relations and how they interact with each other as well as the non-powerful parts of society form an important debate in the planning process, as when power is shared between the public, private and government sectors it is essential to figure out how they can work alongside each other and create dynamic power to produce a shared solution.

This theory is again built on Gidden's belief about the impact of our social relations in constructing power relations (Healey, 2006a). It can partly be accepted that our connections, reactions, choices or knowledge can shape and influence power. However, this raises many complex questions. Firstly, although we make "powerful forces in our daily life" (Healey, 2006a, p.57), the word "we" does not always mean ordinary people, as it can be made up of a certain social class who are in a time in which society is being shaped. Also, individual members of society cannot have the same ideologies or ideas throughout their whole life, as many factors can gradually or suddenly alter these ideas; in a certain situation they may act differently than normal. Secondly, sometimes power is not a positive tool in the hands of an agency, or even the government, and is not accepted by the general public. However, our knowledge and modifying ability is very limited, meaning we cannot always actively shape power. In the planning context, for powerful government agencies such as the Iranian planning authorities, the local council elections are a good example of forceful government power deciding the criteria for acceptable candidates, which can have a direct impact on how the public will be represented and how decisions would affect them. This simply means the extent of democratic decision-making process and local empowerment is not really similar to what happens in developed countries. The eligibility criteria for candidates are multi-faceted and would not give the right to various ideologies and backgrounds to get involved.

2.4.3 Collaborative Planning

This is a debate actively involved in urban planning policies, and the collaborative planning aim is to direct “the effort of actively shaping urban and regional dynamics to accommodate shared concerns about the local environment” (Healey, 2006a, p.57). In a collaborative planning theory these dynamics are in fact how the social relationship building process flows in our daily life, within the work place and the household. From a socio-cultural aspect, “webs of relations” work in a complex way; they form and re-form through time, negotiation and opportunities (*ibid*). The UK’s most recent planning initiatives, such as New Deal for Communities, have utilised collaboration as a tool to build stronger relations with the community and use negotiation and the power of discourse to direct institutional and social capacity.

As the discussions in this section revealed, the aim is to understand aspects of communicative rationality in terms of its ideology and main structure, and how the approach in planning within the governance system evolved. This led us to the next level, the institutionalist approach, the dimensions of governance and the relationship between the key traditional and new actors. This part is about the magnitude of the collaborative decision-making process and the practicality of collaboration against the main stakeholders’ criteria. The next step is about how the theories of collaboration are put into practice within a deliberative means of creating collaboration, democratic governance and extension of networks. The last part aims to discuss briefly the different levels and criteria of how public involvement is categorised.

This gradual movement within the communicative theory is, in fact, an ongoing understanding of the evolution of recent planning theories and practice from government’s full power and control on planning matters towards a governance mechanism, and the distribution or intention to share the decision-making and practical power amongst various stakeholders, which has happened (maybe not fully but with extensive positive intentions) in the UK, and needs to be identified, discussed and developed in Iran. This leads us to the next level,

which is the governance mechanism and political network for the management of institutions, agencies and those who are formally or informally involved in decision-making and the practice of policies and projects shaping our neighbourhoods (Healey, 2006a). This is the basis for the analysis and comparative study of the Iranian and UK cases, and includes elements of planning preparation, management and practice.

From a theoretical perspective, a collaborative planning approach in the governance of a local area has three levels (Healey, 2003, p.93): the specific case, the governance process and the governance culture (Table 2–1). The dimension in which each episode takes place is in fact a need for change of the social, political or even interest networks, which are pushing their way into institutional traditions and patterns of working.

Whoever the role-player is in driving the request for change, the context and how it is set are crucial. The institutional capacity, the nature of the connection between actors, and also the deliberate new relational links can all be part of the settings in a specific case. They vary in the UK and Iran. This can be exemplified by the subject of plans: in Iran it is land-use planning, suggesting building density, whilst in the UK it is mainly regeneration, social and economic reconstruction within the specific neighbourhoods. The next level, after identifying the cause of the scenario, is the governance process, which drives the whole story forward. This happens through various approaches, which are partly theoretical and partly a network of connections. What planning or regeneration regulations offer, what the structure of local or national roles are, and how they are suggested to be ready for practice, all fit into the theoretical category of the governance system. But in practice the who and the how of the network of political, social and institutional forces are as important as how discourses take place mutually amongst members, and how they work together in a constructive manner. The initial idea can come from central, local or regional government, an interest group or local residents. However, the framework in which it becomes a planning project is largely based on the governance process.

This leads us to the third level within the governance system, which shapes the method, the plan and the result: the cultural influence within governance, including formal government offices, local communities, various agencies and other informal effective forces. The diversity and extent of connections between those actors vary in the two countries. In Iran it is limited to a number of government (provincial and local) organisations, whilst in the UK it covers a wider range of actors, from government to the private sector and community representatives. All of those will be studied within the literature review chapters (4, 5 and 6).

From the inside, the formal government organisation structure has a tendency towards acceptance, being open to other ideas and being able to sit around the table to discuss and exchange ideas is important. At a local level, and from a general public point of view, acceptance of opposing ideas, or dialogue, and respecting various values are important too. How this works between residents, social networks and the formal government is the main part, and this is partly based on the government system and partly on the communication capacity.

Table 2–1 is a general framework which facilitates an analytical approach to the structure and progressive adaptation of UK regeneration initiatives and Iranian development plans. The focus of each criterion is on part of the planning process. This provides discussion of the research at the policy level with a simple comparable tool for future discussion.

Table 2–1: Dimensions of governance (Healey, 2003, p.93)

Dimensions of Governance	Level	Dimensions
	Specific episodes	Actors – roles, strategies and interests
		Arenas – institutional sites
		Settings and interactive practices
		Communicative repertoires
	Governance process though which bias is mobilised	Networks and coalitions
		Stakeholder selection process
		Discourses – framing issues, problems, solutions etc
		Practices – routines and repertoires for acting
		Specification of laws, formal competencies and resource flow principles
	Governance culture	Range of accepted modes of governance
		Range of embedded cultural value
		Formal and informal structures for policing discourses and practices

2.4.4 Institutional Capacity for Collaborative Planning

Institutional capacity is an organisational structure which indicates the move from government to governance. It is an approach which redistributes the concentrated power of a dominating central government to the lower level, which is local government, creating collaboration amongst organisations and stakeholders horizontally through knowledge, relation and mobilisation criteria. The literature from both case studies will be discussed through the above framework. Having each regeneration policy and experience evaluated and reviewed, using Table 2–1, will give the research an evaluation tool which is partly descriptive and partly analytical. It will be used extensively in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. However, in order to maintain a comprehensive and clear understanding

of the way spatial planning (UK) and land-use plans (Iran) work within their government context, the second level will be developed based on Table 2–2.

Table 2–2: Dimensions of institutional capacity building (Healey, 2006, p.93)

The Dimensions of Institutional Capacity Building	Knowledge resources	The range of knowledge resources to which participants have access
		The frames of references which shape conception, opportunities and interventions
		The extent to which the frames are shared between stakeholders, integrating spheres of policy
		The capacity to absorb new ideas
	Relational Resources	The range of stakeholders involved
		The morphology of their social networks in terms of the density of network interconnections and route
		The extent of integration of various networks
		The location of the power to act, between actors, and the interaction with wider authoritative, allocative forces
	Mobilisation capacity	The opportunity structure
		The institutional areas used and developed by stakeholders to take the advantages of opportunities
The repertoire of mobilisation, techniques and the presents or absence of critical change at different stages		

As the components of the table show, the three elements of knowledge, relations and progressive mobilisation are the main debates to assess institutional capacity. Since the middle of the 20th century, all three parts have been the focus of debates amongst politicians, planners and academics. The urban governance process has been redirected from being structured by “markets (the logic of economic activity), hierarchies (the logic of established twentieth century welfare state) or networks (the logic of webs of social relations) stretching in multiple space/time” to “a project-driven practice” which re-establishes relations between social, economic, political and spatial elements (Healey, 2006a, p.300).

Despite all new ideas and the excitement towards new ways of governing in the UK, some critics like Taylor (2000) believe that many local government authorities still have not made fundamental changes in their ways of thinking and acting. Within the flow of this research, this criticism will be examined and analysed (Chapters 7 and 8). The framework creates a comprehensive comparable context to follow a certain approach and at the same time analyse the capacity in which the two cases are instituted.

For a more in-depth understanding of the whole process, and to critically analyse the planning theory and practice of both cases, networks are put forward to assess the nature of connection between agencies and involved parties, which in the UK create partnerships deliberately and is beneficial for all. The trend in Iran is usually to have a formal committee which does not bring any obligation for partnership action. But it still seeks to find a momentum which would increase the number of interested organisations and the reflection of any discussion or decision on the routines of those involved in the process. Selecting stakeholders, whether it is for consensus building or fulfilling certain government requirements, is an important part of this research.

In terms of the credibility of decisions made for local people, being inclusive and allowing various voices to be heard enriches the quality of project. The kind of relations made amongst key members, such as city council, consultants, local authorities, residents, and interest groups, are part of a mobilisation bias which can transform the governance capacity to a more innovative and active mechanism, which makes the level of collaboration in the UK and Iranian planning different. However, the tone and the kind of result that comes from open discussion and positive discourse is fundamental to the whole idea. These discourses, as the review of empirical materials – especially in the UK – reveals, can set the main priorities and goals, and can state how they can be achieved. By exchanging ideas on a specific matter, the concept of changing the traditional system and boosting economic, social and political capital are claimed to be exercised in the UK (Chapter 8). How the discourses can become diverse

and what the general definitions are of framing talks are shown in the next table (Table 2–3).

Table 2–3: Discourses (Innes and Booher, 2003, p.39)

Discourses	Authentic Dialogue	Reciprocity
		Relationships
		Learning
		Creativity

The purpose of creating connection, being inclusive to the locality, and finding ways of making progress by exchanging ideas, is to reach to a practical solution which has the capacity to deliver new ideas, carry out the project and change the tradition of a singular planning approach.

In a globalised society, where information is spread in a matter of minutes, cooperation amongst stakeholders and agencies can be an important part of the decision-making process (Innes and Booher, 2003). Also, in this era, “rapid[ly] changing conditions” and resolving complex issues needs “adaptive and creative” plans derived from local knowledge and a diversity of interests (*ibid*, p.36). Table 2–3 is a framework for collaborative dialogue which can resolve complex issues, establish new networks and enrich the course of dialogue and creativity. “While collaborative dialogue has probably always existed amongst small groups of equal trying to solve a problem, as a policy-making process applied to complex and controversial public issues including many stakeholders widely differing in knowledge and power, it remains in an experimental stage” (*ibid*, p.36). However, in the case study section, this will be looked at in more detail in order to study the extent of effectiveness and diversity of consultation and authentic dialogue. Lack of culture of dialogue within the Iranian planning system is a major disadvantage that using the above framework would enrich the decisions.

In order to reach common ground and a shared plan within a discourse environment, all of the members and attendees have to be interested and open-

mindful to other ideas, and negotiate expertly. Some scholars like Habermas (1984) emphasise a sensible and comprehensible dialogue that requires a skilful behaviour of reciprocity. It is important that those who sit around the table are able to check what they say or discuss with their background supporters, present themselves collectively, and are the true representatives of their group. Here again, Habermas (1984) insists that a diversity of interests makes communicative rationality an inclusive idea.

Within the forms of dialogue there are four main definitions which are identified by Innes and Booher (2003): reciprocity, relationships, learning, and creativity. Although all are sub-categories of the discourse environment, each is different in its level of agreement and its relationships. Reciprocity, according to Innes and Booher (2003), is a series of discussions which are built upon the previous scenario in a cooperative way amongst members, and which will eventually turn into a decision. In the unlikely event of a failed comprehensive discourse in an urban planning scenario, the basic result of authentic dialogue is building a new relationship, or strengthening existing ones, amongst representatives, agencies and diverse interests. This can develop social capital and public trust which is the cornerstone of any planning process. If the two above steps are conquered by all role-players, the discussion moves on to the next level. The members, local authorities and agencies could learn from each other about the facts and different aspects of the subject, and also how others can get involved in an effective way (*ibid*). The extent of learning and its long- and short-term impact on the local strategy-making process is drawn in a simple figure by Argyris and Schon (1978) (Figure 2–2).

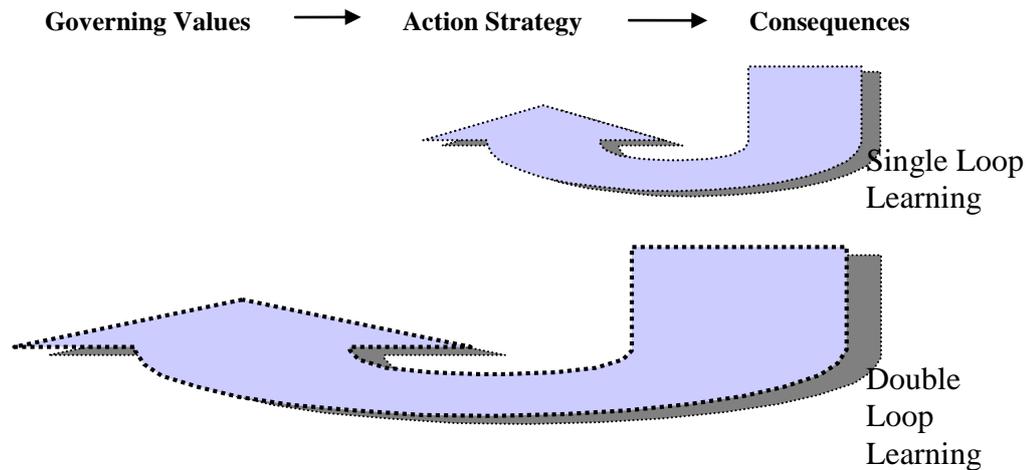


Figure 2–2: Social learning process (Innes and Booher, 2003, p.45)

The research, in both cases, studies the impact of the learning of collaborative dialogues, and will be looked at in more detail, for instance whether they have turned to a formal practical strategy or whether they have made their way through the national planning process for a bottom-up decision. I personally believe that learning from each other and past experiences can enhance the quality of planning (planners and plan) in Iran. At the very last stage, talks and ideas should be able to turn into creative and practical solutions.

There are still questions about how these initial discourses are from different backgrounds, and how authority representatives can form practical ideas. Have all participants been able to present their ideas? Has the traditional bureaucratic system created boundaries for the incoming ideas of public representatives, or are the presence of diverse interests in meetings a part of government or statutory regulations (Richardson and Connelly, 2005)? In theory, the involvement of those who have an interest in local planning, associated with equal opportunity for dialogue, would lead to decisions that are beneficial for most of the stakeholders. However, the structure of formal government at national and local level when involved in urban planning matters, can, to a large extent, shape the main role-players. The particular role of central and regional government will be discussed later.

2.4.5 Citizen Participation

In the mobilisation trajectory of case study figures, the relationship between actors and individuals will be discussed. It leads us to the lesson-learning and concluding part of the thesis which simply marks the level of citizens' power in a collaborative planning environment, based on the institutional capacity of each case study. The ladder of citizens' empowerment drawn by Arnstein may be a general base for the measurement of public participation; its simplicity makes the job of ranking public involvement a degree easier. Arnstein (1969) developed an eight-point typology of the participation process (Figure 2–3), as in each stage a particular power of participation is used.

The first two points of non-participation (manipulation and therapy) are seen as a tool to educate participants and to distract them from issues of genuine concern (Innes and Booher, 2003). The second stage, the degree of tokenism, allows participants to have a voice in decision-making but does not guarantee that their views will be fully taken into account. The last degree is where citizens actually have the power of decision-making (*ibid*). Although some critics put the accountability and rights at each level into question, however, this is a simple but comprehensive framework for this research scope and purpose. This will be the framework for the analysis of the degree of citizens' participation in the planning process in the two contexts. In Chapter 10, in order to compare the level of participation in the planning systems, this ladder will be used.

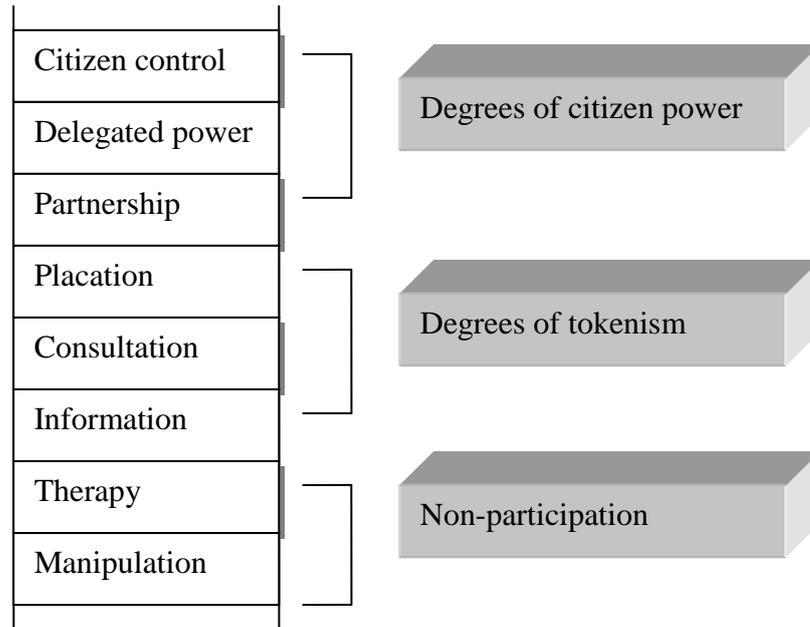


Figure 2-3: Arnstein’s ladder of public participation (Arnstein, 1969, p.216)

2.4.6 Deliberative Governance: an answer to the old problem

The purpose of reviewing the main characteristic of some of the most relevant planning concepts was to find the most appropriate theory that can provide an answer to the problems identified within Iranian urban development planning theory and practice. As the critical review revealed, each theory has its strong and weak points and have different outcomes within different political, social and economic context. However, as the research question is clear the only challenge would be how the researcher wants to adapt the theory according to its case study context. Having said that, looking at other academic works in implementing a framework in different contexts is useful. Therefore, this part will exclusively focus on the use of the institutional capacity approach in creating a deliberative governance within the two contexts of the developed and developing world, that have fundamental differences in the level of democratic planning and public participation.

I believe institutional capacity building could be the best answer to the Iranian planning deficiency, simply because the problem exists at every level of

the planning process, from the early knowledge preparation process to the notion of inter-organisation involvement and management and most importantly public involvement and consultation.

2.5 Using an Institutional and Collaborative Model in the UK and Iran

It was explained earlier that the theory of collaborative planning of Healey (1997) was developed in the UK in a democratic context, changing to governance with more bottom-up working relations. Is it a practical tool for a top-down centralised system, dominated by political and religious forces, with less interest in enhancing participatory planning, such as Iran?

However, the main positive point of using this theory is its flexibility to be adaptable to the social context and government culture. The use of this theory in two different contexts, one in Tyneside by Healey et al. (2003a, pp.60–87) and another in Egypt by Connelly (2009), pp.185–195), can help to justify its use as an analytical tool for the empirical part of this research: the case studies in both the UK and Iran.

Institutional Capacity Building in Grainger Town Project – Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: In this example, the authors have utilised the institutional capacity building concept to examine the development of deliberative governance in a project involving the council (as the old traditional local leader) with local businesses, regional agencies and national government agencies. The case is a regeneration project within the city centre area, which seeks partnership amongst stakeholders to create a “place-focus governance” (Healey et al., 2003a, p.67). Having all actors identified, whether they have interest in the project or not, the article tries to study the extent of their influence on the project and on each other. The article points out how involved businesses and formal government and non-government organisations underpinned the diversity of knowledge resources, to include most of the available opinions locally and regionally, though there have also been struggles within the council’s system in accepting the local community and

businesses as equal partners. The text brings to attention the advantages and challenges of the project in creating a deliberative-collaborative governance under the three criteria of knowledge resources, relational resources and mobilisation resources, showing how this partnership grew through the project lifetime, what aspects were improved and whether it could embed a new practical culture within the planning process in Newcastle.

This example has many similarities to the case study of regeneration in Manchester in Chapters 7 and 8. Newcastle and Manchester are cities which are very similar, so the theory can easily be applied to the case of Manchester. The second example shows how this theory can also be used in a different way in an undemocratic and centralised government context in Egypt which is more like Iran.

Deliberative Governance in a Centralised System – Egypt: The next very important example is Connelly's (2009) article, which analyses the Egyptian government initiative to enhance public consultation and perhaps participation for a specific development project. The author starts with the critical review of deliberative democratic theories and their applicability for a non-democratic context. Then he discusses the challenges that a centralised government setting could face if those theories were simply to be translated and implemented. He looks at examples of internationally supported projects in Egypt as the empirical-related work which draws out how an internationally accepted mode of planning can be developed in a different context. He analyses the information provided by interviewees from national level to the local project level. The discussion highlights some main points which are also true of the Iranian context. First is the centralised system of government from the national level. It obviously neglects the initial requirements of democratic planning, which are: consultation, being welcoming to opposition, and a culture of discourse. Second is the role of private consultants who come from an academic background in preparing the development plans and conducting the planning committees. They backed the participatory planning idea, although they might never have had a practical experience of it in the past. They are, in fact, part of the relational networks

aiming to facilitate democratic planning. Third is the inflexibility and unfamiliarity of local planning authorities, which have never lost their power to override the selection of community representatives and local participants. They simply resist any open discussion which could end up criticising them.

Fourth is the context and outcome of discourses and meeting. The questionnaire style of meetings makes them data collection sessions rather than authentic dialogue and participation. Fifth is the lack of diversity of the local residents who took part in the meetings. These were largely men from certain age groups, who could not represent the majority of the population. Having all the above constraints in mind, in the concluding part, the author discusses the partial but novel impact and outcome of the project.² This is how deliberative governance appeared to enrich the process of planning and participation even in a fully state-controlled context. Although it could not make permanent changes to the government approach to be more democratic, it helped to create a taste of modification and adaptation.

These two examples show that the institutionalist and collaborative planning theory can be used in three ways:

1. To describe and analyse the ways that planning and regeneration systems have changed to a more communicative approach
2. To identify and analyse problems and weaknesses in the existing systems
3. To suggest ways that the existing systems could be improved to be more communicative and participatory.

The example from Newcastle demonstrates more of the first, because it is a project where there has been more collaborative governance in the project and the theory has been used to analyse this. What has happened already is not

² This insight into using such a planning concept (institutional capacity building in this case) is quite similar to what I will consider in the research recommendation chapter.

perfect, and Healey (et al, 2003a) uses the theory to say where there are things which could be improved, such as the participation of the public (number 1 above). The example from Egypt has more of the second and third ways of using the theory (number 2 and 3 above), because the centralised government of Egypt has more weaknesses and more changes are needed to make planning more collaborative. This is much more like Iran, and this is the way the theory will be used in the case study of Sari.

These two examples show how using institutionalist theory can be used within two different contexts, Manchester (UK) and Sari (Iran), and can help to identify the institutions' capacity, aspects of collaborative planning and the possibility of participatory decision-making, and can also aid the researcher in drawing out transferable and applicable lessons to promote the quality of Iranian urban development planning.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on how the concept of collaborative planning was developed through years of theory and practical experiences. It will be the guideline and direction of the next chapters of this thesis. As the context of the chapter emphasised, participatory urban governance is a hot subject in planning theory and practice in the UK, and it could possibly be an answer to the problem of the undemocratic urban planning and management of Iran. The chapter introduced and explained the structure, and meaning, of the transformation of power and urban management within the context of planning from government to governance, and how the institutionalist approach used this evolution to explain and formulate its theory, the power-sharing structure, collaboration amongst agencies and the role of formal government in managing affairs and using all the potential at all levels of society.

This study's focus will be on three categories of capital, based on Healey's definition within institutional capacity building processes, which are:

“intellectual capital (knowledge resources), social capital (trust and social understanding) and political capital (the capacity to act collectively)” (Healey, 2006a, p.63). These are divided into sub-sections in Table 2–2. The above framework can be used to draw up a good picture of a planning experience from a UK regeneration project, and simultaneously in Sari as a typical example of Iranian urban planning.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided the research with a conceptual framework and analytical theory, which will be used throughout the literature review and the case study section. It is important that the methodology chapter is positioned here, before even the literature review, as the next few chapters are based on secondary documentation, and the literature-based documents are part of a descriptive and also analytical process which will go through some of the regeneration theories and practices, using dimensions of governance criteria as the tool of defining and investigation. Later, in the fieldwork section, there are two categories of data; secondary data collected from planning documents, and primary data based on interviews and questionnaires. These categories will shape the research chapters, and institutional capacity building criteria will be used to analyse the information and strategies of regeneration planning and practice. What makes this research unique is the way in which the review and analysis of literature is linked to the study and the critical review of the case study sections, following a process of top-to-bottom and bottom-to-top.

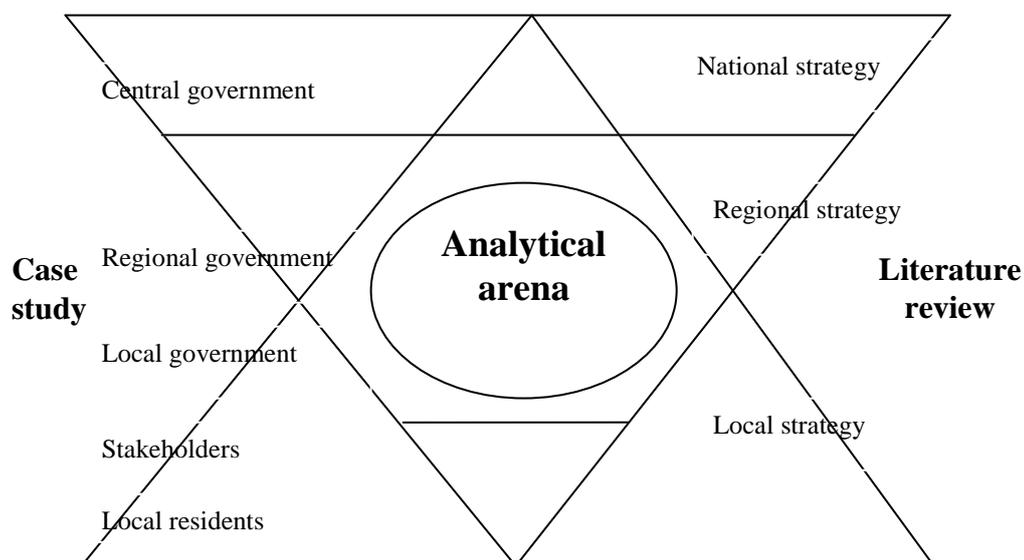


Figure 3–1: Analytical arena of the research

Therefore, the intention of the methodology chapter is to describe the method which is used to look at the literature, and the one which will be

implemented to use the fieldwork data. In doing so, it is indispensable to review briefly the aims and objectives of the research, after studying its main concepts. This will be followed by the research development concepts, and the methods for literature review analysis, case study research, sources of information and the collection of data.

3.2 Research Aims and the Relationship with the Research Problem

As suggested in the introduction, the aim of this research is to understand the reasons for the deficiency in planning in the major cities in Iran, and to suggest ways in which this could be improved. The thesis looks at British urban planning and regeneration policies in order to try and find lessons which can be applied to the improvement of the planning of cities in Iran. It is assumed that the main reasons for the deficiencies in planning in Iran are problems of government; the lack of effective governance structures and of public participation in Iranian urban planning. This emphasis on the problems of governance capacity and public participation has led to the use of institutionalist and collaborative planning theories, as found in the work of Healey (1997; 1999), as the main conceptual framework, which is explained in Chapter 2. These were developed in order to analyse planning and urban policy in Britain and will be used in this thesis to analyse British urban regeneration policies in order to identify lessons of governance capacity and public involvement. The thesis will also use the same conceptual frameworks to analyse existing planning and urban policies in Iran, and their deficiencies, and to suggest how these can be improved.

In order to promote the quality and the potential capacity of Iranian urban planning and regeneration institutions, the researcher has chosen collaborative planning theory as an effective tool which could make a difference within the present system. The idea of improving collaboration should be expanded horizontally amongst authorities at all three (national, provincial and local) levels, and vertically between institutions and stakeholders (including residents). To fulfil this goal, whilst having the conceptual theoretical base of the research in mind, the objectives of the research are:

- To discover the weaknesses of local authorities' planning and management structures in theory and practice;
- To develop a conceptual understanding of the governance process of networking, public consultation, discourses and practice;
- To discuss how the urban government mobilisation capacity is developed in the UK and Iran;
- To investigate public participation methods in the city planning process;
- To learn from the UK's experiences in regeneration;
- To highlight advances and develop lessons which are adaptable for the Iranian context.

This is demonstrated in Figure 3–2 below. The examination of planning and urban regeneration both in the UK and in Iran will be done on two levels: general policies at a national level; and more detailed local case studies within particular cities.

3.3 National Level Analysis

The sources used in this part of the research in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are mainly academic and government publications about general planning, development and regeneration policies. Because of the differences in policy in the UK and Iran, as discussed in the introduction, the analysis of Britain looks mainly at area-based regeneration policies whereas the analysis of Iran looks more at land-use planning and development policies.

For both Britain and Iran, these chapters provide a description of how planning and regeneration policies have developed over time. They also make use of analytical categories derived from a communicative planning theory, as set out in Chapter 2, to provide an analysis of governance of urban policies. For both Britain and Iran, the major policies are analysed using these categories. This is set out in tables, and then this information is brought together to provide an overall analysis of policies and how these have developed.

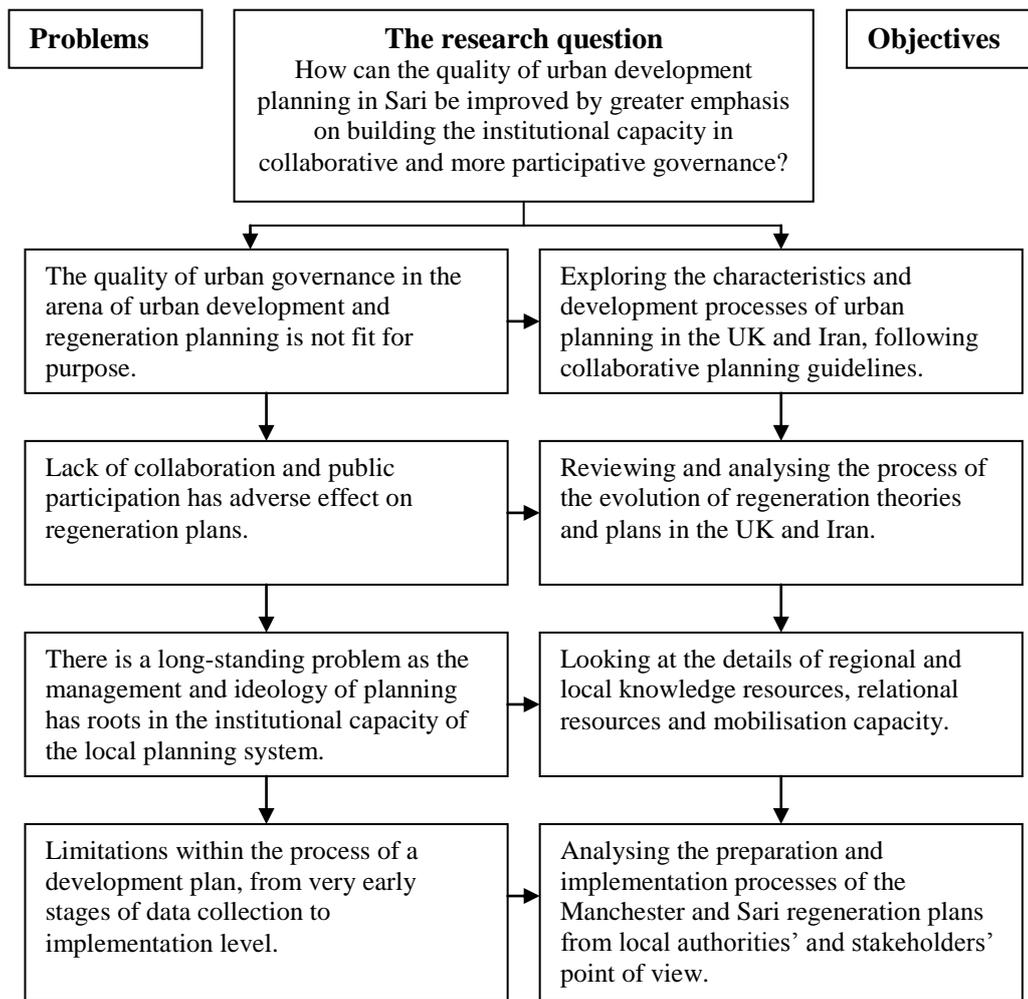


Figure 3–2: The research problem and its objectives

3.4 Case Studies

The second part of the thesis looks at detailed case studies of cities in Britain and Iran. The reason for the selection of the case study cities is looked at below.

The case study research uses a wider range of types of information, and of types of data collection and analysis, than the chapters on the national systems of Britain and Iran. Data triangulation, defined as the use of multiple sources, increases the credibility and validity of the research. Overall, the research method used in the case study part of the research is mainly qualitative, as this is the most appropriate kind of research to look at issues such as governance,

partnership, and public participation. These issues are the focus of the collaborative planning theory, which provides the conceptual framework for the analysis of the case studies. The case studies do have some data collection carried out using quantitative methods also, such as survey questionnaires, especially in gathering information on public participation. The various methods of data collection and analysis are described below.

Whilst looking in more detail at the lessons that might be learned from the British case study, and at the deficiencies in the Iranian case study and how improvements can be made, several concepts from the institutional/communicative theory are used. These are institutional capacity building, knowledge resources, relational resources and mobilisation capacity.

3.5 The Research Development Process

This requires a research strategy which primarily uses qualitative data sources, but in the case study stage quantitative data becomes useful. Qualitative research seems to have a more fluid exploratory character, which means research designs can be completed before the research begins (Mason, 1996).

“Qualitative methods are used to better understand any phenomenon about which little is yet known. They can also be used to gain new perspective on thing about which much is already known or to gain more in-depth information that may be difficult to convey qualitatively”

(Custer et al., 2000, p.18)

The qualitative research method suggests three rules, depending on the situation of the researcher, the research topic, and the methods of data collection and analysis (Preissle et al., 1993). The first rule suggests that the researcher should be open to the research aims. The second rule states that the topic of research is preliminary, and that it may change whilst the research is progressing. It will be fully known after the research process has been explored. The third rule suggests that data should be collected by maximising the structural variation of

perspectives, and should include a multitude of different viewpoints. This could be achieved by different methods of data collection, respondents and situation, often identified as the triangulation process (Kleining and Witt, 2001). There are four types of triangulation: methods triangulation, data triangulation, triangulation through multiple analyses and theory triangulation (Patton, 1990).

The research concept in this study is based on the theoretical and analytical development experiences of the two research aims: firstly, the relationship between the concept of regeneration and partnership; secondly, the lessons to be drawn out from the case studies. The first aim is initiated by the relationship between these elements: the institutionalism approach, the integrated regeneration theory, and the practice and the process of public participation. The second aim is to underline those common objectives within the two countries which support the adaptability of the urban regeneration experience from one context to another. Therefore, the literature review tried to fulfil part of the first aim, about the governance of regeneration theories and processes, and the case study data examines how the UK and Iranian experiences work within bureaucratic and social contexts. The objectives of the research are based on the development of the processes of the study, the analysis and the synthesis of the research aims. Therefore, the research methodology is affected by three issues: firstly, the research aims, secondly, the research concept and thirdly, the research questions: these are identified throughout the literature review.

Triangulation is required, in order to give direction to the research, and to analyse the collected data in a framework for easier comparison. Therefore, a variety of sources have been used to fulfil this aim. It was important to collect relevant data and avoid confusion, and at the same time follow a clear framework, in order to have enough information for future analysis. The sources used in this research are mainly academic and government publications based on general policies of regeneration. The research started from area regeneration strategic frameworks in the UK, which discussed how the planning governance worked within the specific episodes and how this evolved over time. Indeed, this was an assessment of the aspects of collaborative planning. The same framework

was implemented in order to review the progress of the Iranian development plan. This triangulation helped to understand the impact of the different influences on the local decision-making process.

In the second part of the research, which is based on empirical work, the Results are analysed through three dimensions of institutional capacity building: knowledge resources; relational resources; and the mobilisation capacity. Also in the second part of the research are the lessons to be learned from the UK experience in relation to that of Iran. In fact, data triangulation is defined as multiple sources, representing distinct material, which increase the credibility and validity of the research. The questions raised from the literature review provide a focus on both the UK and Iranian contexts, with a more detailed approach. Therefore, the overall research method in this study is based on a qualitative approach in a theoretical base of collaborative planning. Data collection could not be generated through qualitative methods; therefore, it is designed through quantitative methods such as survey questionnaires. This method was used to obtain the views of users in appointed project areas of the cities, quality urban regeneration achievements and evaluation of public participation.

Table 3-1: The relationship between subjects and methodology of chapters

Chapters	Methodological Theme	Main Subject	Main Sources	Main Focus of the Study
Chapter 1	Introducing the research subject	Presenting the research problem, objectives and questions	Personal experience, literature	The development of the research at the very early stages, directing the research, choosing the arena
Chapter 2	Conceptualising the theoretical base	Review of the main relevant literature to identify and select the most useful theory	Literature review	Studying the evolutionary process of urban governance theories, identifying dimensions of institutional capacity building

Chapters	Methodological Theme	Main Subject	Main Sources	Main Focus of the Study
Chapter 3	Selection of research methods for the literature review and case study	Building structure for the research	Academic literature	The relationship between research questions and aims, and approaches to review the literature and collect field-related data, analytical theory and methods
Chapter 4	Background study of regeneration theories in the UK	Dimensions of governance of some regeneration theories and practice	Academic and government literature	An evolutionary analysis of regeneration processes in recent UK planning history, identification of planning governance in three levels of specific episodes, mobilisation bias and governance culture
Chapter 5	Historical review of development planning in Iran	Identifying and describing Iranian urban planning governance and economy	Academic and government literature	Foundation and evolution of Iranian urban management and planning characteristics, subject of master and comprehensive plans, national, regional and local government character and relations
Chapter 6	City centre regeneration theories and practice in Iran	Analysing dimensions of governance in theory and practice	Academic and government documents	Studying and identifying the main characteristics or regeneration theories and practice in recent Iranian planning process, looking at their episodes and specific scenarios, mobilisation bias and governance culture
Chapter 7	Fieldwork, stage 1 (Manchester)	Introducing Manchester: main recent regeneration initiatives	Local and national documents, academic literature	Formation of Manchester's most influential regeneration plans, impact of city development and management

Chapters	Methodological Theme	Main Subject	Main Sources	Main Focus of the Study
Chapter 8	Fieldwork, stage 2 (Manchester)	Dimensions of institutional capacity building	Local documents, interviews, questionnaires	Studying and analysing relational resources, knowledge resources and mobilisation capacity in Hulme and East Manchester, regeneration processes from academic, local authority's and local residents' points of view
Chapter 9	Fieldwork, (Sari)	City centre regeneration plan study and analysis of institutional capacity	Local documents, interviews, personal experience, questionnaires	Analysing dimensions of institutional capacity, relationships of the main decision-making authorities between themselves and with ordinary citizens, knowledge resources extent, mobilisation capacity
Chapter 10	Comparison and analysis of the results; recommendations	Direct comparison of the two case studies based on their context, drawing out general lessons	Previous chapters main points, research literature	Having direct comparison between two cases in theory, literature and practice, highlighting main problems, recommending solutions to improve institutional capacity of Iran

3.6 Case Study Selection

The reason for looking at a British case study in this research is due to the long history and success of Britain's regeneration experiences. One of the big differences between the two countries is the extent of the roles and policies of local government in Britain, their relations, approach to participation and concept of dialogue. In Britain, the long-standing regeneration experience has developed so that central government tends to transfer more power to local authorities and stakeholders, so they can take control of management of their neighbourhood. Local residents' empowerment and collaborative governance is top of central government's agenda.

The British case study which has been chosen is the city of Manchester, which is one of the best examples of successful regeneration in Britain. Manchester is a city with a famous industrial past, which suffered from a large economic downturn. The loss of much of the city's economic strength left major industrial zones run down and in poor physical and social condition. The city has been the centre of attention since the 1990s, with a focus on overcoming urban degeneration and improving the quality of neighbourhoods. The availability of resources for regeneration projects in the city, the economic and managerial initiative, the risk taken by council members, and the success of the regeneration programmes in Hulme and East Manchester are some of the reasons for Manchester being selected as a case study in this research.

The Iranian case study is Sari, capital of the Mazandaran province in the Northern region of Iran. Sari is categorised as a middle-sized city with a population of just over 200,000. From a historic point of view, the city does not contain any internationally or nationally well-known monumental buildings or sites. However, it is important in terms of its administrative and tourist attraction aspects.

The city has witnessed different planning policies which have had both positive and negative impacts on it, but which reflect the problems of the planning and governance of cities in Iran. The existing bureaucratic system in the city is not communicative enough, in terms of personnel, finance and skilful professionals, to give adequate service to the city. This inadequacy is doubled when the role of other public authorities in the city management is considered. Lack of integrated decision-making and collaboration amongst local government authorities has fuelled the process of urban sprawl. The existing morphology of networks of connection is the direct result of the deficiency of authorities' dialogue and cooperation amongst central government offices.

In Iran, local government has only taken the first steps towards empowering local people by allowing them to elect the city council. Lack of belief in the notion of participatory decision-making and neighbourhood

management is the main feature of urban governance. The process of urban development in the inner-city area is not satisfactory, as every day parts of it are subject to change, and these changes do not follow the guidelines of the comprehensive plans. These changes also undermine the inner city's value. This research aims to improve this problem.

As it is the place in which I grew up and worked for many years, I am familiar with Sari. I worked in the city in an architectural firm and liaised with the city council. I was also a city councillor. This gave me the advantage of good working relationship with the local key actors during these years and later this helped with access to information and resources about the city.

3.7 Methods for the Case Study Research

A case study tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they are implemented or with what result (Yin, 1993). In other words, the case study is not solely either a data collection tactic or a design feature, but a comprehensive research strategy. Case studies are not limited to qualitative evidence; they can contain a mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence (Kelle, 2001).

The research design generally aims to encompass all areas of study and to highlight the subjects within the research concept. It also acts as a basis for devising an analytical framework, and as a way of presenting data and the information collected. The most important element of research design in this study is the flow and process of finding an appropriate interpretation of the relationship between the main areas of study, which support the process of the research development, and the theoretical concept to conclusion. The research design illustrated in the following diagram (Figure 3–3) represents three key elements of the research. Firstly, the identification of the main topics and their significance, followed by the structure of the thesis that is established through the literature reviews and the case studies; also, identification of similarities and differences between the two case studies. The second point is the theoretical

conceptualisation of the research analysis. The third element is the analysis of case studies based on the planning theory, which commenced in the literature review chapters in order to answer the research questions.

The data generated from the case study is specific and local, supporting the examination of the relationship between components of the research topic and the lessons learned from the UK experience. The data covers several subjects through a variety of methods of data collection. One set of data includes identification of the administrative system, and the structure of local urban management, the policies, the horizontal and vertical relationships, and the approach in achieving quality urban management. The next set of data looks at strategies for urban regeneration of inner-city areas, schemes, processes, priorities and achievements. The third set identifies local groups and interests, past and present opportunities of being heard by local government, problems, initiatives, and ways of building bridges with local government, whilst, at the same time, developing a method of comparison between each of the elements and the other three parts of the research aim.

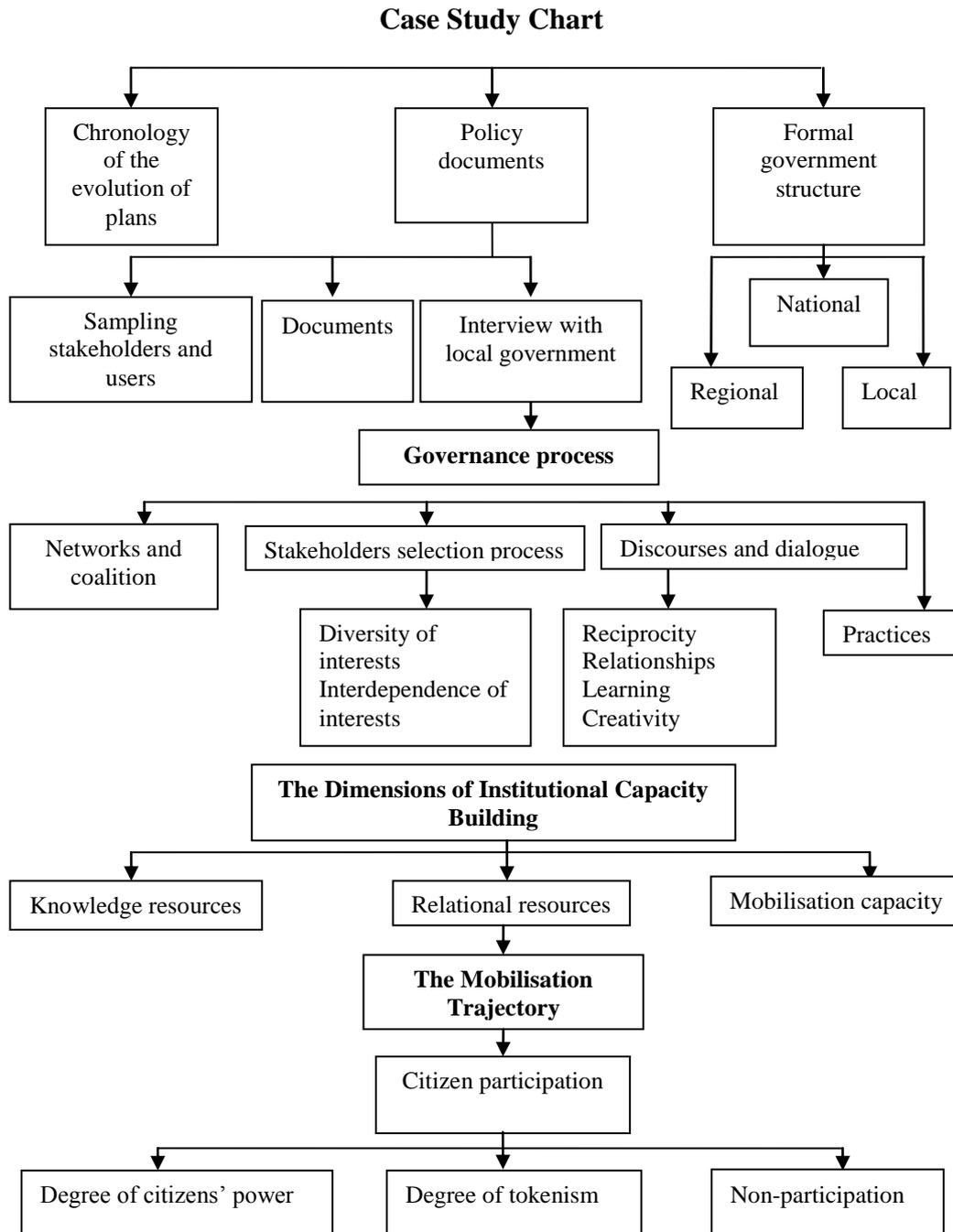


Figure 3-3: Case study chart (Healey, 2003)

There is more than one case study in the research. The main concern is to cover all aspects from general to very detailed issues. If the case studies become multiple, it will enrich the result of the research (Yin, 1993). The process of data collection is based on the research concept. The three main methods of data collection are interviews, observation and sampling (*ibid*). Interviews are conducted with local government authorities, other relevant institutions and

urban planners, regarding the structure of urban planning, urban design and local urban management. Selection of the case study evolved through a process of pilot studies, from a larger list, and it was influenced by several criteria which set various values related to the characteristics of the inner city, the urban regeneration programme, and variations in the urban regeneration approach and the local urban governance.

After evaluating the achievement of the case study according to the three main research objectives, in the institutional capacity building criteria, the positive and usable qualities will be used for the Iranian system. The research has focused on three categories of governance criteria:

- Knowledge resources: focusing on policy documents and approaches to regeneration, analysing and evaluating a range of references to extend the capacity of discourses and learning;
- Relational resources: identifying the notion of collaboration and interactions between agencies, based on documents and interviews:
 - Phase 1: Exploratory
 - a. Reviewing development plans literature
 - b. The Government structure
 - Phase 2: Interviewing
 - c. With stakeholders who are not directly involved but who are connected to the project
 - d. With planners having a hand in the regeneration board
 - e. With involved partners on the board and staff of the local authorities;
- Mobilisation capacity: evaluating the connection between knowledge and the network of relations in practice, identifying the capacity of the institutions in each case.

The purpose of this research method is to present more evidence through several types of data generation, from the case studies described in the case study

chart, in an attempt to gain confidence in the reliability and validity of the research.

3.8 Sources of Information

The research has to use data from various sources, and integrated methods for the overall research design, which will increase the strength, validity and reliability of the argument that will be constructed (Mason, 1996). Validity can be achieved by:

- “– going through a process of exploring different parts of a process, or phenomenon,
- answering different research questions with different methods and sources,
- answering the same research questions but in different ways and from different angles,
- analysing something in greater and lesser depth or breath and using different methods accordingly,
- seeking to confirm one source and method with another.”

(ibid, p.52)

Data is generated from the general literature, based on the aims of the research, through documenting local resources, which are local urban management publications and websites, and through the physical attendance of the area. The data generated through the case studies is very specific in terms of their type and locality. This data is viewed as supporting sources for the examination of the relationships between governance of planning and institutional capacity, as well as the lessons that are learned from the UK experience which can be applied to the Iranian context. The data covers several subjects:

- the identification of local urban management duties, administrative system, policies, horizontal and vertical relationships, approaches of quality urban regeneration;
- the structure of local management, their relationships and role in providing services;
- identifying strategies for local people's participation in urban regeneration policies, their achievements, problems, the process of top-down and bottom-up relationships, shortages and priorities.

For each element a series of data was collected through questionnaires and interviews. For people who were living in or using the city centre, postal questionnaires were used. At the urban practitioners' or local government level, interviews and observation (personal experiences) were the methods of data collection. Each method was based on the research questions, and the specific questions were derived from the literature review and the documentation of local resources, through case study interviews and conducting questionnaires. At this stage, in order to collect appropriate data, it was essential to make connections with the local municipality, the city council, local organisations such as housing and urban development organisations, and to have contact with and inner-city stakeholders (residents, visitors, office employees, landowners). But it is important to draw attention to the time consumption problem during the collection of case study data. With expected variations in the resources, such as published data, interviews, questionnaires and local published documents, different processes need to be utilised, which takes time.

3.9 Local Documents

One of the modes of data collection has been to study the data published by local sources, including local councils and research institutions. They were mostly general in their subject matter, but specific in relation to local urban generation policies. However, difficulties with this data were raised, as they were produced for local authorities' use, following an academic pattern. Also, there were other complications, such as differences in presentation of data, in the

literature and in the finding of an appropriate translation of the words used, in local organisation systems, policies and organisational relationships, as well as gaining access to the literature and published data from local organisations. As there were a variety of planning documents, each with a different aim, a specific approach was used to put all the information into a set of comparable frameworks, in order to help surf through the large amount of data. For this specific research, as well as referring to general central government documents, the locally prepared plans and frameworks were studied and analysed. The master and comprehensive plans and the old area's regeneration plan of Sari are the main local resources which have been discussed in the case study section, and similar plans for Manchester. Other available resources such as local publications and research conducted by local authorities were also used to enrich this research.

3.10 Interviewing of Officers

Interviews are one of the most commonly recognised tools of qualitative research methods. Qualitative interviewing is usually intended to refer to in-depth, semi- and loosely structured forms of interviewing, which is called "conversation with a purpose" (Mason, 1996). It needs a great deal of planning (Yin, 1993). In this research it is one of the most important local resources for recognition of the internal structure of local urban governance and planning organisations. The difficulty of this method was to achieve purposeful interviews: interviewing different people within different systems, posing queries and so on. The questions raised in the interview had to be designed with the purpose of data collection in mind, investigating the relationships between the three dimensions of the institutionalism approach and person being interviewed.

Despite all my efforts, for more than six months, to interview officers, coordinators or members of regeneration teams in Manchester City Council (MCC), South Manchester Area Council, the NEM team and the office located in Grey Mare Lane, Beswick, unfortunately, no one neither responded nor allowed me to make an appointment to interview them, nor did they send me relevant

documents that I needed for the research in terms of public consultation and the process of preparation of the regeneration plan. Several emails were sent, many telephone calls were made, and I even made a couple of personal visits to the council offices in Manchester. Finally, the only person who gave me an hour's time for a quick interview was Ms Suzanne Price, based in Grey Mare Lane, whose help I sincerely appreciate. However, this was not the case for the Sari fieldwork. I managed to speak to many people who have important roles in the planning process of the city. According to the local authority officers' answers, they had between 2 and 29 years' experience in their profession. Some of them had direct connections with people in their working environment and had to deal with the public on a daily basis. Working as a mayor or a planning officer in the city council requires being in touch with people for almost every second of one's working hours, but the main purpose of these interactions is only for planning permission or other bureaucratic processes. The Interviewees had all been involved in all or part of the master and comprehensive plan processes in the past. In order to have more accurate results for this research, one officer in each organisation, who has direct involvement in planning committees, was interviewed by phone, and three consultants participated in the questionnaire. The consultants were all involved with the city planning in some way. One of them was part of a company which is in charge of the latest review of the old area regeneration plan. Local people who participated in the fieldwork were chosen randomly from different age groups and genders. However, as the area is largely used as the commercial zone, around 60% of participants were men and 30% were between the ages of 20 and 35. This does not, however, compromise the right of women to be heard, as I tried to include them in the remaining percentage.

Table 3–2: Details of those interviewed in Sari and Manchester in 2008

No	Name	Organisation	Responsibility	No. of years in post
1	Mr Hejazi	City Council	Mayor	3
2	Mr Farzaneh	City Council	Planning chief	29
3	Mr Salehnia	Councillor	Public Affairs Committee	9
4	Mr Pakdaman	HUDO	Officer, Department of Urban Design	18
5	Miss Alagolipour	ICHTO	Officer, Planning Department	16
6	Mr Mousavi	UDRO	Officer, Urban Heritage Department	6
7	Ms Price	NEM	Housing renewal officer	11

Although three types of questionnaires were made, each person was given the opportunity to give the information requested in their own way. The people who were interviewed were from the city council (the present mayor and one of the city council's public affairs officers), HUDO (Mazandaran Province), ICHTO (in the planning department), UDRO (Mazandaran Province), and one of Sari's councillors. These organisations (as are described later) are the main ones that play a major role in providing development and regeneration plans for the city. Their selection was based on their role in preparing Sari's related plans. Appendix 6 includes the sample of questionnaires provided to be filled in by government officers. A full list of interviewees is given in Table 3–2. The three consultant firms that took part in the research fieldwork were Mazand Tarh, Setavand and Ahon sazeh Gostar, which are all chartered companies and have years of experience in the urban planning field. Their contribution to the project was very important, as they represented another level of local governance with decision-making power.

3.11 Surveying the Project Area Population

An important issue in the process of the case study is the collection and evaluation of the views of local people on the regeneration plan for their area, the degree of their involvement and supporting of schemes, the effectiveness of urban revitalisation and the urban management system, as well as other policies that have an impact on their local living environment. The data was obtained through the process of administering the questionnaires, covering city centre

users including residents. For members of the public who use the city centre in their day-to-day life, a very brief and multiple-choice questionnaire with the opportunity of a face-to-face talk was a good way of obtaining data. It is crucial to understand that the postal questionnaire is not a popular method of acquiring data in Iran, and that it needs more effort to process a door-to-door survey. In designing the questionnaires, certain criteria were taken into consideration. These included asking well-designed questions which remained adaptable and flexible, had a good grasp of the issues, sent clear messages, remained impartial and were easy to answer. Using the above guidelines, I interviewed more than 200 people in total in the two case study areas, by asking them to fill in questionnaires (Appendix 1); these are discussed in the relevant parts of the thesis (Chapters 8 & 9). The questionnaire included questions about the respondents' general knowledge about the local planning system, their interests and level of engagement in this process, and their possible recommendations for future improvement. In order to have the chance to talk to the local residents of Beswick, and to get them to fill in the questionnaires, I spent several hours in a very small shopping centre in the area and at local bus stops. I had a good response from the public filling in the questionnaires in the area, which are presented in Chapter 8. The same questionnaire was produced in Farsi and was sent to Iran to be filled in by people who live in the inner part of the city, which is affected by development and regeneration plans. 100 people, randomly chosen from all age groups and genders, were asked to answer the questions.

It is important to mention that the style of presenting the questionnaires, and interviews, was also influenced by the institutional capacity criteria, which produces different results to the same questions, and discusses them under the three categories of knowledge resources, relational resources and mobilisation capacity. The answers of similar questions were analysed together, in a descriptive or critical way, and some answers were presented in the form of graphs. This prevented the results of the survey from being tedious and also enriched that section's discussion, and it allowed connections to be made with the theoretical parts of the research.

At the end of the pages of evaluatory discussion on the planning theory and practice in the two case studies, the final chapter uses a very old but useful Arnstein Ladder of citizen participation to mark the levels of citizens' empowerment in the two countries. It helps to put the institutional capacity of each context in the spotlight, and point out how the relational networks of the planning authorities work, what needs improving, what the bases of knowledge resources are, if there is a way of diversifying these resources, and finally what parts of the governance structure require reorganisation in order to increase mobilisation capacity.

3.12 Approaches to Analyse the Questionnaires and Interviews

As mentioned, the three categories of institutional capacity were used to organise the analysis of questionnaires and interviews. The three sets of questionnaires (with local people, key actors and the engineering consultants) were the main primary data was used in the research. The result of the answers to the questionnaire by residents was used under the knowledge resources category. As the questionnaire was mainly multiple-choice, it was presented quantitatively (see section 3.11).

Due to the limitation in the number of participated local authority officers and private sector consultants, the researcher did not use particular sophisticated analytical programme and they were mainly based on the overall understanding and simple quantitative method. The answer to the questionnaires by these key actors was mainly used for relational resources section of the analysis in chapter 9. Those answers that were more explanatory and expressing opinions were presented qualitatively in a format which suits the context. Whilst there was not much difference in the answers from each key actor (as it was expected), their highlights (without interference of researchers personal opinion) were rephrased and presented. For the third analysis category, capacity building, the interview with engineering consultants was presented

Chapter 4: Development of English Urban Regeneration Initiatives

4.1 Introduction

There is a long history of academic research on the problems experienced by residents of deprived urban areas dating back to the late 19th century (Booth, 1889; 1892; quoted in Alcock, 1993). It was only in the 20th century that social matters became a serious research area in urban study. It was not, however, until the late 1960s, with the launch of the Urban Programme and Community Development Projects, that the field of urban studies in Britain became a serious academic issue.

“Surveying the literature over the 26 years since the CDPs (Community Development Project) marked an introduction of a specifically urban policy, one cannot fail to notice just how many academic careers have been devoted to urban policy analysis and as a result, what volume of academic writing has been produced”

(Wilks-Heeg, 1996, p.1263)

Since the 1970s there have been three key conceptual analyses in the urban study area. The first tradition, which is Marxist-oriented, dominated the urban studies in the 1970s (Healey, 1997). The second tradition, which emerged in the 1980s, can be called regulationist governance studies (*ibid*). Regulationist research mainly focused on the effects of the collapse of Fordism on the nature of governance and the influence of non-governmental interests upon the governance arena (Healey, 2006a). The third tradition has only emerged in urban studies since the 1990s. It has been developed from social constructionist approaches by using discourse analysis. Atkinson (1999; 2000) and Hastings (1999) are two examples of those who worked on discourse analysis, on regeneration and participation, and on transformation within regeneration partnerships. But what is relevant to this research is the emergence of the institutionalist approach with emphasis on collaboratively working in a participative environment. The relationship between the three categories of knowledge, network of action and mobilisation are the foundation of academic discussions within this theory. This,

indeed, is what Healey and many other scholars have worked on. These ideas formed the foundation of much of the analysis of regeneration initiatives since the 1960s.

This chapter will look at some of the initiatives which have been dominating the UK's government planning action since the 1960s, and also at some of the academic literature. It makes use in particular of the framework of Healey's institutionalism approach, which focuses on governance dimensions; how the public, voluntary and private agencies collaboratively interact with each other, and on the discourses and framing of problems in each of the regeneration initiatives. A similar framework is then used in Chapter 5 for the discussion of urban policies in Iran.

4.2 Urban Changes in the UK

Urban areas are, to some extent, active organisms which act upon a variety of impetuses and change over time. Any internal or external transaction or pressure can result in the growth or decline of the city, either specifically or generally. Urban regeneration is a response, according to a specific moment in time, a local authority policy and is "unique to a particular town or city" (Roberts and Sykes, 2000, p.9). Urban problems are the main reason for urban regeneration. These problems can be the result of the

"relationship between the physical conditions and the social response, the continued need for physical replacement of many elements of the urban fabric, the importance of economic success as a foundation for urban prosperity and quality of life, the need to make the best possible use of urban land and to avoid unnecessary sprawl"

(Roberts and Sykes, 2000, p.16)

Reconstruction of urban areas in the UK after both World Wars was followed by massive outward migration of middle-income people, who were

looking for less polluted neighbourhoods and more green areas to live in. This had two impacts on the pattern of urban growth here in the UK. First, it led to the expansion of cities and made the use of cars part of the residents' everyday life. Second, it left many inner-city urban areas vulnerable and unoccupied with serious social, employment and spatial problems.

A basic review of housing trends in the UK since the 1920s reveals the direct intervention of local authorities, mainly city councils, into the housing management in inner-city areas, which was part of the reform that took place within the characteristics of the responsibilities of government in a welfare state (Healey, 1988) and as a main service provider. Central government has played a huge role since, in designing and financing urban programmes; a process that helped the housing crises and shortages during and after the World Wars. However, this was combined with the decline of employment in heavy industries in inner cities in the 1970s and 1980s, which led to the creation of areas of poverty and poor housing. Although the intervention of local authorities in housing caused a fast rate of building, improvement of physical standards, slum clearance and increased housing amenity, the increasing out-migration of middle-class people led to an increasing social division between the inner and outer cities. The magnitude of out-migration was dependent on changes in incomes, improved technology, etc. (Thomas and Bromley, 2000). By the end of the 1970s, approximately half of the cities' population were living in the suburbs, in well-proportioned semi-detached or terraced, two- or three-bedroom houses (Burnett, 1986). One objective of recent regeneration policies has been to avoid previous mistakes, by creating mixed house types, considering general facilities and services around the site, and finally targeting the ambitions of "neighbourhood spirit" and "social integration" (Burnett, 1989) in the cities.

Other causes of out-migration have been described as the connection between infrastructure investment and transportation facilities on the fringe of cities, losing population, insufficient investment and lack of safety and security in the cities (Robson, 1988; Cohen, 1992). From the point of view of the quality of the built environment, the inner cities were endangered by a range of physical,

social, economic and cultural forms of deprivation. It is crucial to mention the role of telecommunication and the internet in speeding up this trend, especially for large retail services. On the other hand there have also been positive impacts, for instance the moving of offices and retailers to the fringes of cities, and the expansion and improvement of public and private transport facilities (Goodman, 1987).

Imposed changes in the pattern of urban development brought fundamental changes to the process of planning within UK urban policy. It first made central government the main stronghold of housing service provision, gradually opened the doors to working with the private sector, and, more recently, promoted partnership working in a new environment. The government, at national and local level, were under a variety of pressures from critics within the academic, political and social environment. In this context, and with the exposition of the UK urban planning policy moving towards a more democratic ideology, there was/is consensus on “the need for less government” (Healey, 2003) which would result in a more collaborative and participative approach. This requires authentic relations amongst stakeholders, which the UK government has been trying to expand and deepen. However, the scenario is completely different on the other side of the world.

4.3 The Birth of the Concept of Urban Regeneration

In the 1940s–1950s, the government’s main concern, alongside the general emphasis on growth, was the eradication of slums and the replacement of these with new and modern buildings, in order to create better physical environments. But growing dissatisfaction and criticism over moving people away from their communities, and the creation of peripheral estates, resulted in a series of adjustments and reconsideration of past policies towards a more social and sustained urban renewal (Bloxham, 1995). In fact, this shift in policy had a major impact on housing renewal policies in the 1970s, with a shift of emphasis from slum clearance to the improvement of existing housing and

neighbourhoods. In this decade, as Roberts and Sykes (2000) stated, there was more emphasis on public participation and was accompanied by the growing role of the private sector and local community groups. Despite the social tendency to move out of the city and look for less polluted suburban areas, scholars backed the idea of inner-city regeneration which predicted increasing public interest in moving back to, and staying in, the inner cities.

In Britain, this led to the emergence of the term “urban regeneration” as a term for those policy responses to urban decline (Moore and Richardson, 1989). Broadly, urban regeneration is defined as a particular approach to city revitalisation, focusing on inner-city problems and emphasising local physical redevelopment, and is an investment in building and urban infrastructure (Boyle, 1988). At the same time, various urban initiatives such as housing policies, economic development, community empowerment and cultural policies were also classified as urban regeneration. The main feature of these changes in Britain was the introduction of urban regeneration policies that were separate from planning and housing policies. These have usually taken the form of area-based regeneration initiatives.

4.4 Area-Based Regeneration

The introduction of area-based regeneration in the 1960s brought anti-poverty strategies into regeneration policies in the UK. Based on the assumption that these problems were concentrated in the isolated inner parts of cities, central government introduced discrete packages of funding, separate from mainstream programmes, targeting special urban areas (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). As the phenomenon of declining urban areas, such as poverty, poor health or inadequate housing, remained over the years, Area-Based Initiatives (ABIs) grew rapidly and evolved throughout the years as one of the most effective government programmes, and have repeatedly been adjusted and improved. ABIs have thus evolved from the 1960s community-based schemes run by local government to the neo-liberal market-based urban development schemes of the 1980s, which

target more holistic partnership-oriented programmes (Hastings, 1999a). A specific arena of urban problems was the rundown inner city, or poor residential areas, and the government was the main role-player in dealing with the problems, in the majority of cases.

Hill (2000) argues that this evolution had three phases. The first phase came about between 1968 and 1979, typified by initiatives such as the Urban Programme and the Community Development Project. The main focus of these programmes was economic growth and social needs, and was funded entirely by the state (*ibid*). The term “social pathological perspective” comes from the analysis of poverty and deprivation underlined by these programmes (Wootton, 1959). In general words, poverty was believed to be a direct result of the personal failings of the poor themselves to make use of the opportunities presented to them (*ibid*). The slum areas, in which it was believed most of the problem families were concentrated, were targeted to re-socialise the poor, to instil a work ethic, and to teach the poor to manage their finances, children and lives better (*ibid*). The problem was identified and the solution was provided by the government, which was backed by a very mathematical and general approach to urban problems.

Throughout the 1980s, the second phase had mostly focused on deregulation and the markets, an approach typified by the Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). The government assumed that lack of private-sector investment in the cities had inflated the causes of urban poverty, and that local government bureaucracy had discouraged development (Hill, 2000). Therefore, the structure of the strategies in this period’s programmes was built on private investment, entrepreneurialism, and regeneration through property development.

The 1990s was the new era (the third phase) for area-based regeneration through the introduction of fresh initiatives such as City Challenge and Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), which had a different interpretation of poverty. Poverty was perceived as a multi-dimensional issue, manifesting through social,

economic and environmental problems (Wilcox, 1994). Put simply, instead of focusing solely on economic or environmental empowerment, a multi-faceted response was suggested for a multi-faceted problem. At this stage, local government was the key player, alongside the public, private and voluntary sectors. It was accepted that local people's participation and the community's involvement was a crucial factor for successful attainment of urban regeneration. So, there have been increased efforts to extend the level, nature and ability of residents' participation (Wilcox, 1994). A brief review of some of the most influential urban regeneration initiatives, and critically studying them in terms of their contribution to institutional capacity building and implementing a holistic approach, help us to understand the grassroots and the process of their evolution.

4.5 Urban Regeneration in the 1960s and 1970s

Discussion of inner-city problems in England was influenced in the 1960s by experiences in the USA, the problem of ethnic minorities, and much socio-economic deprivation in the cities. The main reasons were:

- Major social and economic shifts and changes in the spatial distribution of population and industry away from large urban areas
- Decline of manufacturing, causing rapid and widespread problems of unemployment and social and racial polarisation in the main industry-based cities
- Increase of homelessness and lack of quality and affordable houses (Stoker and Young, 1993).

There was also some American thought which considered that the problems of the inner-city areas were generated "by the Cycle of Deprivation and Culture of Poverty" (Cameron, 2004). The idea of the "Cycle of Deprivation" suggested that children of poor families in inner-city neighbourhoods would experience poor education and job opportunities, and therefore remain trapped in poverty within these neighbourhoods. The idea of the "Culture of Poverty"

suggested that in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, alternative social values would develop which would discourage people from striving for success (Cameron and Coaffee, 2004):

- Educational Priority Areas: Experimental schemes based on the concept of positive discrimination, giving extra resources to inner-city schools to compensate for the poor home background of inner-city children, which aimed to break the cycle of deprivation by creating social mobility by way of educational achievement for inner-city children;
- Urban Aid Grants: Small grants to finance innovative schemes, playgroups, community newspapers etc., aimed primarily at challenging the culture of poverty. This was the basis for the Urban Programme;
- Community Development Projects (CDPs): “Action research” projects based in 12 inner-city areas around the country, with an action team providing community work services, again aimed at overcoming the culture of poverty, and a research team drawing on this experience to investigate the nature of inner-city problems.

In this period, international and national agencies highlighted environmental concerns, irreparable damage to natural resources and role of the urban planning, at city level, to provide a suitable living environment. Housing was once again most likely to be at the core of urban planning by leading the market and development. For the benefit of people on low incomes, the housing grant policy returned to government programmes, whilst the Housing Act 1974 again stressed the rehabilitation of old and poor housing, and significantly the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977 made local authorities provide accommodation for registered homeless people (Burnett, 1989). The Labour government was more interested in the improvement and repair of houses, rather than development, which gave homeowners and landlords greater power to live in their existing dwellings (Cameron, 2004). This had an inevitable impact on renovation plans and strengthened the work on neighbourhood problems, housing design and built environment quality. The table below is a summary of the general regeneration process since the 1960s.

Table 4–1: The evolution of urban regeneration (Roberts and Sykes, 2000, p.14)

Period Policy Type	1950s Recon- struction	1960s Revital- isation	1970s Renewal	1980s Redevelop- ment	1990s Regeneration
Major strategy and orientation	Recon-struction and extension of older areas of towns and cities often based on a “suburban growth master plan”	Continuation of 1950s theme: suburban and peripheral growth, some early attempts to achieve rehabilitation	Focus on in situ renewal and neighbour-hood schemes, development still at periphery	Many major development schemes and redevelopment flagship projects, out of town projects	Move towards a more comprehensive form of policy and practice, more emphasis on integrated treatments
Key actors and stakeholders	National and local government, private sector developers and contractors	Move towards a greater balance between public and private sectors	Growing role of private sector and decentral-isation in local government	Emphasis on private sector and special agencies, growth of partnerships	Partnerships the dominant approach
Spatial level of activities	Emphasis on local and site levels	Regional level of activity emerged	Regional and local levels initially, later more local emphasis	In early 1980s focus on sites, later emphasis on local level	Reintro-duction of strategic perspective, growth of regional activity
Economic focus	Public sector investment with some private-sector involvement	Continuing from 1950s with growing influence of private investment	Resource constraints in public sector and growth of private investment	Private-sector dominated with selective public funds	Greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding
Social content	Improve-ment of housing and living standards	Social and welfare improvement	Community-based action and greater empower-ment	Community self-help with very selective state support	Emphasis on the role of community
Physical emphasis	Replacement of inner area and peripheral development	Some continuation from 1950s with parallel rehabilitation of existing areas	More extensive renewal of older urban areas	Major schemes of replacement and new development flagship schemes	More modest than 1980s, heritage and retention
Environ-mental approach	Landscaping and some greening	Selective improve-ments	Environ-mental improve-ment with some innovations	Growth of concern for wider approach to environment	Introduction of broader idea of environ-mental sustainability

4.6 The Urban Programme

In the late 1960s, the British government adopted a new strategy in order to meet the problems of poverty and deprivation in the cities, called the Urban Programme (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). In fact, it was one of the first area-based regeneration schemes. As Atkinson and Moon (1994) mention, until the late 1960s, it was believed that the problem of poverty could be eradicated by providing housing redevelopment and creating a welfare state. Protests and press focus about the condition of inner cities raised government awareness and made it investigate the extent of the problems, and measure what should be done to minimise city slums (Lawless, 1989; Higgins et al., 1983).

The above indicates that central government is the key player in highlighting the problems within the arena of the city, and also in eradicating the problems. Poverty was the top motivation in demands for communication and a network of connections between central and local government. The Working Group (a government agency) developed the scheme aiming to tackle “multi-urban deprivation” as this would provide indirect assistance to minority ethnic communities, given their concentration in inner-city areas (McKay and Cox, 1979). The fund was for those local authorities that could demonstrate their “special social need” (Batley and Edwards, 1978) and those that were entirely separate from central government. Individual local authorities could invite local voluntary organisations to submit bids for projects. This meant that the Urban Programme was mostly distributed based on quantity, rather than quality and greater needs (Batley and Edwards, 1978). The formal structure of policymaking, and acquiring finance for the plan, brought competitiveness and local bidding into the planning process, which had two main effects: mobilising governance discourse and practice capacity, by asking local authorities to get involved in finding the major problems and their causes, and also allowing them to be creative and realistic in their approach, by working on the scenario of poverty within the individual context.

Due to the speed of the programme, the Urban Programme was administratively simple; however, it did not have a clear guide for local authorities (McKay and Cox, 1979). No real attempts were made to create a coherent urban strategy to guide the programme, leading some critics to dismiss it as merely a fund-dispensing mechanism rather than a structured programme (Higgins et al., 1983). As Batley and Edwards (1978) mentioned, in some cases local authorities used this fund to fill the gap in mainline provision by providing additional services like nursery education and pre-school playgroups. The governance process in which the decisions were made was single-minded, partly because of the strategy that the government adapted, and partly due to lack of discourse framing. Community Development Projects, together with general social work and general community projects received a large portion of the fund, whilst the housing projects sounded too complicated to be funded (McKay and Cox, 1979).

As there was no precise definition of the nature of poverty in the Urban Programme, and as it was suffering from a lack of engagement for this reason, this led to a further lack of clarity about the solutions, both in terms of the programme's aims and the means by which these aims ought to be achieved (Batley and Edwards, 1978). By reviewing those projects funded by the government, Batley and Edwards (1978) revealed the government's understanding of poverty and deprivation; firstly, the programme clearly operated under the social pathology model of deprivation, which maintains that the fault and failings of the poor is in themselves, and secondly, by choosing to supplement existing local authority services, it is clear that central government believed that the poverty problem could be cured by additional resources. The existing structure of government and its working pattern was seen as an acceptable mode that is able to work. The government, at a national level, set the formal structure of policy, and local government had to suggest quick-fix solutions for socially-effected economic disparity, which left some families with a deep-seated poverty problem. The community got involved as part of the process; however, not as the main part of governance mobilisation bias, but as the target for reform.

The Urban Programme did succeed in providing a quick-fix solution to some of the more pressing social problems of the day, as Higgins et al. (1983) have written. The Urban Programme attempted to “alleviate” but not “eradicate” the symptoms (Higgins et al., 1983, p.85). This criticism was developed by the Community Development Projects (CDPs), using Marxist ideology. This saw the capitalist economy as the main cause of poverty, and therefore inner-city problems could not be resolved simply by improving the socio-economic conditions of local areas (Cameron, 2004). The following section will examine CDPs in more detail.

Table 4–2 summarises its dimension in a framework for further discussion and comparison of governance progress in the last decades.

Table 4–2: Analysing levels of governance of Urban Programme initiative

Level	Urban Programme
Episodes	Poor inner-city areas, social and economic deprivation
Actors	Central government at the national level, local councils, local voluntary organisations, education authorities
Arenas	Integrating parts of the city, educating social groups
Ambiences and interactive practices	Place-dominated plan, quick and easy solutions
Governance process	Central government backing, parenthood of government, sectoral public and voluntary sector consultation
Discourses	Improvement of physical environment, improving schools and cultural centres, nurseries, education
Practices	Encouraging social interactions and change of social relations
Specification of laws	Formal competitiveness and resource flow, local authorities' involvement
Governance culture	Centrally-based decisions, local authority as the service provider
Accepted modes of governance	Single insight to the issue, clear framework or criteria for bidding
Embedded values	Embedded beliefs in eradication of poverty and social inequality
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	More autonomy given to local authorities in recognising local problems, limited connections with some voluntary groups and local residents, funded solely by central government

4.7 The Community Development Projects

The impetus for the CDPs came from a working group of civil servants based at the Home Office from 1968 until 1978, which funded twelve area

projects (Higgins et al., 1983). Given the American idea called “war on poverty”, this Working Group decided to develop a community development approach which would be a more appropriate way to tackle the urban poverty problem (*ibid*). Central government, again, discovered the problem and conducted a series of projects to improve inner-urban areas. Improvement of the social and economic disorder of the poorer neighbourhoods was seen as a priority, and studies were carried out by central government and by the collaboration of selected local authorities in order to find ways of improving them. This was the proposal of a community-based programme at a smaller scale, with the same funding structure as the Urban Programme (75% provision from central government and 25% from local government) that was being piloted in the twelve areas (Corkey and Craig, 1978).

The aims of the CDP, however, were different from those of the Urban Programme, as it was required to find radical new solutions through action-oriented research (Batley and Edwards, 1978; Bridges, 1975). Lees and Smith (1975) have cited the Home Office quote regarding the CDP aims as follows:

“The CDP is a modest attempt at action research into the better understanding and more comprehensive tackling of social needs, especially in local communities within the older urban areas, through closer coordination of central and local official and unofficial effort, informed and stimulated by citizen initiative and involvement”

(p.3)

The main point of this initiative was to look at the causes of poverty from various aspects and to set an interactive practice with local authorities, some non-governmental organisations, and the residents of those areas.

As some scholars argued, the CDPs questioned the validity of an area-based approach to regeneration, arguing that poverty was a widespread phenomenon, and that the outcome of the unequal play of the market forces, which preferred the interest of capital rather than labour, was unavoidable

(Bridges, 1975). Although the network of relations was expanded through the official bodies of the locality and amongst citizens, a limited number of projects for certain areas could not have a long-term deep impact on decreasing UK urban area poverty. Discourses were mainly between focal actors and the community as a whole, which was not subject to extensive consultation or participation.

With these carefully operated projects, the government was hoping to build up a body of knowledge that would facilitate a more effective targeting of scarce resources to tackle the poverty problems (Higgins et al., 1983). The administrative reform was also marginalised, as the CDPs posed no threat to either the existing political infrastructure or to the administration of urban policy (Mayo and Craig, 1975). The existing range of governance was the practical mode of the series of regeneration initiatives. The embedded culture and hierarchy of government was the only method which kept central government as the main fund-provider, and as the leader of the projects, whilst local councils and some of the other government organisations worked together to focus on the project and the community. However, once again, the community was not at the heart of the process, but it did secure special attention from local government.

The criteria for choosing the CDPs were flexible and there were no restrictions on the size of the project area (*ibid*). It was also requested that the Home Office establish a central Information and Intelligence Unit (IIU) to manage the inter-project works (Mayo and Craig, 1975). As a result, the IIU gave a greater degree of capacity, which enabled them to increase their value of works and circulate their findings to wider groups (Corkey and Craig, 1978).

Table 4-3: Analysis of levels of governance of Community Development Projects

Level	Community Development Project
Episodes	Centrally-dominated policy, local government, social groups, citizens of certain targeted areas
Actors	Some 12 areas of appointed cities, specific areas
Arenas	Sectoral urban problem intervention, targeted areas, certain problems, specific solution
Ambiences and interactive practices	Not necessarily related to other parts of the city or even being long-term
Governance process	Wider connections with government (both national and local), with some stakeholders (private or public sector)
Discourses	Being flexible and welcoming to new ideas, better understanding of the problems
Practices	Giving greater power to local authorities in framing issues and providing solutions
Specification of Laws	Central and local government funding mechanism, social and basic economic recovery principles
Governance culture	Dealing with the problem in that context only
Accepted modes of governance	Traditional top-to-bottom control, no flexibility in action plan
Embedded values	Sectoral approach used in dealing with the problem
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	No clear and constructive connection with areas, and within the same area with different neighbourhoods

Later on, CDPs formed their own union, the Political Economy Collective, which analysed the findings, and in 1973 the inter-project report of the CDPs, which looked at central government's policies, critically suggested that the problems of urban deprivation had been exaggerated and that the Home

Office was making no effort to solve the problems of poverty (Lees and Smith, 1975). At this stage, the governance process did not change, but the guidance for identifying problems did, and the extent of public consultation was slightly extended. Table 4–3 is the summary of the dimensions of governance for the Community Development Project initiative.

4.8 Policy Development in the 1970s

Although the radical message of the CDPs was not accepted by government, city renewal policies did begin to get reviewed and moved from an “individual to structural explanation” of the rundown areas and conflicts (Cameron, 2004). The social pathology of the Urban Programme was questioned and reprogrammed in 1979 to give a clearer and broader definition for the scheme, which included industrial, economic and environmental issues with economic development priorities (Lawless, 1989; Robson, 1988). There was debate on the causes of the economic decline in the cities, such as government employment policies, or big firms’ plans to move out of cities to make more profit or reduce running costs (Cameron, 2004). The general focus turned towards the enhancement of central and local government capacity to pursue local economic development policies giving local authorities more power to support small firms or create new industry (*ibid*).

4.9 Urban Regeneration in the 1980s

With the election of a Conservative government in 1979, the government inner-city programme, again, moved toward the private sector and the use of all sorts of partnership structures. Some examples, such as Enterprise Zones, City Grants or Urban Development Corporations, were ways of encouraging non-governmental organisations and actors to play active roles in development plans (Cameron, 2004). Therefore, central and local government preferred to act as the policy provider or partner with less financial involvement (*ibid*).

4.10 Urban Development Corporations (UDCs)

The initial idea behind UDCs was inspired by the organisations which had worked for the implementation of the British New Towns programme since 1946, and it was empowered by the perception that a single-purpose, simple body would be more efficient and successful than a multi-functional organisation, like a local authority, especially in the metropolitan boroughs and those cities which were identified as requiring special attention (Cameron and Coaffee, 2003).

The Urban Development Corporation represented a remarkable change in the direction for inner-city regeneration; away from social- and community-based projects and towards physical- and economic-oriented projects, that were private sector-led rather than state-led (*ibid*). Their original remit was set out by the 1980 *Local Government Planning and Land Act (LGPLA)*, with the focus on property-led regeneration. In fact, UDCs started as commercial organisations but were forced to support local communities after 1988 (*Hansard*, 1980).

Created in the 1980 Act, the UDCs were single-purpose agencies charged with the task of:

“bringing land and building into effective use, encouraging the development of existing and new industry and commerce, creating an attractive environment and ensuring that housing and social facilities are available to encourage people to live and work in the area”

(LGPLA Section 136 in Batley, 1989, p.16)

Twelve UDC projects were created, beginning with the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC, 1981) and ending with the Sheffield UDC in 1988 (Batley, 1989). Each of them was designated by central government, and their private-sector management was interested in property development (*ibid*). They were given powers regarding land acquisition, including land belonging to the government, the provision of grant aids to developers, the approval or rejection of planning applications made to them and the ability to deem

themselves granted planning permission (Lawless, 1988). This fundamental change in the mode of governance resulted in the construction of major projects which was previously either impossible or too time-consuming. This was, in some respects, a positive mobilisation bias in using the private sector alongside local authorities to improve housing conditions, economic activities and environmental quality.

In practice, the UDCs had success in securing the physical regeneration of their areas: the London Docklands Development Corporation is a good example. In spite of all their achievements, UDCs have been criticised for failing to sustain local people's fortunes, and for the failure of "trickle-down" (Robson, 1988; Batley, 1989). Studies showed how local authorities had to build up a network of connections, and work together with non-governmental organisations. However, local residents were still the missing part of this action plan. The decisions and main strategies were made based on economic criteria and physical improvement, which lacked the interest of a variety of residents. The majority of the projects did not start with public consultation and did not analyse their final impact on the daily lives of local residents. Stoker (1989) simply describes that the UDCs provided a "75% solution, providing urban renewal which benefited the top three-quarters of the income distribution through the provision of professional and skilled jobs and housing at the top end of the housing market." (p.163)

The UDCs had very little effect on the circumstances of the local people, so they agreed to put some investment into job creation and houses for the indigenous population (Lawless, 1989). In some areas the situation was even worse, as the activities of the UDCs actually increased the rate of unemployment: in Manchester, the escalating land values increased commercial and industrial rents, forcing some existing businesses to relocate, downsize or close down completely (Imrie and Thomas, 1993).

Thus, the second and third generation of UDCs, launched in 1988, tried to include more local residents (Batley, 1989). In this way, knowledge resources of

specific projects were cultivated, and decisions were made on a more interactive basis with selected stakeholders. However, the question still remained about the benefits of UDCs, their ability to secure sustainable, long-term regeneration and their reliance on market-based solutions. Later on, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the collapse of the property market exposed the UDCs' vulnerability and left the corporations dependent on government subsidies for their survival (Deakin and Edwards, 1993). Table 4–4 summarises the dimensions of governance of UDCs.

For many, UDCs were a successful experience which improved the condition of its project area dramatically. However, as there was no other parallel company working on neighbourhoods' social or cultural matters, this massive initiative was left with criticism over its singular approach and disconnection with local people. In 1990, after the review of urban policy, and analysing the failure of UDCs to precipitate a change in circumstances of people in deprived areas, finding a new approach to solving the urban poverty problem was required and the result was the introduction of City Challenge, launched in 1991 (Parkinson, 1993).

Table 4–4: Dimensions of governance of Urban Development Corporations

Level	Urban Development Corporation
Episodes	A new privately run company working with local government
Actors	Network of local authorities, private sector, central government other companies
Arenas	Property development, economic investment,
Ambiences and interactive practices	Stakeholders and local council interaction
Governance process	New insights into urban regeneration approach, looking for economic improvement, broad physical changes
Discourses	Well-established connections with private investors and central government
Practices	Being firm and holistic in their approach
Specification of laws	Using their power in conducting the projects and in bureaucratic procedure
Governance culture	Being creative and thoughtful in physical and economic development
Accepted modes of governance	Meeting the targets in a set period of time, working closely with private investors
Embedded values	Less socially-oriented and -originated policies
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	Concentration of formal strategies for working with others, working at national and regional scale

4.11 Urban Regeneration in the 1990s

The perception of working merely with a commercial and property development approach did not work perfectly in attempting to tackle and overcome urban degeneration. It was also recognised that it was not only the inner-city areas that were disadvantaged. There were places even in rural areas

with a “particular housing tenure – council tenant” that were suffering from poverty and deprivation (Cameron, 2004). The urban problems identified were categorised as follows: economy and employment; social polarisation; training and education; physical decay and environmental concerns; and crime and anti-social behaviour (*ibid*). This time local government was again given a central role in the form of partnerships with the private and voluntary sectors around four assumptions (Stoker and Young, 1993):

- Urban problems required local solutions, and only local authorities had the necessary local knowledge to tailor policies to meet the particular condition of their localities;
- Tackling urban problems often required an integrated response from a range of agencies and interests. Local authorities could act as a catalyst to ensure effective networking among agencies;
- Developing an appropriate policy required strategic leadership and vision. Local authorities could provide that leadership in a way that balances the concern of different interests;
- Decisions about how to tackle urban problems had to be seen to be accountable and legitimate. Local authorities could provide a forum for ensuring the legitimacy of urban decision-making;

It was argued that the local government should be a place where local voices can be heard, by balancing the collective needs and aspirations of communities (“balance” here meant a widespread strategy without missing out any part of society). Local government has its validity from community as well as members of the government (Beecham et al., 1992). It was necessary to carefully reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of past approaches. As a result, some general thoughts were expressed as follows:

- Opportunity and welfare should be given to all citizens, not just the most vulnerable people. “Trickle-down” theories were discredited from the experience of the 1980s

- There was a need for a broad approach; moving beyond merely urban requirements, and getting close to other related fields such as economic, social and cultural issues
- Sustainable development commitment, and respect for the environment and quality of human life found a place at the top of the agenda
- A strategy of empowerment and coordination among political, social and business elites were also needed (Stoker and Young, 1993).

The main new programme which used these ideas was City Challenge, introduced in 1991 (Cameron, 2004).

4.12 City Challenge

City Challenge was a new and distinctive approach to regeneration, and the first area-based initiative to make provision for the complexity of urban deprivation, after the failure of previous regeneration schemes, in creating changes across the broader spectrum of urban problems. Therefore, City Challenge offered the official recognition that multi-faceted problems required a multi-faceted approach (Colenutt and Cutten, 1994). While encompassing some aspects of environmental, physical and infrastructural regeneration at the front line, City Challenge also included economic – more specifically human resource development – and social concerns (Davoudi and Healey, 1995). The arena in which most of the activities took place was in the poor inner-city neighbourhoods with multi-aspect problems. The approach in this initiative was comprehensive in order to meet the multi-façade urban need.

The key pillars of City Challenge were its structure for local management, including local authorities, businesses, voluntary and community sectors in a partnership base, and the way in which it took a wide range of perspectives of urban problems into account (Colenutt and Cutten, 1994). Local councils were given real opportunities to participate in the regeneration process, and this reinstated local government as a leading player in the process (*ibid*).

Interestingly, City Challenge specified that local people should be the managers, rather than the subjects, of the regeneration process. Based on the interests of central government, people were encouraged to take greater responsibility for their own welfare, which in turn improved the efficiency of programmes (Atkinson and Moon, 1994). Empowerment of the local government in initiating a plan tailored to local needs, by asking residents, private and voluntary groups and other parts of the community, was the highlight of this regeneration plan. The extent to which the initial aim was achieved, and whether or not local consultation and opportunity to participate took place, are some of the debates which remain around the City Challenge initiative. It did include a wide range of people and representatives of organisations in identifying problems and promoting a discourse culture. Also, in terms of planning management and mobilisation, it gave greater decision-making and action power to local government which was another amendment to the culture of governance.

Table 4–5: Dimensions of governance of City Challenge

Level	City Challenge
Episodes	Disadvantaged urban areas, social, economic and physically poor neighbourhoods (as designated by central government)
Actors	Network of local authorities, private sector, central government, other companies
Arenas	Property development, economic investment
Ambiences and interactive practices	Stakeholders and local council interaction
Governance process	New insights into urban regeneration approach, looking for economic improvement, broad physical changes
Discourses	Well-established connection with private investors and central government
Practices	Being firm and holistic in their approach
Specification of laws	Using their power in conducting the projects and in bureaucratic procedure
Governance culture	Being creative and thoughtful in physical and economic development
Accepted modes of governance	Meeting the targets in a set period of time, working closely with private investors
Embedded values	Less socially-oriented and originated policies
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	Concentration of formal strategies for working with others, working at national and regional scale

Another significant change was in the funding system of the scheme, which introduced a competitive bidding approach to the distribution of regeneration funds (Mabbott, 1993; Parkinson, 1993). Previous schemes had their funding allocated on the basis of need, but City Challenge invited the areas to compete with each other for £37.5 million, introducing the idea of “winners”

and “losers” in the allocation of resources (Imrie and Raco, 2003, p.43). Robinson and Shaw (1994) and Edwards (1997), however, argued about the disadvantages of competitive bidding and money being distributed to the best bid rather than the most deprived area.

When it came to the nature of the residents’ involvement, as Davoudi and Healey (1995) argued, the way in which the “technocratic” management procedure was used served to bureaucratise the process and marginalise community and voluntary interests. Although local interest groups and those who had some stake in the project area were given the chance to play a part, those with more power, stronger relations or even a stronger financial ability became more active (Mabbott, 1993).

Furthermore, for the elected local councillors it was difficult to accept the legitimacy of community representatives, as they saw themselves as the representatives of their communities and were unwilling to share their power with local people (Colenutt and Cutten, 1994). In reality, the scheme was reflecting the interests of local authorities, rather than local people. In the meantime, central government introduced another flagship project called the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), aiming to readdress centralisation and residents’ participation.

4.13 Single Regeneration Budget

In 1994, the DoE formed a new approach in response to criticism and improvements for disadvantaged localities, which failed to last. The competitive bidding system remained as the method of funding, but any local authority could apply for funding, not just those who had been invited (Ward and Allport, 1997). The arena of planning activities was not chosen by central government, in the hope of including every area in need of regeneration, particularly those with the greatest needs. Interestingly, the setting of bidding objects was in the hands of local government, which was a new feature (Cameron, 2004). The other

differences to City Challenge were the flexibility of the funding process: the level of funding could be varied over each year of the scheme according to local needs, and also the timescale of projects up to seven years could be determined (Ward and Allport, 1997). Learning lessons from the difficulties of UDCs and City Challenge in focusing their economic policies on the needs of local people, the government emphasised human resource-oriented economic development instead of property development regeneration (Edwards, 1997; Hall and Nadim, 1999).

Unlike City Challenge, Government Offices for the Regions (GORs) managed the SRB (Hall and Nadim, 1999). In fact, GORs intended to shift the balance of power from central government to the locality, and allow partnerships to have an increased degree of autonomy (Tilson et al., 1997). Having connections with and working with regional level authorities cut short the formality and working patterns of traditional central-local planning practice. This arrangement added to the network of connections, and enriched the outcome of this relationship. But in practice, the SRB gave rise to the same criticisms as City Challenge, in terms of the central-local government relationship and the nature of community participation. Many critics like Robinson and Shaw (1994) pointed to the strong centralised dynamic of government and the re-establishment of the leadership of local authorities, which in turn retained the government's control of the programme. Hall and Nadim (1999) identified three key centralising features of the SRB:

- First, in order to gain the local government's attention and funds, local partnerships had to meet the central government's requirements; Hall and Pfeiffer (2000) described this as the market with only one purchaser;
- Second, despite all the policy frameworks, in reality, the GORs were the regional agents of central government, which acted as little more than a "sorting agency" for SRB bids (Edwards, 1997). Ministers were regarded as the final decision-making authority with a powerful mandate (Hall and Nadim, 1999);

- And finally, the DoE did not make public the criteria for approving bids, which meant that local partnerships had no idea whether their submitted plans would be successful (Tilson et al., 1997).

Local authorities, regardless of efforts to eradicate the sense of exclusion within the regeneration partnerships, failed to represent local communities and the voluntary sector as equal partners when bids were being presented (Mawson and Hall, 2000; Tilson et al., 1997). The governance process in the three sections of discourse, practice and specification of law did not face major changes. Public consultation did not become part of the process, as there was no strong supporting legislation for it.

The commonest method of collecting stakeholders' opinions was mainly by distributing questionnaires, and in the early stages, public meetings (Mawson and Hall, 2000). In terms of a policy action plan, SRB did not provide local government with clear legal guidelines to implement and gain full partnership with local residents, businesses and voluntary groups. The tight timescale for presenting bids to the GORs did not leave time for even a simple consultation, and residents' involvement was given lower priority within partnership structures (*ibid*).

Table 4–6: Dimensions of governance of Single Regeneration Budget

Level	Single Regeneration Budget
Episodes	Wider range of areas with economic, social and physical issues involved
Actors	Central government ministers as final approval power, regional offices for faster and more locally concentrated actors, local councils, citizens in the form of private firms, residents and other community and interest groups
Arenas	Inner-city and problematic areas won bidding
Ambiences and interactive practices	Working in a new hierarchical pattern
Governance process	Working with private sector, local residents to improve the area
Discourses	Limited range of public consultation
Practices	All areas, including problematic ones, could join bid, flexible criteria for the best plan, simple and routine public participation guidelines
Specification of laws	Partnership structure
Governance culture	Being welcoming to the diverse opinions of citizens and partners
Accepted modes of governance	Parenthood of central government but at different level
Embedded values	Prioritising action plan by local government
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	Central government had the final say in decisions and funding

The legitimacy of plans improved by making local government responsible for urban regeneration, but it failed to make citizens an active part of the process. In other words, government, at different levels, remained in charge of preparing, providing and implementing urban development plans. Table 4–6

above illustrates the general picture of the SRB based on Healey's governance criteria.

4.14 Regeneration Policy after 1997

The review of recent regeneration initiatives revealed that, despite the government's interest in making use of residents' partnership or participation, it was never fully implemented due to lack of government support, clear guidelines and time, and legal disputes within the process of the urban programme. However, from the late 1990s, New Labour opened a new chapter for the involvement of communities within the process of regeneration. Upon winning the 1997 parliamentary election, the new government immediately instigated a programme of reform designed to modernise projects and thinking about long-term policy problems, and undertook an extensive programme of research and consultation to develop policies in two areas: the problem of social exclusion in deprived neighbourhoods, and the 'urban renaissance' of British cities. The problem of social exclusion in neighbourhoods was examined by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU, 1998; 2001), and the idea of urban renaissance was developed by the Urban Task Force, chaired by Richard Rodgers (Fairclough, 2000). These two aspects of New Labour regeneration policies are discussed below.

4.15 Social Exclusion

The term was originally used in France in 1974 to refer to various categories of people who were unprotected by social insurance, but at the time labelled as "social problems" (Rodgers et al., 1995, p.1). In the 1980s, it became the centre of debate about the new face of poverty, rooted in economic restructuring and technological changes which caused societal damage. Under the influence of social exclusion debates, the aims of and approaches to eradicating urban poverty and improving citizens' living environments, entered a new phase. Poverty and its social consequences became the core of planning and

political attention. This can be referred to as “social disintegration in the sense of a progressive rupture of the leadership between the individual and society” (*ibid*, p.2); a society with a complicated network of connections which interact with each other. The government once again attracted the attention of political and planning members, but under the context-related name and aim. The term “social exclusion” has entered into political and social discourses since 1997 as a

“shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low-income, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown”

(SEU, 1998, p.1)

In terms of social affairs, it gives a comprehensive description of poverty, consisting of all aspects of economic and social relations, and looks at the impact on individuals’ political rights and citizenship within society (Townsend, 1993). One of the best points about the nature of the social exclusion initiative was to demonstrate an inclusive and comprehensive picture of the urban problem. It wisely tried to find both the obvious and the hidden connections of economic and employment disparity on the social life of the individual, the living environment and other features of society. Therefore, it demanded various organisations and levels of government to be actively involved in both decision-making and practice, meaning that changes in governance networks and coalitions were imposed. Silver (1995) argues that there are different bases for social exclusion approaches and she introduces three main paradigms (Silver, 1995, p.7):

- “Solidarity”, which emphasises on the existence of a core of shared values and a “moral community” in society;
- “Specialisation”, mostly about a liberal political environment that is built on “individuals who are bearers of rights and obligations.”;
- “Monopoly”, a “paradigm of different groups controlling resources and insiders protecting their domains against outsiders, constructing barriers ... to goods and services”.

Table 4–7: Dimensions of governance of Social Exclusion

Level	Social Exclusion
Episodes	Areas with poor health, poverty and other social problems
Actors	Government (with new office of SEU) at central and local level
Arenas	Three pillars of economic (poverty, employment, disadvantaged people), social (crime, education, exclusion, crime) environment (physical improvement)
Ambiences and interactive practices	Integration with different local and central government offices, interacting with all, especially the most excluded and hard-to-reach group of people
Governance process	Large public and inter-office consultation
Discourses	Collecting wide range of information about women, youth, drugs, health, etc.
Practices	Extensive participation work between organisations, specific government office (SEU)
Specification of laws	Many initiatives made to get close to citizens, especially in the most deprived areas
Governance culture	New ways of thinking by calling all levels of the society, deliberative democracy
Accepted modes of governance	Positive discrimination for elderly, women and hard-to-reach residents, extensive consultation, integrated thinking
Embedded values	Being inclusive towards citizens
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	Considering different aspects, planning for them, acting simultaneously and in an integrated manner

In fact, despite the multiple meanings of the term “social exclusion”, the UK concept provides a framework standing on the three pillars of poverty,

productive employment and social integration, to provide an intellectual response to the new globalised economic situation, promoting active participation rather than tips or benefits (Fairclough, 2000). There were two means by which the government addressed social exclusion: through social welfare, and by the reorganisation of the government system to address social exclusion more clearly, as the government believed the multi-faceted nature of social exclusion could not be dealt with by individual departments with little consideration of links between them (SEU, 2004). It was through consultation and discourses that the government framed the issues, and provided regeneration initiatives and new courses for action. In both theory and practice, stakeholders were deliberately chosen and arrangements were made to include marginalised groups of society, and those who are traditionally not seen or heard.

In some respects it even introduced a new culture to governance, which was a local government power-sharing ideology (which had never been experienced before). Some people believe that the best means of reconnecting the excluded with organisations is by promoting social inclusion and by preventing material poverty (Annesley, 2001), whilst others like Fairclough (2000) argue that the socially excluded are in some way responsible for their exclusion. They believe that social exclusion is portrayed as a condition, not a process. According to Prime Minister Blair's speech, social exclusion is "passed down from generation to generation", supporting the theory of the cycle of deprivation and the need for an in-depth solution (Fairclough, 2000, p.57).

In 1997, the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) was established, based in the Cabinet Office, by using coordination across departments (Cameron, 2004). This was part of a larger project to modernise and reform the formal systems of governance at central and local levels. One of the key issues to be addressed by the Social Exclusion Unit was the problem of disadvantaged neighbourhoods within cities, and this led to the publication of the National Strategy Action Plan in 2001, which had more emphasis on the local governance system, partnership theories and neighbourhood management.

4.16 New Deal for Communities

The social problem of the disadvantaged areas was well known to the UK government. Therefore, introducing neighbourhood-based regeneration became Labour's primary policy to deal with this problem, focusing on the most deprived areas and targeting vulnerable groups (Cameron and Coaffee, 2003). This time, again, some neighbourhoods were the priority for the government's regeneration initiatives. Paying attention to the parts of cities which were subject to a series of problems and degeneration was the general idea behind government policy.

Allocating £3.5 billion to 39 separate neighbourhoods within 17 Pathfinder areas was the first step in delivering this promise, after identifying the problems and producing the New Deal for Communities plan in 1998 (Ralph and Peterman, 2003). Choosing these neighbourhoods was part of the government's (central and local) intention to set an extensive renewal strategy. The selected stakeholders who became involved with this process gave autonomy to some residents to play an active part. Two themes underlined this plan: the continued use of partnerships to develop and implement regeneration efforts (Taylor, 2000), and the increasing focus on area-based initiatives as the preferred mechanism (Stewart and Purdue, 2001). This indicates that those within the governance process were happy with the quality of the relationship and partnership networks that existed previously. Also, due to the emphasis of the plans on social problems, discourses could help to get to the bottom of problems and suggest appropriate solutions.

Once a partnership was formed, it would then start to draw up a delivery plan to address four key themes: tackling unemployment, crime, improving health and educational achievement. Later on, the physical environment and housing improvements were addressed (DETR, 1998a). Although the community was at the heart of NDC partnerships, central government remained responsible for maintaining each partnership via its regional offices located across England. One of the significant features of the NDC programme was its high degree of freedom in deciding what the best approach was in each area, which gave it

diversity and allowed a different range of activities to take place (Ralph and Peterman, 2003).

Table 4–8: Dimensions of governance of New Deal for Communities

Level	New Deal for Communities
Episodes	Selected Pathfinder neighbourhoods with social problems
Actors	Government at central, regional and local level, management and involvement of communities
Arenas	Working closely with community
Ambiences and interactive practices	Making decisions with the community; the coalition planning process, consisting of local businesses, residents, various authorities and the private sector
Governance process	Local councils, as leaders of initiatives at the local level, ran most of the committees, even those that were located in the project area
Discourses	Wide range of discourses helped regeneration committees to frame the issue
Practices	Partnership working with local businesses as a resource
Specification of Laws	Community as part of decision-making process
Governance culture	Plans prepared locally
Accepted modes of governance	Working at local level with local community in the offices located in the area; accessible to everyone
Embedded values	Cultural and social issues had same weight as physical and economic matters
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	Creating networking, enhancing the quality of regeneration

Given the strong role of government offices at a regional level, partnership working became a part of governance tradition and culture. NDC was one of the most socially-oriented and locally-focused initiatives, which made

social and cultural issues a part of regeneration policies and of the formal structure of planning. In doing so, planning authorities had to widen their relational resources with local people, communities, businesses or voluntary groups, in order to enrich the plans' knowledge resources, and to achieve their goals in eradicating poverty, reducing crime and enhancing people's societal life.

The NDC was beneficial to some areas, in terms of physical and social transformation, but there were many deprived areas that were not included in this programme. Even with this socially-oriented initiative, neighbourhoods could not recover from their old economic, social or physical decline. This was partly because many areas were left out of any regeneration programme, and partly due to a deficiency in commitment and lack of a long-term solution. There has been an ongoing challenge in relation to the government's decision to adopt a highly community-oriented approach and to spend the funds on the plans. Although there was emphasis on encouraging other local and national agencies to have a joined-up approach, it was hard to get them engaged with NDC partnerships. Also, at a community level, the level of participation did not grow in many areas, and to some extent remained the same. The above table (4-8) summarises NDCs initiative against the governance dimension criteria. Apart from those people who were in some way directly involved in the governance of NDC, the reaction from members of the community was somewhat less positive (ODPM, 2004). There are many who were never involved or represented, and excluded residents remained excluded. Also, the government could not maintain regeneration as a balanced project, due to the multi-dimensional problems of the cities.

4.17 Urban Renaissance

Urban Renaissance was the second major regeneration policy of New Labour, putting the cities at the core of its agenda. The responsibility of the development of this idea was with a government office called the Urban Task Force, chaired by the architect Lord (Richard) Rogers, which resulted in a massive reform in the approach to looking at urban regeneration and policy

documents: *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (UTF, 1999). The main reference of the following text will be this document. It is interesting, as it uses a different approach in tackling urban poverty. It highlights the role of society, and divides neighbourhoods into two distinct categories; improving the quality of the living environment at a city scale to attract a variety of citizens to live in the city, whilst enjoying the physical advantage of suburban-inspired urban design (*ibid*). This also encourages the co-existence of people with different income levels next to each other to create cohesion and harmony. After decades of negative political and media discourse on inner-city life, this was a U-turn to transform and regenerate the cities, public spaces and urban communities. “This contribution aims to critically analyse the urban renaissance agenda from the prospective of its long-term capacity to address the socio-spatial polarisation of British cities” (Colomb, 2006, p.1).

The objectives of Urban Renaissance were to construct:

“new sustainable urban realms, founded upon the principles of social mixing, sustainability, connectivity, higher densities, walkability, the high quality streetscapes with the express aim of attracting the suburban knowledge and service industrial demographic back to the city”

(Rodgers and Coaffee, 2005, p.323)

The arena in which this strategic plan was implemented, despite previous experiences, was much wider and diverse than before, including poor as well as affluent neighbourhoods. It was an exciting new ideology which required the creation of new networks of connections between planners, designers, and social or economic experts. In fact, all levels of society fell into the plans’ process, which was more of an inclusive approach in comparison with past initiatives.

Urban Renaissance was a multi-dimensional policy with specific focus on economic improvement, which was to eventually make the city competitive. The dialects of good urban design, civility and citizenship can in turn encourage civilised social behaviours derived from an Anglo-American theory about the

link between the environment and human behaviours (Schneider and Kitchen, 2002). Rodgers believes “people make cities but cities make citizenship” (Holden and Iveson, 2003, p.58). “Good public space and good design is therefore both the outcome of a successful urban renaissance as well as a tool for mobilising communities to deliver this urban renaissance” (Holden and Iveson, 2003, p.69). However, it was not long before the critics started to attack the slow progress in implementing the plan, its costs and the contradictions between the two key agendas: “a neighbourhood renewal” priority focusing on tackling social exclusion in the poorest areas, and “design-led urban renaissance agenda fostering the physical, aesthetic and economic regeneration of all cities” (Holden and Iveson, 2003; Cochrane, 2000; 2003; 2007; Hetherington, 2007).

Despite the criticism raised over its reorientation in regenerating only certain parts of cities, Urban Renaissance could not fundamentally change the local authorities’ culture of control and fully implement citizens’ participation. According to Macleod and Ward (2002),

“active construction and promotion of a new urban idyll to reinvent positive visions of urban life, aimed at counteracting the cultural prevalence of the rural idyll and the myth of suburbia as the archetypal utopia, is necessary for the urban renaissance discourse”

(p.158)

It has been an advantage to different interests and community groups to communicate with each other and to be a part of the governance process to enhance the physical quality of their neighbourhood. People in problematic areas were encouraged, and assisted, to gain confidence and promote their skills and ability to engage actively in their employment market, whilst economic competitiveness and advancement of the city in general became part of the initiative’s aim. Some authors, despite the media’s appreciation of the urban idyll, believe that it only promoted certain socio-economic groups (Lees, 2003). However, the government’s aim was to attract this category of society back into the inner city, partly as a mechanism to tackle the concentration of poverty.

One set of discourses, in order to mobilise regeneration governance, was the revitalisation of disadvantaged areas, which was the aim of many government initiatives and was limited to certain neighbourhoods during the investment in projects, which could not eradicate the deeply-rooted urban problems of the poor. Another discourse was the creation of sustainable cities and communities to increase social integration and cultural communication in mixed-tenure housing estates. This can only be achieved if citizens of all social classes are given the choice and variety of decent and attractive public services, schools, and physical and spatial environments within the inner-city areas.

The concept of social mix is an engine of cohesion and sustainable communities which will eventually wipe out the effects of decades of counter-urbanisation and concentration of deprivation in urban cores (ODPM, 2003a). Williams and Daly (2006) claim that the concept of mixing people with different types of tenure, levels of income and social backgrounds did not necessarily lead to more sustainable communities, and that there was little social interaction between owners and renters. Even if tenure mix brings about physical proximity between different socio-economic groups, it is less likely to create a real mix in public spaces, schools, public services etc. (Amin et al, 2000).

Table 4–9: Dimensions of governance of Urban Renaissance

Level	Urban Renaissance
Episodes	Enhancement of environment, economic, social, physical and cultural aspects
Actors	Central government and local authorities, designers, planning experts, private sector, residents
Arenas	Both poor and affluent neighbourhoods, all parts of the city and every citizen
Ambiences and interactive practices	Tackling problems of poor neighbourhoods as well as enhancing quality of good neighbourhoods
Governance process	Making connections with citizens, poor or middle-class
Discourses	New insight, new approach, new framework for urban development
Practices	Giving choice of houses and other services to everyone, creating competitiveness in economy for the neighbourhood, the city, the region, and at national and international level
Specification of laws	Use of all available resources for economic recovery of the area
Governance culture	Inclusive, mixing ideas and interaction, including new cultural interaction with citizens in mixed neighbourhood
Accepted modes of governance	Improving the city in a balanced approach
Embedded values	Giving the chance to every social class to get involved
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	No major change in local authorities' bureaucratic system or the pattern of power sharing

The third criteria of the governance dimension table, which is about the range of embedded cultural values. In theory, it is an ideal approach which can supplement cultural diversity and reduce social problems. However, in reality,

the construction of new estates in many regenerated neighbourhoods did not automatically and immediately bring about social and tenure mixture. It opened a new chapter in regeneration debates known as “inner-suburb” and raised concerns and questions over the practicality of the social and physical impact of these new and, to some extent, expensive houses on the neighbourhood, the eradication of the culture of the poor, job opportunities, or even on the relationships between children of different cultures.

A strong local community, as the outcome of the urban renaissance, empowers and mobilises urban change, new sources of social interaction and the focus of self-governance. But the question raised by many scholars is over

“the existence and boundaries of the local community, the mobilisation of participation channels by organised interests, not necessarily the most representative or the most in need, which is also a common finding in studies of community participation”

(Colomb, 2006, p.11)

This also raised debates over the narrative of local citizen participation, which recreated the problem of urban decline and deprivation, due to a lack of mobilisation of communities and citizens who were empowered and proactive (Imrie and Raco, 2003). However, critics of the Urban Task Force argue that it neglected structural social economic factors.

4.18 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to review the process of urban regeneration in Britain descriptively and critically. Using the institutionalist analytical framework presented in Table 2–1 of the conceptual chapter, the detailed criteria of this framework has been used to analyse major initiatives. This was presented in Tables 4–2 to 4–9. In Table 4–10 below this analysis is summarised for each

of these initiatives using the three main criteria of “specific episodes”, “governance process” and “governance culture”.

As indicated in the “specific episodes” row of Table 4–10, area-based policies to regenerate inner cities have been the dominant policy form since the 1960s, though these have differed in size. As the decades passed, area-based policies evolved from a single approach, such as tackling only economic, social or physical issues of the inner city, to a more integrated and inclusive approach, which accepted the city as a complicated context.

The “governance process” row looks at the role of different actors in the governance of the initiative. It considers the degree of centralisation of control by central government, the role of local government and other public authorities, and the extent to which non-government actors are involved. The general trend has been towards there being a wider range of actors involved and a wider range of partnerships between them. In some cases, the partnerships have been with a particular sector, for example in the case of the partnerships between the Urban Development Corporations and the private sector. One of the most important developments in regeneration policies came in the 1990s with the City Challenge initiative. This introduced a comprehensive and integrated approach to regeneration in which public authorities, the private sector and the community worked together to regenerate deprived areas.

The “government culture” row looks at how the government understood the problems of deprived areas, and the extent to which there was willingness to allow participation and give power to other agencies. Under the Labour government after 1997 there was more emphasis on participation and democracy, with neighbourhood regeneration emphasising the importance of public participation in fighting social exclusion in deprived neighbourhoods.

The main feature has been the change from single-approach regeneration, which was mainly physical or economic, to a more integrated and multi-sectoral approach, trying to create balance between every aspect of the neighbourhood.

This has resulted in the institutional capacity of regeneration initiatives. Governance mobilisation capacity has been strengthened by networks of connection, which gradually expanded vertically and horizontally. This in turn enriched the knowledge resources and discourse ability of the government, and society, in accepting new ideas. But the question remains about the distribution of power in society, the role of democratically-elected members, and the problem of changing embedded bureaucratic government cultures.

Table 4–10: Comparison of governance dimensions of some UK urban regeneration initiatives

Level and dimensions	Urban Programme	Community Development Project	Urban Development Corporations	City Challenge	Single Regeneration Budget	Social Exclusion	New Deal for Communities	Urban Renaissance
Specific Episodes	Socially and economically deprived inner-city areas; Selecting project area exclusively	12 selected urban areas; Limited budget; Targeting certain problems of poverty	Private agency as main part of the governance process; Physical, economic issues priority; Interacting with local people, businesses and councils; Moving away from community-based projects to physical and economic-oriented projects	Multi-faceted problems of city need multi-dimensional solution and management; Appointed disadvantaged neighbourhoods; Public consultation, private and voluntary involvement, council's leadership and local government representatives	Improving economic prosperity by improving residents skills and knowledge; Partnership working but with the council's leadership and central government observation and funding	Return to social and cultural issues; Working around triangle of economy, society and environment	Some appointed poor areas (Pathfinder); Cooperation of central and local government and stakeholders; Cultural and social improvement	City as a whole; Paying attention to poor and middle to high class; Physical, economic, social and technological improvement; Choice creation for everyone
Governance process	Centrally-dominated but locally managed initiative; Opening government doors to non-governmental groups and	Central government intervention, local bidding power; Specific organisation to observe the project; Discourse and	Extensive physical change; Transferring extensive power to non-governmental company; Making connection with private sector; Being holistic and creating visible and	Promotion of discourse culture; Strengthening teamworking and coalition governance	Long-term plan; Limited range of public consultation; Adding regional level to the process to shorten bureaucracy	Specific government office for the initiative; Extensive public consultation; Working with most excluded part of	Giving more power to citizens; Sharing ideas and public consultation; Public engagement within the whole process;, Council	Local government still at the centre of power; Social mix and balance; Equal rights to access to adequate services, environment or employment,

Level and dimensions	Urban Programme	Community Development Project	Urban Development Corporations	City Challenge	Single Regeneration Budget	Social Exclusion	New Deal for Communities	Urban Renaissance
	networking; Including social, educational, welfare and environment regeneration in plan	public consultation; Network of relations with local businesses and residents alongside some local authorities	positive changes			community; Change of planners' attitude towards stakeholders	leadership as well as partnership	Balanced growth
Governance culture	Bringing social and economic issues into plan alongside physical development and housing improvement; Short-term plan and solution	Improving social, cultural awareness; More collaborative approach; Sectoral insight to the nature of the problem	Passing some local government responsibility to private sector; Adding regional management to regeneration process; Lack of equal distribution of economic and physical change to whole city	Changing decision-making process from centrally enforced or full government ideas to more locally-made decisions by consultation and public meetings	Strong government leadership	Integrated thought; Democratic decision-making	Accepting community consolation as a part of planning	Cultural change and attitudes towards regeneration which do not necessarily belong to poor; Partnership working

Chapter 5: Urban Planning and Regeneration in Iran

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter of this research intends to explore the process of planning since the modern urbanisation of Iran, and develop a better understanding of the approaches and general policies employed for the development and regeneration of the cities within the last few decades. Looking at Table 2–1, the dimensions of governance as a framework is used to summarise the general policy and practice of government; This makes both countries' planning processes easy to understand, and compare, for the ultimate purpose of learning lessons. The Iranian system starts with the period prior to the Islamic revolution of 1979, which was the base of the future spatial structure of the country. As economic aspects play an important role in the trend of urban development in Iran, this chapter will look at this in more detail. This will be followed by examining the transformation of policymaking and the planning and administrative systems.

The chapter contains information and analytical data gathered from secondary sources (available literature). Making the link between the UK and Iran is an important task in this research, as there is a difference between the general characteristics of the approaches to urban development and the priorities in the two planning systems. This means that this chapter covers some debates that may not be applicable in the UK. However, the same pattern of looking at the literature, in terms of chronology, and an analytical table, is used. The chapter begins with general background information, followed by the view of the country's evolution in economic, urban development, management and housing policies. This information will then be used in Sari's regeneration review.

5.2 Urban Changes in Iran

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the urban areas of Iran have gone through a great social and economic transition. One of the main causes of this

state of affairs is the economic changes of the country in this period. The country has been facing rapid urbanisation and consequently high demand for urban land, which in turn requires the supply of serviceable land for urban development purposes, including housing production (Baken and Linden, 1992). The rising cost of urban land may largely limit the supply of land available for development by transforming its role in the market into an investment opportunity and speculative commodity (Kitay, 1985). Consequently, in many cases, land is held vacant by owners as a form of saving, or is exchanged in a speculative chain. Generally speaking, from the perspective of low-income and disadvantaged groups, the access to and the availability of affordable land has decreased, especially on the urban fringes (Satterthwaite, 1983; Angel, 1983). Therefore, low-income groups have resorted to illegal squatting on vacant urban land, in order to provide shelter for themselves (Sarin, 1983).

Another reason supporting urban deterioration was/is the urban sprawl of cities, as is the case in many developing countries. Urban sprawl has helped the urban population and urban development grow out of control. Arguably, three types of factors which may obstruct a policy of spatially balanced urban development can be distinguished in Iran. These include:

- Demographic growth which is, at present, one of the major motivating forces behind development. Even existing urban concentrations have developed, and continue to develop, more as a result of natural growth due to rural exodus, despite a lower birthrate in towns than in rural areas.
- The weakness of most medium-sized cities, in terms of a variety of economic activities, availability of human resources, as well as infrastructure services, concerning the recent policy of urban development with certain medium-sized cities, particularly in order to restructure marginal or isolated zones (Habibi and Magsoudi, 2002). But this requires a diversified economic base and supporting infrastructure, which most of these cities do not possess.
- The disparity of incomes, which is especially marked between one city and another, and between rural and urban areas.

Cities are also facing problems in their development. Some of the important spatial problems affecting the expansion of Iranian cities are as follows (Habibi, 1996):

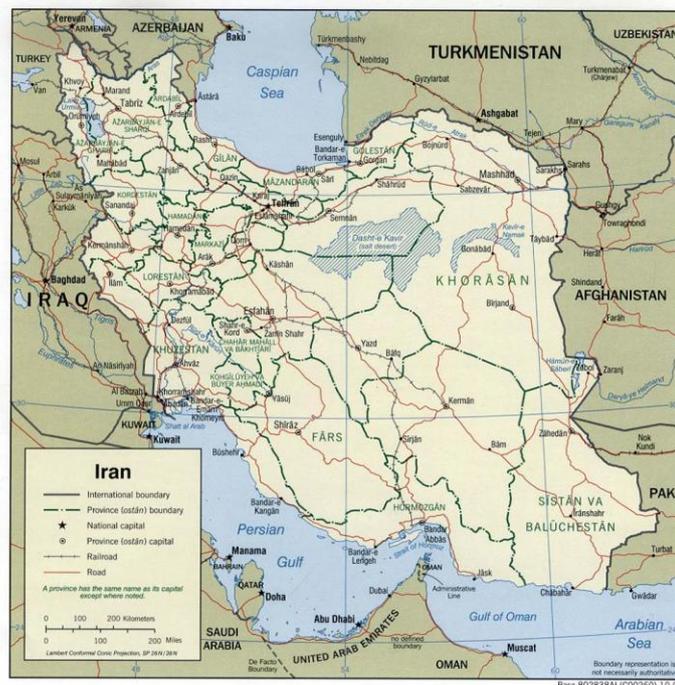
- Limiting factors, including their geographical location and the nature of the soil;
- A continuous encroachment on rich agricultural and orchard land;
- The apparent absence of a coherent and overall solution to the problems of transport; these problems are more apparent in concentrated cities than lower-density settlements.

Development plan documents impose restrictions on urban growth. Although they have not achieved their goals completely, they still play an important part in cities' evolution. Arguably, as Madanipour (1998, p.177) believes, government policy, which included the "investment of public money, introduction of development policies, control of the planning system" and dramatic changes accompanied by the modern lifestyle imported into the country, caused rapid and to a large extent uncontrolled development of the cities in Iran. The complexity of the nature of urban problems has put pressure on the government and demanded systematised urban planning and regeneration. The economic boom, in line with religious-led social policy, has been the main driving force of rapid population growth and the hasty development of cities. The urban population of the country rose from 5.9 million in 1956 to 9.7 million in 1966 (Mozayeni, 1974, p.227), and to 35 million in 1998 (SCI, 1998), which has had an extreme impact on the internal and external structure of many Iranian cities. The structure of institutions which formed and re-formed through time is characterised by a powerful centralised system. Although the process of urban development, national and city planning and urban regeneration is specific to this country and is a young issue, the need for sustainable urban management and planning is needed more than ever.

However, in Iran, the process is characterised in a different way. In newly industrialised countries like Iran, economic and political stability can lead to comprehensively better economic growth, housing standards, education, health and the standard of living in general (Little et al., 1993). However, in the case of Iran, the above ideas are not valid, especially in the housing market, because of self-sufficient and insular policies (Ghanbari Parsa and Madanipour, 1988). Even post-1980s, changes to the international economy, which have liberalised trade and extensively integrated national economies with the international economy, have not had a major impact on the internal economy of Iran, as it has closed its doors to others.

5.3 General Background to the Urbanisation of Iran

Iran, in southwest Asia, is located between the Caspian Sea in the north and the Persian Gulf in the south, and it covers an area of 1.6 km² (SCI, 1991). This climatic variation has been the main cause of different urban environments, cultures and different ways of life throughout history (Kamiar, 1988).



Map 5–1: Geographical map of Iran (www.parstimes.com/images/iran_pol_2001.jpg)

Urban settlement in Iran is a historical phenomenon. Hyper-urbanisation or the rapid growth of urban areas, however, is a relatively new phenomenon, experienced only within the last few decades. Despite the invasions and natural forces that put the country under pressure, it consists of “a marked feeling for form and scale, structural inventiveness, especially in vault and dome construction, genius for decoration with a freedom and success not rivalled in any other architecture” (Pope, 1965, p.266). Some of the distinctive specifications of Iranian urban design were introversion, anthropomorphism and simplicity (*ibid*). Islamic ideology changed the patterns, scale and the architectural morphology, which combined the building style and urban development with Islamic ideology of *mahramiat*.

Some villages did grow in size and expanded their economic relations beyond their immediate local self-sufficiency. These locations, which were especially favourable, took on administrative and service functions in addition to economic ones (Kiani, 1986). This process is common throughout the world, but it is particularly interesting within Iran, as Naged (1977, p.53) points out that “first because of its precocious emergence in time, we are dealing here with almost but not quite the oldest towns in the world, and also because of the strong control imposed in the Iranian context by geographical environment.” There was also, as English (1966) has noted, often a strong continuing link to the local region, as a market and a focus of services, and this could exist alongside important external trends and administrative relationships. Despite the long tradition of city life in Iran, at the start of the twentieth century the country was still an overwhelmingly rural society, with only a small fraction of the total population living in cities (Khavidi, 1979). But after the 1940s, the pattern of urbanisation increased rapidly, and after the Islamic revolution, the process of urbanisation was enhanced even further.

This rapid urban growth from the 1940s onward has been strongly influenced by (Toshtzar, 1985):

- The exploitation of new resources (gas and oil) which established new centres of activity;
- The change in trade patterns with other countries (growing importance of the Persian Gulf and the converging of communication axes on Tehran);
- The explosion of modernity and new lifestyles within Tehran.

In terms of the population in Iran, urban settlements can be categorised into three distinct types: towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, small towns of less than 25,000 inhabitants, and medium-sized towns of between 25,000 and 100,000 inhabitants (SCI, 1985). This categorisation is still applicable, however, migration as well as a high birth rate has increased the number of many small and medium-sized cities dramatically. Plans to manage urban sprawl and take control of urbanisation became a top agenda item for the government from the early 20th century, and these are explained below. In order to understand the nature of urban policy in Iran, it is necessary to review quickly the history and characteristics of the planning system. Two important periods can be identified for the history of urban development in contemporary Iran: before and after 1979 (which are in fact pre- and post-Islamic revolution).

5.4 Dimensions of Modern Urbanisation

In brief, the ruling period of the Gajar dynasty (1794–1925) was the beginning of economic dependency of Iran on other countries. During the period of occupation (between the World Wars), economic growth declined and industrial investment reduced because of military costs and internal problems (Ferdowsian, 2002). The decline of industrial investment shifted the money to other economic areas, mostly trade and land speculation (*ibid*). With the rise to power of Reza Khan, the founder of the Pahlavy dynasty, in 1925, a new chapter was opened in the social transformation of Iran. Reza Khan suppressed autonomous regional forces and created a strong centralised state apparatus in the capital. Major military bases, industries, trade centres, public buildings, and extensive road network were built in major cities (*ibid*). Economically, the

country was beginning a transformation to a dependent capitalism, with Tehran functioning as the core extracting surpluses from the peripheries (Shahrokhzadeh, 1997). Since the 1950s, Iran has increased its GNP (Gross National Product) and per capita income, mainly by means of its oil industry (Ferdowsian, 2002).

5.5 Economic Activities in the Cities and their Impact on Urban Development

Economic growth is only one of the major elements which determine changes in a modern society. The other is urbanisation, which does not necessarily follow the pattern of economic growth, but is highly affected by it. Although in Iran the proportion of the total population living in urban areas is still comparatively low, the size of the primary cities is massive. According to the population census in 1956, 31.4% of the Iranian population were living in urban areas and 68.6% in rural areas (SCI, 1996). However, during the following years, with political and economic changes and the concentration of development programmes in urban areas, the distribution ratio changed to 61.3% of the total population living in cities by 1996 (SCI, 1996). The present network of cities is dominated by the capital, Tehran, which has been the subject of a certain amount of concentration of public investment and efforts to provide facilities. The small- and medium-sized cities remain largely service centre-oriented towards the rural sector and under the direct or indirect influence of Tehran. The present medium-sized cities are quite similar to the small towns, in terms of the quality of services provided, and differ only in the size of their population (Amuzegar and Fekrat, 1971).

The dominant function of cities can be measured by labour force data. The underlying assumption is that the cities' occupational distribution is one of the best indicators of the nature of the urban economy (Berry, 1972). There is no detailed quantitative information available about the activities' structure and employment in urban places prior to 1956 (Amuzegar, 1993). The census of

population and housing in 1956 provides the first set of such detailed data in Iran. According to the results of this census, which are presented in Table 5–1, about 57% of the total population in 1956 were engaged in primary activities (agriculture, forestry, hunting, fishing, mining and quarrying).

Table 5–1: Employment structure in Iran (1956-1976) (SCI, 1976, p.35; 1982, p.94)

Activity Division	1956 Nation (%)	1956 Urban (%)	1966 Nation (%)	1966 Urban (%)	1976 Nation (%)	1976 Urban (%)
Agriculture, forestry, hunting, fishing	56.3	12.0	46.2	7.6	34.4	5.6
Mining and Quarrying	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	1.0	1.3
Manufacturing	14.0	26.3	18.5	27.7	19.2	21.7
Construction	5.6	9.9	7.4	10.3	13.6	13.7
Electricity, gas, water, sanitary services	0.2	0.5	0.7	1.6	0.7	1.3
Commerce	6.0	14.5	8.0	16.0	7.7	13.2
Transport, storage, communication	3.5	8.0	3.3	6.5	4.0	8.0
Services	11.0	23.8	13.5	27.4	18.6	34.0
Other activities	3.0	4.5	2.0	2.5	0.8	1.2

The expansion of import substitution industrialisation in the country from the late 1950s along with favourable internal material conditions (massive oil revenues) created vast employment opportunities in Tehran and other major urban areas (Graham, 1979). As a result, services, transport, storage, communication and commercial activities also experienced considerable growth of employment from 1956 to 1966 (*ibid*). The economy of the country was characterised by the growth of somewhat labour-intensive industries. The process of industrialisation, which started a decade earlier, accelerated during the 1970s, as foreign capital was attracted to highly profitable industrial investment in the country (Pahlavi, 2005).

After the Islamic revolution, the establishment of organisations such as *Jihad-e-Sazandegi*³ and housing foundations meant the implementation of quick and short-term development programmes in mainly rural areas occurred, to prevent or reduce migration from these areas to the big cities (Sharbatoghli, 1991). In contrast to MHUD (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), which recommended the establishment of regional industry in the cities, to absorb labour from rural areas, *Jihad-e-Sazandegi* proposed to bring small industries directly to the countryside (Sharbatoghli, 1991). Although the post-revolutionary economy embarked on a number of rural development programmes, the urban areas still served as the centres of political, administrative and economic power, and the spatial disparities of the two remained (Madanipour, 1998). The demand for decent housing for everyone was one of the reactions to the urban land speculation which had helped the economic boost of the 1970s. By introducing the Urban Land Law (1980), superseding previous laws, ownership of urban land became limited by the number and size of plots, and the government took control of vacant non-agricultural land within and outside the city to direct capital investment and industry (Ghanbari Parsa and Madanipour, 1988).

Capital-intensive industrialisation in its spatial dimension has resulted in an increasing concentration of economic activities and population over the past few years in the capital, Tehran, and a few other major cities, leaving the rest of the country based on a traditional economy (Hemmasi, 1980; Firouzi, 1976).

5.6 Mechanism of Urban Growth

Although the natural growth of urban population and rural-urban migration are well known as the major factors causing the growth of urban centres, there are some other minor contributory factors (Messkoub, 1986).

³ An organisation formed after the Islamic Revolution which provided basic services such as utilities and roads. It was subsequently taken over by the state, but has recently been dissolved and its responsibilities taken over by other organisations.

Unexpectedly, in Iran, migration does not appear to be the major factor in urban growth, as the natural rate of growth is more effective than migration (Messkoub, 1986). Opportunities which attract migrants are not evenly distributed amongst the urban regions. Some places are more attractive to rural migrants than others, and as a result, the pattern of the distribution of urban population has tended to become geographically unbalanced. The way in which Iranian cities are changing reveals a series of dynamic trends which may result in a more even distribution of urbanisation throughout the country.

Government policies and regulations are important for urban growth, the housing market and economic feasibility. The spatial structure of cities is one of the bases for the location of services and houses, and can be divided into three distinctive periods: the pre-Islamic period, the Islamic period, and the contemporary era. These periods differ in terms of their dominant ideologies, technologies and economic conditions; each of them has left their mark on the present spatial structure of the cities, but to various degrees. What is relevant to this thesis is that the last century's alterations and impacts created a new form of supply and demand. The international style of architecture and urban design in recent years has been the most influential factor in the cities.

Up until the early 1930s, when new road projects began and new urban legislation was introduced, the location of activities reflected the dominance of commercial, defensive and social satisfaction factors. The proximity of some land to the bazaar, local centres and the city's cold water wells have produced advantages for certain land plots (Clark and Costello, 1973). Because of the economic and administrative weakness of central government prior to the 1930s, the location of government offices had less effect on the location of activities (*ibid*).

After the 1930s, population expansion, physical growth, road projects, the importance of the state, more security and a decrease in the importance of social stratification based on religious, tribal and occupational ties considerably changed the location of activities (Falamaki, 1992). Firstly, the construction of

roads and physical growth resulted in the concentration of business premises alongside the newly-built roads, and consequently increased land prices in the vicinity of these roads. Secondly, the bazaar lost a considerable amount of its production function to industrial producers in Tehran and other cities, due to imports and to the newly introduced banking system (*ibid*). The bazaar's function as a shopping centre was also threatened by shops alongside the streets which developed in town centres. The reduction in the bazaar's economic importance was accompanied by a relative reduction of land prices in those areas (Planhol and Brown, 1968). However, it did not last long, as at the present time not only is the land by the bazaar expensive, but also all of the land beside roads.

Thirdly, the government's growing presence at the urban level resulted in it making decisions about particular locations, which had a considerable impact on land prices, and thus on land-use patterns. Initially, government offices were located near city centres, but after the 1950s, with the massive expansion in the size of the state and in the number of functions undertaken, government departments and related organisations and institutions became more conscious of their locations and deliberately moved to the more affluent parts of the cities (Falamaki, 1992). Large plots of land outside the cities went under construction, and this created a new social class, who were mainly government employees and were looking for a medium but modern architectural style of buildings (*ibid*). This, in a way, was responsible for the urban development pattern, as it produced a potential demand for business activities, and consequently a number of shops, especially retailers, who preferred to acquire premises near them.

Fourthly, changes in the basis of social stratification decreased the importance of neighbourhoods and led to the movement of more prosperous households into newly built-up suburban areas. Finally, essentially, industrialisation based on import substitution reinforced the process of the concentration of activities, and led to a more rapid expansion of the urban population in the largest cities, particularly the capital city, Tehran, and the centres of Iran's engineering industry, like Isfahan. This exerted pressure on certain activities to move out of the centre, resulting in shifts in land-use, e.g.

residential areas changed into commercial areas, producing mixed land usage, embracing functions of a higher order such as shops, offices and hotels, as well as usage by immigrants who took over the vacated houses creating multi-family dwelling units, and sharing the rent (Darwent, 1965).

The creation of satellite towns for industrial decentralisation around Tehran, like Gazvin and Saveh, or even around large provincial cities, were reflected in the setting up of industrial areas which were completely separated from the cities (Madanipour, 2006). This new dimension (for the time being) of urbanisation, the deliberate policy of creating industrial satellite towns, or even the increasingly marked trend towards establishing activities beyond the cities' comprehensive plans' 25-year growth boundaries, entail the creation of veritable urban regions (MHUD, 1976). During the 1960s and early 1970s three major laws enabled the government and local authorities to acquire the required land for housing and urban planning and service programmes (Dehesh, 1994):

- The Land Appropriation Law of 1960, which granted compulsory purchase power to the government and local authorities.
- The Urban Development and Redevelopment Law of 1968 allowed municipalities to acquire land required for public services, redevelopment schemes and street widening. It supported the provision of comprehensive plans and determination of city boundaries.
- The Plan and Budget Law of 1972, which ensured reasonable land prices.

In the early aftermath of the revolution, a large number of pieces of land in the cities and suburban areas were simply appropriated by people. In addition, the government endeavoured to satisfy people on low incomes in the urban areas by allocating land to landless people, which caused a big wave of migrants towards the cities. It did not stop there, as the Revolutionary Housing Foundation (founded in 1979), under the Islamic Revolutionary Housing Fund, allocated 125,000 plots of land to underprivileged families and helped them to become homeowners (Dehesh, 1994). Though this encouraged the price of land and

housing to decrease dramatically, it caused a massive number of migrations to the cities from rural areas.

According to the Urban Land Law of 1982, the Urban Land Organisation (ULO) was established to address issues relating to land ownership, supply, allocation and preparation for housing in urban areas (Ghanbari Parsa and Madanipour, 1988). Expansion of settlements inside and around the city boundaries required services, electricity, water etc. To allocate and provide public urban facilities, the Urban Land Development Organisation (ULDO) (founded in 1979) became responsible for granting building permission for the plots which were subject to the Deserted Urban Land Expropriation Law 1979 (*ibid*). According to this law, urban land is put into three categories; virgin, derelict and developed land.

The government or the municipality has the right of compulsory purchase of the third category for building public facilities and other urban planning schemes. Land in this category that can meet certain criteria should be granted permission for development, and the rest can be allocated for urban public services according to the demand of the urban comprehensive and detailed plans. However, the Urban Land Law was amended in 1984 as a result of pressure from landlords (*ibid*). This helped to decrease the land supply, but because of the financial problems of government organisations, they could not play an important role in housing construction and supply.

Other public development agencies were, and are, also allowed to take advantage of this land for official purposes. Housing cooperatives and developers who accept working under the supervision of MHUD are allowed to apply for land from ULO (Pakdaman, 2001). The most recent group of cooperatives/developers have to follow the regulations of MHUD in terms of the quality and quantity of buildings, the sale price, and the preparation process (Ghanbari Parsa and Madanipour, 1988). The process involves the state, banks, and perhaps private construction firms working together according to the city master plan. For instance, banks can purchase designated land from ULO, select consultants who

fit the MHUD criteria, commence building work, and after completion, sell it at not more than 7% profit to eligible applicants (Pakdaman, 2001). However, there are other factors such as regulations and taxation which have an impact on land value in urban areas.

5.7 Initial Regulatory Forces of Land for Urban Services

The regulations concerning urban land go back to the 1930s, when the Municipalities Law and the charter of municipal councils laid down provision for the establishment of municipalities and city councils in cities (Niami, 1970). A series of laws and regulations were passed by Parliament to enable municipalities and other government departments to function properly. For example, in 1930 a law was enacted to empower municipalities to acquire land to lay out and extend streets, and introduced the provision of building permission issued by municipalities (*ibid*). With the growth of the urban population in general, the demand for urban land, which up to this time was relatively cheap and unclaimed, or owned by mosques in religious endowment form (leasehold), increased. In response to the demand, the government enacted laws on the registration and ownership of land. The 1932 Land Law made provision for the obligatory registration of urban land with the government, proof of ownership, and dealing with unclaimed or disputed land (Hadizanor, 1977).

According to Islamic tradition, the occupancy of land, which must be enclosed and cultivated for three years, together with a licence from the imam, suffices for ownership (*ibid*). Iranian civil law, however, ignored the need for such a licence and defined reclamation as activities such as cultivation, plantation and conservation (*ibid*).

Between 1951 and 1959, the country experienced land appropriation by speculators, who would register endowed and waste land and then would sell it to investors, causing inflation (Madanipour, 1998). In 1953, in response to land speculation, the government forbade further registration of disputed or waste

land in an area 18km from the centre of Tehran, and certain other cities (MHUD, 1977). The land plots within these limits were appropriated by the government as part of the capital stock for the Construction Bank, which was subsequently established in 1955. The bank's objectives were the provision of housing units and a reduction in housing costs, and it built the first housing estate in Tehran in 1957 (Hadizanor, 1977). However, the government's policies did not stop land speculation, and land appropriation led to the introduction of further legislation in 1956, stating the government's right of ownership over land plots in an area 100km from the centre of Tehran (MHUD, 1977). Despite this legislation, the relative boom of 1956-1960 intensified speculation in land (Madanipour, 1998). In 1968, Parliament enacted the Urban Renovation Law, which for the first time made provisions for a capital tax on land (Niemi, 1970). According to this law, a small part of the value of the land and buildings had to be paid annually to the municipalities. The law also authorised municipalities to acquire land needed for renovation and development through compulsory purchase (*ibid*). In fact the law increased the financial potential of the municipalities and gave them more authority.

The introduction of comprehensive urban plans during the Fourth National Development Plan (1966-1970) also increased the price of land within the plans' boundaries and increased speculation of land outside them (Hadizanor, 1977). In addition, the comprehensive plans were clearly not prepared for the financial boom of 1973, based on the sudden oil price increase, which dramatically changed the magnitude of housing activities and attracted rural migrants to the city (Falamaki, 1978). During a speech by a chief planner of the Tehran comprehensive plan in 1971, he claimed the targeted population figures used in the plan had not been able to take into account the massive rural-urban migration in that period (Moaveni, 1971). The impact of a fast-growing industry on the migration and growth of urban areas is comparable in part with the mass rural-urban migration of the late 19th century in the UK. Cities accommodated a relatively large number of working-class people and, in turn, the middle social class of urban professionals, who were employed by the service sector and

government. This trend occurred simultaneously with the out-migration of more affluent people from inner cities to suburban areas.

The rent explosion caused speculation in land around the city boundaries, and resulted in a mushrooming of housing activities outside cities' comprehensive plan boundaries (Madanipour, 1998). The government's reaction to the situation was to revise the Landlord-Tenant Law to facilitate eviction, to authorise municipalities to rent empty houses, to extend the city plan boundaries and to limit housing credit (Moaveni, 1971). The policies were accompanied by a tough programme of destroying illegally built houses outside the city plan boundaries, which resulted in resistance by owners and eventually in rioting and fatalities.

As a result of public pressure, the government passed the Forbidding of Repetitive Land Transactions in Urban Areas Law in May 1975, as well as imposing a land transfer tax on land transactions to curb speculation (Hafizi, 1981). According to Article 1 of the law, all undeveloped land located in areas for public services of the cities could be transferred only once to somebody else, and further transactions would not be possible unless that land were developed (*ibid*). As a result of the implementation of this law, a major proportion of investments, which had previously been spent on land transactions, was diverted to building houses and apartments, which were then sold at very high prices. Also, sometimes speculation continued by simply not registering the transaction. As a result, not only did the price of land not decrease, the cost of housing rose.

The arguments advanced for the nationalisation of land in Iran after the revolution of 1979 emerged from those based on broad ideological considerations to those urging the use of nationalisation as an efficient tool to benefit the majority and achieve immediate solutions to the problem of urban land. Finally, in June 1979, the Revolutionary Council passed the Nationalisation of Undeveloped Urban Land Law (Hafizi, 1981). This law included the nationalisation of vacant and undeveloped plots inside the cities. However, the

law and the supply of land at very low prices by the government were not effective in reducing property prices (*ibid*).

The government transformed the country's land policy, the structure of land ownership and the land dynamic in general, by establishing ULDO in 1979. The purpose of this organisation was to bring control of all land belonging to the government under one organisation; it has since been replaced by the National Land and Housing Organisation (NLHO). In the following table, the main land policies and their area of action are summarised, indicating the government's efforts and aims to tackle land market inflation. Before 1985, ULDO was used to distribute large-scale plots of land to individual households, which was insufficient in providing services, and not only did it not address housing shortages, but it was sometimes discredited because of land speculation. Therefore, in 1985, MHUD initiated a new urban land development policy, with the intention of greatly increasing the availability of developable land and providing infrastructure called "sustainable urban development" (Zebardast, 2002).

5.8 Urban Planning Evolution

Reza Shah (1925) was the first ruler who attempted to change the features of cities, based on academic plans, when he introduced assorted government Acts which encouraged rapid modernisation (Razaghi, 1988). These efforts were mostly concentrated on physical changes in cities, including the widening of roads, the construction of government offices, the use of the international building style, and streets built in a grid pattern and squares. The first modern planning law in Iran was concerned with buildings and street widening. It was passed by parliament in 1933, reviewed in 1941 as the Street Widening Law, but was abolished in 1968 when the Urban Development and Redevelopment Law was introduced (Madanipour, 1998). As the title of the Street Widening Law shows, it was basically enacted to ease the process of implementing the planning

of new road networks in cities, especially where this affected the old urban fabric.

Since then, the focus of the municipalities has been on growth management and physical planning. These physical changes were implemented with the consideration of new ideas, differing from the past socio-cultural function of different parts of the cities, in a revolutionary way, to promote people's culture and lifestyle. The Shah's quest for both modernisation and grandeur was expressed in public buildings, reflecting the forms of "*Achaemenid*" and "*Sassanid*" architecture (Dehesh, 1994, p.409). Inevitably, such a radical policy led to the deterioration of many ancient and historical buildings, which could not fit into rapidly modernising cities. Municipalities were given the responsibility of imposing urban policies. In this period, urban policy was in fact used as a practical mechanism for controlling and directing urban development, which could not compete with the rapid growth of population and land speculation (Clark, 1981). Massive injections of finance to the industrial and development sectors of the economy and a different fiscal policy than in the past affected the housing construction industry and caused the prices of land and housing to reach the highest levels of that time, and speed up the growing squatter settlements. The spread of satellite settlements around the cities turned out to be the major characteristic of modernisation, and the major weakness of planning control on the urban environment. According to international declarations, these informal settlements are a reflection of poverty and lack of success in formal market operations and governmental policies, and pose a serious threat to the unity and sustainability of cities (Amuzegar, 1993).

Table 5–2: Urban and rural populations and their annual growth rates (MHUD, 1995)

Year	Total Population (000s)	Annual growth rate (%)	Urban population (000s)	Annual growth rate (%)	Urban population as % of total	Rural population (000s)	Annual growth rate (%)
1966	25,789	3.1	9,794	5.1	38	15,995	2.1
1976	33,709	2.7	15,855	4.9	47	17,854	1.1
1986	49,445	3.9	26,844	5.4	54.3	22,600	2.4
1992	61,600				58		

The common features of irregular and spontaneous settlements in the suburban areas, predominantly of larger cities, are:

- “Hastily constructed housing often built by their eventual occupants, mostly without a permit to construct, and outside existing formal planning, leading to an irregular compound;
- Concentration of lower income groups or poor people with ... physical segregation;
- A habitat with low quality of life and desperately low urban services and infrastructure and high population density” (MHUD, 2004, p.35).

This movement was so fast that local councils could not provide the public facilities and urban infrastructure to keep up with the needs of the new areas.

However, the National Development Plan (1951) was the first scientific rational planning document in Iran. The first National Development Plan, produced for the period 1951–1955, was only implemented for two years due to the nationalisation of the oil industry and subsequent economic changes (Ferdowsian, 2002).

The plan did focus on agriculture, housing, provision of water and electricity (Razaghi, 1988). The main strategy of the second plan (1955–1962), was also to encourage agricultural development and modernisation while concentrating on transportation and communication (Razaghi, 1988). The third plan’s duration was five years, from 1963 to 1967. At this stage, urban

development and housing were seen as two independent and separate subjects in the whole plan, with a limited share in the budget (Ferdowsian, 2002).

The establishment of the Town Planning High Council (TPHC) in 1972 had the aim of providing legal bases for planning procedures, and put forward a clear definition of comprehensive plans, detailed plans and master plans (Madanipour, 1998). These are coloured maps and regulation handbooks which give certain details about the city development pattern. The difference is in the level of detail they provide for building density, road widths, and the use of land. The master plan, in its most general form, indicates the overall development policy, whilst the comprehensive plan includes more specific guidelines regarding housing density, the percentage of land occupancy or transport roots. A detail plan is specific about certain neighbourhoods or projects, and it gives details of how a project should be designed. Although, in the pre-revolutionary period, the TPHC was the only main decision-making body which could approve the comprehensive plans, after further reorganisation part of its authority was divided between provincial authorities (Acioly, 2008). However, the decisions on the decentralisation and distribution of planning activities, and also the preparation of general regulations and criteria for urban planning, remained in the hands of the TPHC.

The financial resources of the Fifth Plan (1973–1977) dramatically increased due to the rise in the international oil price (*ibid*). But the main strategy of the plan – influenced by the government’s national policy – was devoted to defence, whilst the percentage share dedicated to the urban development and housing sector was reduced (Madanipour, 1994). However, in this era, the city was considered as an economic tool for the rapid modernisation movement, ignoring its socio-cultural elements. The government tried to institutionalise all such policies through amending a set of rules, and the municipalities’ empowerment, giving them more abilities and autonomous functions (*ibid*).

The first spatial plan was proposed in 1974 when the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MHUD) was established (Ferdowsian, 2002). The plan

set the spatial structure of the country, considering the resources and potential of urban and rural areas, and at the same time it was based on, and aimed at, the objectives of the national economic plan. It also considered the present and future town and city plans and growth. Therefore, the urban plans were to be produced in accordance with the national spatial plan, and it was the Planning and Budget Organisation's (PBO) responsibility to put institutional powers into practice (Ferdowsian, 2002).

To reduce the pressure of migrants to Tehran, and the distribution of the population to other regions, the pre-revolutionary government decided to encourage this outward migration. Master plans were prepared for nine large cities, for a 25-year period (Madanipour, 1998). The initial idea behind this plan was to choose some big cities as the growth poles for future industrial expansion, in the hope of increased employment opportunities. The small cities did not receive comprehensive plans but short-term physical plans, which introduced modern streets to their close-knit historic fabric (*ibid*).

Two significant urban policies before 1979 proposed in response to the high number of migrants were, first, to establish new towns to meet the needs of the fast-growing cities and, second, for the emergence of the metropolitan areas, especially as an inevitable result of the fast growth of big cities, like Tehran (Ferdowsian, 2002). They were an immense plan which always had funding problems, compounded by infeasible locations and other technical inefficiencies (Zebardast, 2002). The lack of a standard infrastructure, being far from work for some residents and being less attractive, are some of other issues for the new towns initiative (*ibid*). City planning often restricted the development of areas within cities, and encouraged the new town policies. New towns are, indeed, a compelling ideal in rapidly urbanising countries. Whether built on economic or military criteria before the revolution, or controlling population growth after it, the new towns' aim is to target people on low incomes, protect farming land around the cities and disperse the concentration of industry and the service sector away from the larger cities. According to Ziari (2006), new towns are constructed with respect to the following main goals:

- “Control the rapid and disorderly growth of large cities by limiting the size of their population;
- Absorption of 6 million surplus population of big cities;
- Overcome the urban housing problems to provide low-cost, affordable housing;
- Distribute and relocate some of the conflicting industrial establishments from big cities;
- Prevent the formation of informal settlements on the periphery of large cities” (p.417)

This led to the appearance of many planned and unplanned neighbourhoods surrounding big cities. Thus it was an important task to provide adequate services and infrastructure for those neighbourhoods, for which the local authority was responsible. However, the need for reorganising and revitalising cities remains a necessity. This includes social and economic development and adequate services to keep city centres animated and attractive (Rafiei and Athari, 1995). Rigid and inflexible city planning, poorly managed infrastructure within the cities, restrictions on land-use programmes and insufficient investment in infrastructure resulted in the expansion of settlements in peripheral areas and agricultural land (Zebardast, 2005).

Table 5–3 summarises the process of producing Iran’s urban development plans, in chronological order.

Table 5-3: Process of producing urban development plans (Karimi,1998, p.34; Pakdaman, 2001, p.41; President's Deputy for Strategic Planning and Control, 2006; Rafiee, 2001)

Name of Programme	Period	Main aims and objectives
-	1933	- Street Enlargement and Formation of Cities Law
-	1948-1952	- Laying out roundabouts and streets in Tehran and other major cities - Building of official and governmental buildings in city centres
First National Development Plan	1953-1957	- Introduction of planning projects
Second National Development Plan	1958-1962	- Production of master plans in English for cities such as Sanandag, Isfahan and Bijar, according to Truman Act - Production of guide plan by Sepah Solh
Third National Development Plan	1963-1967	- Presentation of guidelines for producing master plans - Foundation of Ministry of Housing and Building (MHB) as well as High Committee of Architecture and Urban Design (HCAUD), for observation purposes on planning procedures - Preparation of master plan for Tehran by Iranian and foreign consultancies
Fourth National Development Plan	1968-1972	- Approval of 20 master plans which had been commenced in the previous Development Plan - Introduction of the new idea of appealing public participation - Creation of MHB regional and local offices
Fifth National Development Plan	1973-1977	- Start-up of studying and gathering information for cities with more than 25,000 population according to 1963 census - Creation of connections between master plans and the National Social and Economic Development Plan
Islamic Revolution and the First Five-Year Development Plan	1979-1986, 1989-1994	- Introduction of the idea of cities' catchment's areas - Land Preparation Programme - Raising of debates about finding suitable land and allocation - New Towns Initiative - Work on regional potential and its use in master plans
Second Five-Year Development Plan	1995-2000	- New Towns Master Plan and construction - Production of regional plans for some parts of the country - Provision of county plan and the making of links between the master plans and regions - Production of Iran's National Guide Plan - Reconstruction of the country's Urban Planning Framework - Review and reorganisation of plan guidelines - city council elections and introduction of decentralisation of power - Preparation of Villages' Reorganisation Plan

Name of Programme	Period	Main aims and objectives
Third Five-Year Development Plan	2001-2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decentralisation of administrative functions and transfer of public service and infrastructure responsibilities to province and city level - Preservation of historic buildings, sites and monuments - Emphasis on privatisation of housing development

5.9 Development of Urban Planning and Regeneration

The concept of development planning was considered in Iran's constitution in 1980, after the revolution. As a significant spatial strategy, the Islamic Constitution emphasises equality in regional development:

“there should be no discrimination with regard to benefits to be gained from the use of natural resources, the utilisation of funds at the provincial level, and the distribution of economic activities amongst the provinces and various regions of the country. This is so that every region will have capital and opportunity within its reach to fulfil its needs and develop its skill”

(Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Article 48;
quoted in Pakdaman, 2001)

The constitution begins with an emphasis on the people's participation and consultation, particularly in determining their political, social, cultural and economic destiny (Articles 3 and 7). In theory, the strongest of these councils is the High Provincial Council, in a way that each province has its own representative. The council has the right to make plans within the limits of its duties (Article 102), and is superior to the governors and all other provincial government officials (Article 103) (Ferdowsian, 2002). This means that the constitution has given the planners enough power to institute a fairly progressive, decentralised and participatory type of spatial or territorial planning, whilst local councils are acting as the benchmark of any approach (*ibid*).

The PBO submitted a document to the Economic Council in 1982, outlining the planning system by paying more attention to regional planning (*ibid*). The system recognised explicitly that an ideal and realistic plan for any region is preferred to be prepared in the region itself by local planners and professionals. Therefore, there could be more encouragement for local authorities and people to participate more effectively in the planning process and local issues (Ehteshami, 1995). The proposal starts by recommending to central government a qualified and registered consultant working at the local level (village, town and city), and within the local institutions, heading toward the higher levels of provincial government. The provincial planning and political authorities analyse the information and the proposals, using central government's sectoral and regional guidelines, and prepare a provincial plan and a list of major sectoral projects, which are then submitted to the PBO and related ministers.

The framework, information flow, low-level budget allocation and implementation, as well as plan-making, are highly centralised. In other words, spatial programmes and activities only concern the preplanning studies at the regional and local levels at the point of preparation of the basic design for spatial planning.

5.10 Strategies for the Housing Sector

In terms of employment, by 2001, about 13.8% of employment was in this sector, especially among unskilled and young people, and this was highlighted in the Third FYDP (2001–2005) (MHUD, 2004b, p.15). It is one of the acute problems of the rapidly developing urban areas in Iran. The government has made some substantial reforms in replacing oil income by, for example, proposing tax incentives and lowering intervention in providing housing at a national level (Nikooseresht, 2001).

As the report of MHUD to the World Bank (2004c) states, despite the government's commitment to set a series of structural fiscal reforms, the aims were not met because:

- there is a continued dependency on oil revenues;
- inflation is worsening the housing market situation and affordability of housing;
- people's personal income level varies and it has a direct effect on the economy;
- the instability of the country's macro-economy creates instability in the supply of housing in the private sector;
- finally, the government suffers from a weak base and does not provide efficient subsidies for the programmes.

In terms of housing management, the Ministry of Housing and Development was established in 1964, became the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MHUD). There are some other agencies operating under the supervision of the ministry or independently in each individual city. These include the Regional Department of MHUD, the Urban Land Organisation, the municipalities, the Housing Bank, the Workers Welfare Bank, and the Housing Cooperative. Before discussing the potential role of these institutions, it is important to mention that, although after 1979 there have been some changes in the organisations involved in public housing, MHUD is still the main government agency concerned with housing in Iran.

According to Clause 1 of the law that established the ministry in 1964, the preparation, implementation and coordination of all plans for building projects within the ministry and other government institutions, regulating measures, standards and technical specifications for all projects, were assigned to the ministry (MHUD, 1976). In the law that changed the name of the ministry to the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development in 1974, the same responsibilities were passed to the ministry, as well as the supervision of all the housing and urban development activities of the private sector, and the

supervision of all the construction companies active in the construction of residential units (*ibid*).

After the revolution in 1979, the Housing Foundation (1979) was established for the purpose of providing low-income housing. It was an important scheme which was used mainly for the provision of land with construction loans and building materials, and for the provision of low-cost apartment units. The Urban Land Organisation (ULO) was a new organisation established in 1982, which took possession of unutilised urban land under the Land Nationalisation Law and distributed it among homeless urban families for the purpose of housing construction (Ferdowsian, 2002). Each city has a Department of Housing and Urban Development, which is the agent of MHUD within that city, and it has the responsibility of preparing layouts and surveys, as well as the physical improvement of land (*ibid*). Providing basic community facilities and environmental infrastructure, issuing planning permission, and supervising ongoing housing projects in relation to the urban development plan, are among the duties of the municipalities. The Housing Bank, which emerged from the consolidation of the Mortgage Bank of Iran and some sixteen savings and loan companies in 1979, provides construction loans and credit (Madanipour, 1998). In addition, the Workers Welfare Bank, which operates under the general supervision of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, and several recently established private banks, have their own finance programmes for all government workers under the regulation of the ministry and private builders of multi-family units. Housing cooperatives, on the other hand, are, in fact, the intermediary between their members and public agencies. They acquire land, materials and loans from the relevant organisations and direct them to their members. Housing cooperatives are also involved in the process of project management.

The government, in its Third FYDP (2001–2005), introduced four key strategies as guidelines for economic activities in this sector (Katouzian, 2005).

- Increasing the flow and security of long-term national and foreign investment and using the newest techniques to employ professionals and building technology;
- Providing financial help for the mass production of small houses;
- Reform of taxation and improving housing insurance;
- Lessening government control over the local authorities' housing policies and urban land management, and supporting housing cooperatives.

To achieve this, the government said it would institute significant reforms of institutional arrangements, supply of land, housing finance and subsidies as well as private-sector intervention. Also, imposing reform within the institutional arrangements mechanism has streamlined decision-making. This started with improving the coordination mechanism amongst different bodies involved, such as MHUD, MPO and the Central Bank of Iran (CBI). However, local authorities and communal associations were assisted in carrying out their full responsibilities by building to their capacity through supportive investments (Katouzian, 2005).

There have been alterations recently, such as decreasing the average dwelling size, offering a good rate of interest to mass housing projects, and supporting investors in the form of housing associations. The third FYDP stated that, mass production of housing would be supported by allocating larger mortgages to developers in the housing and construction sectors. Even for small municipalities, housing levies and taxes cover a high percentage of their annual budget (Katouzian, 1981). Arguably, the housing sector is seen as the engine for economic growth, consumption of materials and housing related production, and most importantly, job creation for a large number of people at all levels (Katouzian, 2005).

5.11 Housing Policy Impact on Urban Development

As Acioly (2008) summarises,

“the realisation of housing, and not only housing, requires fundamentally the organisation, policy, strategy and final delivery of fundamental inputs such as infrastructure, land, finance, construction and building materials and labour, all articulated and governed by an enabling institutional and legal frameworks that recognises property rights, security of tenure and the right to adequate housing”.

(p.2)

The housing sector depends very much upon long-term developments and policies, as well as short-term macroeconomic policies and performances. A country like Iran, with a developmental instability and highly fluctuating macroeconomic performance, is more likely to experience significant constraints and setbacks in the housing market (Dehesh, 1994).

As the urban population was growing faster than expected, the housing industry could not meet their needs. At the end of the Fifth National Plan (1973–1977) and for the Sixth National Plan (1978–1982), the government targeted the housing shortage by setting a new target of building 1,000,000 housing units in urban and rural areas, by the private sector making a large contribution (*ibid*). Banks also had various methods of working and lending money for the housing process. However, to a large extent, the houses were out of reach of people on low incomes. The reasons for this can be exemplified as relatively high interest rates with a short period for repayment, and a high deposit required, which kept many people from having access to the banks’ facilities. The development of an Islamic banking system had a huge impact on the housing market, as it made it difficult for people to obtain long-term loans and save for deposits, whilst the country experienced, and still is experiencing, a periodic economic recession, and sometimes a depression, every four or five years (Amuzegar, 1993). However, at the end of the plan, only half the target had been met, and this made the situation in the housing market worse, especially for low-cost housing (Ghanbari Parsa and Madanipour, 1988).

Whilst the government put its efforts into supplying housing for middle-class citizens, the private sector was catering for groups with access to credit, and this left the majority of lower-class people in difficulty and caused squatter settlements to grow fast. Urban development and the housing market in the 1970s, and during the period of the Fifth Plan, got even better in terms of accommodating a large number of migrants, all thanks to the rising price of oil in the international market. Dehesh (1994) has summarised the indications of failure of the housing market in five general groups:

1. “investment lags behind rising demand;
2. unbalanced investment favours more expensive residential units;
3. land speculation and the high price of the land leads to price-access problems in housing;
4. undeveloped financial intermediaries inhibited progress in housing;
5. bottlenecks, shortages and ever-rising prices of construction materials” (p.418).

Lack of coordination between the three major players in housing production, the state, the markets and the self-help sector, caused economic confusion in the housing market, which was largely the outcome of the lack of a clear understanding of the comprehensive housing policy, the economy and appropriate control over housing construction, specifically in urban areas (Madanipour, 1998). Housing policies were/are included in National Development Plans, but they have been given different priorities at different times, and this has made the situation unstable. Also, the frequent contradictory decisions made by the Revolutionary Court and High Court caused delay and confusion in the urban planning system, with people obtaining housing construction permission and then breaching it (*ibid*). MHUD were put in charge of land belonging to all government agencies, except the municipalities and their affiliated agencies (Dehesh, 1994). Although the municipalities could consider their land for public service provision, any changes to the original purpose of the land had to be approved by the MHUD provincial office (Ghanbari Parsa and Madanipour, 1988). Since the demand for urban-based activities was increasing,

the urban economy in this period witnessed a dramatic rise in property prices and shortages of construction materials.

During the First (1989–1994) and Second (1995–2000) Five-Year Development Plans (FYDP) the government's priority was away from housing; most of the responsibility of the housing provision was transferred to the private sector, and it is still the major investor in the housing industry. Constructing high-rise buildings to save land and develop new towns, under the supervision of the High Council of Architecture and Urban Development (HCAUD), to accommodate the ever-increasing numbers of migrants to the cities, and to lessen the pressure on the large cities in terms of development and services, became the priority, according to officials, and began a new era in the history of the cities and urban development in Iran. Even though the government's desire was to reallocate the population and reduce migration to cities, by facilitating the provision of land for residential purposes, in practice the Urban Land Law suffered from legal challenges from other organisations and the lack of a well-defined and comprehensive housing finance programme. Most importantly, issues affecting different social classes have not been addressed fully, and the affordability of land and housing is still under question.

The way in which central and local government has worked in this context has had a major impact on the development trend as a whole. Even though the Iranian government is not the main provider of housing, and has less impact on residential building construction for the general public, the adoption of a new strategy by the UN, articulated as "Enabling Shelter Strategies" in 2000, was a fundamental shift in the housing industry (Acioly, 2008). In fact, governments are encouraged to facilitate deployment of various resources for other sectors to meet market need. Facilitating means changes in the government's overall policy, namely "decentralisation" (giving more autonomy to municipalities to make decisions in local housing demands), "participation" (seeking the full engagement of the public by empowering them) and "partnership" (working in partnership in different roles, such as facilitator or coordinator) (MHUD, 2004a, p.3). The next part will be a review of local

management mechanism and the approaches that were used to deal with urban issues.

5.12 Local Government Functions

One of the challenges that the government faces is “translating economic and social objectives into physical reality in major investments [such as] building cities, towns [and] housing” which varies from city to city, and from neighbourhood to neighbourhood (Shankland, 1968, p.1). Before the early 20th century, most public buildings, such as schools, mosques or public baths, were constructed and managed by wealthy individuals, whilst the government’s activities were mainly limited to the provision of security, military buildings, bridges or other infrastructure (Marefat, 1997).

The first Municipal Law was enacted in 1913, and organised street cleaning, controlled the fair distribution of bread, meat and other provisions, with reasonable prices for all citizens, and was ratified by the first parliament (Mozayeni, 1974). The law included the necessity of the establishment of city and regional councils elected by the general public. Amongst a variety of duties considered for the city councils, some of the important ones were: appointing the mayor as the administrator of the city, making changes to the city map and providing updated information (Marefat, 1997). This law was repealed after four years and all city and regional duties were given to the Ministry of the Interior (MOI – central government’s provincial administrator) (*ibid*). The Street Widening Law of 1933 was the main law that gave municipalities the legal authority to widen the traditional narrow paths of the cities, to create small-scale, but Haussmann-style, streets. In 1949, the situation reached such a point that the Law of Independence of Municipalities was passed and provided the basis for Iranian municipalities’ legislation until around a decade ago, when President Mohammad Khatami endorsed city council elections in 1998.

In terms of the master plan for towns and cities, it was in the Third National Plan that steps were taken to begin the new form of plans simultaneously with the establishment of the Ministry of Development (Marefat, 2003). The High Council for City Planning worked as the secretariat of the Ministry of Development, consisting of eleven members, including seven members of the cabinet who were the most applicable to urban affairs (Habibi, 1996).

The High Council was responsible for the preparation of master plans and regulations, and set up standards for their implementation, as well as giving final approval of the plans. In order to prepare the plans for seventeen cities, including Sari, a budget was allocated, and consultants were appointed and contracted, whilst studies were carried out for other major cities to find their priorities for the period of the Fourth National Plan (Habibi, 1997). Also it was realised that the municipalities needed improvements in their personnel, finance and administration. Interestingly, in the Fourth National Plan, in the domain of urban development, the emphasis was on the completion of unfinished plans, focusing on regional development requirements, master plans for other cities, guide plans for small towns, and detailed programmes for selected projects (Mozayeni, 1974). However, this was not an easy task, as the planning authorities suffered from a lack of fundamental ability and contradictions in planning and management. This evolutionary trend was disrupted by the Islamic revolution of 1979. This led to a major reorientation in all aspects of the structure of the country's strategy. The major change in the regulatory framework since the establishment of Iran's post-1979 Constitution has been:

1. The creation of elected local councils in 1998, along with the creation of a Deputy Ministerial Office of Council Affairs at MOI;
2. Forming a Provincial Planning and Development Council;
3. Setting the framework for regional planning by the Provincial Development Budget; and
4. The creation of a Department of Municipal Affairs within MOI (Tajbakhsh, 2003a).

However, in real life this was not put into practice as expected. The MPO office, under the deputy provincial governor, was supposed to create coordination at a regional level, and give local authorities decision-making power. However, they have increased their autonomy to undertake financial allocations and been resisted via several means (Alavitabar, 2000):

- “In approving the mayors of smaller cities despite the city councils’ authority to appoint someone, the provincial governor gives his recommendation to ensure there is no conflict between local government and MOI.
- To some extent, the provincial governor and his deputy have control over the municipalities’ development budget.
- They have overall supervision of the municipalities’ associated organisations and companies, by approving their members” (p.48).

To improve coordination amongst junior ministers, several authorities have been created, including the Department of Municipal Affairs, located in the provincial office, supervising municipalities’ and Metropolitan Cities Associations affairs (Saidnia, 1999). The municipality’s cooperatives, at the provincial level, are another body undertaking economic activities. The general idea behind the establishment of these cooperatives was to give local councils more economic autonomy and independence and fewer bureaucratic obstacles. Although in some cities, it is a very dynamic office, bringing financial help to the municipalities, their action, income and investment has not improved the municipalities general finance capability. The Rural Municipal Association, managed by MOI’s office at a provincial level, is a newly formed association with the same aims but for rural areas (Alavitabar, 2000). In spite of all these efforts, the partnership or cooperation is still young, and there is less mutual regulatory obligation to create coordination at a national level. City council services are categorised in four main topics (Tavassoli and Bonyadi, 1993):

- Public Health, including street cleaning, collection and disposal of waste;

- Recreational, including parks;
- Public Safety, such as fire stations;
- Local Transportation, for example buses and taxis.

Table 5–4: Local government functions (Pakdaman, 2001)

Function Type	Role of Local Government	Description
Administrative/regulatory functions	S	Only functions falling under municipalities' responsibility
Economic development	S	Can invest independently
Public utilities		
Water supply	N	
Sewerage and drainage	N	
Electricity	N	
Telephone	N	
Gas	N	
Economic development	S	Can invest independently
Social services		
Primary education	N	
Health	S	Only local public sanitation, not personal health or clinic
Social welfare	N	
Housing	S	Must carry out plans designed by HUDO
Transportation		
Highways and roads	S	Only local road widening, maintenance and naming
Street lighting	P	
Mass transportation	P	Buses and taxis
Social waste collection and disposal	P	
Parks and recreation	P	
Markets and abattoirs	P	
Cemeteries	P	
Fire protection	S	Must execute plans developed by MOI
Law enforcement	N	

Key: P: Primary, S: Secondary, N: Not responsible

A more detailed analysis of what local government does is shown above. Most of the cities use the private sector to supply services, which requires fewer personnel and less paperwork. The less specialised the activity, the more feasible it is for the private sector.

5.13 Urban Development Plan Process

Urban development plans in Iran include the master plan, the comprehensive plan, the guide plan, the renewal plan, the regeneration plan for historic areas, and the master plan for new towns. Contract Type 12 is the official distinctive guideline in preparing development plans, consisting of several chapters explaining the whole procedure. Within the three stages of identifying, analysing and planning, the aim is to study the project area comprehensively. The guide has given an extensive explanation of the land-use planning system, but not of the socio-economic aspects. This means that social, economic or physical impetuses can influence the city's development direction. Failure of the guide in the past, during the life of the master and comprehensive plans, has not raised any awareness on the government's part to revise this method, and it is still the same for all cities. As has been mentioned before, Iran's HCAUD, which includes representatives from eleven ministries, is the main body responsible for decision-making, introducing regulations, and producing and allocating funds for these plans (Rafiee, 2001). The general process of city planning practice consists of various phases:

Phase One: When it is identified that the city needs a plan, the municipal office or other relevant government agencies submit a request for an urban development plan to the provincial office of MHUD, which is responsible for assessing the city's enquiry within the overall aims of the province (Kazemian, 1991, p.77). The result of the assessment is sent to the relevant ministry in the case of an urban development project, or to the Housing and Urban Development Organisation (HUDO) in the case of a land-use or master plan. Once HUDO approves the project, the council needs to allocate the budget, on the basis of national and provincial planning priorities, and send it for competitive bidding to private consultants. The chosen consultancy then will sign a contract with the municipal office, and should provide the plan within the government's framework and city's specification to the HUDO provincial office for approval.

Phase Two: The approved plan is then sent for technical evaluation to one of three committees (land-use, economic or social groups) of the provincial city planning council (*ibid*). Once the plan is approved, it is sent to the Clause Five Committee⁴ at the provincial council. For cities with a population less than 200,000 and which are not the capital of their province, this is the final stage of the approval process. For other cases, when the plan is approved by this committee, it will be sent for final approval to the technical committees of the National Council of City Planning and Architecture in Tehran. After being approved by this process, the plan is sent to MOI, which delegates the responsibility for implementation to the mayors and city councils. HUDO is the supervisory body of the plan; however, the relevant municipality is the main organisation in charge of putting the plan into practice. If the plan is put into practice not in accordance to the proposed standards in housing, such as building density or a change of the height of the building, the case is reported to the Clause 100 Committee, which consists of three representatives from the city council, the court and the provincial level of MOI. The municipality and the landlord are obliged to accept this committee's decision.

The Clause Five Committee often gives local authorities and organisational representatives the opportunity to put their idea on the table. However, there is no obligation for them to use the plan.⁵ The plan, theoretically, contains land-use guidance, information about building density and the road layout map. The aims, to a large extent, are buried under the complications of bureaucracy and disagreement amongst government organisations. Subjects such as neighbourhood regeneration, regional planning and improving urban quality are replaced by density, or the number of parking places, or debates over the land plot (Malek, 1997, p.40).

⁴ The Clause Five Committee is an important and key committee in approving the urban development and regeneration plans, making alterations to them and supervising their progress. It consists of 21 main provincial and local planning and management organisations including the municipality, HUDO, the city council and several others.

⁵ It is only the responsibility of municipalities to act according to the development plan; HUDO and MOI are not obliged to follow it.

There is an obvious contradiction in the obligatory tools of putting urban development plans into practice. The variety of legislation and their complexity, on one hand, and the weakness of the city councils in putting them into practice on the other, have reduced the plans' achievements and credibility. Lack of observation and analysis of the projects, as well as the lack of accountability of the councils in putting all aspects of the plan into practice spreads instability and weakness. For instance, Clause 99 of the Municipalities Law puts the city council in charge of drawing the city boundary lines and considering the suburban areas for future development of the city. In contrast, the Land Registry Office, based on Clause 147 of the Registry of the Land and Property Law, is compelled to register, and give full registry documents, to those buildings and properties which were built before 1988. Surprisingly, according to Clause 14 of the Urban Land Law, the landowners of non-residential properties can apply for registration documents by transferring 70% of their land, or the equivalent value in money, to the council (Shahrokhzadeh, 1997, p.180). Based on the verdict of the High Court, landlords are not obliged to obey the council's plans and can apply for land registry documents for residential purposes.

Clause 84 of the Second Five-Year Development Plan is concerned with how central government may help municipalities and related organisations to gain land for economic, social, and cultural purposes (Pakdaman, 2001). HUDO's responsibility is to buy suitable land for service and cultural activities at an affordable price and pass it to the organisations in charge of providing schools, sports grounds, health centres, fire stations, waste land, community centres and other public services.

Writing the financial programme for master plans also plays an important role in the planning process, and it is part of the consultant's contract to provide the council with a list of different projects within the time limits of one, three and five years, and most importantly give suggestions on financial aspects of the plan (Pakdaman, 2001, p.58). The proposed approach for the funding of the projects of the master plan also has to be approved by MHUD and MOI. However, as there is no specific guideline for working on financial aspects of the plans, each

consultancy interprets its own understanding of the situation and makes suggestions.

In the absence of a sufficient finance system for local councils, and due to lack of economic autonomy, municipalities have no choice but to sell buildings at a density greater than the limit given in the master plans (Tajbakhsh, 2003a). This is definitely not a sustainable solution, and studies need to be done to find other alternatives. Every year central government helps the local councils and other authorities by providing financial help for some projects that are perhaps not even in the councils' annual plan and financial programme.

There is no clear distinction between expenditure for the provision of services and the long-term development expenditure, and as the national FYDP indicates, the main focus of the government is on implementing city modernisation activities such as upgrading and widening streets, whilst some of the plans which have not been put into practice are more than 20 years old (Tajbakhsh, 2003a). This shows how much city councils are suffering from the lack of a sufficient budget, and how much those people whose properties are being considered for becoming public spaces are dispirited.

Private Sector Participation: From the regulations' point of view, the private sector is an important alternative for speeding up the development plan and providing services. Nevertheless, it has played a very small part in the municipalities' management system. The regulatory framework for privatisation in Iran can be found, principally, in four areas of law and regulations (Zebardast, 2005):

1. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran points to three main sectors of society, public (government, foundations and municipalities), cooperatives and the private sector. However, later it states that private property is protected "except where the law states otherwise," and the constitution reserves the majority of social, economic and political affairs to the state (Tajbakhsh, 2003b).

2. The Third FYDP (2001–2005) aims to achieve privatisation as a means of decentralisation, especially of the administrative system, the municipalities' services and rural development.
3. The Annual Budget again gives permission to city councils to have contracts with private bus companies.
4. Laws and regulations pertaining specifically to municipal services are the other resources which give permission and guidelines to the municipalities in terms of the legal framework, either through the Municipalities Law 1995 or the Third FYDP, Clause 136 (*ibid*).

According to a recent report, the above laws, though not without defects, “provide an appropriate framework for private sector activity ... [and] form a good basis for the expansion and clarification of laws for privatising municipal services” (Malek Afzali et al., 2002, p.16). However, contracts should be sent to the sub-provincial governor who can reject them if he feels that they fall outside the municipalities' responsibility or the law.

As can be seen, the planning procedure is a top-down decision-making process, which sometimes does not include any representatives from the local level. The proposed use of land in the plan has, in many cases, never been approved by the relevant organisations or allocated funding from their annual budget. According to Kazemian (1991),

“Public planning in Iran is completely centralised, all deliberations start and finish with the centre. In this system, local, social and economic interests, as well as the citizens, play almost no role in either decision-making on policy or implementation. The result is the absence of growth and development of local forces and of local popular participation”

(p.81)

Even after the local council's election, these questions remain: to what extent has the establishment of elected local councils changed the planning procedure? Has the initial idea of political decentralisation led to the

decentralisation of the planning system? In order to answer these fundamental questions, further study and consideration of the functions of local government and the impact of economic and political reform on the local government system are required. Although the locally elected councils and mayors are, indeed, a novel feature of the state structure, and to some extent this has led to changes in the mechanism of city planning and integrated urban management, the centralised structure of planning has not been altered significantly (Tajbakhsh, 2003a).

Kazemian (1991) rephrased this question in the form of “City Council or Mayor’s Council?” and pointed out that city councils – ideally the legislative bodies at the city level – have only supervisory authority over the functions of the mayor’s office and have no power over other agencies, such as the Education Ministry or Water and Sewage Departments, that hold important and essential roles in shaping city and urban space. Also, mayors are not seen as intermediaries between the government bureaucracy and city residents, but rather as agents whose job it is to implement plans chosen from above without sufficient funds (Kazemi, 2003). In other words, the culture and system of top-down planning has remained more or less unaffected by the changes in the political system towards greater decentralisation (Tajbakhsh, 2003b).

5.14 Iran: A Centrally-dominated Planning System

According to Iran’s constitution, based partly on Islamic and partly on modern governance systems, government is a two-tier system.

“At the national level, the ultimate authority of Islamic law (Shariat) is embodied in the office/person of the Vali Faqih (Supreme Jurisprudent) and supported by the Guardian Council and the Council of Experts”

(Tajbakhsh, 2003a, p.5)

On the other hand, the three-tier republican institution of the executive (an elected president and 21 executive ministers), the legislature (elected parliamentarians) and the judiciary, which is appointed by *Vali Faqih*, is responsible for running the government through mutual work (*ibid*). At a regional level, the country is divided into 32 provinces, each subject to a principal governor appointed by MOI (*ibid*). The governor is responsible for a broad range of duties, from executing the development plan to coordinating the activities of sub-provincial bodies. Although there is no place for the political strategy of man or the labour-dominated ideology of Communism in the country's planning system, the picture of Iranian planning is drawn by a mixture of economic, physical and public administration models. The planning structure can sometimes be influenced by individual commercial but centrally-controlled firms. "Concentration of economic and political power at the apex of a national system not only encouraged forms of governance unresponsive to people and need, it also provided many opportunities for corrupt practice" (Healey, 2006a, p.11).

At the provincial level, the structured planning and public service delivery is managed in a top-down manner, and representatives from around 20 junior ministers coordinate the plan development in the office located in the provincial governor's building (Zebardast, 2005). In the third FYDP (2001–2005, Clause 16), there is a call for decentralisation of administrative functions to lower levels – the province and the city – by transferring public service and infrastructure responsibilities to urban municipalities, and making decisions on the nation's development budget at the provincial level development planning committee. However, it appears that these funds are of necessity to be expended on the definite projects handed to the province from the top level of government.

At the next level down, each province is divided into sub-provinces (counties) which are each governed by a governor appointed by MOI; his main function is to maintain security and cooperation in county level office activities. Before 1998, the cities were managed by mayors (akin to city managers in the

United States) who were appointed by the provincial governor. Following the election of 1999 and the change in the local government system, elected city and village councils are the bodies which have to:

- appoint a mayor who is answerable to the council;
- approve the mayor's annual municipal budget; and
- directly supervise the council's functions.

The first Municipal Law in 1906 was superseded by the Municipality Law of 1955 which, with amendments, is the current law covering the mayors' functions (Pakdaman, 2000). In both versions of the law, it was clearly stated that decision-making for municipalities should be the responsibility of a local council (city association), whilst in the absence of a city council, MOI is the body in charge. Until 1998, the mayors were the employees of MOI, and their functions were to deliver public services and carry out urban management under the programme, while decisions were made by other ministries such as MHUD and MOI. When the city councils were established in 1998, despite MOI's supervision of the whole procedure, there was some tension within the ministry in terms of their expectation from their chosen mayors to be their administrators in carrying out municipal services, and MOI formed a new office within the ministry called the Office of Councils and Social Affairs.

From a legal point of view, municipalities are not government organisations, but public organisations. However, in practice, these are some of the contradictory issues: although the mayor is appointed by the local council, his appointment letter should be approved and signed by MOI. When it comes to city management issues, the councils, which, in theory, have the power of legislative authority to some extent, have no power over infrastructure development and certain public service delivery. On the other hand, the mayor's office, which has executive authority derived from the council, is restricted to developing the plans approved in accordance with MHUD, including street widening and modernisation and other general urban management functions. This shows how the mayor's office has limited autonomy, while the supply of water, sewerage,

housing, electricity, education and many more are directly managed by junior ministers. When it comes to the municipality level, their authority is more restricted. To understand the decision-making structure at this level, it is important to distinguish between two key issues:

- a) the scope of decision-making by local government; and
- b) the nature of supervision and oversight (Tajbakhsh, 2003a)

In theory, the scope of issues that local councils and the mayor have authority over is wide, but in reality the range of issues is restricted. The role of councils in most areas is limited to supervision and sometimes consultation. In some other areas, such as setting local taxes and user charges, the authority of local government is ambiguous and easily overridden by MOI. The only real areas of infrastructure in which local government has a role are street widening and maintenance, and in fact this is part of implementing land-use plans and urban development plans.

In an analytical model, from the very beginning, the government and political systems in Iran have adopted centralised authoritarian forms for different reasons. The non-existence or weakness of the public domain in society is manifested by the very poor role played by non-governmental organisations (Alavitabar, 2000). On the other hand, councils, as the representatives of the public voice, have not yet achieved public domain status and the delegated role of citizens in urban life (*ibid*). In the absence of public places, it is hard to gather the community and neighbourhood for general meetings, whilst mosques or schools are the property of other government ministries. However, it hardly ever happens that the city council asks people who are living in an area to give their opinions on any plan that might affect them. Thus, without seeing any need for people's participation, central government alone (not even the city council) takes full responsibility and authority in urban administration.

This very short description of the hierarchical bureaucratic system of Iran shows that public consultation can hardly fit into the arrangements for

collaborative policymaking and institutional capacity building. It is typically arranged around a top-to-bottom planning system with a set of common roles applied in all regions. Changes made to the structure of governance in Iran in recent years are derived from the democratic ideology of the government over a short political period. Despite the revolutionary government's claim in deliberately giving an opportunity to the general public to express itself concerning major political decisions, historically there are no traces of residents' participation in urban governance, except in the recent local council elections.

The international trend of sustainable development, which encouraged public empowerment, was the initial benchmark of changes in the municipality management system. However, the sectoral vision of citizens' empowerment was defeated in 2005 by a radical and extremely centralised government, which not only lessened the impact of this level of power transformation at a local level, but imposed a series of changes to the mechanism of management of other organisations at a national, regional and local level, which simply reduced the municipalities' power and network of relationships with other organisations, changed the funding system and central government's financial help for local projects, and encouraged the use of local private consultants; but no changes were made to the planning guidelines, and central government also put forward legal restrictions on councils of the use of private sector firms for local projects.

The very old-style planning theories which are practised in Iran, based on Haussmann-style rigid streets and population density, suggest emphasis on land-use plans and building regulations, which are dissimilar to comprehensive plans for multi-sectoral urban issues. The French-oriented planning system, which gives an absolute power to the government at national level without any apparent theoretical base, is the dominating mechanism of urban management and planning which has not evolved for decades. The massive population increase and rural-urban migration, alongside the municipalities' weak management and controlling power has coupled with the lack of networking and cooperative dialogue amongst local authorities, and has turned the council into a service provider and also a street widener. Traditionally, various committees, consisting

of representatives of organisations, make decisions on regional and local issues. In order to answer these questions, whether these representatives are truly discussing their organisations' interests, whether they are taking the outcome of any discussion back to their authority, how the reciprocity of dialogue takes place, or whether it is a double-loop learning experience or not, further discussion will take place in the case study chapters.

According to the Iranian urban governance system, these are the criteria for measuring the administrative system. Arguably, ten criteria have been chosen by Babakpour (2005), each indicating some issues:

- 1) *Citizen Participation*: Consists of non-governmental societies and the necessary mechanisms for citizens' involvement in the urban development process. Within three aspects of the governance system, the social capital, political capital and institutional capital, citizens' participation should be discussed. The theories of creating an inclusive and consequently collaborative planning process are not feasible within the Iranian constitution and academic environment. The framework of planning policies is based purely on physical, and occasionally economic, priorities, including examples in the style of some famous architects' work (such as Wright). Informative inclusion of some of the stakeholders in some small projects is one of the under-developed ideas in the Iranian planning system. Given all the characterisation about the social tendency towards involvement in urban governance, other factors such as trust, confidence, skills and tolerability are not fully developed amongst the public, and between the public and government. There is hardly any encouragement and willingness between political bodies for setting up a local or regional power-share opportunity. Except during a very limited time, during the period of President Khatami (1997–2005), who aimed to enhance the political capital of the country and the area of urban planning and management, part of the decision-making power was passed to local residents; this was not based on any theory, but on a mixture of the Iranian constitution and Islamic rules. However, after his electoral defeat

by a radical Islamic party, the new ruling ideology encouraged more of a centralisation of power and less of a democratic decision-making process. Institutionally, when a plan is prepared or even put into practice, usually neither incentive nor opportunity to discuss the proposal with neighbouring jurisdictions is given. Neither the Iranian municipality nor the urban development and planning law encourage collaboration. Non-governmental advocates, the private sector, and the local community are legally prevented from being actively involved in planning committees or with planning authorities' staff. Even the stakeholders, or those who have some interest in the project, can have very limited influence, depending on their political background.

- 2) *Effectiveness*: People's satisfaction with urban services, and to what extent privatisation will improve their contentment. Although partial disagreement or dissatisfaction can change the course of a small part of a specific project, it cannot change any arrangement of the influence of the legal regulatory framework or procedure.
- 3) *Responsiveness*: Mainly concerns finding mechanisms for being informed about citizens' points of view and expectations, providing simple methods and enabling responses to citizens' demands. The chapters studying the Iranian planning criteria clearly present the framework in which plans are prepared. The responsibility of producing and implementing the plan is primarily with the municipality and HUDO – the main members of the planning committees. Members of other authorities, attending some of the planning committees, may present their interest in the plan. However, within the bureaucratic structure of each of these organisations, there is no obligation or space for creativity and influence in their routine. Responsibility is not a shared object within the planning process; it is only on the shoulders of the municipality. The citizens' point of view, theoretically and practically, does not need to be considered. In some cases, some of the regeneration companies produce questionnaires to collect basic data and general information at a very

small scale. Citizens' opinions or criticism are not part of the planning process, even if they have a personal stake in the project. The knowledge resources comprise only the consultants' experience, the municipality's regulations and HUDO rules.

- 4) *Responsibility and Accountability*: About measuring the extent of the urban development programme and pre-determined duties. The mayor's authority at the centre of the responsible body in Iranian urban planning and management concerns investing in, controlling and managing the city's affairs. Councillors are observers and members of some of the committees. The network of relations between local authorities is based on formal and individual priorities rooted in their national agenda. The governance process is a complicated and single-approach process. Institutional capacity, their network of relations, and how they work within this network is discussed in the chapters focusing on the second case study.
- 5) *Transparency*: Urban plans should be publicised, and should be accessible to the public, without any complications or words that are not understandable. The notion of discourses, stakeholders participation, and the network of coalitions are the three components of reaching a practical solution or plan for a neighbourhood. In each part, transparency and openness is a main role-player. Regulations and plans are part of the institution's framework, with no obligation to publicise them for general public information.
- 6) *Rule of Law*: About citizens' awareness of urban development laws and regulations at all levels. The Municipality Law is an old written version of the French management system, which has no theoretical background, but clearly states that all the regulations and local plans should be published. However, the departments of communication and social relations of the municipalities are not keen, or trained, to fulfil this idea, and it is difficult for citizens to get hold of any formal information if they

require it. The nature of communication and network of connections is not a straightforward process and lacks even basic information distribution tools such as flyers, billboards, websites or even newsletters, which are all one-way modes of communication.

- 7) *Determining Policy Directions Cooperatively:* Non-governmental organisations and other governmental departments which have a hand in the plan, or are allocated land in the plan, put forward their efforts. Citizens and stakeholders, voluntary and interest groups and even private investors may be practically affected by the plans considered for a specific arena. They are not, in fact, in the mainstream of decision-making processes, as the bureaucratic tradition of planning only includes members of local authorities. The collaborative planning theory would be discredited if the planning process of regional and local government were discussed, not due to the incapability of including all the parties or of reaching common ground for further action, but due to the fact that the public and non-governmental representatives are not welcome to participate within Iranian planning practice.
- 8) *Justice:* being fair in the allocation of resources and urban services. Making decisions about residents' property without considering the required funds is a common practice in the land-use planning tradition of Iran. It is based on the collected data and population census, and some simple tables which calculate the required land for certain services within a specific distance. The questions about validity, practicality and the possibility of carrying out many plans is the main unanswered issue in the Iranian planning tradition. It will be exemplified by the case study analysis later on.
- 9) *Strategic Insight:* The existence of up-to-date urban development plans for the city and their funding is very important, alongside urban planning offices or departments creating cooperation between related offices. The story of planning in Iran is an old one, which has not been updated for a

long time. The definition of strategic planning in this process is not what is described in UK planning documents. Physical and land-use planning of cities are developed in relation to street widening, housing density, public service locations and building regulations. The initial knowledge resources are limited to the main government authorities that have not developed their relationship resources, and therefore cannot produce a fully thought out decision that can be called strategic.

10) *Decentralisation*: At the forefront of all ideas, it is crucial to have enough financial resources at a local level and the authority to make decisions on how to use them. The centrally-dominated planning system in Iran has recently been under criticism by much of society. This very fundamental step was also taken by local councils, who are not appointed by the government to be involved in local decision-making and urban management. Debates exist around these issues: whether this is a true democratic planning system; whether councillors are really local residents' representatives; how far their efforts and ideas can go (beyond municipality power); what their relations are with other local authorities; who do they really represent; and many more questions. The opposite policies implemented by MOI, HUDO and PBO have made the planning process at a regional and local level even worse, which, coupled with the annual budget allocation and the financial independence of municipalities, has reduced the autonomy and decentralisation of power at a local level. It is also worth mentioning that the contradictions in municipality law and other government departments have dramatically reduced councils' inclination to take risks and to be flexible.

Also, mutual understanding and relationships between different governmental agents at a local level are fundamental and should be facilitated. The most important factor in urban governance is the existence of an active, dynamic and effective public domain in urban development, to represent and lead the community generally within the life of the neighbourhood (Alavitabar, 2000). This is not the case in Iran.

5.15 Urban Spatial Planning

In Iran, urban planning has basically been about producing policies to manage fast-growing cities. The actual process of urban planning and policymaking focuses strongly on physical development being proposed by architect-dominated private consultants (Madanipour, 1998). Before 1979, the master plan was the main physical planning policy, and as in many other countries, large-scale reshaping of cities took place when the master plans were formulated, without adequate consideration of the fabric of the cities and the capacity of the urban system to respond (Ghanbari Parsa and Madanipour, 1988). This indicates, in turn, the focus on financing the plan, and at the same time, despite the long history of the municipalities' existence, the shortages of trained and qualified personnel. This gets more fragmented when it comes to the formal link between the residents and local government at the urban level.

The main characteristic of the process of urban planning and policy in Iran is the lack of connection between the organisations that are in charge of preparing and implementing the plans. Planning the future of the city, on the one hand, is carried out by the production of a comprehensive master plan for the city. It is produced by private consultants and will finally be approved by the High Council of Town Planning, as a sub-division of MHUD. On the other hand, current urban development activities are controlled and implemented by the municipalities. The municipality is responsible to MOI, which is in charge of master plans for smaller towns. At the same time, PBO makes plans for development and spatial planning at a national and regional scale.

The diversity of these various planning and decision-making agencies causes conflicts and disorders (Madanipour, 1998). For instance in the First FYDP, for the period 1989–1994, the main spatial strategy was the rational geographic distribution of population and activities, emphasising organisation, regulation of links, and consolidation of ties between population centres and the organised network of rural and tribal regions (Ferdowsian, 2002). However, the

definitions and structural problems of urban development and policy were summarised by PBO in 1987 as follows:

- Lack of essential mechanisms to mobilise non-governmental resources;
- Lack of comprehensive national and regional planning for housing and urban development, which would incorporate urban planning;
- Ambiguities in identification of urban land;
- Legal contradictions between the authorities involved.

Also, the weakness of the municipalities in respect of their lack of controlling power and sufficient finance, the lack of balance in the urban management system, the inefficiency of laws and of enforcing regulations, and the lack of implementation of master plans have all been highlighted (PMO, 1987). In general, the main objectives of urban policy concentrated on:

- Provision of a long-term national and regional spatial plan;
- Updating the comprehensive master plans of large cities;
- Reinforcing municipalities, improving public transport; and
- Giving priority to the redevelopment of old city quarters in order to control urban expansion (PMO, 1987; Madanipour, 1998).

In general terms, planning and urban policy in Iran is of a centralised nature, with a tendency towards regional planning, and is too rigid to allow more flexibility (Ghanbari Parsa and Madanipour, 1988).

5.16 City Councils and the Notion of Participation

Councillors are in fact the lost link in the chain between local government and citizens, facing many challenging issues. In theory, their duties are categorised into three main areas (Rahnemai, 2001, p.102):

- *“Consultation Issues:* Study and consultation regarding social, economic and construction programmes in their areas, providing solutions and suggestions to the upper level of government;
- *Inspection Affairs:* Observing other organisations and local institutions (with no power to interfere in their daily routine);
- *Planning Issues:* Planning to attract people’s participation in social, economic and construction programmes”.

Although some limited initiatives have been proposed by MOI for attracting investors’ financial help and municipalities’ financial independence, due to the rapid expansion of cities in size and population, the involvement of the citizenry has not been improved (Ahmadi, 1992). After the 1998 local government elections, there have been some interesting examples of citizens’ contribution in urban management, as follows (Alavitabar, 2001):

- *Healthy City Project:* This initiative is a successful example of seeking cooperation between organisations and providing opportunities for people’s involvement in creating a healthy living environment. Tehran, in 1991, was the first city which put the idea into practice, and this has been doing well so far. In Sari, a similar scheme was implemented in 1998 in order to clean the area and paint walls, however this did not last too long (Pakdaman, 2001).
- *Local consultation committees* including university lecturers, students and ordinary citizens, who gather regularly for discussion and to study their local issues and arrange social and cultural events.
- *School Mayor Initiative:* the scheme is based on three objectives:
 - to give respect and opportunities to young people, in order to create moral connections;
 - to support teenagers in contributing voluntarily to activities at school, in the city and within their families;
 - to give them a better chance to know their physical environment and to build bridges with other people.

The plan was also meant to sustain participation skills within society, teaching people how to deal with emergency situations, supplying general information regarding traffic, environmental issues, social and welfare rights, and providing community centres and different social activities (Alavitabar, 2001, p.83).

- *Superior Mayors of Areas:* Torbat Heidarieh was the first city to introduce the superior area mayors' initiative in 2000, which was implemented by choosing a representative in each area (Pakdaman, 2001). The area mayors work closely with the city council and councillors in a way that delivers local people's concerns to the city council. They meet people in their local offices and inform citizens about the council's annual budget, plans, and in some cases, help them to complete planning permission forms to be sent to the council for final approval. The initiative works really well in terms of public sanitary and environmental issues, as well as local tax collection. In fact, the scheme targeted all aspects of city council functions and possible public participation and involvement.
- *Recycling Waste:* One of the important concerns of municipalities is managing landfill without causing environmental consequences. Tonekabon City Council encouraged people to separate recyclable waste, and this reduced its rubbish collection costs (Mashayekhi, 2001, p.285).

There have been a limited number of initiatives at a local level; however, central government has not provided clear proposals as a guideline for all city councils. Councils are struggling with local financial independence and facing up to the mountain of expectation from local people. In any case, it is up to central and local government to work together to propose a clear framework for local management, and help them financially, in order to not to lose public trust.

5.17 Decentralisation or Reorganisation?

After 1979, despite all the revolutionary promises about the system of governing the country, the political situation led the country towards greater centralisation. These are the three main forces which did so (Tajbakhsh, 2003a, p.6):

- “Disruption in the national economy, moving key investors out of the country and lack of professional personnel led to nationalisation of many industries and sectors of the economy.
- The long war with Iraq, and concerns about the segregation of some ethnic groups and their provinces, made the government centralise the military and administrative functions to prevent that possibility.
- The desire to create a new state system along ideological lines put emphasis on the need for greater centralised authority in all spheres of society”.

However, by the end of the war in 1988 and the population growth boom in the 1980s, the necessity for new initiatives in economic, fiscal, administrative and political functions came to the front line of government policy. Fiscal decentralisation commenced in 1988, with the introduction of the Municipal Fiscal Self-Sufficiency Law, aiming to remove central government financial help to the municipalities completely (*ibid*). In reality, this policy left smaller municipalities on their own, struggling with basic financial needs. In terms of administrative restructuring, this was put into practice by the first local council election in 1999, and was supported by the Third Five-Year Development Plan (2001–2005) (*ibid*).

In January 2003, the Tax Amalgamation Law – one of the most significant fiscal reforms affecting municipalities – was introduced and superseded all the previous laws and executive decrees (Alavitabar, 2001). According to this law, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs is responsible for the collection of taxes at both a local and national level, and for

sending them to central government to be considered for redistribution. This was an important issue, leading in the opposite direction to decentralisation of the system and municipalities' autonomy. As Tajbakhsh (2003b) points out, in practice it was a reverse step, away from the decentralisation of municipalities stated in the Council Law of 1996, which approved the election of local councils in 1998. The impacts of this major backward shift and change in councils' financial systems will only become apparent in the coming years.

Table 5–5 is a summary of the dimension of governance in a general view of the urban planning system at a central, provincial and local level. Each level consists of many similar members following the regulations and strategies laid by central government for the whole country. In other words, those who are in charge of laying down the regulations are again the decision-making bodies at a provincial and local level. Whilst the original policy is being made, there is lack of communication between the various organisations. That trickles down to the local level within the Clause Five Committee or Clause 100 Committee, amongst local authority members. Each organisation's goals are set according to its own priorities, and this does not necessarily bring the organisations into collaboration in practice. Their main policies cannot be altered in order to deal with local issues. The table highlights two main points; the centrally-dominated and strong top-down bureaucratic system, and the absence of cooperation amongst authorities and stakeholders.

Table 5–5: Dimensions of governance in Iran

Level	Central	Regional	Local
Episodes	Decisions are for the national or regional level	Each province has its own issues and authorities make decisions about the region and smaller cities	Local issues, neighbourhood development and small projects
Actors	MOI, PBO, High Court, MHUD, HCAUD, ICHTO are the main actors in producing planning policies	Provincial office of MOI, HUDO, HCAUD, Clause Five Committee, Clause 100 Committee, provincial council, consultants	Local offices of MOI, HUDO, HCAUD; council, municipality, consultants, local issues, neighbourhood problems and project base
Arenas	Country’s economic and government political ideology	Plan for province, region or local issues and projects	Urban planning, housing density and street widening
Ambiences and interactive practices	Fewer interactions between ministers	Regular committee meetings chaired by provincial councillor or his legal representative	Planning committees chaired by HUDO, network of connection between municipality, consultancy, HUDO and council members, but not interactive
Governance process	Ministries are selected according to the subject of the problem,	Following legal procedure and using formal legislation	Framing local issues by using central government guidelines
Discourses	Discourses are formally and hierarchically based	Subject-oriented discourses from different perspectives	Discourses amongst limited local authorities in committees; very basic and regulated by particular laws, sometimes contradiction in them
Practices	Partial consideration of law; unstable and broken networks of connection	Decisions are based on results of discourses and influence of provincial governor ‘s ideas	Municipality (and the mayor at the top) is body responsible for plans; funds are provided by municipality
Specification of laws	Specific regulations of each ministry; high court decision is final	Creating strong network of connection and consultation between committee members	Lack of flexibility, alterations or even criticisms
Governance culture	Centrally-dominated planning system, giving some autonomy in some aspects to local government and simultaneously taking it away	Usual routine of attendance without specific opinion, not comprehensive or inclusive	Absence of culture of criticism and review
Accepted modes of governance	Discourses are only for part of the plan and during preparation; lack of commitment	Neither flexible nor innovative against central government criteria	Legal and formal structure of local authorities and municipality
Embedded values	Idealistic but not practical	Sectoral approach to issues	Limited to physical and land-use planning
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practice	No clear framework for locally effected decisions, changes of priority	Weakness of local and regional values in decisions	Some stakeholders are consulted by council members informally

5.18 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to review the process of modernisation of urban development in Iran descriptively. Various impetuses forced their way through to shape and control the trends of the urban land market, the housing industry, urban development and even city management. This commenced with Reza Shah's rise to power. The rule of the Pahlavy dynasty coincided with radical changes and modernisation of the country in all aspects. The government paid special attention to the physical, economic and cultural structure of the country.

According to the UNESCO report (Shankland, 1968) there was a great need and opportunity for Iran, in the era of its rapid social and urban development, to exercise a strong hand in directing physical development and conserving the unique Iranian heritage of historic towns and urban fabric from destruction. However, according to Mozayeni (1974), it was not an easy task for the government to discuss urban development, as the facts behind the practicalities of the plans revealed that they were not fully or successfully implemented. Iranian government was/is a fully centralised system which can be affected by the country's general situation. The criteria around which urban issues are considered are mainly concerned with rapid urban growth and the housing industry. The impact of the oil-based economy, the Islamic revolution and the introduction of a different ideology into society redirected the country's overall urban development course of action. The development of urban planning and regeneration is largely for dealing with urban infrastructure, transport and regulating informal new housing development.

The complexity and extent of physical development has left no room for other aspects of urban issues, such as social or even economic stability and regeneration. Although there have been changes in the government management mechanism and planning system, the responsibility criteria and urban planning system remained the same. Land-use planning, and a purely physical approach to

the multi-sectoral problems of the cities, have reduced the capability and effectiveness of the urban master and comprehensive plans within the Iranian urban planning system. Also, from an urban management point of view, contradictions between local authorities' priorities, functions and regulations, the absence of strong and committed local urban management, the lack of supportive legal systems, and most importantly the lack of public participation within the decision-making process are some of the obstacles in the way of local councils achieving their goals. The next part of the research will look at the physical urban situation, the characteristics of inner cities in Iran, and the approaches used for regeneration, as a background to the discussion of Sari's case study in chapter 9.

Chapter 6: Approaches to the Regeneration of the City Core in Iran

6.1 Introduction

A planning mechanism, to a large extent, is specific to each country's legal system, priorities and management. As has been discussed so far, the Iranian planning system is fairly centralised and based on land-use theories. The reality of the ever-growing population and urban area has strongly undermined the social, ecological and cultural aspects of the cities. Planning in Iran has paid less attention to the revitalisation and regeneration of the existing core of cities, compared to the UK planning system, Public consultation does not play an important role within this process either. The municipal council is the only organisation that is in charge of implementing plans, and the lack of multi-sectoral managerial teams has put many aspects of the plans on hold and delays the procedure, which consequently makes the plans out of date. In the UK's planning system, one of the solutions for this type of problem is to create action teams and agencies for specific projects, with dedicated organisations or companies that are funded for the life of the plans and are able to use the private sector as partners in investments. This chapter will look at key regeneration approaches to understand the shortcomings of the system in Iran and will provide a basis for future improvements. Also, the same framework for assessing dimensions of government within the regeneration field will be used to make a more comprehensive comparison of the British and Iranian situations.

6.1.1 General Background to Urban Development in Iran

Homayoun Alemi, in his book *Portrait of a Changing City* (1996), describes the development phases of Tehran from 1950 to 1994. He summarises the situation of Tehran as follows:

“After the Second World War Tehran lost the balance between its growing population and the availability of public spaces, between social participation and private life, between transport and traffic, between the function of the building and its appearance. In a few words, what was lost

was the balance between modernization and history. Open spaces were built up. The villages around the city were buried inside the expanding metropolis, thus losing their original character and social cohesiveness. The drastic loss of traditional culture and customs are reflected in the neglect of the existing urban structure, which looks dated and old fashioned. The collective memory and the buildings that symbolized it, demolished to be replaced by new ones, which were probably more functional but lacked historical and cultural roots. These losses of historical references in the city reduced the sense of national identity. The lack of a collective sense of identity or belonging is what the Persian society is suffering from today”

(Alemi, 1996, p.31)

This is a common scenario in every city in Iran. Replacing traditional urban fabric and valuable green spaces with multi-storey buildings is a current trend, being practised by more and more organisations and citizens. Preserving old urban areas, whether located within city centres or adjacent areas, has not been a priority of local residents, nor the government, for many reasons. Relevant organisations, such as tourism and cultural heritage organisations or UDRO, are acting in a sectoral- and project-based way within a limited number of cities, but their cooperation with other main authorities, including the city council, has not developed, and their decisions are based on the central government budget.

Recently, cultural identity and creative diversity have become highly publicised issues on an international level, and in Iran also. The concept of the “modern city” has changed, and the problems of disorientation and rootlessness have questioned the quality of life in modern cities. On the other hand, the gap between social and economic development, along with the concentration of urban infrastructure, facilities and social welfare in large urban areas, has not stopped people leaving their small communities for a supposedly better life. Most of all, the concept of “historical continuity” and learning from the past turns out not to be a backward step but an attempt to link the past, present and future together

(Ferdowsian, 2002). This explains the search for strategies in design, which allow the adaptation of traditional, cultural and inclusive values in the modern urban planning system. Now the issue is how to use the architectural and urban heritage of the city cores for creating a sustainable environment and community.

6.2 The Development of Ideas about Conservation and Regeneration

Attitudes toward the old districts in the inner cities of Iran have changed from time to time, according to general urban policies and priorities. For years, regeneration and urban development practitioners have been looking at conservation considerations to try to find solutions to the complimentary concerns of the old fabric of the cities, and prioritise them in urban programmes before it is too late.

As has been mentioned before, the 1920s and 1930s were the decades of modernisation and large-scale transformation of the cities without full consideration of their historic context. Importation of cars, new building materials and modern technology into people's day-to-day lifestyle became the basis of future development of the cities, including the construction of public buildings and the replacement of traditional, adaptable narrow paths with modern roads. Although the cities were in need of transformation and welcomed to this new lifestyle the municipalities intervened in the old parts of the cities and regeneration strategies were ignored (Marefat, 2003). It was not just new material that was introduced to the building industry; new architectural forms such as modernism and post-modernism styles were introduced (Marefat, 1997). In fact, the inner-city and older areas were either isolated by new roads and developments, or were partly demolished. The state, as the sole and unrestricted power, shaped the urban built environment dramatically, and the municipalities played the role of local planners, whilst they obtained the power to make changes by virtue of the Compulsory Purchase Law 1930 and the Street Widening Law 1933 (Mazumdar, 2000). These two laws have become the foundation for any urban development and regeneration, even up to the present day.

As the appearance of the cities and the government's institutional structure was changing, the social and economic structure of the country as a whole was changing too (Katouzian, 1981). New professionals and social classes emerged into society and created new neighbourhoods, which divided the cities into higher and lower social class areas. In the case of Sari, for instance, the historic part of the city has gradually been abandoned, and the limitations imposed for any development in the old quarter has pushed away any interest in investment. This current social segregation, to a large extent, is the result of the economic situation and social changes, which created fortunes and higher incomes for some, as the economic base of the country changed from agriculture to industry (Madanipour, 2006). In terms of the city centres and the old city fabric, many of the merchants and middle-class people left the old areas for bigger cities, or newly-built areas. This was, and is, intensified by the differences between the older and newer areas in the degree of public services and amenities, physical appearance, building and population density, and socio-cultural characteristics (Marefat, 2003).

Establishment of the National Organisation for the Preservation of the Historic Monuments of Iran was the first step in developing the idea of conservation under the Ministry of Culture, which was in charge of the conservation of historic monuments and buildings (Ferdowsian, 2002). The aim of this organisation was to reuse historic buildings by revitalising them, which would save them from total destruction (Abdulac, 1983). International organisations such as UNESCO have also cooperated with the government in the past, and present, to arrange regeneration plans and funding.

The revolutionary state started to look at the traditions and socio-economic aspects of society from an Islamic point of view and when they are in the hands of lower-class people (Kazemi, 2003). The impact of the revolution on architectural styles and urban policy was and is inspired from a traditional Islamic ethos, which even put aside some of the urban development regulations, and which also caused irregularities for many years (*ibid*). Although major general national development policies remained the same, guiding principles on

land and housing gave people more freedom to build without the consent of local authorities, and expand cities without decent infrastructure (Dehesh, 1994).

In several attempts to regulate the informal settlements around the cities, the government passed a series of reorganisation laws during the 1970s and 1980s relating to new satellite cities and land ownership. These helped to improve conditions within many of these informal developments, but encouraged more migration and continuity of the same process of disorganised development (Behdad and Nomani, 2002). The government limited the authority of local municipalities, strongly increased its central control on local decision-making processes, and gave various signals to different organisations regarding housing industry and illegal settlements. The importance of the regeneration of inner-city areas and the use of brownfield sites, for possible development inside the cities, does not get enough attention (Kazemi, 2003).

While the methods of realising decisions set by government regulations for urban and regeneration planning are broadly the same for each city, it can be said that the planning authorities have not found the best organisational and administrative means of doing this. In the older parts of the city and in inner-city areas, lack of appropriate materials or skills is not the only reason for either leaving residential buildings alone or demolishing them; it could also be that they are not fit for modern-day life and cannot generate profit for the owners. Cultural and economic obsolescence, lack of certainty in the local authority's plan for the area, possible available funding for the plan, or in the case of Sari, validity of the plan for certain period of time, have speeded up the trend of demolition of those areas. Framing the issue and setting an active role for relevant organisations to implement the plan are both not fully developed. It has not been realised by the government at both central and local levels, how inner-city areas can be an asset and how different aspects of urbanisation affect them.

In many large cities like Tehran, the municipality replaced part of the old fabric with modern buildings and brought them back to life with new commercial services and residential use. Since the government has left municipalities with no

central funding assistance for their managerial role in the cities, and no clear alternative apparatus to obtain income, it leaves them with no choice but to finance themselves by changing land-use: selling permission for high-density developments or working in partnership with the private sector in housing and commercial building construction, against the will of many local planning organisations such as HUDO (Tajbakhsh, 2003a; Madanipour, 1998).

For the older parts of the cities, except a few valuable historic city centres, such as Isfahan or Shiraz, the picture has constantly been unclear about whether to conserve them or replace them with new, modern buildings. The government pioneered some flagship revitalisation and conservation of individual buildings or areas in cities such as Mashhad, to attract tourists, but this is not a common practice for the old fabric of small- or medium-sized cities like Sari. Intervention in the historic city fabric for profit by some authorities, such as religious organisations, is a common feature but is not a sustainable answer to the general regeneration trend. This means that in the first stage of the plan, which is the gathering of the diversity of actors who make up the regeneration governance body, there is no strong leader or group. The arena in which regeneration activities takes place is limited and sectoral.

However, it is not impossible to correct this current trend and to conceive a more constructive role for each authority. Professionals and society are fully capable of coping with large-scale complex problems, and of producing environments that could improve people's quality of life. However, to do so we must first recognise the dominant circumstances of the present urban culture and how people are affected by this. In other words, the strategy should be based on identification of real problems and should enrich knowledge resources. It is essential to study the causes of deterioration of an urban area and its impact on social, economic, physical and environmental aspects of the neighbourhood, which would produce an interactive and effective response to the issues.

6.3 Reform in the Role and Policies of Institutions

The third decade of the Islamic Revolution, starting from 1998, was the decade of change, challenge, and adjustment, as planning preparation responsibility passed to the municipalities and local councils (Tajbakhsh, 2003b). Local private consultants increased in number, involving more expert professionals educated in planning schools. The involvement of these professionals within the planning process, in the form of private consultancies or employment by public agencies, has imposed reform in the authorities' way of implementing central government general policy. The Third FYDP employed different approaches to previous strategies, with greater orientation towards cultural and more democratic ways of controlling local issues (Tajbakhsh, 2003b, p.5) which indicated some of the positive movements towards empowering local authorities and public interests.

According to the local council law of 1996, people were asked to contribute to their local government via electing local councillors and by having a supervisory role in the urban, social, cultural and general management of their area (Alavitabar, 2001). Although their legal and institutional operational power is limited to the city council, this had a great impact on the process of city management, with the help of local voluntary groups implementing novel methods and sharing responsibility with local people (*ibid*). The second (2005–2008) and third (2009–2012) rounds of local council elections was a stunning reversal of ideological democracy which was defeated by the religious conservatives; however, this could not hold back the right of people from voting for their local representatives.

Government has formed another regional level council, called the Provincial Development and Planning Council (PDPC), whose representatives comprise seventeen ministers, three university professors or specialists, one city council representative and one village council representative, and which is chaired by the provincial governor (Tajbakhsh, 2003b). It can make decisions on regional development and major plans, and is funded by the Management and

Planning Organisation (MPO). In the legislation it is government's intention to increase coordination amongst local authorities in order to achieve the best of the plans, to reduce contradictions within administration, and to resolve differences. On the one hand, government has given more power to local people to have a say about the issues around them and their neighbourhood by electing local councillors, but on the other, the administrative structure of many organisations, such as HUDO, has become more centralised.

In regard to urban regeneration, the emphasis changed from individual building conservation to urban area revitalisation. For instance, the emphasis of the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organisation (ICHTO) is now to protect individual buildings as well as their neighbourhoods, and to see them as tourist attractions (Azizi, 2005).

After a number of criticisms of the large-scale redevelopment projects carried out by municipalities and other agencies in some of the cities, such as Mashhad or Tehran, there was a change of general policy towards small-scale physical or property developments, and the involvement of the private sector for investment was encouraged. From an institutional aspect, according to the Third FYDP (2001–2005), the government should be the provider of regulations and general policies, whilst the local and provincial offices of HUDO, UDRO and ICHTO should assist projects by public consultation, gathering community support, and enforcing regulations.

With the help of the World Bank and other international resources, six urban revitalisation and regeneration projects were started in a few cities from 2003 (HUDO, 2006). The interest in reviving inner-city areas and bringing them back to life is the latest trend in urban policies amongst municipalities and HUDO (*ibid*). If the plans are fully implemented, this will eventually lead to the revival of the old city fabric for residential and commercial uses. Nevertheless, existing contradictions between organisations, plans and authorities responsible for funding have raised concerns whether these will ultimately save the area and

benefit the city, or cause more deterioration and a greater distance between organisations (*ibid*). In research carried out by MHUD (2006) it stated that:

- The general interest in the old city fabric plans and projects is to construct new buildings rather than revitalise.
- Adding more commercial developments to the city centre would add more emphasis to that area.
- It will make more money for the relevant authorities to regenerate part of the area than the whole area.
- In regenerating the area, unfortunately, social and cultural aspects are not a priority. In most cases the authority responsible prefers to buy the property from the landlord and encourage them to move out, rather than ask them to stay, which will eventually undermine the social characteristics of the area.
- ICHTO is not active enough to keep many valuable buildings and city fabric, whether registered or unregistered, from fading away within the process of reconstructing inner-city areas.

The land-use plan, access network and recommended public services are more or less the same as before; however, municipalities are not just organisations for the implementation of centrally decided details or master plans (Madanipour, 2006). The responsibility to organise regeneration plans for city centres has also been passed to the partnership between the local municipality and central government.

In a positive movement, and in order to devote special attention and funds to revitalise city centres, in many cities the historic and old city centre, including its residential areas and bazaar, has been considered as a separate district inside the city under the integrated management of the involved authorities, such as the city council, ICHTO, HUDO, the provincial MOI representative, community groups and on a few occasions, the local residents' representatives. This may give the council a chance to be in touch with people and gather more accurate information about local residents, which will help to draw up a more precise

plan, eventually increasing the level of trust between local people and other authorities, and consequently making regeneration a success.

Following approval of the national budget in 2005, MPO asked HUDO to cooperate with ICHTO for the improvement, regeneration and reconstruction of old urban fabric. HUDO is responsible for facilitating the process of providing subsidies to residents, private sector firms and cooperatives who work with the old urban fabric, and for regularly sending a progress report to MPO (MPO, 2005, p.2).

Arguably, the government has been trying to limit its responsibility as a legislator, manager, fundraiser and practitioner to become only a legislator and partly a manager, and perhaps an observer. The general tendency and attitude towards urban regeneration and development projects is to minimise government intervention and maximise public and private sector involvement (UDRC, 2004). But there are still questions about how this approach will be implemented, how participation is established, whether there are enough supportive regulations and legal power, how strong the mutual trust between people and government is, and where the required funds will come from.

There are debates about the importance and necessity of informing the stakeholders in the project areas, which is not in the form of consultation or involvement. Indeed, the government intends to use three approaches to reach the goals of regeneration (Saeedi, 2008). Within these approaches, there are guidelines on how to act collectively to meet targets.

- Firstly, the urban regeneration policy has moved from property-led regeneration towards more sensitive, small-scale and locally-based rehabilitation projects (*ibid*).
- Secondly, community empowerment, in an inclusive and sustained manner, will grant the community a safe, healthy and secure environment (*ibid*). It has been suggested that a national steering group of all relevant organisations' representatives may gather to make major decisions. At the

city level, the formation of multi-sectoral groups or committees is also seen as necessary, encompassing representatives from communities, local authorities and the private sector. This gives local residents and local authorities the encouragement to communicate, and take part in the action, in order to achieve more effective plans and results. Within the process of implementing the programme in the Third FYDP, it has been recommended to pay special attention to women, the younger generation and hard-to-reach people, to obtain more accurate data and outcomes (*ibid*). NGOs and other voluntary groups are all welcomed and encouraged to engage actively throughout the programme, in training and other civil rights information sessions. People need to be advised of their legal rights and entitlement issues, possible relocation and how to resolve matters by negotiation.

- Thirdly, the development of a public-private partnership has been amongst the new strategies employed by UDRC (*ibid*).

Using the best practice and experiences of other countries is also recommended, even though they have to be adapted to the economic, cultural, environmental and legal context of Iran. Some of the research areas covered may be on building codes and technology, the promotion of education, environmentally friendly materials and construction styles, and many others.

The safety and legitimacy of buildings is at the heart of the initial stage, and mainly concerns planning reviews, building codes by consideration of affordability, and future city development and augmentation expansion. Provision of mixed-use land and services can reduce disparity and create a balanced neighbourhood. Residents are also encouraged to participate in the provision of local services, which can give power to the sense of belonging in the community. Regularising the plans and any possible future development can create a more sustainable and attractive place for those who live there.

Government and other private creditors are also key role-players in providing necessary funds for improving housing quality and other public

services to a standard level. Local committees directing and acting collectively in order to acquire some of the random and untargeted subsidies and funds injected by NGOs and other charity groups could speed up the process and help the government to move other plans along. All of these recommendations and new strategies, whether in theory or practice, are summarised in the following table (Table 6–1). As the table indicates, there has been huge progress in the Iranian governance system towards cooperation, integration and participation in the decision-making process and in urban management. However, the practicality of these ideas are exemplified by the study of Sari’s development plan, which will explain that the collaborative planning, the citizens’ empowerment and the mobilisation capacity within the institutions, are in need of fundamental reform.

Table 6–1: Analysing levels of governance of the recent reform in planning strategy

Level	Recent Reform in Planning Strategy
Episodes	Encouraging major planning authorities to work as a committee
Actors	City council, municipality, regional committees, private sector, community
Arenas	Inner cities, old fabric
Ambiences and interactive practices	Following common goal, being more inclusive and cooperative
Governance process	Starting to think “comprehensive and integrated”
Discourses	Identifying the problem via discourse amongst local authorities
Practices	Providing certain stakeholders in the project area with legal advice and other information
Specification of laws	Forming solutions based on government assumption of problems, not local requirements
Governance culture	Expanding network of connections between planning authorities, banks and citizens
Accepted modes of governance	Physical and economic development is still top of the agenda. There is no legal requirement for individual authorities to follow the plan
Embedded values	Changing management system and approach to planning
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	Bureaucratic resistance against: 1) transformation of centralised power to the regional level, and from there to the local level; 2) involving general public in the planning process as a regular partner

6.4 Regeneration Organisations

The main authority responsible for revitalisation was the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation (ICHO), which had a sectoral intervention in some sites or historic buildings. They were more interested in the conservation of single buildings or sites, rather than major large-scale physical regeneration. The limited legislative authority and funding of this organisation could not make much of a difference for the historic parts of cities, and only imposed more restrictions on new buildings or any development around specific historic sites, and this made the old fabric of the cities even more deserted.

The recent merger of ICHO with the Iranian Tourist Organisation, and its renaming to the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organisation (ICHTO), opened a new chapter in this organisation's responsibility, which, from some points of view, weakened its focus from only revitalisation and conservation to tourism, but gave it more power in terms of funding, the extent of activities and bureaucracy. In terms of its administrative hierarchy, it is characterised by plural and parallel power centres amongst local authorities, rather than a vertical power structure (Amirahmadi and Kiafar, 1993). This makes its position stronger, but has not made its connections and practices more efficient. It is not actively involved with the city council as the main responsible authority, at a local level, for driving the regeneration activities at a city scale. The change of its focus and action arena has reduced its emphasis on the regeneration activities of the cities. This is difficult in two ways: in advancing the culture of discourse and framing the real issues, and in creating a culture of teamworking and cooperation. It does not see regeneration as a multi-sectoral issue which consequently limits its activities to single building renovation. These organisations are not just linked horizontally but have numerous vertical connections, which eventually creates discord and strife in the upper echelons of government, reduces effectiveness, and works against the efficient utilisation of resources (*ibid*). Urban management becomes more difficult when there is a lack of coordination in policies and priorities between local authorities and some of the development agencies are not under any obligation to follow the development plans (Saeidi, 2004). Many large

housing or commercial development projects, both within the inner cities and the suburbs, are funded and constructed by cooperatives and public agencies, for the purpose of profitability, and occasionally exceed the council's regulations (Madanipour, 1998).

Following the introduction of the brownfield redevelopment policy of the Second FYDP, a series of programmes dealing with city centre problems were launched, and lots of large and small projects were carried out in some cities, such as Neighbourhood Renewal (1994–1997) and Urban Rehabilitations (1987–1990) (Izadi, 2004). These were both implemented, by HUDO's special sub-committee, in some flagship projects such as Kerman Bazaar and Mashhad Pilgrims Site. The success of these projects resulted in another initiative, which focused on some selected sites that were in a state of disrepair and deterioration.

The programme for the redevelopment of historic city centres, and the reuse of land in those areas, is named 'Problematic Urban Fabric' (*Bafte Masalehdar Shahr*) (1995–2002); it targeted empty properties and available derelict land (Izadi, 2004). HUDO, SMUDRC, UDRC, and their private cooperatives were given legal support to buy properties, collectively produce a plan for mixed or residential development, and put them into use (Astan-e Gods Consultant Engineers, 2005). In theory, they targeted inner-city areas which had the most potential to become dynamic parts of the city. However, they lacked some fundamental issues in their strategy, approach and interaction with stakeholders and other local authorities. For instance, the Housing Development and Construction Company (HDCC), which is involved with land acquisition and the clearance of several hectares of land in many city centres, never followed the regeneration plans provided by the municipality. Despite their initial goal in regenerating the present building or context, they implemented the radical and easy method of demolishing many buildings. Funding was available for a limited number of projects, and in a few cases projects were left unfinished. Table 6–2 summarises the initiative's government structure.

Table 6–2: Analysing levels of governance of Bafté Masaledar Shahr

Level	Bafté Masaledar Shahr (Problematic Urban Fabric)
Episodes	Selected neighbourhoods
Actors	HUDO, UDRC, private investors, SMUDRC
Arenas	Inner-city areas and historic sites which are less attractive and have potential
Ambiences and interactive practices	Working under direct supervision of provincial office of HUDO
Governance process	Plan independent from municipality development policy
Discourses	No discourse with citizens or even major stakeholders Inter-organisation consultation
Practices	Network of relations only with some local authorities Using central government fund for specific periods Short-term projects
Specification of laws	Sectoral approach to the understanding of problem of old fabric
Governance culture	Setting own aim and approaches
Accepted modes of governance	Strict bureaucratic regime
Embedded values	No flexibility in the plan or practice to meet local needs
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	Formal relations, no networking or cooperation

In the meantime, with the help of the Urban Development and Revitalisation Company (UDRC), MHUD devote special attention to the revitalisation and rehabilitation of the most problematic neighbourhoods in many inner-city areas, and this opened a new chapter in systematising regeneration and

redevelopment approaches, and investment in theory and practice (Izadi, 2004). This organisation is a specialist in preparing guidance and giving professional advice to the government regarding inner-city area development and regeneration matters. Their role is mainly limited to liaising with private consultants in the interest of MHUD.

One of the major changes in UDRC was its “upgrade” from a company to an organisation (becoming UDRO), which gave it more financial independence when acting collectively with other involved agencies in planning and regeneration projects to make them more efficient and successful (Izadi, 2004). Subsequent to this change, and in support of the government policy in decentralising decision-making responsibility to the lower levels of the management system, regional regeneration companies were founded to generate coordination between the agencies involved, and to change the priorities, the mechanism of intervention and even the funding of projects in the areas in need of regeneration. ICHTO is the main dedicated organisation which has offices at a local level, and in theory, should be an active authority in city regeneration. It is their responsibility to provide funding for conservation projects and for the revitalisation of the area. However, the city council is the regeneration plan provider and there is no cooperation between ICHTO and city councils.

6.5 The Ten-Year Practical Plan for Renovation and Regeneration of Old Urban Fabric

In a radical move in 2006, UDRC, in collaboration with MHUD and ICHTO, produced a ten-year plan as the general guideline to deal with problems of old fabric degeneration (HUDO, 2006). This begins with a sentence to say that revitalisation of old city fabric “is a multi-dimensional task with strong social, cultural, economic, spatial, practical and technical aspects, which on the one hand consists of active residents and on the other hand is unique and distinctive” (HUDO, 2006, p.1). Studies show that many residents leave older areas and move to new estates because of the lack of adequate public services and safety in

the older neighbourhoods. The majority of the population in the old areas are from the low-income category of society. After the devastating earthquake in Bam, which destroyed most of the historic part of the city, considering the seismic impact on old buildings became a priority and is part of the sustainable regeneration agenda (HUDO, 2006). According to the plan the old area of the city can be classified into three main categories (HUDO, 2006):

- Urban fabric with valuable and historic buildings, including ancient, historic and recent periods, consisting of registered buildings and other urban areas;
- Ordinary urban fabric: mainly residential or commercial;
- Unbalanced settlements, which usually applies to scattered settlements within the urban area, mainly in big cities, but sometimes outside the city boundaries, accommodating residents on low incomes, and having structural, environmental and service deficiencies.

The document (HUDO, 2006, p.4) considers three sorts of intervention in the old fabric: “improvement”, “regeneration” and “reconstruction”.

- “Improvement” means preserving the physical environment, perhaps by maintenance work on buildings, conserving historic buildings, and some restoration and consolidation work on properties in need. This all has to be done according to ICHTO regulations.
- “Regeneration” – and renovation – is more flexible than pure conservation work, and means looking at projects with an open mind. Urban areas should be revitalised by using a variety of approaches, such as adaptation and rehabilitation in social, economic, cultural, physical and even environmental aspects.
- “Reconstruction” involves a different approach, which is to utilise brownfield sites as an existing potential, and to change the area through available means, by demolishing damaged property, clearance and constructing new buildings.

Approaches to the Regeneration of the City Core in Iran

It has been estimated that 31,000 hectares of urban land within the old fabric of the country, including roads and services, are in need of revitalisation (*ibid*). According to the Ten-Year Plan (UDRC, 2004, p.1), 14,000 hectares are in a desperate situation, which can only be resolved with the government's direct intervention or with subsidies. It is stated in the plan's introduction that each damaged property can arguably be replaced by four residential flats with an average area of 90m², if the amalgamation approach is used for small plots of land (i.e. 500,000 properties within the existing old stock would accommodate 2,000,000 new homes), and if the land is also taken into consideration as a service area (*ibid*, p.1). To promote the main transport routes in these areas, the plan recommends that the width and number of roads should be doubled, and in respect to public services, local authorities should spend more. In order to fund the project, three main tools are recommended; the private sector and homeowners' participation, banks, and planning fee exemptions. The following information is taken from this plan (HUDO, 2006).

Table 6-3: Total cost of implementing the Ten Year Plan (HUDO, 2006, p.12)

Detail	Responsible body	Percentage	Total (toman)	Explanation
Total cost during the life of the plan	Total	100.0%	1,314,097	
	Government	2.2%	28,337	Preparation of the plan and research
	Government (subsidies)	9.1%	119,838	Covers part of the banks' costs and interest ⁶
	Municipalities	17.5%	229,784	Infrastructure jobs, green space, provision of services and other practical costs
	Banks and building societies	44.8%	589,367	Refurbishment and conservation of valuable buildings and residential properties to the landlords
	Local residents	26.4%	346,770	Cost of any new buildings

⁶ According to paragraph B, line 2, amendment 6/2005 of the Budget Law, the details of payments of subsidies to property owners, their legal representatives, housing corporations, municipalities, large-scale housing producers, and the Housing Organisation of the Islamic Republic, if they undertake housing renewal and reconstruction project in the old parts of the city based on regeneration frameworks and policies of ICHTO, have been released. This is the part of the interest that is usually taken from the investors or buyers if they use bank loans or mortgages.

The conservation and revitalisation of residential or commercial buildings are the responsibility of the residents or owners, who can apply for 50% of the costs in the form of a loan. The municipality only has to pay for plan preparation and providing the framework for the future development and regeneration. The city council is the local level authority which must act according to the framework. 86% of the cost of a compulsory purchase of land and property, for service and transport purposes, has to be paid by the council, and the government only finances 14% of the project's cost via a direct payment to the council, or by relocating the landlord on its own land (*ibid*). Government subsidises 50% of the interest of the cost of housing renovation to the landlords within a five-year plan (*ibid*).

Central government, city councils and others involved (local residents, investors, cooperatives and private investors) are the three pillars of the recent regeneration framework. The strategic regeneration framework and guidance are prepared in accordance with central government documents. The mayor and his administration are responsible for the management of any project in their historic city centre. Within the ten years of the plan's life, the city council has to exercise a variety of approaches to reach the target and to obtain public, cooperatives' and private investors' support. The social, economic and physical situation of each city is different and requires that plans are considered accordingly. These were some of the methods suggested for implementation by UDRC (*ibid*):

- Amalgamation of small plots and integrated construction or revitalisation of part of the area;
- Establishment of neighbourhood renewal corporations;
- Creating regeneration companies which can be shareholders in the project;
- Founding of public shareholder companies for urban renewal;
- Producing partnership and share documents for neighbourhood regeneration;
- Relocating and replacing projects to the inner-city area;

Approaches to the Regeneration of the City Core in Iran

- Creation of temporary settlements and jobs for residents who are affected by the project;
- Part or full exchange of the properties undergoing regeneration;
- Functionally integrated projects.

Within the ten-year plan target, both central and local government have to implement part of the whole project each year, and the fund may increase according to the country's income and budget. Individuals are expected to pay 35% of the costs, calculated from their property's open market price, the banks pay 60%, and the rest is covered by the city council, by giving a discount on the planning fee to individuals or other organisations (HUDO, 2006, p.6).

As shown in the table below, the theoretical base of the plan has improved, and for the first time, a variety of aspects were considered in the regeneration plan. Table 6–4 puts the plan into the dimensions of a governance framework for further discussion. For the first time, some key actors in city management are encouraged and provided with some practical guidelines to cooperate and work in partnership with each other in order to deal with urban problems. Although it has not given power to any specific organisation to take leadership of the regeneration team, for the first time ever, the municipality's responsibility has been shared with banks, the private sector and HUDO to fund the project. In terms of extending the knowledge resources used for justifying the plans, the initiative has promoted various aspects of the urban affair, which is a big step forward from the physically-oriented plans. However, the sources of knowledge are still within the full control of government agencies, without the involvement of any public consultation in forming any decision. Lack of effective communication and authentic discourse prevents the project from meeting public demand, or even meeting the targets fully.

Table 6–4: Analysing levels of governance of the Ten Year Practical Plan for Regeneration of Old Fabric

Level	Ten-Year Practical Plan for the Regeneration of Old Fabric
Episodes	Some specific rundown areas of limited number of cities
Actors	Municipality, HUDO, private sector, banks, provincial office of MOI, stakeholders
Arenas	Inner-city areas
Ambiences and interactive practices	Partnership working between public and private sector under a set or rules
Governance process	Network of connections between city council, private sector, general public and UDRO
Discourses	No discourse or consultation with actors or stakeholders
Practices	New practice of creating partnerships for specific projects Consideration of social, environmental, physical and service aspects in theory
Specification of laws	No quantitative or even qualitative study of the impact of the plan in the city after implementation of projects
Governance culture	Multi-actor practical approach working in partnership
Accepted modes of governance	Discussing a range of new values in theory Economic-oriented projects with short-term target
Embedded values	Eradication of physical problems and economic weakness of old fabric
Formal and informal structures for policy discourse and practices	Lack of discourses between agencies Lack of flexibility in plan or funding process

Despite all this, some revitalisation projects, such as Gorgan, are examples of good teamworking, bank and government funding and private sector cooperation under the management of the city council and UDRO. It is distinctive in nature, but in practice has only developed the notion of partnership working between a few organisations. It is a long way from the potential partnership working knowledge, and relational and mobilisation capacity, that could be achieved.

6.6 Gorgan Regeneration Project

Gorgan, the main city of Golestan Province, is in the north-east of Iran, a short distance from Sari. Historically, it has been a human settlement for more than a thousand years. SMUDRC commenced an urban regeneration project for the old area of the city centre, between two busy roads (Imam Khomeini and Sar Khajeh Roads), which is at the heart of commercial activities (UDRC, 2007). The project that was approved by MHUD in 2005 has two phases, and will cover 6.2 hectares of land in the inner-city area (*ibid*). In order to achieve sustainable regeneration, and encourage the private sector and people's financial involvement, the project includes different uses from commercial to educational space (Table 6–5). It has been estimated that, because of the high inflation rate in property prices in the recent housing market, and the increasing demand for investment by the private sector, the project can be profitable both for the city council and the city itself. Also, the transformation of the area from the old unpopular urban fabric to a modern area in demand is another advantage (UDRC, 2007). Some of the project highlights are: high density (300%) of the buildings; adjustment of use to more commercially-oriented uses such as shopping centres and offices; integration of small plots and narrow transport routes; discounts on business rates and tax relief for those who are interested in being relocated to the new buildings; payment of grants and low-interest rate loans to landlords within the project area; lower charges for electricity and gas transfers; the legal support of HUDO and MOI. What has made this project special is the way in which the financial aspect has been handled so far.

Table 6–5: The area of proposed use in the Aftab Project in Gorgan (UDRC, 2007, p.2)

There are two phases in the project; firstly, before the point that the building can be considered for bank and government grants; and secondly, when project management may apply for such grants. In the early stages, the cost of purchasing land and property, and the cost of the clearance and construction of buildings, are financed by the sale of share documents worth 1,000 toman each. In this way, people are the shareholders of the project from the beginning, and can benefit from the profit that will be made at the end of the project. Those landlords whose property will be demolished according to the plan have priority to buy share documents, and get 15% more for voluntary contributions. Their agreement can be paid to them partly in cash and partly in the form of shares. Those who paid for shares can enjoy more profit when the project obtains its grant or interest-free loan from the banks, and also have top priority for buying a residential or commercial property with a low-interest mortgage.

Use	m ²
Commercial	40,000
Residential	53,000
Services and offices	45,000
Hotels and restaurants	12,000
Cultural	3,000
Educational	3,000

A brief description of the final aspect of the Gorgan project portrays a practical and successful regeneration project in a small city, which has created temporary and permanent economic opportunities for local people, and, although the project is not multi-dimensional, it has considered the use of public participation and private investment as an approach to create physical regeneration.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter started with the development of the revitalisation of the inner city and the characteristics of rapid urban growth, and continued by looking at the recent changes in regeneration strategies. Variations and contradictions in the urban management mechanism pushed the process of urban development to

the stage where the government felt the need for the revision of and innovations to local governance structure. In 1998, the first local council elections opened up local government's doors to the public. This may not be comparable to the kind of democratic governance that exists in the UK, which believes in the direct involvement of the community in the form of community representatives or the attendance of individuals of a planning team; however, it was the first – and only – power given to the general public to have a say in electing their favourite councillor to get involved in urban management and planning affairs. Since then, many changes have been enforced in urban development and regeneration policy, housing issues and local residents' empowerment. Also, within the Third, and recently the Fourth National Development Plans, the government has been advised to reduce its size by transferring part of the central government organisations' responsibility to the local level and the general public. However, the operation of and cooperation amongst local authorities with elected city councils and municipalities is still subject to many legal problems, which has not improved the situation of small cities in particular.

In terms of regeneration, the general approach which looked at regeneration initiatives only as property-led has, in theory, changed to a more integrated approach which includes economic and to some extent cultural regeneration. However, in reality the process of regeneration is far behind the kind of multi-dimensional and partnership-based management seen in the UK. Decision-making and plan preparation are still not open processes, and the participation of the general public, in the form of investors or shareholders, is purely a part of the funding process. This will be discussed in detail within the next chapter, by reviewing the master and comprehensive plans of Sari.

Chapter 7: Manchester: Growth, Decline and Regeneration

7.1 Introduction

The next two chapters study extensively the regeneration of Manchester, focusing on the regeneration experiences within Hulme and part of East Manchester, by evaluating the institutional capacity building, using Table 2–2 as a guideline. In this chapter, the subject will be covered in two sections. The first contains general background information about the economic and social circumstances of the city, the formal government structure and the local council's general projections for the future of the city. In the second section, the inner-city characteristics of Manchester and the chronology of the regeneration in the city will be studied. Chapter 8 is made up of primary (interviews and visits in person) and secondary (policy documents and existing literature) sources, and highlights Hulme and Beswick's neighbourhood regeneration experience and governance in detail. This will lead us to the most important analytical part of the research, which looks at the dimensions of institutional capacity, under the three sub-headings of knowledge resources, relational resources and institutional capacity. These chapters are important for two main reasons. The Manchester case study is a practical example of the UK's regeneration approach, and shows how theoretical principles guide local authorities through successful empirical work. It also reveals the extent of residents' satisfaction in relation to the progress of the regeneration activities.

7.1.1 Ancient Manchester

Manchester was first established as a town in Roman times (Freeman, 1962). “Old Man Castle” is the name given to some places in the middle of Manchester which have remained from Roman times (PETCH, 1952). From 1840 many changes occurred in that area including canals and railways (*ibid*). The surrounding areas, which were not occupied by canal or subsidiary buildings, were typically covered by Victorian working-class terraces and industrial buildings (*ibid*).

The first mention of Manchester was at the time of the West Saxon King Edward the Elder, who ruled all of Mercia in the 10th century, when he repaired the ramparts of the Roman fort and built a fortress at the wall on the south bank of the River Mersey (Tupling, 1962). Agricultural lands began to form urban characteristics by holding a weekly market near the church, and when in 1227 an annual fair was granted by Henry III after the harvest on Acres Field, Manchester began to become a town, through (PETCH, 1952). Like many other cities, it was a single parish from ancient times until the 19th century, when the city’s spatial area as well as the population increased dramatically (Tupling, 1962).

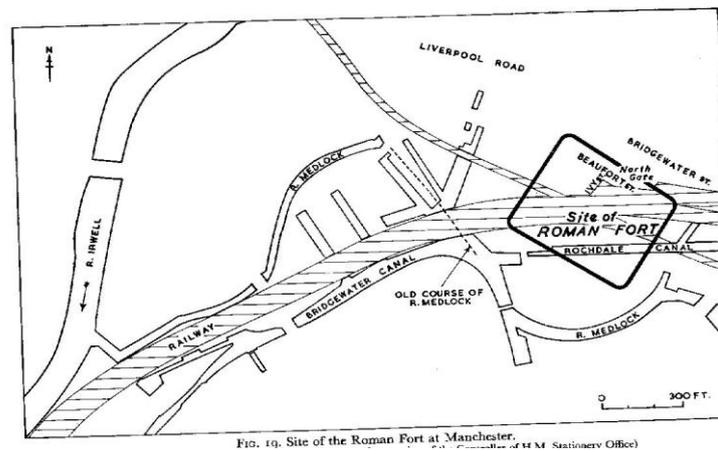


FIG. 19. Site of the Roman Fort at Manchester. (From the Ordnance Survey of 1844. Stationers' Office)

Map 7-1: Site of Roman fort at ancient Manchester (PETCH, 1952)

7.1.2 The Birth of Modern Manchester

In the 18th century Manchester faced dramatic growth and expansion in terms of its “improved communication” and situation (Chaloner, 1962). The third Duke of Bridgewater's canal, built in 1764, turned Manchester into a more comfortable place to live by reducing the price of coal and increasing the town's supply of water (*ibid*). When the Manchester cotton spinning merchants expanded their activities to foreign exports in the 19th century, it made the city a commercial capital of Europe (*ibid*). Due to the expansion of the textile industry, the need for warehouses, which occupied a few hundred square yards of the area near Manchester Cathedral, increased to nearly one thousand in 1830 (*ibid*).

By 1815, the use of steam power in factory production completed the process of the rapid development of the cotton industry (Chaloner, 1962). Also, the introduction of railways further strengthened the economic development of Manchester, and this continued until the great worldwide depression of 1873–1896, when the alarming symptoms of local economic stagnation became apparent (Wikipedia, 2008). However, the Victorian image of housing was based on the lowest standards of life, which was due to the workers' limited capital to pay for material; this explains the poor living conditions during that period (Chaloner, 1962).

The population increase during the late 19th century can be traced to a number of causes: better food supply, more advanced communications, immigration from Scotland, Ireland and the surrounding countryside, improved medical services and hygiene, and also a high birthrate, all of which were the result of economic growth and a better lifestyle in terms of civil society and other urbanisation services (Chaloner, 1962). Local government also developed steadily. The first police commissioner was established in 1792, in order to improve the security and safety of the Township of Manchester (*ibid*). The extensive municipal gasworks (1816) made a large profit, defraying municipal expenses and increasing the welfare of private consumers, as well as lighting the town and factories (Williams, 1996). After a period of reluctance in the 1820s and 1830s, the Municipal Reform Act in 1835 reformed the old court and police administration system in England, by election of councils and separate benches of magistrates (*ibid*). It was in 1835 that the Municipal Corporations Act established the Borough of Manchester as a local authority.

7.2 First Half of the 20th Century: Dispersal, Slum Clearance and Industrial Change

During the late 19th century, civic policy moved towards providing housing and improving health, and this was strengthened by the 1888 and 1894 local government elections (Williams, 1996, p.206). According to Chaloner (1962), this continued into the early 20th century, whilst the local government was trying to fulfil social and housing needs by providing garden suburb estates with improved residential environments, such as the Burnage Garden Village (1910) (Chaloner, 1962, p.206). Table 7–3 chronologically names some of the most important plans provided for Manchester. This can help in the understanding of the approach in which, in each period, local authorities and council used to meet certain targets.

Table 7–1: Chronology of major plans for Manchester

Year	Plan
1910	Burnage Garden Village (new town)
1911	Chorltonville (new town)
1926	Visionary Advisory Plan
1945	City of Manchester Plan
1945	Manchester and District Regional Planning Proposals
1981	Greater Manchester Structure Plan
1983	Central Manchester Development Corporation
1992	Unitary Development Plan
1992	Hulme City Challenge
1994	City Pride
1996	Olympic bid
1996	Supplementary Planning Guidance following IRA bombing
1997	City Development Guide
2000	East Manchester Strategic Regeneration Framework
2005	Guide to Development in Manchester 2
2005	Strategic Development Plan for City Centre

In terms of strategic land-use policy, in 1920, the Manchester and District Joint Town Planning Advisory Committee was established with the collaboration of 96 local authorities, and produced a Visionary Advisory Plan in 1926 (Williams, 1996). Although the plan did not provide an outline framework for the improvement of transport infrastructure, and simply did not consider economic or environmental issues, it did put a red line around the distribution of open spaces in suburban estates (*ibid*). One of the most important points of the plan was the first estimate of overspill requirements and the future development of the city, and the emphasis of policies was to disperse population from the inner city. However, the problem of overcrowded and very poor housing remained at the

heart of the city council's challenges, which made the council undertake a comprehensive redevelopment of its inner-city areas from the late 1940s. In terms of the process of governance, it started to create and expand strong teamworking and networks of cooperation amongst local and regional authorities, which became the benchmark for future planning activities. This consequently helped to incorporate a wide range of knowledge and experience from various team members, though at that period of time it was not as diverse as we currently expect from an urban or regeneration plan.

According to Williams (1996), in the years after the Second World War, the two policies of dispersal of population to new suburbs and new towns, and the clearance of slum housing in the inner city, continued to dominate policies for the city. The City of Manchester Plan and the Manchester and District Regional Planning Proposals were published in 1945 (Williams, 1996, p.207). Each plan reflected different aspects of this approach. The city plan was mainly about the problems of the inner-city area and housing renewal; the district plan addressed housing standards and ideal neighbourhood units; and the sub-regional advisory report focused on the environmental issues and strategic problems (*ibid*). The result was the demolition of over 100,000 Victorian houses in Manchester and its neighbouring authority, Salford, in the period 1955–1975 (MCC, 2004a, p.2.14). A diversity of issues was considered in these plans due to the improving culture of discourse amongst authorities. The council, as the head of the local decision-making team, dominated the planning process, but local residents were not in a strong role yet; the plans were centrally made decisions. Also, the criticism has been made by some scholars, such as Kitchen (1997) and Quilley (1997), that these development plans had two negative impacts; one was the expansion of the city beyond its boundaries, and the other was the decline of the inner-city area.

Changes in the city's economy and levels of employment in the early post-war years also had a major impact on the life of the working class and their living environment, and most importantly on the nature of Manchester's economy. This meant that the 1950s and 1960s were the decades of

transformation in the city's industry, from textiles, mining, and heavy engineering to more advanced manufacturing such as aircraft, vehicles, plastics, electrical etc. (Lloyd, 1980; Williams, 1996). However, this did not last long, as the economy of Manchester was increasingly affected by de-industrialisation from the 1970s. Mason (1980) categorises this decline in three ways, arising from plant closures, relocation and labour shedding. Between 1966 and 1975 a loss of 111,314 jobs (24.87 per cent) from the total of 447,606 shows the struggle which Greater Manchester faced (Lloyd and Mason, 1979).

In any case, changes in the national economy were the major factor in industrial decline in Greater Manchester. Mason (1980) believes that discrimination by regional policy had resulted in a more rapid loss, based on either a "policy off" situation, or deliberate discrimination. This raised concerns about the city's increasing detachment from the wider area and its divergence in terms of investment priorities whilst the full contribution to the inner-city community remained uncertain. Although Manchester tried to attract mobile firms from elsewhere in Britain and abroad, it seemed unlikely to stop the outflow movement of many major firms. This was more damaging to certain neighbourhoods in the central and eastern parts of the city. Economic decline brought social disorder, physical and housing degeneration, and cultural disadvantages to a large part of the inner-city area, and economic recovery became a high priority of the council's plan for years. The complexity of the issues demanded change in the local government's regeneration approaches, which will be discussed next.

7.3 General Background to the City

The smooth but dramatic journey of Manchester since the 18th century was disrupted by the wars, by the decline in cotton production, and in many cases by the relocation of factories. From being the first industrial city in the 18th and 19th centuries, in the 20th century Manchester became known as the "de-industrialised city" and this was accompanied by loss of population, an increase

in the unemployment rate, and poor housing conditions in some areas, including East Manchester (MCCa, 2004, p.1).

Table 7–2: Metropolitan Manchester’s population (Williams, 2003, p.54)

	2001	1951	1901	1851	1801
Manchester city	400,000	703,000	544,000	316,000	77,000
Greater Manchester	2,600,000	2,700,000	2,200,000	1,000,000	300,000

Since the late 1970s, the city council, with financial assistance from the government, began to tackle industrial decline, social problems and housing needs, by providing regeneration initiatives for inner-city areas. The economic decline, which developed from the closure of at least one-third of manufacturing workshops, made 1961–1983 the years of losses (MCC, 2004a). However, the strong partnership and creativity of the city, which was the foundation of the previous successful years, helped it to get through the hardest periods, revive the most affected areas, and once again drive the city forward. Table 7–2 illustrates the structure of the formal government in Manchester. Each government institution has played a role in the city’s development, and has helped the wheel of regeneration to move forward.

Table 7–3: Formal government structure in Manchester (1974-2008)

Level	Formal government	Specific agency
National	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions Office of the Deputy Prime Minister	English Heritage English Partnerships
Regional and sub-regional	Government Office for the North West	English Partnerships Greater Manchester Council (1974–1986)
Local	Manchester City Council	Hulme Regeneration Ltd New East Manchester Ltd

The city council leadership, strengthened by the formation of partnerships with regional and local agencies, together with the determination of individuals, has formulated a good combination for regeneration of the economic, physical and social aspects, which in turn transformed parts of the city. The integration of economic and social activities, introducing variety and value in housing development, diversifying tenures, pursuing design principles which created safer areas and streets, constructing street squares and buildings of interest and quality, and developing strong vibrant neighbourhoods, make parts of the city cohesive and sustainable (MCC, 2004b). “Science-based creative and service industry, together with the international airport” (MCC, 2004a, p.12) created new forms of employment, bringing together ideas via partnership investment. This trend has expanded through East Manchester, home of 18th and 19th century industry. The transformation of the slum areas is the result of enriching knowledge resources, expanding and supporting relational resources, improving determination and cooperation, and mobilisation capacity. This was achieved by exploiting every opportunity to the city’s advantage. Revitalising existing open spaces, alongside the reuse of many old buildings and massive clearance of some sites, has regenerated declining neighbourhoods and promoted local service delivery for local areas. The next few pages will be dedicated to studying this process and analysing it, based on the institutional capacity criteria, in order to learn from its strong and weak points, and in order to draw lessons for the second case study.

7.4 The Strategic Planning Framework

A key element of the regeneration of Manchester, and of other cities in the UK, was a shift in the 1970s and 1980s of metropolitan strategies away from policies which dispersed employment, housing and population to the edge of conurbations. Instead, the emphasis changed to regenerating the inner areas of cities such as Manchester, and keeping development within cities where possible. This started with the Greater Manchester Structure Plan (GMSP) which was

produced by Greater Manchester Council (GMC, 1986); it was central to other plans and focused development activities towards the inner core of the conurbation. The aim of the policy was to maintain the regional centre by using the existing infrastructure for the improvement of the environment. This meant securing the urban concentration and regeneration, which could be through office development or public spaces, with less emphasis on the city centre. The Greater Manchester Structure Plan (1981) had the following main features (GMC, 1981):

- The inner-city area was the priority for residential and industrial development, simultaneously with greenfield sites in the suburbs;
- The existing infrastructure was to be used for future development. Conservation of open land and the environment was to take place, including river valley and countryside management plans for the green belt around the city.

With reference to the local plan, the structure plan identified that there was a need to maintain office completions at a reasonable level, with special focus on “bringing into use the vacant and underused buildings ... particularly on the periphery of the centre”, and the fact that the environment was an issue to help businesses and attract tourists (GMC, 1986, p.4). The idea of using vacant buildings indicates a regeneration theme which has directed local planning authorities. The way in which Greater Manchester Council operated, and the impact that its plan and decisions had on the process of the economic and physical development of the city of Manchester, are interesting. Although it existed only for a short period, it demonstrated how the transformation of decision-making power from a national to a regional level can have a fast and positive contribution to the suburban areas, and how it creates cooperation and encourages the use of brownfield sites. It also considered the impact of citizens’ movement in the area, and how the regeneration plan could encourage residents to return. Greater Manchester Council was abolished in 1986, along with the other metropolitan councils, but these policies formed the basis for later policies, especially the Unitary Development Plan which was published by Manchester City Council in 1992 (Williams, 1996).

Economic and physical regeneration of the inner-city areas was at the heart of the plan; however, it did not support the release of open land for private new residential developments. This, again, highlights Manchester's function as the regional economic and cultural centre. The Unitary Development Plan's previous objectives were adopted into two broad categories: "improve the city as a place to live" and "revitalising the local economy" (Table 7-4). As the table indicates, spatial and economic improvement of the city simultaneously gained priority, showing how consultation and diversity in knowledge resources helped to recognise different aspects of the problems within this plan. Also, the plan asked residents to help to improve the quality of the environment. However, the governance process was still dominated by the local council and some key authorities. Also, in practice, the limited investment of the private sector in certain projects did not diversify the networks of connection and day-to-day practice.

Table 7–1: Policy objectives of the Unitary Development Plan, Manchester UDP Consultation Draft (MCC, 1995; Williams, 1996, p.208)

Improving the city as a place to live	Revitalising the local economy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Improve the housing stock and environment ii) Maintain the city’s high-quality residential areas as places where people wish to remain iii) Foster the cleanest city in the region iv) Improve public transport in all its forms as part of a transport system which is better balanced between public and private transport than at present v) Upgrade the appearance of all radial routes so that they become attractive and welcoming vi) Establish a strategic network of green routes for pedestrians and cyclists, based upon river valleys, canals and parks vii) Protect and enhance Manchester’s Victorian, Edwardian and Georgian architectural and historic heritage viii) Promote a safer environment for all, but especially for women and children ix) Improve and add to the city’s stock of sporting and recreational facilities x) Make Manchester accessible to everyone, with special emphasis on the mobility-impaired xi) Encourage community involvement in the development process and improvement of the environment xii) Improve the city centre environment for larger numbers of pedestrians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Help existing businesses adapt their physical requirements to meet changing economic and technological circumstances ii) Maximise the opportunities for employment generation consistent with the need to protect residential and environmental amenities iii) Positively use the city council landholdings to achieve development partnerships with the private sector and central government, especially in the designed inner areas iv) Exploit fully the economic potential of the airport to the benefit of Manchester residents v) Build upon and reinforce the economic and cultural role of the regional centre vi) Foster the development of the city’s vibrant youth culture and the role of higher education vii) Encourage the development of the city’s older industrial and warehousing areas as their economic functions change viii) Accommodate changing customer retail demands whilst at the same time reinforcing and enhancing existing established district centres

7.5 Economic Development and Regeneration – The Move to an Entrepreneurial Approach

During the 1980s, GMC (1981) recognised that the need for future job growth could be met by the expansion of existing resources, not by mobile firms. According to Mason's (1980) article, although it was believed that a local policy initiative could assist in employment creation, and designating and improving industrial areas, constructing factories, and providing loans to firms could create a sense of confidence, in reality the renewed growth of the national economy stimulated investment and large enterprises which controlled the majority of jobs in Greater Manchester.

From the 1980s, there was a gradual but substantial shift by the city council towards a more active stance on local economic initiatives, which was a significant shift in its role: to act as a catalyst in local economic and social development; and steadily it formed the touchstone of future "new urban left" power (Williams, 2003). The nature of the changes in Labour's immediate priorities caused the emergence of significant impacts, such as equal opportunities and equality, and decentralisation and democratisation issues (Quilley, 1997). In line with other schemes, a range of community initiatives were developed to support diversity within minority social groups. But the most important part was the attempt to develop an alternative economic strategy which included the private sector (Quilley, 1998).

Within the next few years, the fundamental issue was to solve many of the intractable features of Manchester's economic problems; creating new jobs, modernisation of the city's skills, the need for partnership with private capital and government funding (Williams, 2003). The emphasis was particularly on "special projects": Manchester Airport, the Metrolink light railway or Olympic dreams would enable the leadership to network beyond the Town Hall, and capture Manchester's vibrant popular culture scene (Holden, 1999, p.96). In any case, construction of these projects did materialise under the political leadership

of the council, especially after the abolition of the GMC, and it encouraged public-private sector partnership (Hebbert and Deas, 2000). This was a significant point in the structure of the power relations of government, as gradually planning, decision-making and practices transferred to the local authorities, especially the city council, which is more in touch with local people. At this stage, the capacity of the council in creating connections with stakeholders, the private sector, other interest or community groups, other local authorities, or even national and international investors, as well as its own departments, could make all the difference.

Internally the decisions were made on flagship projects, whilst their efforts to improve relations with the central government facilitated “the construction of public-private partnerships”, because “it would seem, under the present political climate, [this] is a prerequisite for winning discretionary and often competitively allocated public expenditure ... private sector partners are being used by the local state in funding battles with higher tiers ...” (Kitchen, 1997; Peck and Tickell, 1995, p.71). “Within the space of just a few years, the city has experienced a political somersault, as under the same Labour administration it has made the transition from a citadel of municipal socialism ... to a metropolis of Olympian expedience ...” (Peck and Tickell, 1995, p.56). Nevertheless, for the council, it was a breakthrough against the long tradition of focusing on economic-based solutions. Although the city council remained the main actor, the ambition of becoming an internationally known and trusted city meant that they invested in preparation of the Olympic bid, and later on in the Commonwealth Games, which expanded the horizontal and vertical connections of Manchester’s local authorities. The main aim of this new entrepreneurial model was to espouse the principal of solidarity, accepting both the competitive thrust and internationalist framework necessary for successful regeneration, as well as being aware of economic realities (Quilley, 2000). A number of key special regeneration projects and initiatives provide examples of the development of the entrepreneurial partnership approach by the political and managerial elite of Manchester:

- Central Manchester Development Corporation
- Hulme City Challenge
- City Pride
- Bids for the Olympic and Commonwealth Games
- Rebuilding following IRA bombing
- Central Manchester Development Corporation

7.6 Central Manchester Development Corporation

As discussed in Chapter 4, the establishment of the Urban Development Corporations was an attempt by central government to impose a ‘business-friendly’ regeneration approach. Initially there was a lack of local support within the city council for the Urban Development Corporation in Manchester, which started working in the areas on the periphery of the city centre. This was partly because of the council’s background of working on limited and selected projects which were mainly socially-oriented and to do with housing renewal, and partly due to their status and their feeling that they should be in control of all regeneration activities. But gradually, political attitudes began to change, and the city’s political and business leadership succeeded in reorienting the direction of private investment vehicles towards existing projects, in securing additional funding for regeneration and in meeting local interests (Williams, 2003, p.68). The Central Manchester Development Corporation’s (CMDC: 1988–1996) aims were identified, as follows (CMDC, 1988, in MCC, 1988, p.8):

1. To encourage developers and financiers to redevelop vacant and underused land and buildings to provide new and more attractive opportunities for working, living and leisure, in the central area of Manchester;
2. To attract private sector investment to underpin development;
3. To create jobs by persuading new employers to relocate to Manchester;
4. To develop Manchester’s tourist potential;
5. To market the attractions of Manchester nationally and internationally.

Changing the role of the council, from the main provider of funds and leader of projects, to a partner in the management and financing of projects, was indeed the beginning of the improvement of institutional capacity. By using private sector funding and partnership, CMDC managed to develop projects which aimed to reuse existing land and property. CMDC played a crucial role in increasing the entrepreneurial side of the city centre and its economic development, and its marketing position. Selected stakeholders and business interests became involved with the economic, physical and environmental regeneration of the heart of the city. The voice that was given to local stakeholders did become part of the governance process in diversifying experiences and discourses, and made them part of day-to-day practice. However, it lacked the diversity and inclusiveness of including all local businesses and users. Some believe that “during the course of CMDC’s existence, Manchester City Council ... became increasingly at ease with the notion of utilising private finance to fund public sector capital development projects ... it became more sanguine about contracting out regulated public services ... and it became more sensitised to the collective business voice” (Deas and Ward, 2002, p.219).

Though it did promote large-scale flagship projects, the strategy adopted by CMDC did seem to recognise the need to retain listed buildings. The approach to regeneration also followed the “confidence building” strategy where small-scale development and infrastructure improvements took place to build confidence and attract investment to an area (*ibid*). The strategy included:

- “The Development Corporation will encourage the development of a range of office types and sizes, for which there is demand.
- To add value to the regional economy the development corporation will use its marketing facilities to target footloose companies and organisations in the southeast and abroad, and seek to attract them into Central Manchester.

- The development corporation will encourage provision of small, low cost units, on short-term leases, perhaps with access to business services.”

(MCC, 1988, p.12)

During the short existence of CMDC, local governance processes witnessed a few changes, some of which lasted and others did not. In terms of the distribution of responsibility and promotion of the culture of cooperation amongst local authorities, it changed their mode of operation and taught them to stay connected. This happened at both the decision-making and the practical stage. The projects funding system also helped different parties to work alongside each other, and to be sincere and transparent in order to gain trust and see the project through to the end. Although the diversity of involved parties was limited to some businesses, investors, the local council and property developers, issues were prioritised in a discursive environment and members’ experiences were utilised to meet the target. The economic-oriented revitalisation approach of central Manchester gave local authorities the confidence and experience to work on residents’ projects too. Simultaneously, the need for improvement to residential conditions in and around the city centre gained the regeneration projects’ attention, and the top flagship project of all was in the Hulme area.

7.7 Hulme City Challenge

The confidence gained from these projects, due to the CMDC, was transferred to and supported by the Hulme City Challenge experience, in terms of evading central government influence. Its main project was to revitalise the social housing of the south of the city centre that was initially built during the 1960s (Williams, 2003). The problems of the estate were mainly due to the concentration of physical and socio-economic problems within the area; a combination of housing deterioration, social deprivation, high unemployment, socio-cultural alienation, and inequality (*ibid*). The city council again had control of revitalisation of part of the city. However, having the experience of working with an independent agency gave the city council the confidence to work closely

with housing associations as their “right-hand men” to solve part of the multi-faceted problem of Hulme. Hulme City Challenge did not comprehensively cover a wide range of issues, such as physical, economic and social renewal, but the envisaged involvement of housing associations did bring a comprehensive housing renewal programme into existence.

Williams (2003) described Hulme City Challenge (1992–1997) as a major regeneration project which “brought together elements of the new urban governance, expand[ed] cross-institutional relationships whilst giving a central role to the local authority, facilitate[d] the rise of partnership with business and the local authority elite” (p.71). Stakeholders were at the centre of the programme to make the community more stable, and at the same time the partnership between the public and private sectors was emphasised, in order to deliver a more sustained structural management.

The process of extensive public consultation and participation during the project will be discussed within the next chapter. However, it is worth mentioning that, for the first time, the city council allowed residents to be a part of the design process, and kept its connection with private investors, local residents and other local agencies active and close. Some of the other organisations involved, which were mostly voluntary, were Hulme Economic Assembly, Hulme Social and Community Forum and Hulme Community Homes (Williams, 2003). Involvement of various groups with an interest in the area made the project, the decisions and the solutions fuller and more focused. Although the programmes could not achieve all of their goals and deliver the best of their plan, they were largely successful in bringing in external investments and also helped to create the confidence to operate successfully in the future (Harding, 1997). This result was partly due to the targeting part of the problem, and partly due to the result of lack of adequate funding and committed cooperation. Also, in terms of strategic regeneration, it enabled the local authority to learn methods of generating momentum for future change and working within the partnership network. Most importantly, as Williams (2003)

believes, the Hulme experience delivered substantial community-centred regeneration in an area that previously was a major challenge to the city council.

The impact of social and cultural improvement, alongside physical regeneration of problem housing estates, changed the area's reputation. The details of the regeneration project will be discussed later, but in terms of the governance process, the following points are important. The network of connections this time included a large number of residents, the private sector, voluntary groups and the city council, which kept its position as leader. Locally-based planners tried to frame the issues, and tried to include a diverse amount of knowledge on the details of social, cultural, physical and housing problems of the area. The partnership was useful during the course of the project, as well as helping to eradicate some of the scars of the neighbourhood, such as housing conditions. However, it lacked the basic role of a diverse regeneration approach as the focus was mainly on consultation rather than participation.

7.8 Olympic Bid

Entrepreneurial projects, such as the bid for the 1996 Olympic Games, influenced the city's renewal programmes, cultivated a new and positive image of the city, and were supported by the city council. In the hope of winning the bid, a new social movement was generated in the city that resulted in the founding of a dedicated company to follow the Olympic dream. For example Law (1994) mentions the establishment of the company "Manchester 2000" to provide opportunities to expand partnerships working within the city region. It had special focus on the regeneration and development of the inner-city areas, as well as the new governance structure and business-led agendas. In order to present an ideal picture of the city to international eyes, physical and economic regeneration was given special attention. The difference in the aim of this approach involved a wider range of actors, such as tourism industry-related businesses, and made new connections with them.

This expanded the network of connections within city businesses, as well as central government, in order to create funds. The bid was also a sign of progress in improving relations with central government in terms of financial and legal support (Cochrane et al., 1996). Even the failure of the city's Olympic dream did not prevent the city council from attracting public sector funding and working closely with private sector partnership, especially after being nominated as a host for the Commonwealth Games, giving them another opportunity (Holden, 1999). The Olympic bid brought new ways of putting forward the regeneration idea, which became the base of future regeneration cultural improvements, and facilitating sport and leisure gained priority. Although this cultivated regeneration aims and brought a wider range of stakeholders into the governance process, some critics believed it did not bring much benefit to the local community in terms of the economy and employment.

7.9 City Pride

City Pride (1994) was announced by central government to deal with strategic development, together with the city's demonstrable achievements in collaborative working (Williams, 2003, p.73). Williams (2003) describes it as an attempt to reflect a "flexible friend rather than a project blueprint", in order to attract international and local funding (p.74). Previous regeneration experiences have been subject to criticism for being rigid and inflexible. It is partly the result of years of traditional urban planning and management that discourses are amongst the limited number of authorities within the city council leadership. The three main strategies of the proposals were (Williams, 2003):

- "international city for investment and commerce;
- European regional capital;
- enhanced local quality of life". (p.73)

Once again the local authorities targeted economic improvement as the basis for social and environmental enhancement. This gave some national

businesses the opportunity to choose Manchester as their centre of office activities. During the project, the local authority's connections with local, national and international investors became stronger; however, they had to make the city attractive for people to live in, and also improve urban facilities, safety, education and housing. The project therefore required a broader selection of stakeholders. Although Manchester was not the most attractive opportunity for investors, turning attention towards infrastructure provision, labour-market characteristics, and the provision of business-related services helped the city to have a more institutional development, as well as helping to launch a series of initiatives such as: Marketing Manchester (1996), to improve the Manchester conurbation; Manchester Investment and Development Agency (MIDA, 1997), in order to attract inward investment; Manchester Enterprises (2000), to improve local businesses and their quality of trade and training (Deas and Ward, 2002).

The past economic success of the city became the driving force of this initiative. Although it kept its hopes high, it could not eradicate the extensive economic and employment problems of the city centre and the surrounding residential area, which made the area one of the worst parts of the country for unemployment, housing conditions, and even educational achievements. In other words, although it made the plan adaptable to attract a variety of investors, it did not consult local residents inclusively. The economic nature of City Pride did not give weight to social matters. In practice, central government dominated the role alongside the local council and other major authorities, which shaped day-to-day practice.

7.10 The IRA Bombing

The devastating bombing of Manchester city centre by the IRA (1996) destroyed a large number of shops at the heart of the city, and added another challenging task to the council's regeneration programme. Manchester Millennium Ltd, established only two weeks after the bombing, was a partnership team between public and private sector employees, with an ambitious

rebuilding programme for the area (MCC, 2004a). With the help of banks, government funding and European aid, an international urban design competition was launched, and it was less than five months after the bombing that the winning master plan was unveiled, followed by the Supplementary Planning Guidance to provide guidelines and frameworks for a rebuilding programme (MCC, 2004a). The unexpected and unplanned nature of reconstructing the bombed area placed the city council at the top of the rebuilding governance team. Once again, a centrally-dominated approach was used to lead the project, and partners were chosen based on their financial contribution to the rebuilding programme. The focus of discourses was around the economic and physical recovery of the area, but in a modern designated environment. Basically, local opinion or consultation did not play any role in this project.

In addition to the rebuilding of the existing businesses, the aim was to create the new Millennium Quarter which would attract visitors and investors from all over the world (MCC, 2004a). One of the best examples of this renovation was the Urbis, a modern museum for the city, which was accompanied by rebuilding and regeneration projects in the city centre area, from single building designs to public open spaces and public transport railways. The six-year regeneration programme of the physical and economic revitalisation created 220,000m² of new offices delivered by the partnership between the Department for Constitutional Affairs, Manchester City Council and Allied London Properties (MCC, 2004a, p.44). The coalition of the city council with some major central agencies, alongside the private sector, was not new to the governance process. But the way in which funds were spent and attention was paid to the quality of rebuilding which improved the image of city centre was important. It was praised by many, such as Hetherington (2007), who believes the rebuilding of the area “can also be seen as illustrative of the articulation of a particular form of urban governance, associated with entrepreneurial public-private partnerships with the symbolic economy of the city that mobilises a particular idea of the subjectivity of its users” (p.4). He mentions Harvey’s (1989) definition which characterises the shift in urban governance associated with reorientation from managerialism to entrepreneurialism.

The new ethos of competition gave the city more success than the role-play of partnership games. It is worth mentioning that the city council adapting different strategies for the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and investment amongst businesses did not necessarily mean loosening its control and leadership power over the governance process. Also, as the focus of the majority of regeneration projects was on economic improvement and the attraction of national and international businesses and other issues around it, the very deep-seated social and unemployment problems of many neighbourhoods within the heart of the city remained unsolved. Whilst local government was preoccupied by flagship projects, social polarisation and economic exclusion was deepening, as Kitchen (1997) describes: “Notwithstanding the propinquity of the city centre and inner-city areas ... interaction between the two are nothing like as strong as they ought to be ... in many ways the city centre is an oasis ... on the whole the problem of deprivation in the inner city is getting worse” (p.142). Sectoral improvements of physical and housing conditions of many areas could not solve unemployment, social disorders, low educational achievements and many other negative characteristics of Manchester.

7.11 City Development Guide

The emphasis on a sensitive approach to design was reflected in the City Development Guide (MCC, 1997), attempting to provide a balanced physical, cultural, social and economic development by influencing design principles, physical variation, the quality and the safety of streets, and above all the development of neighbourhoods in a sustainable way (Williams, 1996). The first edition of the Guide to Development in Manchester was published in 1997 as part of the implementation of the Manchester City Pride prospectus, and was produced by an independent advisory panel, consisting of people with a variety of interests and an understanding of development that was committed to the city (MCC, 2006a, p.4). It was a distinctive approach, diversifying interests and cultivating discourses from the early stages of the planning process. Traditional selection of the project area and criteria by central or local government was

replaced by a democratic approach originating from within the community, and included a range of experiences. The guide aimed to enhance and support the process of urban development and inform developers, designers and residents about the principles to be followed. The panel was not fully independent and inclusive, as many residents and stakeholders were left unconsulted. However, it promoted the notion of multiple voice and knowledge resources without going through a bureaucratic system. Also, the city council shared its decision-making responsibility with other interest groups.

There was a consensus to address the diversity and complexity of the wider city. The stress on flexibility, not control, was made clear in comments directed towards “those who wish to invest and promote development” whilst they were asked to recognise and support the guide’s approaches, and accept it as a guide on choice, not compulsion (MCC, 1997, p.7). In other words, the guide offered supplementary planning guidance, which had no legal authority: “The guide describes the form of development Manchester City Council wishes to see in the city and thus the sort of the city that it hopes Manchester will become in the future. ... This guide sets out the principles which the city council expects applicants to address” (MCC, 1995a, p.12). This raised concerns about the extent of influence and the practicality of the guide, and how much of an impact it could have on the process of the development and regeneration of the city. But what made this guide even more explicit was its openness and flexibility in practice.

The main body of the guide outlined seven principles. All seven are redolent with the ideas of Jacobs (1961). Having a known set of principles for the design of buildings and spaces was unique, as the previous development or regeneration plans were never committed to be based on a specific academic theory. However, two main aspects of this approach could be questioned: firstly, the validity of the design principles themselves; and secondly, the practicality of these ideas and their interpretation into real material and social relations. The first one of these is a *sense of place* and the principles of density and mixed use. The guide linked what is called Manchester’s unique sense of identity with its many remarkable buildings.

Quality is the other principle described, as it is difficult to measure. However, it can have real social benefits. The inspired approaches, such as density and mixed use, are recognised as the underpinnings of the guide claiming that this could “bring animation and life to every part of the city” (MCC, 1997, p.21). The City Guide maintained the same commitment to measure of *passive surveillance* originally stated in the Hulme Guide, and in doing so encouraged the maximum use of space by the public.

The wide public consultation which backed the first draft of the guide led to the production and updating of the second draft, published in June 2005, named the Guide to Development in Manchester 2 (GDM2), which again was produced in partnership with private and voluntary groups. The guide’s success in involving a variety of stakeholders in the preparation process encouraged the city council, and other authorities, to be more open in listening to others and be more inclusive. This reformed, to a large extent, the process of governance for other regeneration initiatives, especially East Manchester, which suffers from multiple disadvantages which have not been dealt with. A diversity of members, and their stance of being productive and involved, made the discourses more diverse and resourceful. In terms of the members’ network of connections, the guide made a new connection with those who are not usually at the centre of attention, which included representatives from community and voluntary groups as well as businesses. It was indeed a step forward in creating integration and making the power structure more balanced. But despite the guide’s panel efforts to be more diverse and based on the daily life experiences of people, its practicality remains uncertain.

7.12 East Manchester

East Manchester is a vigorous example of an ambitious strategy which was considered and is now being implemented by the city council in partnership with other authorities. This started with general upgrading throughout the area

and major revitalisation and development is now being carried out in some of the most deprived areas of the city of Manchester (MCC, 2006b).

The initial aim of the plan was derelict land reclamation (1981–1989) and environmental improvement (Williams, 1996). But the focus was expanded and reoriented to more promising developments, which included economic, cultural and housing regeneration, involving local residents in a series of consultations as regeneration proceeded (Williams, 1996, p.209). The experience of the Olympic bid and the redevelopment of the city centre after the IRA bombing changed the council’s strategy towards having a higher number of flexible public-private partnerships, and the council’s working environment to a balanced combination of local authorities’ financial resources and the private sector’s expertise, according to Williams (2003). The city council formed New East Manchester Ltd (NEML) in 1999, a partnership between the council, English Partnerships, the North West Development Agency and the local community, hoping to secure investment and jobs to strengthen and diversify the economy through the development of leisure, sport and tourism, to advance the area as a centre of excellence in education, to enhance the skill base and the level of job openings, and to develop housing conditions and choices as well as environmental quality.

The report of the Urban Task Force (1999) on the regeneration model of East Manchester and the development of appropriate institutional structures, pushed for the bid for a coordinated and integrated method instead of individual projects, and picked up East Manchester as a pilot experience (Parkinson and Robson, 2000). It became a place for several new initiatives, such as New Deal for Communities, the SRB scheme, Sure Start, Health and Education Action Zones, one Sport Action Zone, EU economic development zone (Williams, 2003). The next chapter will explicitly explain the plan’s details, and will analyse it using the Healey institutional capacity building framework.

7.13 Conclusion

As a typical UK city Manchester has been facing extreme challenges in economy and its spatial consequences. The decline of Manchester's industry brought social deprivation and physical degeneration. However, in the opinion of many, Manchester is ranked highly for its achievements in overcoming these problems. Four areas of activities were highlighted within the above chapter:

- In terms of economic reconstruction, the city of Manchester and Greater Manchester became the regional centre for the economy and greater competitiveness within national and international markets;
- To improve physical conditions, massive housing clearance and reconstruction took place, the quality of neighbourhoods was improved by adding green spaces, old industrial sites were revitalised and transportation facilities such as roads and public transport were improved;
- Attempts were/are made to create social, cultural and educational improvements, which included challenging long-term unemployment, increasing educational achievements and tackling anti-social behaviour;
- And most importantly, strong and confident local council leadership has led these regeneration programmes, facilitating partnerships with the private sector and local residents.

The general picture of regeneration policies showed how local authorities' planning and management initiatives helped the city to go through its hardest times. The influence of central government policy and international help enriched Manchester city's regeneration initiatives and projects. Looking at the process of governance within the main city plans chronologically reveals how the networks of connection between the city council, local authorities, international, national and local investors, community and voluntary groups and local residents improved; who was included, and how they were selected; how important the notion of communication and discourses was; whether a diverse or single approach was used; and finally who the body responsible for implementing the plan was, and how they acted. The next chapter will look exclusively at two

examples of the physically and socially integrated regeneration approach in Manchester, which has been admired by many planners.

Chapter 8: Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

8.1 Introduction

Following the review of the UK's best regeneration policies within the last few chapters, it is time to look at practical examples of these plans. Manchester, as a city of rise and fall, has developed good experience in tackling urban problems in the two well-known areas of Hulme and East Manchester. Hulme has appeared in many academic discussions because of its reputation as a successful renewal of an area with social and physical issues in the early 1990s, which it has still managed to sustain. East Manchester, on the other hand, is a present and ongoing example of a multi-dimensional plan which is managed and delivered by a multi-sector management team. A more detailed case study of the Beswick area of East Manchester is used to look at how these policies work on the ground, and what the public reaction to them is.

In this chapter, aspects of planning and management within Hulme, East Manchester and the detailed case study area of Beswick will be looked at within the three analytical categories of knowledge resources, relational resources and the mobilisation capacity of dimensions of institutional capacity building; and the results of a survey carried out by the researcher will be revealed. This is a unique approach for the study of a regeneration project, which can help the researcher extract lessons to be recommended for another case study. In doing so, different aspects of the plan will be looked at from a positive and constructive point of view.

8.2 The Initial Steps for Regeneration of Hulme

Hulme was used first to house factory workers, and had a population of 130,000 in 1901 (MCC, 2004a, p.70). The unpopularity of the area meant the council demolished uninhabited houses in the 1960s. Hulme estate, which was built to replace the old housing, was an example of the 1960s housing design theories, with a system-built council housing estate in pre-cast concrete which included curved deck-access blocks (*ibid*); the infamous Hulme Crescents. This

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

new housing was itself soon suffering from disrepair and high levels of vacancies. By 1975, Manchester City Council partly admitted the difficulties of the situation, such as flooding, wind penetration or expansive heating systems, which especially discouraged families with children to live in the Crescents (Carley, 1995). The council therefore placed single people, the elderly and couples there, on shared tenancies (Carley, 1995). To deal with the unpopularity and crime problem, “in the mid-1980s, a cross-departmental consultation forum involving residents was established to consider service provision to Hulme” (MCC, 2004a, p.50), but it was abolished a few years later as a result of disconnection and weak relationship between tenant representatives and the local authority. It was even the case that “some councillors and officials suggested that the involvement of tenants was a hindrance to progress” (Rudlin and Falk., 1995, p.53).

In the late 1980s the situation improved, and a joint venture between local and central government, alongside the community and consultants, began to look at the options for the best regeneration scheme for Hulme (Quilley, 1995). Despite all these efforts, problems over the physical condition and social issues remained, and caused the government to introduce, in 1991, a guideline for new development, high-quality design and the built environment, based on intensive community consultation, meetings with architects and developers, and the creation of a sustainable urban neighbourhood (Carley, 1995). This was part of the national strategy (City Challenge) which provided the frameworks. In 1991 Manchester City Council developed a ten-year planning strategy for Hulme, in the hope of “establishing a strong community, develop economic viability and employment” by making a link between the city and the area and “create a sense of place” (*ibid*, p.50). One-to-one interviews were the first step that helped the architects and design groups get the general picture of the residents’ ideas, which were later put into sketches and designs, or even models in public meetings, to illustrate their thoughts (Carley, 1995). For example, in the case of Rolls Crescent, despite the initial idea of having traditional British redbrick architecture, the style of European courtyards and communal gardens emerged from public consultation (*ibid*). Although it was part of the national City

Challenge strategy, it brought massive progress locally in regenerating and developing the housing and physical condition of Hulme.

8.3 Hulme City Challenge

After the bidding for the first funding in 1992, Hulme City Challenge was created, followed by the formation of Hulme Regeneration Ltd, a partnership firm working with the public and private sectors (MCC, 2004a, p.71).

In 1995, the City Council published *Rebuilding the City: A Guide to Development in Hulme* – the Hulme Development Guide (HDG), as it will be referred to in this research – which outlined the preferred aesthetic form for the second redevelopment of the Hulme area of Manchester (MCC, 1995a). The Hulme Development Guide was conceived through Manchester City Council's response to the City Challenge Programme, launched by the Secretary of the State for the Environment in 1991 (MCC, 1995a). Whilst the government encouraged city councils to use the City Challenge guidelines for the regeneration plans, the Hulme regeneration team used HDG extensively to create new connections with local agencies and an extensive consultation with the tenants to create a plan which would solve the long-lasting problems of the area. The main actor in collecting knowledge about the area was the city council, following central government orders under the City Challenge initiative. The main framework was provided by the government, but in a more consultative environment with citizens and other interest groups and individuals.

The main objectives of the guide seemed to be to position the idea of a “new Hulme” against the Hulme of the 1970s and 1980s. The guide maintained that the new Hulme was to be built in partnership with the people of the area: “we are determined that the mistakes which were made a generation ago are not repeated. The new Hulme has to be planned for and with the people of this area” (MCC, 1995a, p.2). Despite their best intentions, the guide claimed that the council was unable to act effectively before 1991 and the advent of the City

Challenge. The guide outlined eight principles which, it claimed, would form the redevelopment of Hulme. These were: the public realm; streets and squares; a rich mix of uses and tenure; density; links through and to Hulme; a sense of place; stewardship; and sustainability (MCC, 1995a).

The design section of the text detailed ten issues which elaborated on the eight conceptual principles outlined above. However, the ten commitments also offered specific and concrete recommendations regarding development practice. The first commitment was to the street and short blocks, to the social life of the places they connect, and to the contribution to the character of urban areas (MCC, 1997, p.7). In fact, streets allow the successful integration of districts into a city, and integration was the second commitment of the guide. Integration was a more detailed statement of the principle of “links through Hulme”. Density was the third commitment of the guide, as well as being one of its key principles.

The guide’s statements on the definition of space was related to creating a sense of place, and was fundamentally about the relationship of buildings with streets, and also the sense of exposure or enclosure that buildings could provide to the public spaces between them. However, the issue of identity was given separate treatment; it would seem to belong to the guide’s remarks on a sense of place. What Hulme’s spatial quality was lacking were the quality residential buildings, open spaces and schools. The challenge was putting spatial changes, economic improvement and social enhancement all in one plan. That is where the guide’s next commitment appears: sustainability. “Whilst the city is constant, the building is a variable – a sustainable city should allow change and renewal without total redevelopment” (MCC, 1995b, p.9).

For the implementation of such an ambitious guide, and in order to act jointly to overcome the complications which existed within the area, an establishment of a partnership company was necessary. Hulme Regeneration Limited (HRL, 1993) was the joint venture company established between Manchester City Council, who won the government City Challenge competition (MCC, 2004a), and the construction company AMEC plc (a construction firm

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

based in the North West of England) to manage the implementation of the Hulme City Challenge programme. The relationship between the actors was under the control of the city council, which worked as partner and observer within a bureaucratic hierarchy. But during the project, this partnership managed to deal with the problems of the neighbourhood effectively. This was a defining moment in the history of the regeneration of Hulme, and how Manchester City Council and their informal partners mounted a loosely articulated and vague but strategic critique of the council's planning department (MCC, 2004a).

All the activities and environmental quality improvements were managed and led by Hulme Regeneration Ltd, which had overall control and a managerial role towards the public, private, voluntary and community organisations. Following the demolition of the Hulme Crescents, around 50 hectares of brownfield land was reclaimed for the replacement of 3000 new homes, as well as offices and community facilities (HDG, 1995). It was important for HRL to move fast and carefully. Various methods were used alongside each other. Lesley Chalmers (2001), the chief executive of HRL, has pointed to some of them:

“to deliver the project, short lines of decision making were seen as essential. The involvement of local politicians and officers facilitated fast-tracking of planning procedure and housing programmes. The contribution of significant private sector individuals bolstered confidence externally and encouraged inward investment. The involvement of local residents, community and voluntary groups at the concept and design stages, with their views incorporated, created a sense of ownership, local confidence and a continued sense of community throughout a period of disruption and upheaval”

(MCC, 2004a, p.31)

A sub-committee of the city council was also launched for the Hulme area, with full power to act on all matters from land ownership to planning and housing (*ibid*).

8.4 New East Manchester: Another Regeneration Challenge

East Manchester once was the home of warehouses and traditional manufacturing industries, which were subject to decline and degeneration, especially after the 1960s (MCC, 2008). The trend of decline continued to its lowest level ever in 2001, as East Manchester was identified as one of the UK's poorest and most disadvantaged areas (*ibid*). The outcome was a large number of brownfield sites with vacant and underused buildings in a low-demand market. An urban regeneration company (URC) for East Manchester, called New East Manchester Limited (NEML), was established in 1999, in partnership with Manchester City Council, the North West Development Agency, the Homes and Communities Agency – which replaced English Partnerships – and the communities of East Manchester (MCC, 2008). The role of the company was to give direction to regeneration proposals, secure funding from both the public and private sectors, and even take a position of leadership in major projects. The broad but integrated nature of the area's regeneration programmes, which included economic, housing, social, health, transport and environmental plans, addressed the issues and implemented the plans in a very complicated way.

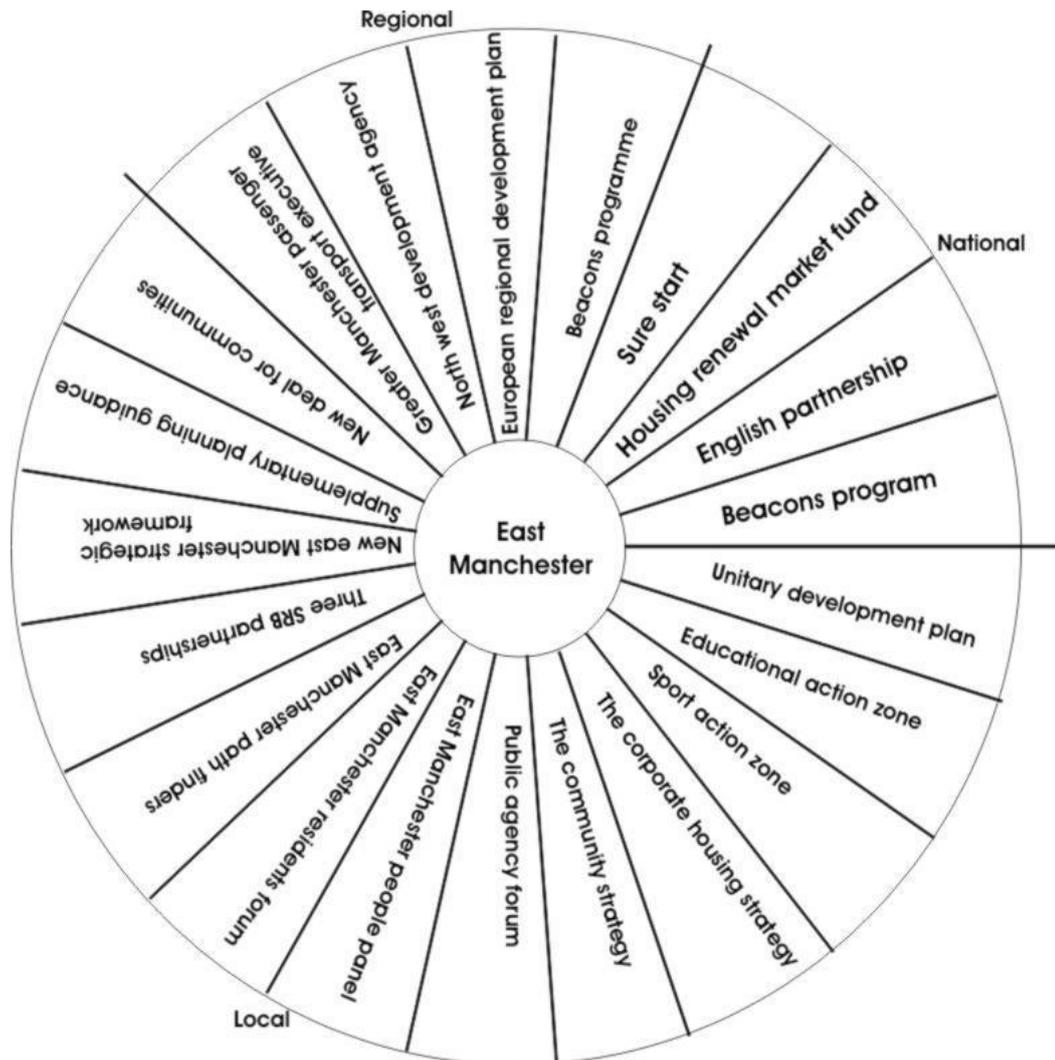


Figure 8–1: Stakeholders’ analysis of the participants in the East Manchester regeneration

In total, within ten years, the strategic framework set new targets for over 2,000 hectares of the city: 15,000 newly-built homes, primarily for home ownership, providing homes for 100,000 of the population; and the addition of 700,000m² to the industrial and commercial floor space (MCC, 2008, p.3). The regeneration framework was completed by the Supplementary Planning Guidance and the Unitary Development Plan, which advocated an integrated approach to embark upon the problems and the variety of issues. An unparalleled number of initiatives in the hands of many authorities focused on the area; these included: three SRB partnerships, New Deal for Communities, Sure Start, Education Action Zone, Sport Action Zone, European Regional Development,

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

North West Development Agency, Manchester City Council, Greater Manchester Passenger Transport Executive (GMPTE) and the Housing Renewal Market Fund (MCC, 2000). One of the guidelines published and implemented by the East Manchester Working Group was the Beacons Programme, which highlighted the government's national strategy for neighbourhood renewal, by ensuring that local people were heard and given the opportunity to influence, direct and participate in activities via "East Manchester Residents Forum" or "Thematic Task Group" (Beacons Programme, 2004). The Beacons Programme was an umbrella organisation for most of the social and economic plans of NEM, such as path finders or the New Deal for Communities which features the main targets and how they were met. In 1999 the Beacons partnership won its budget from the Government's NDC initiatives and the Single Regeneration Budget, available for ten years, in order to tackle the most needed social problems: crime and community safety; housing; youth issues; environment; employment; and health and well being (Beacons Programme, 2003).

The East Manchester Residents' Forum held its first meeting in 1998. It meets every six weeks and is open to representatives of 44 tenant and resident groups across the area (MCC, 2004c, p.4). Some of its more interesting activities are: arranging a comprehensive training programme, and providing an initial contact point for residents to collect information about regeneration plans (*ibid*). "To take the lead in ensuring that all services are relevant and accountable to local people, developing good practice, best value and joined up services delivery through organizational and cultural change, and ensuring the effective targeting of mainstream resources" (MCC, 2004d, p.2), the Beacons Programme organised a forum in 1999 which led to some pilot projects and the publication of the *Rough Guide to Services* (*ibid*). The focus of the forum was to ensure that the main concerns of people were included in the regeneration programme and given priority, and that all relevant agencies were working to tackle those priorities.

These are some examples of activities which are quite interesting and innovative, and are mentioned in *Beacons for a Brighter Future: East Manchester* (MCC, 2004d; referred to as *Beacons* from this point).

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

- Induction training for all new staff and residents;
- Production and distribution of a video which charts the progress of initiative to date to all households;
- The establishment of the 48 page free weekly local newspaper
- Producing and distributing to all households a second version of the comprehensive directory of services;
- Producing the *Rough Guide to Services* for frontline staff;
- Producing and publishing the joint consumer standards;
- Undertaking billboard and poster campaigns promoting projects and activity;
- Producing and distributing the Equality Statement and Jargon Buster to all resident groups and agencies across the area;
- Training on race equality, disability and dealing with difference for local residents, NDC and partners' organisations;
- Taking advice from specialists ... on how we can contact people from black and ethnic minority backgrounds;
- Examining how the programme can best address the needs of other excluded groups;
- Various projects are being delivered through the health and wellbeing network including an older persons' advocacy, young persons' mental health and adult mental health projects (*Beacons*, 2004)

8.5 Beswick Case Study



Map 8-1: Beswick Ordnance Survey map (NEM, 2002)

Beswick is one of the prime locations within East Manchester, about 1 mile from the city centre, with a past of flourishing economic contribution to the city. However, with changes to the economic circumstances of the whole of Manchester and decline in manufacturing, Beswick was one of the areas which suffered the most and turned into an unattractive neighbourhood. The boundaries of the area covered by the regeneration and neighbourhood plans are marked by four roads: Ashton Old Road to the south; Ashton New Road to the north; Alan Turing Way to the east; and the railway line adjacent to Holly Street to the west, as well as the houses in the north of Palmerston and east of the River Medlock in North Beswick (MCC, 2008). From an environmental prospect, the area is of very poor quality and is in a relatively underprivileged condition. According to the Beswick Neighbourhood Plan (BNP: MCC, 2005) and the national Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), Beswick is also amongst the multi-deprived areas, and is in need of holistic and sustainable regeneration to be able to go through an era of decline. However, the area is still home to many industries and the recent

developments of Eastland Sport City and Central Business Park play a crucial role in the city's economy (Interviewee 7, 2008).

The old housing type was high-density, built for the needs of the high population of workers, and was surrounded by other general facilities, such as schools, pubs, trams and even open spaces (MCC, 2005). Although the area underwent a large redevelopment plan during the 1960s and 1970s, by the demolition of old terraced houses which were replaced by "Fort Beswick" blocks, and later on by lower-density houses, due to high levels of crime and unemployment, together with the dilapidation of the environment and the depopulation trend of East Manchester, in 1999 Manchester City Council formed "Beacons for A Brighter Future", a New Deal for Communities (NDC) partnership, to tackle the problems of social sustainability in Beswick alongside other parts of the area (MCC, 2005, p.3). A large amount of the existing housing were council or housing association properties, mainly in the form of semi-detached or terraced two-storey houses, with small front and rear gardens, which still followed the same street layout that was present in the 19th century, with a mixture of driveways and on-road parking (*ibid*). In order to meet the required funding for housing renewal, a bid made to the government Housing Market Renewal (HMR) fund and private sector investment resulted in a partnership between the city council and developers Lovell and Gleeson Homes for the new development of the whole area including Beswick (MCC, 2005). The formal development agreement was signed at the end of 2003, and the housing developer companies commenced the first phase of the housing construction immediately: these properties were up for sale by November 2004 (MCC, 2005, p.13). The process of relocating people who were affected by the new development and regeneration plan was quite smooth and cautious.

As has been highlighted before, the three main stakeholders of New East Manchester Ltd (Manchester City Council, the North West Development Agency and English Partnerships – which was replaced by the Homes and Communities Agency) and the community of East Manchester work at a local level, in order to keep an eye on the overall cohesion of the project in the region and maintain five

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

key priorities: business development, regeneration, skills and employment, infrastructure and image. English Partnerships, which acted at a national level, implemented policies and initiatives by developing a portfolio of strategic sites, giving advice about brownfield land, making sure that government assets were implemented under sustainable community plans and criteria, and improving the urban renaissance and quality of towns (MCC, 2008). Each of the stakeholders deals with part of the regeneration programme and follows certain aims to make the maximum contribution to the whole process.



Picture 8–1: New housing development, Beswick regeneration (MCC, 2008)

The regeneration team was hoping, by creating close relationships with the public, community and interest groups during the preparation of the regeneration plan, to gain their support for the physical redevelopment of the neighbourhood and the transformation of the area to a well designed and mixed-use neighbourhood (Picture 8–1). The top priority of the BNP was to provide residents with “good quality housing, schools, shops, and community facilities, good access to employment opportunities at the Central Park and the City Centre for example, and well designed and maintained open spaces” (MCC, 2005, p.3) and was facilitated by the preparation of the city’s Unitary Development Plan (UDP) in 2003.

As highlighted in the BNP (MCC, 2005), referring to the regeneration framework,

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

“The Beswick centre does not and cannot perform the work of a district centre in terms of modern convenience shopping and other facilities that are expected of such centres. It is therefore envisaged that Beswick Centre would perform a more localised shopping role in the future.”

(MCC, 2005, p.9)

A large number of unfit houses (256) were cleared and many more are awaiting demolition, which will provide the area with extensive vacant land plots ready for further development (Interviewee 7, 2008). In the north of Beswick, both the environment and the existing housing stock, and the newly refurbished properties, collectively with the new and contemporary development of the Sport City and the Ashton New Road frontage, have given this part of the area a more diverse and welcoming quality which contributes to a more sustained development.

8.6 Institutional Capacity in the Hulme and East Manchester Regeneration Process

The next stage will analyse dimensions of institutional capacity building. This will be discussed in terms of the three dimensions of knowledge resources, relational resources and mobilisation capacity. A similar analytical structure will then be used in Chapter 9 in the discussion of Sari, the Iran case study.

8.6.1 Knowledge Resources

Regeneration of Hulme, East Manchester and the Beswick case study area were carried out using a broad range of knowledge and information from local resources. They cover issues such as housing, unemployment, schools, safety, urban design, transport and other issues. As there were no valuable historic buildings or landscapes in the above areas, conservation of sites or buildings was not an issue. Conversely, the availability of large plots of brownfield land has been part of the regeneration challenge, which gives local

authorities and local residents more of a choice in design and in the extent of changes that could happen in the area. Many residents of the project area have been living there for years, even generations, and have emotional attachments to these neighbourhoods. This is one of the advantages the council has, as the leader of the regeneration projects in both areas, as it can canvass local residents' and stakeholders' opinions as part of identifying problems, broadening its background knowledge about the areas, and obtaining regular feedback during the project.

8.6.1.1 Knowledge Resources and the Lessons of Hulme

The starting point for the regeneration of Hulme was a determination not to repeat the mistakes of the past. In an innovative movement, the city council committed to the participation of the local residents within Hulme from the early stages of the renewal process, which resulted in the production of HDG. A clear sense of the content of HDG was important for two reasons: firstly, it allowed a critical observation of the project, and secondly, it was a statement of principles that was used later in the *City Development Guide* and the strategy of NEM. The guide introduced development principles, "conceptual" schemes, and the ten principles that comprise the guide. The extent to which the initial document was prepared by public consultation might not be vast, but the guide itself pointed to this as a powerful and reliable resource derived from within the heart of the community.

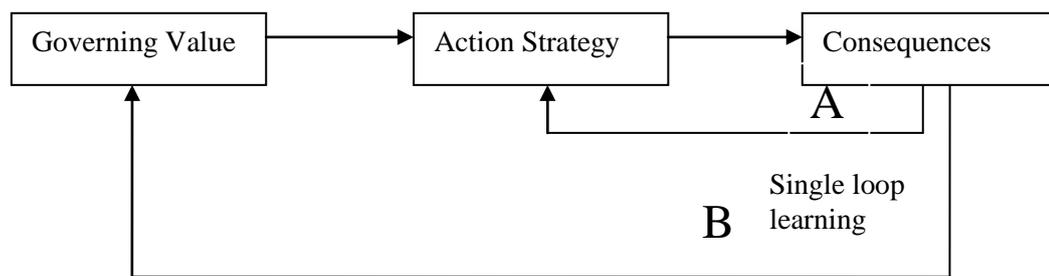
One interesting point in the way in which the initial regeneration documents were produced for Hulme was by translating scattered and irregular public opinions into a design principle understandable by professionals and planners, and feasible for a real project. For example, the guide's statements on "a sense of place" appealed to the Lynch (1960) notion of using buildings and spaces to create a sense of identity within urban areas, and of the importance of landmarks in the mental maps of the area (HDG, 1995). The guide stands as a straightforward and welcome critique of past urban renewal; in other words, it

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

can be seen to have anticipated the New Labour government's policy debate regarding the hitherto largely unexplored potential for brownfield residential development. It raised awareness about the notion of discourses and the collaboration amongst local government and stakeholders. The dialogue experience in the Hulme project was just the beginning of a community-based experience aiming to overcome deeply-seated local housing and social problems. Having a locally-based office and being in touch with tenants and residents created a team including diverse interests as well as interdependent interests from both the public and private sectors.

The interests were diverse because all residents, even the very traditionally excluded ones, were given the opportunity to have their say. This chance was also granted to planners, various local authorities and businesses to share their ideas. In a double loop of collaborative planning learning, the Hulme governance process benefited from learning discourses. Having the negative experience of the 1960s and 1970s in mind, when the unpopular deck houses had to be demolished, the Hulme regeneration governance turned the consultations into strategies, and kept its connections with all partners active. Their extensive consultation with tenants, and having their participation and presence in most of the committees and their decision-making process, made this regeneration project special. For example, in order to promote the safety of the open spaces and a sense of identity, all the ideas were put into practice by building a monument in the local park. Promoting the quality of place and advancing the sense of belonging was at the top of the Hulme regeneration strategy and it was, to a large extent, achieved by leaving the project management in the hands of HRL: a partnership company located within the neighbourhood but which used tenants' involvement. But some believe that the Hulme regeneration project helped Manchester City Council to learn a lot from a real programme, and about working closely with other authorities, the private sector and developers as well as residents. As has been mentioned in different statements, the council accomplished the regeneration bit by bit. Therefore, they could learn from their mistakes and use their experience from the previous stage.

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester



A: Providing the plan based on regular methods and using limited consultation

Double loop learning

B: Extensive consultation with government bodies and various stakeholders and turning the result into a comprehensive action plan

Figure 8–2: Learning pattern of East Manchester regeneration

8.6.2 The Development of Knowledge Resources in East Manchester

Manchester City Council, in partnership with other agencies, targeted East Manchester as a prime location to impose extensive regeneration projects, using the successful experience of Hulme physical regeneration. Due to the difference between the scale and complexity of the issues in East Manchester and Hulme, the strategy that the council and other authorities used was different. Claiming to be community-oriented, and integrating different spheres of policy development and actions, a committee consisting of the council and other local authorities, community representatives and the private and voluntary sector produced the first framework for development of East Manchester in 2000, which was reviewed in 2008, and covered seven wards of the city (17 neighbourhoods): Ancoats, Miles Platting, Beswick, Openshaw, Clayton, Newton Heath and Gorton, which together had a population of 62,000 in 2001 (MCC, 2008). In general, the area is characterised by the high unemployment rate, a significant amount of brownfield sites and vacant buildings, a deprived and unhealthy population and poor educational achievements (Figure 8–3). Therefore, the areas of investment are crime and community safety, education and young people, the local economy, housing and the environment, health and wellbeing, sport and local services, community capacity and cohesion.

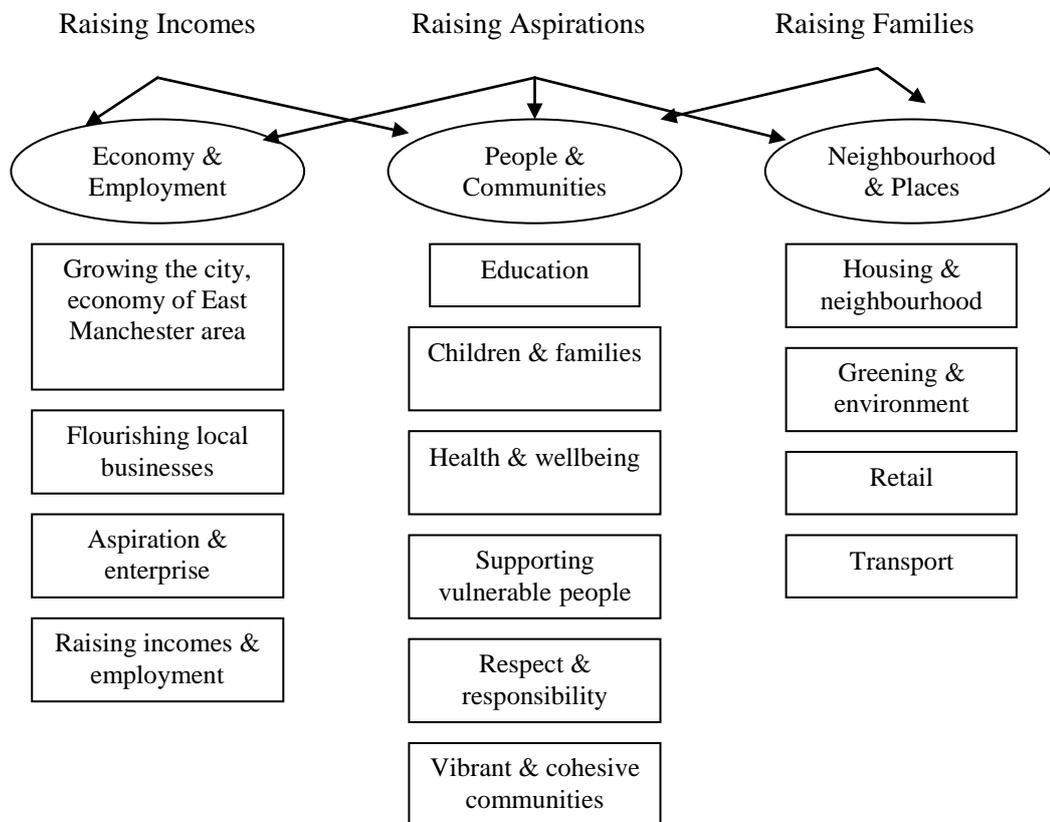


Figure 8-3: Core objectives of regeneration in East Manchester (MCC, 2008, p.22)

Before getting to the details of different aspects of the plan, it is useful to mention the most recent changes made to the New East Manchester regeneration plans, following a major consultation that involved around 30,000 households in early 2008 (North West Regional Development Agency, 2008). Local residents were asked to comment on the draft version of the framework for the next ten years in different ways; from drop-in sessions to leaflets to every household, a website, surveys taken by a team of mobile information staff, and so on. Tackling anti-social behaviour and crime was the top concern amongst local people, and there was also an emphasis on paying special attention not only to families but also to the older generation. The rest of the responses were about, for instance, the number of new housing developments, reducing the rate of unemployment, increasing general public awareness of the services available to them, planting more trees and many others (*ibid*).

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

In terms of housing type, East Manchester is a mix of predominately social rented housing estates dominated by Radburn design, and a large number of private houses, mainly traditional terraced buildings (MCC, 2008). According to the framework (2000), the proportion of privately owned houses is very low and the new development aims to change the figures and encourage private rental housing. In spite of recent new developments, housing construction and price rises the figures have not changed yet. The quality of the neighbourhood and housing is poor; lack of affordability and diversity in housing type and dereliction, and the disfigurement characteristics of many neighbourhoods is the general picture of the area. The newly-built development, in the form of apartments is mainly suitable for young professionals or small-sized families, and it has primarily developed in the areas adjacent to the city centre and along major corridors. Therefore, the general picture of East Manchester is still of “fragmented communities with varying degrees of stability” in large plots of derelict land (MCC, 2008, p.72).

Although constructing new developments will help encourage a new population to be added to the area, the quality of their integration with the surrounding environment, physically and socially, is crucial. The fundamental question, which raised debates over the use of brownfield and derelict sites in East Manchester and other places, is whether people want to live in those areas or not (Townshend, 2006, p.504). It also causes tension between the developers’ opinion about the production of highly desirable houses, and the regeneration aspiration of public authorities, as in the case of East Manchester, as the housing product is based to some extent on the marketability of housing (*ibid*). Even after reviewing the plan five years on, the main focus of the revised strategic framework is still on:

- working on businesses in the sub-region to locate or remain in East Manchester;
- paying special attention to the physical built environment;

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

- increasing the educational standard of people to be able to find jobs, which is the essential foundation of economic prosperity, financial vitality and neighbourhood stability;
- implementing strategies to get residents of East Manchester back to work;
- creating a “neighbourhood of choice” which will attract a variety of people and families, and helps to retain the existing population.

(MCC, 2008, p.2)

Thus the regeneration team had to continue their original idea after the revision of the plan in 2008, whilst they sought some of their project aims had been achieved. The council, on many occasions, stated that this project was a collection of ultimate regeneration experiences and was the outcome of resident surveys and consultation frameworks, meaning it was never the case that “one size fits all” (MCC, 2004d, p.46). Alongside the council, Beacons were also actively engaged within the process by implementing its own initiatives. Having the framework and guidelines provided from central government, the Beacons team are trying to adjust the ideas for the local needs by arranging community consultation. The nature and level in which Beacons worked is more general. Also, there are sets of rules produced by the government in the form of a national regeneration strategy, and some agencies like Beacons are aiming to meet the targets set by these rules. In other words, their discourse with residents follows certain frameworks, not relationship discourses or even learning dialogue. The structure of governance is still based on local authorities’ management and regional and national government full control.

In the East Manchester Residents Forum, the attendance of a representative of residents does not necessarily mean full public consultation, as they come from particular groups, not every group. Also, their input in terms of knowledge resources would not make the meeting context diverse enough to be called a creative dialogue. However, as the next lower level, the New Deal for Communities (2000) played another role to ensure that people were consulted in East Manchester, via their offices, by holding formal, informal and regular meetings with the staff, whilst the People’s Panel monitors the policies of

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

different agencies and initiatives (*Beacons*, 2004). The Beacons Partnership Board had the general responsibility of approving the expenditure of the SRB and NDC, and steering the general direction of the programmes (*ibid*). The board consists of six residents and six partner organisation representatives, elected through the Residents Forum, Voluntary Sector Consortium and Public Agencies Forum (*ibid*). The Public Agencies Forum is the representative of key service providers who work in the area and aims to

“take the lead in ensuring that all services are relevant and accountable to local people, developing good practice, best value and joined-up service delivery through organisational and cultural change, and ensuring the effective targeting of mainstream resources”

(*Beacons*, 2004, p.3)

The Voluntary Sector Consortium is the representative of the community and voluntary groups which have members on the board. There are some sub-groups working on issues such as drugs, asylum seekers, youth welfare and the standard of services. One of the appealing examples that was brought forward in the Beacons report (*Beacons*, 2004, p.5) is the way in which representatives of businesses are elected. Prior to the regeneration programme for East Manchester, a member of the Chamber of Commerce represented businesses. But now, this place has been taken by a local businessman interested in regeneration issues, and there are also other organisations involved such as East Manchester Business Advisers, who work with businesses which are affected by the regeneration project, give them advice and keep them informed of regeneration projects by distributing quarterly business bulletins (MCC, 2008).

In addition to all the efforts to achieve full engagement and consultation of local residents for a variety of regeneration projects in the area, there are other measures that are used to make sure all projects meet public consultation criteria. There is always connectivity with different project deliverers, voluntary and community groups and individuals partly through the Public Agencies Forum, the East Manchester People’s Panel and many other evolving methods, which

will be implemented whilst the regeneration programmes progress. There are always doors open to welcome people at New Deal for East Manchester, which is located at 187 Grey Mare Lane, Beswick, which invites residents to get involved, whether it is via the Partnership Board, attending the meetings and training, working on the projects or even just popping in and having a chat (*Beacons*, 2004).

In order to have a better picture of advancing knowledge resources for this regeneration project, Beswick was chosen, and through available documents and interviews it was revealed how the theoretical collaboration idea was practised, what techniques were used and whether the dialogues were actually creative or merely formal.

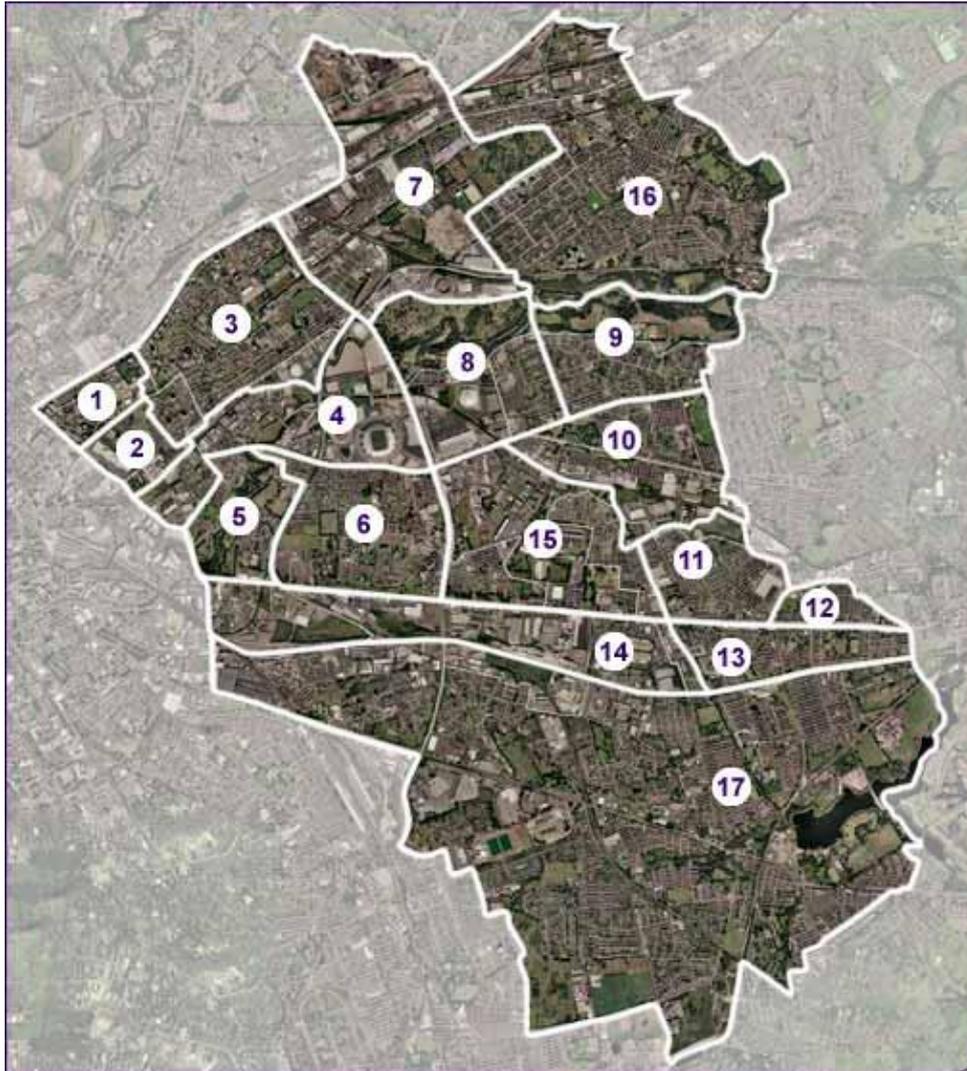
8.6.3 Developing Knowledge Resources in the Beswick Case Study

Beswick is a small area within the heart of East Manchester adjacent to the city centre, and is one of the most deprived neighbourhoods of the city, and part of the larger regeneration project of East Manchester. In the following pages, there will be some description of the regeneration plan and the plan preparation process, and this will be followed by the result of a survey of local people regarding their contribution to developing the plan and regeneration projects as part of enriching the knowledge base of the project.

A management structure called the Steering Group was established in 1998 to oversee the process of gathering initial information and consulting people, mainly focusing on the problems and requirements (see Appendix 2). It was made up of key representatives from city council departments, partner agencies, the private sector, house builders, community representatives and NEM, and met every six weeks (Interviewee 7, 2008). The Steering Group was chaired by city council officers and followed the recommendations provided by central government general regeneration guidelines. Community representatives were a limited number of people who brought their group ideas into the

meetings. In this way, a number of residents were involved in the decision-making process. The group was asked to produce a report which outlined the strategic context, the vision and key objectives. The group ensured that the consultation was wide-ranging and had the ability to be accessed by a variety of residents within the area. A variety of methods were used to undertake the public consultation and vision. These included (Interviewee 7, 2008):

- A questionnaire which asked for demographic information, priorities within each particular theme, and what factors should be included in the vision for the area. The questionnaire was produced in different formats, languages and options to be able to cover a wider range of people.
- Leaflets containing information on the vision and the purpose of the strategic regeneration framework, distributed at meetings and social events.
- Public meetings held at various times and locations across the area, giving residents the opportunity to listen, make representations and discuss.
- Drop-in events in each ward, where residents were able to meet members of the team, ask questions and fill in a questionnaire.
- One-to-one meetings with many residents, and individual voluntary and community groups. Particular attention was paid to ensure contact was made with a wide range of groups.
- A number of outreach sessions, in order to access people who might have been hard-to-reach.
- Events publicised through placing advertisements in public places, newsletters, a variety of locations and even public buildings.
- The council website specifically designed to allow people to log on and obtain information about the consultation and how they could have a say.
- A number of visits to the secondary schools, in order to obtain the views of young people.



Map 8-2: Manchester Regeneration Framework (MCC, 2008)

The Steering Group planned open days and workshops for the whole community and informed them by distributing leaflets, and placing posters in public places and community centres. In order to include the majority of residents, various times of meetings were available. It was also suggested that the consultation should involve key service delivery partners and existing community engagement structures to ensure the maximum benefit was achieved (Interviewee 7, 2008). The way in which the meetings were conducted was based on collecting local concerns and developing reciprocity dialogue. Under these conditions, local authorities and, above all, the regeneration committee developed an understanding of the issues and how they could continue their collaborative dialogue and work through the project period. Indeed, the

advantage of using a variety of methods to contact people was creating a quality environment for diverse development (Healey, 2003).

The first draft of the regeneration framework was sent to the city council executive for initial approval. The draft used the result of consultation as a base to prioritise the aims of regeneration. However, the guideline provided by government's national strategy remained the only framework to meet these aims. It is worth remembering that central government emphasised obtaining local stakeholders' opinions in order to make the plans more locally-oriented and more sustainable in the long term.

At this stage, when the first draft was sent back to the local regeneration office, the SRF Consultation Summary Document was sent to those residents who got involved at the early stages of public consultation, to public places, community centres and any other place where it could be accessible for the public to have their say and make comments. A link was created on the city council website homepage, advertising the consultation timetable and giving people the opportunity to view the main consultation leaflet and other people's feedback online. Advertisements, articles and the SRF leaflet, which listed the details of the main policies and consultation results, were placed in the local press. Appendix 3 is an example of the questionnaire distributed by the council. After receiving the final feedback, the plan was ready.

The priorities used in the Strategic Regeneration Framework for Beswick emerged from the most commonly identified responses, which varied from ward to ward. Therefore, the East ward was considered with its specific priorities and regeneration programmes, which would meet the concerns of existing residents as well as new people who would perhaps be coming to live or work in those areas. After receiving final approval for the regeneration framework, the Steering Group was replaced by the Sounding Board (2003) which held meetings whenever they were needed, and which included members from New East Manchester, Manchester City Council, English Partnerships, the Regional Development Agencies, community and voluntary groups and many others

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

(Interviewee 7, 2008). At this stage, those residents who would be affected by regeneration projects were met individually or together to discuss available options and different ways of working together according to the regeneration plan's schedule.



Map 8-3: Regeneration Plan of Beswick (MCC, 2008)

The regeneration committee claimed that its plan gained its credibility and value through extensive public consultation. This is a valuable claim if, firstly, stakeholders' opinions and knowledge have been developed and shaped within the plans; secondly, if consultation is the most democratic way of public involvement; thirdly, if the residents' involvement actively continues during the project (this will be discussed below); and fourthly, if creative discourse and knowledge building is part of the practice of mobilisation in the local governance system, not merely carried out as a duty to fulfil central government requirements (this is the subject of the last section of this chapter).

8.6.4 Knowledge Resources and the Public

In a survey conducted by myself, some general questions (Appendix 1) were prepared to ask residents of the project area to assess the claims made by the official documents. The questions were general and simple, in order to be understandable and easy to answer, and mainly in the form of multiple-choice. The focus of the questions was generally on regeneration issues, public participation and their particular concern in the area (Beswick) where they were living. The questions were in two parts: the focus of the first part was on general background information about the respondents and their preferred method for being contacted. The aim of the second group of questions was to understand how people think and use the chance of getting involved in regeneration. In this section only the first part of the results will be discussed.

Based on the results of the first question, fewer than half the participants knew of the existence of the regeneration programme, whilst the majority (56%) either had not heard of it or did not care. This number shows that despite all the methods used to absorb new ideas, which is an essential part of institutional capacity building, a large number of residents were left out or never received adequate information. This signals an important message, which is the weakness of general public awareness about multi-million pound projects that are happening around them. This raises concerns regarding the very earliest level of the citizens' ladder of empowerment, cited as a measuring tool, which is to be informed of things that happen around them. Have all the methods used by the council on top of the regeneration team been informative enough to a larger section of society? Would only being familiar with the term regeneration make the specific planning project inclusive? How can local knowledge be used when stakeholders are not even aware of such a project? These are the very basic questions that can be asked about the extent of using local knowledge resources. But, in a positive approach, nearly half the community (based on the questionnaire's result) had heard of such vast activity and investment.

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

They were asked whether they were interested in attending public meetings regarding urban regeneration programmes that were held in their neighbourhood, and again the result was disappointing. Only just over one-third of the people showed any interest in participating in these meetings. They were more eager to respond to other forms of involvement, such as filling in a form they might receive about regeneration plans, either through their letter box or in public places. Responding to a multiple-choice questionnaire or form obviously is a good way of transferring opinions; however, it is not the best way of being presented with proposals or communicating with the planning authorities.

Although the kind of relations that exist between local government and the residents will be discussed in the relational resources section, it is important to mention the absence of the culture of mutual relationships which are based on sharing knowledge, experience and learning. The general public's tendency towards an indirect connection with local government, and to avoid physical attendance in meetings, could be partly due to the lack of trust and the feeling of being ineffective in such meetings which largely are dominated by the council or other local authorities, and partly due to the culture of disbelief amongst people which keeps them out of reach, or even the poor culture of engagement between ordinary people and the authorities. In terms of being represented for certain projects, most of the respondents preferred the community representative to speak on their behalf. However, large numbers of people never contact the local authorities at all. As mentioned previously in the theoretical section, representative democracy is a well-developed method in the political world. However, in urban planning, individual experiences of life in a neighbourhood, to a limited extent, can be presented by a community representative. The answer to the question concerning the timescale of the latest contact from or with local authorities indicates that most of the respondents (72%) had been in touch with the council for a variety of reasons within the last six months. They were also asked whether they have ever been contacted for their opinion and consultation purposes about the issues related to regeneration matters, and the answer was not positive. Although 43% responded "yes", 57% responded "no" or "do not bother". This shows how far the regeneration team still was from the level of

public participation they were aiming for. In other words, each single stakeholder's opinion that could enhance the built environment quality is not the foundation of regeneration initiatives and does not actively form the necessary knowledge base of the plans. However, the intention and methods that are used to diversify knowledge resources is valuable.

8.7 Relational Resources and Regeneration Partners

8.7.1 Relational Resources and the Lessons of Hulme

A major part of every urban planning practice is the network of connection, how their relational resources are being developed and the social capital which the plan benefits from. In much of the literature, Hulme is known as one of the good examples of developing a powerful relationship between regeneration authorities and local residents. To improve housing conditions and the built environment, Hulme Community Homes Limited (1992) and the Hulme Tenant Participation Project were established. The main aim of these was to re-establish the linkage between the community and local authority for the redevelopment of social housing, using tenants' independent assessment of any development plan and seeking their support (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1994). The regeneration strategy, as might be expected, was based on some general goals (Carley, 1995, p.50):

- To strengthen the local economic base;
- To improve access to employment opportunities for local people;
- To improve the condition of the housing stock;
- To increase housing choices for local people;
- To improve the physical environment;
- To sustain and develop the social fabric.

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

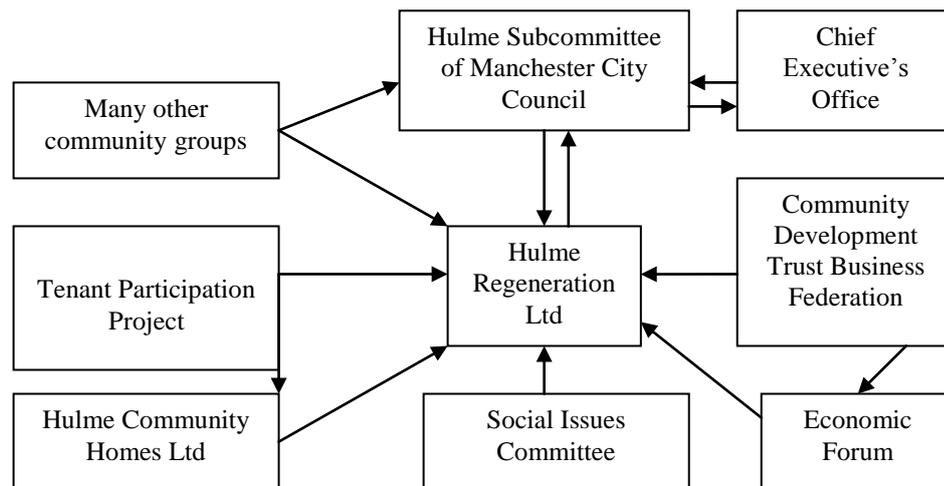


Figure 8–4: Partial outline of groups active in Hulme regeneration (Carley, 1995, p.52)

It is worth mentioning that the Hulme Tenant Participation Project (HTPP) (1988), which was formed and funded by the Housing Corporation and the city council to ease relations between institutional stakeholders and tenants, aimed to provide clearer ideas about the council and the variety of services that tenants could expect (MCC, 1993). The nature of the Hulme housing tenancy demanded full management by the city council, as the tenants were mainly council tenants. This meant that it was, to some extent, an easier task to get in touch with tenants and other service providers. Interestingly, HTPP gave an opportunity to tenants to have control of the design process for the redevelopment of social housing, and the housing association for developments was made a tenant design group. This then encouraged support for the Community Architecture Project (Carley, 1995). Figure 8–4 (Carley, 1995, p.52) shows the theoretical organisational framework for Hulme. As shown in Figure 8–4, the group responsible for the regeneration plan brought together any relevant council departments to cooperate under the observation of the Chief Executive's Office, to work closely and efficiently together (Carley, 1995).

Although the city council led various forms of voluntary groups and committees to target certain aspects of regeneration and create relationships with certain groups or individual citizens, the city council departments struggled to expand their horizons and relational resources. It was a new experience for the

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

council's management mechanism. Therefore, the council put its efforts into creating new connections with local residents, and extended its consultation technique to include more and more of them. Three major consultative forums, Hulme Community Homes Ltd, the Hulme Economic Assembly and the Social Issues Committee, worked under the HRL, under the independent monitoring of Liverpool John Moores University (Carley, 1995). Hulme Community Homes Limited (HCHL) included tenant directors, six tenant representatives, six council representatives and six housing association representatives, who met quarterly (*ibid*). Another active vehicle for improving participation and employment was the Economic Assembly, which used to meet every six weeks to work on local business and community interests, studying the shopping centre, workspaces, employment and training (*ibid*).

In order to avoid the previous failed experiences of regeneration in Hulme, the regeneration team and management tried to deepen its relationships with other key partners such as housing companies, businesses and investors, and educational and social networks. Creating and keeping a structural and ideological balance between those actors was a difficult job, which demanded strong and committed council leadership. This, to a large extent, integrated actions and gave residents the opportunity to freely express themselves and exercise practical power. For some critics, this might simply be another council ideology that forced through a wider network of relations. The council did engage local residents, but not fully, whilst they missed out consultation with local schools; however, this still helped to tackle crime and improve the educational achievements of the residents. They learned how to justify the housing development plans and have concern for the tenants' – who were the main beneficiaries of the regeneration – satisfaction at the same time. Whilst talking about the Hulme regeneration, the council's Chief Executive, Sir Howard Bernstein, stated,

“at one level this is simple stuff, but at another level it was quite revolutionary in the way in which we started to introduce a proactive

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

approach to planning. This became positive action, where planning is the driving force for change and is no longer a reactive discipline.”

(Carley, 1995, p.32)

The *Design Guide for Hulme* was one of the forerunners of its kind, which recognised the vitality of good urban design and understood the characteristics of the area which in turn would sustain the plan for a longer period of time. The physical regeneration of the area was used as a model for the rest of the city, even after the introduction of the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) initiative between 1994 and 2000 (MCC, 2004a). Implementing area-based schemes for regeneration was a holistic approach to meet local needs, as they varied in each part of the city. The council has worked within the multi-sectoral network ever since, targeting different issues such as crime, housing and unemployment, which might not necessarily be the same in different parts of the city. The idea of marketing Manchester was to promote the city in terms of industry and businesses, to encourage new businesses to invest in the city and to host large, international businesses. To fulfil this, the Manchester Investment and Development Advisory Service (MIDAS) was established in 1997, aiming at inward investors and facilitating their investments (MCC, 2004a, p.34).

Since the successful completion of the City Challenge programme in 1997, several large and small projects have been completed for the benefit of residents, such as New Bridge, which is an architectural landmark connecting Hulme to the city centre, and Hulme Park, which is one of the largest inner-city parks of the area; its crime rate has been lowered since the project was completed (MCC, 2004a). The housing renewal project in Hulme was a successful plan, which proved to be thriving by local residents' participation whilst the replacement of houses occurred.

8.7.2 Relational Resources of the East Manchester Regeneration Team

In the case of the East Manchester regeneration project, the extent of the project arena and diversity, and complexity of issues, meant that central government attention and funding was needed. Despite all the efforts to lower unemployment and change the lifestyle of the majority of the population, the East Manchester cycle of poverty has not been disturbed, and the deep-rooted situation of low-income households having low skills is the general feature of the area, which will not fade away easily. The council exclusively provided an onsite office with full-time officers and a dedicated team. This created a management centre whose job it was to make various relationships work to widen its network amongst the various authorities, and to lead the project.

The plan's capability in identifying and providing solutions for multi-aspect problems is valuable and requires the involvement of various stakeholders. Various agencies including education, health sector, police actively send their representative next to the community members to make decisions about the area within different committees (Appendix 2). This is the outline of the aims of the regeneration plan, how it is problematic, what can be done and who should do it.

Education: In order to break the cycle of deprivation, raising the standard of education is essential, as it will open the doors to greater employment opportunity and emotional support. Due to the poor quality of high schools in the area, many students move to other schools, and in response to this movement, the regeneration plan has considered a "new academy and proactive marketing campaign" (MCC, 2008, p.46). Changing the schools' environment from "supply-led teaching" to demand-led learning is a radical revolution in teaching that can lead to a "skills focus instead of a subject focus" (*ibid*, p.47).

Children and Families: According to the regeneration framework, despite all the efforts via regeneration programmes, the number of disadvantaged families has not fallen.

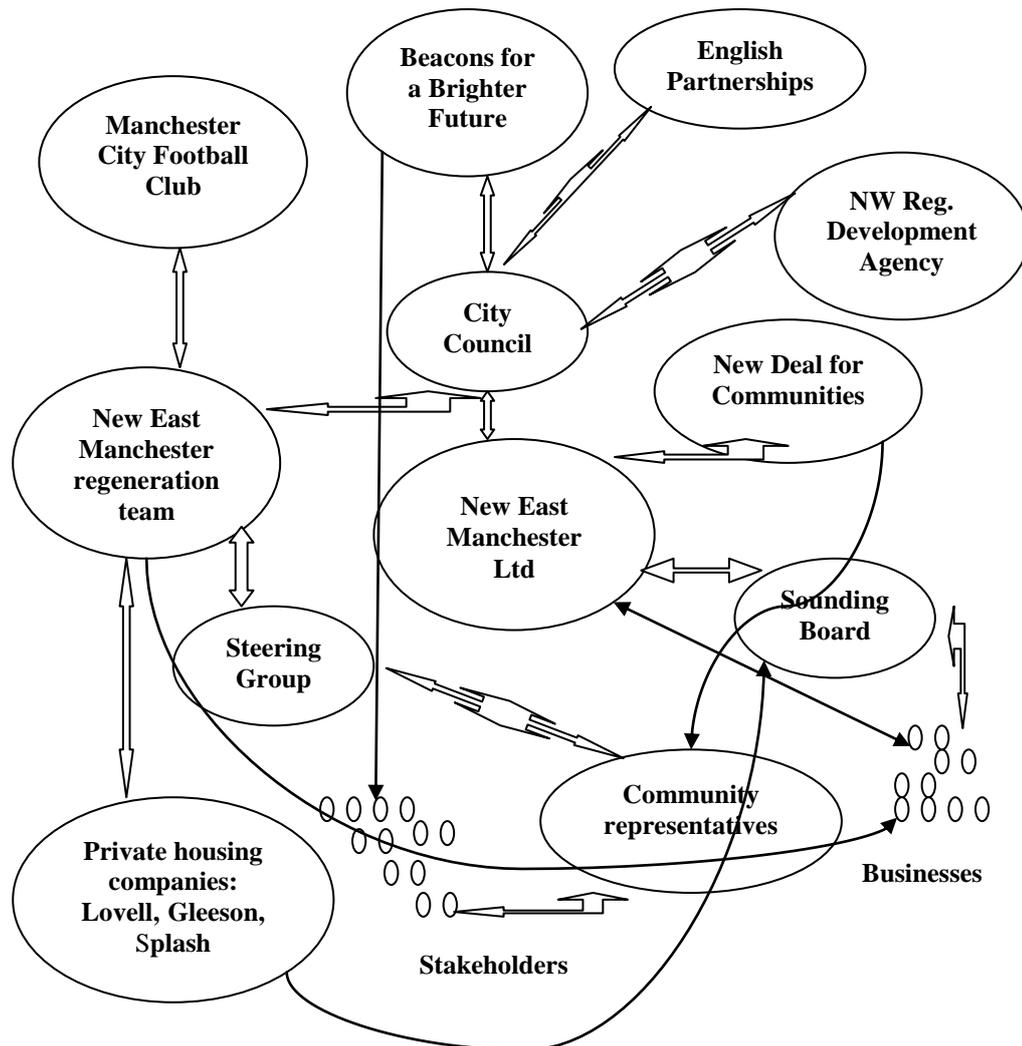


Figure 8-5: Network morphologies around East Manchester

The regeneration framework (2008) has classified the services and support to the families in need in four groups:

1. “Universal support, all parents with open access to a range of provision, activities and information;
2. Additional targeted support as above but self referral for some additional support e.g. children with special needs or disability;
3. Intensive and targeted support, managed by a lead professional, multi-agency case planning and key working e.g. drugs or alcohol;

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

4. Intensive support with statutory intervention, where parents will not cooperate” (*ibid*, p.51).

To meet the targets there is a need for collaborative working amongst a number of agencies, schools, social care and facility providers such as sports, leisure and cultural centres, and a need to work closely with the District Commissioning Panel in order to realise the expenditure, and the spaces that need to be filled (*ibid*).

Health and Wellbeing: In terms of health, East Manchester is the home of the worst ill-health in the region, according to the regeneration framework. Promoting a healthy lifestyle for residents is achieved by encouraging them back to work, providing them with a safe and healthy environment and social facilities. What local authorities focus on is not just the symptoms of an unhealthy lifestyle of residents, but finding the causes and preventing them from happening and spreading.

In addition, applying different initiatives in engaging people within the process of regeneration is the backbone of sustainable regeneration such as Local Action Partnerships, Ward Co-ordination Groups, Friends of Parks groups etc. (MCC, 2008, p.70). It involves support programmes for the provision of training, and dedicated staff to work with groups and individuals.

This shows how the East Manchester regeneration team shaped its plan around selecting stakeholders in the project area by targeting the most vulnerable ones. The structure of relationships is beneficial in nature but debates remain around its diversity and independence, as some residents might never fit into any of its categories. For instance, after all the pre-plan consultation efforts, which were mentioned previously, those residents affected by demolition and the outcome of the plan were offered assistance through the Right to Remain/Return (Interviewee 7, 2008). The Housing Market Renewal Team, the city council, relevant housing associations and the developers worked closely together and produced the Provision Strategy which worked throughout the area and

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

facilitated the process of the relocation of residents. There were three choices for the residents affected by regeneration: relocate to the new house of their selection in close proximity to their existing neighbourhood, claim compensation or move to another council house in other available areas.

Although there had always been some people who were not happy about the proposed changes, the regeneration team located in Grey Mare Lane in Beswick had an open door policy, with regular and individual meetings and home visits to make the move as smooth as possible (Interviewee 7, 2008). Also, debates are usually around specific subjects and despite this statement, that the regeneration plan is tailored for the neighbourhood, it is apparent, from the documents and the authorities that are involved, that the East Manchester regeneration framework is similar to many other regeneration projects around the country in terms of subject and governance structure and process. The network morphology displayed in Figure 8–5 shows how major relationships are maintained by the city council. Some of them follow a hierarchical form, dominated by central government, in a formal structure such as Beacons for a Brighter Future. Parallel agencies work alongside the regeneration team in the area to cover certain aspects of the problems. They inject a large amount of funds into the system. For instance, changing the funding policy since the establishment of New East Manchester Ltd (MCC, 2008) has increased the demand for the influence of public and private sector discretionary resources (*ibid*).

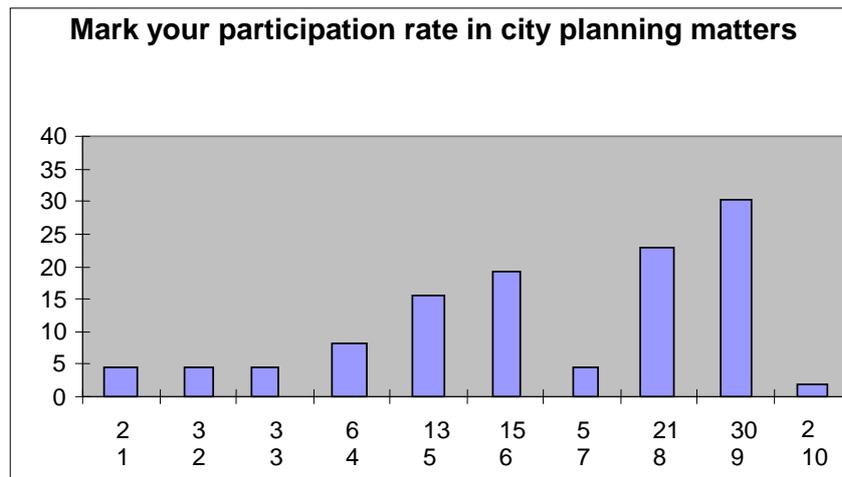
One of the most pioneered agendas in this massive regeneration project has been making connections with and expanding relational resources between local residents and businesses, as well as bringing new population to the area by creating business opportunity and quality houses. The East Manchester regeneration framework has extensively considered the community at the heart of any development, whether it is about economic, physical or environmental improvement. The initial priority of regeneration of the area is to discourage out-migration and to attract people into the area by improving the quality of life, access to health and community facilities and the economic fortunes of residents.

Any educational and social improvement can be a positive move towards building trust and retention of population. Working with communities is a multi-dimensional task, and needs the contribution of individuals, and community and voluntary groups, to enrich the local neighbourhood.

8.7.3 Relational Resources and the Public

Some of the questions in the questionnaire focused on the relationships between residents and local authorities. The interview with Ms Suzanne Price, the housing officer of the East Manchester regeneration team, is also brought into the discussions presented here.

Based on the research survey, there is a slight difference between the local authority's claimants about the deepness of relational resources with residents and survey participants. Part two of the questionnaire targeted more specific questions around the notion of participation and regeneration, and public satisfaction from regeneration activities. The results were interesting, as a large number of people expressed their satisfaction for the area in which they live. None of the potential obstacles, such as using technical jargon or special documents, stopped them from being engaged. But, when they answered the question "how would you like to be contacted by local authorities?", the majority of answers were "myself" or "a local representative" which is a positive approach. This shows that the public are interested in being a part of the process and in making an active contribution to local activities, and local authorities are trying to improve relations. Most of them believed that at some point they had been asked to give their opinion by local authorities on specific issues, via leaflets, newsletters or telephone calls. At the end, participants were asked to mark themselves on participation between 1 and 10. Graph 8–1 presents the results of their answers.



Graph 8–1: The level of participation based on the survey

As the graph shows, people see themselves as active members of society. Although the extent of their involvement based on the survey remains low, the tendency towards having some sort of engagement exists within the public. Residents' involvement can help improve the quality of urban regeneration: this was the message given by the answers to Question 13. However, there are also concerns people have for their living environment, mainly about the levels of crime and drugs, unemployment, housing conditions, schools and the urban environment. Generally speaking, almost half the participants who took part in the survey were happy with the regeneration and development projects in their area. The survey revealed that people, as expected, are familiar with the concept of regeneration and believe in involvement in urban development projects. There is consensus on the importance of revitalising their neighbourhood by implementing a variety of methods and extending public engagement. But what the survey also discloses is that, despite the emphasis on putting an assortment of initiatives into practice, there are still people who are willing to work with the local authorities, but for some reason never had a chance to do so, nor were they given the opportunity to get involved. Although, according to the answers, some people do not care what is happening around them, it is local government's responsibility to encourage them and use their potential and ideas.

8.8 Mobilisation Capacity

Mobilisation capacity is the interaction and connection between the theory and the logic of the plans and approaches in resolving problems with their practical aspects, including responsible agencies, experiences of relevant organisations and partnership of community. Tension in a project will have roots in the origins of the idea, who backs it, and how it is managed. The involved parties would act accordingly to their relationships and their positions in the institutional capacity structure. If the idea is backed by council officers, the influence and role of government or community representative would vary from what would occur if it were community-based. In Hulme and East Manchester, the regeneration project started at a council level from city council departments, which realised the need for change in those specific arenas. Although central government's general regeneration initiative and approach to inner-city renewal has been the main mobilisation power, the other encouragement was the council's interest in prioritising these areas. Therefore, it was actually a top-down method, which however started to involve stakeholders from the very early stages. Extensive public consultation took place in various ways and in several meetings when the areas were selected, and this made the stakeholders more mobilised and interested in engagement. This policy of the regeneration committee to broaden involvement amongst residents, local businesses, the private sector, other authorities, and even within the council departments was a technique:

- to attract as many partners as possible;
- to capture various aspirations;
- to create funding opportunity;
- to be transparent;
- to break traditional bureaucracy;
- to encourage bottom-up decision-making; and most importantly
- to enrich mobilisation capacity.

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

The mobilisation of resources involves both initiative and action from the top by government, and pressure from the aspiration and dissatisfaction of residents from the bottom. During the project's initial consultation and plan preparation, as discussed in the knowledge resource and relational resource sections above, the potential to access stakeholders' knowledge was/is still limited to those who are directly involved in part of the regeneration project. Both projects introduced new relationships, between local government and the local community, between private investors, residents and regeneration committees, between central government, regional agencies and local government, in terms of the share of responsibility and decision-making power. In regard to this, the Sounding Board looked into gaining financial support from English Partnerships and the North West Regional Development Agency, and even central government. Looking down the hierarchy to stakeholders, the regeneration team has implemented various approaches. At a policy documents level, the East Manchester Strategic Regeneration Framework, which was updated in 2008, mentions the high proportion of vulnerable and disadvantaged people who live in the area and suffer from mental health or drug- and alcohol-related problems, and how they should be dealt with individually. The framework has considered long-term plans for breaking the cycle of poverty and unemployment in the area, by giving support to students and their families in sending them to the best schools, increasing their educational achievements and school attendance (MCC, 2008, p.44).

The involvement of various stakeholders (from government and agencies) gave both these Manchester regeneration projects, especially East Manchester, the ability to look and act within different project parameters. However, it did not necessarily deepen their permanent relational network. Their parallel action has been beneficial to the area in general. For example, in East Manchester there are development projects that are in progress or in line to be constructed, such as the New East Manchester Academy on Grey Mare Lane, which may be beneficial to the area in terms of facilitating local students' higher education, improving the image of the area, and inviting new students to the area to find accommodation there or to use the academy. Economic improvement is also one of the top

agenda items in the regeneration plan, which has proposed some prestige commercial and higher density uses along Alan Turing Way (MCC, 2008, p.115). This area has also been considered for residential development. The first impact of this development would be to facilitate Sport City's needs, and to help the city as a whole, which is one of the objectives of the regeneration plan. The Regeneration Framework predicted that "The focus will be on the provision of those types of shops which support the local neighbourhoods and provide back-up shopping or an alternative for those who prefer to shop very locally or are unable to do otherwise" (MCC, 2008, p.26).

There is also great emphasis on the quality of the environment and landscape of the area which can change the appearance of the area for those who live in the neighbourhood or are passers-by – providing "gateway" features (MCC, 2005, p.15). The quality of retail associated with deteriorating economic activities in the area has sent a very poor message out and left the area with scattered and vulnerable inward investment. Despite the establishment of Sport City as a new district centre, the interest for investment in the area is still weak (Interviewee 7, 2008). Physical intervention and management of the retail units in Newton Heath, Openshaw and Gorton are some of the priorities for long-term community and economic development (MCC, 2008, p.84). According to the regeneration trajectory, these centres will offer a larger and stable market for residents and further development, and perhaps increase the diversity of the population. This could be beneficial to the area and the region. The Retail High Street Strategy is the initiative to tackle the decline in market, and to offer opportunities to local and community-based services. The strategy may include the following actions:

- "The development of plan for an appropriate mix of uses;
- Public sector head-leasing of available store frontages and managed tenancies.
- Partnership between a public sector support organisation and private landlords or tenants to encourage coordinated maintenance and provide assistance securing tenancies;

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

- The development of business support programmes for small business owners, particularly new immigrants and the provision of skill training;
- The encouragement of new business investment through innovative programmes such as subsidised leases or partnership with students;
- Public sector investment in the provision of coordinated, high-quality street-scaping, signage, façade improvement and marketing;
- Encouragement of a viable programme for homes over shops.”

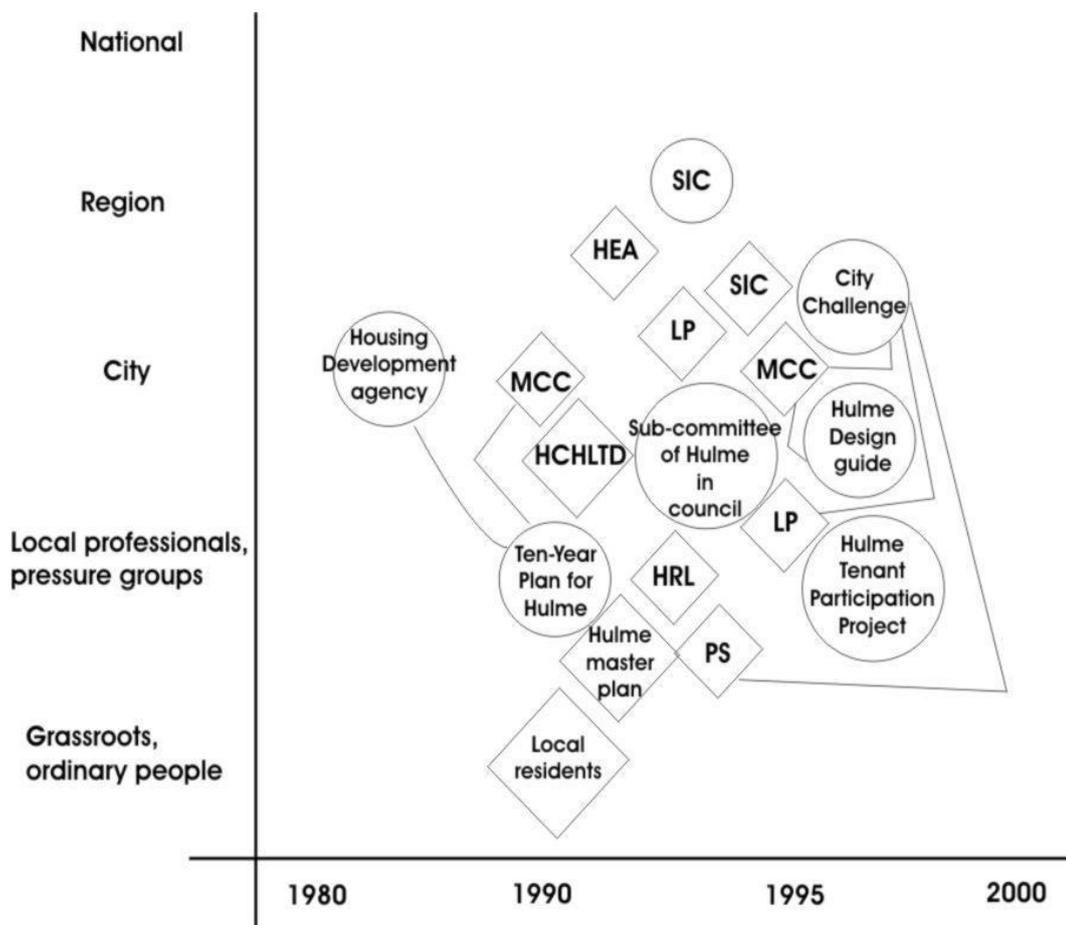
(ibid, p.86)

The potential, ideas and capacity of the residents and the private sector were directed and used for the projects. It might still have been the council and major authorities who set the objectives and goals, however, the collaborative approach towards regeneration projects has gradually mobilised involved stakeholders, and has given them the chance to be part of the action.

In theory, regeneration plans were strategic means which considered physical issues alongside social, economic, educational and environmental concerns. This derived from the substantial changes in giving a voice to the stakeholders from the beginning of the planning stage. The council's techniques in deepening its knowledge resources encouraged the involvement and mobilisation efforts of many stakeholders and the public. It was, to a large extent, a successful means of creating trust and partnership amongst key role-players in the Hulme housing and physical regeneration. Bringing residents into the design committee helped the plan to point out the real problems and conquer the complexity of the socio-physical disorder of the area. This could not have been an easy process for the East Manchester case, as described before. The complexity of issues has not given the regeneration team a perception of full participation of all stakeholders. However, it is a good example of their potentials and agenda. It is, by involving a wider range of stakeholders in a regular and targeted set of meetings, a valuable effort in mobilising repertoires in the locality. The nature of the projects and their location did not let any of the members pull the strings of power towards themselves and gave all representatives an equal chance. A locally-based office, with local authority representatives, planners, and community representatives,

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

created a place-focus and a more inclusive style in the early stages of the regeneration project. However, the council, at all levels, kept its position as the centre of a relational network, translated the input of ideas and consultations into a strategic regeneration framework, and conducted the team through the project implementation by using various mobilisation techniques. A rich knowledge resource potentially brought integration and cooperation between actors, and challenged the independent actions of past regeneration practices.



Key: Manchester City Council: MCC , Local professionals: LP
 Private sector: PS , Hulme Regeneration Ltd: HRLTD
 Hulme Community Home: HCH , Hulme Economic Assembly: HEA
 Social Issues Committee: SIC

Figure 8–6: The mobilisation trajectory of Hulme regeneration

8.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, two examples of regeneration projects in Manchester were reviewed and discussed extensively: Hulme and East Manchester. The Hulme Development Guide and regeneration taught the council and other involved organisations a challenging but useful lesson, which was applied to other parts of the city, especially East Manchester. Hulme has been a good example of developing innovative programmes to meet local needs in housing and spatial regeneration, and this approach has been supported in a Joseph Rowntree Foundation's report (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1994).

The review of institutional capacity dimensions provided the research with a real regeneration practice that is developing its credibility by diversifying the knowledge needed for providing a comprehensive plan and expanding the network of practical relations to overcome the multi-dimensional problem of the area. The mobilisation capacity sector showed how the new knowledge and connections created worked collaboratively in the East Manchester and Hulme cases. It has been understood by local government that achieving sustainable development is not just about spending money on physical or economic issues.

The city and its neighbourhoods are for people and built by people, and can only survive if the government has the capacity to keep people there. Although the outcome of the East Manchester development and renewal project will not be realised until the end of the project, East Manchester's sizeable regeneration is a flagship scheme which appears to use public participation as an integral part. Surfing through three dimensions of institutional capacity building, knowledge resources, relational resources and the mobilisation capacity of both projects, revealed their different aspects, which will be discussed in the final chapter.

The review of the regeneration of Hulme and East Manchester showed that the complexity of urban regeneration demands a flexible, comprehensive but

Regenerating Manchester: The Examples of Hulme and East Manchester

integrated approach which is built upon public support. Specific lessons from these case studies are summarised in the table below:

Table 8–1: Manchester case study outlines

Aim	Approach
Achieving Sustainability	Utilising a variety of initiatives alongside each other to cover a wider area context
Integrated Management	Coordination and partnership amongst the council, local authorities, voluntary groups, the private sector, stakeholders and excluded residents and specific steering and dedicated bodies alongside each other
Community Involvement	Obtaining public consultation from start to end by implementing a variety of tools
Undivided Attention	Paying special attention to the aim of the plans, encouraging risk-taking and having ambitious and long-term prospects for the area
Revision, Observation and Learning	Reviewing, inspecting and critically revising the plans from the early stages of preparation up to the end of the project

Chapter 9: Urban Development Planning in Sari

9.1 Introduction

Sari, a city in the north of Iran with a long history of inhabitation, faces a rapid growth in population and urban development, like many other cities. As has been mentioned before, the modern form of government intervention in urban development began in Sari simultaneously with the rest of the country during the 1920s and 1930s, when Reza Shah built the first bank, government offices and municipality building on the site of a historic park close to where the city centre was built.

Over the last few decades, the once noteworthy bazaar and its surrounding residential area has fallen into a state of disrepair, and new buildings have been out of character with the old, due to the lack of a clear and strong regeneration policy and economic vitality, as well as inadequate urban management. Despite all the destruction of traditional urban fabric, many of the old buildings and urban fabric in the inner part of the city managed to survive, and can be restored for future generations if action is taken now. The city council was given a development and regeneration strategy for the old fabric of Sari which was approved by the Clause Five Committee in 2002, and it gives general guidelines for revitalisation and new building development.

It is almost fifty years since the first master plan was prepared for the city. However, the role of ordinary people in the plan preparation procedure is uncertain and gets lost. One of the council's important challenges was/is to face the rapid and illegal development of suburban settlements, and adjacent villages, becoming part of the city without proper control and designated plans, infrastructure or standards. The situation in the north-west and south of the city is worst. Therefore, in the second comprehensive plan of the city, approved in 2000, the council drew a "red line" around the city to stop illegal construction outside this boundary. It strongly involves the use of greenfield sites, rather than developing brownfield sites in the city, and the refurbishment of unused buildings. Dealing with the newly developed area is one of the top priorities of

the council's policy. But the dilapidation of the inner city, mainly of the old urban fabric, is another challenging issue. The changing situation of the city centre made local authorities consider a plan specifically designed for it. Arguably, disparity in the urban management mechanism and local authorities' service provision system speed up urban sprawl.

This chapter starts with background information about the city: its physical, planning and social structures. The chapter continues by critically reviewing the present development plan of the city in the form of master and comprehensive plans, and the special plan for the old parts of the city. These are analysed using the three dimensions of institution capacity building described in Chapter 2, and which was also used in the analysis of Manchester in Chapter 8. This review will help us to understand how development occurs, who is responsible for urban management and where people stand in this process. The debates and critical review of development plans in Sari, and the lessons derived from the analysis of regeneration in Manchester will form the basis of the final part of the research, Chapter 10, which consists of lessons and recommendations for promoting the quality of urban revitalisation in Iran.

9.2 The Geographical Situation

Reaching the city from the southern regions of the country involves crossing the Alborz Mountains by car or train. The city is located 20 miles from the Caspian Sea. These natural features – mountains and sea – have helped to create special conditions for the region. Its climate is humid, and there is an array of underground water resources. Most of the rural land is used for agricultural production, creating seasonal and permanent jobs for local people (Picture 9–1). These conditions have led to a specific architectural style for buildings. Traditional rural architecture in Sari invites nature into the house, by opening the main face of the building to allow the circulation of air. This type of house, known as a villa, has been developed not only to overcome the climatic conditions, but also to utilise local materials (Memarian, 1998).



Picture 9–1: A view of traditional agricultural land, outskirts of Sari (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1999)

9.3 The General Historical Background of Sari

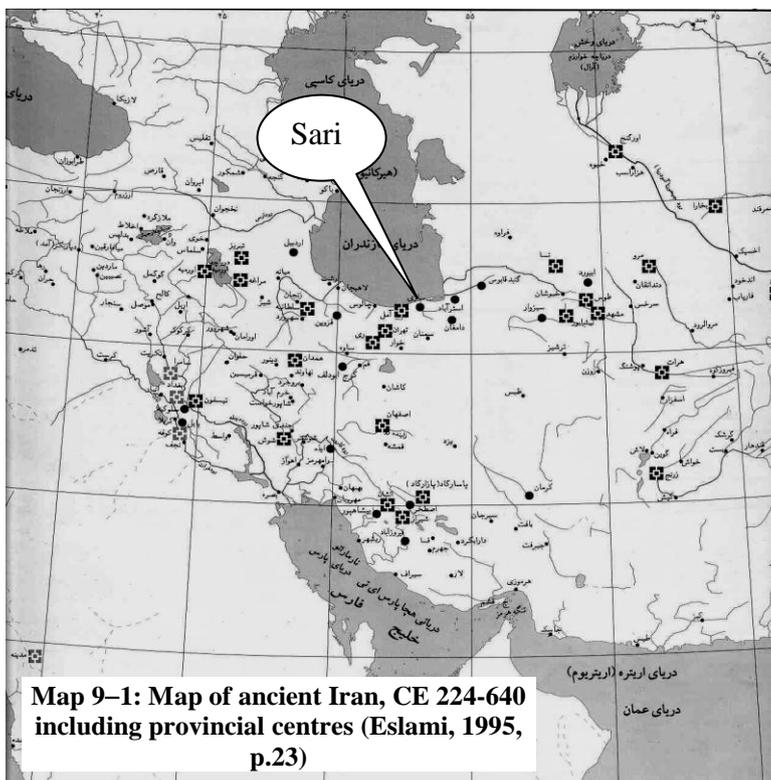
Sari, as the main city of Mazandaran Province in the north of Iran, has been the political, and to some extent, economic capital of the province for centuries. From the historical perspective, three main periods can be identified to define its development (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1993).

- Period up to the 15th century
- Safavieh dynasty (16th century) to Ghagarieh dynasty (19th century)
- Modern period

Almost 1,500 years ago, the boundaries of the city were formed with the creation of a castle and city wall which defended it from the attacks and invasions of other city-states and Islamic groups (Map 9–1) (Eslami, 1995). Most of its historical areas have been destroyed several times, but it survived as a location with some form of settlement and political position.

The Safavieh dynasty changed the name of the province from Tabarestan to Mazandaran (*ibid*). During the Safavieh period (1502–1736), the city underwent extensive economic and developmental changes, and became a powerful centre of government, and its connections with other regions of the

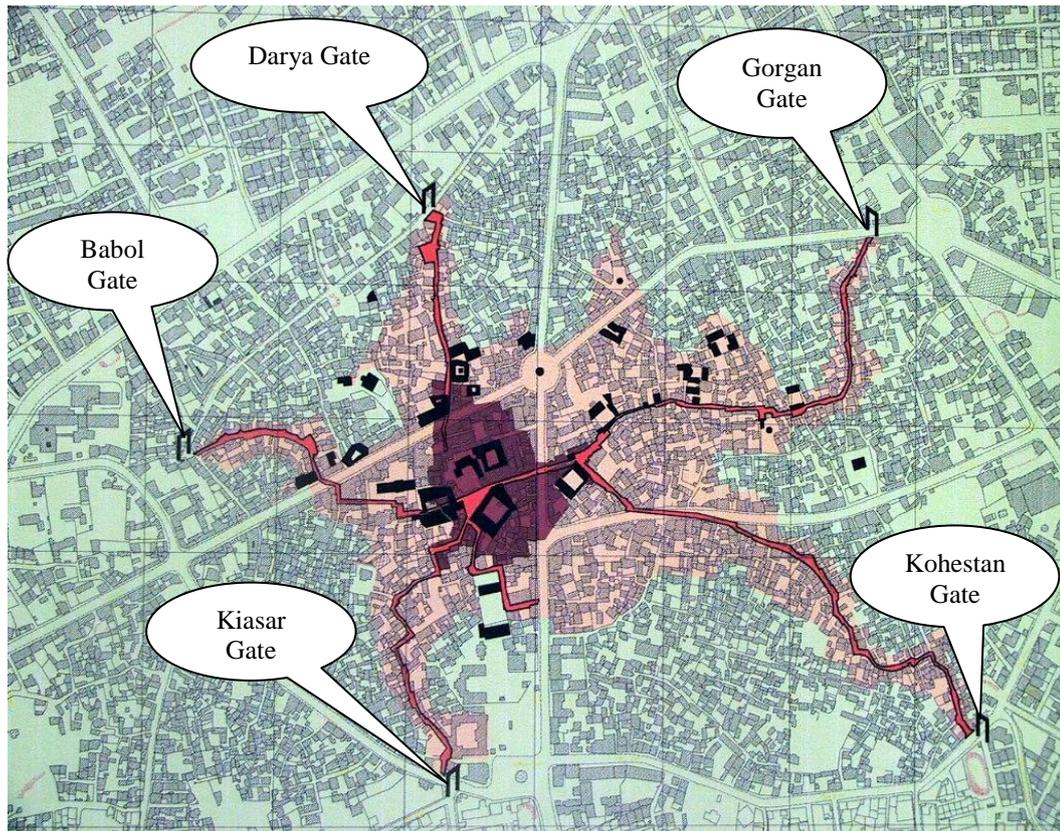
country increased (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1995). The first brick bridge was constructed on the Tegen River in 1597, and one of the main roads of the province from Tehran to Estarabad (Gorgan) was paved in stone (1599) as the basis for the current main connection of this province to the rest of the country (*ibid*).



Fraser (1838) described the city as follows: “In Sari there is no sign or building indicating that the city has ever been big. The walls are made of mud and the brick towers are square and its perimeter is not more than 2 miles The city has

been built unbalanced and the alleys are not paved. It is hard to walk in the bad weather conditions” (p.215). Rabino (1928), in his book “*Mazandaran and Estarabad*” illustrated an interesting image of the economic and urban situation of Sari, which was used as a historical reference. He named the four main gates of the city; Barforoush Gate, Chehel Dar Gate, Farah Abad Gate and Estarabad Gate (Map 9-2). There were public baths, traditional refreshment stops for travellers, cold water wells, small shrines, schools and many other buildings that served people (Rabino, 1928).

During the Ghagarieh dynasty (1794–1925), Sari again came to the government’s attention, and was considered as the centre of the province. Construction of another bridge on the Tegen in 1888, repairing pavements and old buildings were some of this period’s developments. However, as there has



Map 9-2: Old gates of the city (Abr Dasht Consultant Engineers, 2002, p.145)

always been competition between Sari and its nearest neighbours such as Babul and Babulsar – almost 15 and 40 miles distant respectively – the city could not keep its economic strength and population high. By the end of the Ghagarieh dynasty and the political empowerment of the Pahlavi dynasty in the 1920s, Sari was connected to the national railways, industrial zones had been established and roads and official government buildings had been built. These all changed the city's appearance and economic basis. The city moved from being an agricultural centre to an administrative and service one.

In spite of recent changes to the traditional image of some quarters of the city, including the old bazaar (Picture 9-2), the city centre is still at the heart of social activities. However, there is no official budget to preserve and renovate the historic city centre. There are still a large number of valuable old houses (Picture 9-3), built in a traditional style, as illustrated below.



Picture 9–2: Sari’s partially covered bazaar route (Abr Dasht Consultant Engineers, 2002, p.76)



Picture 9–3: Abanbar-e-no Street, up to some decades ago; new buildings (foreground) confronting the old urban context (background) (Abr Dasht Consultant Engineers, 2002, p.90)

Like many other Iranian cities, Sari has undergone rapid and even uncontrollable development in recent decades. Its geographical location, as the capital of Mazandaran province, combined with its administrative and strategic importance, has attracted migrants from across the area and investors who are looking to enter a growing market. This has raised a challenge for the city council to put in place a master plan, and associated regulations, that give it full control of the general development of the city.

Table 9–1: Formal government structure in Sari

	Formal Government	Special Agency
National	MOI, HUDO, UDRO, PBO	HCAP, SMUDRO
Regional	Provincial Governor (Regional Office of MOI), ICHTO	Clause Five Committee, Provincial council
Local	Sari’s Municipality, City Council	Planning committee, Clause 100 Committee

As the table indicates, the municipality is the main organisation for urban development planning at a local level. The region is one of the greenest parts of

the country, attracting thousands of tourists every year. The very productive soil of the province helps farming and agriculture as the main industry. Around one-third of the city is used as residential area and one third are greenfield sites. Table 9–2 is a summary of the main uses.

Table 9–2: Percentage of uses of land in the city (MHUD, 1999, p.33)

	Residential	Services	Access	Green land	Total
Hectares	51.5	13.2	23.3	50.1	138.1
Percentage	37.3	9.5	16.9	36.3	100

Although the limited available land for new developments, and the high price of land in and around the city centre, has pushed many offices away from the central part of the city, malls, traditional bazaars and other retail activities have a heavy concentration in the centre. The demand for commercial and civic areas is so great that the plans have been unable to keep pace with the market with any degree of physical or environmental success.

9.4 Modern City Structure and Activities

Particularly since the 20th century, as the main regional administrative centre, the city consequently attracts a large number of migrants from other cities and provinces. This in turn creates traffic congestion and transportation problems from nearby cities by increasing the temporary population of the city and service requirements. These have helped to modify the city’s appearance, and have compelled physical changes. The city has developed around the town centre horizontally, and the small villages close to the city became part of the urban areas gradually. The newly developed areas, which were largely formed after the 1940s, demonstrated the need for master and development plans for cities which were facing faster changes (Pakdaman, 2000). In order to study the process of development of the city, and the process of using the master and development plans, the same division of the areas as in the master plan has been used.

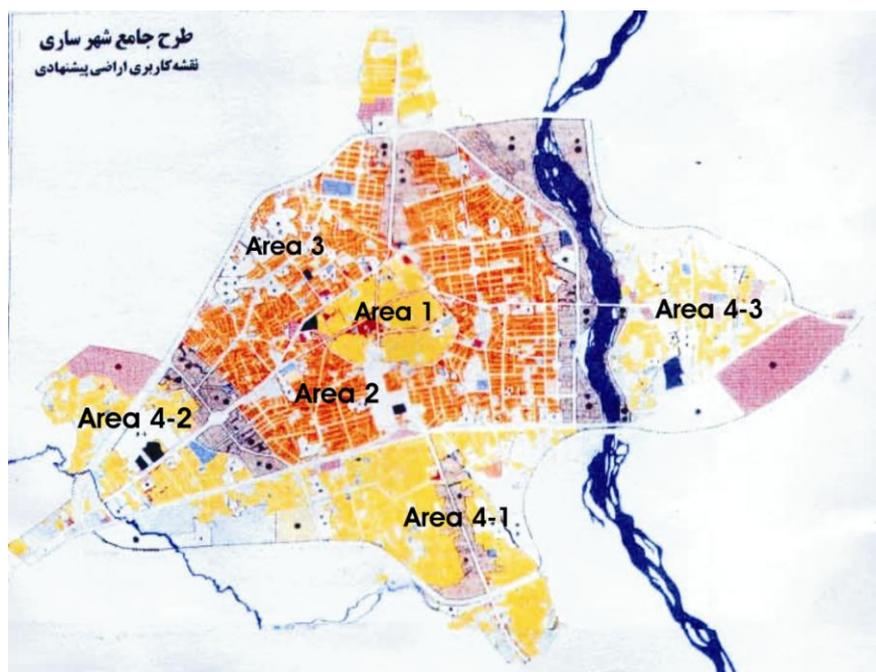
1. *Historic fabric*: This area, as the initial core of the city, is about 134 hectares and has a population of 15,000 (MHUD, 1995). It includes the present bazaar, the Grand Mosque, the old residential areas and administrative offices.

2. *Middle area*: This is located between the historic core and the outer areas consisting of middle- and high-density areas. It covers about 1,000 hectares (ibid).

3. *Problematic area*: Those neighbourhoods which have low density with many anti-social and drug crises are located within the middle of the old city.

4. *Outer fabric*: the area is divided into three sub-categories:
 - Area 1, covering Rahband and the southern parts of the city with more than 50,000 population, attracting a large number of low-income migrants (*ibid*);
 - Area 2, which takes in the western part of the city and contains residential, commercial and government office buildings;
 - Area 3, embracing the Tegen River, parts of attached villages and residential areas occupied by migrants from the east. Some of the important features of this area are city's only graveyard, the university and schools.

Map 9–3 will clarify the locations. Whilst the city's economy is active in the administrative and service sector, the housing market plays a vital role in the economic prosperity of Sari City Council. In response to the high housing demand, three forms of builders work actively across the city, providing properties for themselves or for purchase:



Map 9-3: Sari Master Plan: proposed land-use plan (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1995, p.104)

1. Most housing construction is in the form of self-build. People usually buy plots (whether legally divided or not) to build affordable houses for themselves. This generally happens in suburban areas in one- or two-storey buildings. It is easy to obtain the ownership document from the Land Registry. In the event of building a house, utility companies provide their services to the building without requiring any specific documents from the municipality regarding the legal status of the building. Generally, individuals have the autonomy to buy small plots of land which are smaller than the proposed size in the comprehensive plan. The controlling power of the council over new and illegal settlements – based on council regulations – is not strong enough to prevent people from building. The only tool remaining in the hands of the council is to ask for the Clause 100 Committee⁷ to decide on the legality of the building. The result, in the majority of such cases, is a small fine. Although the council

⁷ Indicated in the Municipality Law, the Clause 100 Committee is a powerful committee, consisting of three representatives from the city council, the provincial office of MOI and the judicial system, who make decisions on complaints received from either the city council or the public regarding any changes to planning permission.

can serve a demolition notice, appeals against demolition are often successful if taken to the High Court.

2. The second group who produce housing are individuals or partnerships. They mainly build for sale and profit. This group usually follows all the legal procedures for gaining permission. However, in order to generate more profit, they hardly ever obey the building density regulations. Indeed, the fine that they pay to “buy” density is a common form of income for the city council and has always been a subject of criticism.

3. The third active housing development group are non-profit housing cooperatives (Madanipour, 1998). Their powerful relationship with, and influence on, key local authorities, assists them to buy greenfield sites, even if they are not for residential use. They then apply to change the land use to residential. They are the most powerful factor in possessing large plots of land in the city, whether through purchase or another form of occupancy.

Following the construction of new developments, there is a need for the provision of public services such as schools, parks and other infrastructure. However, obtaining land to provide the public with initial services is costly for the council, unless the original land is purchased by one of the government authorities or set aside legally by the council. At present, the greatest source of income for the council is the housing industry. This works in various ways:

- Engineering consultancies and chartered engineers, working within the industry, make contracts with the owner/s and cannot avoid the council’s administration process. They must send their designated plans to the city council for final approval, which is subject to a planning permission fee.
- Small or large enterprises, which produce or supply materials to the market, have to pay business rates to the council.

- Bank facilities and mortgages allow people to own property, investors to use and expand their businesses and consequently the council to obtain income from housing industry-related activities.

The more the property market is active, the more benefit it can bring to the municipality, as a large amount of the municipality's income is related to planning permissions. Also relevant are charges that may apply to any alteration to the original plan. Fluctuating inflation brings an element of uncertainty to market dynamics and has an impact on the survival of the council. As the government has considered agriculture to be the main industry of the region, Sari City Council cannot benefit from a regional tax levied on local industrial firms, which could substantially assist in the city's finance. Recently, ICHTO has highlighted the tourist potential of the region and spotted a couple of locations around the city for investment in the region's environmental quality and jobs. The natural landscape attracts large numbers of tourists annually, helping to support urban economic activities. However, the city lacks a tourism infrastructure, leading to instability in the development of tourism as an income stream.

9.5 Forms of Development Plans

Urban development plans in Iran are prepared within the two frameworks of "*Type*" and "*Non-type*", based on MPO's regulations. "*Type*" means using common guidelines in all locations to address issues and provide solutions. It consists of a wide range of plans including the master, regional, comprehensive and even detail plans. The municipality is the body responsible for these plans. "*Non-type*" means according to individual local specifications: the strategy and initiatives vary. Most of the regeneration plans or old area comprehensive plans fit into this category, which gives the planners more flexibility and choice in terms of collecting data, seeking public or other authorities involvement, or using private sector investment. The plan for the historic core of Sari is a "*non-type*" plan. Within this category, for historic and conservation areas, a higher level of

detail is needed by the planning authority from the consultant. The “*non-type*” framework should be approved by the Office of Consultants’ and Contractors’ Affairs of MPO (Pakdaman, 2001). The process of planning, in the form of either comprehensive or regeneration planning in general, is shown in Figure 9–1 and is subject to minor alterations and adaptations for different cities. As the figure indicates, the consultants have to collect some data about the population, housing conditions, density, available services and so on. In respect to the objectives of the plans, both the consultants and the council have to provide some details about the building density, roads and networks, land-use and other physical aspects of urban development. Both comprehensive and regeneration plans implement similar frameworks, although their focus is different, whilst consultants involved in development plans have more flexibility and options, and with regeneration plans they have to consider other local authorities’ influences, for example ICHTO regulations for historic buildings (Mazand Tarh, 2008).

Development plans (master and comprehensive) are organised according to MPO’s charter, which provides the council with the guidelines. This is in accordance with the economic and political circumstances of the government. However, for regeneration plans of inner-city areas, the criteria and guidelines are proposed by consultants and are then sent to the MHUD specialist committee.

This puts some limitation on the extent and diversity of ideas. Usually, the urban development plans are prepared by private chartered consultants in contract with HUDO central office, or recently by the municipality. Despite government recommendations regarding the transfer of power to local government, all the plans must still be passed at a provincial committee level and then be sent to the central government office. To understand the decision-making structure at a local level, it is important to distinguish between two key issues: the scope of decision-making of local government, and the nature of supervision during the plan preparation period (Tajbakhsh, 2003a). Regular meetings are held by the municipality, encompassing representatives from other local agencies such as the city council, the provincial governor, ICHTO, the Islamic Culture and Directives Office and the consultancy, in order to exchange information and ideas. The

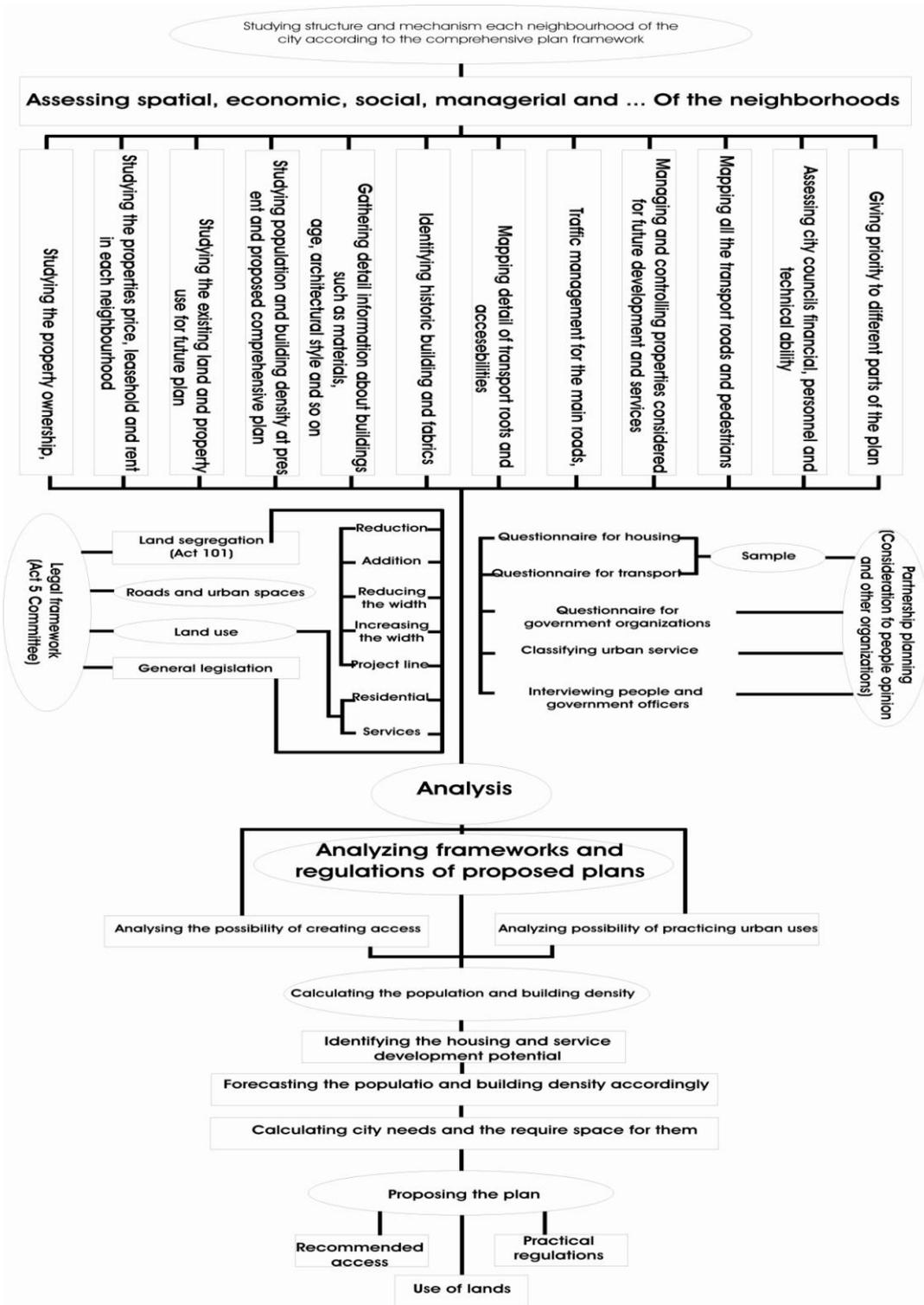


Figure 9-1: Process of planning

important point is that, for Sari, like other cities, central and local government are the main bodies responsible for providing regeneration plans, and local people are neither aware of any of these activities nor involved in them. Commonly, at

the early stages of collecting information and performing studies, the residents might be contacted for data collection purposes, but throughout most of the process, residents play a minor role.

9.5.1 Sari City Master Plans

“Community decision-making in relation to funding decisions and priority setting is now accepted as an essential principle for achieving sustainable regeneration.” (Murdoch, 2005, p.440). However, there remain critical questions about reliability, structure and forces in relation to the community involvement in regeneration (*ibid*). In order to face the urban changes of the Mazandaran province in general, and Sari in particular, there are similarities to the methods that other cities use in their development plans. As the overall urban development and regeneration framework for every city is similar, the selected method of urban development would resemble others. Unfortunately, what has predominantly been forgotten is the specific context of each city, its traditional architecture and its economic situation, which are certainly different in different cities. This part of the research aims to study and analyse the failure of Sari’s development plans.

The history of Sari’s urban development plans goes back to the 1970s, when cities in the province started producing their master plans alongside other major cities in the country. The first Sari master plan was prepared in 1976 and took six years to be approved (Pakdaman, 2001). However, it started to be implemented from 1979. The master plan proposed regulations for partitioning land, new road layouts for future development, and building regulations. However, despite new legislation regarding housing, land-use and planning permission, the direction of actual urban development and construction projects was not in accordance with the plan. The discourse for framing the issues has been around housing density, roads, connectivity and allocation of land for services.

1976	First Master Plan
1985	First Comprehensive Plan
1995	Second Master Plan
2000	Second Comprehensive Plan
2002	City Centre Comprehensive Plan

Table 9-3: The chronology of the evolution of Sari's planning

The direction of urban development is derived from following the single (non-integrated) approach in urban planning,

conducted by local authority officers in planning committees. Their knowledge resources are limited to rigid planning legislation that has not been changed for years. The spread of this trend was faster after the revolution, which reduced the municipalities' power, their financial autonomy, and their influence on other local agencies. The reduction of the council's autonomy on the city's social, economic or even physical affairs was accompanied by bringing a diversity of interest to the city development trend, not as a stakeholder in collaboration with the city council, but as a motor to speed up the control of irregularities in urban management. In practice, each organisation follows certain regulations valid for that authority, and in many examples opposes the development plan's objectives. This, in fact, creates conflicts over urban development priorities and makes networks of governance vulnerable. At the national level, also, the weakness of planning coalition worsens the situation. The first FYDP, which formulated the general strategic policy for economic activity for each part of the country, considered Mazandaran an agricultural zone as there was no adequate industrial infrastructure. This has led to a series of economic problems for the city and its outskirts.

The networks of relation in the centre of urban planning governance are created around the city council, municipality, HUDO and the provincial governor's office. The bureaucratic relations between the members only exist for planning purposes. Making connections with authorities at a local level is usually project-based and does not follow a regular pattern. The managerial role at a city level has always been subject to criticism by other authorities; however, these authorities only attend the plan preparation stage and do not feel responsible for

it. For instance, the overall outcome of putting the second master plan into practice was a dramatic increase in residential and commercial land, and uncertainty over those areas which were considered for the other public uses (Pakdaman, 2001). Unfortunately the city developed quite differently from the proposed plan and the percentage of the plan's achievement was low.

9.5.2 Sari Old Area Comprehensive Plan

According to the Old Area Comprehensive Plan studies (prepared by Abr Dash Consultants), Sari's city centre and the residential areas adjacent to it still have the capacity to absorb new ideas and be an example of good regeneration experience for the country. This is due to:

- The available mixture of greenfield and brownfield sites in the area;
- A large amount of valuable old urban fabric, which survived modern development;
- Being the centre of economic, administrative, service, education and cultural activities;
- Being a valuable point for investment;
- Being at the centre of attention for many local authorities.

The context of the neighbourhood is not compact, like cities in warmer environments, and is tailored for the rainy, wet weather of the north. These are the main shortcomings in the historic city centre:

- Inadequacy of accessibility for pedestrians and motorists;
- Lack of local and city-wide public services;
- Lack of parks and green spaces;
- Un-repaired and vacant old buildings;
- Lack of attractions and urban cityscape.

The bazaar and the centres of social interaction alongside the roads also give an identity to the city. Apart from the area around the Grand Mosque, pedestrians are the major users of the paths in Imamzade Yahya or Bazaar Nargesieh. The Clock Tower (Picture 9–4), in the middle of a mini-roundabout at the heart of the city centre, has given an identity to Sari and typically represents it. The town centre regeneration plan (2002–2012) has the following objectives (Abr Dasht Consultant Engineers, 2002):

- The development and regeneration of the historic city centre;
- Preservation of major attractions and historic buildings;
- Maintenance and development of urban facilities and services for modern urban living;
- Facilitating easy access to the city centre and securing pedestrian priority;
- Preparing the groundwork for private sector participation and investment in urban development and regeneration projects.



Picture 9–4: The Clock Tower, Sari city centre (Author, 2002)

The Old Area Comprehensive Plan’s study (2002) mentions past government intervention, the new roads imposed by the plan, and the style and

use of many new buildings, which did not portray the traditional architectural style of the city. However, it is not clear under whose management and budget, and with what local influence and stakeholder consultation, the plan can justify its legitimacy and proposed changes. In other words, the practicality of social, cultural or traditional ideas is uncertain. Many existing buildings that could not meet the requirements of today's lifestyle were left vacant and abandoned, and this fuelled the process of dilapidation of the inner-city area. As the demand for living in the area decreased and commercial activities alongside the main roads became more popular, a large number of buildings were left unoccupied, and this caused a big gap between the value of properties within this area and in the rest of the city.

There is a slight difference between the housing regulations in the old area and the rest of the city. The plan has suggested a more traditional style of architecture for buildings and has tried to keep the road patterns unchanged. However, differences in the housing regulations in this area, compared with the rest of the city, have reduced private investment. This, for instance, is due to differences in the administrative procedures for obtaining planning permission, use of materials, density and so on. The connections and integration of the old areas has basically been cut by the busy roads around it, and the development of multi-storey buildings on the edge of the roads has even restricted the view. Although the present locations of some of the main roads are on the old defensive walls and canals of the historic city, nothing of the old city walls or gates has remained (except the name), and there is no plan to preserve them for future generations (CPOPS, 2002). The way this plan is conducted – many aspects of society, such as economic, social and environmental considerations are missing – means the plan will not result in an integrated development.

9.6 Institutional Capacity in Sari's Development and Regeneration Process

This leads us to the next stage in this study in which the focus will be on governance, and it will analyse the dimensions of institutional capacity building. It will be discussed in three dimensions of knowledge resources, relational resources and mobilisation capacity. In this way both case studies will be comparable which makes lesson learning and recommendations in the final chapter more accurate.

In this analysis two main sources of information will be used: firstly, a detailed analysis of the development plans themselves and the guidelines and processes, and both the master plans for the city and the comprehensive plan for the old city centre; and secondly, the results from the surveys of stakeholders carried out by the author.

The surveys carried out by the author are used in the analysis in the following sections of this chapter. Three types of questionnaire were prepared (Appendices 1, 6 and 7) to cover three types of actors in the planning process of the city, which are:

1. The local government authorities including the municipality, city council, HUDO etc.;
2. The private consultants who worked on the master and old area comprehensive plan;
3. Residents of the old area.

Rather than setting out the results of these surveys in turn, the results of the questionnaire and interviews are organised within the categories of institutional capacity building (Table 2–2). This helps to give direction to the discussion and creates a comparable context for the research against the Manchester case. The results of the questionnaire survey of the public are used mostly in the section on knowledge resources. There is also some information

from the interviews with key actors in the knowledge resources section, but this forms a larger part of the discussion in the relational resources and mobilisation resources sections of this chapter.

9.7 Knowledge Resources

9.7.1 Knowledge Resources in City Master Plans

The knowledge resources used in the master plans are limited to the HUDO guideline. It is systematic and rigid in what the relevant data is, how it has to be collected, and how it has to be analysed. The consultant, the city council, HUDO and the municipality, all of whom are actively involved in shaping the plans, work on information about population growth, employment pattern and land-use. The range of knowledge used for plan proposal is very limited, and so is the variety of the issues mentioned in the plans.

As discussed previously, in order to accommodate the increasing population of the city, and provide them with adequate services, the plans are based on population trajectory, which results in building density for residential and commercial use; however, a conception of the area is not taken into account.

Master plans of Sari were both based on population forecast which framed the issues on this single resource. The 1976 and 1985 plans anticipated the city's population growth, as shown in Table 9–4, as the basis of further planning. Unfortunately none of them predicted it correctly, and made their decisions on the wrong

Table 9–4: Calculation of Sari's population according to the First Master Plan (Amco Consultants, 1976)

Year	Population Calculation	Birth Rate
1971	59500	-
1976	75300	4.8
1981	94000	4.7
1986	117000	4.6

basis. According to the population censuses of 1966, 1976, 1986 and 1996, Sari's population was not even close to the master plans' calculations.

**Table 9-5: Population growth based on the country's censuses
 (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1995, p.35)**

<i>Year</i>	<i>1966</i>	<i>1976</i>	<i>1986</i>	<i>1996</i>
Population	45,488	73,040	141,020	199,450
Growth percentage	1.68	1.61	1.93	1.48

Therefore, the absence of an accurate population prediction affected all aspects of the plans. Their calculations came from the rate of the previous year's population growth, and did not consider other issues such as social and economic changes. The initial impact of the false prediction of population growth was on building density and planning permission. According to the 1976 plan, the population density was 69 head per hectare, and would increase to 88.5 head per hectare by 1986 (Amco Consultants, 1976). However, in practice this density differed from the plans' expectations. In 1976, the city's density was around 102 head per hectare and in 1981 it rose to 110 head per hectare, which is well above what the first plan foresaw (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1995). This meant that the city largely expanded horizontally. The expansion of the city beyond its proposed boundaries sat off the alarm for local authorities to be more careful with their proposals. However, this did not have any effect on the real problem: the failure to involve local people's knowledge and stakeholders' opinions within the future planning process. This, indeed, created a trend of self-regulated building activity in and around the city, partly following the plan's regulations and partly setting a series of rules to suit local social, economic and cultural interests. Large numbers of low-income migrants who had never actually been consulted, or involved, in the decision-making process unintentionally settled in the southern part of the city. Having to legally accommodate this population, the plans provided the regulations and zoning for building density.

Building density was the main element in the development plans. It is the basis for building planning permission and has been defined as low, middle or high density. Each category of density is available in some parts of the city and works successfully within certain frameworks. As the basis of knowledge is on a few factors and there is no capacity to absorb new ideas, planning organisations

proposed some limiting factors in the first comprehensive plan on directing housing development. Imposing these regulations could not prevent the uncontrollable expansion of the city and illegal settlements, and subsequently in the second master plan, the consultancy, with the recommendation of HUDO, implemented another method, which was the encouragement of multi-storey buildings.

Table 9–6: Details of permitted building density in different areas of the city (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1995, p.134)

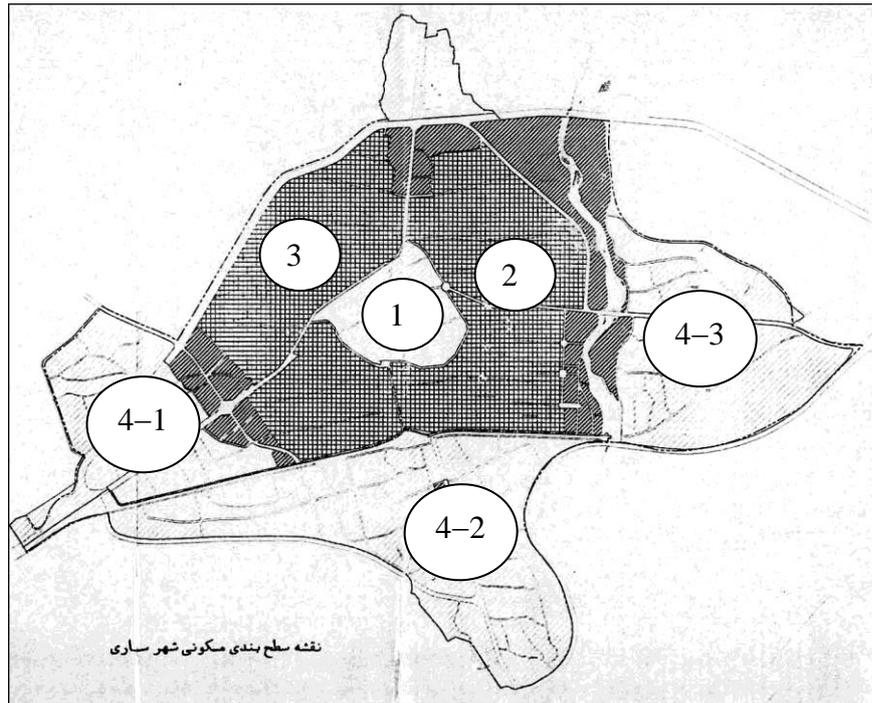
		MINIMUM PLOT SIZE (m ²)	BUILT AREA	DENSITY	NO. OF STOREYS	RECOMMENDATIONS
Level 1	1-1	180	45%	70%	1	Can be up to two stories and two dwellings
	1-2	300	50%	80%	2	
	1-3	400	50%	100%	3	
Level 2	2-1	180-250	50%-55%	100%	2	Should be next to a road with 10m width or over
	2-2	400	45%-50%	120%	3	
	2-3	500	40%-50%	140%	4	
Level 3	3-1	600	35%-40%	200%	Unlimited	Should be next to a road with 14m width or over
	3-2	800	30%-35%	240%		
	3-3	1200	25%-30%	240%		
	3-4	1600	20%-25%	260%		
	3-5	2000	15%-20%	280%		

In the second master plan, the local government introduced vertical expansion of the city to prevent horizontal development, which could undermine the agricultural land and greenfield sites of the inner-city area. The three-tier density pattern was set. The north and south of the city allowed for one family per plot, whilst high-density construction was concentrated on the quayside and the western part of the city. However, it is worth mentioning that the lack of

enough local information and study about the social and urban pattern of the city led to a wider gap between theory and social tendency. The pattern of development often varied from what the plan proposed. The quality of knowledge resources has always been a point of deficiency when it comes to public consultation matters. Discourses are limited to formal discussions amongst planning authorities. Due to the lack of diversity in discussions, they are not creative or learning dialogue (see Table 2–3). Having a framework imposed by central government does not even make the context of planning committees discourses integrated.

In zone 4–1, for instance (see Map 9–4 below), lack of financial affordability and the cultural background of migrants from the villages are some of the driving forces of the failure of the plan; whilst in zone 2, four-storey building construction became the general feature of new development. The minimum land-plot requirement has never been implemented and the percentage of the built-up area of each plot is always more than permitted. Both, building density and land-plot size are examples of HUDO regulations at a national level that are used in Sari's development plan. Lack of local knowledge in these occasions has had negative consequences in city spatial structure. In other words, proposing such a policy did not only solve the city's housing development problem, but it added another sphere of disorders to it. Two specific neighbourhoods within Zone 4-1, Gipsy Maleh⁸ and Turkish Maleh, are the poorest neighbourhoods within the heart of the city, due to their very poor housing conditions. These two neighbourhoods suffer from physical deficiency as well as social and economic deprivation. High levels of drugs and unemployment, low educational achievements and anti-social behaviour are amongst some of the existing problems of the above areas.

⁸ In a radical move, Gipsy Maleh was recently (2004) demolished and replaced by a park and library.



Map 9-4: Residential density map of Sari, Sari Master Plan (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1995)

Disconnection between stakeholders' knowledge and those who produce the plan has created a trend of urban development led by residents and local businesses. These invisible architects of the city, who could be a part of the plan discourse, are ignored completely. Unfortunately the city's development plan is not tailored to deal with local issues, or the cultural or economic necessity of each neighbourhood, which makes it less flexible and accurate. The responsible consultants (Tarh and Amayesh) were not familiar with local issues and only used the framework provided for them. The guideline does not recommend an integrated approach for gathering the initial knowledge resources of the plans. A physical insight into the city's issues has had both a partial and sectoral effect on the pattern of city development.

The assessment of the second master plan, on the basis of 1995 information, reached far in excess of the target in some cases, such as commercial units, which is well above the initial vision. This difference was partly created by different definitions of land-use in the first and second master plans. In terms of the distribution of services within different areas it was also

unbalanced. As the Table 9-6 indicates leisure or green spaces, for instance, never achieved their goal.

Making decisions for the city's development is the common aim that brings the city's main authorities together to have a collaborative dialogue. This dialogue traditionally results in single loop learning, which provides an action strategy which is only valid for the municipality. However, lack of a full and inclusive reciprocity dialogue between the general public and local government makes even the basic prediction invalid. In terms of growth and density, based on the information presented in the first master plan of the city in 1976, Sari was 988 hectares in area, and it was foreseen that the city area would reach 1322 hectares by 1986. However, in 1986, the total urban area was 1836 hectares, indicating the uncontrollable growth of the city (Pakdaman, 2000, p.113). The plan expected certain directions of urban development, which was mainly around the centre and along the main northern, eastern, southern and western roads. The plan tried to achieve development in all four directions horizontally. Despite the theoretical framework, as a result of high levels of migration, the city had 500 hectares more development than the plan proposed, most of which was illegal (see Table 9-6 below).

Table 9–7: The Second Sari Master Plan’s proposed per capita and percentage of achievement (Tarh and Amayesh Consultants, 1995; in Pakdaman, 2000, p.103)

Use	First five-year achievement (1976–1981)		
	Area (hectares)	Area (hectares)	Percentage
Residential	1086.6	1034.8	95
Educational	84.55	30.23	35.75
Commercial	56.13	30.86	54.7
Official	52.032	60.50	80.5
Leisure	75.16	4.25	5.65
Health/sanitary	56.74	16.29	28.6
Cultural	28.18	8.16	29
Religious	10.15	9.603	94.6
Tourism	15.14	2.56	1.68
Infrastructure	20.29	16.85	83
Units	10.19	54.36	533
Military	24.21	14.78	61
Transportation	61.25	28.6	46.6
Pathways	704.6	431.80	46.3
Green space	226.33	4.32	1.9
Total urban per capita	1878	1760.23	-
Urban Area	2764.50	2763.48	-

According to Pakdaman (2000), these are some of the most important urban planning problems:

- Proposed use of land in the master plans of the cities in Mazandaran often has not been implemented and in some cases has been unfinished.
- Tarmacked roads and pedestrian routes have not, to some extent, been in accordance with the master plan’s suggestions.

- The plan's economic, social and population prediction is a long way from reality.
- The existing legislation and regulations cause unbalanced growth.
- Crises in the mechanism of the country's urban development, and the inequitable vision of urban issues, have led to impenetrability of the decisions.
- The proposed density for buildings has grounded inequality and social exclusion in the patterns of development in the cities (p.26, 27).

Within the plans themselves, a demographic-based land-use policy and the absence of local consultation and public participation has resulted in failure to reach goals. Failure of the plans in delivering sensitive and locally-driven recommendation and target settings, originates from its deficiency in gathering reliable local information and engagement of local authorities.

Three main areas which affected the level of master plan achievements were:

- Land-use planning and the purely mathematically calculated building density-based plan led to spatial disorder in many areas of the city, without adequate public services;
- Lack of connection and cooperation amongst service provider authorities and planning consultants undermined the rights of landlords, whose land was subject to some of the non-profitable usages, such as green spaces or schools;
- Non-existence of a socio-economic vision within the planning process, and implementation of a similar prescription for all cities, which undermines cultural values, local traditions and general public interest.

Deficiency of diversity in the plan preparation stage makes the plans ineffective and incapable of serving the city adequately. The scenario is similar for the Old Area Comprehensive Plan. The following section will give more details.

9.7.2 Knowledge Resources in the Old Area Comprehensive Plan

Sari has been one of those few cities which enjoy having two separate urban development plans; one master and detail plan for all parts of the city except the city centre, and one comprehensive plan for the city centre area. The range of resources and tactics used for this plan is quite similar to other sorts of plans. However, the city centre comprehensive plan, approved in 2002, focused mainly on the environmental quality and detailed development framework. The plan contained information ranging from identifying the existing situation to analysing the data (Appendix 4; CPOPS, 2002).

A quick look at the framework and mechanism of preparing the city centre comprehensive plan for Sari (Appendix 5) will give a clear idea about the differences of the two sorts of plans.

The main difference between this plan and the common city master plans is the way in which information is gathered, and the way in which the plan is prepared. Interestingly, there is a section in the old area's comprehensive framework mentioning the possibility of using the private sector and citizens' involvement within the plan's area. Whilst government agencies are the main provider of knowledge resources, the framework has encouraged creating new relations and partnership with the private sector. However, only the financial participation of physical regeneration has been highlighted. Local residents are not inclusively invited to give their view on the built environment. Consequently, people are often against the proposed plan and physical changes. The frames of discussion in the relevant meetings by committee members, which shape the conceptions of issues and opportunities, are dominated by a single approach in theory and in practice. The tendency towards having a mainly physical approach to the plan is due to the lack of a diversity of interests involved, especially from public and private sector interests. The top-down process is illustrated in Figure 9-2.

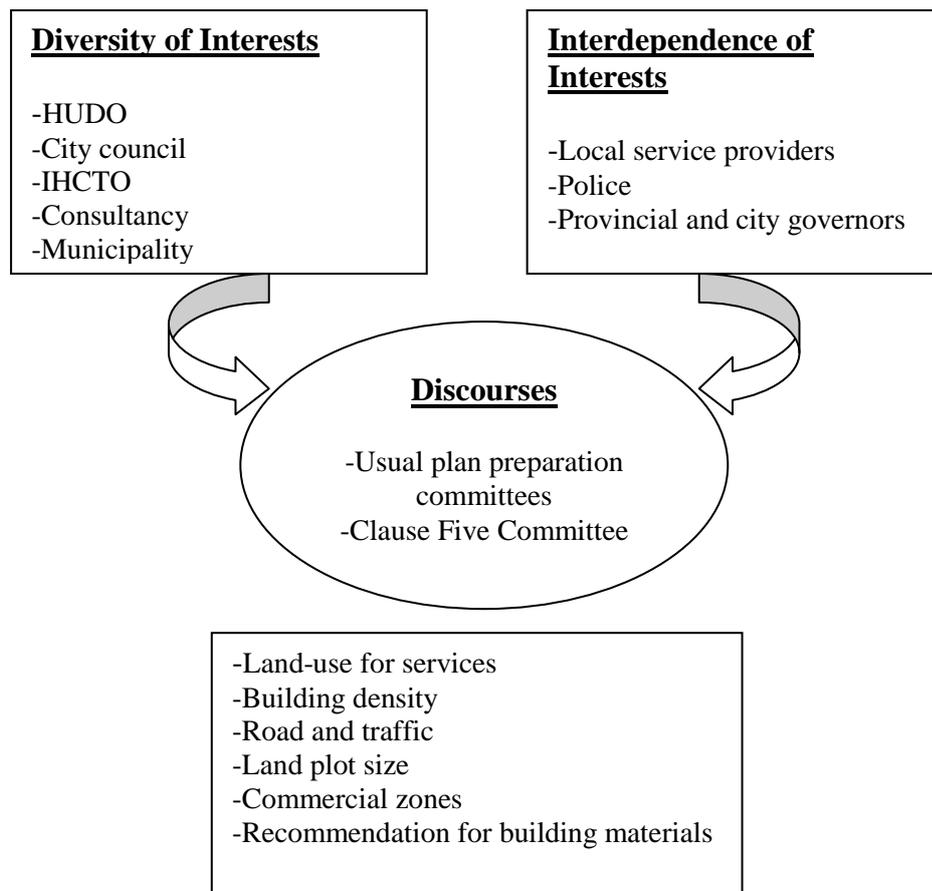


Figure 9–2: Network of dynamic in the Iranian planning process

This power is even more limited when the discussion is about plans for the old fabric of the city. The relations between members and the potential for mobilisation resources will be discussed in the next section, but in terms of policy development, the quality of knowledge resources used for the plan does not benefit from collaborative dialogue, and includes some pure quantitative data without any communicative rationality. Generally speaking, the plan is based on census information, the causes of residents’ movement in and out, and the distribution of the population within the area (CPOPS, 2002).

According to Table 9–8 the population of the old city has risen, but not as much as the rest of the city.

**Table 9–8: Sari’s old city population in comparison with the rest of the city
(CPOPS, 2002, p.43)**

Year	Sari’s population	Old City’s population	Growth rate of whole city	Growth rate of Old City
1974	126,314	1,346	-	-
1981	167,000	12,924	4.11	0.8
1986	195,882	13,393	3.24	0.72
1990	223,046	14,440	3.29	1.89

The plan also employed a detailed study of the population structure of the area concerned, which could draw a picture of who lived in the area and their status. This may help future decision-making and urban programmes. In 1986, around 13,393 people lived in the old city, in 3,498 families (*ibid*). This meant the average household size was 3.83, much less than the average of the whole city. This number could indicate several things, such as old or very young households with fewer children, or a smaller dwelling size. In a separate study, Abr Dasht gathered details of residents by age group, which could show how the pattern of the population changed, and it could also be used in future social and economic regeneration (Table 9–9). A simple mathematical calculation shows that although the majority of people are in the middle age group, their number has decreased over the years.

Table 9–9: The population age group within the Old Area (CPOPS, 2002, p.49)

Area	Age group	Males	Females	Total
1	0-6	325	345	670
2	6-15	1249	1003	2252
3	15-25	1940	2199	4139
4	25-40	1255	1456	4139
5	40-60	1458	1470	2928
6	60+	947	813	1760
Total		7294	7166	14460

According to the information gathered, the city centre has a greater residential land use than any other part of the city, with 70.4%. In second place is commercial and mixed usage with 18%. Table 9–10 is based on the 3,100 registered land plots within the old area.

Table 9–10: Use of buildings in the old fabric of the city (CPOPS, 2002, p.35)

Use	Residential	Commercial	Service	Religious	Education
Number of land plots	2,185	356	54	30	42
Percent Use	70.4	11.5	1.7	1.00	1.4
Use	Office	Urban sanitary	Mixed	Others	Total
Number of land plots	31	12	202	188	3,100
Percent	1.00	0.4	6.5	6.1	100.00

The plan has divided the area into five neighbourhoods for a better understanding of the present situation in these areas (Map 9–5). The general development of the city has occurred in the form of a star from the heart of the city.



Key: Residential Commercial Education Service Religious

Map 9–5: Sari’s Old Area Comprehensive Plan (Abr Dasht Engineering Consultants, 2002, p.125)

CPOPS (2002) also includes a series of interesting data about employment and economic activities of the city centre area. The studies carried out by the consultants (2002) found out that in 1999, almost 31.15% of people in the city centre area were working, which was above the average of the whole city (25.2%) (CPOPS, 2002, p.55). This might be because the city centre is the centre of commercial, educational and social activities, which is within walking distance for city centre residents. However, this does not mean that most of the business owners come from this area, which is another point raised by CPOPS. Abr Dasht used Table 9–11 to predict and evaluate the cost of the compulsory purchase of projects.

Table 9–11: Property prices on some of the main roads of the city centre (CPOPS, 2002, p.54)

Name of Road	Official Price: toman	Market Price: toman
18 Day Street	15,000	1,500,000
Engelab Street	45,000	4,000,000
Farhang Street	35,000	3,500,000
Garan Street	42,000	4,000,000
Barg Way	20,000	2,000,000
Residential Areas	8,000	800,000

Land and property prices may be under the influence of many factors: the location of the property; available infrastructure; proximity to services; decent public transport and accessibility; location in a more popular residential area; proximity to parks and general leisure activities nearby; and in case of Sari specifically, location in the area where there is permission to build at a higher density. However, the reputation and location of some neighbourhoods can compromise the above factors. The residential property and land price in the old area of Sari is on average much lower than in some other parts of the city, which is to a large extent due to restrictions in planning permission and other factors. However, this does not apply to commercial properties and conversely, because of the concentration of economic activities in this area, the price of these properties is much higher than in any other area of the city, especially on the main roads. A quick review of property ownership in the area will also be helpful for any regeneration or conservation plan. According to the information gathered,

most of the people in the area are homeowners and only a small proportion of them (21%) are tenants (CPOPS, 2002, p.69).

The comprehensive plan considers that it is crucial to study each building separately, including its social background and its possible use for the present day, which may conserve it and make it suitable for today's lifestyle. According to Abr Dasht (2002, p.104), the decline of this area is the result of:

- urban development: disconnection of the old area from the newly-built urban spaces and buildings, which has left the city centre alienated;
- economic activities: weakness of traditional markets and products, in competition with modern and mass production;
- social issues: changes in neighbourhoods' relationship, cultural activities and lifestyle;
- change of use: replacement of the traditional market with new ways of commerce and marketing, turning the buildings into storage and other insignificant uses;
- connectivity deprivation: between people in their social interactions and between the roads and transportation of the vicinity and wider urban area;
- urban spatial: destruction of the urban fabric, widening pedestrian pathways for car use, utilising different building materials with no means of harmonising them, partitioning building plots which were relics of the old urban pattern;
- physical dilapidation of building structures.

Identifying all of these causes will help the planner and local authorities to resolve the problems. In the plan, the conservation approach suggested restoring the urban fabric, refurbishing houses, regenerating the urban environment and protecting the physical features of the area. The approaches that were actually carried out included: conserving historic buildings and monuments, revitalising the area by encouraging people to move in, and promoting the standard of living for existing residents.

Although the plan identified social, economic and physical issues as part of initial study, it was never reflected in the regeneration framework. It employed the same framework as the other plans used by the council, but in a more sensitive manner. The plan criticised previous policies of strict conservation rules, which discouraged residents as well as investors from enhancing the area and left the neighbourhood fearful to make any changes (CPOPS, 2002). The plan considered that historic values should be safeguarded whilst the area should live freely and welcome newcomers to live and work. The plan's goals were to:

- identify valuable buildings and old contexts, their sustainable origins and relationships with each other and the surrounding environment;
- find them a decent use for today's needs, by utilising legal tools and support;
- make physical and environmental links between the old and new parts of the city;
- pay special attention to the cultural and social issues of the area;
- work closely with relevant local authorities to apply the plan;
- use private sector potential as an option in some projects;
- create a balance between the conservation of the area and the encouragement of investors to revitalise it;
- improve housing conditions of existing and newly developed buildings, according to the national housing policy.

Suggesting improvements based upon the above to diversify knowledge resources indicates, in theory, a need for change in traditional planning practices. However, questions remain over their practicality (as they are derived from the existing bureaucratic relations between government agencies and the community), over their consensus on prioritising the above aspects, and whether they are the best method to mobilise the government and citizens.

9.7.3 Stakeholder Knowledge Resources

Stakeholder knowledge resources were investigated in a questionnaire by the researcher (Appendix 1), and the results show how people think about planning authorities and the planning process, what they expect and where they stand. This has raised serious questions about the validity of decisions, local authorities' ability to control urban activities and to help city development and regeneration to go through the hardest time of transformation and expansion. The history of urban regeneration in Sari, and its connection with the community, is young and complex. Regeneration initiatives today emphasise the importance of community involvement. Earlier urban policies and initiatives which displaced the population of the old areas of the inner city are suggested to be replaced by more sensitive interventions. The relationship between the government and the stakeholders is the structure of governance, and the survey carried out by the researcher tries to find out how this relationship works.

The questionnaire starts with the very important but simple question of public knowledge of the plans' existence. When they were asked about their general knowledge on the existence of any master or comprehensive plan in the city, the majority of the respondents (79%) had no idea about these. When a large number of people do not know what the master or comprehensive plan is, then obviously the extent of using their knowledge and having democratic discourses will be very limited. Extending local knowledge is a two-way matter: one is the information and stakeholder's opinion and experience, which is needed by planning authorities to be used in the plan, and the second is the public's understanding about the nature and role of the development plan. The answer to this question indicates how unfamiliar the plan is to people.

Question 2 asked about people's interest in attending meetings and communicating with planning authorities for regeneration purposes. 61% of respondents answered "yes"; however, there were 39% of "not interested" responses. Participants' interest in reading and responding to information, or surveys concerning regeneration issues, also supported the above answers. This

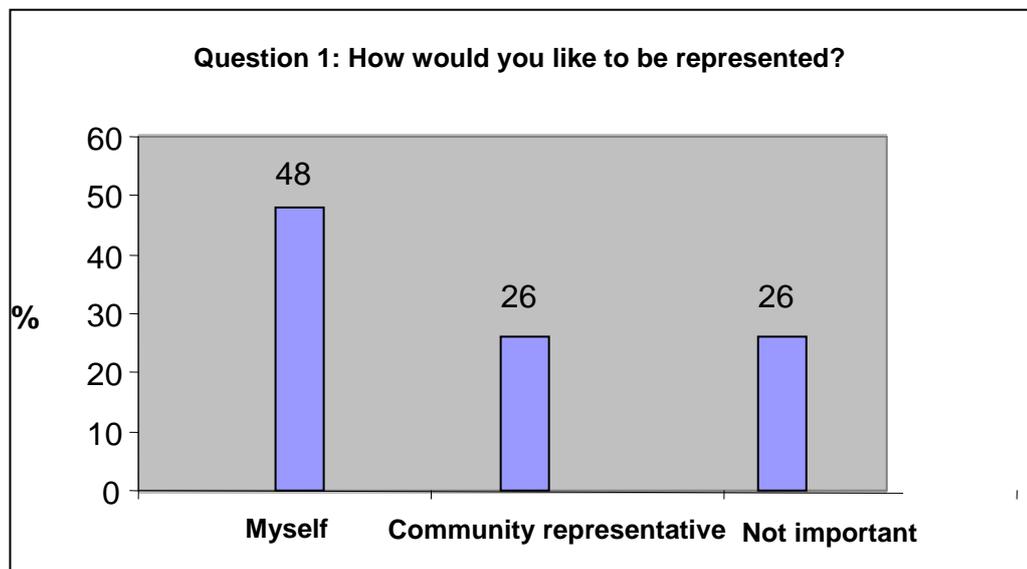
shows although there might be a lack of adequate communication and dialogue between government agencies and residents, this is not the general public's intention.

Asking the survey participants to give an indication of the time they spoke to the local authorities, or the time they had been contacted by local authorities for planning purposes, revealed how alienated they are from urban affairs. Around half (49%) of the participants said they had never been in touch with the council, but also thought that they would not have any problem in doing so. If they had never been in contact with planning authorities, how could their experience and knowledge be counted or used as the basis of the development or regeneration plans? Is it because there is no urban activity, or that the plans are not based on local knowledge? The chapters 5 and 6 discussion shows that there is a governance system consisting of local, provincial and central authorities providing and implementing certain regulations in the name of the master or comprehensive plans. Therefore, the answer to these two important questions is the deficiency of real stakeholders' opinions and knowledge in these plans.

As regeneration activities are identified and prioritised by the consultants and central government framework, public satisfaction is not high, based on the answer to the questionnaire. This dissatisfaction is due to three main aspects: the regeneration plan is not a multi-dimensional plan and only emphasises physical development; the land-use plans or physical development plans are a formula used in the whole country, not specifically for Sari; and as the range of regeneration activities takes place, they do not meet public demand – therefore, people would not see them as satisfactory.

In the local authorities' opinion, "public participation means morally and practically to get involved with people in order to promote urban environment." (Interviewee 4, 2008). Therefore, those who engage with the public should know more than just the regulations and bureaucratic processes, and be able to look, listen, and generally communicate with society. Having the ability to build bridges and use public knowledge is almost impossible within the present

bureaucratic system. The capacity to absorb stakeholders' ideas involves a committee, a mechanism, and good relationships, which is not developed in the Iranian planning system. However, the answers to, for example, Question 13 (Appendix 1) reveal the absence of public consultation and involvement in the plan preparation process. The question seeks to understand whether people think their involvement in the planning process would make any difference or not. The answer was, as could be expected, "yes" (92%). However, the practical tool suggested by the respondents, based on the result of the question asking about their preferred method of connecting, was not the most democratic one. When they were asked about participation in the city council's meetings, the vast majority (76%) did not show any interest in attending such meetings. However, if they had a chance to be present at those meetings, they would like to represent themselves. This shows that individuals would take the opportunity to register their interest. The morphology of social relations with the existing network of governance is not an integrated approach. The following answer supports this.



Graph 9-1: Question 1 of research questionnaire, 2008

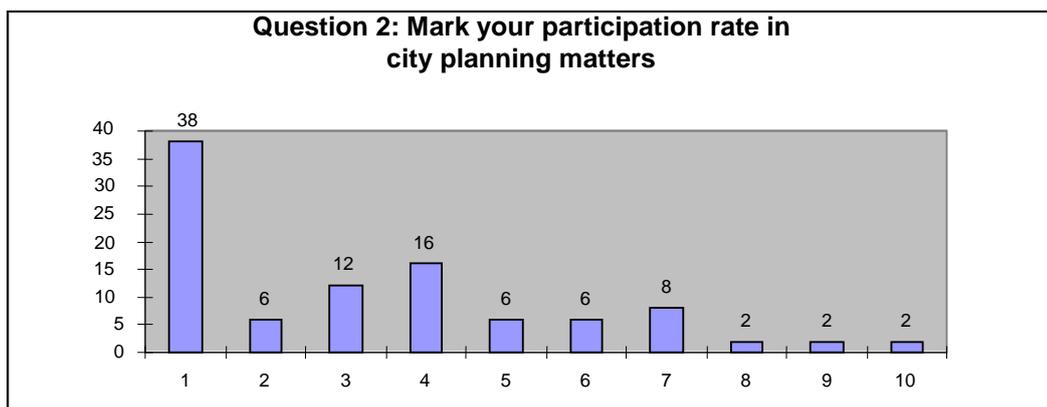
The indirect method of connection with relevant authorities would, for the most part, not be ideal for a local knowledge-based planning process. Except in a few projects, where the city council asked people to give their opinions and help, such as for the opening of the city's south ring road, generally speaking people are unaware of the existence of the plan and never get involved,

especially in the early stages. A variety of approaches were suggested to be used if the public are to get involved. Public exhibitions, posters, banners and billboards, community meetings, and any other method which is more applicable for a particular project are amongst the chosen options. However, this is not a common practical feature at the moment. Interestingly, all the interviewees thought that the main local authorities, including the municipality, the city council, the provincial governor, HUDO and the media, play key roles in working with the public.

Although central government has obliged municipalities, HUDO, and their sub-organisations to make use of public opinion in city planning, it has not made clear how this should be carried out, nor whether there would be any evaluation of the process at all. This idea of public participation in society might be an old one in political or religious activities, but it is new in social and city management matters. The recent recognition of the importance of residents' involvement in decision-making needs backing in law and a practical mechanism. The second group of interviewees, who were planning consultants, also highlighted this point.

The answers to the questions emphasised the fact that the public has no place whatsoever in the planning process. In theory, and in the academic environment, planners are recommended to engage with the public when they formulate a plan, but in practice, legally, they do not give any opportunity to the residents of the project area to become involved. On some occasions, for example the Sari Old Area comprehensive plan (Abr Dasht Consultant Engineers, 2002) or the Khayam Street Project (Mazand Tarh, 2008), the consultants did distribute questionnaires amongst residents to collect information and their concerns about their locality. Local authorities' staff and councillors usually help the process of consultation. However, this is usually a time-consuming and expensive process and is not considered in the initial contract. There is not yet a direct requirement in the frameworks to allow public consultation.

As far as understanding technical jargon went, the results were disappointing. Although half the participants did not find it hard to understand planning documents, at the same time, 40% of people needed help and could not comprehend specific words. Lack of a clear understanding of the documents can result in delays or illegal construction, which occurs frequently in Sari. It can, to a large extent, prevent the density of network interaction with stakeholders. The most important question of all is whether they have ever been asked to give their opinion or participate in urban planning by the municipality or city council, and, as expected, the vast majority of participants said “no”. Despite government claims about being made up of the people and for the people, the people never have the chance to participate in, or even be consulted about, city management and the urban development mechanism, which are both about public welfare.



Graph 9–2: Question 2 of research questionnaire, 2008

This shows the facts about the poor culture of participation and interaction. When a large number of people do not see any opportunity to get involved in city management, they see themselves as second-class. Although plans to inform the general public are included in the urban planning documents, as is clearly mentioned within the Municipality Law, and also despite the general public’s interest in getting involved within the decision-making process and urban development plans which shape their living environment and neighbourhood, the methods of engagement are still in their infancy. Local authorities have no intention of giving such an opportunity to the general public, and local residents also are not familiar with methods of intellectual and mutual communication with the local authorities. People see it as a vital component of

the process, which is beneficial for both the city and people. Being represented indirectly, or just receiving newsletters, are the options which were preferred by the majority of participants in the survey. This illustrates how power is distributed in the governance of urban planning. Citizens have no interest in direct interaction or power sharing with authorities. Their disbelief in the creation of a network of relations makes knowledge resources vulnerable and poorer. Their main concerns and differences of opinion with the objectives of the development plans is good evidence of the above claim. Finally, these are the main concerns of local people:

1. Shortages in public services
2. Road surfaces and asphaltting
3. Pedestrian pavements
4. Situation of the northern ring road
5. Heavy traffic in the city centre
6. Road improvement and widening
7. Sewage, drainage and waste water management
8. Urban landscape and green spaces
9. Bin collection
10. Incompetent local authority staff
11. Anti-social behaviour
12. Theft and robbery
13. Absence of trust and public consultation in planning

The poor culture of involvement amongst people has developed a sense of disbelief which makes residents more interested in receiving information, rather than attending general meetings and communicating with the local authorities. As such, people would rather listen to a speaker, which was revealed by their answer to the preferred methods of involvement. This put a big question mark against the whole idea of integrated and community-oriented planning, citizen empowerment and the notion of dialogue in urban management. When there is a lack of effective communication amongst the governance at different levels, and between the people and the government, the credibility and

sustainability of any development plan and project become uncertain. Attendance at public meetings was the least favourite method. This indicates the existence of a sick culture amongst people. To some extent, it derives from lack of confidence, practical experience and the never-given opportunity to be able to speak up and get involved in the city management process and decision-making. This point is one of the major differences between the UK and Iran.

9.8 Relational Resources and Regeneration Partnerships

Lack of integrated and authentic dialogue in the city's institutional capacity is largely due to lack of connectivity between the formal government structure and the stakeholders. After all the propaganda of local empowerment by giving the chance to citizens to elect councillors, the morphology of government bureaucracy did not change much. In other words, there are no set roles or recommendations within the local authority's framework to make connections with other agencies or residents, and to support the bottom-up working pattern. The network morphology shows how various role-players work within the network of connections. These relationships are slightly different when plans are implemented.

9.8.1 Key Actors' Relations for Development Plans

The nature of connections between the key actors in both the master plan for the city, or the regeneration plan for the old area, is quite similar. The organisations who work on the plans are the same. The only difference is the consultant speciality and experience, which might be different. Chapters 5 and 6 have explained how the rigid bureaucratic system of planning is controlled and managed by government organisations such as HUDO or MOI provincial office.

From the very early stages of planning, MOI uses its influence to direct the master plan committee. Funding a very small part of the plan's preparation cost and chairing the planning team has given the provincial governor and

HUDO a feeling of mastery over the municipality, and even the city council. This in turn minimises the relation between other committee members with the municipality, especially when the plan is at the practical stage. As Figure 9–3 shows, the existing relational network between local agencies has not been sufficiently developed. It is not an ideal method of cooperation in many aspects:

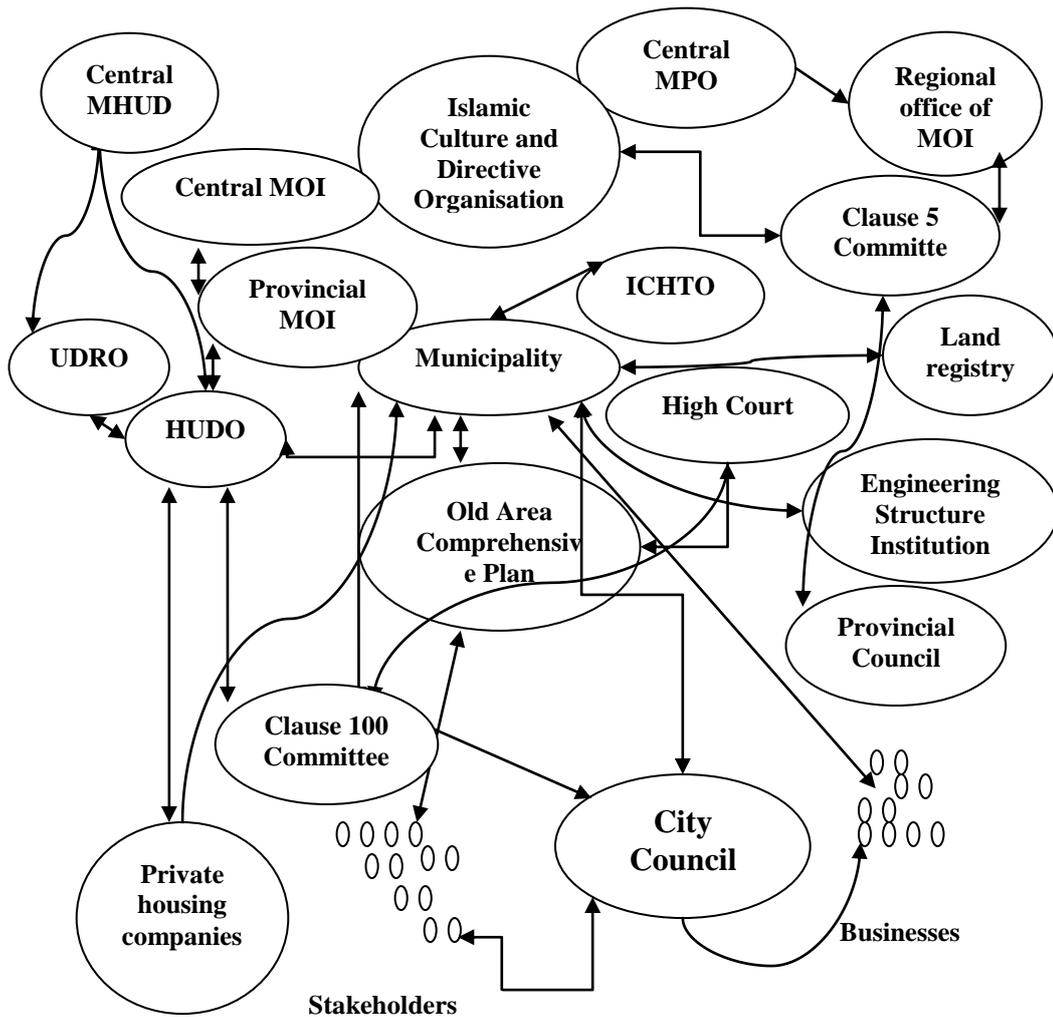


Figure 9–3: Network morphologies around the Sari Old Area Comprehensive Plan

- The municipality is the local and only responsible body for urban development plans and related activities. However, it is not at the centre of the relational network. Its position is taken by HUDO which sets policy frameworks. This makes the working pattern confusing and incapable.

- HUDO, as the centre of the theoretical aspect of development plans, is not in the correct hierarchical position to influence or even reject the city council's management and achievement of goals. Also, the final planning committee that approves the plan, or gives permission for any alteration made to the original version of the plan, is the Clause Five Committee, chaired by and located in the provincial governor's office in the MOI regional building. Therefore, within the process of planning, both the municipality, as the main responsible organisation, and HUDO, as the main policy provider, are discredited, lose their power, and are given a lower position than ordinary members in a Clause Five Committee of 21 people. Also, this committee still does not have any representatives from the community and residents.

- There is no practical experience of teamworking, and it is only within the decision-making process that various ideas and regulations are put on the table. None of the key team members get involved or fund the projects. Collaborative planning is not a practical feature of this process, and previous chapters have been trying to illustrate this extensively.

In practice, when collaboration amongst key decision-makers is needed, the role of supportive internal legislations, for instance HUDO, becomes weak. It is a similar story for regeneration plans, which will be discussed below.

9.8.2 Key Actors Relations for the Old Area Comprehensive Plan

The study for the first Comprehensive Plan for the Old Parts of Sari (CPOPS) commenced in 1999, after the HUDO office realised the vulnerability of the area. The appointed consultants were asked to study the detail plan for conservation and regeneration of the area according to the general policy of the master plan. The contract for the preparation of the plan was between Mazandaran HUDO, UDRO and a specialist consultancy in Tehran called Abr

Dasht Engineering Consultants, funded by UDRO. The structure of governance was again based on pure official communication, which is deeply seated in the planning system. The dominating power was in the hands of the HUDO office, which dictated issues with certain guidelines through its office in central government.

When the final draft of the plan was prepared, the Clause Five Committee was the most central and influential committee in making any alterations to the plan (see Chapter 5). The committee included representatives from all the relevant organisations, as well as the local Urban Water and Sewerage Company, the sub-provincial governor, the Engineering Structure Institution and many more. After assessment and approval of the plan at this stage it was sent to the MPO High Commission, which is the main office of this ministry, located in Tehran, and is in charge of general policies and allocating funds for final approval.

According to the initial agreements, the municipality is the sole body responsible for financing the proposed plan. The plan also considered a managerial group for executing the plan, drawn from the city council employees and administrative structure, which did not previously exist, and needed to be supported by the Mazandaran provincial governor and the city council. However, the practicality of this committee was and still is unclear. For the municipality and the other main relevant local agencies, regeneration of the old fabric is not a matter of priority. Also, the network of relations is too narrow to create a collaborative action plan for the city. Firstly, these agencies do not share a common goal in urban planning and management; and secondly, they act upon their own dedicated plans. Thirdly, they do not seem to feel responsible for the master and comprehensive plans' implementation. Fourthly, the culture of authentic dialogue does not normally result in double-loop learning lessons. Lastly, but not least, the municipality is not in a strong position in city management affairs and cannot act as the pivotal point of the network of connections and centre of power. This is even worse when it is working with stakeholders and local businesses, as there is no means of integration with

various networks. During the plan preparation process, the consultants were asked to use different methods and the latest available technology for gathering data and presenting documents. This included the use of GIS for information gathering and 3D modelling whenever it was needed. However, there was no recommendation on how the consultancy should expand its network of actions with stakeholders.

As the context of parameters of degeneration indicates, social, physical, bureaucratic, environmental and economic issues have worked together to increase the multiple disadvantages of the area. The lack of collaborative planning, has limited the institutional capacity to address this range of problems. In order to reduce the adverse impact of some of the planning policies on the trend of urban development and regeneration, CPOPS (2002) suggested the following strategies to encourage revitalisation and regeneration (p.71):

- Improve special features of the old urban fabric by utilising urban heritage, buildings and public spaces such as roads, gardens and places for public gatherings;
- Safeguard the social and population structure of the area and discourage outward migration;
- Generate centres for residents' social interaction at the scale of the neighbourhood within residential areas,
- Introduce regulations and guidelines for new construction in accordance with historic value;
- Persuade the private sector to invest in housing and other public services;
- Regulate and define the practical tools of private sector partnerships for revitalisation programmes;
- Construct and manage some sample projects.

All these require close relationships and an integrated action team working with local residents. However, the regeneration framework does not indicate how the theory of regeneration would ever be realistic and practical. Who would accept the responsibility, and manage the renewal plan? Is the

present network of relations capable of meeting the target? And in any case, is the regeneration strategy integrated and inclusive enough to enrich relational resources? Answers to these questions exist within the relational survey. It is important for the government at all three levels to realise the necessity of shaking up the present bureaucracy, acting collectively and creating new relations with stakeholders, which would help the present conflict over the plan's achievements. In previous chapters, it was shown that proposing a plan for the city is a multi-agency task. There are, for example, HUDO, the provincial governor's office representatives, councillors, the municipality and many more who form the planning committees.

However, the role and responsibility of certain organisations remains an issue. Sari's Old Area comprehensive plan was approved by a committee consisting of HUDO, ICHTO and the council. The project fund should be considered in the municipality's annual budget. However, there are still certain buildings which are the property of other organisations; therefore, this limits the council's intervention. The responsibility for implementing the conservation policy for a particular historic building may belong to ICHTO, HUDO, the Housing Construction Company (HCC: a private firm under the supervision of HUDO) or UDRO. However, any conservation work on the building is suggested to be based on ICHTO's regulations and supervision. New development within the city's boundaries, and its historic parts, has had a direct and indirect impact on the area environmentally, economically and socially. Organisations which provide utility services such as gas and water, or even the Land Registry, have no connection with the council and in fact there is no official means for the city council to stop unauthorised structures.

In terms of the management of the city centre, the comprehensive plan for the old area recommended that there should be coordination between relevant organisations and the city council; however, there is no practical way of creating such a structure. The plan suffers from lack of an integrated approach in social, economic and environmental frameworks. CPOPS (2002) is one of the prime

documents written for the city, implementing the latest presentation and data collection methods amongst current consultant engineers.

The almost non-existence of mutual and collaborative working has a negative impact on the progress of planning. In different stages, the location of power changes through the members whilst their intervention in practice is different. Before proposing CPOPS in 2002, the only plan that was used in the area was Sari's master plan. The regeneration plan of the city centre neighbourhood of Abanbar No, in April 1999, which was part of a limited number of the revitalisation projects of ICHTO in Mazandaran, covered the building itself and its surrounding area (Interviewee 5, 2008). The revitalisation and regeneration projects have set some priorities in accordance with national policy. The sectoral intervention of ICHTO or UDRO in the form of single projects is the main feature of regeneration within the city's old fabric. Their small proportion of projects, by being limited to single buildings and disconnected buildings, has not helped the area to prevent the decline of its historic buildings and the fading of its valuable fabric. Financially, these projects are funded by relevant organisations. Although the city council holds the authority of the whole area, regeneration has never been a priority for it.

One of the important legal recommendations, according to Clause 17 of the Municipalities Law, was that the public should be informed of the development or regeneration plans (Pakdaman, 2001). The Street Widening section of the Municipalities Law has also given authority to the city council to publicise the plan, and inform those landlords whose properties would be affected by the plan within three months (*ibid*). Only those people who come across planning issues have limited knowledge about the plans. Publicising the plan and engaging local residents during the whole process is not the same within Sari as it is in Manchester. In fact, East Manchester is the latest practical example of public involvement in the UK. With this point in mind, would the regeneration plan in Sari be as full and as integrated as in Manchester? The research has reviewed and discussed so far that the morphology of creating relationships with stakeholders and government agencies is very different. Widening the network of

connection with stakeholders and using their social and knowledge capital has not been developed, whilst a centrally made decision forces its way into the practices of urban management.

In order to help councils to manage projects and their finances, municipalities have the power to establish companies in partnership with the private sector for a commercial purpose and any urban development project, according to Clause 111 of the 1966 Municipalities Law (Pakdaman, 2001). In Sari this law is not a popular tool, because of the lack of interest and capability of the council in dealing with the old area's problem. However, in the case of East Manchester, the whole structure of regeneration companies is based upon public and private sector partnership.

The municipality or HUDO can use the media, posters, banners and public exhibitions to inform people of the plan and seek their partnership in practice. This partnership is exemplified by the selling of share documents, which have recently been used in regeneration projects in Gorgan and Mashhad (Interviewee 4, 2008). The existing relational structure of development planning in Sari is an example of many medium-sized Iranian cities. Its strengths and weaknesses, as discussed above, are partly because of lack of commitment and belief in sharing responsibility amongst key planning authorities; and are partly the outcome of the strong centralised characteristics of governance dictating the inflexible and hierarchical system. This claim will be examined next by revealing the results of interviews with some planning officers and private consultants.

9.8.3 Views on Relational Resources of the Sari Regeneration Team

The results of the interviews with local authorities and engineering consultants demonstrate the nature of relations between the three elements of governance in Sari's planning process (Appendices 6 and 7). As has been explained before, government organisations, the municipality, and the consultants work together to prepare the regeneration plan for the city.

The survey starts with the present status of participative planning. It was a common ideology which was supported by all participants that the relation between the local government and stakeholders is based on formal administrative needs which do not include consultation or power-share. In the HUDO office, the bureaucratic structure of planning authorities does not encourage them to have collaborative attributes towards the planning process. Despite recognising public participation and extending the nature of collaboration across every level of society, none of the interviewees suggested a practical idea, or example, to show how participation amongst stakeholders could take place.

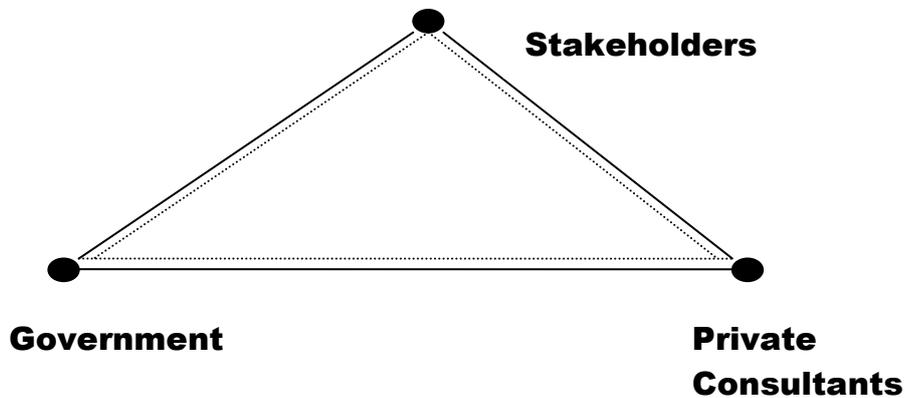


Figure 9–4: Relations between stakeholders

This leads us to the next questions, asking about the best representative for the public. Some of the interviews, such as with the city council or the municipality, thought an elected local councillor could represent the community, whilst others, especially the UDRO office, preferred to have community leaders alongside councillors in the meetings. However, as mentioned before, they could not picture how these meetings could be run, what sort of discussions should be their topic, and how the possible dialogue could turn to practical ideas. It was generally accepted that both the local and regional authority’s staff and citizens should develop their communication skills to be able to change their meetings into a creative and communicative environment. Would this be a good idea? How could this ambition turn into practical ideas? Is this the only way forward? What would the subjects of these meetings be? There are many more questions

that the interviewees did not have an answer for, and that is what this research was hoping to answer.

There was consensus on the role of the municipality as the key organisation to be in charge of planning activities. The existing ineffectiveness of the plans was identified by the municipality interviewees to be the direct result of the unclear roles of the municipality and the city council in the plan preparation process. On the other hand, most of them found the present bureaucratic system, and the nature of connection between them, to be a good system. However, in some participants' opinions (especially the mayor and the councillor interviewed) there are very big holes within the existing planning process. They thought there should be substantial changes in the planning regulations, in the distribution of power amongst local authorities, and in public empowerment. Despite recognition of the importance of dealing with the historic city centre urgently, each authority had its own priorities and interpreted regulations accordingly. Sometimes, according to the interviewees, they act differently in practice and their representatives in committees sign documents irresponsibly. Local agencies' relationships are not in the form of collaboration, but are independent agencies working on a certain project, which does not necessarily have a permanent effect on the institutional mechanism and everyday practice.

The main outcome of the questionnaire indicated by residents regarding the working relation with local agencies was their interest and willingness to cooperate and get involved in the planning process. This was quite similar to what was understood from the UK, in the Beswick area survey. However, there are concerns about the process, the structure and the validity of the plan. People were often aware of the existence of the plan, and even the limitations in building construction and urban development, but what they were not aware of was how and when the plans are prepared. In summary, from local government and planning consultants' point of view, challenging a traditional policymaking process is a multi-dimensional issue. Establishment of the city council certainly did little to shift the government's attitude towards urban development and

planning and integrating spheres of different resources. This was backed by the answers given from the survey by the general public.

The next question asked people's opinion about the influence of those politicians who work closely with people, such as councillors and the municipality. The responses were dissimilar and there was a degree of uncertainty of the influence of people on the councillors' decisions. Although an interviewed councillor did think his institution was the true representative of the community and reflected public concerns, it was not what most people who answered the relevant question in the public survey thought (Appendix 1). In support of the ideology of collaboration and participatory planning derived from the answers to one of the questions, all officers believed that the notion of public participation was not a waste of effort, but could guarantee the plans' success and achievement to a large extent. "We are here because of people and for people" (Interviewee 3, 2008). The true representatives of people, in some interviewees' opinions, were local councillors, community representatives or people appointed from an interest group. For others, such as the UDRO office, "people" meant people, without any middle-men. They all agreed that people needed to be trained, educated and informed about their rights, the available options and technical and administrative procedures; and this was exemplified by a recent educational meeting for residents of historic cities from all over the province (Interviewee 6, 2008).⁹ Holding such sessions to improve public awareness about urban activities in their locality could, in the interviewees' opinion, be arranged by any involved organisation, the municipality, the city council, HUDO, the media or even the private sector firms who would be investing in the local regeneration project.

One of the questions was about the individual capabilities of the personnel or teams who are in direct contact with the public. A variety of

⁹ After enforcement of a new policy within the UDRO offices across the country, Mazandaran local office invited a number of landlords of properties in the historic areas to report the project's progress to them, made available facilities such as grants, bank loans and share documents, and helped them with the application forms (Interviewee 6, 2008). The meeting was welcomed by people and helped them to understand the process and get involved in the project enthusiastically.

stipulations were suggested, from being aware and professionally qualified in the subject, to being able to be patient and speaking a common language with any social class. Within the authorities themselves, there is a greater need to employ skilled and trained staff to communicate with the public. In HUDO and ICHTO, the officer's opinions of local councillors and the media could have more of an influence on people than any other authority, and could even encourage an authority to step in. When they were asked to tick their preferred method of communication with stakeholders, two answers were the most popular ones; leaflets (Interviewees 1, 2, 4) and meetings (Interviewees 3, 5). Sending leaflets to residents of the project area was the best and most well-liked option, which, however, does not create any authentic dialogue as is a one-way communication method.

As the discussion in Chapters 5 and 6 reveals, urban planning has always been a highly centralised issue, and, except for the financial contributions of local people and the private sector, local government has not given the public the chance to get involved. Although the financial weakness of local government has, in many cases, been the main reason behind the failure of urban regeneration and development planning, public disagreement with decisions made by local authorities is the other constraint on effective city management.

9.9 Mobilisation Capacity

The extensive discussion of this chapter so far revealed what the main knowledge resources of Sari's development plans are, and how the networks of relation amongst key role-players hinder the planning process. The top-down planning tradition is the general feature of governance which works in favour of government. "Governance" here means government agencies at local and provincial level, which set the roles, run the committees and implement the approved plans. Community representatives, the private sector or any non-governmental group are not included. These government agencies' network of relations is based on formal bureaucracy and exchange of their individual

organisations' regulations, rather than the exchange of knowledge and experience. This makes mobilisation capacity slow and weak, controlled by various and sometimes opposite forces, initiated in contradictions of priorities and laws under each main ministry. As access to the potentially plentiful local residents' knowledge has been denied, this minimises stakeholders' support for the plans. The rigid guidelines of central government force their way through to the local neighbourhood by the control of the decision-making committees at a provincial and city level. The council is in fact the lowest local tier of government, and acting as a government agent it struggles with:

- Financing its routine administration;
- Providing adequate funds for regeneration or development projects;
- Following the plan's guidelines, within its own departments;
- Other authorities, to get them to recognise and support the plan's objectives;
- Top-down pressures coming from central government and the provincial governor;
- Rapid urban growth;
- And most importantly, with citizens, to encourage them to follow the rules.

Although, according to the Iranian Municipality Law, the municipality is an independent organisation under the supervision of local elected councillors, in charge of providing certain services to the city, its employment and bureaucratic system is approved by MOI. All those who have to work on the approved plan are, in fact, employees of MOI. The city council is a small, and to some extent powerless group of elected representatives that can observe, suggest and question the municipality's actions under the leadership of the mayor. The unbalanced distribution of power amongst local agencies has undermined the importance and priority of urban development and management, partly due to lack of effective discourse between stakeholders and local authorities, and partly due to lack of collaboration between institutions. Government organisations are not acting in partnership; therefore, their unequal access to resources does not help the process

of planning to progress. The government, in one stage, gave local people the opportunity to mobilise their capacity by electing councillors and sending them to relevant committees. However, the research highlighted that, in general, the public's opinion is that councillors are not their true representatives and have no capacity to speak for them. The method of communication implemented by councillors is quite similar to the formal bureaucratic system, and does not lead to any form of participation and institutional capacity building.

9.9.1 Mobilisation Resources and the City Development Plan

Planning management is mobilised if both knowledge and relations create an innovative and collaborative environment. Mobilisation, according to Healey's (1997) theory, is the outcome of knowledge resources turned to creative ideas and developed by a network of relations in a collaborative environment. Each of the above criteria in Sari's planning system has some aspects which are out of balance, triggered by the top-down planning governance system. The impact of local experience and knowledge resource is limited to housing and irregular urban development activities, not expressed and pointed out by residents, but realised by national policies and government. Therefore, the foundation of future urban planning policy and practice is a single approach, which is not in accordance with local needs and stakeholders' opinions.

During the development of policy and preparation of the plan, again two aspects of the relationship between government agencies, and with the community, are subject to major problems. In respect to collaboration amongst planning authorities, the provincial government is the leader of planning committees for the approval of the master, comprehensive and regeneration plans. This position is taken by the HUDO local office during the plan preparation stage. When the plan is approved it is the municipality that should follow the rules and implement it. It is a very top-down way of management which does not contribute and develop networking and collaboration. The process has largely been influenced by the many organisations that shape the

plan. However, it does not extend its relationships and effectiveness through to the local citizens. Therefore, again the plan cannot and does not influence involved organisations' general policies. This disconnection moves through the city as it develops, and is not within the control of a particular group or local authority.

In previous sections, the theoretical base and the extent of diverse knowledge resources for the city development plans, as well as the nature of relations amongst planning authorities themselves and with the residents, was studied and critically reviewed. Despite the extensive professional support of planning officers and consultants, the municipality is not in control of urban changes, which causes more complications when the planning authorities should guide the city through fast-changing developments and also prevents irregularity of development and building activities. In both the first and second master plans, for instance, the proposed land-use targets could not be achieved. The fundamental issue was their purely physical and mathematical approach to the urban problem and to development. Absence of diverse approaches to planning is the direct result of:

- lack of local knowledge, which can aid the planning authorities with various aspects of the problems;
- lack of authentic dialogue amongst the authorities themselves and also with local stakeholders;
- systematic and non-flexible frameworks provided by central government;
- lack of collaborative action in theory and in practice.

The percentage of land-use planning achievements, for instance, indicates how the above deficiency has an impact on the plans. Table 9–6 above shows that, for the second master plan, the residential, office and public health uses have achieved their target, but other service uses, such as leisure and recreation, green space, culture, tourism and transportation, are far behind the goal. In total, the overall percentage of the plan's achievement of land-use targets was 77%, less than the national average of 80% (Pakdaman, 2000).

Although central government hires the best professionals and invests large amounts of money in order to prepare plans, the lack of public participation is obvious. The chapter explained how the other plans could influence the old urban area, its population and inward and outward migration. As a result, indispensable programmes may lose the public's interest. The people, who are the invisible architects of the city, can work against the local authorities' will and plans, and consequently decrease their effectiveness of certain urban plans.

9.9.2 Mobilisation Resources and the Old Area Comprehensive Plan

The aim of the regeneration plan of the old fabric of the city is to guide and direct the process of urban growth, to meet people's needs. Due to the nature of the old area regeneration plan, all committee members agreed on having a detailed study on individual main buildings, which obviously demanded the:

- introduction of some changes to the basic study approach;
- expansion of the network of relation to include residents of the project area;
- enrichment of the existing relational resources with the main authorities;
- development of a new ideology of collaborative planning.

However, this was not a successful tool in the case of Sari, as the reality of urban planning and management was/is at variance with the rhetoric of the plan. Various issues play a role in this process and this research has stated some of them. The descriptions of the old area comprehensive plan reveal deficiencies of dialogue between stakeholders and local government, and amongst the government authorities themselves. So far, the research has discussed that it is hard to involve people fully in the present situation because:

- The participation culture is in its infancy in the urban planning and regeneration arena;

- Management of local authorities is fully centralised and behind closed doors. Staffs are not trained to work with people from scratch when a project is ready for preparation.
- There is no financial backup for distributing and collecting questionnaires, arranging public meetings or sparing staff time to evaluate data.

Also, by studying different aspects of the plans, especially the comprehensive plan for the old fabric, it was seen that the rigid bureaucracy within governance prevents any authentic dialogue, and from there makes the plans less creative and less fit for purpose.

Despite the importance of the area for the livelihood and economic activities of the city, even the specific old area's comprehensive plan is not a comprehensive plan within its aims and approaches. Social, economic or cultural issues are not part of the plan, and still the physical emphasis of the plan shapes general policy. Even with the example of the most recent revitalisation project, Khayam Street, sponsored by the city council in cooperation with Mazand Tarh Consultants, public participation is not at the core of the city planning mechanism. This will be explained in the next section.

The impact of self-motivated urban activities is the direct result of inconsistency in institutional capacity. Plans following certain rules come from legislation applicable for any urban development. The role of local knowledge resources, and plans that are tailored for local problems, is limited. This does not create a sense of belonging and trust for the stakeholders, especially landowners. A large number of urban activities carried out by residents, whether intentionally or unintentionally, do not follow the old area comprehensive plan's guidelines. The nature of relations between stakeholders and the city council around the city centre is not of a participatory and collaborative form, due to many of the reasons explained before. The capacity to work in collaboration is there, but the system, the idea, the motive, the commitment, the skill and the trust are not.

9.9.3 Promoting Mobilisation Capacity: The Example of Extending Khayam Street

The purpose of this section is to illustrate a practical regeneration project, to reduce the pressure on the city centre, commencing through the municipality. The idea has been mobilised at the municipality level, however, the consultant with the support of the city council is trying to expand the relationship with local stakeholders, use their consultation to form the initial plan, and seek their participation for the practical stage of the plan. If they can encourage landowners to be a part of the regeneration project, both the council and local residents can benefit, as this will bring both an economic and a physical advantage to the area. This does not represent a full-scale development of collaborative planning, as neither the municipality nor the consultant is eager to work in collaboration with other local government agencies.

The high volume of traffic and concentration of commercial activities in the inner-city area of Sari has raised the idea of extending Khayam Street, involving a massive regeneration project which can transform housing conditions, shops and even the value of properties within the immediate neighbourhood. Sari City Council made a contract in 2008 with one of the local consultant engineers to carry out the study and prepare the plan, assess the project's financial and physical potential and the approximate cost. The project was initially approved by councillors and is seen as a step forward for revitalising the area. Mazand Tarh Engineering Consultants is a chartered private company which holds extensive experience in this field in the region. Although the project is in its early stages, fortunately they agreed to pass their information to me, which is presented below.

This project is a good example of how to extend knowledge resources amongst key stakeholders, including residents of the project area, and expanding relational resources with local authorities and the private sector to manage and invest in the project. It is a story of how the above two elements mobilise the capacity of institutions and stakeholders. The Khayam revitalisation project has

two phases, primarily study data collection and project design. As the project is only in its early stages, there is not much data available about the project's design's detail. But what is appealing is what Mazand Tarh utilised for the study, which was a door-to-door survey. Also, the consultancy took steps to assess the potential investors and partnership working with local landlords to involve them from the very beginning to have their say about the design.

Mazand Tarh was requested, according to the contract, to fulfil tasks such as a general study of the project area, its socio-economic potential and other relevant issues, spatial planning for the project area, the possibility of implementing the project and suggesting possible methods of implementation, its economic and physical benefits, project management, preparing all the urban design detail, and providing the details of the proposed plan via maps. Although there was no obvious method for the consultants to obtain residents' opinions, the company prepared a questionnaire and distributed it to almost one-third of the households in the project area, in order to gather data as well as public views; however, the consultant tried to expand its relations with residents to obtain their opinion, seek their partnership and prevent any controversy over the validity of the project. Although the impact and influence of such knowledge on the project strategy is unclear, it has been an important practical experiment in extending the relational resources of the planning process by involving the public.

Two hundred property owners participated in the survey (Mazand Tarh, 2008). The project covers 6.3 hectares of the old city, including 227 land plots (*ibid*). Around 45% of these families are of low income, whilst 52.5% earn between 300,000 and 1,000,000 toman, which is an average family income in Iran, and only 2.5% are classified as high-income. This would have an extensive impact on their preferred choice if they wanted to deal with the council on the project. More than 70% announced that they were willing to sell or exchange their property in the event of the project being implemented. Participants' answers to this question have been summarised in Table 9–12. As the result indicates, most people are more interested in selling their house and leaving the area without any involvement or interest in partnership. In fact, less than 15% of

landlords accepted partnership working as their ideal option. It shows that, for many reasons explained during the discussion about Iran, partnership working is a least favourite option.

In this survey, the consultants liked to have local people’s financial partnership means investing their property as part of a share in the project. However, residents were quite happy to be only a part of the design process. This requires arranging meetings, hiring a place, individual interviews, publishing documents and many more. It would be a costly method if the consultant was interested in extensively getting various stakeholders involved in the project design meetings (Interviewee 1, 2008). Also, no funding has been considered for this sort of expense in the contract between the municipality and the consultant. A direct result of the absence of stakeholders’ involvement would be lack of adequate knowledge resource to make the project more acceptable, sustainable and successful.

**Table 9–12: How people are willing to participate in the project
(Mazand Tarh Engineering Consultants, 2008, p.10)**

Choices	No.	Percentage
Disagree	25	15.06
Partnership	22	13.25
Exchange	34	20.48
Sale	85	51.2

Mazand Tarh highlights the priority of public participation in the project, which can be achieved by building bridges between local authorities, residents and private investors (Interviewee 1, 2008). Creating trust between all relevant role-players would help the project’s achievement and credibility. However, there is no certain or clear framework, or even a good example of such ambitions, within the government documents or main agencies’ guidelines. This reduces the possibility and practicality of making new connections and using their capacity in terms of knowledge, experience and finance. It has been suggested that if the revitalisation project were done step by step within the time limit, the progress will be apparent to the public eye and will encourage the

public and private sectors to invest and get involved within the process. In this regard, the consultants have offered to play the role of middle-man in the regeneration procedure by finding partners to invest money, inviting other organisations to the project and encouraging them to get involved, holding regular meetings with residents and helping them to combat administrative bureaucracy and to obtain other bank facilities (Interviewee 6, 2008). This might be a well-established practical method in UK regeneration projects; however, it is not well-developed in Iranian urban development and management experience. In theory, if the project is ambitious in its philosophy, it will be able to bring stakeholders to the decision-making table and use these new relationships as the power to progress the project.

9.10 Conclusion

This chapter was largely based on interviews with the main role-players in Sari's planning mechanism: local authorities, which are in charge of urban development plans, the expert engineering consultants working on the plans, and most importantly, the general public who are affected by the regeneration plan in the old area of the city. In order to guide discussions through to the dimensions of institutional capacity building, three categories of knowledge resources, relational resources and mobilisation capacity were used. This developed a rational approach in identifying how the network of relations works, where the diverse interests meet each other to shape ideas; and it also presented the opportunity to mobilise institutional capacity. According to the responses to the questionnaires, despite government recommendations regarding the transfer of power from central government and HCAUD to the local level, all the plans still have to be approved by the provincial level committee and sent to the central government office. The process has some advantages, such as allowing mayors and their offices to intervene in the planning process, explaining the plan to the public, and obtaining the city council's ideas in order to revise the plan. What has been forgotten is the place of the public in this process, extending the relational networks and adapting a democratic approach in planning.

It has been revealed that there is no indication at any level of public representatives or voluntary groups, or even private investors, in preparing or implementing the plans. In other words, those in the position of being affected or benefited by the plan are the most alienated groups. The necessity of giving the public the chance to work closely with local authorities has been supported by all three groups of interviewees. However, two main points were understood. First, from the local government point of view, there are restraints within the legal structure of planning and the allocation of funds for the fulfilment of public participation. Second, the public is still not prepared for participation in the planning process. The preference for receiving leaflets about local activities rather than attending general public meetings is a sign of a poor culture of participation. It needs a major shake-up and years of work to build up public confidence to play a full role in the planning system.

Chapter 10: Conclusions and Recommendations

10.1 Introduction

The aim of the research was to answer the research questions in an analytical way. The question was:

How can the quality of urban development planning in Iran be improved by greater emphasis on building institutional capacity in a collaborative and more participative governance?

In this research, after looking at various regeneration theories, the collaborative approach of regeneration governance has been identified to be an effective tool in the hands of the government in the UK. The research examined the roles of institutions, and the public, in urban development policy and practice with particular focus on regeneration within the two contexts of Manchester and Sari. In order to do so, the research:

- Looked at the conceptual frameworks of the most recent regeneration initiatives;
- Chose the institutionalist approach in a collaborative planning environment and looked at its various criteria, at government and community level, in theory and in practice;
- Studied and analysed the key challenges and experiences of urban regeneration governance in UK literatures;
- Discussed the key problems in the Iranian planning system and its governance structure;
- Described, examined and critically analysed the role of the collaborative planning approach, by utilising the institutional capacity building criteria (knowledge resources, relational resources and mobilisation capacity) in the regeneration of Manchester;
- Identified the general public's opinion and role by presenting the survey of the community against the claims of local government in creating a participative regeneration environment;

- Critically looked at the criteria of institutional capacity in Sari's development plans under three categories of knowledge resources, relational resources and mobilisation capacity;
- Presented the results of fieldwork, which involved surveying the general public, local authorities' key planning officers and consultants, and identified the main weak points;
- Highlighted the role and extent of influence of the community within planning governance in Sari;
- Will draw out transferable lessons, in order to enhance collaborative planning in Iran.

10.2 Use of the Institutional Analytical Approach

In the review of the existing literature, after selecting the collaborative planning theory as the main conceptual framework, the dimensions of governance in a collaborative environment were used to illustrate the features, process, arena and culture of the planning and regeneration approach and process in the UK. Each recent regeneration theory was analysed in Table 4–10 to illustrate the episode in which they were developed; the main actors; their context and activity arena; how they interacted with the key role-players; their governance process; the extent and quality of discourse; the distribution of practical power at central, regional and local level; the specific law and principles they brought into the process; the range of acceptable methods and routines which became part of the culture or short-term answer; and also the discourse culture in practice. The absence of a variety of regeneration initiatives in Iran affected the way this framework was utilised. Therefore, dimensions of governance in three levels of government (central, provincial and local government) were analysed.

This was followed by an analysis of case study practice in chapters 7, 8 and 9, using the criteria of institutional capacity. The discussion examined and critically discussed elements of governance, decision-making and participation,

which is largely influenced and dominated by the bureaucratic system, social bias, relational networking and national strategy. Three main categories of knowledge resources, relational resources and the mobilisation resources of the institutionalist approach of Healey (1997; 1999) became the framework to describe and analyse the process of regeneration in both cases.

In terms of knowledge resources, it was explained what the general understanding of the planning authorities was, and how this knowledge developed and turned into a plan. The extent of involvement of local stakeholders' knowledge was examined at the end of this section by the results of the public survey.

In the relational resources section, the network of relations amongst planning authorities and with other stakeholders, including the local community, was examined. This section demonstrated what parts of these relationships had been developed over time, and what parts are still in need of development. Presenting the results of the public survey of the UK fieldwork, and interviews with key Iranian planning officers and consultants, at the end of this section, illustrated the extent and practicality of the idea of public involvement within the planning process and regeneration projects.

In the mobilisation trajectory and network of connections section between the government, agencies, stakeholders and residents, the achievements and weaknesses of specific projects in the two cases studied were looked at in detail, which led us to the last chapter highlighting the applicable and adaptable points of the UK's regeneration planning system, which will gradually improve the planning policies and implementation in Iran.

To answer the research question: **“How can the quality of urban development planning in Iran be improved by greater emphasis on building institutional capacity in a collaborative and more participative governance?”** simply needed a theoretical base to guide the research to find the best answer for the complication of urban planning. Surfing through various most

relevant planning theories, such as the Advocacy Planning model or Marxist theory, in Chapter 2, the Institutional theory of collaborative planning was chosen, as it could address: i) how the problem should be identified; ii) how the initial regional and local knowledge should be developed; iii) how the quality of decision-making could be improved; iv) the criteria to analyse the quality of relations between government organisations; v) an analytical tool to evaluate the deepness of relations between the government and the community; vi) the quality of a participative governance and compare it with the practical experiences of the case studies.

Then, the processes, experience and achievements of some of the urban regeneration programmes in the UK were discussed in Chapter 4. Here, dimensions of governance, under three sections of specific episodes, governance processes and governance culture, became the analytical tool. A similar scenario was used for the Iranian literature review in Chapters 5 and 6, with slight difference in the levels of analysis. The analysis of dimensions of governance was based on the government structure at a central, regional and local level, rather than being based on various regeneration initiatives. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9 the three elements of the institutional capacity framework became the framework for presenting and analysing the process of planning practice in Manchester and Sari. These chapters included a critical review of the process of knowledge development, relational development and mobilisation development. There are differences in the context, approach and the process of urban development and regeneration between the two countries. The differences in the economic, technology, social attitude, cultural values, administrative structures and government priorities, which the context of Chapters 4, 5 and 6 revealed, are the most influential actors in steering the urban development mechanism. However, the same framework was used to cover the variety of factors.

10.3 Key Facts of the Urban Planning in the UK and Iran

Discussions in the chapters related to the literature review looked at the main elements of regeneration initiatives and practice processes, the arena in which they took place, the actors involved, and the approaches they used in an analytical way, rather than just a descriptive one. The case study chapters also tried to answer the questions about the challenges of a collaborative approach, the expansion of relational resources, and the methods used by the Manchester regeneration team to make the regeneration as successful and resourceful as possible. It was in Chapters 8 and 9 that the role of the public as invisible architects was examined. Using objectives of institutional capacity and related discussions showed how substantial differences in the governance of planning in the UK and Iran are affecting urban affairs. The research based its structure on studying the characteristics and analytical reviews of specific regeneration projects. The following table (Table 10–1) shows the key themes of the UK and Iranian studies, which is interesting and useful for further discussion.

Table 10–1: Similarities and differences: evaluating two countries and two cities (UK/Manchester, Iran/Sari)

Country, City Subject	Section 1		Section 2	
	UK	Manchester	Iran	Sari
Old urban fabric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - City centre - Historic cores - Different urban neighbourhoods - Multi-functional - Cultural centres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - City centre - East Manchester - Hulme - Single functions - Cultural and sport centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - City centre - Historic cores - Multi-functions - Cultural centres - Religious places 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - City centre - Centre of economic activities - Bazaar - Cultural and entertainment
Degeneration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Urban sprawl - Outward migration - Technology and modernisation - Economic decline - Poverty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Industrial decline - Economic constraints - Joblessness - Social exclusion - Service neglect - Physical decay 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Urban sprawl - New development - Country's economic situation - Technology and modernisation - Limitations and development of old urban fabric - Five-year development plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Traffic congestion - Planning constraints - Urban development - Weak management - Uncertainty of plans - Lack of public consultation

Country, City Subject	Section 1		Section 2	
	UK	Manchester	Iran	Sari
Regeneration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic improvement - Social integration and inclusion - Physical/ environmental improvement - Integrated approach - Residential, service and transport - Partnership - Investment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cultural improvement - Economic reconstruction and support - Sport and leisure - Retail and offices - Activating city 24 hours - Safety and security - Prestige projects - Competitiveness at local, national and international level - Transportation - Integrated and quality investment - Encouraging employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physical development - Economic improvement - Single approach - Public transport - Planning control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Single approach - Retail and offices - Ambitious - Physical development - Road improvements
Urban development planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sustainability agenda - Mutual working - Supervision - Variety of initiatives - Enhancement of the plans - Economic reconstruction - Physical improvement - Socio-cultural planning - Consultation at all stages - Positive coordination - Regional development plan - National strategic comprehensiveness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locally-based plans - Bottom-up planning - Multi-dimensional plans - Working locally - According to national policies - Adaptable to the situation - Urban design - Integration at officers primarily plan/design - Urban planning - Urban design - New East Manchester strategic regeneration framework - Citizen empowerment - Local offices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strict guidelines - Limited coordination - National economic priorities - Overlapping decisions - Reconstruction rather than renewal - Project-oriented plan - Public transport and road improvement - Physical development - Planning organisations - Certain planning guidelines - Direct influence of central government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inflexible - Top-down planning - Physical planning - Land-use policy - Consultants' ideas - Disagreement on goals - Master and comprehensive plans - Less attention to regeneration - Highly segregated urban planning

Country, City Subject	Section 1		Section 2	
	UK	Manchester	Iran	Sari
Urban management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Top-down supervision - Integrated and in partnership - Coordination through vertical and horizontal - Decentralisation - Departments - Integration of aims - Budget-oriented - Enrichment of institutional capacity - Local, regional and national collaboration - More local empowerment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Risk-taking and being ambitious - Being cooperative - Encouraging and working in partnership with public and private sector - Steering group - Multi-agency working group - Regular meeting and supervision - Departments - Directors - Project-oriented plans - Council leadership - Expanding network of relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of coordination - Single agency responsibility - Unclear responsibilities - Departments - No budget - National organisations - Limited partnership -Independent approach -Provincial government influence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of professionals in planning authorities - Lack of power and influence - Different planning ideology - MHUD, consultants, urban design, council and other authorities' disagreement and lack of coordination - Working independently - Giving less priority to regeneration - Development of new areas - Service provision
Public Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Statement of community involvement - Locally-driven plan - Integrated urban management - Supporting community and voluntary sectors - Bottom-up approach for urban development policy and government funding - Urban governance - Locally-oriented matters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New Deals for Communities - Public meetings and workshops - Drop-in sessions - Door-to-door interviews - Active residents' representatives' involvement - Internet and newsletters - Diversifying interests - Developing dialogue - Statement of community involvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Centrally made decisions - Private sector investment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Surveys and data-gathering questionnaires - Local meeting held by councillors - Occasional project-based meeting with residents

Country, City Subject	Section 1		Section 2	
	UK	Manchester	Iran	Sari
Evolution and promotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Statement of public consultation at early stages - Country based plan - Revision - Assessment required - Re-planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reviewing and rewriting plans - Adaptable to changes - Progressing the plan according to requirements and changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited interference in plans - Inflexibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plans valid for whole period - Limited changes
Institutional Capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International and European policies - Strategic framework - Consultation - Regional agencies - Networking - New connections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stakeholders consultation - Collaboration - Teamworking - Strategic approach - Variety of initiatives - Project focused - Social interactions - Regional and local collaboration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bureaucratic hierarchy - National strategy - Political ideology - Economic strategies - Single approach - Individual aim and policy - Mathematical calculation based on social policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government policy dominance - Lack of networking and share of responsibility - Residents' exclusion - No new ideas - Three-tier governance without citizens - Centralisation of power - Old mobilisation technique

This table has put the highlights of the planning process in some general categories to help in comparing the national examples of Britain and Iran, and the local case studies of Manchester and Sari. It is apparent that the main difference in the urban planning and regeneration systems is related to the difference in the modernisation timescale, of at least one century, between the two countries. Consequently, whilst the last five decades have been decades of revitalisation and regeneration in the UK planning policy, they have been years of expansion, urbanisation and industrialisation in Iran. Therefore, the structure of management and approaches in dealing with urban problems vary, and Britain has a much longer experience of regeneration policies, local government, and public participation.

From an urban development and management point of view, as the table indicates, the nature and extent of the power given to the local authorities, especially the city council, in the UK, makes the process of planning more

locally-oriented. This, in turn, affects the extent of power given to the local community, and to stakeholders, in the UK, as the table points out. This means that collaboration amongst the planning authorities, as well as involving the general public in the decision-making process, has become part of local government's daily routine in the UK, largely supporting the institutionalist approach in urban management. However, the table also points to the characteristics of the Iranian urban management, the extent of public participation, and the capacity of institutions, which makes suggesting recommendations for the Iranian planning system easier.

Having all these differences in mind, this research tries to learn from the experiences of a more advanced urban planning and management system, and to make changes within another planning context that suffers from an inadequate urban planning system. An institutional approach has been used to analyse these two systems and identify the lessons which might be applied to Iran.

10.4 How the Collaborative Planning Results Work

During the research study and analysis of the characteristic of planning practice within the UK and Iran, many questions were answered in terms of the extent and nature of the collaboration in planning, institutional mechanism and stakeholders' mobilisation. Figure 10–1 demonstrates a direct comparison of the three components of institutional theory which were used to evaluate planning governance in both case studies. These three institutional capacity criteria are compared in the two countries, at three levels of power similar to Arnstein (1969) ladder of power. The first level relates to the basic level of being informative and transparent. The second level of power is about the degree of negotiation and consultation and the third level of power is a deeper structure and includes new relations, an integrated approach, and participation.

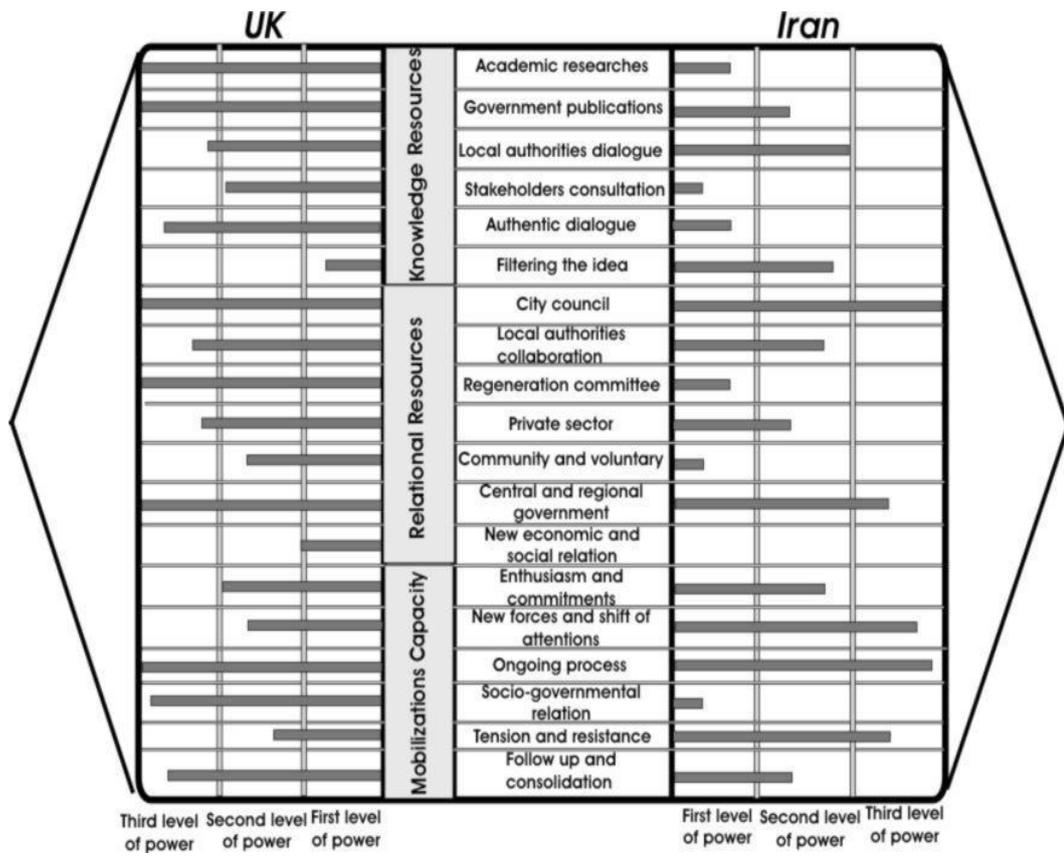


Figure 10–1: Comparison of institutional capacity in the UK and Iran

Having the analytical discussion of case studies in mind, the table shows that:

1. In the UK, knowledge resources are deeply built upon academic research, stakeholder consultation, the outcome of dialogue and discussions within regeneration meetings amongst local and regional authorities.
2. In Iran, the influence of academics, stakeholder consultation or authentic dialogue is very limited.
3. In the UK, the network of relations (relational resources) is extensively developed, especially amongst local and regional authorities and with the private sector.
4. Iranian planning authorities have not been able to use this as a positive potential to speed up planning practices; this can be classified under the first level of power.

5. Having a diverse base of knowledge and relational resources in the UK pushes the mobilisation capacity to a higher level of power.
6. As the table indicates, there are other forces that push the mobilisation resources in Iran in a direction which is not in accordance with the plans.

The literature review portrayed the set of theories and regeneration policies proposed by government. The ideology of working collaboratively and in partnership with other committee members, and also stakeholders, has been developed through decades, and the research identified three kinds of changes over time which helped the government of the UK and Iran to expand a complex adaptive system, but at two very different levels.

The first change is that the range of information used in the plans has been diversified through extensive dialogue and discussion in both countries. Each stakeholder and committee member became part of the process as an individual, and part of a shared identity, and brought new ideas or discussions to the table. This is more developed and inclusive in the UK planning system. Articulation of a shared identity in a reciprocity form of dialogue increases the long-term collaboration of authorities in the UK. It is the basis of the development plan in Iran, which includes only government organisations. The result has been a more adaptive development plan for the city, which guides the municipality in controlling urban affairs. However, it is still not informative enough for citizens or non-committee members.

The second change, which mainly applies to the UK case, is the level of transparency and consultation in a collaborative governance environment. The Manchester regeneration case shows how the expansion of relations with independent, but relevant, interests or stakeholders helped a learning dialogue and social communication. Despite the resistance of the traditional bureaucratic system, a joint group focused and managed the strategic plan which genuinely agreed on aims and objectives. However, the lack of this level of consultation and the relations between the organisations themselves, and with other

stakeholders, are indeed the main reasons why the development plans in Iran are only partially successful.

The third level is the degree of collaboration amongst organisations and the public. In the Manchester case, the review of this aspect of coordination showed how a creative idea derived from genuine dialogue helped a problematic area like Hulme overcome its long-term problems of degeneration. Also, East Manchester is a real example of collaborative planning in an innovative plan tailored for the area. The collaboration was due to the adaptive nature of the local authorities and their attempts to include the stakeholders. The flexible central government guidelines became a simple but comprehensive formula for regeneration at a local level, and it is all thanks to the critical but constructive discourses in regeneration committees. Using this approach helped the East Manchester project to avoid past mistakes, have a variety of choices, arrive at a mutually acceptable solution, share resources and evaluate and adapt decisions and results as the project proceeded.

But in Sari's case, the responsibility of implementing the plan belongs only to the municipality. Officially, the council rarely shares its responsibilities with others, as there is no means of collaboration in either of the authority structures. They act purely to carry out their particular aims, even in issues related to regeneration plan policies. The flow of working in an isolated non-collaborative environment operates at all three levels of government, national, provincial and local, and within organisations which do not allow a shared solution for urban problems. Despite the common ground identified by the above paragraphs for the two cases, the approach that was used for the dimensions of governance was different. The Iranian regeneration and development planning framework is one that hardly changes. The influence of centrally-dominated, regionally imposed, and locally controlled and implemented development plans characterised the structure of Chapters 5 and 6, which differs from the approach that is used to assess the dimensions of governance in the UK chapters. The next section explains more about the highlights of UK planning, and the Iranian urban development plan's procedure and practices when using a similar framework.

10.5 Urban Governance in the UK and Manchester

The complexity of urban decline and neighbourhood degeneration has prevented central and local government in the UK from reaching a long-term consensus for the sustainable regeneration of cities. The review of available literature shows how political, social and economic change led to many different approaches and policies for the regeneration of the cities.

10.5.1 Policy Development at National Level

The focus of the 1960s and 1970s reconstruction strategies and policies were on the expansion of the cities, tackling social disparities and urban poverty, which included improvement of the physical condition of the cities, including housing and green spaces, mainly directly through public sector intervention via initiatives such as Community Development Projects, the eradication of slums, and Area-Based Initiatives. The degree of diversity in their knowledge resources was limited to central government guidelines in a top-down decision-making pattern. In the 1980s, the ideology of private sector involvement became the focus. Urban Development Companies were the flagship initiatives which involved regeneration and development agencies within the process of urban regeneration, and improved the physical condition of many areas dramatically.

Throughout the 1990s, the public found a greater voice and the opportunity to become involved, environmental issues were highlighted, and an integrated approach to regeneration opened a challenging chapter in the history of the UK's regeneration. It might not be the ideal and ultimate regeneration policy, as many critics believe, but it is climbing the ladder of participation to be effective, collaborative and inclusive. It brought social aspects of the urban neighbourhood alongside physical and environmental aspects of regeneration policies, making City Challenge and Single Regeneration Budget some of the most impressive and effective regeneration initiatives. The introduction of City Challenge in the 1990s was the most important change, at a national level, in

giving attention to social issues by extending the boundaries of the policy to include poor neighbourhoods and the partnership concept to community and voluntary organisations. This expansion of relational capacity was not only vertical amongst different levels of government, especially at a regional level and also a local level with residents, but also horizontal between local and national authorities, and various interest and voluntary groups.

The influence and capacity of new actors increased the mobilisation capacity of urban governance, whilst improving the managerial role of the local government, and the culture of teamworking. However, the expansion of relational resources was only partial, in that it mainly involved partnership with the private business sector, and there was little involvement of the general public and the voluntary sector. This trend still continued through recent years; however, the quality of the environment and a more sustainable regeneration has become today's guideline. Social issues found the same priority as economic and physical issues, and at the top of the agenda there is a greater emphasis on working alongside communities and residents to build a better future.

10.5.2 Policy Development at Local Level

A change of approach was seen at a local level in Manchester City Council to significantly involve the private sector, in the form of a regeneration agency in partnership with the council, especially for the regeneration of the city centre. It was successful in bringing physical and economic improvement to the city centre, but the partnerships with the private sector did not look at the problems of poverty and the poor neighbourhoods.

In Manchester, the City Challenge for Hulme, Hulme Regeneration Ltd, showed how this wider collaboration could change the features of one of the most problematic neighbourhoods of the UK by a collaborative and participative approach. East Manchester regeneration is a predominantly regeneration project which consists of many local authorities and an extensive number of local residents and private sector firms aiming to address various aspects of the urban

problems simultaneously, whilst regular public consultation helps the plan itself to be up-to-date and meet local needs. In summary, the following figure (Figure 10–2) illustrates the key factors that influence institutional capacity of a collaborative urban regeneration process in the UK. This is discussed in more detail below.

As was described previously (in Chapters 4, 7 and 8), central government creates the platform for any urban development policy by providing guidelines and major strategies. The fundamental changes in the government's course of action have been:

- Being influenced by international agendas and economic constraints;
- Carrying out research and setting principles in the name of regeneration initiatives;
- Imposing flexibility within urban policies and giving more autonomy to the local government;
- Identifying the needs derived from a local and a neighbourhood level.

These have, indeed, altered the role of the government from a fully centralised actor to more of a mediator and supporter. This does not necessarily mean weakening the government, but distributing the responsibilities between all levels and actors to achieve more from each project.

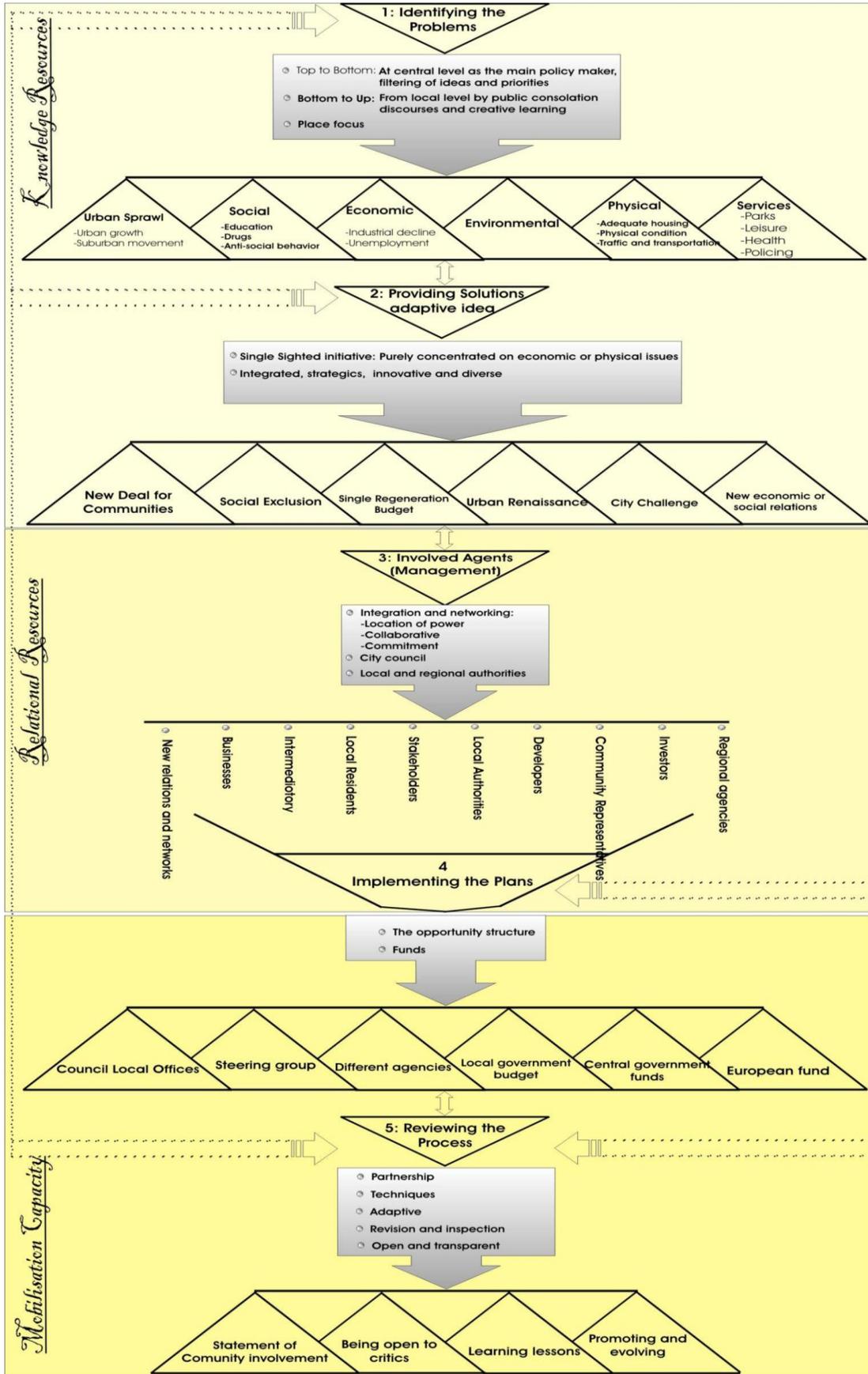


Figure 10-2: Key facts of UK urban development

10.6 Knowledge Resources

The UK planning system is diverse and issue-based, derived from the range of knowledge resources available to the planning authorities. It has evolved within the last few decades due to public demand, international planning guidelines and the direction of government. In Manchester, for instance, as stated before, various consultation and reciprocity discourses took place to enrich the plan, and to make it more effective. This took place in two stages: identifying the issues and providing solutions.

1) Identifying the Problems: At a national level, central government, with the help of research institutions, developed a national strategic framework which allocates each department responsibility and funding, based on the government's regeneration approach. National government has proved that extending the diversity of knowledge resources and techniques can be beneficial to the neighbourhoods and cities as a whole. Although central or regional government influence are still dominating powers, they share the power, as well as the responsibility, with the actors involved, whilst giving ordinary citizens the opportunity to get involved from the very early stages of urban planning, before any decisions are made. Therefore, local needs are taken on board and prioritised, which has long-term impacts and sustains the regeneration outcome.

The latest reform in the process of urban regeneration has encouraged local authorities to identify local problems, by first implementing extensive consultation with the authorities, the private sector, interest groups and stakeholders. This does support the idea of a bottom-to-top decision-making process, which is more realistic and comes from within the neighbourhood rather than government offices. By considering recommendations to empower local decision-making and the adjustment of the planning system into a more democratic form, the recognition of the causes of decline in different aspects of society will be more accurate, whether they are economic, social, physical or even environmental. The mutual relationship between central and local government is one of the advantages of the UK governance system.

According to the review of Manchester's regeneration as a whole, and of Hulme and East Manchester specifically, the city council laid the foundation of the future prosperity of the city, whether through supporting small businesses, by improving key city infrastructure to be competitive for the international market, and enhancing the quality of local life to make it inviting for national and international investors to invest, work and live in the region. Extensive consultation before, during, and after the regeneration project is a democratic way of enriching knowledge resources at local and neighbourhood level, which makes the regeneration plans local plans. Although these visions can be accomplished within the city, without the support of the central government in terms of providing frameworks, legislation and funding, they cannot be fulfilled.

2) *Adaptive Ideas*: Urban regeneration, as part of a wider approach in urban planning for the city, is the most advanced response to neighbourhood decay. Government institutions, with the help of research institutions and scholars, as shown in Chapter 4, are keen to develop a more effective solution for the multi-dimensional characteristics of urban issues in a constructive and collaborative approach. Whilst the culture of discourse between diverse and independent interests developed, the regeneration plans also evolved. For instance, when the Community Development Project was formed, the aim was a broader social reform. This time, the community found its place at the heart of central government's plans, with a greater degree of attention on education, employment, inequality and economic agendas.

Whilst the results of previous regeneration investment were assessed, with the necessity of extending knowledge resources and the capacity to absorb new ideas, local government cooperation increased and led to the foremost urban regeneration strategy, which was Urban Development Corporations. Engaging the private sector, in order to create physical and economic regeneration within the neighbourhood, had a remarkable impact on the traditional way of implementing local authorities' projects and attracted numerous investors. It was not long before City Challenge introduced another chapter in the history of urban regeneration. It again raised debates on the notion of urban deprivation and the

failure of previous initiatives to eradicate deep-seated inequality. Competing for this initiative's fund made local authorities get actively involved and seek the help of marginalised communities and many local interest groups. Since the 1990s, New Labour promised to give the public a dominant role for driving the regeneration strategy, the idea of integration and sustainability has widely spread. What can be drawn from these planning systems and theories is the:

- Introduction of comprehensive changes in the planning system to achieve more public involvement;
- Transparency in providing relevant information to the public;
- Facilitation of the opportunity for a wider range of people to get involved;
- Promotion of a culture of participation within local authorities;
- Understanding of the variety of requirements and opinions within society.

The foundation of the regeneration initiatives turned out to be based on engaging the public from the early stages of planning right to the end, in such programmes as New Deal for Communities. In fact, the aim was/is to modify the role of the government from a welfare service provider to a facilitator. This gives the planning governance the chance to shape the conception of the plan around consultation and a shared identity, whilst collaborative strategy diversifies practice and management. This redirection of views about urban issues means opening the door to the public and other parts of society to be part of the mechanism of choosing priorities, getting involved and helping to resolve problems, and supporting the authorities' action and plans. Debates exist around the extent of the mobilisation of participation, its effectiveness, and that part of the community who really interact within the planning procedure.

Having said that, within the most recent planning movement, the government has recommended a focus on tackling social exclusion, whilst paying attention to the design-led urban renewal, as well as economic reconstruction. However, this has been more effective for many areas, such as Hulme in Manchester, which was looked at previously in Chapter 7 and 8. The social and employment problems of the area, associated with the physical decline

of the neighbourhood, led the regeneration team in Hulme and East Manchester to provide a plan for most of these issues, and also led them to seek cooperation and partnership from many local and regional authorities, alongside local neighbourhoods, in order for them to be part of the solution.

10.7 Relational Resources

3) *Planning Management*: Collaborative planning is not a new phenomenon, as the study of UK planning revealed. It is, indeed, at a stage to advance citizens' empowerment theories and practices. One of the ever-growing mechanisms of governance spreading through the UK planning system is extending networking and making new connections with stakeholders and local and national organisations. It is interesting to see how networking shares responsibilities and allocates power. Spreading the culture of collaboration amongst government authorities, especially at a local level, is proven to be a better way to manage and lead regeneration plans. The city is complex, and so is its management. The description of case studies in regeneration helped to understand how urban problems are addressed, and how regeneration projects are implemented. The city council, as the main body responsible for implementing the plan in Manchester, has played a substantial role in promoting the city's physical, economic and cultural reputation after the heavy economic decline during the last century. These are the main lessons in terms of regeneration management:

- The council has been a facilitator as well as service provider;
- Being ambitious and risk-taking is part of the local authority's practical technique;
- The private sector and local residents are two major role-players in implementing projects;
- Partnerships are needed between a variety of authorities, from police to transport agencies, health and employment organisations, in order to achieve an integrated approach.

Inviting investors to participate and work in partnership with the private sector has given the regeneration committee the autonomy to finance the projects and speed them up. Regular meetings organised by the regeneration local steering group help to review the progress of the plan, increase cooperation between members and publicise the whole process. The community, as the final beneficiary of regeneration policies and practice, is given the same opportunity as other authorities to have a say, observe and become involved in the development of the area. This gives assurance to the public that they are important.

10.8 Mobilisation Capacity

4) *Implementing the Plan:* A wider mobilisation capacity gives opportunity to the authorities and private sector to develop and sustain momentum. The UK government has gradually developed an embedded culture of commitment amongst planning authorities, engagement of local authorities, and involvement of the community to work in a collaborative way and solve urban problems, as the review of planning management revealed. It has also welcomed the new ideas in regeneration, to make regeneration plans more integrated, as the review of initiatives from the 1990s onward revealed. Central government is trying to distribute decision-making and management power to the lower levels of government, which is very beneficial and has been exemplified and discussed in the case study of Manchester. East Manchester is an active example of a regeneration project which is based on the latest urban regeneration strategies, and is funded by local and national, as well as European, funds. From a human resource aspect, a team of officers and planners are located in Beswick to work on the plan on a daily basis. This helps the project to progress, and reach its conclusion on time.

Having said that, the most important part of the plan's implementation is its financial aspect. Investing in the economic development of the area is the

profitable part of the project, carried out in partnership with the private sector and banks. However, in the Manchester case, the regeneration committee uses stakeholder partnerships, as well as private companies' involvement, to make physical changes and build new houses. This indicates the important point of being flexible and approachable by a variety of agencies. The council, as the head of the regeneration steering group, regularly has to make sure that the project's progress is in accordance with the strategic plan, by considering local offices on the project site. The coordination and regular meetings of members of the regeneration committee is a convenient way to assess the project, and to remove possible obstacles. Having representatives from the public, including local residents, community groups and businesses in this team is a powerful and positive point that supports the notion of public participation within the process of regeneration.

5) *Reviewing the Plans:* The preparation and then the implementation of the urban regeneration plan are critical and are required to be as accurate as possible. However, reviewing and analysing the results of the project from the early stages of the project was a defining action for Manchester City Council and the other agencies involved. Doing so assists local authorities, or even central government, to uphold the positive aspects and deal with the weak points or causes of unsatisfactory progress, which in turn will allow better results to be achieved for that specific project. For the case of the NEM regeneration strategy, after five years of projects, another survey of local residents, businesses and agencies resulted in the review draft of the NEM strategic regeneration policy, which was updated in accordance with the latest requirements of the public. This method of reviewing the plan, in line with the critical study of the results of development projects, advances the local authorities' efforts. This is, indeed, a highly important stage within the regeneration process, and can redirect regeneration projects and investments effectively.

Many issues related to social welfare and social housing that exist within the UK's cities are not applicable in Iranian cities, which may be an advantage. However, in order to deliver an ideal service and adequate urban management,

local authorities have to work alongside each other, as discussed in the UK chapters. The extensive study of the UK planning system has underlined this and discussed how each past plan has been used and developed to reach a better and more comprehensive plan for the future.

In summary, studying the UK's regeneration policy, and the dimensions of institutionalism of the last five decades, indicates that the progress which has been made within the regeneration is due to the improvement and development of the idea of partnership working with stakeholders, government authorities and the private sector. Urban Renaissance, which aims to enhance the physical urban environment; New Deal for Communities, which focuses on the social and economic aspects of a local neighbourhood; and urban regeneration agencies such as New East Manchester Regeneration Ltd, which is a partnership between the local city council and other regeneration partners, are indeed what have made the UK's regeneration policies diverse. The government has learned how gradually transferring the decision-making power to the local level builds new relations with businesses, stakeholders and other organisations, and develops a culture of discourse learning and creativity. Whether it is for the council's own purposes to fulfil government recommendations, or actually a shift in power sharing, residents get to be heard and represented. Studying and analysing the evolutionary collaborative process was the first part of the research objectives. It has been learned that:

- The range of knowledge resources are translated into plans to which the participants have access;
- Although the council has managed to keep its position as head of the regeneration team, there is a widespread culture of absorbance of new ideas;
- Stakeholders are becoming part of the sphere of governance;
- Councils extend their relationships with various groups;
- The networks of interconnections are supportive and collaborative;
- The institutional structure aims to mobilise all opportunities and techniques to manage the plan.

The lessons that can be drawn out exclusively from the UK case studies are mainly in the ranges of the plan preparation process, its management and the way in which plans are dealt with according to their context.

10.9 Urban Governance in Iran and Sari

As noted in the Introduction, two main issues are important for improving the planning system in Iran: the nature of integration between actions of government agencies and of individual people, and communication and collaboration between agencies within the government bureaucratic system, and between agencies and the public.

Urban planning in Iran experiences a fragmentation of responsibility at central and local government level, which makes addressing urban problems more difficult. The highly centralised approach towards urban development plans has left the council in a position where they cannot prevent the destruction of valuable old urban fabric, illegal occupation of large land plots and rapid physical changes within the city, which are not endorsed by the plan. Non-existence of collaboration amongst government agencies at vertical level has created an environment of mis-opportunity for residents and illegal developers to interpret and use each government agency's authority to not to follow municipality's development plan. It is partly due to the absence of legal and bureaucratic obligation which makes each government agency alienated to the others aims, priorities and legal requirements. And it is partly the direct result of the cultural deficiency of officers and administrators who act independently. Also, lack of integration in aims, action and urban related objectives and action plan has weakened the position of each authority to act collaboratively and manage urban affairs accordingly.

10.9.1 Urban Development at National Level

At first, during the early decades of the 20th century, the government forced modern urban planning into the city fabric and introduced new laws and managerial systems to govern city affairs. The new development planning system emerged into the governance of urban management in the late 1960s, which became the foundation of the present plans. The evaluation of the planning process reveals that the main characteristics of urban problems in Iran, like many other developing countries, are rather different from developed countries. In fact, fast-growing cities, and huge migration from rural areas to the cities, have been the most important urban issues. Urban development plans in Iran are about controlling city expansion and limiting the concentration of urban physical development within the city boundaries. Although partition of land and the building new houses are the main urban activities, city centres and the old urban fabric are subject to deprivation and less attention from local authorities.

As the context of Chapters 5, 6 and 9 revealed, the governance process does not include many of the dimensions that were discussed in the UK chapters. Urban planning has been formed and characterised by MHUD, and through guidelines provided by MOI. Their centrally formulated framework is the basis of many local development plans which are put forward by their provincial offices. The networks of connection are developed at a regional and local level amongst government authorities. However, the collaborative working culture is not usual. Legal dissimilarity of organisations in relation to urban development process automatically prevents integration of aims and bureaucratic structure. If the legal context becomes ready to accept the mastery of municipality in urban issues, then collaboration amongst agencies would help to reduce the speed of urban sprawl and control it based on municipality's requirements. Also, the attendance of a number of relevant local agencies in planning committees does not automatically bring partnership or coordination between them; a similar situation occurs within the higher levels of the government structure.

10.9.2 Urban Development at Local Level

One of the dimensions of governance that was also discussed especially by the case study review of Sari was about the practicality of plans and mobilisation capacity. The comprehensive plan for the old area of Sari is an example of a rigid and single-focus plan, which is under the control of the municipality and does not benefit from a collaborative approach either in the integration of policies between agencies or working with the public. The resistance and unwillingness of many residents to cooperate with the council, coupled with the contradictions in legal interpretation by other organisations, cause delays and often the failure of regeneration projects.

The process of producing a local urban development or renewal plan is very long, and despite the recent endorsement of the government to shorten the process, there are no ideas about how it should be cut down. The main reason for this is lack of agreement and relationships between government organisations. As the planning process is a long-term process, this can lead to illegal construction and uncontrollable urban expansion. Unfortunately, when the plans are ready for implementation, the initial data used in the preparation period is often out of date. Consequently, there is a need to review the basic information upon which the plans have been based, which, in fact, becomes an endless cycle leading to the ineffectiveness of urban development plans. Local authorities are often behind schedule, and can only observe citizens' illicit urban migration and building activities without being able to intervene. One of the direct impacts of rewriting the plans over and over is the widespread disappointment and mistrust of the public over the plans and planning organisations, especially the city councils.

In the absence of stakeholders within it, the planning governance lacks the necessary diversity of knowledge resources and discourses. This was discussed extensively before in the review of the Iranian planning literature, and also in the case of Sari. This, therefore, reduces the consideration of local experience in the plans and its responsiveness to the public demand.

10.10 Knowledge Resources

Figure 10–3 indicates how knowledge resources work, whose the main relational resources are, and what institutions mobilise the plan. It is a summary of discussions of the Iranian planning chapters.

1) Identifying the Problems: The provision of master plans in Iran is quite new, going back only to the 1960s. Although there are traces of limited plans for some areas before industrialisation in Iran, the value and details of development plans vary. The majority of them only focus on physical land-use planning. The extent of knowledge used for the plans is limited to land-use planning and building density, and does not include social, cultural, economic or environmental aspects. Especially in respect to the impact of local community knowledge, there are no meetings or public consultation to discuss the issues and to find the real problem, whether social or physical, and in turn to provide an effective plan. Therefore, automatically, ideas dealing with these aspects are discredited or filtered out.

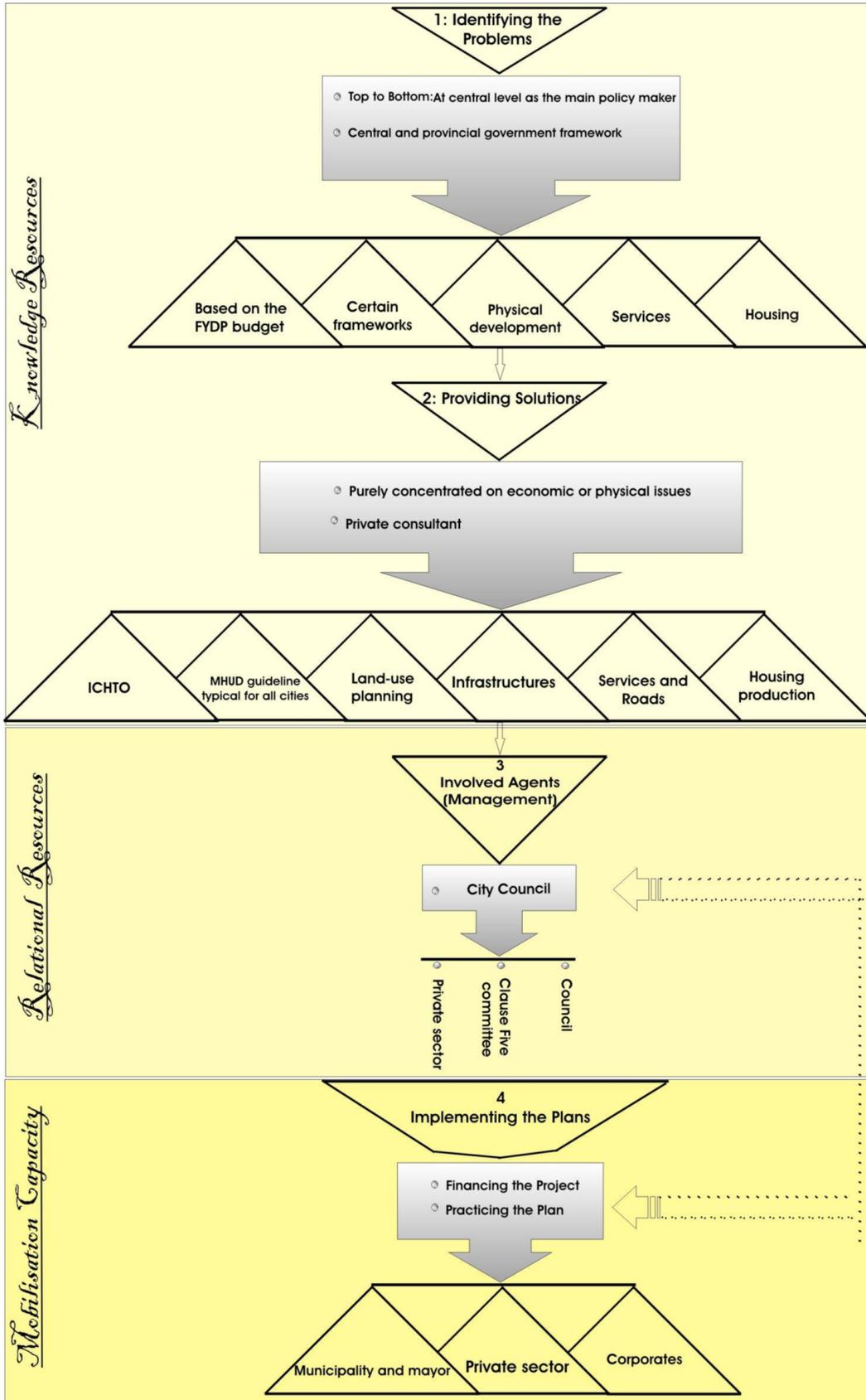


Figure 10-3: Key facts of Iranian urban development

The development of urban regeneration plans still is classified as a luxury. Even within the process of planning and management, there is hardly a sign of integration and collaboration between organisations. This also affects diversity in knowledge resources. Therefore, the focus of the plan is on physical development, without considering the needs of individuals, firms or even the quality of places.

2) *Providing solutions*: A single private consultancy firm is the main body which prepares the plan, in accordance with the MHUD guidelines and the municipality's general regulations. Plans are based on land-use planning and influenced by the national priorities and budget. They may focus on housing, public services, transport or infrastructure. The frame of reference which shapes the conception of the issues and relevant solutions is limited to a set of rules imposed by central government, and has hardly been altered in years. An integrated approach, and discourses in general, do not play much of a part in the formulation the plan, and the picture gets worse when considering stakeholders' consultation. Planning authorities' attempts to survey residents are more about their own needs than a shift in power relations, which has been the case in the Khayam regeneration project in Sari's old area. The discussions in Chapters 6 and 9 extensively reviewed and criticised how the lack of local knowledge caused irregularities in the local development pattern, and in turn created a series of urban activities formulated and led by the community. This raises questions about the validity of the solutions suggested by plans to meet local needs, and the extent of public consultation in this process.

10.11 Relational Resources

3) *Involving Actors*: The discussions of Chapters 5 and 6 highlighted how the planning authorities' relations shape the plan. But any action is completely dependent on the municipality. The municipality is the only organisation responsible for the implementation of urban development plans. Regular meetings of the Clause Five Committee, informal meetings of the council and

HUDO and occasionally private investors are the main teams working together to make sure the plan progresses. The type of relations between them is not collaborative, but bureaucratic and subject-based. The top-down hierarchy of planning authorities has put the municipality, and in particular the mayor, who should follow particular rules and implement the plan, at the very bottom. Even the relations between the municipality's departments and the city council are formal, with no effective connections. This unbalanced concentration of power and duties amongst local authorities creates a hasty and shallow network of relation amongst institutions. The case of Sari's urban development plan (Chapter 9) is an example of the plan of a typical medium-sized Iranian city. Structural aspects of urban development plans, to some extent, are typical, with fewer mutual relationships than other plans, whether regional or national. Since before the revolution, there has been no integrated framework for urban development plans. In other words, cities' plans work independently.

Lack of consensus over each organisation's and ministry's general aims and policies has weakened the relationships between them. There are many parallel, and sometimes constructive, plans at local, provincial and national levels in various organisations that never work together. However, the biggest challenge still remains, which is the creation of a multi-aspect organisation or committee with the power to direct urban development and regeneration plans and create coordination in urban management.

10.12 Mobilisation Capacity

4) *Implementing the Plans:* Although the plans are developed in accordance with the resources provided by some authorities, the municipal office is the sole institution involved in mobilisation practices. The tension between some authorities also makes the situation worse. Financial constraints and lack of dedicated personnel to focus on the regeneration plans has pushed the relevant projects aside. Although physical improvement is the main feature of urban development plans (as discussed in Chapter 9), the private sector and some of the

local authorities play a limited role in the regeneration projects. External influences, especially the provincial governor's office, change or affect some of the set targets. For instance, the financial help of the provincial office of MOI is limited to one or two small projects for the whole ten years' life of the plan. However, it is one of the biggest forces in mobilising the plan. Within the bureaucratic system and management structure itself, the problem of the present selection of managers in the government structure is that it is on the basis of their ideological affiliations, and they are generally unfamiliar with techniques and strategies in their field as opposed to formal qualifications. However, effective managerial skills cannot be mastered solely on the basis of job training, without any practical experience.

The centrally-dominated planning system has failed to mobilise the capacity of the local government and local community. The former is due to the failure to create authentic dialogue in meetings, critical and experimental discussions, to strengthen networking and collaboration amongst key planning authorities, and to construct a working environment which includes all stakeholders. The latter is the result of failing to address the residents' and other stakeholders' opinions as a potential helping hand. This would create a self-mobilisation environment, and turn the residents into the independent and self-regulating architects of the city, who do not necessarily follow planning recommendations. This might not be acceptable from the municipality's and other authorities' points of view. However, the current situation is the result of failure of the urban planning process to take control of the urban activities by creating an inclusive, participative and collaborative system.

The changes in respect of regeneration and revitalisation policies (Chapter 5 and 6) at a national and local level have shown positive signs, however:

1. Coordination and consensus amongst relevant authorities at national and local level are essential aspects of the process, which can have major positive impacts on general policy and project management. This is one

of the most important issues of urban management which needs improvement. Although MOI was the founder of the new movement in urban renaissance, and has spread the latest theories in inner-urban regeneration, the municipalities, HUDO and ICHTO could not take the lead and get more involved.

2. As has been experienced by many countries, the process of urban revitalisation is a multi-dimensional issue and needs strong backup and financial support. This can be as a powerful adverse force which keeps local authorities behind schedule.
3. Enabling and regularising urban and suburban poor settlements cannot be achieved without a strong visible policy and coordination with other authorities. But Iranian urban management lacks this collaboration.
4. The role of HUDO in many committees is just as a member, with little flexibility to alter decisions. The situation becomes more complicated when considering the bureaucratic structure of local government and the organisation's administration, as they have no liability for the management of projects.
5. Theories in urban development and regeneration are evolving dramatically, and are part of universities' curriculum for professional planners. But in practice, the plans are subject to the personal opinions of managers and the municipalities' professional planning staff, and can be overridden.
6. Regeneration plans are often not applicable to other organisations, only to the authority responsible. This reduces the chances of the plans' success and this has to be reviewed.

So far I have attempted to describe and analyse various aspects of the planning procedure in the two countries. The political and governmental structures of each country, as well as socio-economic criteria and many other factors, play a fundamental role in the planning process. What is vital is to understand the capability of each method in accordance with each context and the extent of the plan's reliability, either in theory or in practice.

10.13 Similarities and Differences in the Planning Systems of the UK and Iran

The spatial and physical quality of the urban area is the first point that attracts the attention of the government planning authorities. As the study of UK and Iranian planning revealed, in both countries, local activities and facilities are traditionally associated with local housing and social needs; however, diversifying residents and increasing social balance within the neighbourhood context in the UK are part of the regeneration plan, whilst carrying out refurbishment and controlling property development and values throughout the revitalisation process. As stated in Iran's planning review, having a single-issue approach to regeneration has a wide range of consequences, which includes unbalanced growth, unbalanced service distribution, social disintegration and traffic chaos.

A transferable lesson from the development of the UK planning system is that the purely economic or physical regeneration and housing development of the 1950s–1960s was criticised and rejected by scholars and the public, which encouraged the policymakers to find a more holistic approach and make local government more effective by transferring decision-making to the local level and implementing an integrated approach. At both local and national level, UK government has learned several lessons on the journey to diversify its knowledge about the issues and prepare plans in an inclusive and participative decision-making process. Although there are complications in extending and applying an integrated plan within the UK planning system, despite the government's tendency to improve the urban planning mechanism, the Iranian planning system can learn direct lessons on how to prepare an inclusive plan which integrates the actions of agencies. The Iranian planning system now faces a similar situation to the UK sixty years ago, where the housing market and physical development are at the heart of urban and economic activities.

One difference which cannot be transferred from the UK is the power and role of the municipality in housing development under social welfare policies,

which is not a known tradition in Iran and reduces the role of the local authorities in controlling urban development and housing activities.

From a management point of view, integration and teamworking is crucial. The UK government has predominantly been trying to develop the culture of collaboration amongst regeneration authorities and communities. Although the quality and extent of involved actors, their influence and even inclusiveness varies, it is becoming an essential part of the bureaucratic process. As was discussed throughout the earlier chapters, to a large extent these represent the values of the wider society and its culture in the UK. And above all, how the area is run, and how the services to the public are delivered, fit within the category of urban management. This is another transferable lesson which can improve planning management and collaboration. The culture of collaboration hardly exists within the present bureaucratic system in Iran. However, the existence of culture of collaboration in the wider society in Iran can be exemplified by large scale collaboration during the religious ceremonies or some voluntary activities and projects especially in providing services for rural areas that developed after the Iranian Revolution..

The differences between the two countries, in terms of government structure and government departments' responsibilities, might make the transferring of exact lessons impossible, but the whole idea of strengthening relational networks and collaboration amongst key actors is a useful tool. Being open to the public, with both large-scale and individual consultation, as well as virtual and physical access, are some of the main features. The study shows how transparency and the informative nature of the planning system have helped the UK regeneration authorities to enhance the quality of regeneration, the neighbourhood and public relations. This is the most important transferable lesson to the Iranian case which could help the government overcome the long-standing problem of illegal urban development and housing. Every single method identified in the case study of Manchester to get the public to be engaged and get involved, could be used directly in the Iranian planning system.

In terms of the management and funding of the project, Urban Regeneration Agencies are powerful and practical forms of regeneration management within the UK planning system. Their financial contribution to the government funding mechanism has helped many projects which could never have been carried out in their absence. But in Iran, financial policy, in the name of the city councils' self-sufficiency, has not proposed adequate revenues to cover even their official expenses, resulting in the land and density being seen as revenue-earning assets. This is one aspect of UK experience that can never be applied to Iran. The mechanism of financing urban projects and the contribution of different authorities in funding regeneration plans varies, and as previously discussed, makes the development plans ineffective in many cases.

Effective, high-quality, and comprehensive planning, which includes a variety of issues, from social to environmental and physical, are as important as updating data, monitoring progress and reviewing approaches. The integrated approach to regeneration in the UK has improved the quality of the urban environment, and created a more sustainable and comprehensive living space for urban residents. However, in Iran, local authorities are unable to cope with the unauthorised population migration heading for a better life in the cities and their illegal building activities. It can be directly compared with the Industrial Revolution in the UK. Unfortunately, in Iran currently, similarly to that period in the UK, urban policy aims and objectives still concentrate on physical development via government intervention.

In terms of physical development and diversity of urban facilities, the examples of the East Manchester regeneration plan and project showed how the multi-dimensional plan, which included social, cultural, economic, physical, transport and even educational issues, helped to promote the area to meet the majority of residents' needs and to encourage inward investment. It was shown that the plan itself was also flexible and upgraded according to constant consultation with the public and other local organisations. This could become a

valuable lesson for the Iranian case, in terms of the issues reflected in the urban development and regeneration plan.

Demographic growth, spatial and structural weaknesses of medium-sized cities, and geographical factors are the main limiting factors to the policy of balanced development of urban areas. General deficiencies and the emphasis on the single-sector approach within the Iranian planning and management system has left deep scars on the face of many urban areas and compromised their cultural values and heritage. The general trend of the concentration of the population within affluent urban neighbourhoods, the degeneration of urban cores, the expansion of economic activities to other urban areas, and the lack of adequate services within the city's neighbourhoods in Iran, within the last century, is similar to what happened in the UK in the years after the Second World War until the 1970s.

Whilst the government emphasises people's participation, there is no clear and strong application, or practical method, for such participation. In a simple comparison between the Iranian and UK notion of public participation, as mentioned before, the level of power given to stakeholders is at very different stages (Figure 10–4). This, to a large extent, indicates where democratic planning stands in the two countries, and also shows how much collaboration has an impact on institutional capacity. These common objectives are the focal points that have widely been discussed, and will be pointed out within the next section in the form of lessons and recommendations from this research. The Iranian planning and urban management system is on the very lowest step of the ladder, where there is no sort of participation or citizen empowerment. This makes climbing up this ladder harder when the degree of collaboration amongst local, regional and central authorities is very limited. However, a different scenario exists in the UK, as studied by this research, where the culture of wide public consultation, open access information, and, in very limited projects, even partnership is a well-developed part of urban planning. In my opinion, the UK has not achieved the full degree of citizen empowerment and this may not an easy target; however there is still a big gap between Iran and the UK in this area.

this research, as mentioned above. It will help the researcher to recommend applicable advice for the Iranian context.

10.14 Recommendations

Despite all the differences in the mechanisms and characteristics of planning in the UK and Iran, identifying the main barriers to the concept of participation within regeneration is as crucial as imposing changes within the frameworks and methods of decision-making and planning practice. To reach this stage in the research, and to be able to put forward some recommendations for improving the Iranian planning system, institutional capacity criteria were reviewed, which leads us to Table 10–2, which is a set of general recommendations for each criteria or relational resources, knowledge resources and mobilisation capacity. The recommendation has used the conceptual comparison base explained in Table 2–2, which shows the three levels of power in the hands of planning governance.

The first level of power is being informative in the planning system for stakeholders, especially the local community. The second level is a more in-depth sharing power which promotes consultation through the diversification of knowledge resources and the deepening of relational networking. The third level of power is creating an authentic dialogue, creative discussions and leading the process of planning management towards a democratic and participative environment. Although the meaning of governance in Iranian planning is limited to formal government at a national, provincial and local level, this research has tried to expand it to the more common definition, which includes various stakeholders and their system of collaboration. The same model of discussion was used to present the highlights of the regeneration procedure in the two case studies, based on the research question:

“How can the quality of urban development planning in Sari be improved by the amelioration of building institutional capacity in a collaborative and more participative governance?”

Table 10–2: Recommendations to enhance institutional capacity

	Knowledge Resources	Relational Resources	Mobilisation Capacity
First level of power: informative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Passing this level by emphasising on correct informative system and tools - Bringing various ideas to the discourses - Building bridges and trust between government, private sectors and within organisation itself 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deepening the current relationships between organisations - Creating new relations with stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Developing sense of belonging, enthusiastic and commitment by giving positive role to all actions, staff and stakeholders - Developing culture of positive and constructive criticism
Second level of power: consultative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Building a strong foundation for being open and accessible for the stakeholders - Using various methods to achieve consultation for problem identification and secure appropriate solutions - Accepting ideas, expanding creative and learning discourses between local government and stakeholders - Shift in regeneration approach and ideology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Using all present relational resources - Keeping these relations part of everyday and permanent bureaucratic system - Breaking the traditional hierarchical administrative system by empowering local authorities and local people - Accepting partnership working as a general mode of regeneration working pattern 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organising the process from the early stages - Reducing tensions and hierarchical ranking - Creating harmony and positive approach

	Knowledge Resources	Relational Resources	Mobilisation Capacity
Third level of power: participative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making consultation part of bureaucratic system - Giving power to the local governance system including municipality - Enrichment of knowledge to make decisions by having wide and inclusive consultation - Involving stakeholders in decision-making - Partnership thinking and working - Learning lessons from the past mistakes - Being positive in using various knowledge resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Giving equal rights of access, influence and power to all the members and citizens - No filtering of action in being ambitious - Economic, physical, cultural and social empowerment and relations - Shift in the regeneration action from sing-handed to partnership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teamworking and collaboration amongst actors as well as stakeholders - Integrated management - Shifting from central government control to more local management

In order for the system of urban governance in Iran, and in Sari in particular, to move toward the higher levels of power, the following more detailed recommendations are made:

10.14.1 Improvement of Knowledge Resources

1. Concentration on trivial issues should be replaced by pinpointing the issues at the heart of the neighbourhood. The old-style, single-issue approach to planning and the mere use of a coloured map for land-use planning should be replaced by a more integrated approach, proceeding from social, economic, environmental, physical and cultural matters. The

very first criteria for enhancing the institutional capacity of the Iranian planning system is to enhance knowledge resources, enriching it by welcoming local ideas, stakeholders' opinions and other planning authorities' authentic discourses. Looking at the East Manchester strategic regeneration framework, this showed how a variety of local issues could be looked at simultaneously. This would improve the quality of the neighbourhood, whether physical, economic or social. Providing a comprehensive plan is most important, whilst ensuring that the plan covers the significant issues of the neighbourhood is also essential.

2. Regenerating the physical aspects of a historic centre is as important as the social and economic aspects, and should be equally emphasised. Regeneration is a multi-dimensional project, and an out-of-balance plan can have a permanent and irreversible impact on the area. For the preparation of city development plans, the frameworks used in Iran should be tailored for the needs of local people, by identifying local issues and consulting local residents; this is the step which is all too often forgotten.
3. A significant number of citizens are willing, based on the survey, to get engaged in the decision-making process and bring forward their local knowledge and experience. Giving them the chance to be heard is recommended. The practicality of this idea was reviewed in the East Manchester statement of community involvement, and could be used similarly in Iran. Large-scale public consultations and the establishment of a team focused on the regeneration plans and collecting ideas from all sectors, by implementing a variety of methods, have made East Manchester one of the UK's pioneer regeneration projects based on local issues. The review of East Manchester's Strategic Regeneration Framework was a good example of a comprehensive and holistic regeneration framework which translated the social, educational, security and physical issues of an area into a practical plan. If the collection of relevant information and the identification of local shortages and

requirements in Iran were to take place at a local level, and by consulting local people from the early stages of planning, the information received would be more accurate. This could be achieved, for instance, by sending out postal questionnaires, organising public meetings in every neighbourhood at convenient times and locations, and by distributing different forms and brochures within public places such as schools, community and leisure centres etc.

4. It is important to have local residents' representatives within the planning team, whilst the progress and results of project decisions, whether short-, medium- or long-term, should be publicised regularly. This would then help to gather public opinion, implement any necessary changes as the projects progress, and promote the culture of participation. For many projects this can even facilitate the problem-solving process.
5. Having a small but powerful professional advisory body attached to planning organisations and involved ministries, with special focus on regeneration aspects, could be a reliable method of making knowledge resources within the planning system more diverse. This could be at a central, provincial and local level, to liaise with planning organisations and provide them with administrative, professional, technical and clerical support.

10.14.2 Improvement of Relational Resources

6. When problems and needs are identified, making decisions on how to eradicate them also begin. This is where strong relational resources can have the most impact. The existing weak and patchy relations between the local organisations should be improved. This also needs improvement at a provincial and even national level. Even within themselves, Iranian government planning organisations lack commitment and methods of integration, which reflects on their actions at a regional and local level.

As this research has identified, the horizontal and vertical relationships within the planning governance inevitably have to improve. This would consequently reduce tension between organisations, and help to avoid differences in targets, which unfortunately exist in the present bureaucratic system.

7. Having a local office packed full of a variety of information and plans that have been implemented in the area, arranging regular meetings, one-to-one home visits, and other sorts of local opinion gathering methods that were/are being used in the case of Beswick, are clear and useful examples of a holistic approach in extending relational networks and the culture of participation which could be applicable to the case of Sari. Although the UK mainly has a two-tier planning system, this is not a big issue as the nature of the relationship between authorities and the changes in partnerships working between government authorities, and also with residents, is the main positive point that could be a valuable lesson for the Iranian planning system.

8. One of the main weak points of Iran's urban planning mechanism is the management power of the municipality, and its leadership in general. The city council, as the main service provider for the city, is not strong enough in terms of legal authority and influence over decisions made by other local and regional authorities. It cannot play the pivotal role in mobilising other authorities in the plans' direction or influence them in following the plans' aims. The overlap between authorities on many civil issues and the lack of coordination in the management of urban neighbourhoods and services has caused disorder and confusion in many areas, which consequently causes physical developments to be built which are not in accordance with the city council's comprehensive plan. The tension between authorities, the lack of collaboration, and the absence of participation is the main feature of the present management mechanism. Building institutional capacity in a collaborative way, which would reduce tensions, is recommended. This could happen by creating a

regeneration committee, involving all the actors, extending the network of connections with other local authorities and stakeholders, communicating with each other to create consensus, making connections with all sections of society, thinking and acting integrated and distributing power equally. It has been shown, by looking at the Manchester regeneration projects, for example, that setting up regular meetings between urban service providers and making decisions applicable to all the members is one of the suggested solutions.

9. The complex nature of urban planning and regeneration, which includes financial constraints and time limitations, requires a single-minded team of local authorities, representatives of local residents, voluntary and community groups, enthusiastic officers employed only for the projects, having an open door policy and an accessible location. Although the two countries' priorities in solving urban issues are different, this does not reduce the necessity of having a planning committee consisting of all relevant authorities and citizens to make decisions, implement the plan, and deal with issues in practice.

10. At a national level, central government has to create and encourage coordination amongst government ministers and make the boundaries of their services clear, as well as giving respect and recognition to the regeneration committees at the local level. The cooperation of local authorities, such as the Teaching and Education Organisation, the Islamic Guidance Ministry, ICHTO, private companies and service providers, and many others, with the city council in the management of old urban fabric, is vital. Seeking public participation and using the help of private sector investment are also beneficial.

10.14.3 Improvement of Mobilisation Resources

11. Although planning initiatives in each country are specific solutions to specific problems, transferring the general idea behind the initiatives to the Iranian planning system would give the government and planners the chance to prevent making the same mistakes as other countries, and at the same time to adapt the initiatives to be applicable to the Iranian context. For instance, promoting staff knowledge and giving them relevant training may also be useful, whilst providing the authorities with supportive regulations and guidelines is crucial in mobilising the available resources to gain the higher standard.

12. One of the main problems of urban planning and practice in Iran is financing the project, under the category of mobilisation capacity. As described before, NEM is a project funded at three major levels; the EU, the UK government and the local council. Although accessibility to extensive funds in Iran is not possible, project-based partnerships with the private sector and facilitation of the banks' involvement in the process are examples that could partially be adapted from the Beswick residential revitalisation project and implemented in Sari. Involving financial partners within the planning process may have an impact on the direction of the plan, which is the case in Iran. However, the mechanism of partnership working and being flexible in approach could reduce the plan's achievements. Although some recent commercial development of regeneration projects in big cities have involved private sector firms, most urban development plans are not attractive to private investors or banks. Also, the government bureaucratic system does not allow councils to seek private sector partnership in urban projects. Imposing reform in partnership processes within the local government structure is an answer to this, as well as giving priority to and allocating funds for the project at a national level.

13. One of the criteria in enhancing collaborative planning is improving the ongoing process of change and mobilisation capacity. The close relationship between local government and the community could automatically make stakeholders sensitive to urban regeneration and also cause the local authorities to take more care when implementing projects. The review of the planning system in the case study, as an example of Iran's general planning mechanism, revealed that there is no organisation or person that reassesses or critically examines the urban development plans after they are approved. This is, to a large extent, an important reason for the low level of achievement of urban development and regeneration plans. All three levels of the planning procedure take place for the set period of the plan within the rigid bureaucracy of the relevant authority. The culture and legal obligation of a critical but constructive review of urban plans is a positive idea that needs to be accepted and implemented in Iran. In the preparation of urban development and regeneration plans, there is no obligation for responsible authorities, or even the city council, to seek public opinion or consult the public, either during the preparation period or afterwards. As the experiences of other cities reveal, involving the public during the decision-making process, informing them about progress, and even sharing some of the responsibilities with them, can safeguard the plans. This would help to improve the process, outcomes and sustainability of urban activities, and promoting the planning system's move towards a planning governance.

- Statements of community involvement, as a method adapted directly from the UK regeneration policy, prepared by the council for the information of regional level and central government, are a powerful set of documents which would make sure that the local community were represented and actively involved within the whole process of urban development planning.
- Critically reviewing the plan from the early stages of implementation would highlight obstacles and positive and negative points where amendments could be made.

- This would prevent the making of the same mistakes in the future, which would in turn save the council's or other organisations' money, the planners' and people's time and would lead to an increase in general public satisfaction. Learning lessons from the past would eventually create a sustained and long-lasting investment.
- Analysing projects would promote the planning system.

Non-collaborative land-use planning has failed to overcome ever-increasing and complex urban problems. This research suggests a collaborative planning by recommending an integrated approach in the urban planning procedure which includes cultural, economic, social and physical aspects of society, in the hope that institutional capacity within the system would be enhanced. Central government support in improving the theoretical frameworks of urban planning, as well as considering local level committees consisting of the relevant representatives of authorities, and the public and private sectors, would improve the plans in practice. It would be advantageous if project reviews became a part of the planning process. By acquiring greater legal authority, financial help and building institutional capacity measures, Sari's municipality could be more responsive to local demands, and could generate more coordination between the private sector, the local community and the city council. When it comes to sharing responsibilities, MHUD and councils must work together and use the same definitions for their recommendations. Private investors should get more support from the government and financial institutions. Private companies also need financial insurance against public contracts, whilst the government's and banks' help to the private sector should be revised.

The research aim was to study the theories and practical aspects of urban regeneration in two contexts, to draw out some recommendations on how development plans in Iran could use their institutional capacity, and promote collaboration with the general public and the processes of urban planning. I hope that this aim has been fulfilled, as the nature of planning is so wide and complex. Perhaps further research can be carried out on development of the idea of institutional capacity building in more practical way in Iran.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire prepared for local residents

Could you please answer the following questions:

- Do you know of any urban regeneration programme in your area?
 Yes No Don't bother

- Do you attend any public meetings held in your area for regeneration purposes?
 Yes No Don't bother

- Do you read or respond to any leaflet you receive about regeneration plans in your neighbourhood?
 Yes No Don't bother

- If you attend community forums, do you give your ideas directly, or go through community leaders or representatives?
 Myself Community representative Neither

- When was the last time you spoke to council officers/councillors regarding your concerns about your area/neighbourhood?
 Last week Last month Last 6 months Never

- How would you like to be contacted by local authorities to have a say about any regeneration programme in your area?
 Leaflet Public meeting Telephone Local newsletter

- Are you happy with the regeneration activities in your area, including physical, cultural, economic and environmental improvements?
 Yes No Don't bother

- Do you find any complexity in the terminology and technical language used for the regeneration programme?
 Yes No Don't bother

Appendix 2: *The New East Manchester Steering Group*

- Members from local government, community and voluntary groups
- Membership: Public Sector:
 - Manchester City Council,
 - Representatives of regional and sub-regional agencies
 - Manchester Police
 - Manchester Learning and Skills Council
 - Manchester Passenger and Transport Executive
 - Association of Greater Manchester Authorities
 - The Working Age Agency
 - The North West Development Agency
 - The North West Trade Union Congress
 - North West Art Board
 - Manchester Enterprise (holder of the small business franchise)
 - Manchester Health Authority
 - Manchester Community Legal Service
 - Manchester Registered Social Landlords
 - Manchester Primary Care Trust
 - Manchester Universities
 - Manchester Further Educational Colleges
 - Manchester Schools
 - Manchester Museums
- Private Sector: eight representatives from:
 - Manchester Chamber of Commerce and business community
 - Voluntary and community sectors
- Representatives from:
 - Manchester Council for Community relations
 - Manchester Young peoples Council
 - Manchester LSP Working Group
 - Government Office for the North West

Appendix 3: Questionnaire distributed by council in the East Manchester area

“You can have your say about the draft Strategic Regeneration Framework and the priorities we have suggested – we need your views to make sure that when it is published, the framework truly reflects the views of the local community.

We will keep the information you tell us confidential. You don’t have to give us your contact details, but if you do we will enter you in a prize draw to win £100 worth of vouchers to spend at Asda-Walmart.

Please answer the following questions and return this questionnaire to the freepost address over the page (you will not need a stamp). To make sure that we know who lives in East Manchester please tell us about you and your household.

Are you: male? female?

What age group do you fall into? Under 16 16-24 25-44
 45-64 65-74 75+

What is your ethnic background?

Caribbean Middle Eastern Chinese Indian
 Vietnamese Pakistani White British Polish
 Irish Czech African (Please say which country you are from).....
 Other European (Please say which country you are from).....
 Other (Please say which country you are from).....

Please tell us how you currently rate the following things about living in the East Manchester.

Please tick the box	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Not very good	Bad
The quality and choice of homes					
The job opportunities					
The quality and choice of schools					
The quality and choice of training opportunities					
How clean the neighbourhood is and the quality of parks and opens paces					

Transport links					
Leisure, parks and sport facilities					
Shops and local services					
A strong community spirit and neighbourhoods who help each other					

The framework has identified seven priorities for the next 10 years. Please tell us what you would make a priority first (number the priorities 1 to 7 in the boxes next to the priorities, making 1 your highest priority and 7 your lowest priority).

Priority	Number
“Arcs of Investment” (new employment opportunities in East Manchester)	
Working communities (making sure that local residents have the skills and are able to get the new jobs that we are going to create)	
Improving achievements in education (making sure our schools are high-quality, increasing how many parents get involved with their child’s education and building a great new high school)	
Family neighbourhoods (a mix of houses, shops and leisure facilities, good education and healthcare that suits a wide range of people, particularly families)	
Metro link: eight stops in eight places (developing the areas around the new Metrolink stops with new homes and shops as well as good pedestrian and cycling routes)	
Making East Manchester greener (more trees and high-quality open spaces)	
Improving high street centres (improving the quality and choice of shops along the high streets)	

About you (you do not have to tell us the following information, but if you do we can enter you in the prize draw to win £100 worth of vouchers to spend at Asda-Walmart. We will keep the information you tell us confidential and anonymous).

Your name:.....

Your address and postcode:

Your phone number:.....

Your mobile phone number:.....

Your email:

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire and good luck in the prize draw.”

(New East Manchester Ltd, 2008, p.3)

Appendix 4: *Description of detailed information needed for comprehensive plans*

These are the details of services presented in the Urban Development and Planning Organisation's framework:

- 1) General study of the region:
 - 1-1) Geographical situation and climate of the region;
 - 1-2) Cultural and social background of the region;
 - 1-3) Population distribution pattern of the region;
 - 1-4) The transport capability and connection with other regions;
 - 1-5) Economic situation of the region and its impact on the city's lifestyle,
 - 1-6) County and regional planning and the role of the city in the region;
 - 1-7) Small settlements and villages located in the city influence radian and regions political division.

- 2) Assessing the influence catchments:
 - 2-1) Geographical and climate specification;
 - 2-2) Natural resources;
 - 2-3) Number and the location of settlements;
 - 2-4) Condition of transport and roads between the city and its surrounding settlements;
 - 2-5) Condition of infrastructures, social welfare and distribution of usage;
 - 2-6) Economic situation;
 - 2-7) Location and condition of historic buildings and sites;
 - 2-8) Population;
 - 2-9) Historical, cultural and social background of the city;
 - 2-10) National civil programmes at the scale of region and city, the proposed growth and urban development direction, and regional economic development planning.

- 3) Studying the city:
 - 3-1) Historical background and urban development of the city during the last few centuries;
 - 3-2) Geographical situation of the city;
 - 3-3) Demographic growth and social background of the city;
 - 3-4) Economic situation of the city;
 - 3-5) Financial, engineering and official capability
 - 3-5-1) of the city council itself and its subcontractors;
 - 3-5-2) of the council, its income growth, and financial accountability of its dependent organisations;
 - 3-5-3) of the council, initiating new financial resources in order to use in providing construction activities;
 - 3-5-4) and also employing professional people and providing training programmes to be able to use in different sections of the council;
 - 3-5-5) within the council and creating suitable context for people to participate in council's services;
 - 3-5-6) and regulation of civil activities of the council, land ownership legislation and duties of council's other dependent organisations;
 - 3-6) City's physical details;
 - 3-6-1) City's land-use pattern, areas and per capita;
 - 3-6-2) Different usages' detail at city level;
 - 3-6-3) Quality of local services distribution;
 - 3-6-4) City's different neighbourhoods and areas, their physical and to some extent social detail;
 - 3-6-5) Building density in all areas and study of some samples in each of them.

Analysis Phase: classification, analysis, summarising the results of the study, the present situation, and the city's influence, and providing the outcomes to the sub-categories.

Proposing the final recommendations: writing up the final findings, classifying and providing the possible impact of the plan on the future of the city and its development, as well as drawing the plan's maps, tables and charts.

Final plan:

- 1) Producing final plan;
- 2) Providing civil and urban development plan.

Appendix 5: *Proposal framework for old area of Sari's comprehensive plan*

For the city centre area, the plan and its frameworks are different. The plan is based on six main frameworks:

- Identifying
- Analysing
- Writing regeneration plan
- Providing theoretical framework
- Producing plan
- Construction management

In this regard, after studying the existing situation and analysing the data, potentials and shortages, different planning patterns should be introduced.

Description of the Plan and its Outline: In the early stages of the plan, it is relatively similar to the master plan, especially at the general study phase. But at the next level, it is a little bit different when it comes to using the potentials and the data. Here are the key titles of the planning requirements.

- General Issues:
 - 1) Introducing the project:
 - Administrative mechanism;
 - Practical environment;
 - Regulation framework.
 - 2) Identifying theoretical frameworks:
 - Defining initial theoretical descriptions;
 - Conditions;
 - Controlling methods and tools;
 - Discovering and classifying the other related organisations and those whose decisions will impact the area;

- Examining the private sector potential;
 - Working closely with the council and those who are responsible for the historic areas, in terms of using their regulations and general policies;
 - Studying the practicality of the plan.
- 3) Studying the effects of other plans on the area (internally and externally), such as the master and detail plans.
- Details:
 - 1) Determination of:
 - Natural specifications;
 - Present activities and usage;
 - Population of the old area and its percentage share in the city;
 - Population per capita;
 - Classification of residents and stakeholders;
 - Historical background of settlements;
 - Economic circumstances of the area;
 - Incomes and occupations;
 - Property price rate, inflation and deflation;
 - Land and property ownership;
 - Quality built environment design;
 - Infrastructure and transportation routes.
 - 2) Analysis of:
 - Geographical and natural studies;
 - Demographic, social and economic;
 - Quality of built environment;
 - Infrastructure and roads.
 - 3) Producing regeneration and revitalisation plans:
 - Conservation programmes:
 - Limitations and availabilities;
 - General policies, aims and targets;
 - Land-use plan;

- Economic and social development plan;
 - Urban and public space design;
 - Transport policies;
 - Assessing and analysing local authorities’ policies, development of cooperation and lessening disagreements in terms of inner-city management: organisations such as city council, provincial government or cultural heritage organisation etc.;
 - Studying possibility of use of private sector, NGOs and citizens’ involvement and introducing initiatives;
 - Studying and using other plans’ ideas.
 - Providing theoretical framework:
 - Defining overall features;
 - Illustrating design and participation guides;
 - Approving and supplying planning, design and practice procedures;
 - Recognising talents, scarcities and propositions.
- 4) Guidance and control:
- Conservation plans;
 - Land-use plans;
 - Socio-economic development plans;
 - Urban environment quality promotion plans;
 - Transport system plans.
- 5) Regulations:
- Conservation legislation;
 - Land-use regulations;
 - Economic and social promotion guidelines;
 - Urban design rules;
 - Transport laws.
- 6) Urban management:
- Urban management mechanisms;
 - Management organisations;
 - Categorisation of primary practical suggestions.

Appendix 6: *Questionnaire for urban professionals who work with local authorities*

The following questionnaire is written in English, however you may choose to answer in Farsi if you would prefer. Every effort has been made to reduce the number of questions.

Please answer all questions:

1. Number of years in planning profession:

2. Your previous participatory experience:

No	Please write whether report of survey or local plan in the column below	Name of local authority you were involved in	Year public participation or consultation took place

3. Were local authority councillors helpful and did they participate in the exercise?

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| a) A great deal | b) A fair amount |
| c) Somewhat | d) A little |
| e) None | f) Other comments |

4. Do you think politicians perceive public participation as they would be better able to present the view of the public?

- | | |
|--------|-------------|
| a) Yes | b) Somewhat |
|--------|-------------|

- c) Not sure
- d) No
- e) Other comments

5. Do you agree that by extending the public participation exercise to all sections of society would be a waste of effort, since not many substantive responses could be obtained?

- a) Yes
- b) Somewhat
- c) Not sure
- d) No
- e) Other comments

6. If it (the public participation exercise) is wasteful in terms of effort, how would you economise on time and yet obtain reasonable representative views from the public?

7. Generally public participation seems to attract political groups, associations and voluntary groups. Is this kind of representation considered appropriate for the planning exercise?

- a) Yes
- b) Somewhat
- c) Not sure
- d) No
- e) Other comments

8. Do you think a consistent and sustained programme of educating the public of the need to get them involved in planning matters will improve the levels of public participation for the master and local plans?

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) Uncertain
- d) Disagree
- e) Strongly disagree

9. If the above response was positive, which organisation would be in the best position to implement it?

10. If you had to select persons to handle public participation, what attributes would you look for in a person, experience, levels of staff etc.?

11. What is your interpretation of meaningful public participation?

12. Do you think handling public participation entails certain skills beyond the normal training of town planners?

- a) Yes
- b) Somewhat
- c) Not sure
- d) No
- e) Other comments

13. If you have had public consultation in the local plan preparation process, do you think the public's views were useful?

- a) Yes
- b) Somewhat
- c) Not sure
- d) No
- e) Other comments

14. Would a one-month period, for instance, be adequate for the public to give their views of the comprehensive and regeneration plans?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Not sure
- d) Other comments

15. Which of the following approaches to public participation do you use?

- a) Notices/announcements in local newspapers
- b) Media
- c) Public exhibitions
- d) Posters, banners and billboards
- e) Distribution of questionnaires and forms
- e) Sale of share documents
- f) Community meetings

g) One-to-one interviews

h) Other comments

16. Could you list the key players and their roles in public participation?

Key player	Role

17. How would you rate the following as regards their influence on the success of public contribution at the stages shown? (The question refers to all participatory stages, regardless of whether you had experience of them or not. Please allow some time for the question.)

Use these labels: 1= Agree

2= Disagree

3= Uncertain

No	Aspects	Urban development and regeneration plan
1	Skilled people in dealing with public participation	
2	Greater public awareness of the planning process	
3	More involvement of local authority staff	
4	More involvement of councillors	
5	Greater commitment by planning team	
6	More involvement of various groups of the public	
7	A need for giving incentives to planning staff	
8	Group meeting and discussions	
9	More coverage by media	
10	Ability to sustain staff motivation or interest over the participatory period	

18. Do you think the Iranian public participation programmes are successful?

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) Uncertain
- d) Disagree
- e) Strongly disagree

19. What is your reason for your response to Question 18?

20. If changes to the planning laws could be made, what aspects of public participation would you consider amending or deleting and why?

Appendix 7: *Questionnaire produced for engineering consultants who work with local authorities*

Could you please answer the following questions:

1. Number of years in planning profession?
2. Can you briefly explain the process of urban planning and regeneration preparation?
3. How are the plans put into practice?
4. In your opinion, what is public participation?
5. Do you obtain the public's opinions in planning?
6. Is there any obligation to consult residents in urban regeneration programmes? If your answer is yes, at what stage?
7. Are the residents aware of the plan whilst you are preparing it or implementing it?
8. How much influence can they have in the regeneration plan and implementation period?
9. Is it/is it not easier and more sustainable to involve the public in the regeneration process?
10. What are the main problems in involving residents?
11. What method do you think is the best for public participation in the regeneration programme?

12. Do you think handling public participation entails certain skills beyond the normal training of town planners?

13. Which of the following approaches to public participation do you use?

- a) Notices/announcements in local newspapers
- b) Media
- c) Public exhibitions
- d) Posters, banners and billboards
- e) Distribution of questionnaires and forms
- e) Sale of share documents
- f) Community meetings
- g) One-to-one interviews
- h) Other comments

14. Could you give at least one real example of public participation in a project?

15. Could you list the key players and their roles in public participation?

16. What are the positive and negative outcomes of public participation in planning?

17. Do you think the Iranian public participation programmes are successful?

18. What is your reason for your response to Question 17?

19. If changes to the planning laws could be made, what aspects of public participation would you consider amending or deleting and why?

Table A7-1: Engineering consultants taking part in the research, 2008

Name	Speciality	Manager/Director	Years in planning profession
Abr Dasht Consultants	Urban Planning	Dr Mirfendereski	37
Mazand Tarh Consultants	Architecture and Urban Planning	Mr Moradi	19
Setavand	Design and Construction	Mr Farzaneh	27

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