

Linking Economic Growth and Poverty through the Regulation of Urban Development: some key issues

Introduction

I am coming to this subject as one who is working at the interface between social, economic and physical environmental development. I am not an economist, or a specialist in international development. But some issues emerge about the relationship between economic growth and pro-poor policies which demand an understanding of spatial issues and their urban context. This has become clear to me while working across disciplines in the field of Urban Regeneration in the UK, which I explore here.

1. Competition Policy and Regulation – the routes to poverty reduction

Competition Policies accord a central role to the private sector in the development process as ‘a central building block of a successful and sustained anti-poverty policy’(1). But a look at linkages between economic growth and the alleviation of poverty in Competition and Regulation Policy, shows that important links to spatial issues and ‘urbanization’ may be being neglected. At a time when it is being proposed that economic growth increasingly bypasses chronic poverty (2), a look at this apparent omission may be of special relevance.

Policy initiatives which are directed to economic growth seem to be concerned in the main with enterprises in the industrial, agricultural and service sectors. Hence the rationale for supporting growth is in its potential for increasing the provision of goods and services for the poor. Cook, for example, remarks on how private sector support policies are often orientated to small enterprises working in informal market conditions, where an impact can be made on poverty in that the majority of goods and services they provide serve the needs of low-income consumers. Whereas in reality “the bulk of output often emanates from fewer and much larger enterprises, which potentially wield considerable

economic and political power”(1). These may be central to another major concern of competition policy, the privatization of utilities, which supply essential services such as water or power. The debate on the benefits of privatization is often at a fairly general level as determined by the availability of data which can be used to compare different countries, which may not distinguish the size of firm or the sector in which it is working.

Consideration of ‘welfare’ could also be said to be inextricable from the social/political nexus, which is seen to be a key determinant in the ‘evolutionary’ theory of competition. Here, competitive advantage is seen to be based on technological innovation and manipulation of economic and political conditions, a ‘wider set of variables, such that welfare increases not only in response to price reductions but to improvements in quality and product variety’. This is a further rationale for how encouragement of the private sector could alleviate poverty by increasing the range and affordability of products for the poor, but also has implications for other kinds of regulation such as the social and environmental. Some studies focus on these issues. Other benefits for the poor which implicitly arise from the growth of competitive productive industries include the creation of new employment opportunities and raising revenue which can be used for social welfare.

2. ‘Environmental’ and ‘Sustainability’ policies

There is no consistent yardstick for the benefit of alleviation of poverty in competition policy. ‘Environmental’ benefit is more consistently measured, possibly because it threatens the entire economic system, whereas poverty doesn’t. The OECD distinguishes between regulation of ‘economic’, ‘competition’ and ‘technical’ aspects in which the latter ‘sets standards for health, safety and the environment’. Environmental Impact is one heading, taking the principle of

‘the polluter pays’, which can potentially link private investment directly to specific social goals, but whether it does so seems arbitrary.

The OECD integrates policies on technology and the environment which relate to regulation, through its Science, Technology and Industry Directorate. This exemplifies the stance of the ‘environment’ lobby, which is sometimes assumed to be a vehicle for tackling social issues, where in reality it may or may not be so. In the context of technology and environment policy integration (3), any relationship between ‘environmental’ problems and social issues tends to rest on how private sector investment projects threaten health and well-being - of all people, rich or poor – such as by global warming, or pollution: this is not ‘pro-poor’. The point is made that ‘environment’ can be loosely defined, according to context. Although the usual problems are “air pollution, water pollution, waste, toxic substances, hazardous products etc..... different ways of framing what the environmental goal consists of can dramatically affect the kinds of technologies that arise in response”. This does leave the door open to consideration of remediation of poverty under the environment heading.

The same paper reviews ‘technology foresight studies’ as a basis for examining future trends in this area. Comparisons are made of the ranking of the importance of environmental issues in ‘critical technologies studies’ in different countries. The usual narrowly-defined environmental problems predominate, but studies do begin to approach what might become poverty alleviation by seeking ‘quality of life’ and ‘health’ as objectives, so these could be pro-poor by implication. Likewise, the World Bank encourages, but does not insist on, the use of Environmental Action Plans in its Country Assistance Strategies, and Environmental Plans may or may not address poverty issues or relate to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

One can also look to Regulation Impact Assessment (RIA) (4) to discover the nature of the connection between Regulation and Poverty. “Regulation can be

broadly defined as a government measure which is intended to affect individual or group behaviour....to improve social welfare". Regulatory Impact assessment (RIA) is the process of systematically assessing the benefits and costs of regulation. The outcome contribution of RIA can be assessed against the goal of economic, social, or sustainable development. It is a policy that can improve the nature and outcome of regulation, leading to higher economic growth and poverty reduction. Part of the prescription for building an effective regulatory management system is the need to clarify "the role of RIA in achieving sustainability and poverty reduction goals. The precise impact of RIA in terms of these goals and the trade-offs with other goals need to be stipulated".

Kirkpatrick gives a basis for such goals in the context of 'National Sustainable Development Strategies', which emanate from the Rio Earth Summit, the attempt to implement it through Agenda 21, and progress reported in Johannesburg in 2002 (5). Core principles for Strategic planning for sustainable development include "integration of economic, social and environmental objectivescomprehensive and people-centered.....integrated and balanced across sectors and territories". OECD and UN principles are taken little further here, however, in saying how economic, social and environmental objectives could be integrated. As much attention is paid to the methods (e.g. "political commitment, shared vision, ownership, capacity" etc.), as to the content, of Strategies.

3. The context of poverty policies: the move away from physical planning and generalized urbanization strategies.

Apart from a concern at the vagueness of methods which seem to be used to measure the benefits of poverty to competition policy, my main objective here is to look at how a key aspect of the conceptualization/manifestation of poverty and its eradication, the spatial aspect, the sense of place and the visual context is missing. The reason could be traced back to the historical circumstances under

which agencies and policies developed. Firstly the issue of 'Environment', under which the spatial aspect could reasonably be placed, filled a gap which was opening up by the increasingly discredited physical determinism of what was then 'third world' planning by the early 1970s. The physical aspect of development policies was being criticized for not having a basis in any real measure or considered understanding of economic or social reality. New nation states were also moving rapidly away from an immediate post-colonial 'handover' phase in which the physical priorities and basis of colonial governance and management had lingered on¹. Triggered by the oil crisis of 1973, agencies which had hitherto focused on spatial planning issues, turned to problems arising from the impact of scarcity of oil and other natural resources, and thence to the life-threatening effects of their consumption in terms of global warming, pollution etc. which can be broadly grouped under the heading 'Environmental Sustainability'. Physical Planning concepts and strategies which existed at the time became associated with all that was wrong with wasteful use of energy and natural resources, and economic and social determinism.

Secondly, it could be said that the energy of a new generation became channeled into concern about the explosion of slum housing, the physical realities of the effects of economic growth in a 'third world'. Habitat's first conference in Vancouver in 1976 was a landmark. At this time 'Physical' tended to become confined to squatter and slum 'Settlement', and the crisis of chronic poverty as manifested in the slum housing aspect of urbanization. Some of those who were concerned with poverty who might have continued to provide a critique of main stream architecture and planning became absorbed by intermediate and alternative technology specialisms. The self-help policies of John Turner et al. marked a turning point when it was recognised that the application of western-based models of capital-intensive state social

¹ The Antecedents of the Development Planning Unit at UCL, for example, were in the Schools building programmes in West Africa of the 1950s and the Tropical Architecture Unit at the AA. See also, for example, the work of Koenigsberger in town planning in India or the works of Fry and Drew in Ghana in the 1950s, immediately post independence.

infrastructure and housing provision to the then 'third world' cities was a hopeless task. It was at this point that the physical and spatial aspects of the city as a schema for linking economic, social and environmental goals tended to go into abeyance.

Concurrently in the UK, discredited state-nitiated and physical-plan-driven development of the 1960s to 70s was replaced by purely social and economic urban development analysis and strategies. Regional and local planning systems were re-organised along new thematic lines as guidelines for more private sector-led investment and development. 'Comprehensive Redevelopment' which had been the basis of large scale state social investment programs was aborted as a similar communitarian critique took hold and the economic downturn in the mid seventies forced cuts in state expenditure. These were gradually replaced in the 1980s with privately financed (PFI) housing (via the voluntary housing movement) which has pre-figured PFI across the whole of the state/welfare sector. Regional and local economic development agencies were set up, paralleling the implementation of a neo-liberal agenda elsewhere internationally.

It was only in the 1990s that renewed selective state investment in housing and social infrastructure which had begun to re-emerge was amalgamated with economic development initiatives into a new form of holistic program, the Single Regeneration Budget, which moved onto 'New Deal for Communities' (NDC) and then Housing Market Renewal Areas (HMRAs). Physical planning, which had gone through twenty years of decline, began to re-emerge in the 1990s in the form of the new disciplines of Urban Design and Masterplanning.

4. Poverty, Private Sector involvement and Regulation in contemporary Urban Regeneration in the North

Government funding for Urban Regeneration programs in the UK is allocated on the basis of indicators such as the Index of Multiple Deprivation. 'Holistic' agendas which directly link outputs on employment, training, etc to social indicators in any project, originated in the Single Regeneration Budget and New Deal for Communities, and continue in the current investment in Housing Market Renewal Areas – those areas in UK cities which are closest to the informal settlements in southern cities in that they have almost ceased to function in the realm of the mainstream economy. All of these are area-based initiatives which link programs to improve education, training, health, services, housing and community infrastructure to economic growth, through national, regional and local social and economic strategies. They place a high priority on community and stakeholder consultation and linkages leading to new forms of ownership, and establishing the complex network of relationships on which successful communities are based. They potentially make available a route for people who experience poverty to have a voice in urban strategy through masterplanning, while delivery strategies open opportunities for training and jobs in the regeneration process and the new economies which are envisaged.

All of the above is only possible through substantial and long term investment in the relevant technologies, systems of regulation, governance and democratic institutions. But the physical, urban, realm is not only the medium for organizing this, it is also the realm for tackling land values and investment, and property and construction industries. Unearned gains from increases in land value which arises from development are calculated and apportioned to infrastructure projects through planning regulations, some of which directly address poverty such as social housing. Local taxes and fees for development are applied to maintenance of regulation systems covering design and construction.

Private finance is increasingly brought into public projects through Public Private Partnerships and the Private Finance Initiative in physical development. Urban development increasingly proceeds through Joint Ventures, can be government sponsored but market led (through selection of preferred developers), or sponsored by Partnerships which can have their own delegated regulatory powers in specified areas (e.g. Urban Development Corporations).

Alongside the above are process-based regulations and policies such 'percent for art' which can fund projects which are aimed at developing local distinctiveness and identity, and maximizing employment and training opportunities for local people in the construction phase.

I have referred, in the above brief synopsis, to work in the UK because it raises the issues. The same progression has only partly been present in the policies of the UN, the World Bank and the OECD, for southern cities, as I will now briefly examine.

5. The physical context for International development policies: Sustainable Cities

UN Habitat has also come a long way since Vancouver in 1976, but there is potentially a lot which could be learned from comparison with current Urban Regeneration policies in the UK. The UN Habitat Strategic Vision, dated 2003 (5), sees that the necessary tools are needed to enable cities in developing countries to play the strong role that modern economic development theory could assign to them. Among the "vehicles for the adaptation of global norms related to urban governance" which UN Habitat is using, is the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP), to which reference could be made in the need for clear goals for Regulatory Impact Assessment, as outlined in section 2 above.

Part of the SCP process has been the use of Environmental Management Plans (EMP) which point to some of the ways in which “strategic planning for sustainable development which includes integration of economic, social and environmental objectives..... is comprehensive and people-centered.....integrated and balanced across sectors and territories”, could be achieved.

Some of the pilot EMPs were single-issue, but at least one of the pilot projects successfully integrated spatial planning with economic and social goals and capital investment projects. The Sustainable Ismailia Governorate Project, Egypt (6), for example, began with data collection and formation of Working Groups (which provided access for different sectors of society) to develop priorities. The project ideas which emerged included identified private sector industrial and agricultural enterprises, fishery development, environmental remediation, related land-use planning, land development for urban growth, infrastructure projects and upgrading of ‘deteriorated areas’. The project was financed by ‘donors’ and the mechanisms for investment such as might have been made by reference to Competition Policy, did not seem to be made clear in its report. The fact that World Bank support for ‘upgrading informal areas would be subject to commitment of alternative sources’ also seemed to imply that private sector investment was unresolved. The EPM process continues to be developed and the need for GIS mapping to locate poverty in relation to other issues and uses has been emphasized (EPM Information System).

The UN Habitat Vision for financing sustainable development shows the separation between the fields of Competition/Regulation and Urbanization, from ‘the other side of the fence’ as it were. Firstly the inadequacy of domestic investment resources is noted, and appointment of a team of specialists is recommended, to develop mechanisms to mobilize domestic savings which could be underwritten by UNHHSF. Secondly it looks to the UN Habitat and Human Settlements Foundation (UNHHSF) for seed capital and financing of programs.

Thirdly it does seek “an innovative resource mobilization strategy with Regional Development Banks”, and sites the example of The Water for Asian Cities Program with the Asian Development Bank. The program begins with mobilization and advocacy to promote policy, regulatory and tariff reforms and moves on to governance, management and investment phases (which could equally be applied to land development and urbanization projects). Fourthly, the Vision mentions public-private partnerships as a vehicle, but tends to treat it with suspicion.

The conclusion that can be drawn is that the UN-Habitat Vision is still largely positioned within a ‘donor financing’ frame of mind: there is a gap in looking at how to stimulate private sector growth, investment and implications for regulation in the field of urban development. The link to spatial planning still ‘escapes’ projects to alleviate poverty such as in the Water Programme and other linear distribution systems without land use implications. And similarly, as noted above, it is interesting that none of the Millennium Development Goals necessitate an understanding of the spatial dimension of poverty for their achievement.

Urban-based Regulation issues in Southern Cities

A further UN Habitat Report has recently looked more strategically at Regulation in the context of four Asian Cities in Low Income Countries – Shanghai, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Delhi (10). . It was noted that ‘mega-city’ regulatory and management systems could only cope with a certain rate of growth, beyond which they became out of control. Yet it was also found that where cities had clear systems of land ownership and clear and enforceable systems of regulation and governance, the extent of informal settlement was much less. Lack of control could arise where systems were too rigid (Delhi) or too weak (Bangkok). Some work is also being done in the UK on this subject (9)

The UNCHS Report noted that land policy has been equated to land-use policy (i.e. resolving physical conflicts between uses by zoning) rather than a holistic land management framework for integrated development. The key issues in the latter included:

- Frequent valuation/collection of property tax
- Enhancement of betterment levies, development charge, unearned increase of land value
- Regulation of transport
- Land-use, zoning, building construction controls
- Provision of social infrastructure

The Report pointed out that it had to be recognized that the majority of people in the Low Income Countries live in informal shelters. Mega-cities “have to adjust to a two-circuit economy intrinsically related to each other. Those in the formal circuit have to function within the rules and regulations which must be kept simple but rigorously implemented. The informal circuit on the other hand have to be accepted in the realm of socio-economic parameters but not as a parasitic, but as generative a sector, as the formal circuit”. The mapping of the informal area and different application of regulations therein becomes a priority.

The status of land ownership, the complexity of different systems of regulation at different levels of government, the political realities, confound the successful use of regulation in southern cities. In Lagos State, for example, the introduction of a small levy on business use of land was only recently made possible when the private sector was cajoled into agreement, by demonstrations of the beneficial effect which municipal environmental improvements could have on their profitability. Previously, tax and planning systems had disappeared under military rule, land was summarily seized, appropriated and peoples otherwise dispossessed.

As with competition policy, it has to be recognized that it takes a strong state and the relevant democratic institutions to build a workable policy – and the return on the cost of doing this cannot be taken for granted. In this respect it also has to be recognized that local conditions may mean that introduction of policies may disrupt workable local monopolies and systems and encourage predatory behavior by international investors to the further disadvantage of the poor (1).

7. Pro-Poor policy and Regulation in its spatial context

Competition/Regulation policy has to take account of the spatial aspect of the economy if it is to link economic growth with the remediation of chronic poverty, if only because therein lie the significant relevant instruments of regulation and of remediation. But investment in property development and construction are also significant players in a process where increases in land values consequent on economic growth can be used to finance infrastructure and the remediation of informal settlements. Land and property-based revenues are probably the most significant way of financing equalization of cities and settlements.

When Competition Policy is applied to property development and construction, for example, the small firm might be that which is considered to constitute the informal economy in and around slum areas which are the site of chronic poverty, whereas the larger enterprises (being those which fit the categories of indigenous monopolies or similar in joint venture with international companies) are engaged in infrastructural and commercial/industrial complexes which operate independently of the informal sector. The issue, here, is of where and how 'property and construction' investment actually fits into regulation/competition/development models and then how can regulation in the field of urban management and governance impact on poverty. How essential is 'the urban' as a medium for linking policies which encourage privatization and the establishment of a private sector, to chronic poverty?

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UN Habitat's Strategic Vision of 2003 (6) provides some of the rationale. While affirming that "historically, urban issues have been marginalized in the development agenda" it declared that "achieving sustainable development and alleviating poverty require the integration of economic, social and political objectives into a coherent overall framework.....it is essential that policy makers understand the power of the city as an organizing agent....cities are focal points for investment, communication, commerce, production and consumption". Un Habitat's Vision is of the city as an "efficient theatre for management of the local components of national development strategies. Cities and their governance structures provide a solid platform for social and economic development and are a mechanism for sub-national planning and problem-solving within a multi-stakeholder, multi-sector environment". They are the places in which people exist and understand what is happening to them, and hence a means of conceptualizing development which is acceptable and own-able. They are the sites of impact of economic growth on people's livelihoods and the medium in which divisions can be exacerbated or alleviated. They are the site of investment in land, infrastructure and construction which is a key part of all projects.

Un Habitat Vision's three part strategy covers Slum Upgrading, Urban Development (which includes stimulation of job creation through citywide advance land use planning, development and management of the revenue base, infrastructure improvement, amenities provision, city management and urban governance practices) and Regional Development (including the planning/management of integrated urban-rural economic and lifeline systems). The instruments of regulation of 'the urban' as outlined in section 6 above are crucial here.

After years of perhaps over-specialising on informal settlements, UN Habitat's Vision 2003 underlines the need to connect the dichotomous spheres of the slum/'small informal sector' and 'the city/the large enterprise' by recognizing that

“to head off the expected growth of urban poverty and slums, there must also be a pro-active strategy that creates the economic and social conditions for expansion of the urban middle class, the main exit from poverty”. The roots of the problem of urbanization must also be tackled by a “quest to balance rural and urban solutions. In terms of human settlements, the strategy must be one to maximize the comparative advantage of each location in a hierarchy of places – from cities to towns to villages to hamlets – tied together functionally through investment in national infrastructure systems for efficient production and equitable and sustainable consumption”.

8. Summary: issues of Competition and Regulation in the Urban Context

To summarize the issues which have arisen:



- *The rationale for supporting growth is in its potential for increasing the provision of goods and services for the poor, through the creation of new employment opportunities and raising revenue for welfare.*
- *Environmental Policies may or may not address poverty issues or relate to the Millennium Development Goals, but are open to consideration of remediation of poverty. RIA can be assessed against the goal of economic, social, or sustainable development.*
- *Expertise in Competition and Regulation policy could be usefully applied to the field of urban development, such as in the Sustainable Cities Program, to ensure better linkages between economic growth and urbanization policies.*
- *Investment in property development and construction are significant players.*
- *Increases in land values arising from economic growth can be used to finance urban infrastructure and the remediation of informal settlements*
- *Public Private Partnerships, Joint Ventures, Private Finance Initiatives are equally applicable to pro-poor land-based and infrastructure projects as they are to services.*
- *Mega-cities have to adjust to a two-circuit economy. Mapping of informal areas and differential application of regulations therein is a priority.*
- *A pro-active pro-poor strategy must create the economic and social conditions for expansion of the urban middle class, the main exit from poverty.*
- *Area-based community and stakeholder consultation leads to new inclusive forms of ownership, is a vehicle for people in poverty to have a voice in urban strategy through visual and spatial mediums. Regulations and policies can be used which support projects which are aimed at developing local distinctiveness and identity.*

9. Conclusion: issues for the basis of research

In order to address the points above, disciplines involved in the study of urbanization need work with those concerned with competition and regulation and pro-poor policy. I turn now to the barriers to this and how they may be overcome.

The professional bodies which oversee education in Planning and Architecture in the UK, the RIBA and RTPI, have seemingly little connection to policy in the South. The 2003 conference of the Network Association of European Researchers on Urbanization in the South (NAERUS)(10) was typical of the range of research by European Planners: security, privatization of services such as water, and waste collection, some urban governance and land management issues. General observations about the use of technology, society, the private sector, the state, and urban governance were made from detailed observations without being located in any wider policy context. It underlined how little appeared to be being applied to an understanding of the basis of urban governance and strategic regeneration issues outside of the European context.

Schools of Planning, Architecture, Construction Management and other disciplines involved in Urban Regeneration tend to concentrate exclusively on main stream capital intensive projects in the North. In Architecture and Urban Design, discourses can be dominated by successful personalities (11), and the 'landmark buildings' which any new successful quarter must have. Issues of social or economic context are avoided. In the disciplines of Economics, Geography and Social Science, financial, economic and social strategies focus on urban development in Northern cities and regions. International Development is treated as a separate subject.

The separate origins of schools and practices in the field of 'international development' may explain this. But the cultural setting also underlies the problem: North and South are seen to have separate issues in their separate worlds. The institutional racism and cultural discrimination which is deeply embedded in our thinking is a factor in this. The CPRC Report (2) underlines the relationship between discrimination and poverty, the repercussions of being born into a marginalized group or ethnic minority. This applies as much within institutions in the North, as it does between North and South.

Main stream schools are blind to the issues of cultural diversity, are narrowly and Euro-centrally defined. Some work is beginning to emerge on the idea of the multicultural city in the North, including the cataloguing of embedded racism and discrimination against minority ethnic people across the field of local governance (12), but it is still relatively recent. There is evidently a connection between narrowness of thinking within the field on global issues, and the accompanying discrimination against people from 'Southern' cultures. It is unremarkable, perhaps, that black-led organizations operating in the field of urban regeneration in the UK also seem to display a greater awareness of global poverty issues. But as problems of social cohesion come to the forefront in UK Social Research, so people of Southern origin are increasingly involved and the question of global linkages tends to follow².

If the schools and practices within which the issues of poverty, regeneration and development in the UK are researched, taught and practiced were to take a global and multi-cultural view, a greater understanding of the connection between economic growth and chronic global poverty would follow. There will be greater understanding of parallels in problems and solutions North and South, (indeed the notion of these two categories is increasingly in question). It is remarkable how, in the UK which is such a centre for global growth, there

² For example at the International Conference of Sociologists hosted by University of East London, August 2004

remain blockages to the perception of the connections which Northern Institutions could have to the South, both in terms of what is happening in Southern states and in terms of the mass-migration to Northern Cities which is part of the current phase of global growth.

The philosophical basis for these subjects is still rooted in European antiquity and history, such that there is an in-built assumption of European origin in these fields. The racism which accompanied the period of gestation of the Modern Movement in Europe during the colonial period is now slowly becoming recognized but continues to exist in our assumptions (11). Construction, Architecture, Urban Design and Planning still lie within a basically European-American modernity which defies recognition of cultural difference or the mechanisms by which different cultures could be taken into account. But as James D. Wolfensohn, World Bank President, notes in the introduction to World Bank Poverty Reduction Strategies (12): "Whether they live on the plains or in the valleys, whether they live in slums or isolated villages, whether they speak Hindi, Swahili, or Uzbek, people have one thing in common: They do not want charity. They want a chance. They do not want solutions imposed from without. They want the opportunity to build from within. They do not want my culture or yours. They want their own. They want a future enriched by the inheritance of their past."

It is being found in the UK that the arts and cultural industries have a key role to play in Urban Development Strategies. They express cultural identities and assumptions about different world views and can be the site in which these are challenged and negotiated. They have begun to play a particular role in realising cultural identities, and their importance as part of the process of gaining local ownership of regeneration is getting more recognition in UK projects. Confidence in peoples' own identity, recognition of the fact that that identity gives legitimacy in the economic and political arenas, applies equally to the route out of chronic poverty.

There are intellectual issues, therefore, in the teaching of subjects such as planning, urban design and architecture which need to be tackled before they can work with economists and others in the field of international development and make links with issues of pro-poor competition and regulation in the South. Students from the South often have no voice and are assumed to be coming to learn about their subject in the UK context or perspective. This also applies to minority ethnic students from within the UK. Parekh argues that the Eurocentric basis of education stifles imagination, stunts the growth of critical faculties, is narcissistic and breeds arrogance, insensitivity and racism (12). Consequent on any attempt to take this different view will be the conclusion that this can only be done in a partnership with academies in different global cultures, including those in the South. Research is needed to examine the different perspectives which can arise within these subjects and to make links globally between all the places in which they are being studied.

To conclude, the spatial dimension needs to be brought into Competition Policy. The issues need to include:

- The role of investment in land in a competitive market economy
 - The relationship between divisions which deal with financial regulation/competition and urbanization needs to be developed in state governments, and in world governance organizations such as the OECD, UN and World Bank, in respect of costs/benefits and political process.
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- Understanding and encouragement of the role of the private sector and increased private sector investment possibilities in urbanization processes.

- Understanding of the role of regulation systems in the above context in making effective pro-poor strategies and policies.

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