

The Use of Urban Planning Consultancy as a Communication Tool for Cities

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1 ABSTRACT

This paper examines how a formal urban planning consultancy, in this case one created by the International Society of Urban and Regional Planners (ISOCARP), contributes to the communicative planning actions of cities. Using the ISOCARP UPAT experience in the Mexican City of Guadalajara, which will be hosting the 2011 Pan American Games, the paper focuses on three meta-communication questions including issues related to sharpening plan ideas, improved public participation, and improved communication among agents involved in the planning and delivery of both an event and its legacies. Reflections from consideration of communication theory finalize the paper.

2 INTRODUCTION

Smart, sustainable, and integrative (Cities 3.0) places can only occur if local governance is structured to promote improved communicative action, actions which hopefully are based on principles of communication theory. This paper focuses on three questions related to communication and transparency in the planning process. These are:

- Can effective communication of proposed planning actions improve the long-term use and development of a planning idea?,
- Can a consultancy report by a panel of international experts provide an effective tool to convince the public of an idea that could eventually change the panorama of a city for the long term?, and
- Can a consultancy report by a panel of international experts provide an effective catalyst to promote inter-agent communication, thereby improving the possibilities of consolidating efforts toward completion of a project(s)?

These three questions are elaborated, evaluated, and discussed within the context of a larger planning process for the 2011 Pan American games to be held in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico. More specifically, the paper outlines the hopes, process, and accomplishments of an ISOCARP Urban Planning Advisory Team (UPAT) consultancy experience conducted in the fall, 2008. The focus of this experience was to assist local officials in terms of their own strategic thinking related to both process and projects.

The authors of this paper were staff and UPAT team member, respectively, for the ISOCARP Guadalajara UPAT. The first author was the main ISOCARP staff representative on site, performed major organizational and communication functions, and assembled the final report. The second author, a professor of urban and regional planning, was one of six ISOCARP members that formed the UPAT team.

This paper is organized as follows. In the next section, we identify several prominent themes in the recent urban planning and public policy literature related to the general issue of communicative planning and the planning of mega-events. Then, we describe the UPAT experience in terms of hopes, process, and accomplishments. A discussion of the three main research questions is then accomplished. Finally, the paper concludes with reflections about both the UPAT and the substantive and communication results.

3 RELEVANT LITERATURES

Three separate, but linked, literatures seem particularly relevant to provide both a theoretical and experiential knowledge base from which to assess the hopes, process, and accomplishments of the ISOCARP UPAT consultancy. The first is the planning of so-called mega-projects or mega-events. The second is the more particular case of planning for events and/or spectacles (sometimes subsumed within the megaproject literature). The third is the general question of communication theories within the practice of urban and regional planning. Each is discussed in turn.

3.1 Planning for Mega-projects and Mega-events

The discussion of mega-projects has witnessed a new birth in the academic and professional literature (e.g., Altshuler and Luberoff, 2003; Flyvbjerg, Bruzelius and Rothengatter, 2003; Moulaert, Rodriguez and Swyngedouw, 2003; Salet and Gualini, 2007, Orueta and Fainstein, 2008). Mega-projects are also called a number of other things such as strategic urban projects, strategic urban investments, and/or large-scale urban development projects. They typically involve physical infrastructure such as transport, special economic zones, public buildings, information technology, and/or major events and spectacles such as Olympic-type planning.

Most of the literature on mega-projects generally focuses on one of two issues: their viability in terms of finance and short and long-term development impacts, and the planning processes that are undertaken for them. The literature contains mixed results: some are positive and some are extremely critical, with the major issues being focused on both economic and governance considerations. The major economic issue is performance from a revenue capture perspective. Most studies focus on the short term, which yields mostly negative results. Unconsidered in most studies are longer term results. The major governance issue is a focus on inclusion of a larger set of important considerations and transparency.

3.1.1 The Issue of Mega-projects and Metropolitan Form

Despite the obvious connection between massive investment in infrastructure (transport, venues, private developments), there has not been a good discussion of how these projects affect metropolitan form. In fact, the whole issue of metropolitan form is largely absent from the academic and professional literature (Prosperi, Moudon, & Claessens, 2007). But, clearly large fixed investments shape the physical form of a metropolitan region for many years by providing the stimulus to guide other public, private, or mixed public-private developments and/or by providing the impulse to capitalize or exploit other territorial assets both in terms of the existing built environment and/or natural amenities (ISOCARP, 2003).

The key to considering such issues is to truly understand the implications of a project beyond its immediate boundaries. There is a need to move from “project thinking” to “project impact thinking”. Prosperi and Lourenco (2008, 2007) have explored this aspect of multi-planar thinking by conceptualizing the “quadrilogue” approach to project evaluation. This approach stresses the multi-scalar, the role of hierarchical relationships among systems, and the need to think “multiplicatively” versus “additively”. It is similar to the criticisms often leveled at mega-projects in general (lack of general social, economic, environmental, and spatial considerations) but includes a methodology to begin to assess these impacts realistically. It moves the thinking from the internal workings of the project to the more general. What is the role of the megaproject in terms of its ability to concentrate or disperse existing spatial patterns or to achieve desired development patterns?

3.1.2 The Issues of Mega-projects and Transparency

Many of the authors cited above eventually produce similar recommendations. For example, Flyvbjerg et al. (2003) argue that four instruments are needed to improve the planning processes of mega-projects/events. These are: (1) more transparency, (2) use of performance (as opposed to technical and involving a broader range of social/economic/environmental considerations) specifications, (3) better specification of regulatory regimes, and, (4) the use of private risk capital.

Salet and Gualini (2007) focus on both longer term and more inclusive aspects of these projects. The COMET technique is used to examine mega-projects in a variety of contexts and places. Similarly, Gualini (2008) argues for a form-analytical approach to examine these types of projects where the relationship frame includes considerations of market, hierarchy, and networks.

3.2 Planning for Spectacles and Events (Olympic Style Planning)

Sporting events are clearly one type of megaproject. Hosting a major sporting event involves, at the risk of oversimplification, significant investment in venues, transport, and housing (for athletes). All three investments (venues, transport, and housing) are both short term improvements – for the games – but also long term improvements for the metropolitan region at large. All three types of investments have sparked a literature that seeks either to capture best practices or to be evaluative (usually resulting in a negative conclusion, but also usually written from a critical perspective).

Well aware of these overall critical responses, the General Principles of the Olympic Charter (IOC, Chapter 2:14, 2007) state that one essential objective is to “*promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities and host countries.*” The notion of legacy is a very broad and multidimensional understanding of the local and global impacts of a sports event in relation to its requirements. It focuses on both tangible and intangible products with specific consideration for long term perspective of impacts, from early phases of bidding, preparation, and staging through the post event phase.

Olympic style planners, in general, speak of legacy in two parts: *sports legacy* and *city legacy*. Sports legacy respects the layer of sports and the goal to successfully operate the games themselves, leaving a positive legacy in terms of (upgraded and new) sports facilities, sports delivery and sporting culture among the public and especially the youth. City legacy includes spatial, economic, social and cultural, environmental, administrative, emotional and perceptual dimensions. More specifically, spatial legacy focuses on sites and venues, civic infrastructure, and general city upgrading. Economic legacy focuses on additional investments, increases in tourism, increases in sustainable employment growth, and city marketing. Social and cultural legacies include a more vibrant public participation approach, and social inclusion for all groups, including those afflicted with disabilities or from less powerful sectors of society, improvements in education systems in general, and awareness of the specific event. Environmental legacy includes more green spaces, and improved environmental standards and assessment. Administrative legacy involves concepts of governance, partnerships, cooperation, and networks. Emotional legacy involves feelings and emotions of both agents and the general public. Finally, perceptual legacy involves the image of the city, symbols, and overall placement in the world global hierarchy.

The history of the Olympic Games has left plenty of examples, both good and bad, on cities and regions. Some have used the hosting of a mega-event to rebuild and strengthen them (Barcelona) while others have treated the mega-event as a time-specific public relations activity that was not followed by good results for the local people and the region (Atlanta). In the case of Barcelona, every main character involved in the process of change of Barcelona agrees that one of the most important parts of the evolution of the city was also accomplished thanks to the specific compromise that the local agents and the general population took with the event. They were convinced that the Olympics will not only be some event that would keep them in the eyes of the World during a couple months, but also a situation that might improve their overall way of leaving. Many spaces of the city that had been neglected for years (including Montjuic, the Port, the Beach or the area of the Olympic Village) could now be restored and left for the good use of the citizens all year long. This kind of promise, thoughtfully communicated through the mayor Pascal Maragall and other government officials got the people working on a common project. The Barcelona experience is often called a “Model” for development and growth based on mega-events.

3.3 Communication Theory in Planning

The process turn in planning theory is now almost a quarter a century old. Most planning theories today focus on issues of communication. In a nutshell, communication theory focuses a set of issues ranging from uncertainty reduction, through the use of propaganda, questions of use and gratifications, semiotics and myth, to diffusion of innovation and their sociological implications, including issues related to the network society. Dandekar (1992) argues, in a very pragmatic sense, that there should be three main moments in communication: presentation of information to the public; receipt of information from the public, and exchange of ideas and opinions that build upon shared information as the ideas evolve. Contemporary leading theorists in urban and regional planning include Innes for work on collaborative planning theory (1998), Hillier for work on horizontal multi-planar theory (2007), and Salet and Gualini for work on evaluating major urban projects (2007).

For example, Hillier’s *Stretching Beyond the Horizon* (2007) develops a new twist on planning theory by linking spatial planning and governance to concepts grounded in the work of Gilles Deleuze. According to Hillier, there is a complex relationship between qualities of place and the multi-scalar space-time systems relations and the multi-scalar spatial governance hierarchies. Using examples from England and Australia, the power of networks and trajectories through which various actors territorialize space are examined. While mostly theoretical, findings are addressed to what spatial planning “could be” including: broad trajectories or ‘visions’ of the longer-term future and shorter-term, location-specific detailed plans and projects with collaboratively determined tangible goals.

4 ISOCARP AND THE UPAT PHILOSOPHY

The International Society of Urban and Regional Planners (ISOCARP) is a professional organization founded in the Netherlands in 1965 to unite planning professionals from all around the world and to create a common ground to share work experiences and to discuss on the best (or worst) practices in planning worldwide. Among the activities of ISOCARP are yearly Congresses and publications on best cases and planning regulations in the different countries.

A new initiative, called the Urban Task Force (UTF), was established in 2006. The idea was to create an international “super team” of planning consultants to bring knowledge to different parts of the world. The attractiveness of this initiative relies on the notion that having a really international team, detached from the place where the UTF was taking place, would result in professional and objective results and opinions, thus bringing together global perspectives and local knowledge.

The UPAT is a complete consultancy completed on a specific subject that is conducted on site during a specific time period (normally one week). The experts are supported by local planners and students. The idea is that this suggestions and solutions work for the clients as a starting point for the development of new action plans for the city.

5 THE GUADALAJARA UPAT EXPERIENCE

The Guadalajara UPAT experience is described in three stages. The first reviews the status of local action and the request for consultancy services. The second focuses on a review of the technical work performed within the context of the request. The third is pointed at the communication aspects of the project, thus placing it squarely within the theoretical framework of this paper.

5.1 Guadalajara and the UPAT Request

The Guadalajara metropolitan area is the second largest in the Country of Mexico and the largest in the Mexican State of Jalisco. It includes four de jure municipalities and four additional de facto municipalities. The population of the metropolitan area, in 2005, was estimated at 4.1M, with 1.65M residents in Guadalajara and 1.16M residents in Zapopan. It is relatively clear that global urban processes – such as continued sprawl, decentralization of businesses and business centers, and increased social segregation – are at work. It is also clear that there is a governance gap between regional, metropolitan, and local units of government.

Set against this context, federal and local governments engaged a bid for the 2011 Pan American Games. The bid was viewed as a strategic project to gain investment and create a positive image (this is called “rescaling” in theoretical terms) for the Guadalajara region. The bid was accepted: the 2011 Pan American Games would be in Guadalajara. Winning the bid was only the first step. It initiated a set of different (uncoordinated) planning actions that would get the city ready for the event. There was no single leadership, no clear relation to the overall goals of the community, and no common communication framework. The public was informed through the local media without a clear framework that explained why the actions were being taken and who and how will they benefit. Eventually, a special office called *Metrópolis 2011* was created in 2008. One of the first actions of this office, whose aim is “coordinating with other institutions from the Municipal and State Government the start-up and consolidation of the Special Program for the Pan American Games”, was the organization of the UPAT.

Two major projects were underway: a housing project for athletes (the Villa Olímpica) and a mobility improvement (a Bus Rapid Transit project). The major project designed for the Pan American Games just after the designation of Guadalajara as a venue was the planning and implementation of the Villa Olímpica. The idea was/is to build the Villa in a neglected and desolated area of downtown that has seen how its inhabitants and workers slowly leave, moving to better equipped and promoted areas of a seriously sprawled city. The results of this process were the almost complete abandonment of the area, with an occupation below 20% percent in both dwellings and businesses and, consequently, the social deterioration of one of the main axis of the old city. This first project had the aim to rebuild the area, “clean it” from prostitution and drug trafficking (among other foes), and gentrifying it, essentially the re-population of downtown. The BRT project along the Calzada Independencia was also underway, as part of an overall transport improvement to create a major N/S and E/W links.

Other projects – related to potential sports venues – were also communicated in an official way, but without a clear relation among them. Several issues were undecided at the time of the UPAT, including questions of the venue for the opening and closing ceremonies and some facilities still to be conceptualized and built, foremost among them are the swimming pool and associated facilities.

The UPAT was sponsored by the State of Jalisco, the municipalities of Guadalajara and Zapopan, and Guadalajara 2020, a local NGO. The aim of the UPAT was to evaluate five questions:

- (1) is the focus adopted for the process of Guadalajara 2011 correct?;
- (2) what kinds of considerations need to be done in terms of territorial ordering and urban planning?;
- (3) how can intergovernmental aspirations and projects be integrated into a coherent package?;
- (4) what kinds of icons will emerge to stimulate the landscape and urban dynamics?; and,
- (5) what is the assessment on the process to date (ISOCARP, 2008).

The UPAT commenced with a series of briefings from state, NGO, and city officials. These briefings, although focused on the stated need to assess the planning for the Pan American games, were remarkably sound in terms of the long range desires of the area (at least from the point of view of the participants). The goals of the various sponsors and the opportunity to enhance those goals via the hosting of the 2011 Pan American games, was the major subject. The next day consisted of a tour of the metropolitan region to understand its administrative structure, its development patterns, areas of opportunity and conflict, and to get a feel for daily life of its citizens. With a general sense of purpose and a general sense of the administrative and built environments, the UPAT team was treated to a series of presentations ranging from the general (an interpretation of the possibility of inter municipal planning) to more specific presentations from each of the administrative units of the greater Guadalajara region (including presentations from the City of Guadalajara, the City of Zapopan, a citizens committee – Guadalajara 2020, the committee responsible for innovation and development associated with the games – *Metrópolis 2011*, a presentation of projects by the Ministry of Urban Development of the State of Jalisco). This was followed by a visit to the historic center and a view of the site for the proposed Pan American Villa and a visit to the Barranca (a natural gorge that represents the northern boundary of metropolitan development).

5.2 Technical Focus

The UPAT team was then organized into three working groups: urban planning, project planning, and process planning (focused on the process of hosting the games).

The urban planning group examined the overall Guadalajara region, existing urban development patterns, reviewed several verbal images of Guadalajara, identified points of conflict, and examined trends towards an understanding of the potential/likely spatial structure for 2030. In addition, the urban planning team identified gaps in the set of planning systems and planning thought in Guadalajara. Starting from a synthesis of stated desired ends from multiple stakeholders, problems of both a municipal (as opposed to a metropolitan) and project (as opposed to spatial) orientations were identified. Proposed alterations in the urban planning arena focused on the need for an urban (centering) development policy, a more complex strategic planning exercise for the overall metropolitan area, and a proposal to rationalize the development and implementation of various agencies and projects. The need for a strengthened central coordinating agency – *Metrópolis 2011* perhaps in the short run, the proposed Metropolitan Institute in the long run – is paramount.

The project planning group examined sports venues, the Pan American games villas, various municipal initiatives (historic center revitalizations, landscape and park developments, and mobility improvements), and “visions/innovation” projects through four lenses: spatial, social, economic, and environmental. From this matrix analysis, impressions of the two major projects – the Pan American games villas and the BRT corridor along *Calzada Independencia* – were deemed of importance and suggestions made for achieving exemplary standards. Taken as a collection of potential projects, highest recommendations were formulated for city greening projects, city densification process, reinforcement of historic centers, development of new facilities for swimming, and pursuit of iconic projects.

The process planning group examined the general question of legacy. After reviewing the role and impact of mega sports events, the concept of legacy is introduced to separate out the sport impact from the city impact.

The distinction between the requirements of the event and the longer-lasting legacy is made. As in the above working groups, the city legacy is examined against spatial, social, economic, and environmental considerations. Moreover, and perhaps more significant in the context of process planning are attributes such as “administrative legacy”, “emotional legacy” and “perceptual legacy”. Tools from the Olympic planning movement were considered here. Among them were: lessons from the bidding process, Olympic Agenda 21, the IOS Guide to Sport, Environment and Sustainable Development, the Olympic Games Impact Study (OGI), the Olympic Games Knowledge Transfer (OGKM), and the roles that various NGOs have played in prior games. The final element of the process planning group was a formative assessment of Guadalajara 2011 – the entity created to oversee the planning for the Pan American games.

Final conclusions of the UPAT were addressed at the five initial questions. After describing the multiple achievements of the individual agencies and actors, specific suggestions were aimed at: increasing public opinion perception, to focus on the historic centers and the Barranca as the significant nodal points, to connect these nodal points by the BRT along the Calzada Independencia, to maximize the use of existing facilities (such as Jalisco stadium, located along the main N/S axis of the BRT, and the creation of iconic facilities at both nodal points (Pan American villas and an Aquatic Center at the Barranca). Finally, a set of tools (ToolBox 2.0) was suggested for both the State of Jalisco and Guadalajara 2011.

5.3 Communication Focus

In a sense, the UPAT experience was itself an “event” with considerable emphasis placed by the organizers on increasing awareness of its existence and purpose as well as providing another opportunity to “work together”. The existence of and the work of the team was made highly visible to the government participants, the NGO Guadalajara 2020, and the press by the UPAT organizers. Representative of local governments, citizen groups, and the agencies responsible for delivery of the games were present at the beginning, at several formal and informal intervals during, at milestone points, and at the final presentation. The newspapers were involved and documented significant portions of the process. So, communication and the engendering of public trust in the UPAT exercise were built into the process.

Considerable emphasis within the UPAT team was spent on creating, testing, and then creating again public documents and slides that explained the potential spatial, social, economic, and environmental benefits to the community (legacy) of hosting the Guadalajara 2011 Pan American games (the sports event itself). Formal and informal presentations were made at prescribed events, but also in informal interactions at events held in Guadalajara, Zapopan, and Tlaquepaque – the major municipalities that will together be responsible for hosting the Guadalajara Pan American games.

6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

In this section, we restate the original research questions and then discuss each in terms of the Guadalajara UPAT Experience. As stated on the beginning of this paper, the initial intention of the Guadalajara UPAT was to give a clear advice in terms of planning to the institutions related to try to make the most out of the exercise.

The research questions are: (1) can effective communication of proposed planning actions improve the long-term use and development of a planning idea?, (2) can a consultancy report by a panel of international experts provide an effective tool to convince the public of an idea that could eventually change the panorama of a city for the long term?, and, (3) can a consultancy report by a panel of international experts provide an effective catalyst to promote inter-agent communication, thereby improving the possibilities of consolidating efforts toward completion of a project(s). Each is discussed in turn.

6.1 Improvement of Long-Term Use and Development of a Planning Idea

The major government decision – mostly at the federal and state level – was to bid for and host the Pan American Games in 2011. Achieving success, the next step was how to use this mega event to shape government institutions and agents into a coherent force focused on a coherent strategy for development. The final planning idea result of the UPAT – a central N/S axis along the Calzada Independencia anchored at both ends by signature projects and maximizing existing facilities is a very simple, almost beautiful idea. A second axis, also along a mass transit route connects the historic centers of the four major municipalities within the Guadalajara metropolitan area.

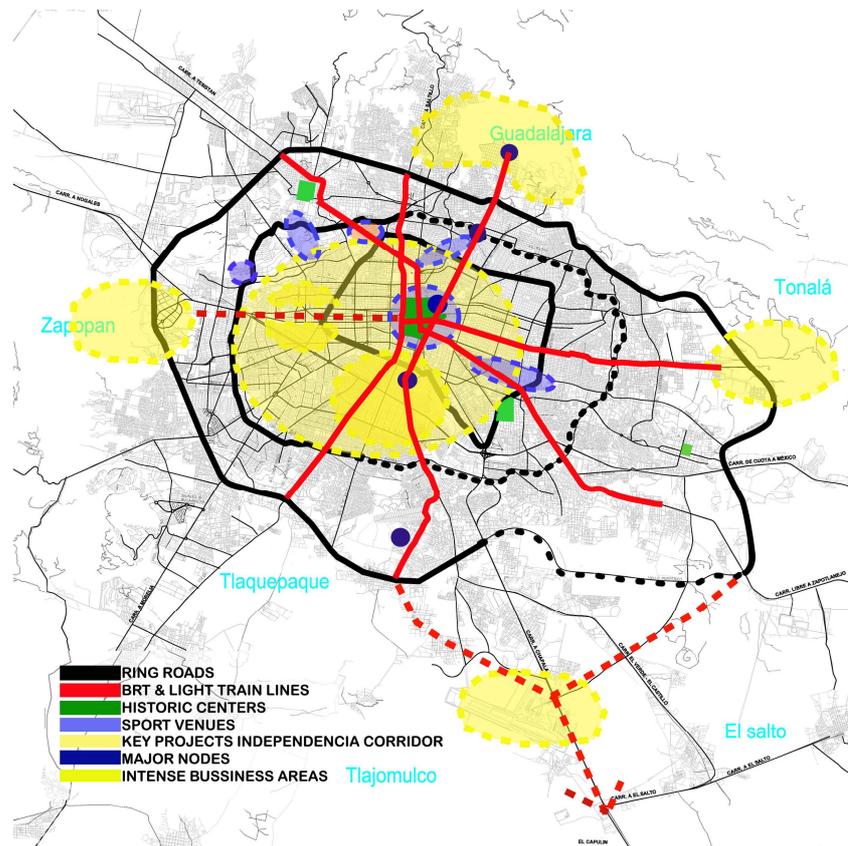


Figure 1: Spatial Planning Principles for Guadalajara 2011 and Beyond

The UPAT was successful in sharpening this image and providing the justifications for this conceptual model. In so doing, choices were made among alternative sites for both the Pan American venue for opening and closing ceremonies (Jalisco stadium versus either a new venue or the Chivas venue) and the choice of the Barranca as the site of the Aquatic Center (as opposed to placing it in an inaccessible park). It was also successful in raising issues related to important spatial, social, economic, and environmental improvements that will have longer term impacts for the city in the sense of legacy.

On the other hand, the UPAT failed to communicate the “metropolitan” nature of the spatial, social, economic, and environmental problems and potential solutions. Perhaps too much attention was paid to the central axis as opposed to wider considerations. The city legacy is perhaps limited to the central axis. Little or no attention was paid to airport improvements, capitalizing on media improvements that will be necessary to host the event, or even to considering how the event can generate permanent service level jobs for the underclass portions of the metropolitan area. The focus on infrastructure projects versus other systems is typical of mega events, and also a major reason why the legacy portion often fails. In this regard, the UPAT team and approach followed traditional modes of thinking. In the long run, the legacy opportunity may be at risk.

6.2 Effect of an International Expertise Report on Local Perception

The second major question, however, is the degree to which an expertise report can effect local perception. This question has multiple levels (see below, section 6.3). In this section, we focus on public perception.

What was lacking in Guadalajara was a sensible strategy of communication that will convince the people that measures taken were not only to host a mega-sports event, but also to turn it into a catalyst for a better growth and development plan for the city. The fact that many political interests seemed to be involved in the bid – the Mayor of the city (that could not be reelected) was also the president of the board for the Games – didn’t make many of the statements of the organization “believable” for the general public.

Certainly, the inhabitants of every city of the world have their own view on the possible future of their city. However, as some exercises including public participation have shown around the globe, many times the participation of people in planning processes seems to be focused on their daily and immediate needs. And if it can be difficult to explain to a particular citizen why the extra parking space he wants is not the most

convenient thing of the future of his community, you have to add as many complications for explaining to somebody why changing the direction and width of a street or modifying the uses of a traditional area of the city would be better even though they will affect their daily life.

After all, this “image” created by citizens of their living and working places is given by two factors: the actual experience of being there and the comments made by the opinion leaders around them. The major success for a spokesperson of an institution is becoming an opinion leader. To become one, the spokesperson must have at least one of the following characteristics: have strong position in the local media, be a respected character socially, or be a respected character for his/her professional experience. In that sense, the experts convoked by a UPAT work perfectly in the framework of professionals with interesting professional experience that could also become a target figure for local media. On the other hand, the report of an “outside expert” is almost by definition somewhat problematic. For those who seek to validate their prior opinion, it is pure gold. For those who are opposed to a specific idea or project, it is pure poison, necessitating the need for, resources permitting, and a counter expert. Thus, the debate!

The existing situation in this context is that the public was not a participant in the choice to bid for the games, in the choices of venues, or in the choices of projects. Public information was provided only through the local media. More often than not, this information was provided without a clear framework that explained why governmental actions were being taken and without a clear demonstration of who wins and who loses in such actions. In this sense, the UPAT experience provides both a framework for explanation, a framework for identifying the spatial, social, economic, and environmental benefits to accrue to citizens in the region.

In this case, the UPAT work experience and report is potentially a strong communication tool. A professional and objective assessment is one clear starting point for debate. The UPAT, from its definition, has to be as professional and as objective as possible. At least on paper, there can be no one in the team with “interests” in the city that could alter their vision on the situation. This makes that the final results gotten in the exercise are the best arguments that could be given to create a favorable environment for the future actions related.

On the other hand, any consultant report or even on-site limited study cannot alter public opinion. Despite the best efforts, it is simply media of the day. The name of ISOCARP behind them will also provide a certain credibility that could be used later to ask for more Federal resources and also as a “toolbox” itself, representing an outside opinion, to reinforce the communication given to the citizens.

Carefully nurtured by the client, the consultant report can provide the basis for on-going discussions in multiple formats. The UPAT team did not discuss public participation tactics per se. It is likely that Guadalajara will continue to struggle with communicating and getting the population to participate in the promotion of the Pan American Games.

6.3 Communication Tools Used to Solidify Agent Perceptions and Actions

The third major question is the question of communication in fostering inter-agency cooperation. It is within this arena that the UPAT experience achieved significant success. The specific success was the movement towards coordination of the physical planning needed into one major body, *Metropoli 2011*, which will tackle all the questions concerning the planning of the mega event.

It is reasonably clear from the mega event literature in particular and the metropolitan governance literature in general that achievement of goals and objectives is a multi-scalar enterprise and problem. The UPAT report both general and specific recommendations. On the general level, the need for intergovernmental coordination was highlighted for both the games themselves but also for the well-being of the metropolitan area. At the specific level, the major recommendation was the creation of a toolbox for both Guadalajara 2011 – an event based entity – and Special Project 22 – the Jalisco office responsible for the games – is a major step forward in achieving this ideal of multi-scalar governance.

7 CONCLUSION AND REFLECTION

ISOCARP has already achieved UPAT successes in areas such as re-construction, environment, transport planning, and revitalization of urban centers. Our general conclusion is that success was also achieved in Guadalajara. In Guadalajara, the emphasis was on how to take advantages of hosting a mega event. It is our

opinion that this UPAT achieved significant success in sharpening a vision of the physical improvements necessary to host the Pan American games in 2011, in shaping the debate about the location of several venues (by making rather strong recommendations about the location of the facility to host the opening and closing ceremonies and the location of the aquatic center), and in suggesting the inter-organization linkage refinements necessary to provide effective leadership throughout the planning and implementation of the games.

Issues of legacy are a dominant theme both for the Pan American Games and were well considered within the UPAT working environment and the construction of the final report. Here, however, is a problem of “short-term” consultancies, identified by any number of observers including Dandekar (1992) above. The UPAT is a moment in time – a milestone of a chart of engaging, planning, implementing, and legacy. Thus, while it can focus discussion, it cannot deliver eventual product or process. So, while language was provided that was consistent with the theme of “games for the city”, it is questionable whether a week-long focused “study” could provide enough for the public to become really involved. This is really a matter for local organization: are they capable of capitalizing on the existence of the “urban planning consultancy.” How it is really used by the local organizers is really their issue. How it is perceived and acted on by the agencies is really their issue. How it is used by the general public is eventually a local issue.

We suspect that the real benefit of the UPAT is to the agencies involved in planning and implementing the event and not the general public. We sense that the UPAT process and report will go a long way in assisting Metropoli 2011 and the State of Jalisco to deliver a memorable event with significant, but not total, legacies. On the positive side, we see massive potential for positive city legacies in the areas of environment, administrative, emotional, and perception. The overall attractiveness of Guadalajara, as a point on the global network of points, will be enhanced.

On the negative side, we see as more problematic legacies in the area of spatial planning and relationships, economic, and social and cultural areas. It is ultimately a matter of perspective and scale related to a focus on “projects”. Lost immediately with a primary focus on project planning are spatial legacies. While it is clear that “some “ neighborhood or district improvements, mostly around existing and proposed venues, will occur, it is equally unclear what this means for overall spatial organization of the Guadalajara metropolitan area – at which scale problems of social and environmental concern are evident. For example, the UPAT team experienced a sharply divided socio-economic urban agglomeration, which is not unusual for major global or globalizing places -- in this case separated on an east-west divide. Concentration of the major “project” venues combined with the BRT on the major north-south axis, Calzada Independencia, could be perceived as just raising the “wall” between the poor and the rich. Similar issues arise in the areas of economic and social and cultural legacy. While clearly a boon in the short term, the focus on a single event and/or corridor shortchanges a firmer understanding of the spatial-economic realities of the metropolitan area such as mobility connections to the airport and the overall character of the metropolitan economy. Will there be permanent jobs for the underclass? How can the games generate and nurture such jobs? How are the games to be used to ameliorate the sharp income differences in the region?

Finally, since this paper is ultimately about transparency and the role of communication in the creation of an inclusive planning process, there needs to a higher emphasis on the overall “communication package.” This involves both the local host as well as the organization of the UPAT team. At a minimum, the UPAT should deliver clear recommendations that can be of easy use for the promoters. At a maximum, ISOCARP should insist that promoters have a clear idea of the role of the UPAT milestone and some idea about the ability to translate recommendations into action.

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