

Party-politics and planning. Mapping political values for a better understanding of decision-making on spatial development

W.W. Buunk¹

Abstract

Over past few years, political support for spatial planning has evaporated in Dutch politics. The ministry of housing and spatial planning is abolished and central government involvement in strategic planning is to be decentralised to the regional government tier. These sudden changes to the Dutch planning system have surprised many practitioners, as well as scholars, that appear to have little understanding of the party-political dimension of spatial planning and policies.

This paper presents the outcomes of a research of party-political values relevant to the field of planning and discusses the research methods used. The variety of Dutch political points of view on spatial planning and policies are defined in terms of political values. A mind-mapping approach was used to make a practically useful representation of the variety of political values found. A map of party-political values was designed as a tool for improving decision-making on spatial development issues.

1. Introduction

Spatial planning has become contested ground in Dutch politics. For decades, there was to a broadly shared belief in strategic spatial planning by central government, as well as a strong position for comprehensive local and regional public spatial planning approaches. Over past few years, political support for spatial planning has evaporated. Two years ago the ministry of housing and spatial planning was suddenly abolished by a new government coalition. With this change, the traditionally crucial link between the housing policy and strategic spatial planning by central government was cut. Central government involvement in strategic planning is to be decentralised altogether to the regional government tier and planning legislation is to be reformed and simplified.

These sudden changes to the Dutch planning system have surprised many practitioners, as well as scholars. An important reason for this surprise is that the party-political dimension of spatial planning and policies were never studied, the dominance of certain political values rarely explicitly recognised as a possible issue

¹ Windesheim University of Applied Sciences - ww.buunk@windesheim.nl. This paper is based on a part of a chapter for the book "Research inquiry in the spatial planning field" (Elisabete A. Silva & Patsy Healey, eds.) to be published by RTPi.

for scientific debate and that changes in political thought were not foreseen. Yet, these political changes did not come out of the blue.

Planning practice has been going through a fundamental change the past decade. Collaborative planning approaches have emerged, in which government agencies need to cooperate with private parties, social organisations, individual stakeholders and other interested citizens. In complex processes of joint fact-finding, spatial planning and design, negotiation and decision-making take place. This often means that in strategic planning processes as well as concrete projects, each time a new and basic decision on the preferred spatial development needs to be made. Such a basic decision is a deliberation of values, or in other words as a normative or political decision. Spatial development issues and planning therefore transcend the confined arena of professional planners and have (re-)entered the party-political arena.

The Dutch political arena traditionally is varied, multicolored and some say fragmented. Like many other European countries, new political movements and parties have emerged over the past decade of a left and right wing populist variety, that compete with mainstream social-democratic, liberal and Christian-democratic parties. Despite the new spatial development practices and despite these general political changes in the Netherlands, the knowledge of political thought on spatial development issues and spatial planning is limited amongst practitioners and scholars.

This paper presents the outcomes of a research of Dutch party-political values relevant to the field of spatial development approaches and planning. In section 2, the pluralist theoretical perspective is defined that underpins the value-oriented approach to spatial development and planning. Section 3 presents the research strategy that was followed to gain insight in political values and the research method that was chosen. Section 4 presents the outcomes of the research, and shows how the categorisation of the variety of political values has been used in a mind-mapping approach with practitioners on two cases. Section 5 discusses the relevance of the outcome in the form of a map of party-political values as a tool for improving the practice of decision-making on spatial development issues.

2. A pluralist approach

Spatial planning is an instrument for making well-informed decisions on our physical environment (Friedman 1987). These 'well-informed' decisions are the result of careful preparation and consideration of various proposals, for which a logically argued preference is reached following a functional or technical-instrumental rationality (Nozick 1993). In practice, planning nowadays is more than a technical analysis of the spatial development issue at stake and the best-designed solution. In contemporary process-oriented spatial planning approaches, methods of analysis and design are combined with participation of stakeholders, methods of negotiation and procedures for joint decision-making (Healey 1997, 2003; de Roo & Silva (eds.) 2010).

In policy arenas that emerge around urban and regional development challenges, none of the participating actors is able to deal with these challenges on

their own behalf. Being mutually interdependent, the participating actors need to make a joint effort to define what is the spatial development issue at stake and decide upon the preferred solution (Buunk 2003: 126-133). This inevitable means that existing planning policies may need to be set aside in favour of new custom-made ways of working, which in the end require a basic or political decision.

With comprehensive planning policies in place, for a long time the final political decision on a spatial development issue may have been a formality. A mere confirmation of what was decided upon in earlier stages, along the line of strategic planning guidance. This is no longer the case, as basic decisions need to be made in each collaborative process. Despite sophisticated and professional planning approaches, the final decision on a spatial development issue may often seem illogical or riddled with situational or even emotional arguments. Planning researchers and practitioners alike, need to be gain a better insight in how these basic decisions are being made.

2.1 Technical-instrumental rationality

Planning practice and planning theory has long been dominated by a technical-instrumental rationality. Robert Nozick even calls the theory of instrumental rationality the “default theory, the theory that all discussants of rationality take for granted” (Nozick 1993: 133). The idea of instrumental rationality is that actors are supposed to choose rationally between instruments or measures that to the best of their knowledge helps to achieve the aims that are set. The rational approach to planning was later refined by approaches of planning as a process of communication that follow a communicative rationality (Fisher & Forester 1993; Forester 1999). In this perspective, planning is seen as a process in which rich and multi-layered policy stories are formed that help understand spatial development issues and define the preferred way of dealing with them. But when it comes to those seemingly random or odd decisions on spatial development issues that often astound the practitioners that have been working hard to help prepare for proper rational and logical decision-making, the communicative rationality also falls short in understanding what is happening.

Whatever the planning approach followed or whatever professional techniques applied, in the end a decision needs to be taken about what is considered to be the best solution to the perceived problem. Despite the variety of techniques of urban and regional planning and collaborative processes that have been developed over the years, there seems to be little insight in the nature of these supposedly well-informed decisions. These decisions often appear – at least in part – to be an expression of somewhat random normative or political preferences, rather than of professional planning approaches and well-considered policies (Flyvbjerg 1998). Even after extensive participative process, a final decision may differ considerably from what was expected to be a rational or logical outcome of the process, and therefore was prepared by planning practitioners or expected by participants.

The problem with these seemingly random or odd decisions is not their inherent lack of logic, but the kind of logic planners and planning researchers apply in their scientific and analytical methods. The question therefore needs to be raised

whether the technical-instrumental and the communicative perspectives are sufficient to understand all aspects of the planning processes. The technical-instrumental approach to planning, as well as the communicative approach, both presume logical ways of reasoning and argumentation when it comes to decision-making. In order to gain a better understanding of seemingly random or odd decisions on the spatial development, and on the design and use of land or urban territory, a different research approach is required (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Buunk 2010). An approach in which seemingly random or odd decisions on spatial development issues, can be understood better.

2.2 Value-oriented research

Theory driven research that assumes planning processes follow a scientific logic, needs to be complemented by a value-oriented approach. Flyvbjerg (2001) even calls for a completely different social science that not focuses on theory building like the natural sciences do, but that is geared predominantly to contributing to practically applicable insights: "...we must drop the fruitless efforts to emulate natural science's success in producing cumulative and predictive theory; this approach simply does not work in social science. [...] we must take up problems that matter to the local, national, and global communities in which we live, and we must do it in ways that matter; we must focus on issues of values and power (Flyvbjerg 2001: 166). When the focus is on the value issues, it soon becomes clear what problems planning practitioners often face.

Flyvbjerg states that the purpose of social science is: "...not to develop theory, but to contribute to society's practical rationality in elucidating where we are, where we want to go, and what is desirable according to diverse sets of values and interests" (Flyvbjerg 2001: 167). He sets out what he calls a phronetic approach, following Aristotelian distinction between scientific knowledge (episteme), technical ability (techne) and prudent use of knowledge and technology (phronesis). Flyvbjerg defines this as a value-oriented approach to social science: "Phronesis thus concerns the analysis of values - "things that are good or bad for man" - as a point of departure for action. ... It focuses on what is variable, on that which cannot be encapsulated by universal rules. Phronesis requires an interaction between the general and the concrete; it requires consideration, judgement, and choice" (Flyvbjerg 2001: 57). The role of values and judgments of actors are distinguished from other factors like institutions or procedures. Flyvbjerg's call for social scientists to reflect on the practice of argumentation and the prudent use of knowledge in practice further focuses on the relation between knowledge and power, rather than elaborating on the judgemental aspect of argumentation and the role values.

In order to make an analysis of political values that play a role in decision-making on spatial development issues and in planning, a value-oriented rationality research approach is followed. Following a value-oriented rationality means that planning is seen as normative effort, in which moral or ethical aspects of choices are made on spatial development issues. Such a perspective is rare, although there are some examples in adjacent fields (e.g. van Wee 2011). Below, this normative approach is further explored with a view to the research strategies needed to gain

insight in underlying values of planning, in order to help practitioners to find ways of contributing to a proper deliberation of values.

2.3 Ethical pluralism

The assumption behind proper value-oriented research approach is that 'good' decision-making requires that all relevant values are explicitly considered – as far as possible – in decisions on spatial development, design and use of land or urban territory. This is not a judgement of decision in terms of their outcome, but in terms of the decision-making process. It is a procedural valuation with a normative point of departure that follows the principle (or value) of ethical pluralism of Isaiah Berlin (Berlin, 1969 and other years, in; Hardy 2002). Berlin, as characterised by Blokland, throughout his work argues that there are many values worth pursuing, yet that they more often than not are incompatible, which means we need to choose (Blokland 1997: 169). Berlin saw this as a tragic situation that we experience on a daily basis, yet we need to do it anyway in a search for a better life.

A pluralist approach is therefore necessary. Alternatively, a monistic approach that would favour one normative perspective over others, would drastically limit the insight in possibly relevant values. Such a perspective would not lead to better decision-making. Political scientist Hans Blokland (2001) sees this as a challenge for the political system of democracy. A pluralist approach is needed to improve our insight in and our ability for proper democratic decision-making, not only in formal political institutions but also in all sorts of participative local processes. A value-oriented research into spatial planning and decision-making on spatial development issues requires a pluralist approach, which accepts that there will always a variety of values at stake.

With a social science that, according to Flyvbjergs, needs to contribute to prudence and to practical wisdom to find ways of dealing with issues, a research strategy is required that focuses on judgmental processes in the way spatial development issues are dealt with. Flyvbjerg suggests three questions to guide such research: "1. Where are we going? 2. Is this desirable? 3. What should be done?" (Flyvbjerg 2001: 60). He later adds a fourth question, "Who gains and who loses; by which mechanisms of power?" as he is mainly interested in dominance of ideas, knowledge and judgements. Here, the focus remains with the processes and mechanisms of judgement, in which values can be seen at work. Unlike Flyvbjerg, who doesn't define values, nor appears interested in finding out what values guide these judgemental efforts in practice, the aim of research here is to find and define the variety of values that are being used.

3. Finding values

Studying values is the field of moral philosophy, which is enjoying something of a revival. Frontman Alisdair MacIntyre stresses that "every action is the bearer and expression of more or less theory-laden beliefs and concepts; every piece of theorizing and every expression of belief is a political and moral action" (MacIntyre

2007: 61). Understanding moral concepts is considered necessary, as these are used by all sorts of social actors in the choices they make as “his or her reasons, motives, intentions and actions, and in so doing generally presupposes some claim that these concept are embodied or at least can be in the real world” (MacIntyre 2007: 23). Analysing values from a perspective of morality may seem farfetched, but dilemmas of spatial development often have an unspoken moral or ethical dimension.

A question like "what is a just housing program?" will help clarify underlying dilemmas of an urban transformation project. Planners are not used to explicitly debating such questions, as long-term policy aims - such as the aim for 30% social housing - are considered to be a broadly accepted expression of a moral stand. The question is whether this is true. Or to turn it into a moral issue, the question is whether this is just. Moral philosophers and moral psychologists, such as Shalom Schwartz and Jonathan Haidt c.s. plea for a better understanding of the moral dimension in actions people take and choices people make. This plea is answered here by concentrating research on the variety of values that may play a role in spatial planning processes.

3.1 Defining values

A value can be defined here as an expression of a deep-rooted belief, motive, incentive, desire, or ideal for spatial development, and for the design and use of land or urban territory. Values have no meaning for practice or for scientists alike, when they are a mere dead letter in a book. Values only have a true meaning when they are recognisable in social interactions, as the underlying motivation of actors in their judgements for action. Similar to the political scientists' concept of power or social scientists' concept of meaning, values are only real in their application in social interaction. In interaction, values are found as words. Words like 'justice', 'pride' or 'urban density' that have a specific meaning in social interaction. Discourse analysis is the appropriate research method to unravel the meaning the specific meaning of in their social context.

With the communicative turn of spatial planning, planning research has adopted methods of linguistic analysis, following great philosophers like Lyotard and Foucault (Hajer 1995; Torfing 1999). Discourse analysis as a qualitative research method helps to insight in the frames and storylines by which actors create their view of the world, and of spatial development issues. Discursive analysis of text and talks looks for specific words that are used often or that seem to specify certain meanings. Looking for signal words or phrases helps finding dominant storylines that show what preferences actors have and how and why they will act on the issue at stake.

For a value-oriented research, the challenge is to reconstruct the underlying values and sets of values behind these storylines. These values are concepts (in abstract terms of concrete) can be found by further examining the signal words and their use in building arguments and judgements behind choices that are made. Values are defined as specific phrases or sentences that are considered to characterise the deep-rooted belief, motive, incentive, desire, or ideal behind a storyline.

However difficult it may seem to reconstruct underlying values of texts, it is not more difficult than selecting sections of text of which a researchers thinks they

are typical for the dominant discourse. In the end, it is all about gaining insight in the categorisations, judgements and preferences of actors in social and political processes: "... values, pragmatic considerations, and strategies for action are a prerequisite for, and part of, the method, and hence, do not stand in opposition to the understanding-oriented project" (Flyvbjerg 2001: 126). The most difficult part of the analytical work is to focus on discursive elements, on sections of text and on words that appear to bear a specific meaning of deep felt desire about what is good, for that is what values are.

3.2 Abstract and concrete values

The choice for a pluralist approach requires a research strategy that distinguishes between values. A first distinction can be made between abstract and concrete values. Abstract values are often related to virtues, like temperance or courage. With a view to basic decisions on the spatial development, design and use of land or urban territory, values like justice (the just division of land) and aesthetics (the perceived beauty of the countryside) play a role. The Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) comes to the conclusion that values can take concrete forms, dependent of the object to which someone refers.

Anything can be the object of valuation, such as things, cultural heritage, individual people, the nature of relations between people (e.g. trust), or social principles (e.g. freedom) (WRR 2003: 46). Concrete values are readily recognisable from a spatial planning perspective, like specifically defined key natural resources that define the natural values worthy for conservation. These key natural resources are laid down in nature conservation legislation in scientific terms of species and habitats. Other values can concern the quality of land for various purposes of land-use, which may simply be defined as land value in terms of money.

Other distinctions can be made between types of values. Values can be nested in deeply rooted religious beliefs or can be moulded by political frames. Values can be personal and therefore objective, or can have a joint cultural origin. The latter will be considered as being values of a general nature. Values may refer to substance or to more procedural matters, such as routines or ways in which we wish to do things properly.

Values therefore are abstract concepts expressing an ideal for what is considered to be the 'good society'. Abstract values are beliefs. Deep felt opinions or desires for what is considered 'the good life'. Certain values are recognisable as political values. These values are principles concerning the desired mechanisms and structures of society that can be related to views of political parties or political social movements. In the practice of spatial planning and ways of working to deal with spatial development issues, may be specific process values can be discerned. Guiding principles on the way in which the desired spatial development, design and use of land or urban territory needs to be realised. Or procedural principles, which reflect the preferred role of government and its instruments, such as statutory planning, that usually concern the desired division of responsibilities between government and private developers or individual citizens.

3.3 Sets of values

One of the pitfalls of value-oriented research is that it may appear attractive to design a hierarchy of values, e.g. based on the distinction between concrete values and abstract values. In such a hierarchy, abstract values would then be ranked higher than concrete values. Concrete values are often considered being derived from an abstract value. Urban density can be a value that guides decision-making on an urban redevelopment scheme. In spatial planning this normally means that a densely built-up area is thought to create a distinct metropolitan atmosphere. The abstract value behind it can be 'diversity' or 'growth', as denominators for a highly dynamic, busy and mixed city life.

In the reality of the practice of planning and decision-making on spatial development or urban design, actors will draw upon a mixture of concrete and abstract values. High density as something that creates a good and vibrant city may be linked to a preference for innovative and modernistic designed high-rise buildings, as well as with a specific notion of mixed residential use, corporate businesses and small-scale creative industry. Density may even be defined as a concrete norm, in terms of the number of dwellings per hectare, yet may be combined with rather indicative design references. In actual decision-making, actors may wish to deliberate on these values and norms vis à vis values that are linked to concerns with global climate change or social cohesion.

Defining a hierarchy of values is principally impossible and add will no new insights. The distinction between abstract values and concrete values in the value-oriented research approach is therefore analytical distinction only. It helps to construct the relevant sets of values that play a role in basic decisions on spatial development issues. Values can be grouped in terms of their substantive similarities, creating an insight in more or less congruent sets of values that appear to be applied in basic decisions on spatial development and the design and use of land and urban territory. For this particular research, one of the main challenges was to define a categorisation of possible sets of party-political values.

4. Value-oriented research strategy

In order to find the sets of values that are relevant in a process of dealing with spatial development issues, two research strategies can be followed. First, a rather strict empirical research strategy can be followed for analysing a spatial development process. Based on document analysis and loosely structured interviews with key actors, the dominant storylines of an elaborate policy process can be described. After that, the challenge for the researchers is to identify the underlying sets of values for each of these storylines. Experience with practice of planning processes and insight in a broad field of related policy fields such as transport, nature protection and recreation and rural development, also in terms of research, will be necessary to select the viable textual elements for defining values.

This may prove to be a laborious research strategy, but with little previous value-oriented research in the field of spatial development processes and planning this may seem to only viable research strategy that helps avoid bias. Yet, another research strategy can be considered. In this strategy, a categorisation of values or types of values is defined beforehand on the basis of theory, relevant literature from other fields and/or outcomes of related research. This then should help to find the

sets of values in further empirical analysis of spatial development issues and planning. In order to prevent a bias to predefined values, it should be avoided that it becomes a theory-driven research. Theoretically defined types of values or value categories need to be used heuristically, to help understand the empirical material.

In the research of party-political values, the research starts with a categorisation as such. Not all social and professional values concerning spatial development and planning are searched, but political values. This is a first defining effort that helps limit the field of research. Further theory and literature is available to help define possible categories of political values or sets of political values. For this reason, this second research strategy was followed, in which practical political experience was structurally mobilised as part of the analysis in a series of expert meetings in which political thought on issues was analysed and preliminary outcomes tested.

4.1 Categories of political values

The research into the most relevant party-political sets of values on Dutch spatial planning started off with some exploratory interviews with national and local politicians and with practitioners and scientists with links to political practice². Next, a large number of political documents were analysed (around 80). By the start of the project it proved difficult to continue on a preliminary indication of four dominant storylines on spatial development issues and planning of the four political 'families' (Buunk 2010: 34). Instead, the document analysis looked at five elements: (1) the preferences on spatial concept or urban development pattern (if at all), (2) political problem definition of the underlying social issues behind perceived spatial development issues, (3) the role of central and/or local government vis a vis private parties or social organisations or individual citizens, (4) preferred instruments and (5) specific moral-ethical anchorage for spatial development issues and planning.

In two sessions with representatives from political parties and civil servants and policy advisors, the political views on different cases that are typical for Dutch spatial planning on a central government level and on local government level were discussed. With the use of mind mapping software, the landscape of political values on spatial development issues and planning was mapped. The main challenge proved to be finding the backbone of this map, the legend so to speak, by which political values can be categorised. With the rich body of political thought, categories like 'socialist', 'social-democrat', 'liberal', 'green' and 'christian-democratic' appeared inadequate. A variation of three citizenship styles defined by Dutch research bureau Motivaction (Gijsbers & van der Lelij 2010) and the German research bureau Sociovision (de Vries 2006) was considered. This notion of the variety of attitudes people can have towards government and society, draws on extensive lifestyle research with long-term surveys that produce cross sections of socio-economic stratification and moral orientation. In confrontation with the analysis of political

² The research was carried out by the author of this paper, together with Marloes van der Weide Msc and with support by De Argumentenfabriek, a consultancy agency specialised in analysing complex issues with mind mapping software and clearly designed overviews of results.

documentation, five categories of political values were constructed but finally rejected as inadequate for a categorisation of party political values.

The choice was finally made to take basic moral orientations as starting point for categorisation. Moral judgements, it is often thought, in essence concerns what is considered the just course of action. In this line of thought of what is 'just', the concept of justice is the dominant value. Justice is often seen as pivotal, as the mother of all values in modern society (Sandel 2011). Ancient societies were characterised either by honour and respect (Greek and Roman ethics), or by guilt (Christian ethics). In modern society, justice is a formal principal in legislation, rather than guide choices in day-to-day life (Kinneking 2005: 100-114). Political philosophers like Michael Sandel show how competing definitions of justice are visible in legislation and in the way society is used to deal with dilemmas. There is one school of thought in which welfare is considered important, another in which freedom prevails and a third in which it is all about personal virtues. For making proper choices in their own lives and in society, people need to be aware of these fundamental differences and need to reflect on that (Sandel 2011: 26, 306).

The variety of party-political values that may play a role in basic decisions on spatial development and on the design and use of land and urban territory are wider than three varieties of the concept of justice. Two approaches were considered. The first is the model of ten or eleven personal moral values by Schwartz c.s. (2003, 2006). The distinction proved hard to apply to the variety of political values, notably because political values are predominantly about what desires people have towards group dynamics or how they desire society to be organised. This is somewhat different from the personal moral values, aimed at ones own behaviour or attitudes that Schwartz emphasises. This insight led the researchers to the work of moral psychologist Jonathan Haidt c.s., five basic moral positions can be defined, which people can hold distinctly in their judgmental argumentation: (1) the position in which *care* for others and preventing from *harm* being done to others dominates (2) the position in which *fairness* dominates, also in the meaning of *reciprocity* of behaviour, (3) the position in which *loyalty* to ones own group (*ingroup*) dominates, (4) the position in which respect and authority are dominant, and (5) the position in which the *purity* of ideals and the *sanctity* of beliefs are dominant (based on Haidt & Graham, 2007: 105-106. Also see Haidt & Kesebir 2010: 822)³.

4.2 Normative positions in political views on spatial policies and planning

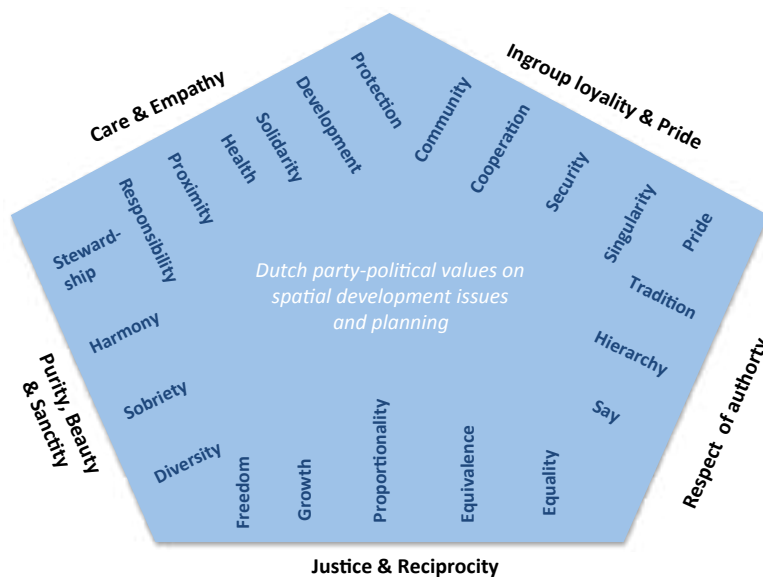
With five basic normative positions it appeared possible to analyse the empiric material of the document analysis of some 80 political documents of all Dutch parties represented in parliament. These documents were first analysed looking at their preferences for the spatial development pattern (if at all), the issues that are defined in terms of spatial policies, the preferred policy instruments for spatial policies (such as the instrument of planning) and the scope of government influence,

³ Haidt c.s. have based their distinction of five categories of normative positions on insights in human driving forces in their social behaviours as found in psychological surveys in combination with moral philosophy and evolutionary biology. They have hypothesised these basic normative positions and keep testing them in moral psychological research.

and the political/moral/ethical views that are expressed in relation to spatial policies and planning. This material was then re-analysed with the five normative positions as a frame of reference by the researchers, and further refined in two working sessions with representatives from political parties and practitioners that are used to work on the fringe of practice and political decision-making⁴.

The five basic normative positions were thus reformulated with a view to the Dutch political landscape of spatial development issues and planning. On the basis of expressions that were found in political documents or that were expressed in the working sessions, a set of 23 political key values could be defined in the normative playing field that is demarcated by the five normative positions (figure 1).

Figure 1 Dutch political values on spatial development



Each of these values is concisely defined in one word and a short explanation to further typify it. For the purpose of this paper they will not all be mentioned here, but a short indication is given for each of the five normative positions.

Care & Empathy is a normative position that is reflected in political ideals of solidarity, caring for others as recognisable in preferences for social housing, in protecting weak interests in spatial planning (e.g. *Protection*) or in urban design of neighbourhoods (e.g. *Proximity*) that allow people to care for each other (e.g. *Solidarity*);

Justice & Reciprocity are reflected in notions of fairness of the regulatory land use mechanisms (sometimes critically) (e.g. *Freedom*), fairness of housing allocation (e.g. *Equality*), as well as notions of spatial development opportunities for (economic) growth and individual freedom in landuse

Loyalty & Pride are reflected in loyalty with the own community, neighbourhood or town (e.g. *Cooperation*), and feelings of security that go

⁴ Using the mind mapping software in a series of more than ten iterations in preparation of the sessions with politicians and in reporting on the results, the research team has selected these 23 key values.

with that. It concerns notions of regional identity and pride on ones own living environment (e.g. *Singularity*), and in negative terms a fear of changes to that.

Respect for authority may be generally not be a stronghold in Dutch political thought, yet is clearly reflected in the acknowledgement of state involvement in planning issues and in the relatively strong ideas of the hierarchy of the spatial planning system, albeit in different preferences in terms of the extent of central government involvement (e.g. *Say* for individuals vis a vis government).

Purity, Beauty & Sanctity is recognisable in a variety of rather distinct ideals, such as Christian notions of stewardship and of harmony that needs to be restored (e.g. *Sobriety* for an eco-friendly living standard), holistic ecological political ideals (e.g. ecological *Diversity*) and the beauty of architectural or urban design. The concern is with the integrity of the ideal as such and the adaptation of human behaviour it requires.

The 23 key value s – as an expression of a political motive, incentive, desire or ideal – is characterised by the researcher by a word that is always not necessarily found in the documentation or expressed explicitly by interviewees, but which the researchers consider to be representative. Each of the 23 key values (words) is further described by a sentence that indeed was found or can be found in similar form in documents of political parties or was expressed by interviewees.

5. Reflection

The research has resulted in an overview of the key party-political values of Dutch politics that can expected to play a role in decision-making on spatial development issues, projects and in processes of planning. This is particularly the case, when this decision-making takes place in the formal institutional arenas of political debate in municipal councils, regional councils and parliament. In order to support this practice, a clearly designed map of the Dutch party-political landscape is made⁵. This is meant to help analyse and understand the background of political questions and the course of political debate. The results of the research and the use of this overview deserve some remarks and caution.

The 23 political key values only characterise the Dutch political landscape. In other countries, the result of such an analyses will be different, if only for the choice of words that can be considered suitable to characterise a similar sort of value. The five basic normative positions may prove to be useful frame of reference for interpretation more or less similar to this Dutch research.

The 23 political key values should not be seen as being derived from a basic normative position. Values like 'protection' of weak interests and 'solidarity' with those that have a weak social position are merely a (more or less strong) reflection of the normative position of care, depending on the way such a value is expressed and used by someone. Whereas 'say' for individuals in matters of land use vis à vis central or local government shows a concern with issues of hierarchy and authority,

⁵ To be published on <http://www.windesheim.nl/lectoraatareadevelopment>

it is weak or even negative reflection of the normative position of respect for authority.

The 23 political key values are the result of interpretation of the researchers. Values are words that can (and will) have a different meaning to different people in different contexts. In practice, many varieties can be found of similar normative meanings with different words. It requires some practice to recognise what is meant. Politics is often rhetoric. Questions are answered by questions, or with many words not answered. Sometimes the opposite is said of what is meant. Recognising the underlying value(s) will always require interpretation. Politicians and other people have flexible minds and hearts, and may be ambivalent in their preferences or adhere to seemingly contradictory preferences, desires and underlying values. Points of view, such as a support for sustainable development, may be linked to rather different underlying values (e.g. *Diversity, Solidarity, Sobriety, Fairness*).

The political turn in the Netherlands in government views on spatial development policies and planning suggest a break with a longstanding support with a core element of the Dutch planning system: the comprehensive strategic spatial planning approach by central government. With a view to the key political values, this tradition is understandable as it can be linked to six key values. The political document reveal as underlying values for spatial planning that *Protection* of weak interests of social democratic and socialist parties, *Stewardship* and *Harmony* of the Christian political tradition, the acceptance of *Hierarchy* in this policy domain (all parties, even liberal parties), and the strive for *Equality* of the social democratic and socialist parties and *Equivalence* (liberal parties). These values can be recognised form 4 of the 5 basic normative positions. Despite this almost all round support, it also reveals that is not supported by one recently more influential set of political values that can be recognised from the basic normative position of *Ingroup loyalty & Pride*. This seems to be a normative position and set of values to which spatial policies and planning and its practitioners have little linkages to. An insight that may give rise to many more new research questions.

6. References

- Bardi, A. Schwartz, Sh. H. 2003, Values and behaviour. Strength and structure of relations – Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 29: 1207-1220
- Blokland, H. 1997, Isaiah Berlin: tussen liberalisme en communisme. Liberaal Reveil 38 (4)
- Blokland, H. 2001, De modernisering en haar politieke gevolgen: Weber, Mannheim, Schumpeter, Een rehabilitatie van de politiek 1, Amsterdam: Boom
- Buunk W.W. 2003, Discovering the locus of European integration, Delft: Eburon
- Buunk, W.W. 2010 Spontane orde of een Nieuw Jeruzalem, Windesheim kennis en onderzoekreeks, Zwolle: Windesheim
- Cohen, M. D., March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. 1972 A garbage can model of organizational choice. Administrative Science Quarterly 17 (1):1-25
- Fisher F. & J. Forester, 1993 The argumentative turn in policy analysis and planning, Durham N.C., Duke University Press

- Flyvbjerg, B. 1998 *Rationality and Power: Democracy in Action*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. 2001 *Making social science matter. Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again* - Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Forester, John. 1999 *The Deliberative Practitioner: Encouraging Participatory Planning Processes*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Friedmann, J. (1987) *Planning in the public domain: from knowledge to action*, Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press
- Haidt, J. en J. Graham 2007 *When morality opposes justice* *Social Justice Research* 20 (1) 98-116
- Haidt, J. and S., Kesebir, 2010. *Morality*. In: D. Gilbert, G. Lindzey (Eds.) *Handbook of social psychology*. 5th edition, Hoboken, NJ: Wiley. pp 797-832
- Hardy, H (ed) 2002 *Isaiah Berlin. Liberty*, edited by Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hayek, F.A. 1944 *The road to serfdom* Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Healey, P. 1997 *Collaborative planning. Shaping places in fragmented societies* London: MacMillan Press
- Healey, P. 2003 *Collaborative Planning in Perspective*, *Planning Theory* 2(2): 101–23.
- Kinneking, A. 2005 *Geografie van goed en kwaad. Filosofische essays*. Utrecht: Spectrum
- Lindblom, Charles E. 1959 *The Science of "Muddling Through* *Public Administration Review* 19 (2):79-88
- Lindblom, Charles E. 1961 *Decision-Making in Taxation and Expenditures*. In *Public Finances: Needs, Sources, and Utilization*, Universities-National Bureau: NBER
- MacIntyre, A., 2007, *After virtue*. Third edition ed. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press
- Nozick, R. 1993 *The nature of rationality* Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Roo, G. de, E.A. Silva (2010) *A Planners' Encounter with Complexity*, Farnham-Surrey (UK): Ashgate
- Sabatier, P. A., H. C. Jenkins-Smith, Eds. 1993 *Policy change and learning: an advocacy coalition approach. Theoretical lenses on public policy*. Boulder, CO [etc.]: Westview Press.
- Sandel, M.J. 2011 *Rechtvaardigheid. Wat is de juiste keuze?* Kampen: Ten Have. [Translation of: Sandel 2009, *Justice. What is the right thing to do?* New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux]
- Schwartz Sh. H. 2006 *Basic Human Values An Overview* - Paper gebaseerd op Schwartz, Sh. H., 2006 *Les valeurs de base de la personne: Théorie, mesures et applications*. *Revue française de sociologie*, 42, 249-288.
- Torring, J. 1999 *New theories of discourse*. Laclau, Mouffe and Žižek. Oxford: Blackwell
- Vries J de 2006 *Wiens Europa wint. Drie scenarios van de Europese samenleving*. Amsterdam: Business Contact
- Wee, B. van 2011 *Transport and ethics. Ethics and the evaluation of transport policies and projects* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

WRR, 2003 Waarden, normen en de last van het gedrag Amsterdam: Amsterdam
University Press