

# **AESOP PhD WORKSHOP**

## **1999**

**Finse, Norway**  
**Saturday 3 - Wednesday 7**

**JULY 1999**



**Department of Geography**  
**Bergen, Norway**

# **AESOP PhD WORKSHOP 1999**

**Editor of the workshop book and organiser of the workshop:  
professor Arild Holt-Jensen,**

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## Contents

|  | page      |
|--|-----------|
| Welcome note.....  | 4         |
| Time schedule of the workshop.....   | 6         |
| Practical informations on the Alpine Research Station.....   | 9         |
| Finse map.....   | 10        |
| Why Finse?.....  | 11        |
| «Fjord» and «vidde» - some basic natural features.....   | 13        |
| Finse in Ulvik municipality - some facts.....  | 15        |
| Objectives of the workshop.....  | 17        |
| Structure of the workshop.....   | 17        |
| Roles of the students.....   | 18        |
| Roles of the supervisors.....  | 18        |
| <b>Abstracts:Supervisors.....</b>  | <b>19</b> |
| Heather Campbell: From theory to methodology and back again.....   | 19        |
| John Forester: Theory <u>for</u> practice: Anticipating not only interactions but success and failure.....                 | 23        |
| Barrie Needham: Using planning theory in a PhD in planning: plugging into paradigms.....                                   | 29        |
| Alex Fubini: Are there identifiable trends in planning research?.....  | 38        |
| Kristina Nilsson: From idea to dissertation; or From Practitioner to Researcher.....                                       | 45        |
| <b>Abstracts: PhD students.....</b>  | <b>49</b> |
| Jerry Anthony: Thinking outside the box.....   | 49        |
| Marco Bontje: In search of the urban field.....  | 52        |
| Froukje Boonstra: Policy formation in rural development in the Netherlands.....  | 57        |
| Kai Böhme: Interdependencies of spatial planning «in» and «for» Europe.....  | 62        |
| Luisa Maria Calabrese: The urbanisation of infrastructure: an interpretative design model.....                             | 68        |
| Sarah Coffin: Designing environmental planning strategies that integrate stakeholder beliefs<br>and scientific models..... | 78        |
| Sylvia Dovlen: The municipal and the territory.....  | 84        |
| Lianne van Duinen: The constitution of spatial transport concepts.....   | 88        |
| Tamas Egedy: High-rise housing estates as vehicles of social exclusion in post-socialist cities.....                       | 91        |
| Hugh Ellis: Power relations in the British development control system.....   | 97        |
| David Evers: Shifting spaces of consumption.....   | 101       |
| Sabine Friedrich: Change of the urban periphery.....   | 108       |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Sukumar Ganapati: Institutional potential of housing co-operatives for low income households.....                           | 113 |
| Zaur Gasanov: Economic-geographical aspects of development of international tourism in Bulgaria.....                        | 117 |
| Jonas Hagetoft: Local economic development in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.....   | 121 |
| Elise Henu: Urban planning and negotiations - social housing and ethnicity.....   | 125 |
| Knut Hidle: Migration, place and identity.....  | 129 |
| Sarah Hills: The impact of State of the Environment Reports in local governments spatial plans.....                         | 135 |
| Maria Håkansson: The environmental task and work at local level.....  | 140 |
| Joon Sik Kim: Revitalisation the waterside in a community context.....  | 145 |
| James McGill: Planning for efficient environmental resource use and its social and economic effects.....                    | 148 |
| Torsten Meyer-Oldenburg: The role of the planner in resolving conflicts.....  | 151 |
| Akkelies van Nes: How ringroads change urban areas.....   | 156 |
| Vivi Niemenmaa: Local agenda 21 as a challenge to planning.....   | 162 |
| Gabor Novotny: The institution of Euro-regions: prerequisite for success.....   | 168 |
| Jose Antonio de Oliveira: Re-understanding property rights, land invasion and deforestation in<br>the Brazilian Amazon..... | 173 |
| Ib Omland : Urban transformation.....   | 177 |
| Deike Peters: The political economy of transport policy and planning in the Baltic Sea Region.....                          | 181 |
| Orapim Pimcharoen: Environmental management and planning system in Thailand.....  | 186 |
| Ralph Ploeger: Economic functions and spatial planning.....   | 191 |
| Heru Poerbo: Urban design guidelines: a planning instrument for the shaping of superblocks<br>in Jakarta,Indonesia .....    | 195 |
| Ombretta Romice: Visual literacy research programme.....  | 200 |
| Sampo Ruoppila: Residential differentiation in the transition from socialism to market economy.....                         | 206 |
| Brian Schmitt: The community reinvestment movement.....   | 208 |
| Christopher Snary: A planned risk?.....   | 214 |
| Danielle Snellen: Urban form and activity patterns.....   | 219 |
| Paola Tessitore: Interpretation of a disposal for the coordination between the actors of planning.....                      | 223 |
| Jaap de Vries: The long-term position of public transport in medium-sized cities.....                                       | 229 |
| Theresa Williamson: The diffusion of government responsibilities.....   | 233 |
| Julie Wilson: Tourist representations of urban spaces and places.....   | 238 |
| Hürriyet Ögdül: Social cohesion in housing rehabilitation.....  | 243 |
| <i>Note: Some of the titles have been abbreviated</i>   |     |
| List of participants.....   | 249 |

## Welcome note

Welcome to the 1999 AESOP PhD Workshop at the Alpine Research Station, Finse, Norway. Finse (located 1222 meters above sea level) is the highest station on the Bergen-Oslo railway line. The Alpine Research Station is located 2 kms east of the railway platform, and connected to it by the construction road, now a cycle track, used when the railway was built in 1909. This road is not open for car traffic and will in early July be partly snowcovered.

The Alpine Research Station was built in 1972 by the University of Oslo, but had started in more primitive localities much earlier. The function of the station is primarily as a field research station for high mountain ecology and related disciplines. In 1996 the University of Bergen joined as owner when the new student training and conference building, which we will use, was finished. Since 1960 more than 80 MA degrees and 20 PhD degrees have been based on field research at Finse, mainly within zoology, botany and physical geography/geology, but we find even two MA degrees in planning.

The Department of Geography in Bergen is among the departments privileged to use the facilities of the research station at a bargain price. This was a main condition for offering the workshop to the PhD students *included in the congress fee*. It is a great asset for us that the scientific managers of the station Erika Leslie and Tom Warren are present, doing ecological research, during our stay.

We are very grateful for the financial support given to cover parts of the workshop costs by

- The Norwegian Research Foundation NOK 50 000,-
- The Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Bergen NOK 25 000,- plus covering printing costs of the workshop book.
- The AESOP council EURO 2 500,- (ca. NOK 21 000,-)

The Faculty of Social Sciences, represented by the Department of Geography, has been associated to AESOP since its foundation meeting in Amsterdam in 1987. Since our curriculum for a 4-year study in local and regional planning was established in 1991 we have been full member and represented in the council. There is, however, no PhD curriculum in planning at the University of Bergen. The Norwegian students with a planning related PhD project are connected to basic disciplines like architecture, geography, civil engineering, landscape architecture and public administration. It has for this reason been a real challenge to organise this workshop.

In the organising of the workshop we are especially thankful for the advice and guidance given by Teresa Fidelis who organised the successful AESOP PhD workshop in Aveiro in 1998. We are as well very relieved that we are able to benefit from the expertise and experience of the leading professors that will function as supervisors at the workshop:

- John Forester, Cornell University, USA
- Barrie Needham, University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands
- Heather Campbell, University of Sheffield, England, UK
- Alex Fubini, University and Polytechnic, Torino, Italy

In addition to these Kristina Nilsson, Högskolan i Karlskrona, Sweden will give a perspective on her PhD experience and the relation between planning research and practice..

The AESOP PhD workshop this year will be joined by 39-40 European and North American students. At the time of writing the national affiliations of the students seems to become:

8 from the Netherlands, 7 from UK, 7 from USA, 4 from Sweden, 3 from Norway, 2 from Finland, 2 from Hungary, 2 from Germany, 1 (2) from Italy, 1 from Turkey, 1 from Azerbaijan, 1 from Switzerland, 1 from France. Three of the American students have been selected for a Fannie Mae Foundation grant of each 1000 dollars; the University of Bergen has given a "Social Housing Research grant" of NOK 10 000,- which is divided between three of the students; and a grant of NOK 25 000,- given by the Norwegian State Housing Bank, to support the participation of housing researchers from Eastern Europe at the congress, has as well been used to cover the costs in Norway for two of the students.

Housing research has, however, not been given priority in the selection of those students that have been admitted to the workshop amongst ca. 50 applicants. The selection has been based on the scientific quality of the abstracts sent in, however, taking into account that the number of students from one country should not exceed 7. This limitation in numbers did only come into effect for the Netherlands, although accepting one more than the quota. The "mild form of gender quotation" as practiced in Scandinavia has been used; meaning that in the case male and female have the same qualifications the female has priority. In the case of the PhD workshop this has been a minor factor in the selection as it was almost as many female as male students amongst the applicants. Anyhow, as much effort as possible has been done to make a fair selection. And we hope that we have got a group of students and supervisors that will function well together both socially and professionally.

The contributions of all the participants will, we are sure, make the workshop at Finse a fruitful event for everybody. If you are "urbanites" you may blame me for the choice of location, but if you take this as a challenge too, I am sure you will remember the stay at Finse and in Norway as a very special event in you life. Welcome to good and intensive work.

Arild Holt-Jensen

In the following sections I have prepared some information on both the workshop and the place we are staying.

## Time schedule of the PhD workshop 3-7 July

Note: At Finse we cannot follow strictly a formal programme; if the weather is good we should have some time for mountain hiking, in rain or storm we concentrate on sessions. As to participation in the group sessions on Sunday and Monday we have tried to place each student in groups that seemed most relevant. Those students marked with **bold** in each group session is supposed to deliver her/his paper in that session. If someone should feel that they are wrongly placed it is possible to shift around with one of the other students. On Tuesday all students will have the possibility to circulate between the groups, a plan for this will be set up on the notice board in the hall. On this basis we have outlined a programme as follows:

### Saturday 3rd:

15.44 Departure Bergen railway station

17.57 Arrival Finse. Walk to the Research Station.

19.00/19.30 Dinner, list for practical tasks is set up

20.24: Train arrival from Oslo with 4 of the participants.

21.00. Presentations around the table, get acquainted. Kai Böhme (PhD student, Sweden) and Arild Holt-Jensen: The Scandinavian model of public administration and planning as compared to other European and North American models

22.00 Slide show on Finse - land and ecology, c/o Erika Leslie /Tom Warren, University of Oslo.

### Sunday 4th:

9.00 - 12.00 **Morning plenary:**

a: Barrie Needham: Using planning theory in a PhD in planning: plugging into paradigms.

b: John Forester: Theory for practice: anticipating not only interactions but success and failure.

12.00 - 14.00 Lunch break, hiking tour if good weather, afternoon sessions may have a later start in this case.

14.00 - 18.00 (18.30) **Group sessions:** coffee break ca. 16.00:

A: Housing, place and identity (Alex and Arild) LECTURE ROOM

6 student presentations: **Jonas Hagetoft, Tamas Egedy, Sampo Ruoppila, Elise Henu, Sukumar Ganapati, Brian Schmitt.**

Others in the group: Hürriyet Ögdül, Ombretta Romice, Heru Poerbo, Knut Hidle (12 in total).

B: Regional development (Barrie) TV- ROOM

5 student presentations: **Marco Bontje, Zaur Gasanov, Froukje Boonstra, Sabine Friedrich, Ralph Ploeger.**

Others in the group: Hugh Ellis, David Evers, Joon Sik Kim, Julie Wilson (10 in total)

C: Environmental planning and design (Heather) DINING ROOM

5 student presentations: **Sarah Coffin, Jaap de Vries, Sylvia Dovlen, Maria Håkansson, Torsten Meyer-Oldenburg**

Others in the group: Lianne van Duinen, Cristopher Snary, Danielle Snellen, James McGill, Akkelies van Nes, Vivi Niemenmaa, Jerry Anthony. (14 in total)

D: Planning systems, tiers of government (John) Lecture room in the Research Building

6 student presentations: **Kai Böhme, Deike Peters, Jose Antonio de Oliveira, Gabor Novotny, Theresa Williamson, Ib Omland**

Others in the group: Luisa Maria Calabrese, Orapim Pimcharoen, Sarah Hills, (10 in total)

18.30 - 19.30: Dinner

19.30 - 20.30: Report session, plenary

**Monday 5th:**

9.00 - 12.00: **Morning plenary:**

a: Heather Campbell: From theory to methodology and back again: the need for planning researchers to engage with methodological concerns.

b: Alex Fubini: Are there recognizable trends in PhD research?

12.00 - 14.00 Lunch break, hiking if good weather.

14.00 - 18.00 **Group sessions:** coffee break ca. 16.00.

I. Communicative planning, empowerment etc (John) TV ROOM/or Research Station room.

6 student presentations: **Hürriet Ögdul, Vivi Niemenmaa, Hugh Ellis, David Evers, Orapim Pimcharoen, Joon Sik Kim**

Others in the group: Elise Henu, Kai Böhme, Tamas Egedy, Sukumar Ganapati, Jonas Hagetoft, Sampo Ruoppila, Ib Omland (14 in total)

**II. Concepts, metaphors, semiotic approach** (Alex and Barrie) LECTURE ROOM

6 student presentations: **Luisa Maria Calabrese, Knut Hidle, Ombretta Romice, Lianne van Duinen, Julie Wilson, Heru Poerbo**

Others in the group: Jaap de Vries, Deike Peters, Marco Bontje, Froukje Boonstra, Zaur Gasanov, Torsten Meyer-Oldenburg, Sylvia Dovlen. (15 in total)

**III. Case study approach versus quantitative. surveys** (Heather) DINING ROOM

6 student presentations: **Akkelies van Nes, Jerry Anthony, Sarah Hills, James McGill, Christopher Snary, Danielle Snellen.**

Others in the group: Jose Antonio de Oliveira, Gabor Novotny, Ralph Ploeger, Theresa Williamson, Sarah Coffin, Maria Håkansson, Sabine Friedrich, Brian Schmitt. (15 in total)

18.00 - 18.30: Walk to Finsehytta DNT for dinner

18.30 - 19.00: Dinner at Finsehytta

19.30 - 22.00: Dancing event, Norwegian folk dance instruction by Siv Erstad (Ervingen) and Endre Kleiveland (Hardanger Fiddle player from Osterøy), both young students.

**Tuesday 6th:**

9.00 - 10.00: Report session on group work I, II and II.

10.00 - 11.00: **Plenary:**

Kristina Nilsson: The PhD process from idea to dissertation.

11.00 - 14.30 Lunch break - hiking tour.

14.30 - 19.00 **Group sessions:** Coffee break ca. 16.30

(Plan will be set up on the notice board).

1. Qualitative versus quantitative methods in a PhD (Heather)

2. Theory versus empirics in the thesis (Barrie)

3. PhD process from idea to thesis (Kristina and John)

4. Trends in European planning research (Alex)

19.00 Dinner, report session after dinner if needed. Certificates for the PhD workshop will be distributed.

**Wednesday 7th:**

8.00 Breakfast, making a luncheon packet, cleaning room, free for hiking until you have to go to the station for the **train to Bergen 12.00.**

Due to the EXCO meeting in Bergen 7. July in the morning Alex and Arild will have to take the night train from Finse 04.20 to be in Bergen in time. PhD student Knut Hidle will have the tickets for your train ride to Bergen.

*The train leaving Finse Wednesday 12.00 arrive Bergen 14.20.* After having left your luggage at Marken Guest House (300 meters from the station) or other places of residence in Bergen, you will have time to take part in one of the *two excursions offered 15.00 - 18.00 (19.00)*, either:

- *city stroll* with lecturer Arnfinn Seim (which he also gives 8.July, but as only 15 can come at a time Wednesday is the best choice). Start at Dragefjellet congress center.

- or *mountain hike on Bergen's "sacred" Mount Ulriken* with Arne Saunes, including return ride to the top in the cable car and a concert, for those interested, at the mountain top cafe. Start with the "Ulriken bus" from its pick up point in Starvhusgt (between "Telegrafan" and "Byparken") 14.45 or 15.15. Special reduced price for AESOP congress participants *only* on those departures: NOK 60,- (Normal NOK 90,-) to be paid on the bus.

## **Practical informations on the Alpine Research Station:**

The Alpine Research Field Station has a room structure which is as follows:

### Lecture, group room facilities:

Dining room to seat 50, which we have to use for plenary lectures (some problems to show slides as there are no effective blending curtains). Overhead ok.

Lecture room to seat 30 at tables, ok for slides and overhead.

Two living rooms with half circle sofa and central table to seat up till 14 each. Useful for group discussions. Overhead and freestanding screen must be set up specially.

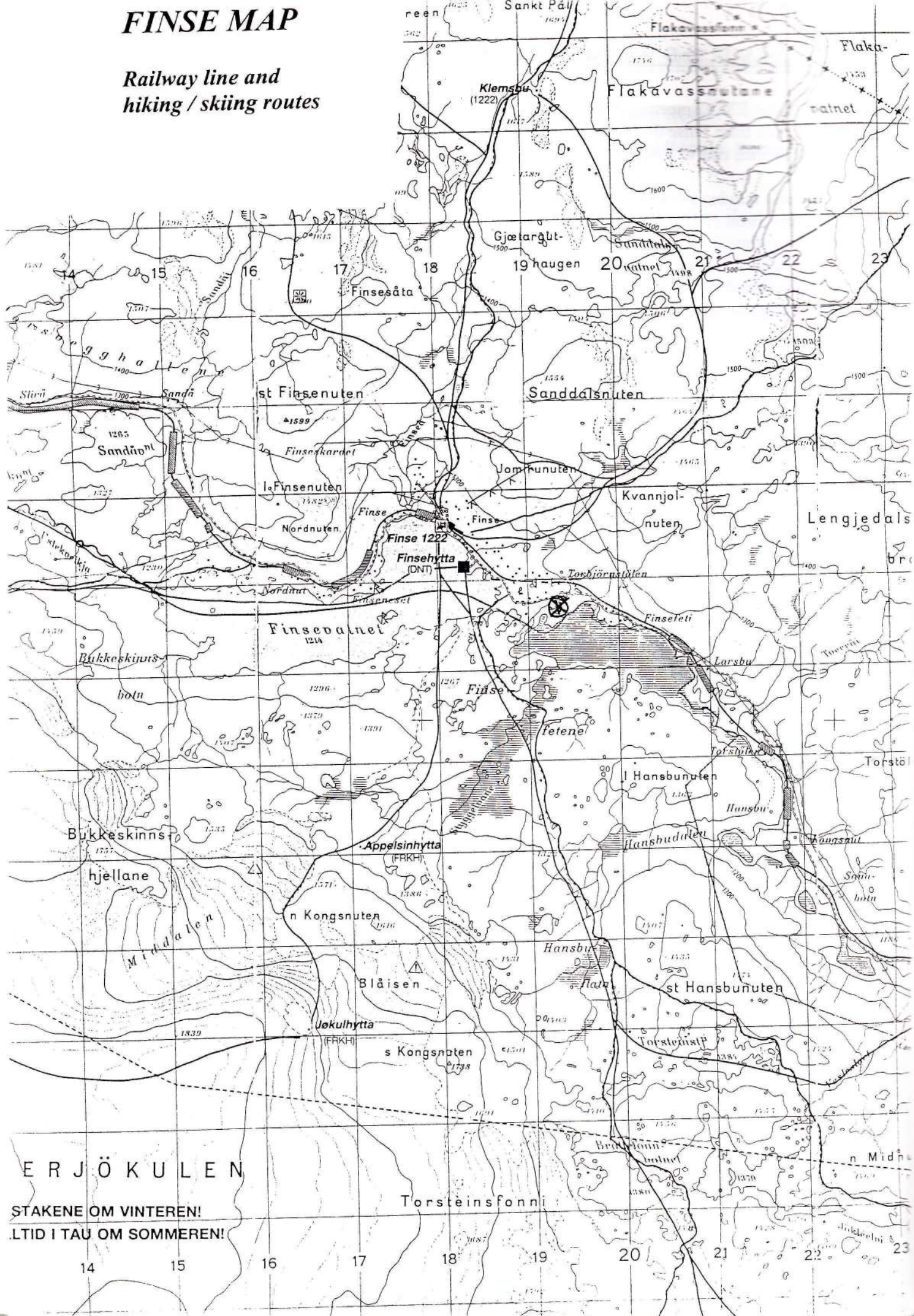
### Bedrooms, kitchen etc:

There are 6 bedrooms with 4 beds (24 students), 10 bedrooms with 2 beds each (20 persons), total 44. 1-2 leaders may be located in the next door research building bedrooms. The kitchen is a fully equipped hotel kitchen, and there are bathrooms for men and women in the corridor, drying room for wet clothes and boots. There is a *sauna* located between the men's and the women's bathrooms. Our two Finnish participants, Vivi and Sampo, is given full authority and responsibility for setting up rules for the use of the sauna!

Note: There is no servant personell present or available at Finse. The manager of the station Erika Leslie, will be there carrying out her own research programme, and she can (if the bicycle road is free of snow) transport luggage in their fourwheel vehicle from the railway station. She is an extremely good photographer and has promised to present Finse and its high mountain flora and fauna in a slide show Saturday evening after dinner. All practical jobs have to be shared between us, organising breakfast and luncheon, laying and clearing tables, making coffee etc. On leave Wednesday we have to clean the rooms. Everybody should clean their own bedroom, but I suggest that we on the budget may pay two of the students to clean the corridor, kitchen, living rooms etc. So we present that as a *bid* to earn some money! There will be a «strict control» of the quality of the work.

# FINSE MAP

Railway line and  
hiking / skiing routes



ERJÖKULEN

STAKENE OM VINTEREN!  
LTID I TAU OM SOMMEREN!

14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

## Why Finse?

The earlier AESOP PhD workshops have been held in urban surroundings, closely connected to a university. But in 1999 we are going far out of town to a location at the Norwegian high mountain plateau. Why? There are three reasons:

**1. The first and simple reason is costs.** When we started to organise the AESOP congress we had the idea that PhD students should be given a very good bargain; they should get the PhD workshop, inclusive accomodation and food, covered in the ordinary congress fee, and so extra to what ordinary delegates gets for their fee. This could not be managed within the budget if we were staying in town, even if based on hostel overnight accomodation and student cafeteria meals. And we knew that the students would be chocked by Norwegian beer and wine prices. So we had to find a "private" solution. The first idea was to have the workshop at "Turnerhytten" on Mount Ulriken in Bergen, closed off from the city, but still located in the municipality. This was based on a complete self-serve and self-make of food and backpack carrying of all equipment 2 kms from the cable car head at Mount Ulriken. This was, however, proved to be too primitive and would only be possible for a group of 20 persons totally. The Alpine Research Station at Finse came as the perfect (to my mind) solution. 44 persons are here easily accomodated. And we are lodged in good beds in a station with lecture rooms containing all modern facilities at a price of NOK 50,- pr bed/night. And we can bring our own beer and wine and manage breakfasts and luncheons on a selfmake basis, while dinners are brought in hot from the nearby tourist hut at a bargain price which is impossible to beat in town.

**2. The second reason is the extraordinary learning conditions which are created in a closed off field station atmosphere.**

Experience after many field courses has given us the experience that when a group of students and teachers has to live together in a close group, without being distracted by outsiders, barriers are broken down which facilitates the learning process. A precondition is, however, that everybody meets this experience with an open mind and with the intention of being "social". If this is the case we are sure that this will be an experience of a lifetime that you will always remember positively. One such experience I will myself always remember in this way was a geographical excursion in one week in the Australian outback where I had to set up and share tent with a guy I never had met before. You made friends for a lifetime!

**3. The third reason is Finse and its surroundings.** The train ride Bergen - Finse is an adventure in itself; first along the Osterfjord (see map) and then slowly meeting the valley end above Voss for the steep climb up on the mountain plateau ("vidde" in Norwegian). Between two mountain tunnels at Myrdal you get a glimpse down the Flåm Valley to the Sogne Fjord. The Finse landscape (see 1:50 000 map) is open, but north of the station the land slope up to Hallingskarvet and in the south you will see Hardangerjøkulen glacier covering a mountain massive that raises to 1800 m.a.s.l. Finse station is located 1200 meters above sea level, which is above the tree limit. The vegetation is alpine and according to Köppens climatic system "arctic". This means that there *can* be temperatures below zero in any month. Finse has one hotel, which is located on the station, one tourist hut, located 700 meters from the station and the University's Alpine Research

Station located in 2 kms hiking distance east of the railway station. In winter the distance is shorter as you can ski in a straight line across bogs and lakes. It may well be that this stay will make you "crazy for mountain vacations" as many visitors do. When Bergen Town and Country Planning Association has its yearly two-day seminar this is held at Finse Hotel in the first part of May. And the last weekend in April 1999 13 000 (!) skiers participated in "Skarverennet" which could be compared to the Dutch Nijmegen march, but on skis along the foothills north of Finse.

**So in sum we hope that you will appreciate all these three arguments for having the PhD workshop at Finse.**

### **Weather and climate**

**Bergen:** The climate in Bergen is maritime: mild winters and cool summers. The westcoast location at the mountain foot is hit by the southwesterly winds bringing in precipitation all year round. The mean annual precipitation is ca. 2 meters, 3 times as much as in Oslo. But the weather in Bergen is seldom foggy or bleak grey. In general it is either raining rather much or the sky is clear. In the beginning of July it is never dark at night and the mean temperature is 15°C. Sunny July days may have temperatures above 25°C, but you may as well encounter cool days with day temperature at around 10 centigrades.

**Finse:** Due to the location slightly east of the mountain divide the precipitation at Finse is only 88 mm in July, half of what it is in Bergen. Due to elevation the mean temperature in July is only 7°C. It can occasionally in July be below zero, but may also be up to 20°C. In September you will see snow and ice only at the glaciers, in early July there will still be snowpatches left from the winter snowcover. Due to permafrost in the ground the topsoil is always wet or boggy. Finse has no surfaced road except for the platform at the railway station. 3rd July the 2 km long bicycle path between the station and the research station may still be partly snowcovered. Rubber boots are recommended.

## "Fjord" and "vidde" - some basic natural features

The largest part of the Norwegian mountains does not consist of Alpine peaks, but of "vidde"; high mountain plateau landscape. Hardangervidda is the largest high mountain plateau in Europe. It covers an area of 10 000 square kilometers of which the largest part is at altitudes between 1100 and 1300 meters above sea level. The roads and railway line have thus a wide mountain plateau to cross, not only a high mountain pass or mountain divide as in the Alps and the Rockies. This creates a lot of problems during winter snow storms. Finse is located in the northern parts of Hardangervidda. South of Finse you see a rock massive reaching 1800 meters a.s.l., 600 meters above the "vidde" niveau, covered by Hardangerjøkulen glacier (73 km<sup>2</sup>s). North of Finse you will see the escarpment of another higher mountain massive, Hallingskarvet.

These landscape features need a geological explanation. The geology around Finse station is archaic, consisting of rocks older than 600 million years. 600-400 million years ago these rocks were the bottom of a shallow ocean basin ("subkambrian peneplan") in which sediments, including chalk shells from the first sea life on our planet, were layered. These chalk-rich sediments are preserved at the foothills of Hallingskarvet and Hardangerjøkulen, creating a local basis for a rich mountain flora.

These old rocks were, however, greatly influenced by the Caledonian mountain folding, 400 million years ago, which created a large mountain chain from Scotland up into the present Barents Sea. Large mountain blocks were thrust over and on top of the sediments which were pressed 10-12 kms down in the earth crust and fried in temperatures of 300-400 degrees celcius. In the millions of years that followed most of the Caledonian mountain chain was torn away. At Finse only some of the rocks that were thrust on top of the sediments still exist as Hallingskarvet and the rocks under Hardangerjøkulen (Fig.1).

A rather flat lowland ("paleisk overflate" in fig. 1) made up Scandinavia 50 million years ago. At that time (Tertiary period) an active mountain folding period started creating The Alps, Rocky Mountains, Andes and Himalayas. In Scandinavia no mountain folding occurred, but the old, rather flat paleic surface was lifted tectonically up as a mountain block. The uplift was most pronounced around Finse (uplift of around 1100 meters), much less in Bergen (600 meters or a bit above as now represented by "Vidden" 2 kms east of Mount Ulriken).

This uplifted plateau land was then attacked by glaciers in the quaternary period 2 000 000 - 10 000 years ago. The glaciers started digging out the river valleys on top of the plateau. The eroding force of a glacier differs very much from that of a river. The deep glacial U-shaped valleys were later in large parts filled by the sea as **fjords**. From the brink of the Hardangervidda plateau down to the bottom of the fjords there is a height difference of 2000 meters. The valleys extending inland from the fjords ends abruptly in "valley ends", often with impressive waterfalls (fig. 2).

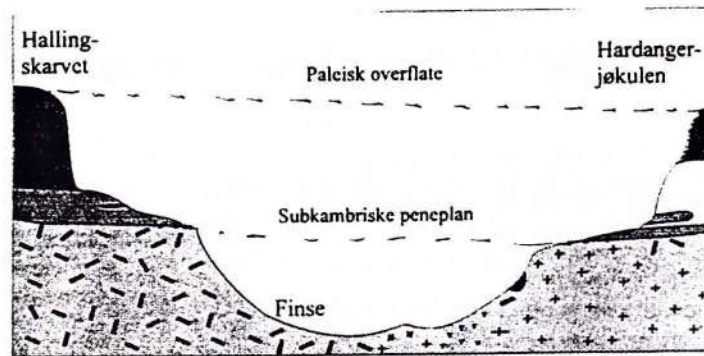


Figure 1. Geological profile north -south at Finse. Hatched bottom layers: precambrian archaic rocks more than 600 mill years old. Middle layer: cambro-silurian sediments 600-400 million years old, but fried and hardened in the caledonian mountain folding period. Top layer: overthrust archaic prekambrian rocks, originally more than 1 800 million years old. The bottom and top layers consist of hard granites, gneisses, quartzites etc. The Hallingskarvet escarpment is created because the middle layers are more easily eroded than the top layer. The U-shaped Finse valley was created by glaciers 2 000 000 - 10 000 years before present.

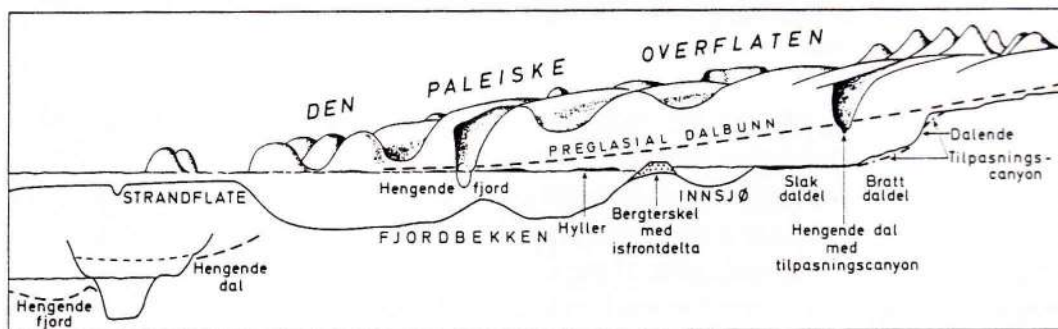


Fig. 2. General length profile of a fjord. Rivers had dug valleys ("preglacial dalbunn") in the old paleic surface after the tertiary uplift, before glaciation started. A number of glacial periods in the quaternary period dug fjords and glacial valleys into these river valleys. The glaciers dug deepest in the middle parts where the thickness of the ice was mightiest. On the coast, where the glacier met the sea, its digging force was much less. The fjord is thus not so deep at the "strandflate". The glacial valley continuing from the fjord bottom ends abruptly at the valley end ("dalende"), which we will see from the train at Uppsete and Myrdal. Often there is an impressive waterfall at such a valley end (picture below from Eidfjord in Hardanger)



## Finse in Ulvik Municipality - some facts

When you step out of the train at Finse you will see a large sign: "Ulvik Herad". This means that Finse belongs to Ulvik Municipality. Looking at the map you will find that Ulvik is a settlement on the Hardanger Fjord, but that the municipality includes a part of the mountain stretch along the railway line, including Hallingskeid and Finse stations. The municipal border towards Eidfjord Municipality in the south follows the top of Hardangerjøkulen and in the north Hallingskarvet is on the border to the municipalities of Aurland in Sogn and Hol in Hallingdal (fig.3). This tells us two things:

- that the whole of Norway for centuries have been divided in church parishes, later amalgamated into municipalities.
- secondly that the borders must be rooted in traditional resource use of the mountains.

The mountains around Finse has been used by man for thousands of years. Actually man settled at Finse 7 - 8 000 years before present. The reindeer hunting tribes, that followed the retreat of the ice, left the lowlands when the forests started to grow and the reindeer moved on to the mountain pastures. Hardangervidda still has the largest wild reindeer herd in Europe. This has to be regulated by hunting to avoid winter starvation, as there are no beasts of prey to regulate the stock naturally. To eat reindeer meat is thus ecologically correct in these surroundings.

The reindeer hunting was, however, not the reason for the drawing of municipal borderlines. The Finse valley has rich resources of graslands for summer pasturing and has since Norwegians started cattle, sheep and goat rearing been used for out-farming ("Seterbruk" in Norwegian, "transhumance" in the Alps). A closer look at the map will reveal that the easiest and shortest access to a permanent farming settlement is to Osa in Ulvik Herad. After snowsmelting the cattle, goats and sheep from Ulvik was driven up here and were tended by young girls who stayed at the "seter". Cows and goats were milked, cheese and butter made for winter use. Torbjørnstølen is such a "seter".

As important was the mountain pastures for grazier cattle being fattened in the mountains, before being drifted down to the slaughterhouses in the Oslofjord area in the autumn. As West Norway always had a surplus in animal products, because climate is not suited for grains, this surplus had to be "drifted" across the mountains until railway and steamship could take over the transport.

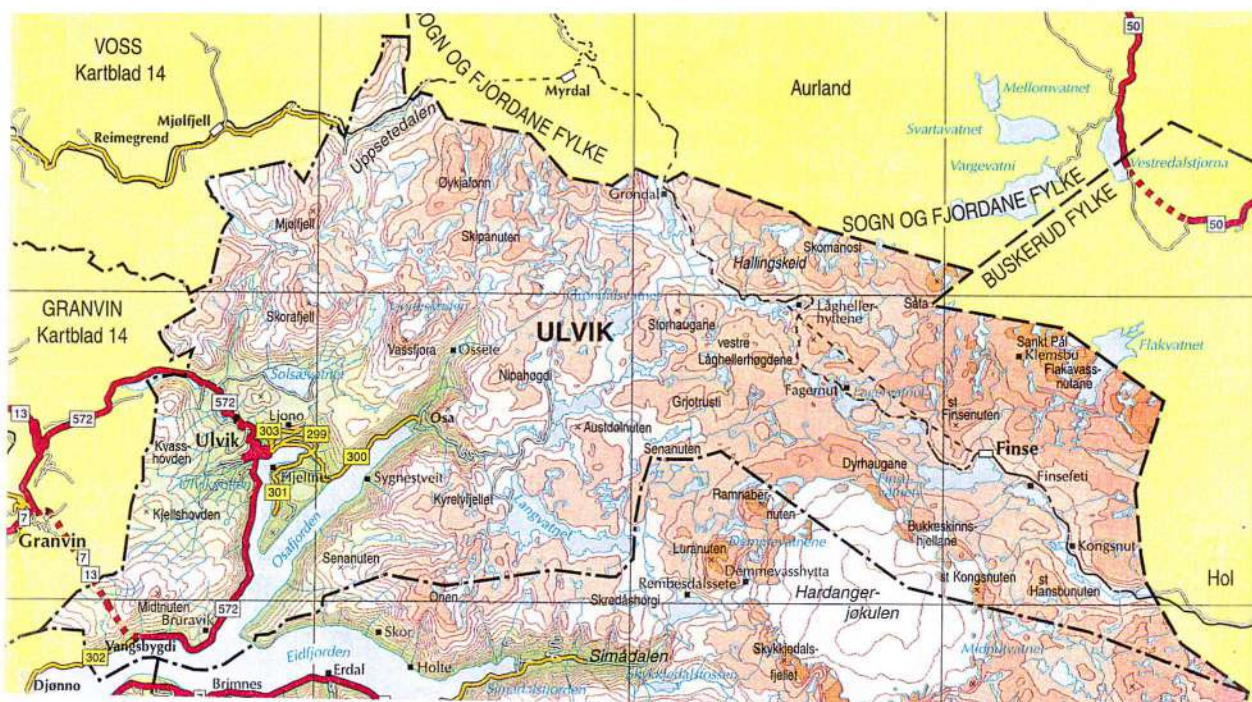
The Bergen railway line was opened in 1909 and its construction was then regarded as an engineering triumph. Heroic stories appeared in school books, particularly on how the two teams mining out the 5 kms long Gravhalsen tunnel (by Myrdal) managed to meet each other midway. (In 1999 a 24 kms long road tunnel will be opened in Sogn) A railway settlement was built up at Finse, with personell permanently living there to keep the line open all year around. Finse became a school district under the auspices of Ulvik Herad. The hotel and the tourist hut were built as Finse became an easily accessible magnet of mountain tourism. The Norwegian Tourist Bound has marked ("T") the mountain trails to the south and north with convenient day hiking distances to DNT and private tourist huts. Most of these trails are hundreds of years old as they have been

used by hunters, farmers and cattle drifts as long as can be remembered. In the winter the ski trails are marked with sticks that are spaced so close that you may find the way if hit by snowstorm.

The Red Cross has a rescue service in case somebody get lost. Rescue and hospital service is free in Norway, but if you deliberately behave incautiously when the weatherforecast is no good, you may have to pay for a rescue. Any payment will be on your own risk, as there is **no system of group insurance or tour leader you or your family can set a law suit against.** (This generally only has to be told Americans).

Arctic expeditions have been trained at Finse in winter conditions and during World War II the German occupants had an airfield here. Today, however, there is no school at Finse. The snowclearing of the railway line is now effectively done by rotating ploughs and the railway personell do not permanently live at Finse. The hotel and tourist hut workers stay there only in the two seasons, of which the winter skiing season is the longest. Both establishments close from the end of May till early July, when both skiing and hiking is difficult due to snowmelting. The Hotel is unfortunately not open yet when we are there, but the tourist hut is open for the summer season from 3rd July.

**Ulvik Herad** (Ulvik Municipality) is in total area 722 km<sup>2</sup> of which only 7 km<sup>2</sup> is agricultural area, 41 km<sup>2</sup> forest, but 54 km<sup>2</sup> glaciers (mainly a part of Hardangerjøkulen). Ulvik with its center on a south slope down to an arm of the Hardanger Fjord is a fruitgrowing district (apples and cherries), but also a tourist center with two large hotels. When emigration from Norway to North America was at its top (1870s - 1910s) between 1/3 and 1/2 of all youngsters in Ulvik emigrated to America, mainly to the Midwest. Today the population of the municipality is ca. 1200. This number is slowly decreasing due to migration of youngsters to education and jobs in urban settlements. The income of the municipality is, however, rather good, particularly due to hydropower, damming of Langavatn and other lakes, to be utilised in Sima Power Station in Eidfjord municipality. (Below: Fig.3. Map of Ulvik Herad)



## Objectives of the workshop

The AESOP PhD Workshop 1999 aims at constituting a small forum of discussion of PhDs in Planning Issues, bringing together a group of PhD students from AESOP member schools and a group of well known planning professors in an informal environment. The focus of the workshop is dedicated to the specificity of a PhD in planning. We are focusing on the role of paradigms in planning research, the role of theory and methodological approach, the relation between theory and empirical analysis in a PhD thesis. We will as well discuss the process in PhD work from idea to final thesis and whether there are identifiable trends in planning research.

The workshop is structured into plenary lectures and group sessions. There will be five lectures by the invited teachers. There will be group sessions on Sunday and Monday at which the PhD students will present their papers, and group sessions on Tuesday at which there will be sought a structured discussion on the different theoretical and methodological aspects of the work with a PhD thesis.

## Structure of the workshop

The workshop is structured in three types of sessions with specific, and different objectives:

Plenary sessions of approximately 90 minutes length. There will be 5 such sessions - two on Sunday morning, two on Monday morning and one on Tuesday morning. In these sessions the invited professors and lecturers will present their lecture followed by a discussion. In these discussions all participants are urged to approach the themes of discussion in the light of their own training background, research and practice experience, as well as in the context of the planning school you come from. It is fundamental to keep track of the content of these plenary sessions in order to adress the topics in group sessions, after the PhD presentations.

Group sessions in the afternoon Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. Each afternoon session is broken up in two ca. 90 minutes parts by a coffee break. On Sunday afternoon there are four groups working at the same time and these groups are based on the empirical themes of the abstracts presented. 5-6 student presentations are sceduled for the Sunday group sessions (see the time scedule). On Monday the participants are divided up in three groups, working simultaneously, based on theoretical and methodological approaches. 5-6 student presentations are sceduled in each group. The group sessions on Tuesday are analysing the different aspects of the work with a PhD thesis. The scedule for these Tuesday sessions will be organised in such a way that each participant are able to discuss each topic. The rollating participation in the group work on Tuesday will be organised on Tuesday morning.

A session leader and a "reporter" should be elected for each group session. The "reporter" is responsible for preparation of a Session Report to be presented at the Report sessions. These reports should consist of a brief summary on the main points of discussion. Report sessions will be held on Sunday evening, Tuesday morning and (if needed) on Tuesday evening or Wednesday morning.

## **Role of the PhD students**

- A. To give an oral presentation in 20-25 minutes of their research project **focusing on:**
- Main theme of the PhD
  - Relevance for planning knowledge
  - Theoretical basis
  - Research methodology
  - Stage of research
  - Major obstacles in developing the research
  - Preliminary results
- B. To be prepared to characterise the planning school in which they are **integrated** and an overview of the types of PhDs that are currently being prepared.
- C. To actively take part in the informal debate on the presentations of other PhD students and the presentations of the invited professors.
- D. To be willing to collaborate in a written report about the workshop sessions to be presented at the main congress.

## **Role of the professors and invited young academics**

- A. To give a plenary presentation on the theme of the workshop.
- B. To lead the discussion of the topics during the Group Sessions.
- C. To give insight into the enthusiasm and dilemmas of a PhD preparation.
- D. To give insights into the new responsibilities of a doctorate for the progress of planning practice, research and education.

# From Theory to Methodology and Back Again: The Need for Planning Researchers to Engage with Methodological Concerns

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## *Introduction*

Concerns associated with the development and implementation of the methodologies which underpin empirical investigations often seem to be treated as if they are of marginal significance to the research endeavour. For example, refereed journal articles seldom discuss the detailed decisions surrounding the conduct of a piece of research. This element is omitted in favour of concentration on the theory informing the research and the implications of the findings; yet it is the methodology which provides the link between the theory and the findings and consequently is instrumental in determining the validity and reliability of the conclusions. The result of this lack of discussion and engagement with methodological concerns has been the creation of something of an academic myth that carrying out a study is a relatively straight-forward and unproblematic undertaking. Experience suggests quite the reverse and that moreover if the quality of research is to develop and progress in the planning field there is much to be gained from open and honest discussion of the theoretical and practical issues associated with the methodological aspects of research. The purpose of this paper therefore is a plea for greater engagement with methodological concerns. In the context of this discussion it is assumed that methodology includes both the techniques used in the field to collect data and also the approach adopted to analyse and interpret the resulting material. The paper is divided into two parts, the first examines existing perspectives on research methods in planning while the second focuses on the seemingly poorly developed relationship between theory and methodology.

### *Myths About Research*

The myths that surround research methods are strongly influenced by the way they are taught and presented in the literature. The following issues will be examined in the paper:

- \* The approach to teaching research methods tends to treat such concerns as separable from the rest of the research process. Often it seems as though the nature of the research question to be investigated automatically defines the method to be adopted and that the process of data collection merely takes the form of the implementation of the chosen method. Consequently, fieldwork seems to be conceptualised as much the same as following a recipe in a cookery book.
- \* Competence in research methods is often conceived as distinct from and superior to the skills of the planning practitioner or those personal skills utilised in everyday life. For example competence in human encounters such as research interviews is important to both practitioners and researchers.
- \* A distinction is often made in discussions about research methods between quantitative and qualitative styles of approach with the associated implication that researchers can be divided into two discrete groups. This is an unhelpful distinction which tends to foster divisions and a lack of communication between researchers.
- \* There are tensions in the doctoral process between gaining in-depth skills in one particular research method and the more general objective of training competent all-round social scientists. The key UK research council has favoured the latter approach.

### *The Relationship between Theory and Methodology in Research*

This section of the paper concentrates on the relationship between theory and methodology in planning research. The last decade has seen a welcome re-engagement within the academic planning community with theoretical debates current within the social sciences. However, while the implications of these theoretical developments can be seen in the evolution of normative

thinking and explanation about the nature of planning practice, discussions have been largely silent about methodological concerns. Hence, while embracing the work of inter alia Giddens, Habermas, Foucault and Derrida the 'kit-bag' of tools available to empirical researchers has remained both unchanged and unquestioned. The social theorists with which planning theory has engaged have questioned the very nature of what through much of the twentieth century has been taken-for-granted as 'knowledge', yet the mechanisms utilised by researchers to explore the world have changed little. For example, normative thinking about policy making in the planning field have developed considerably, leading to greater focus on process rather than outcomes, yet the tools for policy evaluation remain relatively unchanged. Whether this trend in normative thinking is desirable is for another paper. The issue of concern here is the extent to which methodological developments have kept pace with other theoretical developments in planning. How should the effectiveness of more participatory (collaborative) approaches to policy making be assessed?

Given this general context the remainder of this section will explore the following issues:

- \* Much of the current theoretical debate within planning attempts to make connections between the micro-politics of planning practice and more general structural processes within society. Are methodologies currently available to examine these relationships through empirical investigations or will they remain the preserve of abstract theorising? A number of existing studies will be used to explore this issue.
  
- \* The importance of encouraging more open discussion of the methodologies being used by researchers is exemplified in the growing number of studies apparently investigating the same issue yet deriving very different theoretical and practical implications (for example the process of plan making). 'How you know what you've found' is profoundly influenced by the methodology adopted and therefore should be subject to open discussion. Experienced researchers know carrying out research is an often messy and complex process; to pretend it is otherwise is to diminish the potential insights to be gained.

***Conclusion***

The argument underlying this paper is that theoretical developments in planning while influencing normative thinking and explanation have had much less impact on research methodologies. This is due, at least in part, to the myths which have tended to surround teaching and writing about research methods. Future developments in planning theory and practice can only benefit from greater engagement with methodological issues and open debate over the complexities of undertaking research. Moreover, the particular obligation that planning researchers have to the world of practice suggests that methodological developments within planning are likely to have implications both within policy arenas and the social science community more generally.

## **Theory for Practice: Anticipating not only Interactions but Success and Failure**

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I have been exploring not only theories OF planning practice, but theories FOR planning practice as well. Theories OF practice might help us to understand what planners do in some new ways, and they might help us to link the behavior and thought of planners to encompassing institutions, planning and political-economic history, or cultural influences (Sandercock 1995; Sandercock and Forsyth 1992; Friedmann 1987; Healey 1992, 1993, 1997; Hoch 1994; Baum 1997a, 1997b). But theories FOR practice might go one step further: to suggest, in effect, to planners that if they view their work in a certain way, they may avoid specific problems and achieve certain desired ends instead. Such a «use» of theory is not quite instrumental (to achieve this goal, use this means), but it is practical (by viewing value conflict, for example, in THIS way, we can consider THESE responses that might FIT our situation WELL and avoid substantial problems).

Such theory depends on our having a sense of success and failure in planning, a sense of value to be gained or squandered, achieved or lost, a sense of welfare to be achieved or harms to be avoided. Thus «theory FOR planning practice» is intimately tied to a sense of the ethics of practice, what can be gained or lost in practice. So far, this does not specify which ethical arguments are necessarily involved, but it means that the «use» or «application» or «appropriation» of a «theory FOR practice» might enable planners to achieve some value or welfare and avoid some loss or harm. A theory that is USEFUL IN THIS WAY is necessarily (if often implicitly) wrapped up in ethics, since that is just what «useful» (consequentially good!) means. Otherwise, the theory would be use-less.

In this presentation I will review three initial attempts to sketch «theory FOR practice» that address problems of (i) information processing, (ii) participation and negotiation, and (iii) deep value conflicts in planning. Each of these analyses responds to situations in which planners can get into trouble. My suggestion, roughly, echoes a sentiment I expressed in Planning in the Face of Power (Forester 1989) to the effect that «Planning theory is what planners need when they get stuck.» So I am working backwards. After choosing three types of planning situations in which planners can get into trouble, I then ask what kinds of planning analysis or theoretical understandings might help planners get out of (or avoid altogether) such sticky situations and do well instead.

Politically shaped constraints and limits on information and understanding deepen problems of any possible rationality in planning. Processes of citizen participation are often not well articulated with negotiations in public planning processes. Often, too, planners deal uncertainly with the claims of substantial value differences that may be at hand. My argument presumes that such politicized and contested situations are quite common in planning, and I argue that good theory can help planners not only to do well, but to avoid problems of confusion, deep misunderstanding, inefficacy, and needless resentment that often plague planning practice in such complex and inevitably adversarial circumstances.

### *Political rationality*

Consider first the problem of listening to others so that planners can make coherent and well-reasoned recommendations about courses of public action. To provide the basis for their recommendations, planners must often gather information in politicized, contested meetings or planning negotiations. But what quality of information is available? Our basic models of rationality address this question, and Herbert Simon's behavioral critique of optimization, his suggestion of «satisficing» models, had profound consequences for decision theoretic models (March 1988). In Planning in the Face of Power I argued that we could extend Simon's analysis to inform rational decision-making in politically structured contexts. Simon argued that the quality of information is INEVITABLY "limited" or "bounded." Habermas suggests that we assess conditions of "systematically bounded information" (what he called the analysis of

"systematically distorted communication"). Habermas's concern, of course, grew from his interest in Marx and the structural, institutional influences that can corrupt or bound human understanding. Integrating the insights of Simon and Habermas, we can see that in a given situation, the quality of information might be more or less SYSTEMATICALLY shaped, just as it might be more or less INEVITABLY bounded. So once we relax the strong assumptions of perfect information (in the optimization model of rational understanding and decision-making), we can assess four types of "bounded rationality" in the four quadrants of a two by two table (Forester 1989:34,cf53):

- i) inevitably (or necessarily) imperfect (or bounded) BUT NOT structurally shaped information (Simon's problem)
- ii) inevitably bounded AND structurally shaped information (Weber's problem of bureaucratization, for example)
- iii) NOT necessarily bounded AND NOT structurally shaped information (Lindblom's a-structural incremental bargaining, for example), and
- iv) NOT necessarily bounded BUT structurally shaped (mis)information (Marx's problem of ideology).

Now it turns out that each type of «limited information» calls for corresponding strategies of response by listeners, as Simon argued and we can argue further. So: (1) in the face of inevitable but non-systematic bounds, we ought, as Simon suggested, to satisfice and lower expectations, not to try to optimize. But (2), in the face of inevitable and systemically structured bounds, we need not only to satisfice but to span organizational and institutional boundaries to improve the quality of information we might gather; we need to "network" actively, we might say. Then (3) in the face of unnecessary, non-systemic bounds, we need not so much to satisfice (since we might fall for a contingent "bluff" and be fooled), but to negotiate astutely. And (4) in the face of unnecessarily bounded but structurally shaped information, we need an analysis of political-economic structure that allows us to anticipate and correct for predictable types of misinformation we are likely to face: which we do every time we bargain in a bazaar and treat the initial prices we hear as structurally staged signals, not realistic indications of final purchase figures!.

So our analysis of types of "misinformation" that we might encounter suggests strategies we can use to counteract such misinformation or protect ourselves from our own mistaken presumptions about the quality of information we might gather. This analysis can help us NOT TO FAIL at optimization when conditions forbid it, NOT TO settle for less when institutional analysis can inform our choices, NOT TO bargain poorly when a reading of the institutional setting should inform our negotiations, and so on. If we fail to have a careful analysis of the threats to the information we rely on, we can then fail in the analyses and actions we base on such always vulnerable information.

### ***Enabling Participation and Negotiation***

Planners often seek to involve affected parties without knowing very well how to do so. When many thousands of people are affected by plans, "participation" necessarily seems to take some form of representation. At the same time, planners find themselves both negotiating with parties in light of politicians' wishes and mediating between a wide range of involved and often conflicting parties (neighbors, developers, public agencies, non-profits, and so forth) as well. For many years I did not see clearly how planners' abilities to NEGOTIATE BETTER OR WORSE related to their abilities to develop MORE OR LESS citizen participation. But if we array «high voice» or «low voice» versus «effective negotiation» or «weak negotiation,» we generate another two by two matrix. Quadrant 1 might represent "high voice, skillful negotiation"; quadrant 2 might represent "low voice, skillful negotiation"; quadrant 3 would then represent "high voice, unskilled negotiation," and quadrant 4 would represent "low voice, unskilled negotiation." These quadrants represent both DANGERS AND OPPORTUNITIES in the planning process, and planners who fail to attend to the demands of BOTH voice and negotiation will fail in the ways suggested by quadrants 2,3, and 4. They may exclude parties and undermine credibility, trust, and public ownership (quadrants 2 and 4); they may encourage voice but reach few agreements and so fuel resentment and cynicism (quadrant 3); or they may both exclude representatives and reach few agreements that actually satisfy the interests of parties, and thus undermine public confidence and miss opportunities for mutual gains bargaining (quadrant 4). At the same time, quadrant 1's combination of "high voice and skillful negotiation" points to planning practices that involve

mediated negotiations, a form of practice that has grown rapidly in the U.S. and that involves important skills that planning staff can usefully employ (cf. Susskind and Field 1996; Arnstein 1969; Susskind and Cruickshank 1987).

### ***Dealing with Deep Value Differences***

Planners also find themselves in circumstances where they face apparent claims not just of interests and preferences but of the "deep values" of other parties. How are they to respond in such cases, for better or worse? I have recently argued that this problem presents planners with both opportunities and traps, and careful analysis of the interactions in such cases can help inform practice (Forester 1999).

Consider what happens when a planner listens to a party (a developer or neighborhood resident or environmentalist, for example) who claims to be invoking a cherished commitment or what we can call, "a deep value claim." Planners may (1) believe the claimant is serious, or (2) believe that they are bluffing, perhaps acting strategically, exaggerating or misrepresenting their true commitments. At the very same time, of course, the claimant (1) may or (2) may not be bluffing, acting strategically, or misrepresenting their deeper commitments.

So let's look at the array of the resulting possibilities as four quadrants, once again, of a two by two matrix. If the planner takes the claimant to be serious AND he or she is speaking genuinely, the planner may convey respect of the other, acknowledge their values and commitments, and begin a dialogue and joint exploration of issues (quadrant 1). If the planner believes the claimant to BE serious, but the claimant is really bluffing (quadrant 2), the planner is vulnerable to being exploited or manipulated. If the planner does NOT believe the claimant to be serious and suspects bluffing and misrepresentation when the claimant is indeed serious (quadrant 3), then the planner can question the integrity of the other and damage their relationship; the claimant is likely to feel disrespected and, no doubt, quite angry! If, however, the planner suspects bluffing when the claimant is indeed bluffing (quadrant 4), then both parties face all the problems of «positional bargaining» and the famous traps of the prisoners' dilemma (Fisher and Ury 1983; Raiffa 1985; Lax and Sebenius 1986). These four possibilities present dangers (being exploited, fueling anger,

positional bargaining) AND an opportunity for joint inquiry as well. Failing to distinguish these possibilities, planners act in the dark and risk creating as many problems as they resolve.

In each of these three lines of analysis, we see modest theory-building FOR practice, not just OF practice. Each example characterizes the diverse challenges of a certain type of planning situation (when information, participation, or value conflict is at stake). Such THEORY FOR PRACTICE builds upon and extends existing theories of practice as it SUGGESTS HOW PLANNERS CAN FIND OPPORTUNITIES OR FAIL in such complex situations.

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## Using Planning Theory in a PhD in Planning: Plugging into Paradigms

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### *Introduction*

It is not easy to do PhD research in spatial planning! And one of the main reasons is that there is not one, not even several competing, paradigms which can be used as a framework for the PhD research. The result is either that the researcher has to spend a lot of time searching for a theoretical framework for his/her research, or that the researcher carries out the work without being able to put it into such a framework, whereby the relevance of that PhD research (what it contributes to knowledge) cannot easily be assessed.

More experienced researchers have fewer problems: and the reason is illuminating. It is that they / we have built up over the years our own theoretical framework that we use as a basis for our research, refining it, testing it critically, only very rarely rejecting it and starting out on another one. We have that great advantage. But we tend to keep it for ourselves, for we seldom make it explicit (not even to ourselves) whereby other people (and in particular those with less experience) cannot benefit from it.

My message is that we - the senior researchers - have a responsibility to make explicit the theoretical framework that we use for research into spatial planning, so that others can use it, improve it, tell us why it should be rejected. That will help PhD researchers. And it will help also

to build up cumulatively a body of knowledge, for it will help all researchers to relate their research to the research of others.

Here I want to outline the theoretical framework which I use for my work. Obviously, you are not obliged to accept it, and I would enjoy it if you were to criticise it sharply. I put it forward partly to show how it can be helpful to have a very broad framework for one's work (for me, it is the framework which I have used for research into a wide range of problems in spatial planning over many years). But I claim more for it. For I have a very strong suspicion that it is the framework used - often implicitly - by very many others also, both researchers and practitioners (it is for that reason that I use the term 'paradigm' in the title<sup>1</sup>). If that is so, then putting our research explicitly into that framework helps others to see how they might be able to use our research for their own practice or research.

### *Rationality as a starting point*

Rationality was THE paradigm for planning: but it has to be abandoned (Alexander, 1984). And nothing has arisen which can take its place as a 'philosophy / theory / methodology on which planning practice could be based' (Muller, 1998). This explains why PhD students have so much difficulty in finding a theoretical framework for their research. Yet, I argue, abandoning rationality is not necessary. The 'classical' exposition of rationality (Davidoff and Reiner, 1965) has to be rejected: yet no one dares to argue for a methodology of planning in which people should act IRRATIONALLY. What I put forward here is a version of rationality which can serve as a starting point for a theory of spatial planning.

The reason I do this is the following:

- we can theorise about spatial planning from two different motivations. One is that we want to understand the social activity of spatial planning better: this has been called the

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<sup>1</sup> We should be careful how we use the term 'paradigm'. Muller (1998) thinks that it is inappropriate to use it in connection with planning theory, but Wormhoudt (1981) sees no objection to doing so. Considering that many other authors apply the idea of paradigms to planning theory (e.g. Galloway and Mahayni, 1977; Faludi, 1982; Alexander, 1984; Innes, 1994; Neuman, 1998) we shall do so too.

'objective' approach to spatial planning theory. The second motivation is to improve the practice of spatial planning: the 'normative' approach<sup>2</sup>:

- it is useful if the objective theory and the normative theory (which is the same as a methodology for spatial planning<sup>3</sup>) can be related to each other. If a normative theory (how spatial planning SHOULD be carried out) bears no relationship to how spatial planning is ACTUALLY carried out, then practitioners will take little notice of the recommendations. And if the positive theory cannot be translated into recommendations for a better practice, then the only people who benefit from the positive theory are the academics (a form of 'art pour l'art'):
- recommendations for practice derived from a normative theory of spatial planning inevitably assume reasoned behaviour by those to whom the recommendations are directed. For an argument is presented in the form: 'if you want to achieve this, then according to my argument you should do this and that'. The practitioner is assumed to use his/her reason in linking cause and effect, in taking account of contextual variables, in weighing pros and cons, in plotting tactics. (The alternative would be to suspend rationality and to practice augury, as the ancient Romans did, deciding on policy by examining the entrails of a hen or observing the flight of birds.) This assumption of reasoned behaviour is the basis of all policy and administrative sciences which aim to improve practice, not only of normative theories of spatial planning;
- if the normative theory assumes reasoned behaviour, and if we want to be able to relate positive theory to normative theory, then for developing a positive theory of spatial

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2 For the duality objective / normative applied to another sort of activity - namely real estate studies - see Diaz 1993. See also Faludi (1986 section 1.2) for a discussion of the distinction empirical / normative applied to planning theory.

3 This is argued in Faludi, 1981 and in Needham, 1998.

planning also we can assume reasoned behaviour. But then only in the form of an hypothesis which can be tested empirically; and rejected if found to be wanting<sup>4</sup>.

*Who is being rational and how*

Two problems (at least!) remain if we take rationality as a starting point for a theory (positive or normative) of spatial planning.

One problem is: whose activity are we observing and/or wanting to change? There are very many people and agencies involved in spatial planning! My answer is: we posit that there is a planning agency. This is a public body which has, and takes, the responsibility for trying to ensure that the spatial disposition of buildings and spaces and of the activities which take place within them, also the activities on the unbuilt land, in a specified geographical area, meet certain specified objectives. (This uses the idea of a planning agency as put forward by Alexander and Faludi, 1996 and applied to a description of the activity of spatial planning which is to be found in and justified in Needham, 1997).

This is, of course, not the only actor involved in spatial planning. My reason for concentrating on this is the wish to be able to develop a methodology for spatial planning. This must produce recommendations for practice. But whose practice? And the most important practitioner is the agency which has the responsibility for initiating and trying to realise spatial planning policy in a particular area. So the normative theory assumes a planning agency, to which advice for better practice is directed. From the wish to be able to relate normative and positive planning theory, it follows that the positive theory also should assume that there is a planning agency. But once again, the assumption has the status of an empirically testable hypothesis, that can be rejected.

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4 This argument is, I think, completely compatible with the argument of Alexander. He said in 1984 that rationality as a paradigm has to be abandoned. Yet he said in 1986, 'The attempt to exclude deliberative rationality from a comprehensive view of planning is futile'. The gap he identified in 1984 he suggests (in that same article from 1984) filling up with a 'contingency approach' which has the possibility of 'synthesizing research findings with normative prescriptions'.

The second problem is: what do we mean when we assume that someone (in this case, a planning agency) acts rationally? Nothing more, and nothing less, than that the person / agency makes choices (in this case, about spatial planning) taking account of what it is desired to achieve and what is known about the best way of achieving that. This is far from rationality in the classical sense (see e.g. Davidoff and Reiner, 1965): it is a form of critical rationalism such as defined by Faludi (1986).

My solution to both problems is: I posit that there is a planning agency which tries to fulfil its responsibility by acting rationally. This means using reasoned argument to find the best way of meeting specified objectives, taking account of the circumstances in which it has to act. In doing this, the planning agency takes account also of certain general administrative and political norms, such as effectiveness, efficiency, openness and democratic control.

The fact that for one geographical area there can be several planning agencies (e.g. a municipality, a regional government, a national government) all with spatial planning responsibilities and policies for the SAME area, makes it more difficult for each one of these agencies separately to act rationally in the above sense. But it is not necessary, nor sensible from the point of view of an agency trying to achieve its aims, to conclude: therefore we need not attempt to behave rationally.

An important consequence of focusing on a planning agency as the actor which acts (or tries to act) rationally is that we abandon the idea that there can be one best plan/policy for an area. For if there are several planning agencies for one area, each with a different responsibility, and each acting rationally in its own lights, then each can produce a different plan/policy for the one area. The problem for practice remains: there can for that one area be only one plan/policy realised, how can that be chosen? I have no answer!

Another important consequence of focusing on a planning agency is that it is that agency which is assumed to behave rationally, not an individual planner. It is the task of the planner - I would argue - to help the planning agency to make its choices rationally. This is worked out below, using the idea of the design discipline.

The statement that there is a planning agency which tries to fulfil its responsibility by acting rationally can be regarded as a description of reality, in which case it can be empirically investigated critically. It can be regarded also as a prescription: that if there is a planning agency, then it should act rationally. This prescription can be worked out as a methodology for spatial planning.

*The role of knowledge in the design disciplines*

If we take the normative approach, then the role of knowledge in spatial planning needs to be specified, for your research might very well be directed to improving spatial planning. (As an aside, even those PhD theses which claim to describe and analyse practice so as to understand it better can rarely withstand the temptation to close with a chapter on 'the implications for practice'!). How can one achieve that? In working this out I follow Aken (1994). He sets out what he describes as the paradigm of the design disciplines. This is, very briefly, the following.

The paradigm refers to disciplines such as technical sciences, medicine, business studies, law, and the aim of these disciplines is to develop knowledge for designing artefacts or for improving existing situations. The test of that knowledge is the pragmatic one of whether, when it is applied under the specified circumstances, it leads to the intended results. This knowledge is meant to be used by professionals (e.g. architects, aeroplane designers, psychotherapists) in order to solve a normative problem (c.f. a 'truth' problem).

The professional is asked to solve a unique and specific problem, as defined by the 'client'. He or she analyses the problem (perhaps redefining it), designs measures for tackling it, takes the measures (or they are taken by the 'client'), and evaluates the results. As part of this work, the professional designs:

- the situation to be aimed at (the end situation);
- the process for realising that (the steps that must be taken);
- the process which the professional and the client must follow in order to design the end result and how to realise it.

The professional must be able to justify his/her work to the 'client'. To do that, he/she has to be able to make use of a store of ready knowledge (e.g. the doctor making a diagnosis).

The academic aim of a design discipline is to develop and spread the knowledge which the professional can incorporate into his/her store of ready knowledge. This knowledge can be developed by the 'reflective cycle':

- class of situations is selected;
- one example is chosen;
- the application of a measure (or measures) is studied;
- the results are 'reflected upon';
- this is repeated for a second example from this class;
- this is repeated until no more improvement or refinement in the knowledge is made (convergence).

### ***Spatial planning as a design discipline***

It must be recognised that there are very important differences between the design disciplines which Van Aken (op.cit.) names (medicine, architecture, aerospace design, law, psychotherapy: Van Aken himself comes from business studies) and spatial planning. One difference is that the agency which wants to bring about the change (being a public agency which commissions and adopts spatial policy for a particular area) is usually not able to implement it directly. For in most cases, the spatial disposition in a particular area is created and changed by very many actors (public and private, individual and corporate) acting both in their own interest and in what they see as the interest of others. As a result, most public bodies which practise spatial planning have only a small and indirect influence on the spatial disposition.

For that reason it can be misleading to think of spatial planning as being mainly the designing of the spatial disposition of activities, buildings and spaces (e.g. making a spatial plan, although that is indeed part of the activity). 'Designing' the spatial disposition is mainly a question of deciding what measures to take in order to influence the actions of those who **do** shape the spatial disposition, so that the way they do that shaping results in a **desired** spatial disposition. So, in most cases spatial planning is an **intervention in**, or an **influencing of**, the creation and use of the physical environment by others. Then it is better to think of spatial planning as the **designing**

**of a policy** for realising a desired spatial disposition of activities, buildings and spaces. That places special demands on the way the policy has to be 'designed'.

Another important difference concerns the multiplicity of aims which the planning agency might be pursuing. A 'client' going to a 'design professional' asks for advice on how to solve a problem: the 'design professional' might think it advisable to redefine that problem. A planning agency wanting to shape the physical environment in its area will want to do that because of a number of problems, which might be affecting each other. In that case, it might be necessary for the 'design professional' to advise between competing 'ends/means packages'. Nevertheless, it is (in theory at least) the political organ of the planning agency which makes the choices.

In spite of those important differences between spatial planning and the design disciplines such as architecture, business studies, law, I still consider it useful to apply the paradigm of the design disciplines to spatial planning. The main reason is that in many countries there are public agencies which have been given the responsibility of carrying out the activity as described above. In that case it is desirable that it be carried out better. In connection with this, there are many people interested in the practical implications of your research!

### ***Plugging into paradigms***

When you are carrying out your research, you will be helped greatly if you can 'plug into a paradigm'. Every PhD student has the right to ask his/her supervisor, at the beginning of the research, to make explicit which theoretical framework is being used or assumed.

Thereafter, the responsibility is yours. Are you going to work within that, accepting it provisionally as a 'given' within which your research is placed? (That is, in my opinion, a quite legitimate way of limiting the scope of your research.) Are you going to try to refine or improve it? Or are you going to test it critically? Is it a framework for understanding better the practice of spatial planning? Or for improving it? If the latter, to whom are your recommendations directed? By describing 'implications for practice', are you assuming some sort of rationality? You probably are (in the sense of 'using one's reason'): how does that fit in with the theoretical framework.

You are right to look enviously at PhD researchers in other fields, who can choose (or are given) a clearly defined problem to solve within a generally accepted framework (a puzzle within a paradigm, in Kuhnian terms). The task of challenging that paradigm is, quite correctly, left to more experienced researchers who have a much better overview of the whole discipline. And you are right to criticise senior researchers in spatial planning if they cannot offer you such a general framework. Here, I have tried to describe the framework that I can offer you.

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**«Are there identifiable trends in Planning Research?  
....I wouldn't say so; there's actually no planning  
research at all!».**

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The title of my paper is provocative; I intend to say that – at least in Italy- planning research has been extremely static over the last 40 years, with the consequence that no new trends in research have been developed. Through a discussion on the meaning of planning as a profession, on planning teaching as intended in Italy and a comparison with other European cases, derives my suggestion for a new planning teaching strategy based on a critical and theoretical formation of the student rather than on his/her practical training via professional simulation.

***The Italian context; «too much means nothing».***

Since the '60s the concept of *planning reform* has been linked to a wider and more comprehensive context including *land* and *local authorities reforms*, where the latter were considered prerequisites for the former to happen. Planners attributed themselves a political role (land and planning reforms are different though, being the first a political matter and the second a social, theoretical and technical one), with the consequence of impoverishing the planning profession as a whole.

The results are clear today: comparing the INU acts (*Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica*, which is the most representative body of planning culture and practice in the country) of 1960 and 1990 for instance, it is significant to notice that Italy is still using the same urban standards of 1942, no land reform has been developed, and we are still using the same urban law established in 1942. Planning knowledge is therefore «circular», meaning that the issues discussed today are the same of 40 years ago. Such an absence of new ideas has implied the interruption of research in this field. It would be interesting to make a comparison with other (not only European) Countries (at

least those whose lecturers are involved in this workshop: Great Britain, Holland, USA, Norway). We could already get some suggestions from the results of the AESOP project.

***Struggling to teach nothing or looking for new directions in planning education?***

Taken for granted that there is little new knowledge in the planning field, and as a consequence no new trends in research, the question to address now is: «what to teach in Planning courses in our Universities ?».

Other research branches related to planning, such as sociology, geography, and economy have been widely developed over the last years. Planning, if intended as *territorial planning*, that is *land use regulation*, has been recently object of empirical studies; from here though no theoretical developments have been derived.

A further point needs to be done: *how is «planning» approached?* When referred to the city, it is approached as: 1) research on and of cities, 2) city design, and 3) planning cities. Planning is both an action (that of «challenging the use of limited resources such as land, the environment, space, to offer better conditions enhancing the development of human activities») and an «art», that including «methods, techniques, procedures and theories enabling problem-solving in given contexts». Problems arise when these three approaches are confused or overlapped especially in the teaching practice.

In a recent conference on planning education (AESOP 1997), I identified the main faults of actual teaching programmes, as related to the excessive predominance of simulation and practice on theory. In particular my concern can be articulated as follows:

- Impossibility of re-creating real social-economical-political interactions in classrooms settings;
- The use of theoretical issues as a base for cause-effect transformation processes, rather than as informative tools to verify and analyse critically real transformations.

It derives that city-planning teaching is since recently intended more as urban design (experimentation and simulation of the real life context) rather than as a cognitive and evaluative

tool aimed at preparing students for the real life context. I intend to develop my discussion on this concern.

The aim of the PhD workshop is to compare this view with that of other participants; in particular, I would like to draw your attention to the following issues:

- How useful is planning practising for teaching planning, and what kind of expertise is relevant? If you agree that practice cannot be properly simulated in a teaching environment, what you use instead?
- Do you identify trends of research that I haven't found in Italy? If so, which one can provide good outputs for teaching planning?
- Can we produce or refer to good examples of BEST PRACTICES of Teaching Planning Practice (regulatory land-use-plan-making and, in general, all those plans with strong regulatory plans, according to the Country)?

#### ***Further issues to be tackled within the Workshop***

The above general arguments are the base for my contribution to the PhD workshop, which will focus on the following issues: (i) the significance of territorial planning, (ii) the relationship between planning and market, (iii) research and practice interaction within the Academia.

#### ***1. Is planning still relevant?***

First of all I would like to address the following question: «will planning remain a significant activity? Is there any future for planning?» Of course the answer is affirmative, and the events of the past decade prove to what extent planning is necessary to manage urban and territorial transformations.

Urban policies in a number of European countries highlight the degree of planning required by the urban market to operate effectively. In fact, although it may seem paradoxical, deregulation itself has always required strong Government intervention, and can therefore be considered a rather unusual kind of planning activity.

If we look at what is happening in the European countries in recent years, it seems that, apart from the traditional differences, the two planning systems (Anglosaxon and Mediterranean) are converging to common trends. In the Anglosaxon model, the discretionary power of the public administration is relevant (whose subjects assume strong responsibilities), whereas in the Mediterranean procedures and rules are much more relevant (especially the rules).

In the former, rules are generally few and clear, while in the latter they are many, contradicting and confusing (I am thinking of the Italian case, and don't know if i can generalise).

After observing these issues from the inside due to practice, we feel that, although there are many differences (approach, culture, and management systems) there is a basic convergence. Such common tendency would consist in thinking of and practising planning as *part of the market*, rather than as an external object. This is due to various factors\: the welfare resources restriction, the public withdraw from the economic sectors (often more apparent than real), the principle of subsidiarity and the integrated participation of the private sector in urban changes (this has always been present but now it looks more evident).

Our workshop should verify how correct this assumption is, with which characteristics and according to which trends.

## ***2. Planning and market: a better understanding of the relationship in research and practice***

Property is a market which could not survive without direct and indirect Government control , planning being the main tool. Land use control - usually carried out with traditional techniques - underlies each and every planning policy. However, theory appears to have underestimated this feature of local planning and the traditional model has been disregarded by research within Academia .

Land use control is not the only way to measure territorial change. In fact such changes are the outcome of a practice entailing a greater interaction among a number of legislative, spatial , economic and institutional features. It is also the result of the interaction between planning

trends and the market, the latter not referring exclusively to the property market. Urban markets and urban plans are but two sides of the same coin.

In spite of the above statements being self-evident, there is no match between the importance of these relationships and their place in theory: this is one of the key issues we have dealt with when studying the relationship between practice and theory.

The situation can be described as follows:

- theory and research remain enclosed in their specific sector and in separate academic spheres
- practice tends to progressively adjust to the developments on a case by case approach, without rethinking the situation
- Universities are caught between a general approach (“polytechnic” if you like, theory and method-oriented) and a more professionally-oriented approach.

In the 80s, planning difficulties and reorientation meant that the professional nature of education began to be questioned.

Focusing on the relationship between market and planning is a meaningful choice in itself, because of the importance of the relationship, but also, and above all, because this approach enables us to highlight how physical change interacts with the range of social, economic and cultural phenomena which are the prime cause of spatial transformation.

In the course of this workshop, I hope we shall be able to shed some light on these issues.

### ***3 How can research and practice interact?***

In the introduction, I have questioned on the development of research about planning. It should be clear, though, that there has been vast research undergoing in the last years, on fields related to planning, and the results need to be considered. We are focusing though on «pure» planning research; with regard to this particular form, the question is : to what extent can research generate the knowledge required to develop more reliable and consistent planning techniques and procedures, , and to what extent can these improve the traditional results?

Another question concerns the professional world: how can it best stimulate the academic research world, so that problems and events can be addressed by theory? How can tools be developed to keep abreast with the faster and faster changes in the social and territorial contexts to which planning policies have to be applied?

Planning and research are mutually dependent: their relationships are decisive for the quality of planning expertise and action in society.

#### ***4 The relevance of Doctorates***

If we take a look at our Universities and Schools, we find a research area which is relatively homogeneous (that is to say which is comparable): this is the area of the PhDs. The question then is: are PhD courses able to produce 'socially meaningful research', that is to say research that can be used to improve planning practice - that is technical expertise in the framework of a social process? If so, to what extent is this true? When analysing their finished products, i.e.: theses, we can ask ourselves whether they represent a satisfactory result in terms of the scientific content. Do they also represent a starting point for the practical use of such knowledge?

Currently the transfer of knowledge from research to the professional world is anything but easy or obvious.

One wonders to what extent research tends to develop in subject areas far from a planner's daily issues, and whether this trait is inherent to the nature of research itself. This dilemma has not been addressed in the two-pronged approach which currently can be seen in the PhD courses of the European Planning Schools: i) the traditional model focused on the scientific development of the discipline (research work for a doctorate is not conceived as training in research but as a contribution to the enhancement of scientific knowledge), ii) according to the professional model, a Doctorate is not only intended for a scientific career but also as a means to develop knowledge relevant to non university careers (see the good work made by Ingrid Lundhal under the cover of Aesop Project "Improving Planning Education in Europe"). Is it possible to conceive Doctoral

Degrees as widely applied research and development, oriented to the solution of problems related to practice?

I have raised a short list of issues this Workshop can address, leaving it to the participants to decide which specific features are worth discussing in depth and detail.

I hope this Workshop will open new inroads to further finalise and more fruitfully orient University research projects so as to match the needs of practice within the market.

Likewise, we hope professionals will pinpoint areas of interest for research to Universities.

## From Idea to Dissertation or From Practitioner to Researcher

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### *From practitioner to researcher*

A practitioner of municipality planning lives in a system of hierarchical organisations and are often expected to work in a technical-rational way and give realistic alternatives possible to implement in a narrow future. In the past time planners were respected professionals in the local authority and in the duty for the politicians. But today in the post-modern era it is not that easy to be a planner, the planning processes are questioned and criticised not to be enough flexibel and useful in a new liberal society. In this questioning of the past and in a vacuum before something new, it is understandable that the practitioners ask the researchers how to handle the situation.

After 18 years as a planner in urban and regional planning I started for teaching at the newly established planning education at an also recently established small university in Karlskrona, Southern Sweden. During the years of teaching I had profited from my earlier experiences from practice and the new situation gave me motives to reflect over my earlier practice. The question started to grow, what is going to happen with the planning profession in the future, what knowledge and competence are going to be expected from the planners? My questioning got so urgent to me that instead of asking other researchers I started own research studies in which I have combined my interest for planners competence with a focus on sustainability issues in comprehensive planning.

Research is a quite different way of thinking than practice. The researcher doesn't accept the ordinary description or explanation to something without scrutinise both earlier knowledge and thinking about a phenomena or questioning the phenomena itself. Research is to study critically, test, develop ideas, theories, perspectives, way of observing and understanding phenomenon. To

describe the character of phenomenon and their relations does not automatically result in normative rules of how things are going to be done. The research result cannot just be given to the practitioners at once. Between the research study and practice there is another step, the planners has to analyse and pick up the parts of the result that is valuable and test it in an actual context.

In Sweden as in other European countries there is a big gap between theory and practice and both parts complain over the other part. It is possible to develop good relations and co-operation between the practitioners and the researchers. The researchers can give the practitioners tools for reflections of their work and give different perspectives. On the other hand the practitioners give the researchers necessarily empirical background for the research. The practitioners reflection in dialogue with the researcher can be articulated with a deeper understanding for the details in a wholistic situation.

The research gives the local phenomena an abstract analyses and it must be a dynamic cultivation, a giving and taking, a searching and reflecting of what the research can offer the practice and vice versa.. Sometimes this can be done in a real study project, but often it works out first after a project is finished in a meeting between the practitioners and the researchers.

### *Advantages*

After you have been working with planning in the local authority or in a consulting company with municipal planning you have experienced how the society works both as a professional and as a citizen, what is possible to do and what is possible to change. When I started to teach for the first time in my professional life I had use for all I had learnt and worked with in the practice. Now in the PhD studies, that is even much wider in scope, I have much use of experiences both from the practice as a planner and as a lecturer.

If you have been working in different places you have experienced how irregular organisations can be and how depended they are of relations between the employees. The official and unofficial political processes in municipality form the basis of how the local authority works. I think you

must take part in and feel this with your body to really understand this, it is not possible just to study it in the literature. This sort of experience helps you to understand the theories of social constructivism, discourses, uncertainties and power.

### ***Disadvantages***

You have got many preconceptions on how things are. You are often socialised into a professional culture from which perspective you observe phenomenon. This culture, or paradigm, you have started learning in the planning education and it is stimulated inside the same occupational group in practice. It can be exemplified with short expert terminology that everyone in the same profession knows the meaning of. The socialisation can imply that you fasten to see things only in the perspective of that profession, that you are not enough broad-minded to see other perspectives, which is very important as a researcher. Sometime it can be easier for a young PhD student to be more open-minded and not be too realistic and afraid of, for example, starting major investigations and try new ways of thinking.

### ***Identity***

After many years in practice you are middle-aged with a longer experience of life, sometimes between many young PhD students coming directly from undergraduate examination. When I started my PhD studies I had been teaching at the university for six years, and had supervised several students in diploma work. Now it is an interesting experience to be at the student side, to handle the problems with sharpening the focus in the study and to be concentrated in writing. This is good experience to remember next time I am at the teacher side.

I have been working as a practitioner so long time that it has also taken some time to accept myself as a researcher, studying and analysing the planners from the other side. I have a field investigation with qualitative interviews with planners which in methodology is difficult as it is a study of colleagues with the problems of identity that follows.

### ***Target groups***

When you write you always have to ask which target group you are aiming at, as this also influences which type of language you are going to choose for the written dissertation. When you

have much contact with both the practice and research world it is even more difficult. Are you going to write for your practitioner colleagues in a language used in the practice or are you going to write in a more heavy theoretical language with risk to be read mostly by other researchers? You will perhaps choose the last of these in fear of not to be accepted in the research society.

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## Thinking Outside the Box

# A Case for Comprehensive Choice Examination in Infrastructure Provision

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Provision of adequate quantities of safe drinking water for a settlements population is an ever increasing problem in all urbanizing contexts in developing countries. Quite often conventional wisdom dictates setting up of more infrastructure, both physical and administrative, as a solution to the problem. More often than not, these solutions, if they fructify at all, soon degenerate into inefficient and cost-effective schemes supplying inadequate quantities of water with negligible cost recoveries. A significant body of planning literature also talks about improving project development and management practices, both at the planning and implementation stages of infrastructure projects as a way to improve their capital and operational benefits versus costs. However, much of such discussion takes place in the context of a project, designed to alleviate or eradicate a problem in a community, that has been approved and is soon to be funded. Traditional wisdom in tackling the problems present in these communities, is completely ignored, even when such solutions are community based, more egalitarian and frequently very low cost. Such a situation exists in Imphal the capital city of the state of Manipur in India.

About 50 percent of the city's 400,000 inhabitants are connected to a piped water network which supplies inadequate quantities of water of dubious quality and requires high levels of government subsidy. Simultaneously, there exist very efficient traditional water supply mechanisms that can be used to augment the city water supply system. Some of the traditional and non-piped sources of water in Imphal are: ponds (at the household, neighborhood and city levels), rivers and streams, water tankers and harvested rain-water. Planners and governments frequently ignore such alternate solutions, as they did in Imphal, based on assumptions that such systems may either not meet health and sanitation standards or not be socially acceptable or sustainable for more than five to ten years, given the rapidly changing (/ "westernizing") social context in

developing countries. This research questions these assumptions. The specific objectives of this research were to explore the causes of the inefficiency of the piped water network and examine the feasibility of being fully reliant on traditional water supply mechanisms.

About 300 household surveys were administered to a structured sample to gain in-depth information about the various traditional waters supply systems, and peoples attitudes towards these and the piped water network. These were supplemented with other investigations such as water quality tests. The information gathered through the questionnaires is at first being subjected to simple statistical analysis. As the project evolves it is expected that the data would be subjected to rigorous multi-variate analysis to develop a predictive model of long-term dependability on traditional water supply mechanisms.

One major group of findings of this research which confirms apprehensions about the public infrastructure operations in developing countries, was this: the government sponsored piped water network supplied water of dubious quality (in terms of biological, chemical and physical contaminants), was very erratic in supply with water not being supplied throughout the day and for a few hours each day at varying water pressures thus necessitating investment in household level water collection mechanisms, and that less than 15 percent of the operational cost (and zero percent of the capital cost) of the system was recovered directly from the users. Further, the existing infrastructure was badly maintained, was flawed in design and any augmentation of the network warranted high capital investments. And yet inspite of all this, the state government is poised to do precisely the same.

This research reveals that some of the alternate supply mechanisms have long-term sustainability, promote equity in access to infrastructure, and have environmental benefits too. One such alternate mechanism was neighbourhood ponds. Found widely throughout the city, maintained by voluntary community groups, these ponds provide potable water, year-round to all groups of people at almost no-cost. Further, they serve flood control functions. The research underlined the need for integrating social planning and physical planning. On the threshold of the third millennium, planning needs to facilitate long-term social, cultural, economic and environmental

goals. And this research suggests that such a vision may not only be possible but may be the most feasible course of action in many urban centers in developing countries.

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# **In search of the urban field: Past, present and future of urbanisation and urbanisation policy in the Netherlands and Europe**

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## ***Introduction***

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the future spatial design of the Netherlands is being debated heavily in the public sphere. The government intends to publish the Fifth Report on Physical Planning before the end of this year. This provokes a lot of discussion about which direction planning policy should take. Quite often, scientists and politicians mention the formation of so-called urban fields. This would be the next step in the process of continuous deconcentration of population, work and services: first there were cities, then monocentric urban regions, then polycentric urban regions (like the Randstad) and now, the urban fields are supposed to be the 'next big thing'. These urban fields lack a clear centre. Population, work, services and recreational facilities are spread across a large area. The mobility pattern connected to this is characterised by a 'criss-cross' pattern: daily travels are no longer for the largest part between suburb and city, but more and more city-to-city and suburb-to-suburb.

This formation of urban fields might actually be happening, but it might as well not be. So far, a lot of visionary things have been said about the urban fields, but empirical evidence was hardly presented. Are we really heading for urban fields in the Netherlands? What consequences would this have for Dutch planning policy, at the moment still aiming at a compact city development?

***Urbanisation and urbanisation policy in the Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden since the 1970s***

In my Ph.D research, an attempt is made to test the assumptions about the formation of urban fields in the Netherlands. Before doing that, the major trends in population distribution in the Netherlands in recent years have been analysed. It is necessary to trace the recent history of population redistribution before being able to judge the direction in which Dutch urbanisation might go.

The period under analysis is 1970 to 1995. In the first years of this period, deconcentration was the dominant trend. The suburbs were gaining inhabitants as well as several rural communities at some distance of the cities. The large cities lost a considerable share of their population. These trends meant a continuation of developments that already started in the 1960s. However, from the mid-1980s on, the large cities started gaining inhabitants again. Between 1985 and 1995, the deconcentration trend stopped. What followed was a period of 'status quo', with all types of municipalities growing in population at a comparable speed.

The major explanatory factors for recent trends in Dutch population distribution were:

- The restructuring of the economy (with service-sector-activities replacing manufacturing as the dominant sector in the economy);
- The growth of mobility, mostly by car;
- Demographic trends like the growth of the proportion of one- and two-person households in the population;
- Socio-cultural trends like individualisation and the increasing proportion of foreign-born people in Dutch population.

The Dutch government tried to influence population distribution through physical planning. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the dominant concept was 'concentrated deconcentration'. The aim of this policy was to direct out-migration from the large cities to a few selected locations, called growth centres. A large amount of houses was built in these growth centres and building outside these locations was severely limited. This concept was traded for a compact city policy from the mid-

1980s on. The main building sites were now in or near large and medium-sized cities. Building outside these locations was again severely limited.

Although the compact city policy is criticised more and more, the Dutch government seems determined to hold on to this policy. Some minor changes will be introduced in the Fifth Report, like building along corridors, but the main idea remains the same: concentration of houses and working locations in and near to the large cities. Open areas should be kept open according to Dutch policy. The formation of urban fields does not fit in this policy at all.

An international comparison is included in this Ph.D project to check whether the development of population distribution in the Netherlands is a country-specific trend or a reflection of general trends in Northwest Europe. The other regions in Europe analysed in this study show obvious parallels to the developments in the Netherlands.

The major explanatory factors described above are also largely the same.

In Switzerland, population growth was strongest in suburban and semi-peripheral communities in the 1970s. In the 1980s, growth returned to the cities, but a trend towards reconcentration was not really taking place. Metropolitan areas kept extending in the 1980s. Some local urban researchers even describe the current situation in the Mittelland (between Jura and Alps) as the 'Swiss city', meaning that the whole Mittelland has grown together in one large metropolitan region. But this seems to be an exaggeration of the current situation. The urban regions of the largest Swiss cities are still merely operating on their own and don't function as one integrated whole.

The Swedish Westcoast showed a less extreme deconcentration trend since the 1970s. The suburbs directly outside of the largest cities experienced a quite fast population growth. Small towns and villages at more distance of the large cities grew as well, but at a much more modest speed. The large cities lost inhabitants in the 1970s, but like in the Netherlands and Switzerland, recovered and started growing again in the 1980s. A fourth case study will be added to the project during this year. It will be a region in England, most probably the polycentric urban area of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and surroundings.

The major difference between the Netherlands and other European countries is the urbanisation policy. Although planning policies in other countries have also shown a tendency to promote compact city development, they generally did not have the means available to actually realise this compact building philosophy. A good example of this is Switzerland, where the most recent national planning document 'Basic principles of Swiss physical planning' clearly aims at compact city development, but since the cantons are the most powerful level in Swiss physical planning, the document has only an advisory status. The result is that some cantons follow the national guidelines, but other cantons don't take any action against suburban sprawl at all.

### *Urban fields?*

In many European countries, urban fields are seen as the next step in the process of urbanisation. The suggestion of urban field formation is heavily influencing the preparation of the Fifth Report on Spatial Planning in the Netherlands. But are these urban fields really being formed already? So far, most researchers and politicians mentioning the formation of urban fields did not base their opinion on empirical data. A case study in the Netherlands will be undertaken to test the assumption that urban fields are being formed. The case study area consists of the area labeled the 'Central Netherlands Urban Ring' in the Fourth Report on Physical Planning, with the addition of the semi-peripheral areas around this ring.

Mobility data on home-to-work travel, visits to public services and recreation should give an impression of the 'action space' of households in the case study area. The data are acquired from a large-scale enquiry on mobility behaviour by the National Bureau of Statistics. Two points in time can be compared: 1985/1986 and 1996. The analysis of this data set should lead to conclusions about trends in mobility behaviour. Has traffic between 'traditional' urban regions increased? Has traffic between suburban areas increased at the expense of traffic between suburbs and central cities? If these developments have actually taken place, this could indicate that urban field formation is occurring in the Central Netherlands Urban Ring.

The scarcity of empirical research on the formation of urban fields has positive and negative consequences for this Ph.D project. The positive consequence is that the project can be

considered 'innovative', contributing to progress in knowledge about the process of urbanisation. The negative consequence is that there are hardly any reference points. It is hard to find a method to determine whether or not urban fields are being formed. Also the borders of such urban fields are difficult to determine, since the definitions available so far are very vague. What intensity of interaction between communities is needed to include these communities in the functionally integrated unit called urban field?

Planners are confronted with problems concerning the urban field, too. If further deconcentration is really the trend of the next decades and traditional concentrations of population, work and services will lose their dominance, what is the further use of a policy aimed at compact cities? It might still be possible to stop the deconcentration trend, but this probably requires a much more influential role of national government than can be realised in the current situation. The results of this Ph.D project might contribute to the discussion about the preferred future spatial design of the Netherlands, and the possible role of physical planning to reach that goal.

# Policy formation in rural development in the Netherlands

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## *Introduction*

In this abstract I will give an impression of my PhD-research project on policy formation in rural development. The nature of rural development and rural policy making has changed considerably, not only in the Netherlands, but throughout Europe. Underlying are changing demands placed on rural areas by society. In the next section I will give an image of the specific features of the development process in rural areas in the Netherlands and the policy problems at stake. I will proceed with the objectives of my PhD-research. These are followed by my research design combined with some central theoretical notions guiding my research. Finally, I will address a couple of methodological issues concerning my research project.

## *Rural policy change in the Netherlands*

In rural areas in the Netherlands an important process of change is taking place. Both practices and policy arrangements in rural development differ considerably from the previous model for agriculture and rural areas based on the notion of modernisation. Until recently, Dutch society's main interest regarding the rural was agriculture's contribution to food security and gross national product. Rural development became almost synonymous to agricultural development. Now additional and partly substituting demands are placed on rural areas and agriculture. Rural areas are supposed to provide peace and quietness to weary city people and should offer attractive living surroundings for rural dwellers. The declining number of farmers should not only produce food as efficiently as possible; they also have to meet severe environmental, animal welfare and

food quality standards. Furthermore, infrastructure, house construction and nature demands put an increasing pressure on rural space.

Besides changes in land use, the new societal demands have resulted in new policy objectives such as sustainability and maintenance of attractive landscapes and natural values. Also the way policy making is done has come under attack. The corporatist policy arrangements that dominated agricultural policy making in the Netherlands for decades have come to an end. However, no single policy arrangement has replaced the previous corporatist model so far. Different policy arrangements concerning rural areas co-exist and sometimes compete, while new arrangements are still being developed.

Recently, the national State issued a new set of policy initiatives under the heading of 'rural renewal'. It is favouring a specific type of policy arrangement based on two central concepts: integrated socio-economic development based on regional specificity on the one hand and interactive, bottom-up decision making on the other hand. Despite the State's recent discovery of participative and bottom up processes, it remains to be seen to what degree regional networks in rural development really will be able to 'make a difference'. At several policy levels, developments are taking place that may have an important impact on rural areas in the Netherlands. At the European level, Agenda 2000 presents an important reform of the agricultural market policies. At the global level, new negotiations on the liberalisation of agricultural trade are expected to start at the end of 1999. Nationally, issues such the restructuring of the pig industry and the creation of a coherent network of protected nature areas head the policy agenda.

These 'external' policy developments structure decision making in rural development at the regional level. Participating actors interpret and incorporate external influences in specific ways in their practices. Incongruity between objectives, strategies and priorities of the different policy levels involved in rural and agricultural policy making may however hinder the development process at the regional level. It is this problem that I wish to adress in my research project.

***Research objectives***

Actors involved in rural development, public and private, exhibit a great variety of views on the future of rural areas. They also have different conceptions of governance and policy making and interpret the context of their practices in various ways. Often, there are competing interests at stake in rural development such as agriculture versus nature, young farmers versus old farmers etc. Stable power positions become more and more contested. In policy networks around regional rural development projects, these conceptions and interests come together. My research on policy formation in rural development aims at gaining insight in the structuration of decision making in rural development at a regional level. The focus is on the nature of rules in rural development, the division and use of resources, the (coalitions of) actors taking part and the relations and strategic interactions between them. It is hypothesised that there is a mismatch or incongruity between steering efforts of different policy levels involved in rural development. Furthermore, the national State, representing a link between the region and the European or global level, is assumed to play a co-ordinating role. The research should therefore present strategies for State action that result in more congruity.

***Research design and central concepts***

The policy networks around regional rural development initiatives constitute the object of my research. Policy networks can be defined as: 'more or less stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors, which take shape around policy problems and/or policy programmes' (Kickert et al, 1997: 6). The notion of interdependence means that no actor, public or private, has the capacity to solve the policy problem on its own. Solutions, outcomes or consensus can only be reached by exchanging resources between actors. These policy networks will be reconstructed around a couple of regional rural development projects in the Netherlands by means of case study research. The networks may cover various policy levels, from the local to the European, although not all policy levels are involved in interaction at the same time.

The research focuses on both interactions and structures. These can only be distinguished analytically however. In 'reality' interactions and structure presume each other. Therefore, the interaction process will be analysed by means of 'eventualisation' to start with. Then, the events

as defined in time/space will be contextualized and interpreted focusing on the rules and resources involved (compare Flyvbjerg, 1998).

The rules structuring the interaction process can be divided conceptually in meta-rules of signification and legitimisation on the one hand and 'arena'-rules on the other hand. The former give meaning to and legitimise the way 'politics is done' in a certain policy domain, while the latter explicitly guide decision-making on the ground (Van Tatenhove et al, 1998:15). According to the principle of duality of structure both meta-rules and arena-rules may change as a result of the actual interaction processes and social practices taking place. My research is, however, limited to the impact of meta-rules on the rural decision-making process and the production and reproduction of arena-rules.

The resources mobilised by participants range from money, to land, research and organisational capacity. To reach solutions resources are exchanged between actors. Even though each actor involved has some resources to offer, these resources are not divided evenly amongst actors, resulting in asymmetric power relations.

The research pays special attention to the role of the national State in rural development. Strategies, policy objectives and priorities of the national State concerning rural areas will be analysed on their congruity with the solutions, meanings and rules that are produced in regional policy networks in rural development. This must lead to recommendations on how to reach more congruity in policy making. It also provides a second constraint to the structural analysis. Only those rules and resources that the national State can possibly affect will be considered.

### ***Method***

To gain insight in the complexity of the interaction processes and the diversity of structures influencing policy formation in rural development a multiple case design is chosen as a research tool. Four case studies into regional rural development projects in the Netherlands will be performed.

The cases are selected on the bases of two criteria. The first criterion concerns the socio-spatial problems of a region. Maximum variation on this criterion is expected to give insight in a broad array of structural factors. The second criterion for case selection relates to the role of the national State in regional projects. It is assumed that the degree of congruity in steering efforts is connected to the intensity of the involvement of national State in the regional policy networks. By allowing the two criteria to take two different values, four cases can be selected.

To achieve as much validity as possible two types of triangulation will be applied:

- Triangulation in sources: persons, media, policy documents, situations and scientific reports
- Triangulation in methods: interviews, analyses of documentation and observation

Furthermore, interviewees will be asked to react on the case stories in order to check validity and to get additional information on the interviewees perspective.

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## **Interdependencies of Spatial Planning «in» and «for» Europe Effects of European spatial planning perspectives on the spatial planning systems of the Nordic countries especially at the regional planning level.**

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A new catchword, as bright and promising as a rainbow, echoes in our circles: «European Spatial Planning». The term covers at least two different concepts. Ever since the first official draft of the «European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP)» was presented and adopted in Noordwijk (1997), European Spatial Planning has been mainly connected to the idea of *planning for Europe*. In addition, however, there is another conception, a bottom-up approach, on which the ESDP is based: European spatial planning also describes the variety and diversity of spatial planning concepts and systems within Europe.

In this contribution I will try to briefly examine the interrelationship between *planning for Europe* and *planning in Europe*, focusing on the Nordic countries and especially their regional planning level. The principal aim is to investigate, how different European spatial planning systems influence the spatial planning approach for Europe and vice versa. To facilitate discussion, I use a grouping of European national spatial planning systems into certain families, one of which covers the Nordic countries. In the first part of the paper I look at the question of families/groupings of spatial planning systems in Europe.

Proceeding from this to the main topic of this paper, the second part touches the question of the influence of the ESDP on the Nordic countries as manifest at the regional planning level. Since spatial planning is not included in the competence of the European Commission, the ESDP is designed as a bottom-up and not a top-down process. In fact, it is an inter-governmental approach

adopted by the EU member states, although it has often be claimed that the ESDP is a product of French, German and Dutch planning thinking and planning traditions (Rusca 1998). Viewed from the perspective of planning families, this would mean that the ESDP rests on a mixture of Napoleonic and Germanic styles. If this is the case, what would this mean for planning in Europe, i.e. the bottom-up dynamics? Even more problematic s the reverse side of the coin: Would the top-down pressure strengthen harmonisation tendencies affecting other planning traditions in Europe?

### ***Planning in Europe***

Discussing spatial planning in Europe often involves debate as to whether European countries are converging, towards a harmonised planning system (and there are many indications of such trends operating throughout the countries of Europe, as they are faced with similar broad economic imperatives and share common membership of the EU). As Davies (1994) points out, however, the future is unlikely to produce a harmonised system throughout Europe; instead greater mutual learning could perhaps result in a *convergence* of planning policies within different legal and institutional settings.

Furthermore, Newman and Thornley (1996) have shown that there are major differences, within legal and administrative approaches/styles, which are not likely to disappear over night. Following the lead of Zweigert and Kötz (1984), Newman and Thornley divide Europe into five planning families, taking into account both legal and administrative styles: a Scandinavian, British, Napoleonic and Germanic family, as well as a family formed by the countries of the former Eastern bloc.

Apart from the legal and administrative aspects, there are other possible criteria that determine the form of national spatial planning systems and practices. The EU report *Europe 2000+* (EC 1994) identified five such determinants: (1) history, geography and cultural traditions; (2) the state of economic and urban development; (3) political orientation and prevailing ideology; (4) conception of land ownership and development; and (5) constitutional structure. In conclusion, the report points out three interrelated questions which can be posed to bring out the essential features of each: (1) Is the planning system centralised or decentralised? (2) Is it reactive or

proactive? (3) Is it mainly regulatory or discretionary? These criteria can be added to those of the administrative and legal style to distinguish groups/families of countries.

In attempting to define such families the problem naturally arises that the finer the focus chosen, the more differences appear. From a European point of view, the Nordic countries have a enormous number of similarities, which group them as a Nordic family. The Nordics themselves never tire of pointing out how different they are. However, according to the five principles of the *Europe 2000+* document it is obvious that the Nordic countries share relatively common approaches.

Regarding the development of Nordic legislation, Letto-Anamo (1998) points out that the countries' growth from the grassroots beginnings, lack of an entrenched feudal system with its concomitant administrative system, as well as the lack of major trade towns/commercial centres and their bourgeoisie have all left their traces. Cultural/historical developments should also be taken into consideration regarding the recent division of power. They are one reason for the rise of *unitary governments* (as in: EU 1997) with strong local authorities. Or, as the EU compendium of spatial planning systems and policies puts it: «The role of local authorities is strongest in Member States with a unitary government structure with a policy of decentralisation. Denmark, Finland and Sweden come into this category.» (EC 1997: 40) The Scandinavian family has probably gone the furthest in decentralisation, with spatial planning at the national level reduced to a minimum and regional planning only weakly represented. The emphasis lies very much on the municipalities, even if the precise shaping of this competence differs from country to country.

There is, nevertheless a strong relationship between the central government and the regions. Central government usually has its own agency operating at regional level to implement national policy and staffed by personnel appointed by the centre. At the same time, although local authorities have been reorganised into larger units for efficiency, local self-government has a long history stemming from the strength of peasant politics and in some cases the far-flung expanses

of the countries. Local self-government is seen as one of the cornerstones of Scandinavian constitutions. (Newman/Thornley 1996)

*Planning for Europe - Consequences on spatial planning in Europe*

What consequences does a ESDP have for the various spatial planning systems in the Community? A large number of voices might answer this question, «No effects at all!», as the ESDP and its related processes are often seen as toothless paper tigers. Or, as Kunzmann (1998) expresses it, the spatial planning industry in Europe has got a new gimmick to occupy itself with.

However, there is a lot of fuss about ESDP, and watching the activities in the Nordic countries, I am quite sure that the ESDP is already having an effect. Not primarily as a masterplan would have, which gives guidelines and regulations for the location of major infrastructure etc. and has to be adapted by plans at lower tiers. No, my impression is that the effects are far more subtle. ESDP transports and transposes planning ideology: the idea of comprehensive, interdisciplinary, i.e. not only physical, planning at superior tiers. This is, one message being forwarded by planning for Europe far more effectively than, for instance, the question of certain localisation activities.

A preliminary overview of consequences for the Nordic countries can be given by focusing on the differences within this planning family. Denmark is one of the countries involved more actively in the ESDP processes, and, as it is in many regards closer to the continent than other European countries, it has less trouble in adopting ESDP. It was among the first European countries to take up ESDP perspectives in its own national vision. Furthermore, Denmark has an administrative structure and a spatial planning system that is far better suited than any other in Northern Europe to adapt trans-national planning ambitions, thanks to a relatively strong regional tier and a kind of national spatial plan.

All of this appears to be more difficult in Finland, where the national state is very weak regarding spatial planning and even the regional level is not as strong as in Denmark. However, in recent years there have been several changes in the administrative regional level aimed at strengthening

the regional tier. We might ask to what extent this has been influenced by discussions about European spatial planning and the idea of a Europe of Regions?

Most remarkable is the situation in Sweden. Of all three Nordic EU countries, Sweden has the most powerful municipalities, which hold a municipal planning monopoly that does not tolerate planning at any superior tier. Here, the ESDP has already caused a lot of confusion regarding the question of responsibility for inter-governmental activities. There is not only the problem of how Sweden should be represented in the EU co-operation – when the state level has no planning power/responsibility – but also how to «implement» ESDP without intermediary tiers between European and municipal planning. All of this influences national and regional discussions about changing regional administrative divisions and responsibility. It might be the most obvious example of the direct influence of spatial planning *for* Europe on spatial planning *in* Europe. At the same time, voices can be heard claiming that the ESDP is over-estimated in Sweden.

Since Norway is not member of the EU and thus not covered by the ESDP it takes more or less the position of an observer, continuing its very own discussion about the regional tier.

These simple points illustrate that a spatial planning conception which is based on unitary governments combined with strong municipalities is likely to encounter problems dealing with a spatial planning approach for Europe that emphasises comprehensive planning at superior levels. At the same time, it is obvious that the ESDP cannot accommodate all European styles. What does this mean for the varying styles and national planning systems? Should we expect, contrary to Davies' assumption, a strict harmonisation, or can a spatial planning approach adapted to strong municipalities survive in a Europe of Regions, and to what extent might adjustments be needed?

To take this discussion one step farther, we might ask whether, and if so how, planning for Europe will basically change the role of strong local authorities and local democracy in Member States?

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# The "Urbanisation" of Infrastructure: An Interpretative Design Model

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## ***Theme - Background***

As far as urban planning is concerned, the XXth Century is characterised by a problematic position of large-scale infrastructure networks with regard to urban settlements. Recent planning policy shows that the integration of infrastructure is a top priority in large cities. It has proved difficult to create positive interactions at local level, between 'urban' and 'non-urban' elements belonging to the same physical environment. Large-scale infrastructure elements are usually considered as a paradoxical combination of burden and necessity. They are perceived as physical barriers, as generators of low quality suburban areas, although they are essential to the existence and development of the contemporary cities. The disconnection between urbanisation and infrastructure in contemporary cities is the result of a complex process, which will be investigated in this research program.

The research program includes three categories of definition of the problem of infrastructure integration:

1. Towards a multidisciplinary approach;
2. Theory and practice of planning for infrastructure: questioning the complexity of contemporary cities;
3. Methodology of the decision making process for an integrated development of infrastructure and public spaces quality achievement.

***Problem setting***

A clear relationship can be seen between the patterns followed in this century by infrastructure planning and the decline of what I call the professional language of city planning. The notion of language applied to urbanism relates not only to the skill of understanding the urban substance, but also to the development of knowledge for designing it. As we learnt from previous planning experience, to make cities sustainable we must base decisions about them on a more secure understanding of their substance than we have now. What is unclear though, is what we mean by "a better understanding", since there are enough interpretative theories of the contemporary urban space. The problem is that the most part of them remain at a highly theoretical level, inapplicable in the design practice, especially when technology, function and form must be summarised in design guidelines, as in the case object of this study. Unquestionably the issue of infrastructure integration has exposed our ignorance in this critical area. One reason for this ignorance is the dramatic fragmentation of knowledge among the disciplines concerned with the city. I refer to the long lasting separation between the three professional categories directly involved in designing infrastructure: planners, in charge of large-scale zone planning; urban designers and architects, concerned with studying the lower scale functional-spatial synthesis in the city; and civil engineers who take care of technical issues. This historical experience of 'professional apartheid' results in design practice, as a break between understanding and designing, between interpretation and language. The task of this research is not to add an alternative reading of urban phenomena to the existing theories on the city form, but to set the base for regaining specific design knowledge on infrastructure integration.

***Research Methodology***

The concern about the codification of a language (or 'meta-language' as Françoise Choay (1) defines it) of city planning, able to order a taxonomy of the urban space, constituted the core around which the 'science of building the city' evolved in the last century. In the framework of my research, the evolution of this design language will be studied from the standpoint of infrastructure integration. The applied methodology is the use of an analogy with Linguistics, specifically with Semiotics, together with the case study selection. Language is the basic element of urban planning and architectural practice since professionals use design tools and three-

dimensional models to represent their projects and to communicate their ideas. Though often, the symbolic interpretation of graphic signs and spatial volumes is subjective and complex. In the specific case of infrastructure integration projects, the lack of a current joint terminology (graphic/text) to enable an interdisciplinary exchange among professionals to achieve sustainable solutions at different scales of intervention complicate the process of design. As the problem is to enable a better communication among professionals, the analogy with linguistic processes proved to be the most suitable to verify the links between the design practice and the analytical skills of the planner, as theorized by Roland Barthes and some semioticians in the 1970s (2). I refer to the researches carried by Françoise Choay and her group in France, and by Renato De Fusco as director of the architectural magazine *Op. Cit.* in Italy. At that time, the debate was mainly on the possibility of applying Semiotics directly to a reading of the city, in other words to consider the city as a linguistic system. Such approaches, dating from the 1960s, have proved rather sterile, since they were trying to apply to the built environment linguistic analyses without any mediation. My line of research starts from the awareness of the existence of a far older transfer of thinking from language to design processes that continues to be significant, in the form of analogy rather than direct application.

Using the analogy with language as a heuristic device, I started the elaboration of my case studies – which I will describe in the third paragraph - by decomposing the semantic of the planning codes into iconography and texts. The goal is to understand which mechanisms of meaning production are at the base of the design approach on contemporary urban space and which are the determinants to establish fruitful design guidelines.

### ***Research products***

This research leads to two intermediate products, namely:

- \_ A structured catalogue of contemporary urban design practice and theoretical experience in the context of the urbanisation of large-scale infrastructure elements.
- \_ The results of experimental use of linguistics knowledge in urban design discipline to investigate the relationship between planning codes (interpretation) and design rules in the contemporary professional language of city planning.

This research leads to a final product:

- A theoretical model for interpreting and developing the arising urban typologies of infrastructure networks at local and regional scale. This model will be developed through a linguistic-based dictionary/handbook for integrated infrastructure planning (working title: Dictionnaire Raisonné of spatial planning concepts). This tool is directed to the design practice and it will provide a design methodology to encourage efficient communication among different fields of knowledge involved in the development of large-scale infrastructure networks within urban areas. The Dictionnaire will supply design guidelines together with a notation to planning theories on the topic of infrastructure, mobility networks and urban processes. It will be a technical, as well as theoretical (Raisonné), support in the experimentation of new spatial arrangements and new use(s) of infrastructure as an active layer within the urban fabric. The Dictionnaire Raisonné will be developed to deal with the representation of meaning and signs in urban design practice. It will present mutual interrelation among design guidelines, interdisciplinary data and prescriptive codes, together with new typologies (spatial models) of urban spaces/functions related to large-scale infrastructure. Furthermore this model will be useful in further research into the semantics of the built environment. The principles and operational characteristic of the system will be fully developed and specified during the course of the research program.

### ***Relevance for planning knowledge***

Although planning theory has a long tradition in analysing the contemporary urban phenomena in terms of morphological and symbolic evolution of urban typologies, yet very little research has been carried out on the need to develop a professional language in specific contexts, such as the large-scale infrastructure planning. Most of the research spoke about 'language' in terms of analytical design (Secchi, 1988), description/perception of the built environment (Lynch, 1969), or as definition of urban categories and patterns (Alexander 1977). The effects of a comparative analysis between Linguistics and design practice have not yet been researched on the side of city planning, whereas there are evidences of interesting reciprocity in Semiotics research (Eco 1975). My research aims to give a contribution in the field by exploring the possibility to develop a theoretical support (based on the parallelism between design language and Semiotics) to design

innovative solutions and to develop a methodological model for supporting a qualitative analysis of large-scale urban design projects. Using the form of the Dictionnaire Raisonné, an attempt will be made to integrate theoretical tool and practical application.

*Achievements of the past year*

During the work on the dissertation in this first year the original proposal evolved. After the phase of intensive literature study both on the side of Semiotics applied to design theory and on the side of infrastructure planning, the first step was to re-frame the limits of the research area (figure 1), too wide as described in the original research proposal.

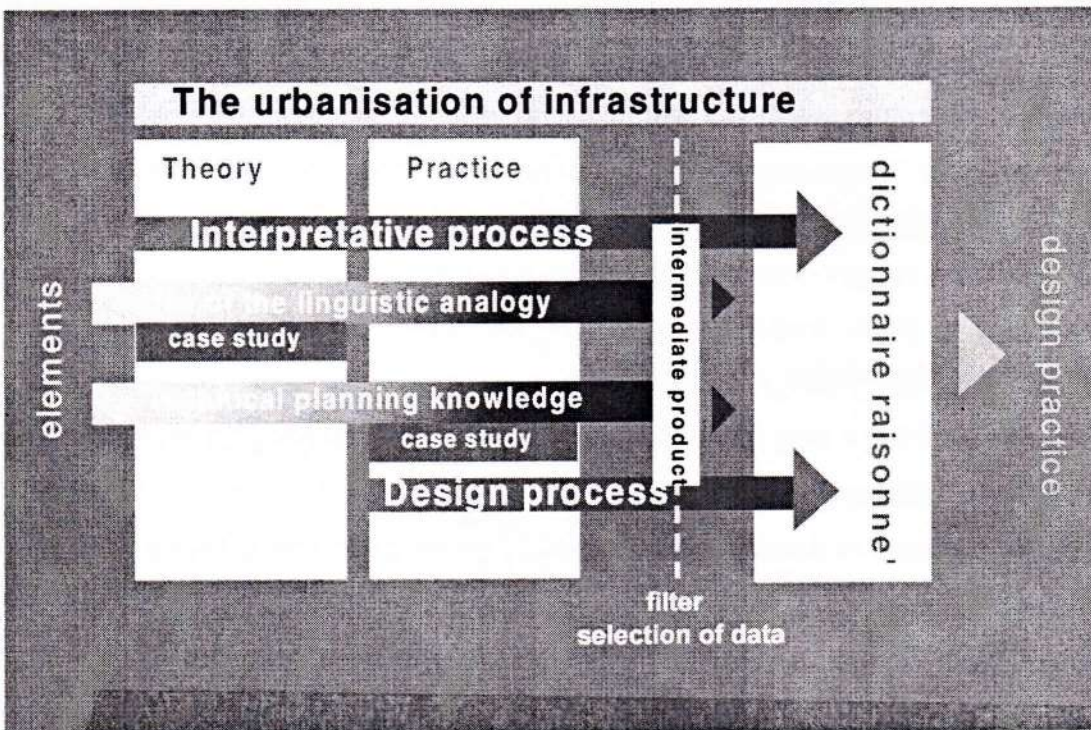


Figure 1. Definition of the research framework: possibilities and limits (1998)

In the first quarter of the past year the research has been focusing on the left part of the schema, which concerns more the exploratory inquiry on methodology (linguistic analogy) and the definition of the case study than the direct elaboration and application of the tool. That was determined by two main questions. On the one side I realised, in an early stage of the literature review, that precedent studies based on the application of the linguistic analogy to urbanism were few and outdated. Furthermore, the main research stream on this topic, based on the studies on the spatial syntax in relation to the linguistic analogy (started in France by Levi-Strauss in the framework of his structural anthropology theory), seems somehow to have vanished at the end of the 1970's. Ergo the problem was to catch up with this temporal gap by trying to explain the reasons why the research on Semiotics was suspended, and by verifying the actual scientific value and consistence of the analogy. On the other side, the innovative character of the end product of this research as a literary type in city planning literature urged to expand the research strategy. Indeed there is no precedent of a Dictionnaire Raisonné of spatial planning concepts directly applicable to design processes, and certainly not for the topic of infrastructure integration.

Because of the above-described complexity of the topic, a double case study was selected:

- \_ a literary case-study on antecedents (a selection of dictionaries, catalogues and manuals of town planning and architecture) in order to determine the methodology to compose the logic structure for the Dictionnaire Raisonné (since no direct example of such a genre was found in city planning literature);
- \_ an exploratory case-study aimed at defining the questions and hypotheses of a following phase of the study (selection of the terms/concepts for the Dictionnaire) and directed at determining the feasibility of the desired research procedures. I chose to focus on a location in The Netherlands where a planning process on large-scale infrastructure is currently taking action. By virtue of its topicality and dynamism, the A2 corridor represented by the cluster of cities along the (inter) national highway Amsterdam-Liege, has been selected.

In the first case study, two antecedents were studied during last year: Viollet Le-Duc's Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française (1858/1990), and Duany Plater-Zyberk Charter for the New Urbanism (1994). The lack of a variety of examples in city planning literature, urged to search for precedents in the closest discipline (based on design language) with a long tradition

of specialised dictionaries: architecture. Since Vitruvius' Ten Books on Architecture, architects and academics attempted to codify the design language by means of structured indexes. But only during the last century with Quatremere de Quincy (1832), and Viollet-le-Duc (1858/1990) the Dictionnaire developed as the first real thesaurus of architecture by becoming 'raisonné'. The invention was to reorganise the design language into a practical tool for professionals and scholars, and, parallel to express through its logic structure a theory on design. I decided to select Le-Duc's Dictionnaire as the most accomplished and inspiring example of this type, also by virtue of the result of semiotics studies previously applied to this work. Le-Duc chose to arrange his argument according to the 'disjoined pattern' of a dictionary surely not because he sought for the easiest way or lacked a systematic mind; on the contrary, he opened the way to a new approach of studying and doing architecture, that of structural analysis. The concepts of hierarchy and subordination enable us to appreciate Le-Duc's choice for the dictionary as a logic way to handle the enormous amount of data and references he acknowledged, and to frame them into the perspective of design applicability. Besides it shows to be an effective method to control the relative position of each term of the discours architectural within a larger theoretical framework and the way in which these terms combine to establish both the building (representation) and a body of knowledge (theory). The tool to be developed as the end product of this research has the same purpose.

The other precedent selected as a methodological referent is derived directly from city planning literature. As mentioned before, despite a long tradition in writing manuals and critical indexes of architecture, the discipline of city planning has still to produce such a work. Although some could argue that Alexander's A Pattern language (1977) is a valuable-attempt to summarise theoretical knowledge and practical application of design norms, for the extension and the enormous amount of data it includes, this work is more an encyclopaedia of city planning and architecture than a Dictionnaire Raisonné. Hence it can not be directly practicable by planners and architects as an handbook. Recently the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU), presented a very interesting glossary of spatial concepts and design guidelines as a manifesto for their planning theory: The Charter for the New Urbanism (1996). Under the title 'General Terminology' a list of more than 500 terms is used to 'explain' New Urbanists' planning theory. The reason to choose CNU as the second case

study on precedents, was not only its actuality and applicability, but also the direct involvement in the development of a professional language. To some extent, this is a unique example of current application of a planning theory, which disentangles the semantic aspects of the design process. The purpose is close to Le-Duc's work: to codify a design language (framed in a specific operational scale) by mean of linguistic codes directly applicable in the design practice. In spite of the distance in time, the degrees of comparison between these two extremely different dictionaries of design language demonstrated to be so exhaustive as to confirm the appropriateness of the linguistic analogy in researching the evolutionary process of city planning design language by:

- \_ explaining the use and function of a Dictionnaire as a coherent theoretical tool as well as a direct design support for architects;
- \_ suggesting the methodology to structure the end product of this research.

I also defined the second case study, which involves the analysis of the A2 corridor, already mentioned in this report. Whereas the purpose of the previous case-study was to create the theoretical background for the entire research, this part is dedicated to framing the substance of the Dictionnaire, that is to say to defining the criteria for the terms selection of the dictionary entries. It interests the collection of data concerning the current situation for infrastructure integration planning in The Netherlands and the analysis of the leading key words used by different actors in the decision-making process. In a further stage of the work the data will be translated into design codes (entries of the Dictionnaire Raisonné) which will constitute the model for the end product. This part of the research, the results of which will be published next year, will be sponsored by the A2 cities (Amsterdam, Utrecht, s'Hertogenbosch, Eindhoven, Maastricht and Liège). This study is subordinate to the general research purpose, which is to elaborate a theory on infrastructure integration by means of a dictionary. The field-research will supply the necessary data for the end product as an example to be generalised for other similar situations. The interest of the cities along the (inter) national highway A2 in researching the meaning of infrastructure within the built environment and, concurrently, in developing a common strategy to achieve the 'urbanisation of infrastructure' will stimulate this research to

elaborate the dictionary as a practical and applicable tool. Currently the basic structure of this analysis was just defined, and I'm working on the data collection.

I return to the schema presented in figure 1 - the part related to the application of the model to the design process. Until now I was discussing the theoretical structure of the model rather than the definition of its application into design practice, while there are developments on that side too. I started to analyse the applicability of the model, which would represent the 'designing' side of the Dictionnaire, intended as a summary of design guidelines to support professionals in planning and designing infrastructure integration. This is expressed by the development of the framework for the documentation analysis and it will represent the basic structure for the end product. Framing the model lead to a deeper understanding of the difficulties occurring both in the contemporary Dutch infrastructure planning practice and in the consequent development of a specific city planning knowledge for the topic. These problems can be briefly summarised, for the two categories (theory and practice), as follows:

Theoretical elaboration on infrastructure planning practice in The Netherlands involves evaluation problems:

- \_ which are the cause of partial insights of the current changing in meaning and function of infrastructure within the built environment;procedural problems -
- \_ which are the principal cause of conflicts between national and local policies for the long-term planning of urban infrastructure;interpretative problems -
- \_ which are the cause of unsatisfactory definitions or even more, of confusing metaphors on the city-infrastructure relation;temporal problems -
- \_ which are the cause of delays in the approval of plans and long lasting procedures to mediate the expectation of all the parties involved; Linguistic problems -
- \_ which lead to a gradual impoverishment of the design practice and which restricted the topic to the pure civil engineering aspects.Linguistic problems -
- \_ which are the cause of misunderstanding due to an improper use of technical terms/concepts such as 'corridor', urban integration', transferia, etc.

**Conclusions**

This paper will report the preliminary results of the initial phases of this research process. It will be divided in four parts:

- \_ A first part will explain the reasons why the theme of infrastructure is an occasion for a critical review of city planning;
- \_ a second part will focus on the links between language and design in relation to urbanism and, consequently, on the choice of the linguistic analogy as a research methodology;
- \_ the third chapter will provide the conclusions of the first case study together with a report on the second one;
- \_ In the final part of my essay I will introduce some additional factors in the choice of the Dictionnaire Raisonné of city planning as the end product of this research.

**Notes**

1. Françoise Choay, *L'Orizzonte del Posturbano*, a cura di Ernesto d'Alfonso, Officina Edizioni, Roma, 1992; *Remarques a propos de sémiologie urbaine* in *Op. Cit.*, 1968; on the concept of urban design as a meta-language see Choay's theory in "The modern city: planning in the 19th century", G. Braziller, NY 1969)
2. see *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* n.132, 1967, monographic number on Urbanisme and the complete series of *Op.Cit.*, 1968-1970. In particular, Roland Barthes, *Semiology and Urbanism*, *Op.Cit.* n.10, 1967.

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# **Designing Environmental Planning Strategies that Intergrate Stakeholder Beliefs and Scientific Models: A Case Study of Lake Lanier**

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## ***Introduction***

Integrated assessment modeling (IAM) is a method for handling complex issues, integrating information from various scientific disciplines and stakeholders, such that decision-makers are informed of the science as well as the stakeholder interests (van Asselt and Rotmans, 1995). It was popularized as the method for studying the impacts of global climate change on various environmental factors such as agricultural production. The focus of IAM is on process, with integration among disciplines and stakeholders, offering solutions that otherwise would have been ignored by a study with singular focus, for example climatology (Rotmans et. al., 1997). While typically focusing on the larger issues associated with global change, we find the IAM exercise offers lessons in integrating multiple disciplines and community interests in studying the impacts of the environmental issues associated with planning. We have applied IAM to the issue of water quality, focusing on the effects of various determinants on the water quality of a rapidly urbanizing watershed.

Lake Sidney Lanier was created in 1956 as one of the US Army Corps of Engineers projects designed to manage water flow and supply, river navigation, and to provide additional power supply to the rural regions in the Southeastern section of the US. The project involved construction of the Buford Dam, which impounded stream flow from the Chattahoochee River, just south of where it is joined by the Chestatee River. Originally intended to serve rural communities, Lake Lanier is now considered part of the rapidly growing Metro Atlanta, Georgia Region of the US, providing additional important economic development opportunities such as

recreation and tourism. As a multi-use reservoir, the lake provides recreation, water supply, electrical supply, navigation, and flood control. In 1991, Lake Lanier was the most frequently visited of the Army Corps lakes in the US. Given the region's rapidly developing urbanization, the Lake Lanier watershed is facing increasing pressure to make wise land-use decisions, thus bringing more focused attention to the area (Hatcher, et. al., 1994; Beck, et. al., 1998; Kundell, et. al, 1998; Limno-Tech, inc., 1998).

This proposed research focuses on the role of stakeholder involvement in water resources decision-making. It builds upon a methodology developed for integrating stakeholder beliefs and preferences with scientific modeling of lake ecosystem processes, and is part of a larger study involving the application of integrated assessment models to water resource management. Through a detailed case study of Lake Lanier, we will explore the benefits of stakeholder involvement in management of an impounded water source facing rapidly urbanizing development pressures. We will study the various stakeholder and decision-making groups, surveying participants as to their involvement, hopes, and concerns for the lake watershed, identifying four different planning strategies - means, ends, scenarios, and targeted scenarios. We will examine the strengths and weaknesses of each strategy, paying particular attention to the inclusion of local community values into this modeling framework. We believe that incorporating a community vision allows for a more place-based approach in the decision-making process (Norton and Steinemann, forthcoming; Holling, 1978, Gunderson et. al, 1995; Lee, 1993 ). And, this sort of forward thinking, when coupled with a sound scientific understanding of the performance of ecosystem processes, provides timely and important scientific information that is necessary for lake watershed development in accordance with environmental guidelines.

### ***Rationale for Proposed Research***

The future state of the community and surrounding environment depends on the land use practices in the area. Local land use and environmental decisions are made for any number of reasons, often forced by the most expedient or influential needs. Effective decision-making, however, needs to rely on place-based citizen participation regarding a community vision of the future, much like the adaptive ecosystem management practices described by Holling (1978), Lee

(1993), and Gunderson, et. al. (1995). In this research, we identify four types of management/planning strategies for the interaction between society's value-based vision and scientific information. The four strategies are means, ends, scenarios, and targeted scenarios. Each of these practices involves varying degrees of science and/or citizen involvement and we explore the strengths and weaknesses of each approach relative to examples found in Lake Lanier. To further understand the approaches to decision-making, we chose the case study method to examine the roles of various stakeholder groups affiliated with Lake Lanier. The groups we are studying have been operating both collectively and individually in addressing growth and development pressures affecting the water quality of Lake Lanier. Interestingly, two groups in particular are actively seeking scientific understanding of lake ecosystem processes yet seem to be doing so for different purposes, thus we feel that they will make for an excellent case study. For the purposes of this immediate research exploring the role that citizen involvement plays in environmental decision-making, we opted for a combination of open and close ended questions distributed via a mail survey to a representative sample of stakeholders within the Lake Lanier watershed. Through our work, thus far, we have established some initial understanding of how groups approach management of the watershed and view the relationship between citizens and decision-makers. The role of the decision-maker depends on the levels or absence of interaction between the science, the decision-maker, and the stakeholder. We believe that the process of interaction is iterative yielding a triangular relationship among the three entities.

### ***Stakeholder Scientist***

Each of four the planning approaches mentioned earlier focuses on the interaction described in a slightly different way:

- The means-based approach emphasizes method over results and has a low input of social vision or scientific information. This style of management is rational but bounded by perceived limits to capabilities. The decision-maker reacts to immediate problems with short-term solutions. It is akin to the bounded rationality model of policy development described by Charles Lindblom (1959) as 'the science of muddling through.' This approach rarely results in a future collective vision and is reactionary to citizen complaints and political pressures. Typical examples associated with Lake Lanier seem to involve the planning practices of

individual local governments. Their obvious objective is to secure a strong local planning strategy that benefits their immediate community.

- The ends-based approach requires strong social organization to agree upon a common vision and a moderate amount of scientific information. As stated by advocacy planner, Norman Krumholz, there is not one, but a multiplicity of public interests, and we need to plan for this collective of individuals as we would for ourselves. Thus, this illustrates the nature of an ends-based approach as uniquely activists focused (Krumholz, 1982). Other planners argue from this perspective that those in opposition to decided management plans should prepare one of their own (Davidoff, 1965). This approach is citizen-based but often divisive, lacking integration with science and decision-makers.
- The scenario-based approach has minimal social consensus building and high dependence on scientific information. It is also rationalist in nature, utilizing a top-down planning process, however, the focus is on information rather than process. The scenarios offer comprehensive information regarding various scenarios, providing planners and decision makers with results based on scientific data, yet without much input from the community. The planner serves as technocrat, providing decision-makers with a high degree of control. Followers of this approach argue that there are no alternatives to rationalism, stating that it is fundamental to all other decision-making processes (Faludi, 1987). This approach is typical in most local government agencies.

Data is collected that is typically absent citizen involvement and analyzed in isolation of the problem, water quality in this case. This sort of approach is what creates controversy among citizens as they feel left out of the planning process.

- The targeted scenario-based approach appears to have the most potential for sound watershed management because it integrates social and scientific knowledge. It utilizes the concept of social learning whereby the scientific community and the stakeholders (both citizens and decision makers) inform each other, yielding outcomes that are community-based, and perhaps more readily accepted and successfully implemented. The process involves change agents that provide a learning loop, integrating knowledge from both the citizens and the scientific community, such that decision-makers and citizens arrive at mutually agreed upon outcomes

(Schon, 1983; Friedmann, 1987). We feel that this multidisciplinary approach is beneficial because it promotes collaboration among scientists and decision makers and stakeholders.

### **Conclusion**

We have found evidence of each of the four approaches to watershed management associated with Lake Lanier and feel that the targeted scenarios approach offers the best prospect for a sustainable future in the Lake Lanier watershed. Targeted scenarios offer an integrated look at the present and yield a more sound watershed management strategy that is inclusive of both long and short term goals that are shared by the citizens and the decision-makers. Our contribution to the process comes through combining citizen hopes and concerns with current science of the Lake Lanier ecosystem. The interface between science and society comes about because the users (society) are choosing future targets to which we (the scientists) project. The future opportunities and constraints offered from this landscape, however, are largely the result of present social, not scientific decisions. Therefore, it is crucial to distinguish between which issues are social, which are scientific, and to understand the relationship between the two. To this effect, it becomes increasingly important to understand the multi scalar issues associated with individuals and communities such that individual values and preferences are linked with science and lake management relative to an integrated assessment model of lake water quality. Such iterative management practices have the potential to ultimately yield sustainable outcomes that will be shared by the community and the decision makers, not only in the present, but for generations yet to come.

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*1 The objective of this larger research project is to develop the prototype of a new approach to engaging both community interests and a complex (mathematical) map of the science base of Lake Lanier's ecosystem. Thus, we are exploring how shorter-term individual preferences can be reconciled with longer-term community values in regard to maintaining the integrity of an environmental system (Norton, 1995; Norton, 1998; Norton et. al., 1998). The larger project has two distinct programs of research: 1. Eliciting community values and encoding stakeholder-derived futures and 2. Developing a foodweb, sediment, and hydrological model of lake systems. The unique aspect of the larger project is that these two elements will be integrated such that the stakeholder-derived futures will be reconciled with the lake systems model yielding a model of water quality that integrates community hopes and fears with sound science and decision-making. One of the stated goals of this larger research project is to move beyond stated preference models common in environmental valuation studies today. Hence, one of the innovations we are undertaking is to articulate values that can be understood and valued over multiple scales of time and management horizons. Through evaluating values on more than one level, simultaneously, we argue that a more accurately stated preference toward environmental values can be developed that moves well beyond the traditional economic valuation framework and into a more sustaining model of growth and development for rapidly urbanizing watersheds.*

# **The Municipal and the Territory; The Municipal Ecologist Perspective on Environmental Issues in Land Use Planning**

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## ***Introduction***

My PhD-studies is a part of a multidisciplinary research project, «The Municipal and the Territory», on the need to redefine planning to cope with the challenge of sustainability (Asplund & Orrskog 1996). The project is administrated by a core group of researchers at the Department of Infrastructure and Planning at the Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm. Researchers from other disciplines and institutions are associated for complementary studies through the project.

The focus of the project is on strategic land-use planning at the municipal level. The municipal competence will be empirically investigated and discussed. The competence concept in the project is interpreted in two ways: "professional competence" and "political competence". By professional competence we mean the competence developed within the administration of the municipality. Such competence is made up of knowledge and professional skills, steering instruments, organisation, decision-making processes, ways of co-operation among officials and between officials and politicians, etc. Political competence refers to the competence to involve the inhabitants as well as local economic actors in the transformation of the society towards sustainability.

We have chosen to penetrate the problem of planning as social practice through qualitative studies and cases rather the quantitative. It means that we use different theoretical frameworks as interview techniques, literature overviews to find out what is special, difficult and worth developing in planning, environmental work etc. The main theme of the project - to understand

and reformulate the essence of land-use planning to cope with the quest for sustainability – will be further developed based on thematic studies. These thematic studies investigate different perspectives of the planning process, the different actors and their competence and ways of interpretation the concept of sustainability. Four thematic studies are dealing with the process within the municipal administration. Two other studies will focus on different local actors.

My study is one of the four thematic studies investigating the process within the municipal administration. Its aim is to analyse the ecological competence of the municipal planning administrations. I will present some preliminary results at the AESOP PhD workshop. My paper presenting the PhD project has following title.

*A social constructionist approach to communicative planning theories: The municipal ecologist perspective on environmental issues in land use planning*

The research is based on an in-depth interview-study of municipal ecologists. The interviews are semi-structured interviews with the aim to get a description of the interviewees life-worlds. The description is interpreted to get a picture of the meaning of the described phenomena. This method gives opportunities to reflect alternative conceptions (Kvale 1996). My aim is to examine municipal ecology as a profession and identify perspectives on planning and environmental issues. What are the characteristics of the ecologists approach to planning and sustainable development? What are the significant conditions for an integration of ecological competence into the planning process?

Although a number of planning theorists argue that the literature in the field of planning is diffuse, there are two conventional schools (Forester 1989). The first one treats planning as a technical, problem-solving activity with defined goals – social engineering. The other one borrows perspective from different theories, and treats planning as a means of processing information and feedback – communicative planning. Throughout the nineties, the field of planning theory has become dominated by the communicative paradigm into planning practice (Fischler 1998). I have used four essays on the subject of communicative planning theories (Flyvbjerg 1998, Forester 1989, Healey 1997, Sager 1996) combined with a social constructionist

approach in my analysis. My reason for this is that communicative planning theories do not clearly focus on the links between language, discourse, knowledge-power and change, links which are central to social constructionism. Language is one of the fundamental principles of social constructionism (Burr 1995). Language, in turn, is structured into different discourses, with every discourse claiming to know what real truth is. In that way, knowledge produces power. Language, discourse and knowledge-power are closely linked to each other and to the concept of change. Several communicative planning theorists develop the above mentioned concepts to a certain extent, but they seldom link the concepts, and they do not develop concepts of change clearly (Dovlen 1999). The social constructionist approach, in turn, provides several openings for change. These openings are used in my analysis of the results of the interviews with municipal ecologists.

There are several reasons for investigating a municipal ecologist perspective on planning. The municipal ecologist can be an important actor when environmental issues are integrated into the planning process. Municipal ecologists possess relevant knowledge and can give voice to the environmental discourse. They are employed for their professional skills in handling environmental issues and their ability to analyse the field. Municipal ecologists are also often responsible for putting into practice the environmental intentions of The Natural Resources Management Act and The Planning and Building Act (Asplund 1997). Both global and local environmental issues, as they are described in several international documents, call for action and change (WCED 1987, UNCED 1992). In this context, planning is often mentioned as an instrument for achieving desired results.

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# The Constitution of Spatial Transport Concepts

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In discussions about regional economic development a few key concepts regularly keep turning up. These key concepts focus on issues of infrastructural connections and transport systems, in relation to (spatial) characteristics of the region. In the Netherlands planners are struggling with these concepts. Since the nineties there has been an increasing mismatch between national spatial concepts and local ideas and concepts. My research project aims on identifying causal factors for this mismatch by focusing on the constitution of spatial transport concepts.

## *Introduction*

In the Netherlands there has been a tradition of working with spatial concepts<sup>5</sup> in spatial policy. With the Fourth National Report (1988), Dutch Government introduced a large amount of relatively new spatial concepts. In the following years some of these concepts turned out to be missing a connection with wishes and ideas of local planners or other actors in the policy process. The concept of ABC-locations is a clear example of this disconnection. Based on targets of environment and public transport, national government was trying to stimulate location of economic activity -as they formulated- "on the right spot". Their policy aimed at location of industries and services with a lot of visitors and employees in areas with a perfect connection with public transport, so-called A-locations. Other industries and services which had less employees and visitors combined with a strong dependency on highways for their production process had to be located in areas with a perfect connection with the national road-system, just outside the city. These locations are called C-locations. Unfortunately it appeared that this national policy of ABC-locations didn't match with wishes and practices of local government and most of all: with preferences of the industries themselves. In many cases industries and services preferred location on C-locations above A-locations, because of the better car-accessibility. Due to the expected positive economic effects local government turned out to be eager on attracting economic activity within their municipality-boundaries. Therefore municipalities were allowing

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<sup>5</sup> Spatial concepts are powerful communication tools. They enable agents to formulate their future vision on the desired spatial developments and structure in one word or image. Often metaphors are used as spatial concepts. Examples are the green hart, concentrated citygrowth, development axes.

companies to locate on C-locations which actually -according to national policy- had to be located on A-locations (Martens 1996, Spit 1996). This case shows that the spatial concept of the government didn't have eye for wishes of other agents in the planning field and for developments in society.

A recent report of the National Council for Government Policy (1998) also mentions this mismatch between spatial concepts of government and ideas of agents and factual developments in society. To restore this connection insight is needed in the constituting forces of a spatial concept. After all, these constituting forces shape the spatial concept long before the concept is laid down in a policy document. In most cases nowadays the laying down of a spatial concept in policy documents is only a freezing-point in the ongoing life cycle of a spatial concept (see Korthals Altes 1995, Blotevogel 1996). In this life cycle of a concept the introductory-phase and the growth-phase are determined for the content of a concept. Knowledge of the sources of a spatial concept and of motives and goals of the actors who promoted it, enables planners to make a better connection between concept and society. In this way spatial planning can make use of the advantage of spatial concepts, as communication-tools and carriers of key elements of spatial policy.

#### *PhD Research: Constitution of spatial transport concepts*

In the eighties planning research began to pay attention to the problem of conceptualisation in planning. Among other things these studies on spatial concepts have shown the existence of certain patterns of conceptualisation (Zonneveld, 1991). During a certain period in time a dominant conceptual complex (a complex of related and coherent spatial concepts) can be distinguished. Rising spatial concepts are related to this contemporary conceptual complex. Other studies stressed the importance of concepts in framing a policy situation (Rein/Schon, 1994), and regarded concepts as binding metaphors or 'storylines' in discourse-coalitions (Hajer 1993). But in research relatively little attention is paid to the factors who contribute to, and influence the rise and growth of new concepts. This is partly due to the creative origin of concepts which complicates the study of concepts. It is also due to a neglect of the institutional basis which acts as a constraining and an enabling factor upon the rise of new concepts.

To gain an insight into this matter, the problem of the constitution of spatial concepts is at the centre of this PhD research. Because of the intensifying link between the policy-field of spatial planning and the policy-field of transport in the Netherlands the focus is oriented on a special kind of concepts, namely spatial transport-concepts. These concepts combine spatial images of future spatial development and structure with aims in transport. Examples of this kind of concepts are main transport axes, corridors and public transportation nodes. The aim of the research is to identify determinative factors in the development of concepts, which are related to

future performance of the concept. Starting with a description of the different interpretations of the content of a concept, the research focuses on institutional aspects. Theoretical notions from sociology (evolution of norms - Coleman) and policy sciences (development of organisations) offer useful entrance to study the constitution of concepts.

In the research-project two or three case-studies of spatial concepts will be conducted. At the moment the following case-studies are in consideration: the concept of corridors and the concept of urban and transport nodes. Emphasis will be placed on the first phases in a life cycle of a concept in relation to involved agents and their positions. Attention will be paid to the different interpretations of the concept by different actors. Their motives and goals with a certain spatial transport-concept will be examined, and their means to their disposal to effectuate their ideas. The data in this research will be qualitative and will be derived by studying policy-documents and notes (government and non-government) and by interviewing key-persons. At the moment the case-study of the concept of corridors is conducted. Probably some results of this case-study will be presented at the PhD workshop in Finse.

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## High-Rise Housing Estates as Vehicles of Social Exclusion in Post-Socialist Cities

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Housing estates cannot be considered merely as products of the socialist system since they can also be found in Western Europe though their significance and role differ from that of the former socialist countries. Housing estates on the housing market of Western countries are important, nevertheless they represent only a low proportion of the whole dwellingstock (P. Dunleavy 1981, U. Herlyn 1989, E. Van Kempen - S. Musterd 1991). In spite of that, from the beginning of the 1980's almost all western-european governments made attempts to carry out various programs on modernization and rehabilitation of housing estates.

The problems in East-Central European countries turn up to be more serious, since the number of dwellings in housing estates and people living there goes far beyond the West-European scales. (W. Rietdorf - H. Liebmann - T. Knorr-Siedow 1994, E. Müller 1997). Building quality is in many cases lower and rehabilitation is very needed, However, steps for renewal have not been accomplished as yet.

The idea of housing estate and the building of the first housing estates in Hungary dates back to the turn of the century, but an overall expansion was not accomplished till after the II. World War. Considering the size, building material and technology, we can talk about generations of high-rise estates, which apart from the built environment show significant differences in terms of the natural and the social environment (Hegedûs J. 1987, Szelényi 1990, Kovács Z. 1998).

After 1989 the housing market of Hungary has gone through substantial changes. Housing policy was changed dramatically, state influence became negligible, private initiatives increased in importance. In line with the transformation of the housing market most of the former public

dwelling stock was privatised. In Budapest the share of state housing sector decreased from 51 percent to 15 percent between 1990 and 1997. The remaining public housing sector can be found basically as two types:

- a.) inner-city tenement blocks, built at the turn of the century; and
- b.) high-rise housing estates, built during the era of communism.

The privatisation also set off an increasing residential mobility, in which younger/better off families are leaving state housing and shifting to the private sector. Public housing is gradually becoming residualised, and serve as shelter for the poor and disadvantaged social groups.

Housing estates from different periods of construction show basic differences in terms of their physical, social and natural status and environment. One of the main aims of our research is to reveal the differences of these spheres by studying selected housing estates and to investigate the relation to possible trends of social exclusion in the different types of housing estates. The other intention of the research is to indicate the possible ways of redevelopment the types of investigated estates, especially the estates in worst condition (not only physically but socially as well), in order to determine a future strategy which is closely connected to urban politics and planning.

### ***The development of housing estates in Hungary***

According to data from the last Hungarian Census of 1990 there were approximately 600-650 thousand dwellings located in housing estates in Hungary. This equals around 16-17 per cent of the total dwelling stock in a housing market of 3,8 million dwellings. In Budapest 32,2 per cent of dwellings were estimated to be in housing estates in this year. This has, however, somewhat declined in the last ten years due to the fact that the vast majority of new housing built during this period has not been in estate form.

### ***High-rise estates of the 1950s***

The "Stalin baroque" housing estates of the 1950s usually contained a small number of dwellings, each for a total of between 300 and 800 families. These estates were built close to the centre of towns and fit well into the urban landscape. Built with a relatively high quality, such estates were

often considered a step forward in terms of the level of comfort available for the average household. By the end of the 1950s, however, this socialist-realist architecture lost in importance, whilst uniformity in design began to dominate. Most of these estates from the 1950s, despite the small size of each apartment, are not currently considered very negatively due to their location and design.

### ***High-rise estates of the 1960s***

At the beginning of the 1960s the first large high-rise housing estates were developed in Budapest. The housing estates of this period were located further away from the city-centre, but they were still organically linked to the city by existing infrastructure. Houses were built with traditional materials and methods and had variation in the height of the buildings (4 or 9 storey) and the physical layout. Most estates of this time currently still have a mixed status and, although not considered prestigious, they have not become ghettos.

### ***High-rise estates of the 1970s***

From the late 1960s, housing was increasingly based on prefabricated element technology and the establishment of gigantic «housing factories» started. These «factories» were often built as extremely dense high-rise estates of 12-15.000 dwellings, often housing 30-40.000 people. Quantitative factors were considered more important than qualitative ones. Most of these estates were built on undeveloped peripheral locations and were most often poorly served by transport and other facilities. This resulted in an often inhumane environment, which along with the decreasing quality, meant that these estates were unpopular from their opening. The buildings, most of them built by panel construction methods, were uniform and massive, most often 10 storeys. Such estates are currently of primary concern in Budapest, with many having the potential to become real ethnic ghettos (Ladányi J. 1993). Social exclusion in its pure sense can be easily observed in these neighbourhoods.

### ***High-rise estates of the 1980s***

By the 1980s, connected to the severe economic crisis in Hungary, state housing construction rapidly declined and private forms of housing provision became dominant. During this time,

primarily small-scale estates in higher-quality locations closer to the city centre with owner-occupied housing were built. Such estates incorporated new architectural and design aspects as well as having purposely built private commercial facilities located on the ground floor or basement. These are the "star" housing estates that have been more able to successfully retain their value and popularity in the chaotic real estate market that has developed after 1989.

For the research project we are using selected cases (2 from each category) in order to compare the housing conditions and social life of the different types of housing estates. Special emphasis is placed on the mechanism of exclusion, deprivation, lack of resources, access to public services, as well as local government policy. Factors of social exclusion such as relative poverty, unemployment among residents, low participation of residents in "local affairs" etc. are in the focus of our empirical research.

### ***Phases of the research project***

#### 1. Investigation of the built environment of the chosen sample fields

- a) Characteristics of the building conditions of the sample housing estates
- b) Survey on the dwelling stock, evaluation of their physical condition
- c) Evaluation of the dwelling stock, and conditions (statistical survey, analysis of the changes of the housing market, residential mobility, time and method of investments, renovation, management of houses.
- d) Other aspects of infrastructure

#### 2. Investigations of the social environment of housing estates

- a) Demographic profile of residents (age, education, profession, income, migration-commuting, segregation)
- b) Relationship between environment and local society (satisfaction with environment, intention to move, shopping habits etc.)
- c) Transportation (private car ownership, parking facilities etc.)
- d) Free-time activities
- e) Investigation of local social activity (social integration, local organisations, willingness to improve residential environment etc.)

3. Investigation of the natural environment
  - a) Aspects and characteristics of green areas
  - b) The most important environmental problems

### *Methods of research*

- Analysis of macrostatistical, polling and governmental data of the sample areas
- Questionnaire survey based on simple, representative sampling in the local society
- Interviews with residents based on the method of stopping people in the streets
- Deep interviews with experts of the local governments, analysis of concepts for improvement included in general setting plans, mapping of the strength of local politics to change environment
- Investigation of the experience of west-European cities for improving the conditions of housing estates. Examining possibilities of adaption and application.

Based on the research results the outlines of the subcategories of the given types of housing estates may appear. From this we can outline: what are the most important strategical decisions to be made in certain case study areas from the side of urban politics, local government, town planning and through resident participation which might ensure the "survival" and improvement of the housing estates, physically as well as socially. We should as well ask whether our results reflect specific Hungarian conditions, or if it is a typical Eastern-European phenomenon.

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# **Power Relations in the British Development Control System**

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## ***Introduction***

The operation of development control is the most visible and arguably the most controversial aspect of the British planning system. At its best it has been described as a valuable defender of environmental quality (HMSO 1994) and at its worst it has been exposed as secretive and sometimes corrupt instrument dominated by vested interest (Doncaster DC 1997, Bassetlaw DC 1996 etc.). The increasing complexity of planning applications has compounded the growing disenchantment by the general public at what appears to be a closed and insular arena of planning decision making. Indeed, there has been a significant increase in the level of direct action by the public at major development sites (Newbury 1996, Manchester 1997) which indicates that at least for some, the system is no longer a legitimate instrument in the defence of the public good. Ultimately these new pressures present challenges to both the philosophical rationale of the planning system and the practice of the professional planner. These pressures provide a clear motivation for investigating planning practice thereby to penetrate this complex pattern of decision making which has important consequences for society and the environment. The following paper provides a brief description of the research programme highlighting some of the key methodological and theoretical dilemmas as well as its implications for planning knowledge

## ***Research Methodology***

The nature of development control has a number of specific characteristics which make its study problematic.

- Development control operates in a complex institutional environment, most obviously within local government but also involving the institutional patterns of other players including national government, the development industry and judiciary. The boundaries of development control practice are, therefore, defuse and fluid.
- The decision making process in development control is the expression of multi-centred and complex power relations which may be focused either in the overt procedural/technocratic or covert personal/political domains
- The public involvement in development control is complex and dispersed.
- Specific points of contact with individuals inside this complex system may be characterised by a desire to conceal and not reveal the true workings of the system. This may be expressed as a slight or extreme problem and may stem from the desire to defend corporate or personal positions.

It is, therefore, evident that for both practical and contextual reasons the examination of the development control system was likely to be most profitable using a qualitative case study framework. The initial criteria for case study selection was to identify medium sized development control cases, that are of regional rather than national significance. This recognises the focus of previous research on national cases and of the importance of studying smaller applications which may be far more representative of general trends in development control practice. A further factor was the desire to study a range of local authorities which reflected differing institutional, political and economic circumstances.

Semi-structured interviews were sought with public sector planners, private developers, elected members, third parties and statutory consultees. This data was complemented by a wide range of secondary documentary evidence drawn from planning files, personal correspondence, press cuttings etc. The conduct of the field work raised a number of important ethical questions surrounding access to key documents and the author's prior involvement in one of the case studies.

### *Major Obstacles*

Perhaps the most problematic issue of the research project has been the realisation of the need to relate the detailed analysis of planning to a coherent theoretical framework, both in terms of developing a prior conceptual framework and in analysing the case studies. This difficulty has led to the generation of several chapters of the thesis which ultimately proved inappropriate. The reason for this problem lies not in any fundamental disagreement between the author and his supervisors but in an essential misunderstanding about the theoretical scope of the early part of doctoral thesis and in particular of how far it is appropriate to debate and justify in detail a prior theoretical stance in research particularly when this stance may be academically unfashionable.

The provisional conceptual framework of the research sought to recognise the merit of a theoretical position informed by aspects of Marxist thought. In order to justify this position I embarked on a theoretical chapter which sought to outline the orthodox conflict between Marxism and liberalism in social theory and to propose that the third way theory and particular Giddens's thesis could be firmly placed, at least in terms of outcomes, in the liberal tradition. In retrospect embarking on such a task, which remains a central concern of sociology and philosophy, was obviously naive and both departed from the core interests of my research project and failed to accept the need for a more flexible theoretical approach which is grounded in the practice of planning. Nonetheless the debates about the extent of prior theoretical position in research is important and raises interesting issues about how far we exclude outcomes by rigid mind sets or conversely how we fail to make explicit ideologies which dominate the direction, conduct and outcomes of our research.

### *Preliminary Results*

The case chronology and individual and group profiles provide a complex and sometimes contradictory view of the progress of the three development control cases. However, a number of themes did emerge which appear to be shared, if from different perspectives, by all the players. These themes included:

- the strong feeling of powerlessness by third parties.
- the exclusive nature of planning procedure in terms of language, complexity, timing, physical access to documents and meetings and the financial cost of participation.

- the overwhelming influence of planning gain and the financial, professional and strategic power of the private sector.
- The importance of professional norms and political ideologies, rather than objective criteria in validating the 'truthfulness' of one players discourse over another.

### *Relevance to Planning Knowledge*

The complexity of the provisional research themes defies any easy theoretical conclusions. Nonetheless a recurring theme of the results was the importance of power in planning arenas and how this power was shaped by both modes of expression and by its links to broader economic patterns. Such conclusions point towards the utility of political economy in analysing planning and in particular the validity or otherwise of positions informed by Marxist thinking. Such a position undoubtedly provides an understanding of the context for the operation of planning in the capitalist state but is clearly more problematic in explaining the micro outcomes of particular planning cases and specifically the importance of agency action. In this regard it is important to recognise that Marxist thought does not ultimately prescribe the balance between structure and agency but it does conclude that economic imperatives provide the driving force of civil society. The possibility of some limited room for manoeuvre is further enhanced by the inherent contradictions in capital itself. The development industry is not necessarily highly organised and monolithically powerful but often inefficient and fundamentally divided through the nature of competition. A structuralist perspective does not therefore imply unified outcomes but instead emphasises the general dominance of economic force over agency action. Such a position, albeit provisional, provides a powerful theoretical critique not just of classical and neo liberalism, which provides the foundation of much planning theory, but of more recent explanations based on Structuration theory. Whatever the final credibility of the structuralist position research into development control must confront the relationship of structure and agency and the adequacy of the competing theoretical perspectives in ascribing values and explanations to this relationship.

It is important to note that the output of the research provides strong confirmation for aspects of other theoretical positions particularly John Forester's thesis concerning the importance of communicative norms in shaping process and outcomes in planning. However, the general trend of the communicative turn is I believe still inadequate in that it overvalues communication in

both its analysis of current problems in planning and consequently in its prescription for change. The distortion of communicative norms are symptomatic rather than the core determining factor, they are expressions of ideological positions which relate to wider patterns of structural force. While the removal of distortion is desirable and their reduction perhaps possible through advocacy planning, this will not resolve the essential power imbalance between the economically powerful, with varying expressions of state support, and the economically weak. In order to uphold normative goals we must recognise the validity and necessity of conflict in precisely the way that the private sector acknowledges it in pursuit of accumulation. If one accepts this principal then the communicative turn may actually be a barrier to finding a positive new agenda for planning practice and theory. The basis for such a new agenda should be the recognition of the planning movements key role not in facilitating accumulation but in actually interfering and curtailing it in defence of democracy, social justice and environmental protection.

Taken together the initial findings of the research raise serious challenges to the rationalist and comprehensive conception of planning. While this may be a well established conclusion among some academics, the rationalist ideal is an absolute precondition and foundational rationale for planning practice in the public sector. Planning is a political process which is more and more dominated by a battle between the ideological positions of the players. That is, by their competing claims about truth based on radically different value systems and interests. While this is accepted by private sector planners and in fact poses no ethical difficulties for them it is an immense problem for public sector practitioners i.e. who do they serve? Where does their conception of public interest lie?

It would be easy to move from the picture of planning as an ideological battle ground with truth and objectivity simply impossible and relative constructs, to firm commitment to a post modern view of planning theory. But the concept of ideologies as expressed in Marxist thought is of value systems which are derived from class interest. The concept of planning as an ideological battle does not necessarily invalidate the notion that there is some definable truth about a planning issue. It simply states that this is layered over with ideological positions and interpretations of its significance. This conclusion appears to have two implications:

1. That planning must confront its inevitably political /ideological role.
2. That planning cannot be value neutral and therefore must define what values are inherent or should be part of planning.

Even if one is reluctant to endorse a radical agenda of value setting there are still unavoidable questions about what on earth planners believe they are trying to achieve. It appears that the pressures on public sector planners are driving them further into policing procedure and meeting performance indicators which concentrate on the facilitation of the private sector and which have no grounding in any other value system. While no one wishes to belittle the systems achievement in protecting aspects of the countryside or in urban containment, these concepts hardly provide a vibrant basis for future planning movements presented with ever more complex social, economic and environmental challenges.

## Shifting Spaces of Consumption: An Institutional Analysis Of Retail Policy And Development In Northwest Europe

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One of the most socially important, yet often neglected, aspects of spatial behavior regards how and where goods are obtained. Shopping, be it for everyday items such as milk or bread or durable items such as washing machines or stereo systems, constitutes a major activity which is clearly linked to the existing physical structure. It is widely accepted that changes in individual shopping habits can create new traffic patterns and even alter social and cultural relationships (Zutkin, 1998; Miller *et al*, 1998). Furthermore, the ramifications of major shifts in the retail structure, the establishment of a large out-of-town regional center for example, can have profound effects on the viability and vitality of town centers (DETR, 1998) and can place the consumer choice of less-mobile segments of the population at a disadvantage.

Since the retail market has generally proved swift in reacting to consumer demand, it has generally been thought to function well, and thus require comparatively little guidance from the public sector (Davies, 1995). Regulation, when it does occur, usually takes the form of rules regarding opening hours, distribution, antitrust laws, and more importantly, land-use planning. The latter offers a particularly wide range of indirect and direct mechanisms to control the retail sector, from transportation and environmental policies which tend to favor certain types of development, to conscious promotion of inner cities through urban renewal programs and zoning ordinances. Despite its potential, however, little continues to be written about public sector retail planning policy. This is confirmed by the virtual studied neglect within the spatial planning literature: despite its uncontested importance to the fabric of the urban environment, planning textbooks often fail to devote a chapter or even a section to retail issues (Cullingworth, 1997). In fact, barring a few exceptions (Davies, 1996; Guy, 1994), little has been heard from academic

circles in this regard. This paper seeks to partially redress this deficiency by examining the mechanisms and ideologies underlying retail development policy in the Netherlands, Germany and the UK.

Developments in the retail sector over the past thirty years have led some authors to proclaim that a “retail revolution” has taken place (Dawson, 1983). The physical manifestation of this can be seen in the proliferation of superstores, retail warehouses, hypermarkets and regional shopping centers, often in out-of-town (i.e. off-center) locations. However, as with all revolutions, some groups clearly reap the benefits, while others do not. A study carried out by Bromley and Thomas (1992) in Swansea, England, for example, has shown that car ownership is the most salient factor for the decision to patronize superstores — almost 70% of car-owning households made their main food purchases at a superstore as opposed to 31% for carless households which remain oriented towards the city center. Services such as teleshopping and free buses seem to only marginally mitigate this disparity (Davies, 1984). Considering that superstores are able to pass on the benefits of inexpensive land prices and economies of scale to their customers, which one study reported could be as high as 20% (Guy and Wrigley, 1987 in Bromley and Thomas, 1992), this places those with access to a car at an economic advantage over the carless, and often less affluent, counterparts. It also adds a social dimension to retail policy and opens up the issue to ideological inquiry.

A second aspect of the “retail revolution” concerns the economic impact of large-scale off-center developments on traditional urban cores. The fear is that these will siphon off the purchasing power of the middle classes and thus further polarize and impoverish the social, cultural and economic landscape of city centers, as had happened previously on a large scale in the United States (Frieden and Sagalyn, 1989). The outmigration of retail functions and expanding economies of scale can profoundly affect smaller businesses which depend on the drawing power of larger establishments, such as department stores, in the vicinity. Moreover, small business organizations often lament the fact that planned shopping centers often exclude independent retailers in favor of established multiples. Even where such centers are built in traditional city centers, the positive effects this has on these businesses, often hailed to be a necessary ingredient

of the urban core's unique flavor, is debatable. Indeed, some traditional centers are becoming increasingly homogeneous in terms of their retail structure as multiples begin to dominate the European market even in these areas (Davies, 1995; Dawson, 1995). These factors also add a normative component to the intersection of retail and land-use policy in which values such as protecting traditional retail structures occupy an uneasy position vis-à-vis economic stimulation and neoliberal noninterventionist ideology (Thornley, 1991).

The public and private sectors in the three countries studied have responded to the retail revolution in largely different ways, which in turn has affected how the new retail trends have been incorporated into the built environment. These responses have also evolved over time. Much of this dynamic can be traced back to specific administrative structures, ideologies, institutional relationships and policy environments which are reproduced (imperfectly) over time (Healey, 1997). This is closely tied to the notion of regimes which do not constitute specific objects but "a set of social relationships that enable and constrain the making of various policies" (Terhorst and van de Ven, 1997, p. 63). Thus, the research will seek to tie the choices made regarding the location and characteristics of retail development to the regime from which these choices emerge in the Netherlands, Germany and UK. Axiomatic to the research is that each country has its own specific set of rules (often written into law), market and policy trends and specific experiences which color the relationships the various actors identified as relevant (developers, local and superlocal governments, etc.) have.

This project will first concentrate on mapping out the institutional context of these developments. More specifically, it must be known: who are the relevant *actors* (stakeholders), what are their *interests*, and what *means* do they have at their disposal to effectuate their desires? In addition, the webs of *relationships* between these actors (e.g. antagonistic, alliances) must be investigated as well as the administrative/legal/traditional backgrounds which constitute their perceived *parameters* for action. The data used will be largely qualitative in nature and will be derived from primary and secondary source material, interviews and possibly a temporary/part-time internship. Furthermore, the time factor is exceedingly important. It is not enough for an explanatory study to simply posit the situation across the different countries at a particular point in time without

addressing the underlying mechanisms which had led up to it. A simple comparison between current Dutch and British retail policy, for example, will show that the former takes a more regulatory stance than the latter. However, this observation discounts the more interesting facts that Britain is now rediscovering retail planning policy, while the Netherlands is beginning to experiment with relaxing its controls. Changes in retail policies, administrative structures, ideology and market forces must all be contextualized to arrive at academically sound conclusions.

This contribution will argue that by understanding the underlying structural developments and the interrelationships between social actors within them, one can begin to explain the differences in retail policy and its impact on spatial development in their varying contexts. The research will identify a select number of regions for each country where major large-scale retail development is taking place for investigation. A provisional selection has already been made for the Netherlands (Villa ArenA area in the Amsterdam metropolitan area), the UK (Bluewater Park in Kent County in Southeast England) and Germany (CentrO in the Ruhr area). These cases will serve as a backdrop to illustrate and deepen the general understanding of the mechanisms involved in retail development.

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# Change of the Urban Periphery: Indicators of Restructuring Existing Spatial Structures

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## *Contents*

The urban development in the last fifty years in Western Europe is characterized by the period of postwar growth, which has provoked the sub- and disurbanisation. The present agglomeration is the result of these processes. This newly developed urban creation is now consolidating and at the same time a process of renewal has begun. This become visible in the increasing need of change, which for example is represented in the growing rate of fallows, costs of renewal for the owners of the buildings but also shown in a more and more small scale and differentiating change of the social structure. In the building investment balance-sheets of Switzerland, in 1989 the costs for urban renewal has forced up the costs for new construction (Wüest and others 1990). But most of these renewal projects take a planless course, in the way for example of facade renovations, modernisations of the ground plans and therefore only short time superficial improvement is produced. Still the demolition rate is less than 0.5 per mille (Wüest and others 1990). And still the urban sprawl of the agglomeration is faster than the population growth. The existing potentials to limit the growth were used inadequately.

For the understanding of the growth processes and the slowly starting restructuring of «the urban» there has to be developed a deeper knowledge of the reasons. The period of urban growth was a result of the fordism, which had its dominant period between 1950 and 1975. The need for land for industrial use in the booming branches and residential areas for the employees exploded the borders of the traditional cities. The urban development moved more and more into the environment, the periphery, deep into the urban hinterland. The following period of structural

change from fordism to a system of flexible accumulation, again led to a changing organisation of work. A growing need for office space is also served with evacuation of town center premises and establishment of new floor space uses in the periphery. The arised urban conglomerate, the agglomeration, is distinguished more and more by the specialized fragmentation of the built and economical structures. Next to each other you find shopping malls, industrial and residential areas, fragments of recreation zones and a space-intensive labyrinth of highways, streets and rails (cf. Krätke 1991)

In the period of consolidation of our towns, the spatial growth of the agglomerations could not be decelerated as much as possible with the existing planning strategies and instruments. This project started on the thesis, that the lack of success of the ongoing planning is last but not least based on the insufficient interpretation of the urban change. Important processes of change run independent of planning interventions (e.g. through the change of economical structures, life-style or technologies). Regarding particularly the areas built up in the period between 1970 and 1990, one could recognize distinct dimensions of change in the existing urban structure. There seems to be different renewal speeds and percentages characterizing the urban change. It could be supposed, that there are territories with higher and lower stability for the change of their built and spatial structures. Therefore a successful planning has to exploit the potentials for urban change.

### ***Goals***

With this project a contribution to the knowledge of urban change is supposed to be achieved. The focus of the field studies is urban structure from 1940 to 1970. The need for change in these structures could not be compared with the traditional renewal of inner city areas in the 1970s and 1980s. A high percentage of the built structure from this postwar period already (after a short period of time) shows construction defects, an overcapacitance in some fields of infrastructure, etc. The urban change should not only aim at keeping the values in the existing structures, but also, providing new ideas for the urban future. An ongoing search for new identities on the local and communal scale simultaneously lead to regional and global effects for the society and the economical structures, which requires an advance estimation of possible development potentials.

In order to be able to predict the future change, certain factors like the prices of land, owner structure, age structure of the buildings has to be recognized. Through these limited number of indicators, potentials for urban change are to be located immediately. In this survey the impact of single indicators as well as the interaction between different indicators has to be considered.

As a basis for the practical use of the knowledge about the urban change, the application and use of the indicators of urban change as a part of existing planning instruments is to be evaluated.

### ***Relevance for planning knowledge***

With such an understanding of urban change, not only a single desirable condition could be characterized, but also strategies for the process to reach this situation could be set. The need of research was demonstrated in the research project SYNOIKOS (Baccini und Oswald 1998) at the ETH Zurich. The chapter of "Changing habits - a guide to the restructuring scenario for the activity to reside" (Kytzia, Friedrich, v. Fischer 1998) shows potentials, which resulted in the long term process of restructuring. The evidence have shown, that it is possible to save energy of 35% per person in 2020, compared to the maintenance costs of the buildings in 1990, without an economical loss for the tenant and the owner. In order to achieve this energy-saving, measures have to be taken. New structural relations in different scales are to compensate for the economical loss of tenants and owners. The project does not propose solutions, but tries to show strategies in form of scenarios and "rules of the game" that structure the transformation process to a sustainable urban future. This enable more flexibility according to the alteration of the political, economical and social preconditions.

Considering the restructuring process not only as a combination of small scale and independent implementation of the redevelopment projects, to keep the value of the existing buildings, but also as a process, which restructures in the next two generations about 70% of the existing buildings. According to this process, the total urban network and the consumption of resources is mainly influenced. We have to improve an empirical and methodological fundamental knowledge for the planning practice about the change of existing urban structures. The existing knowledge of indicators, which concentrates on the renewal of the traditional city (nucleus of the city and

"Gründerzeitviertel") and urban models to explain city development are consulted as basic information (see Jacobs 1977, Vernon 1966, Nijkamp/Schubert 1965). The elaborate and descriptive analysis or complex mathematical models often explain only individual aspects of the town development or the models are not operational for the planning practice. The agglomeration as urban network is influenced by global effects as well as by a multiplicity of specific decisions and spatial conditions. For that reason, a quality oriented analysis and an evaluation is selected to find a praxis oriented restructuring strategy.

Present planning instruments consider the process of urban change only inadequately. The approach with indicators could be a first step of a new definition and extension of existing instruments, which give more free space for future development and is more flexible to react to the changing conditions.

### ***Research methodology***

Processes of change could be shown through the land (policies and prices), buildings, infrastructures, patterns of urban use, different types of owners and the functional-spatial relations. With this hypothesis, this project is organised in four methodological steps:

**1. step:** A selection of indicators is chosen to describe the processes presented above. The methods are literature research and interviews with the experts.

**2. step:** On the basis of case studies of urban change in Zurich, analysis are made with the help of the indicators (or urban change). A typology of the relevant survey territories will be proposed according to the land-use structure, the location and the socio-economic structure as a basis for the indicator analysis. In comparison with the theoretical outcome of the first step with a qualitative estimation of the significance and the interaction of the indicators, and their relevance for urban change, are studied. The data basis is built on historical maps, digitalized spatial data from the census and the building statistics concerning renovation periods, social structure, age of the buildings and commuter network patterns.

**3. step:** Possible development strategies for the reconstruction of the urban network are designed for the case studies.

**4. step:** Existing planning instruments are questioned whether they are appropriate for handling urban change or to support the development strategies. In order to support the existing planning instruments, with this new approach, interconnecting states are observed.

### **State of research**

The project extends over a period of three years. It is divided in four working periods (registration of the PhD project at the ETH Zürich, Department of Architecture in October 1998) In the first period the disciplinary topics are evaluated. The case study research in Zurich is going to be prepared and implemented. The preparation and realisation of the second case study in Stuttgart will be based on the first one. The elaboration and finishing of the results from the Zurich example, will be part of the second period. The third period is concentrated on the elaboration of the different parts of the project and the design of the strategies. In the last phase the selected strategies for urban development are examined according to the existing planning instruments. Half of this period is reserved to produce the thesis.

Because of the short period of work until now, there are no concrete results. A first typological grouping of areas in Zurich is started. In the topic of land and building economics, the literature research is nearly finished and a group of indicators is specified. At the presentation in July, the first results will be displayed.

The advisor of this work is Prof. Franz Oswald, Chair of architecture and urban design on the ORL-Institute, ETH-Zurich the Co-advisor is Prof. Dr. Johann Jessen, University of Stuttgart, Institute for urban design.

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## Institutional Potential of Housing Cooperatives for Low Income Households: The Case of India

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Several countries have often considered Housing Cooperatives as a third sector alternative to the public and private sector for low-income housing (1). They emphasize different roles of the cooperative; for example, as tenant management organizations that replace public housing management (2); as community based and self-help organizations (3); or as vehicles for group credit (4). The cooperative organizations have also obtained preferential treatment (e.g. subsidies, land allocation, etc.) based on the rationale that they benefit low-income households (5). However, there is scarce literature on the institutional capacity of the cooperatives to serve low-income households and the conditions under which they do serve such households. As the experience of the housing cooperatives in New York, Sweden, Turkey, and India indicate, they serve a range of income groups, and they may or may not reach the lower income strata.

This paper examines the organizational potential of the cooperatives to indeed provide housing to low-income households, and the institutional conditions under which the potential is achieved. The examination is based on the Indian context, using the three cities of Bombay, New Delhi, and Madras as empirical basis. Although the study is based in India, it offers broader lessons for housing policy on the role of collective organizations like cooperatives for low-income housing. The study is especially germane in the present context when international agencies are emphasizing an *enabling* approach to housing (6).

The examination is done by a comparative institutional analysis of the Housing Cooperatives in the three cities. There are two dimensions affecting the functioning of the cooperatives: (i) the internal governance features of the cooperative (e.g. management), and (ii) the external institutional framework (e.g. laws, policies). As a collective organization, the cooperative has several features that potentially aid low-income households; chief among them are pooling of

resources, economy of scale, self-management, and community action. Yet, these features may not be achieved due to collective action problems endemic to the collective (7). Also, as Bonus (1986) argues, the cooperative is characterized by a precarious equilibrium between the member's benefits of being in the collective (*centripetal* forces) and the benefits of independent operation (*centrifugal* forces). Further, the external institutional framework may or may not support the formation and functioning of housing cooperatives. In an enabling framework, the transaction costs of the operation of the cooperatives would be lower, thus allowing them to reach further down the income categories. A supportive external framework would also help in resolving some of the internal problems that arise in the collective.

In India, housing policies have consistently extended preferential treatment to cooperative organizations. The regnant ideology of democratic socialism for over four decades since Independence favored the development of collective organizations like the cooperatives. Housing Cooperatives were given preferential treatment in terms of allocation of government land, credit and other subsidies (e.g. easier interest rates, exemption from certain duties, etc.) based on the rationale that they serve low-income households (7). However, low-income households have benefited to different degrees in the three cities. While the cooperatives are most effective in Bombay, they are least effective in Madras; in New Delhi, they have been moderately effective. In Bombay, the cooperatives are used for a wide range of activities (self-help housing, group credit, women's cooperatives, slum-dweller's cooperatives, etc.) and serve a wide range of income groups, from low to high income. In New Delhi, they are predominantly tenant owned cooperatives and serve middle income households; experimental New Multipurpose Cooperative Societies have been formed in slums since in the last decade. In Madras, the housing cooperatives are predominantly housing finance cooperatives that serve middle income households.

The comparative study holds at least three lessons for housing policy. First, at the organizational level, as recognized by much of the housing literature, cooperatives perform a range of functions that can potentially aid low-income households. They can be tenant managed organizations, housing finance cooperatives, or housing construction cooperatives. However, the key feature is

that the benefits of joining the cooperative should outweigh the benefit of independent acquisition of housing i.e. the costs of obtaining housing through the cooperative should be less than the costs of obtaining it through the market. In Bombay and New Delhi, the real estate market is such that obtaining formal housing through the cooperative is economic. Comparatively, the real estate market in Madras offers less incentive for forming cooperatives; they are used to obtain housing finance.

Second, the development of an institutional structure supporting cooperatives lowers the transaction costs involved in the formation and functioning of cooperatives. While there is an elaborate institutional structure supporting cooperatives in Bombay and New Delhi, it is almost non-existent in Madras. The District Cooperative Association in Bombay and New Delhi aids the tenant cooperative societies by providing financial, legal, administrative, and procedural support. The reduction in transaction costs through such support has helped the cooperatives reach low-income households in Bombay. The housing authority in Bombay and many non-governmental organizations use the cooperative as a vehicle to form groups for the provision of low-income housing (8). In Delhi, the history of housing cooperatives is much shorter, and have recently started to benefit slum-dwellers on an experimental basis.

Third, minimal regulations on the functions of cooperatives allow them to engage in a diverse range of activities that aid low-income households in multifarious ways. In Bombay, while housing cooperatives originated as tenure based organizations, the minimal regulations have allowed them to organize specialized collective organizations for group lending and self-help among low-income women, and pavement and slum dwellers. Similarly, in New Delhi, experimental multi purpose cooperative societies have been formed among slum-dwellers for group lending and collective action. In Madras, excessive government intervention through the Tamil Nadu Cooperative Societies Act restricted the activity of cooperatives to housing finance, which has benefited middle income households; low-income households have hardly benefited from the cooperatives.

*Notes:*

- (1) See Bengtsson (1995) for Sweden; Werborg (1996) for Denmark; Koschinsky (1998) for the United States.
- (2) See Rohe (1995) for the experience of conversion of public housing into cooperatives in the United States; Clapham and Kintrea (1994) for similar experience in Scotland.
- (3) See Vakil (1996), Meffert (1992), Cooperative Housing Foundation (1993) for the role of cooperatives as self-help organizations in Zimbabwe, Mexico, and Central America respectively
- (4) See Patel and D'Cruz (1993) for how women's cooperatives of pavement dwellers are used for extension of group credit in Bombay.
- (5) Turkey (Pamuk 1993), India, and Sweden (Bengtsson 1992) are good examples of this.
- (6) The United Nations adopted the enabling approach in its Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000; following that World Bank (1993) also endorsed this approach. See Pugh (1994) for the evolution of the enabling approach.
- (7) See Olson (1965) for how group size and selective incentives matter to achieve collective action; also see Hardin (1982).
- (8) For example, housing in the Sites and Services schemes in Bombay were allocated on a cooperative tenure basis after the beneficiaries were formed into cooperatives of 30-35 households. NGOs like Mahila Milan and YUVA also use the cooperative as an instrument for forming pavement dwellers and slum-dwellers into cooperatives for collective action and group credit.

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## **Economic-Geographical Aspects of Development of International Tourism in Bulgaria**

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Bulgaria is one of the South-eastern European countries, in which the tourist activity in the last years has developed substantially. The economic-geographical study of recreational resources and economic activity and the evaluation of their rational usage in Bulgaria may have practical significance for consideration of organizational-methodical problems of realization of the recreational potential in Azerbaijan. I have for this reason undertaken an investigation of the Bulgarian tourist industry, aiming at a comparative evaluation of the tourist potentialities of Azerbaijan.

Bulgaria possesses favourable recreational resources. The premises for development of seaside recreation are significant. Of the 378 kms. of the Black Sea coast in Bulgaria about 100 kms. have beaches with quartz sands. The northern and central parts of the coast are specially well endowed with beaches of considerable size. The general beach areas constitute 7 million. sq. meters, and with allowance for 16 million sq. meters of dunes this roughly accounts for the ability of the Bulgarian coasts to accept in a season (120-150 days) 5-6 million visitors, and in the peak weeks 0.7-0.9 million people recreating on the coast. The recreational resources of the inland regions in Bulgaria have been utilized to a much lesser degree than the seaside, though in Bulgaria there are good conditions for development of inland tourism as well; 28.2 % of the country's territory are mountains, from which 2,5 % are in a high-mountainous belt higher than 1600 m. above sea level. The duration of the possible recreation season in the mountains constitutes 210-240 days, making a profit of the needed infrastructure investments reasonably secure. In Bulgaria there is an impressive material and technical basis for tourism. But this material and technical basis have a rather uneven geographical distribution, about 60 % is concentrated in the seaside districts, the

concentration in large resort complexes is characteristic such as : 'Golden sands', 'Albena', 'Sunny beaches ' etc. According to the forecasts, in year 2000 the number of hotel rooms on the coast will reach 470 thousand.

The inland health resorts have till now developed more slowly. At present there are three health resorts of international significance: 'Pomporovo' in eastern Rodops, 'Borovetc' in the northern parts of Rilla and the complex 'Aleco' on mountain Vitosha near Sofia. Characteristically, the large part of inland health resorts of Bulgaria are located in a forest belt from 1000 up to 1600 m. above sea level. The resource base of balneological tourism totals more than 30 thousand beds.

The tourist flow into the country is significant. In 1990 4,5 million tourists came from foreign countries, whereas in 1995 Bulgaria were visited by 3,5 million. Despite the reduction in the of number of tourists, the currency receipts from tourism grew. In 1990 these receipts constituted US \$320 million., and in 1995 US \$475 million. The basic problem in planning the development of international tourism is the considerable remoteness of Bulgaria from the main tourist flows of Europe, which pass meridional and concentrate around the Mediterranean sea. The policy of price control is indispensable for maintaining competitiveness, which need to take into account a conjuncture of the tourist market. It is as well necessary to promote a broad advertising propagation of the Bulgarian health resorts abroad. The seasonal prevalence prolongs to remain one of the not solved problems of tourism in Bulgaria. To promote a more broad usage of mineral spas and balneal resources, there is a need for construction of basins with warm water, creation of padding entertaining services etc., in coastal as well as in mountain areas. A better rational usage of recreational resources could be promoted, for instance, by development of winter skiing facilities and in summer of hiking tourism. If the problem of seasonal prevalence in tourism is leveled off, the problems of shortage of qualified labour forces are simultaneously solved also.

The main reason for the fact that Azerbaijan does not use its tourist potential with greater efficiency, consists, apart from factual economic and political conditions, largely on a lack of a basic understanding and analyses of the substance and significance of such a many-sided

phenomenon as international tourism. The purpose of my research is to promote a better understanding in my country of tourism as an activity through the analysis of problems and tendencies of Bulgarian tourism. I will analyse the premises and prospects for the development and effect of international tourism in Bulgaria in spheres of economy, social, cultural and political life through the development of international contacts, all the time including the comparative conditions which at present is prevalent in Azerbaijan. Development of a fundamental theory for the complex research of the recreational environment of Bulgaria is as well needed with the purpose first of all to promote a methodological understanding of their experiences, in order to develop of a better territorial organization of recreational activity in Azerbaijan.

In the PhD project, assembling information on the development of international tourism in Bulgaria, the character of the recreational resources are evaluated and the type of related tourism analysed. The factors promoting and accelerating development of tourism are considered, namely what is supporting a high economical efficiency, effective development of the material and technical base, the progressive development of the transport facilities etc. The recreational regionalization of the national territory is analysed for its positive and negative effects. On the basis of available literature, statistics and other material concerning the development of tourism, the research has included a number of stages:

- analysis of the state of the art of recreational theory;
- quantitative and qualitative estimation of recreation resources;
- analyses of present and perspective requirements of the foreign tourists for different kinds of service;
- analysis of existing recreational networks and its implementation up to a level of Territorial Recreations System (TRS);
- development of the scientific bases for the creation of a spatial recreational system for problem solving of planning and projection within regions for tourism and recreation;
- elaboration of perspectives for the development and accommodation of recreational economy under new conditions (market economy).

The analyses so far has provided results in the following fields:

- the socio-economic, demographic and economic-geographical spatially differentiating factors of formation and development of recreational requirements in Bulgaria are revealed. The state is appreciated and the forecast for recreational activity is presented;
- the estimation of recreational resources of Bulgaria, based on method Delfi - most by a modern method of an expert estimation, and an estimation of the variety of the natural environment in Bulgaria for recreational activity is conducted by usage of a method called 'vortclav's taxonomy'. The types RS of recreation and tourism are selected. For each of the types the appropriate recreational cycle is determined;
- the small-scale zoning of Bulgaria is conducted in the following sequence: a) the natural-recreational attractions of each territory of country are determined; b) potential attractions of actual usage for recreation is compared; c) distribution of attractions of the regions and areas of heightened requirements for recreation are compared. As a result spatial regulation of recreational-resources regions are proposed. The recreational regions with the most valuable resources and favourable provisions, are revealed as objects for European integration.

A result of the conducted research has been the creation of a complex scientific presentation of the recreational environment of Bulgaria with use of theoretical and practical principles of recreational geography and methods of social - geographical investigation of the integrated recreational environments of the country. The theoretical development of recreational geography were connected to areal studies of Bulgaria.

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## **Local Economic Development in Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods**

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### ***Abstract***

Until today, urban renewal and regeneration strategies have not managed to reverse the processes of social exclusion and economic segregation. Still, people living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods have fewer options to improve their quality of life than the mainstream resident. Individual problems remain in spite of all efforts to improve social conditions by physical upgrading and improved public services. One of the most important causes is unemployment. There is an obvious need for local economic development (LED) in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, which has been recognised throughout Europe.

The Swedish Government relies on the economic growth in small and medium sized enterprises to solve the unemployment crisis. At the local level, in municipalities and city districts, it will become necessary to promote these enterprises to contribute effectively to economic growth and to reduce unemployment. Being a neglected area, there is a great need for knowledge about local economy and its impacts on the social conditions. Strategies aiming at local economic development have the potential to reach beyond the creation of job occasions. The image of a neighbourhood is very important in regeneration projects and can be positively influenced by LED strategies. Further, LED approaches have the potential to provide residents with the self-confidence, knowledge and skills to enter the ordinary labour market.

The responsibility for urban renewal lies with a number of organisations. A common situation is that there is a municipal or regional political body (local authorities). In addition, there might be

one or several organisations involved in local economic strategies e.g. housing companies, consultants, schools, businesses, or organisations set up for specific development purpose. These actors and the relations between them are all important. Further, it has become increasingly important to acknowledge the local residents as main stakeholders. The focus in this study is on the role of, and interrelations between, authorities, housing companies, and residents.

### ***Objective***

The study aims at exploring new approaches within the field of local economic development. The focus will be on a) best practices in European countries and b) current literature discussing local economic development. Important issues to be dealt with are: What strategies are local authorities and other organisations implementing to improve local economic, physical and social conditions? Are local economic development strategies creating an added value? How effective are they? Are the policies relevant in comparison with the dimensions of the problem? How do different institutional and organisational structures and interrelationships condition the effectiveness of local economic development initiatives?

### ***Research Methodology***

The empirical background is case studies from six European countries made in 1998 within the framework of the research project Evaluation of Socio-Economic Strategies in European Neighbourhoods (ELSES). The method used in these case studies is a combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection. In-depth interviews have been carried out with about 30 politicians, local stakeholders, project leaders and beneficiaries in each country (giving access to approx. 180 interviews). Longitudinal statistical data has been collected in a common format, reflecting the socio-economic conditions in the case study areas over time. Complementary sources will be used to broaden the empirical material i.e. research reports and evaluations. The theoretical framework will include theories regarding Social Exclusion, Collaborative Planning, Local Economic Development, Community Development and Neighbourhood Regeneration.

### ***Current state of research***

Currently the preparation of the second main part i.e. the trans-national comparison is carried out. This is being done after one year of collecting data about local economic development in the six

participating countries; Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, France and Scotland. Having the national interim reports gives a broad base for the comparative work and a critical discussion. It also rises some questions about transferability. Some obstacles recognised so far are the different political and institutional structures in European countries and the complexity in problems dealing with peoples' well being. Further, a major obstacle has arisen when trying to obtain relevant bibliographic information, namely references for a theoretical discussion.

### *Some preliminary results*

Local Economic Development Strategies have impact on the local conditions; a) peoples' possibilities to enter the labour market are increased, b) the image of the neighbourhood is improved, and c) participants consider the initiatives essential for their personal and professional success. Several of the studied approaches focus on human resource development or business development. These approaches often have an outspoken objective about providing the participants with qualifications and skills to enter the labour market and thereby stabilising their socio-economic situation. The participants' assessments of the project impacts have been positive.

Strategies with a business development approach have shown to have considerable impact on the image of the neighbourhood. It has provided many non-local residents with a reason to go to the area, and then discover that it is not as bad as its reputation. At least in Sweden, a main problem for disadvantaged neighbourhoods has been the slandering processes going on at the 'outside'. Increasing the exchange between the neighbourhood and the 'outside' change peoples attitudes.

There is a great potential in the undeveloped entrepreneurial spirit in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. A large part of the residents have a background in business, but are not familiar with their new country's system and have not received enough support to get a new business going. Adopting new approaches, focused on this potential has been very successful. There are many business ideas, networks and people with glowing energy in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods that has not been recognised by previous strategies. Further development within this field will provide new possibilities to change the local conditions both at the individual and the neighbourhood level.

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## Urban Planning and Negotiations - Social Housing and Ethnicity

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The research project began in 1996, with a case study in one of the most distressed neighbourhoods in one of the largest cities in France, Marseille. The inhabitants of this neighbourhood have now been relocated to new housing for low income families, near the apartment complex which has been studied in the second case study in the last year. This apartment complex of social housing is currently being demolished. Therefore, its inhabitants, as the tenants of the other case study complex must be rehoused. The current research focuses on rehousing, planning policies, participative negotiations and ethnicity. Each of these concepts have been carefully elaborated in my research since I started on the project. This will be the focus of the presentation at the Ph.D. Workshop, while giving a historical description of the main theme of my thesis: urban planning and negotiations.

### *The main topic : urban planning and negotiations.*

While studying the demolition of the distressed neighborhood in the first case study, the primary goal was to understand how people would react to an urban planning operation; in this instance, the destruction and relocation of their homes. The research began with an investigation of the social and ethnic backgrounds of the inhabitants. It was found that the residents all came from the same village in Kabylie (an eastern region of Algeria). Their employers in Marseille had not provided them with housing, only a small piece of land near the industrial plants at which they were working. Therefore, they were forced to build simple houses for themselves and their families to live in, which formed what could be described as a shanty town. Through the economic, urban and social transformations, closure of factories, loss of jobs etc., these families have had to endure increasing social exclusion and persecution. This exclusion and intense

poverty within the community resulted in the complete isolation of the neighborhood, which in turn, has become a racially segregated part of the city.

Beginning with this acquired knowledge, the research commenced with studying the effects on the lives of the residents of the urban planning operation, i.e. the demolition of the «shanty town» and relocation of its inhabitants. However, after meeting with the families and discussing the rehousing issues, it was discovered that in addition to their concern for the disruptions to be caused to their day to day lives, the inhabitants were equally concerned with the negotiations which were being held in order to complete the project; *negociations* which were determining how, where and when the residents were being relocated. The question of *empowerment* of the local residents thus became an obvious matter of concern, although the group of people were definitely at the lower end of the social ladder. But they did not like to be «planned for», they wanted to take part in the process.

As a result of these findings, the topic of this thesis is now: "Urban planning negotiations". Within this main theme several subtopics such as, social housing and ethnicity will be addressed. It will be shown that although ethnicity plays a strong role in social identity, community, location and space seem to have an equally strong affect.

### ***Relevance of planning knowledge.***

The two case studies which have been chosen are both characterized by *social housing*. In each case, one can observe the extreme social sensitivity which is necessary in all forms of urban planning. The question of urban development encompasses many trying issues such as, poverty, ethnicity and spatial, economic and political exclusion. When discussing an urban development project, these issues, along with the question of how people will react must be taken into account. The possibility of harnessing and channelling the energy of the people may be realized only through open communication, understanding and mutual respect. This is easier said than done. Currently, the French inner-cities are built around a complexity which is misunderstood and unknown to social and political workers. Therefore, the only way to truly develop these areas is to take the time and effort to understand the people who inhabit them. This would require extensive

community outreach in which the government representatives are building relationships with the people and through which an exchange of trust and understanding can develop. This idea of community based development is quite new in France, and means that local authorities (political or institutional) will have to face new ways of *negociation* with, and *empowerment* of, people living in those areas.

When discussing community based development, the question of *ethnicity* must also be considered. The differences between reactions which stem from ethnical issues must be distinguished from those which stem from social and spatial issues. However, the influence which the one has on the other must also be taken into account. In France, the term ethnicity is quite new and is thus, often misunderstood. It has just recently entered the political and scientific vocabulary. Also, French sociology has been silent about its definition and use. The first elaboration of the concept ethnicity came from the American School of Sociology in Chicago.

#### ***Research Methodology.***

These main topics will be studied through the two chosen case studies; the Kabyle neighborhood and the apartment complex.

In order to complete this task, "living research" will be necessary. This means that social outreach and on site interviewing will be conducted. Actual inquiries started in February 1999, after a long period of on site preparation. Much time was needed to be accepted as a researcher in the neighbourhoods and to become integrated into both the lives of the inhabitants and into the local political systems. This preparatory phase in the research process is crucial for this and future studies of this kind.

#### ***Stage of research.***

When this was written, the preparatory research was in its final stages and the information which had been gathered over the last year was used to prepare the interviewing process. The thesis and target topics had been defined and on site interviewing began in the spring 1999.

***Major obstacles***

One of the most important requirements in this study is time. The need for time and patience is encountered at every stage. For example, it is only now, after two years of research that the title of this study is able to take form.

Apart from the need for time, one of the major problems faced in this study is the need to be integrated and trusted by the inhabitants which are being studied and by the institutions with which one must negotiate. The interviewees are often sceptical and hesitant to give personal information to outsiders, while the public institutions require extensive personal information to accept research of data files in each case study.

Further complicating the situation are the topics of investigation, themselves. In the above described case studies, subjects such as ethnicity, poverty and segregation are addressed, all of which are considered highly sensitive issues. Institutions often resist to address these topics, while the people living in the case study areas fear disclosing the truth.

***Preliminary results.***

The scientific and political debate over ethnicity raises many questions. For instance : Does ethnicity exist ? Why and how can ethnicity be discussed ? Is it a cultural state or a social process? What is the role of the French society in the understanding of ethnicity ? What are the interests in and the fears of this word's effect on the development of research and on public policies ?

This study aims to discover the effect of ethnicity on negotiations of social housing planning. What we often mis-categorize as "ethnic" situations seem to be more realistically expressions of social and spatial identities and exclusion. The influence of ethnicity is only one aspect of the complex social dynamics which exist in these neighborhoods.

Ethnicity is defined not only by cultural heritage, but also by one's interpretations of customs and beliefs. The word ethnicity encompasses both cultural and social influences and is the result of one's interpretations of such influences.

## **Migration, Place and Identity**

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### ***Introduction***

This project investigates relations between identity and place in a context of migration. The development of what has been called the multicultural society has introduced new perspectives on how we can describe and analyse space and its relation to identity. Places can not be described in one form only, but have to include several forms. The project period is from July 1998 to July 2002.

The project derives from a perspective where people with immigrant backgrounds, migrants, non migrants and people from different generations are viewed as cultural and social agents. The empirical ground for the study is Kristiansand, a town in the south of Norway with approximately 70.000 inhabitants. The empirical basis for the study is interviews with individuals, most of them with different ethnic backgrounds, about social practices, biographical life histories and educational background.

Through this, the project aims at contributing to a greater theoretical insight into and discussion of the relationship between place and identity. It also aims at giving greater insight into different constructions of place and how space in different ways is a part of everyday life, and especially in the perspective of a multicultural society. The meaning of place and its location in different meaning-contexts is seen in relation to identity and identity projects and identity works. The main questions in the project are therefore how different meanings of Kristiansand as a place are constituted and how this meaning is related to identity.

In the following I will discuss the ontological basis and the three main concepts in this project, namely meaning, identity and place.

### *Constitution of meaning*

Meaning might be understood as an order we try to build and create in our everyday life. In this perspective meaning is tied to the subject and to every individual's attempt to create a meaningful life for themselves. We might say that this is a "Cartesian intellectualism, with its understanding of being as a belief system implicit in the minds of individual subjects" (Thrift 1996: 9). This implies that we also have as many different meanings as we have different people. But it is also possible to see meaning as social, as tied to social practices, to the material and to individuals, without Cartesian individualism.

This is what Mead (1934) does when he says that meaning is a result of social communicative processes. For Mead, meaning is not ideas and notions that is given or fixed, but is rather produced, reproduced and changed in a social communicative process. Meaning is then seen as cultural constructions and discourse. Like Wittgenstein (1953), Mead also views language as always connected to the entire non-linguistic field of social behaviour and social interaction. Words and gestures, then, largely derive their meaning from their connection to social meanings, and the meaning is independent of the intentions of individuals considered as singular entities (Burkitt 1991). Meaning provides therefore meaningful action and experience, or in Schutz' (1967) term a "stock of knowledge". Here Schutz (ibid.) distinguishes between "common stock of knowledge" that is intersubjective and "biographical stock of knowledge".

This concept of meaning is understood in connection with experience, practice, discourse and interpreting behaviour. The next question is how this concept of meaning might be connected to place and space in order to understand how Kristiansand is constituted in different ways.

### *Place and the spatial*

Hetherington (1997) shows that space has become one of the central issues for contemporary social theorists. From the debate in the new cultural geography he shows that space and place are not treated as sets of relations outside of society and human lives, but are implied in production of

the social relations and the human lives. Second, he shows that space and place are seen to be situated in relations of power, and third, space and place are seen to be multiple and contested. According to the outline of the concept of meaning in this project, the meaning of place and space is therefore part of social processes where it is produced, reproduced and are changing through the social discourse and through social practices (Entrikin 1991, Shields 1991, Sack 1992, Massey 1994, Simonsen 1995).

From this we see that the spatial has a social dimension. Ontologically, according to Werlen (1993), human action has a social, a subjective and a physical or material dimension. All these three "worlds" are interrelated to each other. For Werlen (ibid.) this means that if we want to investigate space and place, we have to investigate human action, because human action is spatially situated in social, material and subjective worlds.

Another dimension I find important in this project where I investigate how meaning of place is constituted and contested in contexts of migration, is the symbolic dimension of place. Here the communicative and interpersonal concept of meaning from Mead (1934) will be helpful, and Charles Peirce's concept of semiotic processes between different actors' interpretations and communication, their use of signs and their relations with the material and social worlds by use of signs and practice (see for example Singer 1984).

Massey and Jess (1995) use the word "activity space", to indicate how social and material practices are part of the constituting processes of space. Practices with symbolic meaning constitute space with symbolic meaning. In these processes might some activities be excluded from others. Or seen in another way, like Shields (1991) shows, how certain places attain a particular mythological and symbolic meaning of marginality as a product of social practices and discourses. This social construction of the spatial is at the level of the social imaginary as well as it is spatial practices.

From this, Kristiansand is not one place with one given content of meaning. Instead we might say that Kristiansand is part of different meaning-systems and is located in different meaning-

contexts by social groups and individuals. These meaning-contexts, the constitution of them and the relation between them are the subjects to be analysed in this project. This constitution of place is here seen in relation to identity-projects. The next question is how we can understand identity and relations between place and identity.

### *Place and identity*

The project aims to show how space is a part of identity in different ways, and how this is important in the investigation of contexts of migration. In the process of constitution of meaning, Mead (1934) says that the same process also constitute a consciousness about the self. Mead makes a distinction between an inner dialog within the self and an outer dialog with significant others. In this reflexive process, identity is formed. The question is which role space and place play in these dialogues. Identity is by this not a fixed and resistant product, but is in change over time, and is best understood as projects and works. This concept of identity also overcome simplistic approaches, especially towards immigrant youths, as “placed between two cultures” (Ålund1991). Instead, new meaning arise, and in this process the self is reflexively.

In these communicative processes between inner and outer dialogues different actions are relevant in the investigation of relations between identity and place. According to Werlen (1993), action has a spatial dimension. The self, through its body and through action, has a spatial dimension, and this spatial dimension is an essential part in identity projects (see Hetherington 1998). We have to ask how this spatial dimension plays a part in identity work in multicultural contexts. More specifically we might relate this dimension to housing, to life-planning and life styles (Giddens 1991), to what people do in their spare time, their work and so on.

One final perspective on identity is from Giddens (1991). Giddens sees self-identity connected to biography. “It is the self as reflexively understood by the persons in terms of her or his biography” (ibid.: 53). If we see this in connection to Schutz’ (1967) concept of “stock of knowledge”, we might say that contemporary spatially situated practices have background in previous practices in the lifespan and might be related to other practices that is spatially situated another place. In a context of migration we might ask how migrants use their stock of knowledge

in a new spatial context. Or more specifically we might ask what kind of role does place play in the production of biography in the multicultural context of migration in Kristiansand.

### *Methodology and methods*

To investigate the main questions in this project I will use the concepts outlined above together with layactors concepts of their own world in what Giddens (1976) called a "double hermeneutics". Through interviewes I will focus on lay actors categories and practices in their everyday life. I will also study local discourses about for example conflicts about landuse and use of public space in the city. Who participate, what are the arguments, which symbols are in use and so one are set of questions I might ask. Here I will use the semiotic approach from Charles Peirce to investigate how actors use and interpret signs pragmatic in communication in their everyday life.

To reach young people I will use school essays and then have some interviewes with these youths about what they have written. Biographical interviewes are used to investigate what kind of role place does play in the production of biography, and especially in context of migration.

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# The Impact Of State Of The Environment Reports On Local Government Spatial Plans: A Comparative Study Of The South West Of England And The Brandenburg-Berlin Region Germany.

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As a scientific, educational and democratic basis for environmental planning, state of the environment reporting is recognised within the European Union as a key tool for realising sustainable development and Local Agenda 21. State of the environment reports (SoERs) assimilate disparate sources of data about local environmental conditions into a unified document and have been produced by local authorities in the UK on a voluntary basis since 1989 (Jacobs 1991). If updated on a regular basis, the reports facilitate spatial and temporal identification and monitoring of the areas of serious environmental concern within a local authority's jurisdiction. This provides a basis for environmental planning, evaluating local authority environmental management policies and if appropriately designed can also be an accessible and educational source of public information regarding the local environment. The German equivalent of the SoER is the *Landschaftsplan* (Landscapeplan). This is produced with the same intention of monitoring and reporting on the condition of the local environment over time and determining the capacities and limits of natural resources so that these can be used as the basis of land-use decisions in the *Flächennutzungsplan* (development plan) (Gruehn & Kenneweg 1998). Although local government interest and involvement in environmental reporting is high, there is evidence both in the UK and German literature that environmental reports are failing to make any significant impact on the plan-making process. According to Counsell (1998) for example, whilst 64.8% of planning authorities in England and Wales had undertaken a strategic environmental assessment of their structure plan, only 29.6% had based this on a state of the environment report.

Research in Germany by Gruehn & Kenneweg (1998) conclude similarly that information regarding environmental limits contained within the *Landschaftsplan* is insufficiently integrated into development plans. The purpose of the research is to identify and evaluate reasons for the poor integration between environmental reports and local authority spatial plans. It is hoped that this will contribute to the development of a best practice methodology for SoER so that data regarding environmental capacities can be fully integrated into local authority plans.

Within this broad purpose three aims can be identified: Firstly to test the adequacy of state of the environment reports produced by local authorities in the south west of England and Brandenburg-Berlin Germany against internationally recognised best practice criteria. Secondly to evaluate the extent to which the information in state of the environment reports is being integrated into spatial plans in the two regions. Thirdly to identify and evaluate the reasons why SoERs are failing to make an impact on plans.

It is hoped that the cross-national comparative dimension to this research will give fresh insight into how the methodology for state of environment reports can be improved by showing how environmental reporting is managed by local government in different cultural/political contexts. The research will focus on the influence that the report production process has on the level of integration between reports and plans and will consider factors such as who comprise the participants in the report production process, level of consultation with other stakeholders i.e. planners and the public, level of resource commitment to report production, degree to which report production is linked to policy objectives, methodology used and how derived. These in turn will be considered in the context of political and institutional factors such as the existence and quality of national government guidelines/regulations, general level of national government commitment to environmental reporting and how that is expressed e.g. financially/through training/other kinds of support, structure of the planning system and how this impacts for e.g. on environmental management in general. Research to date has tended to focus only on the SoERs themselves. Raemaekers' (1993) is the only UK research which quantifies local government production of SoERs. His work also gives a cursive evaluation of report quality. Campbell & Maclaren (1995) consider barriers to the widespread implementation of SoER in Canada. They

conclude that limited staff and financial resources together with a lack of well-developed indicators, lack of environmental data and generally poor SoER methodology are the most significant factors in preventing the implementation of SoER. The main focus of attention of research on methodology has been on difficulties associated with developing indicators. Research in this area is still in its infancy and proposals for a universal set of indicators are highly contested. Conacher (1998) for example highlights the difficulties in producing indicators which reflect not just static properties of the environment but also processes and mechanisms. Selman (1994) makes the most detailed consideration of the report production process. In particular he considers the influence that the extent to which report production is a collaborative process influences the quality and style of report produced. Innes (1990) has conducted extensive research into the circumstances in which knowledge is most likely to have an impact upon policy. Her research was mainly in the context of indicators for social policy although she has also considered the role of information in the environmental impact assessment process. She considers the extent to which; policy objectives are considered in the data production process, the report is produced in collaboration with stakeholders and whether the information is publicly presented and debated in conjunction with policy decisions to have particular influence on the extent to which information impacts upon policy. Whilst the literature provides useful insight into aspects of state of the environment reporting or the relationship between knowledge and policy, what it lacks and what this research proposes is a detailed evaluation of the reasons for the minimal impact of SoERs on local authority plans. This is vital if a best practice methodology for SoER is to be developed such that data regarding environmental capacities can be fully integrated into plans. As the research is in its early stages (5th month), precise details of methodology are still being developed. What follows therefore, is a basic outline only. The research will be conducted in two phases. Phase 1 will consist of a documentary analysis of state of the environment reports and structure and development plans for all local authorities that have produced SoERs within the south west of England and the Brandenburg-Berlin regions. The aim of this will be to evaluate the adequacy of state of the environment reports in relation to best practice criteria and by comparing SoERs with plans to quantify the level of impact of SoERs on plans. Level of integration will be judged according to the degree to which plans show evidence that measures to ensure environmental sustainability are based on data about environmental

capacities contained in the SoERs. Phase 2 will use a number of case studies from each of the regions to identify and evaluate the reasons why SoERs have had a limited impact on plans. This will take the form of qualitative interviews which will follow a consistent open-ended question format supported by an analysis of official documentation. The intention is to conduct interviews with representative stakeholders in the environmental report and plan making process including scientists, planners and members of the public. Once again precise details of the interview questions still need to be devised and will in any case be partly based on the results of phase 1 of the research. The questions will be designed to give insight into some of the following questions: How environmental report authors perceive the report production process, their role in it and their responsibilities in relation to the report's target audience and the ultimate policy objectives of the report. The extent to which official guidelines/regulations regarding SoERs seem to determine the level of integration between the reports and plans. i.e. to what extent do guidelines (if they exist) seem to encourage a holistic and integrated relationship between SoERs and plans. How important are organisational factors (resources/technology/training/environmental management structure) in determining the level of integration between reports and plans.

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## The environmental task and work at local level

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### **Background**

This study is a part of the research project »The Municipality and the Territory» (Asplund et al 1997), and will result in a licentiate degree. The theme for my project is the development of the environmental task within the Swedish local administration, with focus on the profession of environmental and health officers. The aim is to create a base for understanding of the way the environmental work at this level has been performed until today, and to find mechanisms and prerequisite for change, or in other words to uncover what I will call breaking points. Today »planning for sustainability» has become a concept (see for example Orrskog 1993). However, the link between environmental and health protection and planning is not new. Planning is, and has been, seen as an instrument for prevention of environmental and health problems, caused by the built environment (Törnqvist 1961).

The environmental field has its origin in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the work to stop epidemics, for instance cholera. About 1850, this work come to be linked to hygienic issues and sanitary problems through new findings in the bacteriologic field of medicine. Human health was threatened by bad living conditions, and diseases were to a great extent spread by drinking water, sewage and waste. During the last 150 years technical systems for distribution of water and care-taking of waste and sewage have been built up and developed continuously, as well as the development of knowledge and methods for control and reduction of pollution. The field has also its roots around 1900, when discussions about saving »nature» for recreational, cultural and scientific reasons started. During the last century, technical development and industrialisation have led to considerable changes in life-styles and consumption, and new problem areas as for example pollution from cars have appeared. An increased use of land for expanding urban areas

and communication lines as roads, railways and airports have led to debate of preservations of green areas (Lundgren 1989, Törnqvist 1961). In the 1960ies, "environmental issues" appeared as a concept, both in language in general and in the common debate. During the same period there seems to be a widening of the focus from human health to animals and plants, and more generally to preservation of nature for its own sake (Hedréen 1994, Sörlin 1991).

I find it fruitful to use the concept of culture, when studying professions and their development. Every group can be said to have, or develop a culture, to meet specific problem and handle situations they usually face (Frost 1985). Culture mainly rise from the needs of the members, by social processes (Alvesson 1995), and is affected by education and practice, as well as personal qualities and the institutional context. A culture includes shared valuations, fundamental assumptions of for example definitions of work and working methods, a common language, myths, and codes for behaviour. The culture thus includes the prerequisite for how to view the world and work, identification of problems and possible solutions; in other words: approach to work and working methods, most of it taken for granted, not being reflected in the day-to-day-work (Morgan 1996, Schein 1992). In situations of co-operation with other professional cultures, or when new tasks arise, this may raise a need of reflection, because of difficulties in understanding other actors and make the own standpoints clear (Schon 1995).

The analysis will lean on theories of systems of professions (Abott 1988), which handle competition and changes in a work-area when new tasks arise. A profession is linked to a work-area for example by legalisation (jurisdiction), but there are also choices by the professionals. When changes occur in the area, or new tasks arise, occupational groups have to widening or deepening their knowledge, change working methods etc, otherwise other groups may take over, entire or part of the tasks. In a already existing profession subgroups can develop due to changes in the work-area, which might form new professions over time. The analysis will also be linked to a theoretical framework of experience and performance of professional life, how we create meaning and use/create knowledge and skill by practising (Dreyfus, Dreyfus 1986, Flyvbjerg 1991, Ramirez 1995, Silverberg 1996, Schon 1995)

*Study design*

The study will include a general description of the development in this work area, and a theoretical discussion, the aim of which is to contribute to a deeper understanding of the story. Some key-words for the analysis are professions, competition, skill, experience, culture, and language. The study will include three deepening parts, high-lighting different periods:

- \_ The first part is a study of the content in the journal »Hygienisk Revy»<sup>6</sup> from 1915 and 1919. The years are selected due to a revision of the public health legalisation. The committee gave their utterance 1915, and the new law came into force 1919.
  
- \_ The second part will be carried out by means of interviews with former officers (health inspectors), in duty during the 1950 - 60ies. During this period a new revision of the public health act took place, according to changes in society, leading to new tasks to be handled. In the law from 1958, it was stated that every local health committee had to employ at least one inspector, with valid education. There was also during this period the concept of »environmental issues» were born, not in reality, but in language and the general awareness.
  
- \_ The third part of the study, which also is the main part, consists of interviews with leading officers in local environment protection departments, about their experiences from their occupational life from the 1970ies until today. During this period there has been changes in organisation, an increased, even if fluctuating, debate of environmental issues, several changes in legislation and regulations, and also an increased interest from other groups for tasks in the work-area. The stress will be on the latest ten years. The implementation of Agenda 21 work at local level will be used as an example especially on changes, and the maintaining of roles and positions by the professionals.

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<sup>6</sup> The journal was published by Svenska kommunförbundet and Riksförbundet för allmän hälsovård, from 1912 until 1973.

*Method*

The historical overview is the result of a literature study. The deepening parts have been chosen based on the collected information. The study of the journal will be carried out as an inventory of what issues are dealt with in the articles, carried out with a discourse analysis approach (Burr 1995). The interviews (ongoing) will be unstructured to semi-structured to their nature, and made with a biographic/life-story methodology approach. The interviews aim at covering the main structure of the interviewees' occupational life, and the experiences gathered (Arvidsson 1997, Kvale 1997). They will include information of the interviewees' view of how the societal development and other factors have influenced their work. This includes changes in organisation, working methods, co-operation with other departments, organisations and other actors, public as well as private ones, attitudes and perspectives, and aims and scope of the work-area. In the third part questions about their role in the planning process will be added.

*Tentative results of the study*

In the presentation made in Bergen, some results from the study will be presented. The historical overview will contribute to an understanding for the context in which environmental issues are handled in local practice, both in acting and thinking. In this description, as well as in the material from the interviews I expect some events to show up, which can be characterised as breaking points. Changes in legislation can for example in general be categorised as breaking points, but have varying importance. Agenda 21 seems to be one breaking point with considerable impact on the working area. The implementation of local Agenda 21 work has in some cases led to increased resources to environmental work, but also sometimes a competition, as new groups claim for legitimation to handle environmental tasks. Often the same task has already been handled by the environmental and health department during a long period. Employment of local co-ordinators for Agenda 21, recruited either from inside or outside the administration, has developed a new sub-group. This sub-group is, from the outside, often looked upon as a new separate profession, with different tasks and aims. Agenda 21 has sometimes worked as an impulse for the traditional environmental profession to take action in order to keep the position and the right to formulate the problem.

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## Revitalising the Waterside in a Community Context: The Experience of the Mersey Basin Campaign

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### *Introduction*

In the context of revitalising watersides, water, people, and their communities cannot be isolated each other. The waterside, the place where land and water meet, has always been vital in determining the amenity and quality of human settlements. The delivery of both economic and environmental sustainability to communities has been increasingly emphasised in waterside-related issues. However, revitalising watersides has been dominated by the concept of large-scale dockland regeneration hence ignoring community involvement.

### *Context of the Research*

In recent years, community involvement has been promoted as a key determinant in waterside-related issues in line with the principle of sustainability. It is now clear that revitalising waterside is a task not only for central government or local authorities, but also for all local partners, including private investors and local communities. Such an idea has stimulated the concept of a partnership approach in contemporary waterside revitalisation by recognising the need for integrated and holistic perspectives. However, it is recognised that there are operational difficulties in practice, partly because of traditional fragmentation and hierarchical approaches in environmental matters. It is important and timely to review the waterside partnership approach which encourages local populations to value their local waterside environments. By assessing a new generation of waterside partnership approach, the research aims to establish the best prospects of achieving good, long-term results in revitalising watersides.

***Content of the Research***

In terms of a wider definition of 'revitalisation', the research will provide a brief overview of waterside revitalisation in both environmental sustainability and economic development. It will include, in particular, river management experiences in the UK since the early 1970s which have been reformed from improving public sector services delivery to stimulating local community involvement .

It will also review the significance of, and barriers to community involvement in waterside-related issues. It is arguable that community-based actions (to 'do a few things well in a short period') will not be the best way to achieve waterside revitalisation, although there is increasing demand for community involvement in revitalising watersides.

Additionally, the research will identify nine principles that can be applied to make waterside healthier for environment, community, and economy: cleanliness, conservation, connectivity, accessibility, usability, diversity, affordability, attractiveness, and stewardship. These provide the basis for a more detailed evaluation of case study. The research will conclude with guidelines for good practice in facilitating community actions of revitalising watersides.

***Case Study***

As a case study, Mersey Basin Campaign has been chosen. The Campaign is a government sponsored 25 year partnership initiative to clean up the river, canals and estuary of the Mersey Basin and improve degraded land so that it is useful to the community. Formally launched by the Department of the Environment in 1985, the Campaign is one of the largest river basin projects in the world. Beyond the argument of the Campaign's ability in accomplishing actual projects, it has achieved remarkable success in mobilising community actions by changing people's view of their waterside environments.

The Campaign will be evaluated in terms of its formation, aims and objectives, organisation and operation, and scope of actions. The case study will indicate the Mersey Basin Campaign's approaches of leading local community actions to waterside revitalisation. It will also examine the potential and limitations of the Campaign's approach in relation to other organisations which are involved in river management of the Mersey Basin.

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# Planning for Efficient Environmental Resource Use and Its Social and Economic Effects

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## **Background to research**

The UK government has recognised in its consultation document on sustainable development, *Opportunities for Change(1998)*, that urban areas are both a major source of the waste and pollution of natural resources (i.e. energy, water, air, land) and also the best hope of establishing a more efficient pattern of resource use in the future. This document also emphasises the key role that the planning system has to play in promoting and pursuing the sustainable use of natural resources.

However while a number of documents explain why the planning system is of central importance there has not been a great deal of guidance on how UK planning authorities should address environmental issues. Nevertheless two things are clear :-

- Planning for environmental sustainability requires planning offices to take real and systematic account of environmental objectives (e.g. reduced car use, energy conservation) which they have generally paid lip service to in the past.
- A key challenge will be to meet the projected increase in housing demand in a manner which is environmentally sustainable both in terms of its location and design.

My research addresses both of these issues by examining how planning processes and urban design principles are being used in practice to deliver development which embodies environmental sustainability principles. Environmental sustainability is an elusive concept but for my purpose I have adopted a definition which puts quality of life aspects to one side in order to focus on issues relating to the efficient use of natural resources and the avoidance of waste and pollution.

***Research approach***

The initial research task (which is currently underway) is to identify examples of residential development which promote environmental sustainability objectives. This is being done via a national questionnaire survey of local authorities.

The questionnaire focuses on two main areas. The first asks about the development planning policies and processes being used to address environmental issues and the second asks planning officers to nominate one or more examples of development which promotes the sustainable use of natural resources. The project may be neighbourhood wide or involve development within a neighbourhood; it may involve a major new location or be an example of the incremental adaptation of an existing neighbourhood (perhaps as part of an urban regeneration scheme) however it must involve a project with a significant element of residential use.

I anticipate that by the time of the workshop I will be in a position to discuss the findings of this survey and in particular :-

- the ways in which resource use aspects of environmental sustainability are being pursued through the planning system
- the problems and barriers to implementing such initiatives faced by planning authorities.
- the knowledge of (and attitude to) sustainable environmental resource use issues among planners

***Research schedule and design******Stage 1 Dec '97 - Ongoing : Literature Review***

The literature review up to this point has concentrated on defining relevant theoretical concepts and searching for examples of innovative UK practice in sustainable urban planning and design. It has found that certain urban design principles ( including densely populated areas with a rich mix of uses accessible to non-car users) are being tested by bodies such as the Sustainable Urban Neighbourhoods Initiative and the Urban Villages Forum which believe they offer the prospect of combining environmental resource use objectives with a high quality urban experience. This

combination is embodied in the eco-neighbourhood - an ideal type which achieves economic, social and environmental sustainability.

*Stage 2 Sept '98- April '99 Questionnaire Design and Analysis*

The emphasis on planning and design at the neighbourhood level which has emerged from the literature review has given rise to a number of issues relating to how sustainable neighbourhoods can be brought into existence and their overall effectiveness assessed. These include

1. How and to what extent are sustainable design principles being used to pursue environmental protection and efficient resource use?
2. What are the obstacles to pursuing these objectives through the planning system?
3. Where these environmental objectives are being pursued, how effectively are they being delivered?

*Stage 3 April '99-Sept99 : Case Study Identification and Evaluation*

By this stage examples of planning and design for sustainable resource use should have been identified. Case study analysis will then be undertaken designed to establish the processes through which sustainable neighbourhoods can be brought into existence and the extent to which sustainable resource use objectives are being achieved in practice. At the end of this stage it is anticipated that a submission will be made for an MPhil degree.

*Stage 4 Sept '99 - Sep 2000 MPhil-PHD Transfer*

PHD research will also be case study driven. Further investigation will be undertaken of neighbourhoods which have been identified during the MPhil stage as representing good practice in planning/design for sustainable resource use. At this stage the focus will be the opportunities for (and threats to) achieving social and economic objectives. Here as throughout the research will have a practical emphasis - to identify opportunities for implementing development which is sustainable in all ways- not just environmentally.

## The role of the planner for resolving conflicts in the cooperative local landscape planning

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### *1. Relevance for planning knowledge*

The resolution of the environmental conference of Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and the passed Agenda 21 suggest a special responsibilities to the communities for the solution of environmental problems in the next century. Landscape planning as a tried and tested instrument is at the German communities disposal, to enable environmental planning for development in the precaution principle.

The task of local landscape planning is to describe the local requirements and measures for realising the aims of the German national nature protection law and also to put these aims into practice (BNatSchG § 1(1)). Local landscape planning specifies ideas concerning nature and landscape of the higher levels of planning in the country- and regional planning; it prepares the decisive steps for realising these contents. In landscape planning many objective and connected social conflicts are raised on the way to sustainability. Conflicts of this kind often occur between individual local interests and the general interest in nature protection (Hardin 1968). These conflicts can grow so affecting that the success of landscape planning is in danger and it has been often spoken of its failure (Rat von Sachverständigen für Umweltfragen 1987 T2 411; Kiemstedt et al. 1996:1, Egli et al. 1995).

This is why it is very important for the practice of planning, to give the planner insight and tools to be able to handle the appeared conflicts in a constructive way. It is the aim of this work, to develop a procedure and a method of planning, which does not only deliver professional good results but also facilitate the handling and resolving of conflicts and enable

the communities, to really grasp the suggested responsibility for nature protection (Apel 1993). This knowledge can be used in every kind of environmental planning and in the same way in the local Agenda 21 process, in the practical nature protection or in the environmental education.

## ***2. Main theme of the PhD***

In the centre of this work is the question, how conflict resolution in local landscape planning can or has to be shaped in a cooperative way. For an answer it is necessary to elaborate the following themes:

- \_ identify and categorize the conflicts in local landscape planning;
- \_ the relationship between the kind of cooperation and communication of the persons involved as well as the conflict solving;
- \_ strategies for a comprehensive management of conflicts (regarding the successions of conflicts, the handling of topical conflicts and the prevention of or the purposeful use of potential conflicts);
- \_ strategies to optimize content and method of conflict resolving in the landscape planning.

## ***3. Research methodology***

At first I worked out the central knowledge in the German and English literature concerning environmental and landscape planning (f.x. Ermer et al. 1996; Bechmann 1981, Schutse 1994), cooperation (f.ex. Dienel 1992, Renn 1997; Gamson 1996; Selle 1996; Luz 1994 a+b, Dickhaut 1996), communication (Schulz von Thun 1998; Healey 1993, 1996) and conflict resolution (f.ex. Glasl 1997; Coser 1972; Ury et al. 1996, Fisher et al. 1984; Folberg and Taylov 1984). From the knowledge extracted from this, the focus of the thesis and gaps in research were established. The aim is then to check or validate this in the case studies. This will be done by investigating the newest experiences in the practice by analysis of documents (for example plans, articles in newspapers) and through qualitative interviews (Lannes 1995) in 3 or 4 case studies. From the knowledge extracted from the literature studies as well as from the case studies recommendations, a system of communicative conflict resolving in the landscape planning is intended to be developed.

#### ***4. Stage of research***

The research project will last another one and a half years. The following steps have been realized in the doctorate so far:

- \_ 500 titles of relevant literature have been registered and partly analysed;
- \_ in a research practicum at the Center of Technology Assessment in Baden-Württemberg I was able to experience and discuss several aspects of conflict resolving in theory and practice in the environmental planning as well as apply different methods of empirical social research (Meyer-Oldenburg 1997);
- \_ a first version of two chapters exists (1. An applied theory of conflicts and resolution of conflicts for environmental planning; 2. Structural potentials of conflicts in the landscape planning);
- \_ 20 suitable communities have been found for the case studies (chosen from 120, which were named by the local governments);
- \_ the knowledge I have won, I immediately use and test as a lecturer at the Technische Universität München in the education of landscape planners.

#### ***5. Major obstacles in developing research***

The major obstacles are a result of the main stream opinion, that planning in the nature protection is mainly scientific planning; only little notice is taken of the social and political elements in this kind of planning. Only a small number of statements in social science exists, which can be directly used in a planning discipline, which is orientated to natural science. Today there are only scattered statements about conflicts in the environmental planning; the experience in mediation forms an exception (f.ex. Wiedemann 1994; Wiedemann + Claus 1994). Generally there is lack of knowledge concerning conflict solving at the mesosocial level in particular in environmental planning. In these fields knowledge and experience of other countries are missing very much. Moreover it is not clear, which of the chosen communities will be willing to cooperate.

#### ***6. Preliminary results***

Generally there is a trend in landscape planning to more cooperation between the communities and the planners (Selle 1996). Therefore the communicative competence and

the constructive ability to argue of the persons involved is growing more and more important. For a modern democracy these capabilities are very important and are seldom sufficiently developed; they therefore have to be practised. Contents of conflicts are different values, interests, positions or facts as well as the style of the relations or of the communication (Apel 1990, Habermas 1973).

Landscape planning will be more successful, if in the planning process not only knowledge, abilities and wishes of persons responsible for nature protection in the communities in the future are considered, but also these persons are actively participated (Senge 1996). If for example farmers are involved in the planning process, it is possible to find innovative solutions for environmental planning, even though the conflicts between agriculture and nature protection are virulent. At the same time these solutions can develop a local economic importance.

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## How ringroads change urban areas

### On the relationship between planning, administrative and private activities, and their impact on urban territory.

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#### *The project's purpose and scope*

Up to now the average age of a street was about 1000 years, while the usage of urban space is changing almost continuously. These changes affect in particular a street's location, its capacity and its design. They influence the future physical structure of the street's immediate surroundings, i. e. its architectural form, the usage of land, the treatment of floor space, transformation processes in general and even the city's future form.

During the last 40 years the various functions of streets in Norway have changed considerably. Due to an increase in urban population and car traffic the transport capacity of the urban street system had to change. The new turn towards upgrading of the urban main road system in the mid 80s, particularly through constructions of tunnels, has emphasised the importance of urban transformation through development of the street network. New streets that are intended to account for the city's increasing traffic, influence the use of space in the vicinity of newly established roads. These changes in turn affect urban transformation, changes in floor space and the global development (the concept used as Hillier) of the future city area. It will be particularly interesting to investigate the changing neighbourhood along a new road, especially at points where it crosses other roads in the urban grid.

Hitherto research on how main traffic roads influence urban space use has concentrated primarily on social effects — like for example the effect of barriers. Questions about how the neighbourhood reacts to changes with regard to transformation of functions of architectural elements and urban functions have not been investigated yet. In these complicated issues, planners are usually divided into sectors of professional responsibility. The concern of the architects is the development of the city form while the engineers have been occupied with traffic flow and road capacity. There is a need to investigate the connection between urban space and transportation, and how the inputs from the two sectors of physical planning are influencing one another.

In the main, this investigation explores the interaction between an area's physical development and larger road project. Likewise it will investigate how space is operating and how it is used in the vicinity of newly established ringroads or in the city areas they pass. In this respect structure, morphology and function of architectural space will be taken into consideration. The project is heading for a clear understanding of the interdependency between the usage of urban space, major road projects, and their further development.

#### *Theory and research in the field up till now*

There is a lack of theory and understanding about how changes in the traffic affects the use of space. The present knowledge is primarily a result of empirical studies that were carried out before and after major changes in a transportation system. Until now few investigations focussed directly on this topic. Falleth, Kollbotn and Tombre's study (1995) at NIBR comes closest to the present project. It concerned new bypass roads around small towns and villages in Norway. They investigated how roads of this sort affect the use of space in towns and villages and what kind of actors are dominating the development of this land use. On the basis of their we know more about how to build a transport system as a consequence of a change in space use (the concept used as Hillier), than about changes in space use as an result of newly established roads. Their results show that the private sector is dominating the development of new activities in the vicinity of newly established bypass roads, even though public organisations have a strong influence too.

The question as to whether ringroads in big cities influence space use has not been dealt with. Up till now research on this issue is lacking (Næss 1991).

Many cities are expanding spatially. This development alters the street grid, and, consequently, traffic flow, transport capacity and the function of single streets and their entire urban context. Until now, the form of Norwegian cities and their transformation through building activities and changes in the road net have scarcely been investigated. Only the physical effects of new roads have been taken into consideration, namely in so far as they help to create social barriers. This research-project has the following goals:

It should help to understand the interrelationship between space use and roads in cities. It should contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of how cities work and of transformations to which they are subjected. It should provide some insight into the possibility of investigating a theme in physical planning by alternative methods.

The requirement of impact assessment for new major road projects are increasing in Norway. This research-project is aiming at a better understanding of the impacts of building new roads in urban areas, which can support the weak understanding we have today about the connection between traffic, roads and the physical development of urban areas.

#### *The flow and functionality aspect*

The Space Syntax laboratory at UCL investigates the spatial functioning of cities. The Space Syntax method sees an entire city as an abstract configuration in space invested with a network structure of movement. All human activities are seen as an interplay between concrete elements and abstract relations. The latter ones are schemes or ideas we think with (non-discursive aspect of orientation), while the concrete elements are the ideas we think of (discursive aspect of orientation). In a sense the Space Syntax method tries to make the non-discursive discursive. It seeks to express the relational nature of urban space and form within a formal system of concepts and terms linked by some kind of algorithm.

The method sets out from a distinction between the local and the global systems in a city's structure. The global aspect concerns an area's relationship to a city as a whole, while the local aspect concerns the relationships within a neighbourhood. The research by Hillier and others (1984, 1996, 1998) shows that lively shopping streets are subjected to both a local and a global form of integration. The multiplier effect which results from them usually makes space use along shopping streets very successful. However, even rather small changes in an urban spatial structure can easily affect the entire configuration and the network movement that comes with it.

These considerations lead to one of the main hypotheses of my research project: By building a ringroad, one increases the number of global aspects in the grid of a ringroad's vicinity. Hence ringroads affect the space use in an entire city area.

#### *The formal mass aspect*

The method Realistic City-analysis is derived from Aldo Rossi's theory. It starts from the hypothesis that a city's architecture starts out from a logically definable system. The city is taken to be a manifold composed of various physical parts. Some of these constitute and determine the city's further development (primary elements). Moreover, the Realistic City-analysis is supposed to identify those areas of the city which are clearly structural, typologically and morphologically homogenous. All other urban areas are taken to be amorphous zones. Another important term is the degree of transformation an area can undergo. Accordingly, the second main hypothesis of this research project reads as follows:

A newly built ring road passes through different city areas (homogenous and amorphous zones). It will influence substantially the further development in areas with a high transformation degree, though less influence on stable and homogenous areas. The ring road will decide upon an area's further development if it is subject to a strong transformation process.

### *Methods*

All those participating in the gradually changing use of urban space, leave traces of their activities in the communal record office (example: letters, maps, application etc.). In the first instance I want to investigate empirically changes in space use by comparing old documents, air photos and maps with the present state and study the planning and decision procedure on the basis of such documents.

The main focus of this research project is to study the physical traces of all aforementioned activities in the city areas themselves — i.e. their structure, function, configuration and form as well the use of their space. On the one hand the project will approach the change in city areas in an empirical manner. Changes, which on the other hand affect a city's structure, function, configuration, form or the use of its space require a different approach. They will be investigated in a more formal way, namely with the help of both Hillier's Space Syntax and the Structural city analysis by C. O. Ellefsen (1996 a and b) and D. Tvilde (Their method draws on the theory on Aldo Rossis book *The architecture of the City* from 1983). The Space syntax touches upon questions as regards the inner logical connection, configuration and movement in a city (non-discursive questions), while the Realistic city analysis concerns the material mass of a city (discursive questions). Finally, the results of both these methods should be integrated with one another, and the according results should be compared with the results from the empirical investigation.

As for now the following exemplary cases will be taken into account: Ringroad 1 inclusive the Oslo tunnel in the centre of Oslo will be the main case study. The ringroad in the centre of Amsterdam, and maybe a ringroad in an English city/town (a decision about the third case will be taken during autumn 1999) will be supplyable case studies. Naturally, a major criterion for its choice will be the fact that it was built between 1960 – 1992. Good documentation in the communal record office is a decisive criterion for choosing an area as a case study.

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## Local Agenda 21 as a Challenge to Planning

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This is a research scheme aiming at Ph.D. in planning geography. Main interests are in Local Agenda 21, planning theory (participation and communicative planning) and urban studies. Study concentrates on Local Agenda 21 as a challenge to planning process. The purpose of the study is to find out if local Agenda 21 is renewing planning processes.

### **Background**

Local Agenda 21 (LA21) is based on UN's Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro 1992 (UNCED 1992). In the Summit's action plan, Agenda 21, it was recommended to all local authorities in the world to initiate their own Local Agenda 21 process supporting sustainable development. ICLEI (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives) estimated in 1997 that more than 1800 local governments in 64 countries have established a Local Agenda 21 process (ICLEI 1997). The Association of Finnish Local Authorities (1998) has announced the number of Finnish municipalities working with local Agenda as 252 (total number of municipalities 452), and in Sweden all municipalities (288) are implementing LA21 (Svenska Kommunförbundet 1995). Strategies for local sustainability are thus now dominated by LA21 (Selman 1996:107).

Different organisations have defined what local Agenda 21 could mean in practice. Also the municipalities which have been forerunners implementing LA21 have moulded general understanding of LA21. Irrespective of who has defined LA21, the importance of participation and communication between different actors is highly emphasized. During the interactive process people try to find a common view of the sustainable community. Sustainability is seen to be secured only if there is widespread popular involvement in the process. Justification for broad public participation is seen as a social justice and as a functional legitimation. If people feel that

they "own" the decisions made, then they are more likely to want to comply with them (Buckingham-Hatfield & Evans 1996:10).

Participation is seen as important also because sustainable development as a concept is not "easy". It is in principle both long-term and all embracing, and argues therefore for discussion about community's values (Buckingham-Hatfield & Evans 1996). Sustainable development tries to combine ecological, social and environmental factors. The fragmentation of the government on the basis of sectorial responsibilities has however reduced the capacity of the system to deal with issues that require cross-sectorial cooperation (Littlewood & While 1997). Therefore communication between different actors inside the administration is important too. In LA21 the question is therefore not only about *citizen* participation, but cooperation between all actors of the society. This means discussion and cooperation between different actors; community's administration, citizens, NGO's, as well as commercial and industrial life.

The sustainable development discourse has thus brought beside new substantial issues also requirements of democratic planning processes. LA21 as planning is on the one hand an action plan and on the other hand a process during which local Agenda 21 is developing. This study is going to concentrate on LA21 as a process. The crucial question is how municipalities have understood the LA21 process, how they have realized it and whether it possibly has had an effect on planning processes in regard of participation.

### ***Communicative Planning Process***

Participation has long been a central theme in planning theory. One reason why legitimacy of rational comprehensive planning crumbled in the 1970's was that it did not meet the demands for democracy (Pakarinen 1995:10). This discussion of democracy in planning has brought up a question of communicative relations in the planning process (Häkli 1997). Alternative conceptions of planning practices explored more democratic and collaborative planning processes (Forester 1989; Healey 1997). Call for solutions based on communicative rationality is named the communicative turn in planning theory.

Communicative planning criticizes comprehensive planning for being too objective, authoritative and hierarchic, based on scientific rationalism. Today's societies however face challenges, which need beside traditional expert-led planning a more interactive process, into which citizens, NGO's and other interest groups can participate. Communicative planning is based on interaction between different actors and it emphasizes continuous, open discussion from the beginning of the planning process. Communicative planning stresses the importance of civil society and moves from the paternalism of traditional representative democracy along to more participatory forms based on inclusionary argumentation. (Friedmann 1998, Healey 1995:49.)

Planning emphasizing communication is based on Habermas's idea on constructing a powerful public realm that reaches beyond the narrow instrumental rationality and the dominant interest of the economic and bureaucratic power. Habermas argues that one shouldn't give up on reason, but shift perspective to reasoning formed within intersubjective communication. Communicative practices are thus very central (Healey 1993:237, Pakarinen 1995:13).

LA21 as an ideal planning type emphasizes long-term vision in planning, holistic approach and importance of participation. These characters, especially importance of interaction, respond much to the qualities communicative planning calls for. Both communicative planning and LA21 are founded on principles of participatory democracy, and argue, that different interest groups should have the opportunity to take part in the discussion. Both stress also the importance of local solutions. Therefore communicative planning is a suitable theoretical background for studying LA21 and the challenges it brings to the planning process.

#### ***Purpose of the study and methods to be used***

The subject of the study is LA21 as a challenge to planning. The purpose is to analyse the extent to which LA 21 brings new procedures to planning processes. LA21 as an ideal planning is very ambitious; it suggests substantial (sustainable development) and procedural (wide participation) changes in planning. As Littlewood and While (1997) put it: "Agenda 21 could provide the impetus for new trajectories in local decision making based on principles of participation, inclusion and sustainability." LA21 has a possibility to bring new elements to the planning process; it offers a holistic approach, could be long-term in nature and stresses communicative

action. How these ideals of Local Agenda 21 look like in reality, and if there actually has been changes in the planning in this direction, is studied through case studies.

The basic elements of the LA21 idea are founded on the UN's Agenda 21 document (UNCED 1992). There has also been other important contributions which have had influence on the general development of "good LA21", and which cities and municipalities have more or less tried to follow. Further definitions have been made e.g. in international conferences following Rio Earth Summit, by ICLEI (1996) and local authorities' associations. Also pioneer municipalities implementing LA21 have had an influence on the ways LA21 is done. In the LA21 process communities are also supposed to produce themselves their own view of a sustainable community. Especially interesting is how cities have understood LA21 and worked it up as a part of their other planning activities. Because the initiative to start a local Agenda 21 process has often come from the environmental sector of the administration, it is very interesting to study, how successful the interaction between planning and environmental sectors has been.

In order to study LA21 in the context of city planning, one must also have knowledge of the general planning activities in the city. In the first phase I will study two cities in Finland and develop the frame of research. Thereafter I will focus the thema of the study more and widen the empirical investigations to a comparative research between Germany, Sweden and Finland. In these three countries issues of sustainable development have been dealt with for a relatively long time. There is however differences in the implementation of LA21; Sweden is seen as a pioneer, Finland as adaptor and Germany as late-comer in a North European context (Lafferty & Eckerberg 1997).

The study will be made mainly with the help of qualitative methods. In the first phase however, a survey will be made including all Finnish municipalities in order to find out the general situation of LA21 in Finland, focusing on participative aspects of LA21. LA21 process of the chosen cities will be studied by analysing documents relating to general city planning and LA21, and by doing interviews with different actors (e.g. coordinator for LA21, city management, people working in

different sectors of the city, NGO's). After individual interviews I have also an intention to use the workshop method, where the theme will be discussed further together with different actors.

### *Phase of the study*

This paper proposes a research scheme. Research is at present (February 1999) in the beginning. Evolving of the theoretical background is under way, as well as making of a survey of Finnish municipalities.

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## The institution of Euroregions: Prerequisite for success?

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Hungary is in a special situation regarding cross-border co-operation

- by having seven neighbouring countries,
- by being so small that each of the – now planned – regions (7) are border regions,
- by having significant Hungarian minority in almost every adjacent regions (this factor differentiate the situation from the one of Austria and on the other hand is a very important one since this makes the co-operation more sensitive).

During the 1990s – according to this important role – each level of administration (Government, the formulating regions, counties, districts, municipalities) set clear objectives in their spatial development concepts regarding cross-border co-operation emphasising the ever popular connecting feature of borders.

Under the socialist regime borders had a dividing, even isolating character, they were difficult to cross – in some cases regarded almost as forefronts – and in the centralised states permission from the capitals were needed even for the limited and occasional co-operation.<sup>7</sup>

At the beginning of the previous decade parallel to the political détente some promising processes had begun. These were however concentrated mostly on the Austrian border. The Austrian–Hungarian Spatial and Land-use Planning Committee, established in 1985 on governmental level played a significant role. One of the subcommittees, the Cross-border Co-operation Work-Group – where Burgenland, and the Hungarian Gyr–Moson–Sopron and Vas counties were represented

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<sup>7</sup> Situation was better even after the Trianon Treaty in the 1920s. Despite losing 2/3 of the country's territory and being surrounded by hostile governments – except for Austria – cross-border co-operation and contacts were

on the highest level – served later as a basis for the Interreg–Phare CBC programmes (35 Million ECUs for the 1995/99 period on the Hungarian Phare CBC side), and the establishment (1998) of the West–Pannon Euroregion.

At other Hungarian borders the development was not so organic. This was mainly the result of different political agendas leading to disinterest in co-operation (Slovakia, Romania), the war conflict on the Balkan (Serbia, Croatia), or simply the different directions of interests (Slovenia, Slovakia – Austria). Differences in the state of development can be the overall explanation for the differing impetus of cross-border activities (work, shopping, tourism). Where there have been big differences (Austria – Hungary, and relatively big ones between Hungary and Romania), traffic and trade flows between the adjacent border regions have been more frequent. If the neighbouring regions are on a similar, relatively poor level state of development, the relations are just about to evolve. Although in this latter case the local actors (mayors, county officials) are trying to intensify the co-operation as well. They are hoping to achieve this goal through establishment of the institutional frameworks in the form of Euroregions.

Although the idea of concentrating and co-ordinating efforts and resources – or even of increasing chances of achieving potential EU money – can be respected, some critical aspects should be taken into consideration. Some of them are based on Dutch–German and German–Polish experience relevant for Hungary, while the other part comes from the characteristics of Euroregions with Hungarian participation.

Economic benefits can be expected only in the long run and in the presence of favourable conditions.<sup>8</sup> In the Euregio Maas-Rhein after 20 years of co-operation those economic and social relations are formed which could have characterised the region without the borderline, but

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more frequent and normal than in the communist era often characterised by the co-operation of friendly socialist countries.

<sup>8</sup> For example in the Dutch-German border region Maas-Rhein there were no significant political and social differences. The partners had similar environmental and social problems, their economy had been characterised with the same structural weaknesses. The EU and NATO had supported the co-operation from the very beginning. The first euroregions were able to establish very important informal ties among the co-operating bodies and with important lobbying organisations (i.e. EUREGIO – AEBR Association of European Border Regions; Scott, 1996).

according to surveys the majority of borderland companies still go for economic services to the central Randstad and Ruhr regions, and only up to 2% to the adjacent border regions (Hamm, 1996).

Regarding the German-Polish border and the transfer of the model of Euroregions we can suggest that on the one hand the significance of social contacts, common sport and cultural events are sometimes underestimated, on the other hand too powerful marketing of the regions can cause disappointment for the „consumer» – nice package, poor content (Grimm, 1996). The features are: step-by-step renewing of former cross-border agglomerations, town partnerships, services for adjacent border regions but missing informal cross-border networks (Rodeman, 1997), poor share of information, lack of strategic thinking, management and communication skills (Scott, 1997; Perkmann, 1997). Critics suggested that there are too many Euroregions with the possibility of harmful rivalry, and lack of co-ordination (Church-Reid, 1995).

Euroregions in Hungary are facing similar problems regarding the missing informal ties. Fortunately, most of the officials from different administrative bodies (regions, counties, municipalities) have realistic long term expectations regarding the development of a transborder social and economic space. This kind of thinking is understandable since in some cases there are even bigger differences in development on a lower living standard compared to the Euroregions of the EU's eastern border (i.e. understanding and accepting the formal ways of co-operation, and possibilities for co-operation of participating territorial administrative bodies.) Unfortunately, however there is a new feature: Euroregions with Hungarian participation tend to become too big, with too many members (Carpathian Euroregion, Duna-Maros-Tisza Euroregion) or with members without a common border.<sup>9</sup> Of course it is extremely difficult and politically risky to exclude any of the potential partners wishing to participate. However at the current state of development the formal institutional model of Euroregions with so many partners is not appropriate for enhancing cross-border co-operation. So the Euroregions cannot play their original role: serving as a framework for significant cross-border projects, and as a mediator between local initiatives, objectives, and those set by regional, central authorities, and the EU.

They are solely the necessary instruments for attracting potential EU and central government funding.

In order to have real cross-border projects with measurable social and economical impacts informal communication networks, frequent cultural relations are vital prerequisites. Ratti (1993) stressed the importance of two factors:

- **the strategic behaviour** of actors<sup>10</sup>,
- and the role of **supporting space**<sup>11</sup>

In this supporting space the institution of Euroregions is an important but not the only element, and especially not at the beginning phase of the cross-border co-operation.

*I plan to provide illustration (figures and tables) to the article later on.*

#### **Further research**

- International e-mail survey of the activity of Euroregions (if possible with the support of AEBR)
- Survey of the economic and social relations and expectations in Hungarian and in their neighbouring border regions (Significant difficulties are expected).
- Interviews with officials dealing with border related tasks, projects (Ministries, Chambers, Research Institutes – i.e. Vienna, Institute for City and Regional Research –, Interreg, Phare CBC offices).

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<sup>9</sup> Carpathian Euroregion: Poland – Romania, Hungary; Slovakia – Romania. Duna-Dráva-Száva Euroregion: Hungary – Bosnia.

<sup>10</sup> "A strategy in terms of a co-operation network is the most efficient approach to overcome persistent and residual obstacles and uncertainty situations typical to a border context" (Ratti, 1993, 66.)

<sup>11</sup> Ratti considered the border context from an economic point of view and defined the strategic spaces of an enterprise as determined by three functional spaces: production space, market space and the supporting space. As the most important one he describes **supporting space** comprising of three types of relations: the qualified or privileged relations at the organisational level of the production factors (Capital origin, information source, technological ability, particular ties at the human capital level); the strategic relations of the enterprise with its partners, suppliers, or clients (privileged information exchange, co-operation, partnership, alliance, partial integration); the strategic relations with the territorial environment parties (public institutions, private or semipublic associations. Ratti, 1993)

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## Re-understanding Property Rights, Land Invasions and Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon: The Case of Western Maranhao

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This research examines the main causes of agrarian land invasions and conflicts in the Brazilian Amazon frontier, and how, in some cases, these conflicts can become related to uncontrolled deforestation. Some of the literature has mentioned that insecure property rights over land are possible causes of land conflicts<sup>12</sup> and deforestation.<sup>13</sup> After analyzing the data and evidence that I have collected from my field research, I show how land invasions are caused not only by insecure property rights over land, but also by abrupt social changes and insecure property rights over timber, which result from the insecurity over land rights and poor enforcement of environmental regulations. In the case of Buriticupu, Brazil, the problems of insecure property rights over land and over timber, under certain social conditions, give incentives to land invasions and then deforestation.

The paper also takes a different look at the most common explanations of deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon. The conventional wisdom in the literature generally assumes the process of deforestation and environmental degradation in the region are caused by independent private

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<sup>12</sup> (i) Alston, Lee J.; Libecap, Gary D.; and Schneider, Robert (1995). "Property Rights and Preconditions for Markets: The Case of Amazon Frontier." *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*, Vol. 151, No. 1, pp. 89-107. (ii) Alston, Lee J.; Libecap, Gary D.; and Schneider, Robert (1996). "The Determinants and Impact of Property Rights: Land Titles on the Brazilian Frontier." *Journal of Law, Economics & Organization*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 25-61. (iii) Mueller, Bernardo; Alston, Lee J.; Libecap, Gary D.; and Schneider, Robert (1994). "Land Property Rights and Privatization in Brazil." *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance*, Vol.34, Special Issue, pp. 261-280.

<sup>13</sup> (i) Binswanger, H. (1991). "Brazilian Policies that Encourage Deforestation in the Amazon." *World Development*, Vol. 19, No. 7, pp. 821-9. (ii) Mahar, Dennis J.; Schneider, Robert (1994). "Incentives for Tropical Deforestation: Some Examples from Latin America." In: *The Causes of Tropical Deforestation*, eds. Brown, Katrina; and Pearce, David. UBC Press: Vancouver.

actors - construction companies, loggers, farmers- stimulated by different government policies.<sup>14</sup> Examples are the construction companies building large government-sponsored infrastructure projects, agro-industrialists implementing extensive agroindustrial projects subsidized by the government, timber exploiters acting without adequate inspection by the environmental agencies or small producers from failed colonization projects practicing slash-and-burn agriculture. In contrast with common view, my research shows that the various private actors responsible for the deforestation in the Amazon are actually interacting among themselves in their search for scarce resources such as land and timber. One of the main causes of this interaction is the insecure conditions of the property rights over land and timber.

Agrarian land invasions involve organized landless people and their allies invading large private or public properties, claiming that they are unproductive land (so susceptible to expropriation by the government for agrarian reform purposes according to Brazilian laws). Invasions can lead to conflicts between landless and landowner allies, when the latter resist to the invasion. Agrarian conflicts have occurred frequently in Brazil since the 1960s. They are often the result of the struggle of landless peasants to get access to land rights versus the resistance of landowners to give up their land rights, in an unclear legal environment. In the Brazilian Amazon, some of these land invasions result in widespread deforestation.

The area of study is the municipality of Santa Luzia in the state of Maranhão, more specifically, the region around the town of Buriticupu.<sup>15</sup> I chose this region because the region presents the highest number of land conflicts in the state and related deforestation problems, which are

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<sup>14</sup> (i) Binswanger, n.d; (ii) Gillis, Malcolm; and Repetto, Robert (1988). Deforestation and Government Policy. Cambridge University Press: London. (iii) Hemming, John, editor (1985). Change in the Amazon Basin, Volume II: The Frontier after a Decade of Colonization. Manchester University Press: Manchester, U.K. (iv) Mahar, Dennis J. (1989). Government Policies and Deforestation in Brazil's Amazon Region. The World Bank: Washington, D.C.. (v) Moran, Emilio F. (1981). Developing the Amazon. Indiana University Press: Bloomington. (vi) Moran, Emilio F., editor (1983). The Dilemma of Amazonian Development. Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado. (vii) Moran, Emilio F. (1993). "Deforestation and Land Use in the Brazilian Amazon." Human Ecology, V. 21, No. 1, pp. 1-21.

<sup>15</sup> The distances of the areas studied vary from 0 to 40 kilometers from the center of the town. Buriticupu at the time of this research (1996) was part of the municipality of Santa Luzia. Today, Buriticupu is an emancipated municipality.

considered priorities for the state government.<sup>16</sup> Santa Luzia is located in the western part of the state, 300 km southwest from the capital of the state, São Luís. It has a population of 116,195 inhabitants, 85% living in the rural areas.<sup>17</sup> The town of Buriticupu has an estimated population of 5,000 inhabitants.<sup>18</sup>

Some of the recent literature suggests that the problem of insecure property rights over land in the Amazon frontier is one of the main causes of land conflicts<sup>19</sup>. The authors say that lack of effective land titling and secure tenure over land spur land conflicts when some government action or policy<sup>20</sup> take place, pushing land prices up. This increase in land prices gives people incentives to try to title their land, in general very difficult due to the government agencies' lack of organizational capacity for a large increase in the demand for titling. This environment of insecure rights and increases in land prices give people incentives even to use violence in the fight for land rights.

A similar environment, like the one described above, has been in place in Buriticupu since the last decade. However, in my discussion, besides the factors that lead to land conflicts described in the literature, I add the presence of insecure property rights over timber and landless organization as accentuating factors in driving land conflicts and deforestation. Furthermore, the same factors can also lead to interaction between the landless and settlers with local loggers and landowners.

My analysis shows that the occurrence of a high number of land invasions and agrarian conflicts in the Buriticupu is related to the existence of five determinant factors: a) the existence of vast apparently unproductive land properties; b) a large number of landless rural workers; c) distorted distribution of land resources; d) the existence of a large momentum of social organization among the workers and landless; and e) the existence of unclear and insecure property rights over land

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<sup>16</sup> According to Maranhão Environmental Agency's report (SEMA - Secretaria de Meio Ambiente e Recursos Hídricos do Maranhão (1996). *Plano Estadual Ambiental*. Report (March, 1996)).

<sup>17</sup> IPES (1993). *Sinopse Estatística Municipal do Maranhão*. IPES: São Luis.

<sup>18</sup> Number estimated through talks with local politicians. There is no official census for Buriticupu.

<sup>19</sup> Alston et al., 1995, 1996; and Mueller et al., 1994 (n.d).

<sup>20</sup> Like government subsidies for agropastoral projects or infrastructure building.

and timber, driven by conflicts between government agencies, by unclear laws or regulations, or by lack of enforcement.

The result of this research also shows some distortions in the Brazilian policies for agrarian reform and environmental protection, such as lack of criteria for land expropriation, difficulties in the process of land titling, conflicting policies between INCRA (Brazilian National Agency for Agrarian Reform) and IBAMA (Brazilian Environmental Agency) and poor enforcement of environmental laws. These policies spur an environment of insecure property rights whose consequences include i) the lack of incentives for private investments on land improvements, ii) rent dissipation in organizing invasions (in the case of the landless) and in protecting properties against invasion (in the case of the landowners), iii) waste of public resources in conflict resolution and hurried and, sometimes, unfair land expropriations, iv) violence and social unrest in some cases, and finally iv) uncontrolled deforestation and land degradation.

In sum, distorted governmental policies can generate insecure property rights over land and timber. In turn, these insecure rights, allied to rapid social changes, can cause conflicts and environmental degradation, especially where there is a lack of enforcement of environmental law. However, the same distorted policies can induce the main private actors in the process of deforestation resulted from land invasions (landless people, loggers and landowners) to interact between themselves, such as the case of Buriticupu region. This interaction challenges the common wisdom existent in the literature on the Brazilian Amazon, which describes those actors behaving independently in the process of deforestation.

## Urban transformation

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In my research project I ask what planning task it is to keep alive modern urban functions in old, historical town centres as the urban life is changing. It is not so much the question about changes in their material substance, but more whether modern versions of urbanity will continue to fit into this material frame.

Urban economics depend on a well functioning region with an attractive centre (1). Historical town centres play in that context an important role, but there is a lack of knowledge about how its agglomerations of economic functions are developing (2). Thus there is a question of what kind of planning and management this agglomeration of function would need.

One most visible challenge for the old cities are the many shopping centres in the periphery. Big scale, car - orientation, property development, increasing spending power, new ways of organisation, are some of the elements adding to the driving forces that lead the urban development in a centrifugal direction. The resisting centripetal forces are building on elements such as tradition, density, prestige, existing mixture and numbers of functions in the town centres. Tensions between those forces are seen as an explanation for the changes of urban spatial structure over time.(3) One question to be discussed in my theses is what factors of location are active in the old historical centres, what role do they play in urban transformation. I want to study the centripetal forces hidden here and how it may be possible to make them «visible» and to understand their «nature» and capabilities.

The clustering of urban functions in the town centres builds up an agglomeration with a «double» centrifugal effects as agents « ... appear to agglomerate for two reasons. First, certain points on the economic landscape offer (or appear to offer) a comparative advantage that facilitates

fulfilment of agent's goal. ... Second, the very process of clustering itself generates advantages for producing an consuming agents.»(4) The structural dimensions of the functional agglomeration, the geographical, the hierarchical and the compositional, have been explained by evolving theories of location. Those theories reflect a serial of profound paradigmatic shifts. After searching explanation in regional economics, the neoclassical paradigm of the 50s and 60s (central place theory - principal of minimum differentiation) was followed by the behaviouralistic approaches of the 60s and 70s (empirical / cognitive / appraisal / humanistic), the structuralist perspective of the 70s and 80s and now it seems to revolve in the direction of regionalism. (5)

### **Method**

The cases I am studying are old centres in medium sized historical cities in Scandinavia. The Danish case is Aalborg in north Jutland. The Swedish case will probably be Helsingborg at Öresund. The Norwegian case is the old city of Stavanger on the south west coast.

The urban economic function are sorted after SIC94 (6) those registrated are:

15.81 Manufacture of bread/cakes, 22 Publishing/printing, 33 Manufacture instruments 36.22 Manufacturing jewellery, 51 Wholesale, 52 Retail sale, 55.1 Hotels and motels, 55.3 Restaurants and cafes, 63 Travel / transport agencies / ship brokerage service 65 Banking / financial intermediation, 66 Life insurance, 67 Adm. financial markets, 70 Real estate agencies, 74 Other business activities as accounting/book-keeping / auditing / business / management consultancy / technical consultancy / advertising/ fotogr. / debt collection, 75.23 Juridical activities, 85 Health work as medical practice activities / psychological practice activities, dental practice activities / physiotherapy / homøopater / chiropractor, 91 Membership's organisation, 92.13 Motion picture projection, 92.52 Museums, 93 Service activities as dry-cleaning / washing textile / hairdressing- and beauty treatment / physical well-being activities.

The data are collected in intervals of 10 years starting 1970. They will not say anything about the size of the economical activity or the decision behind it. The data will indicate which locations are chosen as places for business activity. What will be shown are spatial qualities qualifying for

location decisions. The aim is to show circumstances, indicators, leading to an economic exploration of a certain location in a given functional frame. The diagnosis would rather be based on a graphic picture than in a numeric mode.

So far the data base for Stavanger is finished and distributed on map with ArcView. The schedule is to finish the danish case Aalborg so a comparation can be shown at the workshop.

### ***Results***

Some of the results so far:

- the main pattern of the agglomeration seem to be maintained
- the concentration of retail sale is increasing within the agglomeration
- there are increasing agglomeration building in some branches, most clear in the case of hairdressing- and beauty treatment
- there are decreasing tendencies in others as in the sector of banking, financial intermediation and insurance
- there are sub-agglomerations of some sectors of functions, most clear is the one of restaurants and pubs

Further analyses to be done will be to find:

- indications for successful localisation
- the nature of the borders / limitations of the agglomeration
- positive use of the architectural framework
- conflicting the architectural frame with the use of infrastructural support/  
lack of infrastructural support

lack of infrastructural support

This choice of characteristics is meant to say something about the strength of the urban functional pattern and how and where it is vulnerable and needs attention.

### ***Thoughts about the conclusion***

The aim is to make the research relevant for planning and the work should lead to a discussion with elements such as :

- what kind of planning is needed to secure desired development in the old town centre
- who are the planning partners / participants / representatives for the interested public
- what role has the community to play
- how is the planning to be organised
- how are decisions to be made
- how are decisions to be implemented

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# The Political Economy of Transport Policy and Planning in the Baltic Sea Region: Evidence from Four Trans-European Network Projects

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*A human right, a human pleasure, an economic resource and a servant of economic activity:  
transport is many things to all people*

European Commission, Directorate General Transport, 1994:1

In the 1990s, the advent of the European Union and the breakup of the Soviet Union have brought profound new challenges to all levels of planning and policy making across the European continent. A new, increasingly border-free «Europe of Regions» is emerging, constituting a new, supra-national geography. Within the context of European cohesion, integration, and enlargement, the expansion and optimization of transport infrastructures is one of the most hotly debated issues. Twentieth century transport innovations have caused dramatic increases in the accessibility and mobility of goods and people, arguably even providing the original, spatial foundation for European integration long before the political idea of the European Union was born.

Today, transport infrastructures are now no longer simplistically assumed to be guarantors for accelerated economic growth. The inter-regional effects of highways and high-speed railways are particularly complex, generally disproportionately benefiting areas with existing agglomeration economies (Hey et al. 1996, SACTRA 1998, T&E 1995). But this has not deterred the European Union from declaring that the completion of a Trans-European Transport Network (TEN) is a prime prerequisite for the successful economic integration of Europe. Since 1992, the European

Investment Bank, the «house bank» of the EU, has allocated 42 billion Euro towards infrastructure projects related to European integration.

Using a case study approach, my dissertation investigates the planning and implementation of (sections of) this Trans-European transport network in the Baltic Sea region. Are there any discernable objective and consensual principles (such as the EU goals of cohesion and sustainable development) that guide the decision-making process for these projects? Are TEN projects yet another example of large-scale, top-down planning? Do we find any of the open, collaborative, and participatory structures that are the ideal of sustainable and communicative planning (Fischer and Forester 1993, Healy 1992)? How were these projects selected and conceived, who participated in the planning process, who was excluded, and how were the responses of affected localities and regions varied? A major contention of the dissertation is that EU institutions such as the EIB, the DGs and the EU Phare program are not sufficiently transparent and accountable to the public. Using a regime theory-inspired framework, I investigate potential systemic advantages of economic over social interests, and hope to disentangle a complex system of multi-level governmental decision-making and governance.

An important hypothesis to be tested in the dissertation is that any region's ability to adequately assess and finance plans for additional and upgraded infrastructures is highly dependent on its political and economic integration into national and international structures. This requires the development of a framework for identifying «variations in national legal and constitutional structures and administrative and professional cultures» (Healey and Williams, 1993:701). The Baltic Sea region is particularly interesting here in that it lies at the intersection of what Newman and Thornley (1996) identify as Germanic, Scandinavian and Eastern European legal and administrative 'families.' It also consists of a mixture of EU (old and new) member states and transition countries. Of the latter, all countries but Russia are expected to join the EU in either the short (Poland, Estonia) or medium term (Latvia, Lithuania), so that a convergence in planning systems and administrative structures is expected.

At the same time, even in unified Western Europe, considerable differences continue to exist among scholars over «correct» approaches towards European-level transport planning and policy. Expanding on Masser, Sviden and Wegener's (1992) identification of three main European development paradigms of «growth,» «equity,» and «environment,» I therefore develop a quintuple typology of transport development approaches from the literature (see table 1). A major challenge of the dissertation is to see not only how these different approaches shape local and regional outcomes, but also how this typology intersects with the identified classification of different local planning cultures and European regimes.

The following case studies have been tentatively selected: 1) the Via Baltica coastal highway between Estonia and Latvia, 2) the A20 highway in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in eastern Germany, 3) the A4 highway between Katowice – Krakow or the high-speed rail line between Berlin and Warsaw, and 4) the Øresund road-rail bridge between Denmark and Sweden.<sup>21</sup> Together, these projects involved planning institutions from nine different countries (including Brussels and the EIB headquarters in Luxembourg) and consist of both new construction and upgrading projects.

***Stage of My Research and What I hope to Gain from the Workshop:***

Drawing from a significant amount of preliminary research as well as closely related non-profit sector and consulting work I will present my full proposal package to my committee and the interested public in September 1999. The AESOP workshop would thus present me with an invaluable opportunity to refine my hypotheses, to consider additional research questions, to rethink the selection of the case studies, and to make important adjustments to the overall research design where necessary.

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<sup>21</sup> This project has of course already been studied extensively by other scholars in the region, so that more secondary sources will be used for the documentation of this case study than for the other ones.

*What else I hope to bring to the workshop:*

My planning education has been bi-national and internationally-oriented throughout. Having lived and studied in the US for the last 5 ½ years, I have long struggled with the striking differences in both theoretical and practical approaches to planning in the US compared to my native Germany. My international advocacy work has also exposed me to planning environments in Western and Central Eastern Europe, as well as Latin America and Africa. I have found that planners in the developed world can learn a lot from the often much less «planned» environments in the South that are often so rich in informal collaborative processes and institutions. I have also worked extensively on feminist and gender perspectives on transportation and urban planning. I thus hope to contribute planning knowledge and experiences to the workshop that point beyond mainstream European and American approaches.

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TABLE 1: TYPOLOGY OF APPROACHES TO TRANSPORT POLICY AND PLANNING

| Approach                                | Overriding Concern                    | Emphasis On                                    | Key concepts   |
|---|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| <i>Modernization</i>                    | Economic Growth,<br>Efficiency        | Market Economy                                 | Competition,<br>Economic Advantage,<br>Technological Solutions             |
| <i>Institutionalist</i>                 | Governance,<br>Geopolitical Structure | Institutions<br>(Bureaucracies)                | Integration, Planning<br>Cooperation,<br>Spatial Metaphors                 |
| <i>Political Economy</i>                | Equity<br>Social Justice              | Society<br>(Disparities)                       | Redistribution,<br>Power Struggle, (Urban)<br>Core vs. (Rural) Periphery   |
| <i>Post-Fordist</i>                     | Nature of (Capitalist)<br>Development | Mode of Production/<br>Consumption (Processes) | Networks, Information,<br>Flexibilization, Adjustment,<br>Uncertainty      |
| <i>Environmental<br/>Sustainability</i> | Environmental<br>Degradation          | Nature<br>(Physical Environment)               | Ecology, Sustainability<br>Externalities, Habitats,<br>Carrying Capacities |

# **Environmental Management and Planning System in Thailand: The Theory and Practice of Using Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) in Decision Making Process**

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## ***Introduction***

That environmental management should be an integral part of economic development has now world-wide recognition. The problem is how to apply this principle effectively in practice. The incorporation of environmental concerns into the planning process is a relatively new procedure for developing countries. An important step which has been taken is that most developing countries now have ministries and agencies which are responsible for environmental protection (Biswas, 1992). In addition, various methodologies and tools have been introduced and aimed at integrating a full consideration of environmental impacts into development activities. Whilst the tools may be similar or common, the practice is made more difficult by the different contexts of each country. Developing countries such as Thailand had themselves undergoing major and significant changes in their socio-economic systems which are different from the Western industrialised countries. Many developing countries are rapidly modernising by acquiring advanced technology. They therefore have jumped some stages of development, and this often presents a strange combination of old and new technologies operating side by side. Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is an instrument widely used internationally and has become a standard tool in decision-making process associated with large scale development projects. The EIA process is often based on procedures transferred from the Western industrialised countries to the developing countries. The question is how appropriate and effective are such procedures in helping to deliver the new objective of sustainable development.

### ***Research Objectives***

The main objective of this research is to explore the actual practice of EIA, as a tool for environmental management as part of the planning processes of Thailand. Much research attention has focus on the quality of the resultant, Environmental Statement (EIS), rather than EIA as a process. In theory, EIA can be perceived as a rational tool to take into account the environmental consequences of development projects (Lichfield, 1992). EIA should affect planning decisions and act as the decision-maker's assistant. In an attempt to manage the environment and control rapid urban growth, Thailand introduced an EIA procedure in 1977. It was designed and intended to minimise the adverse environmental effects of new large development projects. This research examines what influence EIA in Thailand has had on decision-making in the granting of permission for large projects. This study assesses the trends of EIA practice in Thailand and evaluates its impact upon the planning process in Thailand. The results of this work seek to develop recommendations designed to improve in practical terms the EIA process in Thailand.

### ***Research Study***

There are many attempts to define EIA in ways which express the full extent of its role and purpose in environmental management. This research framework is based on the most comprehensive definition of EIA which was prepared by the United Nation in 1991:

*«..., EIA is considered a necessary tool in order to give the environment its proper place in the decision-making process by improving the quality of information provided to decision makers, so that environmentally sensitive decisions can be made paying careful attention to minimising impacts, improving the planning of activities and protecting the environment».*

My research study was launched in Autumn 1996. The major tasks are divided into two parts:

**1. *Understanding the situation of EIA world-wide.*** The literature review was conducted for constructive the idea of EIA and understanding the history and current situation of EIA. Attention paid to the theory and concepts, the world-wide practices and focused on their situations and obstacles of EIA from theory to practice in many developing and developed countries. Finally, the prominent practices of each stages of EIA processes in many countries were drawn together to build an ideal «best practice» EIA process which could/should be an integral part of planning process.

2. *Understanding the situation of EIA in Thailand.* Examining the overview information of the EIA process in Thailand was carried out and based on the outcome from the literature review. Evaluating the current situation of the EIA process in Thailand by selected case studies. The variation between the ideal EIA process and the actual EIA process in Thailand will be explored. Finally, the discussion and recommendation for the effectiveness EIA in planning system and the contexts of Thailand will be exemplified.

The major goals of this part of studying are 1). understanding EIA procedures in Thailand and compare them with the theoretical model, 2). evaluating the nature scale and scope of EIA in Thailand over time, and 3). using these two stages as a context and framework, identify a number of case studies to explore the actual EIA process and evaluate it's impact on decision making. The key questions for the EIA process reviewing and exploring are *How far the legislative EIA framework has varied from the ideal EIA framework? To what extent the actual EIA process varied from the legislative framework? and What influence does the EIA (process) have on the decision makers when they authorised or rejected the projects?*

Research to fulfil these objectives were undertaken by two field study visits to Thailand. The first visit was carried out in Autumn 1997. The research focused on fully understanding the process and procedures involved in EIA in Thailand and reviewing in general the current practice of EIA in Thailand. The current situation of administrative processes of EIA are examined and compared with the theoretical and ideal framework from the first part of research. The outcome of this analysis are paved the way for the second field-working in Thailand in Autumn 1998. During this time detailed case study analysis of particular projects were undertaken. Six case studies from industries and housing projects that had been subject to the EIA process were selected for analysis. The choice of the projects reflected different procedures and processes before EIA consent was finally achieved and the project selection enabled a systematic analysis of Environmental Statements (EISs), case files, and interviewing the interest groups, were analysed and used to provide insight into Thailand's practicality of EIA both technical and administrative processes.

***Preliminary Research Findings***

EIA is a cyclical and combining process between *Science and Art*, (Curi, 1983; Wood, 1995) and between *Technical and Administrative Processes* (Brown, 1990). The preliminary evaluation attempts to differentiate between a technical and administrative processes. The technical process refers to the way that statements are produced whilst the administrative process examines the role and value of the statements in the decision-making process. Clearly the two perspectives need to be distinguished though it is recognised and accepted that they are complementary and not mutually exclusive. These factors have significant influence on EIA implementation, both successful and failure in practices, in many countries. These processes are incorporated and difficult to identify and analyse separately. A quality technical process could produce quality EIA product, Environmental Statement (EIS), which in turn could provide quality assistance for a decision-maker. Alternatively a statement that is expertly produced and of high quality may not have any significant impact when it comes to decision making. The prime objective of EIA system is to integrate environmental consideration into the planning and decision-making process of a development project along with social and economic factors, but the question is how?

Thailand intended to use EIA to minimise the environmental impacts resulting from both the implementation and operation of development projects. EIA was introduced for new large development projects in 1977. The using of EIA as an assistant for decision-making in planning is ineffective. Development planning in Thailand, as many developing countries, environmental concerns have been a second priority, after economic growth. Environmental sustainable seem to be overshadowed by the over-riding priority of economic development. This leads to a lack of awareness amongst both decision-makers and administrators, both project proponents and permitting agencies of the potential benefits of an EIA process. This is can compounded by a lack of political will, where by projects are approved before the EIA process is completed. Therefore unless these administrative processes are improved any further focus on the technical aspects will have few impact. EIA's role as a decision-maker assistant in Thailand is some what limited.

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## Economic functions and spatial planning

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### *Introduction*

In 1990, the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy wrote that in the last decades the big cities transformed from pioneer into slow developer concerning economic growth (WRR, 1998). This trend developed in spite of national spatial policy, which promoted concepts stressing concentration of activity in and around big cities and mainports. Real trends point in another direction. Since 1960, all metropolitan areas in The Netherlands have undergone a significant spatial economic transition. The city is not the place where activities concentrate anymore. Since the sixties economic growth has increasingly been concentrated at the edge of the city, or even the periphery. Urban researchers stress that it is better to refer to what we used to call the city as part of an urban field, that has a spatial structure that is less obvious.

### *Theoretical background*

When looking at the spatial dynamics of economic activity through the eyes of a spatial planner, it is important to understand that functions are essentially free to move and that a city is not (Salet, 1998). Even though economic geographers today realise that firm behaviour is not just regulated by economic forces, and that spatial, political and temporal forces also play a role in decision making, planners have to realise that the city as such is not the natural focal point of the economy, and that economic activity does not have a natural tendency to locate in this centre. It is the other way around. For a number of reasons, maybe not relevant anymore today, economic functions located in the city. As a result, it became the focal point of essentially unattached economic activity, and resulting natural interrelations generated a surplus value. Today, when firms have to choose a location, the mixed activity pool in the central city area is a location condition to consider.

Spatial planning of economic functions cannot be build just on spatial concepts, as these are based on the assumption that a clearly defined space is the basis of analysis. Still, this is what planners did for a long time, and still do on many occasions. Economic geographers and regional economists on the other hand focus on the economic functions as such, and try to understand why specific economic conditions and changing ways of production lead to specific location requirements.

Both disciplines, planning theory and economic geography, did not make a fruitful connection, although much can be learned for researchers in both fields (Healey, 1997). On the one hand, spatial economic planning undoubtedly influences the match between location conditions and the location requirements considered by firms when they have to reach a location decision. However, government planning is just a small subject, lightly touched by economic geographers and regional economists. On the other hand, planners never tried to understand the dynamics behind the spatial structures they want to change. The only economic-geographical models planners used are out of date, and were not developed by geographers and thus not used by planners primarily to understand the dynamics of location behaviour, but to distribute services across space properly, through trade-offs between transport costs and land property values. Since the 1980's, however, much has changed in economic-geographic thinking, that has not yet been acknowledged by planners (Ploeger, 1998).

### ***Main research questions***

Because both disciplines until now developed apart from one another, planners did not ask all questions they should have, and some important questions remain unanswered. The first and most important question a planner should ask himself is «what is the role of planning in processes of urban spatial economic change». This question recognises the dominance of the process of urban change over the role one actor, the government, plays in it: the planner must understand that he is not the originator of action, and that he must define his role in the process of change. To do this, the planner has to ask three related questions: «what are the processes behind spatial economic

changes, and what are the positions of various actors in these processes?» and «what is my background as an actor and my position as an actor in the process?»

### *Context*

Without even an object of planning defined, the planner is constrained by a formal context, consisting of territorial boundaries and legislative boundaries. The constraints imposed by territorial boundaries seem obvious. Many processes exceed the jurisdictions of governmental bodies, making integral planning at the logical scale difficult or even impossible. Especially spatial economic dynamics, which take shape at a regional scale, are difficult to deal with within the current power structures in most countries, because regional administrations are difficult to introduce.

Government is also constrained by self-imposed legislative boundaries, that determine the action space of the government. These boundaries tell the government to what extent it can intervene, and what procedures must be followed for this intervention to be legitimate. Here we can see the difference between policy making as direct intervention and institutional arrangements facilitating policy making.

In a specific policy arena, the formal context is supplemented by a specific context. Changes do not originate from government policy alone, because formal government is just one player structuring the processes that guide change. It is important to understand these processes, and the backgrounds of the various actors that are involved in this change. Just as government is constrained and driven by forces and arrangements outside the direct policy arena, so are other actors that are involved. Together, these players, both governmental and non-governmental, are responsible for the development path in a specific field: this development does not necessarily originate from close interaction between the actors involved, but also from autonomous behaviour of these actors and even from uncontrollable long term development paths.

### *Goals and methods*

Within this context, I will analyse the role of spatial planning by the government in spatial economic change. This role results from formal rules and territorial boundaries constraining government behaviour, the relation of the government with other actors (and the relationships between these actors) in the policy field and the considerations guiding behaviour of these other actors. Notwithstanding the importance of constraining context variables, it is important to stress that all participants (including government) have some autonomous power. This power is available to them because of their socio-economic position or because of the resources available to them.

Three case-studies, Amsterdam, Frankfurt and Brussels, will be conducted to understand the way in which contextual variables as described above, affect the margins of influence for a spatial planner. These margins are not static, they change over time and have different development paths in different contexts. This is why the case-studies focus on changes in the contextual variables through time. The case-studies will be both quantitative and qualitative in nature, the qualitative study of primary and secondary sources (books, official policy documents, interviews, etc.) being the main objective. Quantitative analysis will focus on the changing urban-economic landscapes, especially the changing places of concentrations of economic activity, of the three areas during the period 1960-2000.

### *Literature*

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## **Urban Design Guidelines: a Planning Instrument for shaping the Superblocks in Jakarta, Indonesia**

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### ***Main Theme***

The dissertation focuses on the control of the development that determines the form of the city, particularly in special districts and superblocks within a city. Other themes include the computer application for urban design and the social planning in urban environment.

### ***Relevance for planning knowledge***

The research will contribute in closing/narrowing the gap between the generally two-dimensional planning practice and the three-dimensional architectural design (1). An objective of the research is to improve the urban design control mechanism that has just begun its implementation in Indonesia. The research is also intended as a demonstration of computer application in supporting urban planning and design activities.

### ***Motivation***

The conventional plans and building regulations have resulted in the segregation of land parcels in the city center of Jakarta. Each building is a freestanding structure on its parcel of land. The result of this kind of development is a city that is lacking visual interest, inconvenient for pedestrian, and exacerbates the traffic jam. The city has also neglected other aspects besides visual beauty: small street vendors/hawkers, the handicapped and the old are not given facilities or support to live well in the harsh urban environment. Socially marginal groups such as street vendors need to be supported and given appropriate space in urban areas.

The city government of Jakarta has tried to overcome this problem by using the Urban Design Guideline for controlling several superblock-type developments in the capital city since 1993.

Some versions of the Guidelines have been proved and implemented in actual development in the city. The Urban Design Guidelines is not yet perfect, as time has witnessed that there are revisions in each new version of the Guideline (2). It is an objective of this dissertation to investigate the most appropriate substance and format of the guideline.

### ***Research Methodology***

A study on urban design theory is used to build the normative base of the substance of an urban design guideline. This study, together with a comparative study of planning practice in controlling the urban design in developed countries provides a base for investigating the practice of urban design control in Indonesia and possibly to advice some improvement of the current practice. Urban design control in Germany, the United Kingdom, and the USA represents the practice in the developed countries.

A study on the application of computer for urban planning & design purposes will be conducted. This study supports the simulation of an urban design guideline for an urban area, which will be performed to verify and evaluate the findings. This type of methodology is often called action research (3).

### ***Stage of Research***

The study on urban design theory and the comparative study of planning practice in controlling the urban design have been almost completed. The finding on the study on urban design guidelines is presented briefly here in the following section. The study on computer application in urban planning & design is still in progress. The simulation of an urban design guideline for an area in Jakarta will be performed right after the completion of this study.

### ***Preliminary Results: Urban Design Guidelines as a planning tool***

Some basic features of the urban design guideline as an instrument for controlling the shape of the built environment have been identified as following:

- Urban Design Guideline work similar to overlays of various regulations and plans that applies to an area, and at the same time summaries these conventional building regulations and plans.

- \_ An Urban Design Guidelines is valid only for a specific area in the city, very much like the concept of a special district. Just as the name implies, a special district should have special qualities that need to be preserved. In the case of Superblock, it is the central location & its large land area that is developed in an integrated fashion/manner.
- \_ Urban Design Guidelines provides a working/decision-making environment for architects who design a building in the area (4).
- \_ Urban Design Guidelines are more precise (fit for the location) than the conventional building codes and plans, because they are more detailed and prepared especially for that area, and not for the entire city.
- \_ Urban Design Guidelines must be updated periodically with clear updating authorities.

#### ***The advantages of using the Urban Design Guidelines for Superblock development***

- \_ They can easily be utilized to redistribute the floor area allowance, using the concept of a "pool of allowable floor area". Each land parcel in the planned Superblock may be allocated different floor area ratio (FAR), depending on the demand of the planning and the urban design considerations. The building can be shaped as needed within a building envelope: not rigid like parading soldier, which has been built along the major thoroughfare in Jakarta as a result of the old building regulations and plan.
- \_ The use of urban design guideline can foster the growth of mixed use, thanks to a detailed vertical and horizontal (land) use planning within the guideline.
- \_ The unity of design in the entire Superblock can be maintained by prescribing color, material, signage, and many other details of the buildings.
- \_ The support for more pedestrian oriented activity & facility is attained through several ways:
  - \_ Using the bonus & incentive scheme to attract more pedestrian-oriented activities such as cafe etc. along major pedestrian paths.
  - \_ The utilization of private land for public use: part of the pedestrian path is built on the building-set-back area of the private land.
  - \_ Integrated design: ensuring a good linkage by locating the pedestrian path between all major "pedestrian magnets" such as bus stop, large shops, lunch/eating establishments, large offices or other workplaces etc.

- Mandatory building form, such as arcade or canopy, along strategic pedestrian route is intended to provide weather protection to the pedestrian.
- The urban design guideline may support the social planning. Socially marginal group such as street hawkers can be granted a place to do their business in the pedestrian area of the superblock. This is an improvement from the common practice in Indonesia, where the street hawkers are unorganized, as they may occupy the sidewalk illegally and thus are subject to eviction by the municipal government.
- A slightly higher average FAR - e.g. from 4.0 to 4.2 - may be granted based on the lower traffic demand due to the reduction of inter-building traffic; the use of an integrated parking system with interconnected basement that was not possible with the conventional regulation; and the good connectivity to mass transit network.

### ***Problems with the Urban Design Guidelines***

There are some drawbacks and difficulties in implementing the guideline:

- Balancing between flexibility of the guidelines (that gives the architects and the developers more freedom of designing the Superblock) and order (that is often translated into more rigid guidelines, which discourages the architect as well as the investor) must be undertaken carefully.
- The difference in allocated floor space (FAR) and building coverage ratio (BCR) among land parcels within a district may invoke a feeling of unfairness between the landowners, who might have purchased those land at the same price.
- It requires more time to prepare the urban design guidelines than the conventional plans. This will cause an increase of cost for the developers. Note: In Indonesia, the developer bears the cost of preparing an Urban Design Guideline, which includes the fee of the urban design consultant. However, the developer may gain more due to the increased quality of the superblock, which can be sold or leased at a higher price.
- The new approach requires some "getting used" by the designers that are going to do the work on the site. Experience shows that the Urban Design Guidelines that have been implemented so far are still workable, albeit with a constrained feeling of the architects who design the building in that area.

***Prerequisite of implementing the urban design guidelines***

In order to implement an urban design guideline effectively, some conditions should be satisfied, which are:

- \_ Clear boundary of planned area, including the land parcel boundaries.
- \_ Clear objective of development of the area.
- \_ The officials of the local government office and the architects must be trained to understand and to work with this new kind of regulating instrument.
- \_ Clear decision-making rationale. It would be better if the decisions history can be traced back, so that people can refer to it in disputes etc (5). This is particularly useful in light of the long time span required to finish a superblock. There are many parties involved, and the personnel might be replaced during the course of the project.

A single developer, who then may sell or lease the land parcels at different prices, is an ideal solution for the problem of accounting the difference of allocated FAR.

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## Visual Literacy Research Programme

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The research programme is intended to examine what is meant by visual literacy, investigate the extent of public awareness in this field, and direct this knowledge towards an intensification of such awareness in order to deepen community understanding of, and involvement in, the process of design.

### ***Relevance for planning knowledge.***

The project seeks to contribute to the implementation of social and physical renewal strategies, by supporting the concepts of capacity building and empowerment.

Capacity building is linked to the ideas of:

- \_ Education, as we believe, is the first step out of disadvantage1.
- \_ Participation is relevant as "significant changes in human behaviour can be brought about rapidly and efficiently only if the persons who are expected to change participate in deciding what the change shall be and how it shall be made" (Sanoff 1992 iii).

By providing education we wish to stimulate the only significant form of participation, the one connected to awareness and redistribution of power. Unless participation is linked to power of decision making, "it turns into an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the power holders to claim that all sides were considered but makes it possible only for some of these to benefit and maintains the status quo" (Arnstein 1969).

### ***Research methodology.***

The research is organised into different phases:

– *Definition of Visual Literacy.*

Review of existing literature and discussions with those involved in the visual disciplines, with particular attention to the work done on the perception of urban environments.

– *Survey.*

To assess the relationships pertaining across a range of variables related both to people and places. It is structured on various stages of complexity, from peoples' perception of the city as a whole, to the attribution of significant meanings, to specific features to the comparison between groups evaluations on specific urban elements.

Part of this survey stage is currently on site, and will be included in the educational packages to be produced by the end of the research. The aim is to stimulate opinions among groups, which will be used as a training tool within the training process.

– *Analysis.*

To observe variations in the response of differing observers to different urban contexts. This stage is an ongoing process, as it includes 2 types of evaluation:

1. Carried out by the researcher and used to create the educational program and the workshops.
2. Carried out by the groups involved as a critical tool to learn to confront ideas, perspectives and to look for answers.

– *Development of an educational program aimed at heightening visual awareness in the city.*

To produce a series of workshops in different community context focusing-where possible- on design issues relevant to the city. The researcher has involved different community groups, from young children in schools to Community Based Housing Associations, to professionals as well as common laymen. From here stems the idea of creating educational packages for all the groups involved covering the visual perceptual world from the basic tools to ever more complex concepts dealing with human needs, the environment, architecture etc. (Sanoff 1992). The structure will include tools to:

- \_ allow verbal and visual communication and discussion among groups;
- \_ develop the decision making process capacity of individuals and groups;
- \_ analyse and criticise given scenarios, and to modify them according to new sets of criteria;
- \_ compare personal views to groups views;
- \_ Discuss on relevant issues regarding the city.

The structure of the Visual Literacy Research Programme is based on the conviction that it should not just be restricted to the academic world. It involves and tests its findings on a range of social groups, and is based on direct contributions from the urban reality of Glasgow (Housing Associations, schools etc.). This contact is fundamental as it links theory to practice assuring for its progress a continuous feed back. The research is aimed to be of practical use to those groups with difficulties in having their urban-social needs satisfied, to reinforce a system which will enable them to have a say in formulating the best fitting solutions rather than being provided with a ready to use product.

Glasgow is a particularly interesting context for this Research, as for over 20 years has been carrying out urban renewal projects involving the local communities. Such communities, together with professionals, have matured as a result of their experience. Such development has been institutionalised, in the sense that some educational courses have been set up to improve the co-operation between local communities and professionals. The Visual Literacy Research Programme is developing such experience, under the advice and with the help of some of these experts. The Visual Literacy Research Programme understands the degree to which such educational programmes have contributed to the improvement of urban areas.

In three case studies (the so called neighbourhood case studies proposed by the social Housing Group) the impact of these programmes will be analysed in order to improve them and focus on more reproducible results.

***The 3 case studies:***

1. Reidvale Housing Association (Glasgow). A 25 years process of spontaneous learning and research of quality, through the development, by a small group of tenants, of both the physical and personal image of an inner city housing estate.

2. Castlemilk (Glasgow). How the previous experience is used to stimulate the interest for a life long learning process in shorter time and for extremely complex social and physical problems. This is one of the most deprived areas in the UK; can environmental education accelerate and improve the solution to such problems? The case study will examine an experimental project of co-operation between a local group of disadvantaged young people and the University of Strathclyde (Dr. Frey and his Design Unit) in the design of community facilities for the estate.
3. Torino, Grugliasco. Can the Glasgow example help guiding a newly formed group of residents to become responsible of the renovation of their housing estate? (The conditions are similar to the Castlemilk case study, where residents wish to acquire the public housing stock improving its management and allocation policies).

***Stage of the research.***

The time-sequence of the research, which leads to the degree of PhD, is:

1. Research theory & identification of urban issues with the involved (theory, survey, analysis);
2. Training programmes;
3. Physical changes.

The research is so far developing part 1 &2 (part 3 will require long term research dealing with community projects, so they are excluded from the PhD itself).

This Visual Literacy Programme is an action research which involves at any stage groups of people. It is, therefore, subject to a constant feed back and frequent changes and shifts of initial ideas.

Phase 1(Theory) is examining traditional literature on perception, environmental evaluation, theories on human needs, as well as more recent experiences and case studies.

Phases 2(Survey)-3(analysis)-4(educational programs) are carried out in parallel, since for practical reasons different groups are \_so far- analysed separately through workshops, visits, interviews.

***Major obstacles.***

The major difficulties are due to the constant attempt of applying theoretical findings to real situations; this requires adaptations and flexibility.

This fact can anyway be considered as an optimisation process rather than an obstacle.

***Preliminary results.***

Investigation to date reveals a very large interest of the people/groups contacted to participate; they have become involved in every stage of the research. This suggests a good starting point for creating and assessing an effectively usable and extendable educational program.

From such responses new ideas have emerged, and the development of the educational program is modelled on all these imputes, which as a consequence are relevant and correspond to the users' interest, concerns and capacities.

Moreover there has been an extraordinarily good response from professionals and experts in this field, who are supporting and enriching this research with interesting discussions and sometimes a critical monitoring process.

***Recent developments.***

The Survey and Analysis stages have recently been organised on a temporal and methodological format including 3 main phases:

- \_ Perception
- \_ Cognition
- \_ Use/ environmental behaviour.

A recent analysis on peoples cognitive maps of Glasgow has provided categories of relevant features; among them street & public spaces was selected as a direction of analysis. The survey will analyse \_through peoples process of acquaintance, knowledge and use of such spaces- which physical characteristic and why affect human behaviour, and how to improve both.

The analysis process will be carried out using the following methodologies:

- \_ Cognitive mapping + questionnaires;

- \_ Multiple Sorting Task;
- \_ Smallest Space Analysis as a base for Semantic Differentials;
- \_ Visual Notation + Emotional Loading Profile.

The idea of using the research as part of a CD-ROM on making the planning process more transparent and user friendly is under discussion; the project will be carried out jointly by the Planning Department and Glasgow 1999 UK City of Architecture and Design.

In general the programme will relate to issues such as the visual-formal, economic and politic relevance of planning issues and will provide information on the planning tools. The Visual Literacy Research Programme is included in the visual-formal part.

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## **Residential Differentiation in the Transition from Socialism to the Market Economy. The Case of Tallinn, Estonia.**

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In my PhD-thesis titled «Urban Transition - the Residential Differentiation of Eastern European Cities in the Transition to the Market Economy» I will compare the effects of transition on residential differentiation in Tallinn, Budapest, Prague and Warsaw. In the PhD workshop at Finse I would like to present a paper discussing the socialistic heritage of these four cities in general, and in particular the effects of the transition on the social structure of Tallinn, the capital of Estonia. The emphasis will be on the socioeconomic differentiation, although the ethnic differentiation is also discussed when relevant.

The method I will use in my PhD-thesis is comparative urban research. My empirical data consists of official statistics and the real estate market reports done by the real estate firms. I also intend to conduct interviews with key groups of urban development: real estate developers, finance managers, real estate market analysts and urban planners. In my presentation at Finse I will first discuss the results of my Master's thesis (January 1999) and secondly, the new empirical material consisting of interviews with experts and newspaper articles I have collected in Tallinn.

The discussion on residential differentiation in socialist cities was launched by Iván Szelényi's study *Urban Inequalities under State Socialism* (1983). Because it was written already in the early 1970's, it no longer depicted the situation in the late 1980's. In my paper my aim is to update this study concerning the differentiation processes in Eastern European socialist cities in different

decades of the socialist era, and discuss the subsequent types of social structure. In my paper I will also discuss how the housing reform, i.e. the transition to the market economy will influence the residential differentiation. I will use Tallinn as a case study to show some of the new trends of urban development, and their relation to the old physical and social structure of the city. I will also compare Tallinn to other cities, e.g. Sykora's (1994) study of Prague and Szelényi's (1996) study of Budapest.

The housing reform consists of the privatisation of the public housing stock and urban land, the privatisation of public housing construction, and the replacement of public housing allocation by the housing market. The privatisation of the housing stock means both giving ownership to an old tenant and restitution, which means that the property will be given back to the previous owners or their inheritors. The consequences of transition vary in different parts of the housing stock. Especially restitution, which concerns the old urban structure in the centre of the cities, can be regarded as a «motor» for urban development. The change of ownership usually concerns the whole real estate and set the stock on a move. In the transitional cities the role of urban planning is to provide only general guide lines for urban development; not detailed regulations for development projects that are left to private agents and partnerships (e.g. Kuhu areneb Tallinn 1996; Hoffmann 1994.) This corresponds to the recent trends in the western world. Hence, my PhD-project concerns market pressures as new challenges for urban planning.

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## **The Community Reinvestment Movement: How Community Based Organizations are Shaping Their Futures**

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This dissertation project investigates whether the Community Reinvestment Act and the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act have substantially strengthened community-based organizations' capacities to influence residential credit availability in US cities and neighborhoods. The community reinvestment movement developed as a response to extensive post-war urban disinvestment and racism in US housing markets. While these problems persist, the community reinvestment movement appears to have made great strides in promoting homeownership opportunities for minority and low-and-moderate income borrowers. This abstract briefly recounts the history of urban disinvestment in the US, describes the research questions and methodology of my dissertation, and then couches the work in the broader context of local control of capital. My goal is to connect the mechanics of these two laws to Agenda 21's concerns with participatory planning and community-based issue analysis (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, 1996).

In 1950 central cities, as distinct from their suburbs, accounted for nearly 6 of 10 persons living in metropolitan areas in the US. By 1970 central city residents accounted for barely 4 of 10 persons. The dramatic population shift from cities to suburbs, indeed the deep distinction between the two, is a particularly American urban phenomenon with many explanations. Strong and persistent consumer preference for new homes in the suburbs has played a significant factor in the process. But other less benign forces have also been identified. For instance, from the passage of the

National Housing Act in 1934 through the early 1960s Federal Housing Administration (FHA) mortgage insurance implicitly condoned neighborhood racial homogeneity thereby excluding large areas of many cities from federal loan guarantees (Jackson, 1985). The building industry's preference for large-scale suburban development projects was reinforced by the federal government's preference for builders who could deliver large numbers of mortgages en masse (Checkoway, 1983). Finally, more than a dozen studies conducted in the late 1960s and early 1970s documented outright racism in mortgage markets across the US (Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, 1975). Despite these and other factors penalizing urban residents, more than 60 million Americans still lived in a central city in 1970.

In response to racism in the mortgage markets and the trend toward private disinvestment from cities, a loose network of housing advocates, civil rights proponents, and consumer groups began to petition cities, states, and the federal government for legislative action. These early advocates, founders of the still-vibrant community reinvestment movement, earned two important victories when Congress passed the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act of (HMDA) 1975 and the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) of 1977. Initially, HMDA required lenders to keep tally of their approved mortgage loans by census tract, a small areal measure typically containing about 4,000 people. The CRA mandated that banks have an affirmative obligation to fully serve their designated service areas, including minorities and low-and-moderate income persons and neighborhoods. The CRA also gave individuals and communities the opportunity to protest a bank's application for regulatory approval, for example, a bank merger or a branch closing, on the grounds that the bank was not meeting its legislatively-mandated affirmative obligation. Another, more amicable and organic option than the legal protest, was the use of negotiated CRA agreements. The details surrounding CRA agreements vary widely but, in general, they are a formal, but not legally binding, arrangement between a bank and a community group(s) in which the bank commits to improve banking services for low-and-moderate-income persons and neighborhoods. Increased mortgage dollars is a common component of most of these agreements and a good way to measure their effectiveness.

Despite the hopes surrounding HMDA data and the potential for community participation thanks to CRA, few benefits accrued to communities. Between 1977 and 1988 the Federal Reserve formally reviewed 139 applications by banks in which a community group had protested the bank's application for regulatory approval; not one application was denied because of a CRA protest (Cowell and Hagler 1992, 92). CRA agreements offered little more. Between 1977 and 1991, community groups negotiated more than 160 CRA agreements but managed to secure only \$7.1 billion in mortgage commitments (National Community Reinvestment Coalition, 1998). Then, suddenly, between 1992 and 1997 community based organizations negotiated nearly one trillion dollars in mortgage commitments (National Community Reinvestment Coalition 1998). What brought this success? And have these pledges of more mortgage dollars been kept? Despite a comprehensive inventory of community reinvestment agreements and a data set which inventories the 12 to 15 million annual mortgage applications, there has been little systematic follow-up to measure the effects of CRA agreements on the people and the places which they are meant to help. In addition, if these commitments have been kept, as the preliminary evidence suggests (Nesiba, 1995; Schwartz, 1997; Shlay and Goldberg, forthcoming), there has been little analysis of how or why these laws became so effective in the 1990s. The situation brings two important questions to the forefront:

- 1) Have banks with CRA agreements actually increased mortgage availability to low-and-moderate income and minority persons and neighborhoods?
- 2) What happened in the 1990s to suddenly make the CRA and HMDA such effective tools in the hands of community based organizations across the country?

To answer the first question, I will compare the lending trends of banks with CRA agreements to the lending trends of banks without them over the six year period 1992 to 1997. This section will rely on HMDA data and the National Community Reinvestment Coalition's CRA agreements inventory. Controlling for bank mergers, I will use fixed-effects multiple regression to measure the effects of CRA agreements on mortgage supply and demand at the bank level. The data consist of more than 100 CRA agreements signed between 1993 and 1995 and approximately 4 million mortgage applications made in 25 cities between 1992 and 1997.

To answer the second question, I will begin by researching the legislative histories of HMDA and the CRA and their subsequent amendments. Next, I will use semi-structured interviews with community based organizations which have negotiated CRA agreements, the banks which signed them, and federal regulators in order to analyze what happened in the 1990s to make the two laws seemingly so effective. Many things can explain the boom in mortgage lending after the recession of the early 1990s. On the demand side the changing demographics of the US population meant that if banks wanted to increase their deposit bases they would have to attract and satisfy minority and low-and-moderate income customers, both groups which traditionally they had underserved. On the supply side, relaxed underwriting criteria in the secondary mortgage markets permitted lenders greater flexibility in originating mortgages to low-and-moderate income homebuyers (Temkin et al., 1998). Also, the growth of a rich network of community development corporation has improved affordable housing production in some cities (Keating, et al. 1990). Finally, of course, the booming economy after 1992, helps to explain the rise in borrowing among minority and lower-income people over the 1990s (Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council, 1992 to 1997). The goal of this second question, however, will be to ascertain from community groups, banks, and regulators what role, if any, the legislative amendments which strengthened the CRA and dramatically improved the availability of HMDA data, played in promoting mortgage activity among low-and-moderate-income persons and neighborhoods.

There is a clear connection between the promoting urban reinvestment issues and curtailing suburban sprawl. Redirecting future growth back to the cities would surely encourage more sustainable development patterns. It is interesting to note that banks are given CRA credit for loans that redevelop brownfields in urban areas. Nonetheless, my interest is to connect the HMDA/CRA framework to the citizen participation requirements contained in Agenda 21. For example, the significant role which community based organizations have played over the past two decades relates directly to Agenda 21's concerns with integrated decision-making. The Community Reinvestment Act gives citizens and the organizations who speak for them direct standing in the regulatory process. Second, Home Mortgage Disclosure Act provides data to community groups which can help to mitigate the substantial information inequalities which exist

between banks, regulators, and community organizations. Finally, from the perspective of non-governmental organizations, the HMDA/CRA framework offers insights into what local organizations need to effectively negotiate with national and international stakeholders—both businesses and government regulators. In sum, the success of the community reinvestment movement and its use of HMDA and CRA tell a provocative story of a new public policy instrument which promotes community control of extra-local actors.

I hope to prove that CRA agreements are effective and that the combination of having a voice in the regulatory process (thanks to CRA) and information (thanks to HMDA) is a requisite for community based organizations to be effective as «regulators from below» (Fishbein 1992). The chance to introduce these laws and the community based organization who use them to an audience of European planners would be exciting. In addition, the 1999 AESOP Conference and Ph.D. Workshop would also provide me with an excellent opportunity to think about the bigger questions surrounding market governance and local control.

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## A Planned Risk ?

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### *Main theme of PhD*

Planning applications for waste disposal units are notoriously met by considerable local opposition. In the case of waste incinerators much of this opposition has been centred upon the potential that the emissions have to pose a health risk. There has been a tendency among waste management companies to view such concerns as irrational, and consequently to approach the problem with a view that education and the provision of information will induce positive changes in people's perceptions towards waste incinerators. This approach has been widely criticised for: being unsuccessful at reducing the level of local opposition accompanying incinerator planning applications; not realising that the problem goes well beyond NIMBY and involves issues of risk perception, trust, and fundamental decisions about the most appropriate waste management strategy (1); and, not making decisions through fair and competent discourse (2).

It is increasingly being realised that risk must be looked at within a social context (3); (4), and that non-uniform scientific approaches to assessing environmental risk could be producing non-consistent results (5). Much literature and past research has established risk as a socially constructed problem. Theories on public perception of risk indicate that risk has physical, psychological, social, political, ethical, and economic dimensions (6); (7); (8); (9); (10); and (11). Therefore, it can be said that the effective assessment of risk requires an interdisciplinary approach that recognises the inherent scientific and social pluralities; an integration of scientific and non-scientific perspectives that are both *expert* in their contexts; and a recognition of citizen knowledge and expertise (12).

With waste management companies and local Government beginning to reach the stage of desperation over the difficulty of gaining planning permission for waste incinerators they are

beginning to show signs of change - moving towards more comprehensive risk assessments, and undertaking more genuine forms of risk communication and public participation. This thesis seeks to evaluate these more imaginative forms of risk assessment and communication against the more traditional approaches: do they create a situation of fair and competent discourse?; what effect do they have on the level of conflict?; and, how do the different stakeholders involved in the process feel about the methods?

### ***Relevance to planning knowledge***

Evaluation of past and current risk assessment and communication practices will enable suggestions to be made as to the most desirable type and level of democratic process, and blend of scientific and social values for waste disposal unit planning applications of the future. This will form the basis for a series of practical recommendations for the use of risk assessment and communication methods within environmental impact assessment and other environmental information used within and related to the planning process.

### ***Research methodology and progress***

The research methodology can be seen as a filtering process, from many cases to few. A questionnaire has been sent to UK planning officers who have been involved in one or more planning application for waste incinerators with the aim of gaining further information on the treatment of environmental risk within the planning system and to identify potential case studies for further analysis. The use of the questionnaire has enabled data to be collected on the methods used to assess environmental risk in environmental impact assessments (under the Environmental Assessment Directive EC 85/337, planning applications made for certain projects are required to be submitted with an accompanying environmental impact assessment); the planning officer's preferred method of assessment; how the prediction of risk was evaluated; the risk communication strategy used in the planning application; and, the relationship that existed between the planning and pollution control authorities.

Further information on the risk assessment and communication approaches of seventy of these applications has been collected by means of a review of the accompanying environmental impact assessments. The review was mainly concerned with the assessment of incinerator emissions under normal operating conditions, although details were also made of the assessment of risk posed by emissions under emergency release scenarios, good house keeping practices, and where the social construct of risk was addressed. Each impact assessment was reviewed with the aid of a set of criteria drawn up from the appropriate literature and guidelines. The assessment categories are too numerous to receive detailed attention in this note, however these are a few examples: discussion of uncertainties; consideration of existing ambient air conditions; exposure pathways assessed; discussion of dose response modelling; and, types of risk comparison.

The basic findings included a three way split of assessment methods between referencing to emission standards, air dispersion modelling, and risk assessment. As was to be expected, emissions under emergency release scenarios and the perceptions of risk were given extremely variable treatment. Further analysis will be made subsequently.

It was important that potential case studies had considerable risk issues attached to them, they had currency, and were for waste to energy incinerators. Risk was an issue in nearly all of the planning applications looked at but, problematically, very few planning applications for incinerators have been submitted within the past 2 years. Currency is an important issue as it will be much harder to justify the accuracy of responses from surveys concerning older applications as time affects people's memories in different ways. The draft of the UK waste strategy emphasises that dwindling landfill capacity will mean that more waste will be disposed of by new generation waste to energy incinerators. It follows that all three case studies chosen for further analysis are for ongoing waste to energy incinerator planning applications. The methods of risk assessment and communication utilised in each vary from the bare minimum to the most advanced methods undertaken in the UK to date.

In order to determine the effectiveness of the various methods of risk assessment and communication utilised in each case study, semi-structured interviews and standard format

questioning will be conducted with the main stakeholders - central government officials, local government officials, the developer, the environmental consultant, national interest groups, local interest groups, local industry, members of focus groups, and local residents. Prospective interviewees have been contacted by letter and will be interviewed person to person or over the telephone over the next 4 months. All interviews will be recorded and transcribed. In addition to the interviews, approximately 50 local residents will be chosen at random from the local population of each case study and will be questioned on points such as their concerns about the planning application; the sources of environmental information which they have been exposed to; and, the level of trust that they have in the various stakeholders.

### ***Major obstacles in developing the research***

A major concern about the research was that the developers would be unwilling to comment upon the successes and failures of their risk assessment and communication strategies while the planning application was still live. This is understandable with large amounts of money resting on the decision. The problem was circumvented by a simple confidentiality agreement which prevents me from publishing any of their views before the planning application concerned has been decided.

### ***Preliminary results***

To date my research suggests that even the most cutting edge risk assessment and communication strategies have been and continue to be far from what theory and guidance terms effective. In practice, possible reasons (to be researched) for this ineffectiveness include: the developer's view of the planning process as a bet and a resulting reluctance to invest in risk assessment and communication programmes; the adversarial nature of the planning process; the Government shrugging off responsibility for the waste problem at a national (not following up the waste strategy with an effective programme of risk communication) and local level (the provision of often meaningless waste local plans); litigation becoming an increasing feature of the planning process; and Counties being unlikely to become regionally self-sufficient in the near future with the advent of SERPLAN like strategies (excepting London).

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## Urban Form and Activity Patterns

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### *Main theme of the PhD*

In recent years national and local governments in the Netherlands have started the implementation of the so-called VINEX-policy in order to comply with the expected housing needs in the decades ahead. This means that vast building sites are being developed. In doing so far-reaching decisions are made on the spatial structure of these new neighbourhoods and districts and on the way in which they are embedded in the existing built environment. The consequences of these choices with regard to policy goals set by Dutch governments, like sustainability, reduction of (car)mobility, sufficient economic and social base for services, are not clear. Empirical underpinnings for chosen policies are only available for some aspects of the choices made. And where empirical evidence is lacking, choices are made based on 'common sense'.

The aim of this PhD-study is the development of an evaluation methodology that can be used to assess the effects of existing and new concepts for spatial structures on a large number of aspects, translated in evaluation criteria for policy goals. The knowledge gained in this way can be utilised to make better choices for locations and design of new development sites.

### *Research methodology*

Theory behind the study is that new (or existing) urban areas form an environment for individuals and households to live in. Individuals and households have their basic needs and personal preferences, while the environment they live in poses them with opportunities and constraints. The fulfilment of the needs and preferences within the context of the urban environment results in activity participation of individuals and households. The activity participation leads to activity

patterns, which show not only what kind of activities are executed but also at which locations, using which transportation modes, at what times and with which frequency.

The information contained in the activity patterns is used in this research project to obtain scores on a number of performance criteria. These criteria have been developed in an earlier stage of the project, and are all based on the overall concept of sustainability. Within the concept of sustainability two main relevant dimensions are discerned, e.g. a social dimension and an ecological dimension. The social dimension is concerned with equity and meeting human needs, while the ecological dimension is concerned with prevention of consumption of unrenewable resources and production of harmful or wasteful emissions.

The performance criteria on the social dimension are based on the idea of livability and quality of the urban environment from a social point of view. We have defined the quality of the urban environment as 'the measure to which the environment offers opportunities to engage in *fixed-mandatory* activities under *favourable conditions*, to maximise *discretionary* activities (preferably under favourable conditions) and to minimise *flexible-mandatory* activities'. In an earlier paper [Snellen, 1997a] this has been worked out in further detail. The performance criteria on the ecological dimension focus mainly on the ecological consequences of activity participation in the form of (motorised) travel. These have been discussed in more detail in another paper [Snellen, 1997b]. The conceptual framework that can be derived from all of this is presented in figure 1.

In order to assess the performance of different urban concepts, data had to be collected. First an assessment of relevant aspects of the physical environment, e.g. urban form, transportation network types, location of services, etc., was made, based on existing literature. Then 19 neighbourhoods in 9 Dutch cities were selected representing a systematic variation on these variables. Socio-economic aspects were also taken into account when selecting neighbourhoods, assuring a wide range of socio-economic classes to be included in the data collection. Respondents were asked to report information on frequently made trips, like home-to-work-trips and shopping trips and to keep a two day activity-and-travel-diary. In total app. 600 respondents cooperated in the research.

***Stage of research***

At this point, data collection and data entry have been completed and a start has been made with data analyses. The first results from bivariate analyses of the data on frequent activities have been presented at last years European Transport Forum conference (PTRC) [Snellen et.al., 1998a] and the DutchTransportation Planning Research Colloquium [Snellen et.al., 1998b]. These analyses will be followed by more comprehensive multivariate analyses. I am also working on the first chapters of the thesis, reviewing existing literature on the subject.

***Major obstacles***

Major obstacle in the research project is the data collection. Collection of diary data on activities and travel is time consuming for both researcher and respondent and is very costly. Response figures are low, since many potential respondents we approached waived participation. Our budget did not allow personal visits to respondents and telephone interviewing was not an option in view of the amount and type of questions we wanted to ask. This left us with a paper-and-pencil questionnaire as our only option for data collection.

***Preliminary results***

The first results of the bivariate analysis give us the some indications on possible relationships between urban characteristics and travel patterns. In general there are some conclusions to be drawn from the preliminary results. First of all we notice that relationships appear to be not as strong as might be expected from the literature. It also became clear that assumptions derived from the literature, which often originates from other countries than the Netherlands, can not simply be translated to the situation in our country. For instance, from our analyses there are few indications that density has very much influence, while in the literature this is presented as one of the most important urban characteristics influencing travel patterns. However, several urban characteristics did prove to be related to travel patterns, e.g. transportation network type in the neighbourhood, availability of services and employment and location of the city within our country.

Another main conclusion is that it appears that when a city or neighbourhood differs considerably with regard to (elements of) urban structure, like in our study, it can have a substantial effect.

This implies that when drastic changes in our urban structures, and therefore in our urban planning and design, are made, significant differences in the performance of (new) neighbourhoods may be achieved. For all of this it is necessary to look at the data in more detail, which we are doing at the moment and hope to report on in the main conference.

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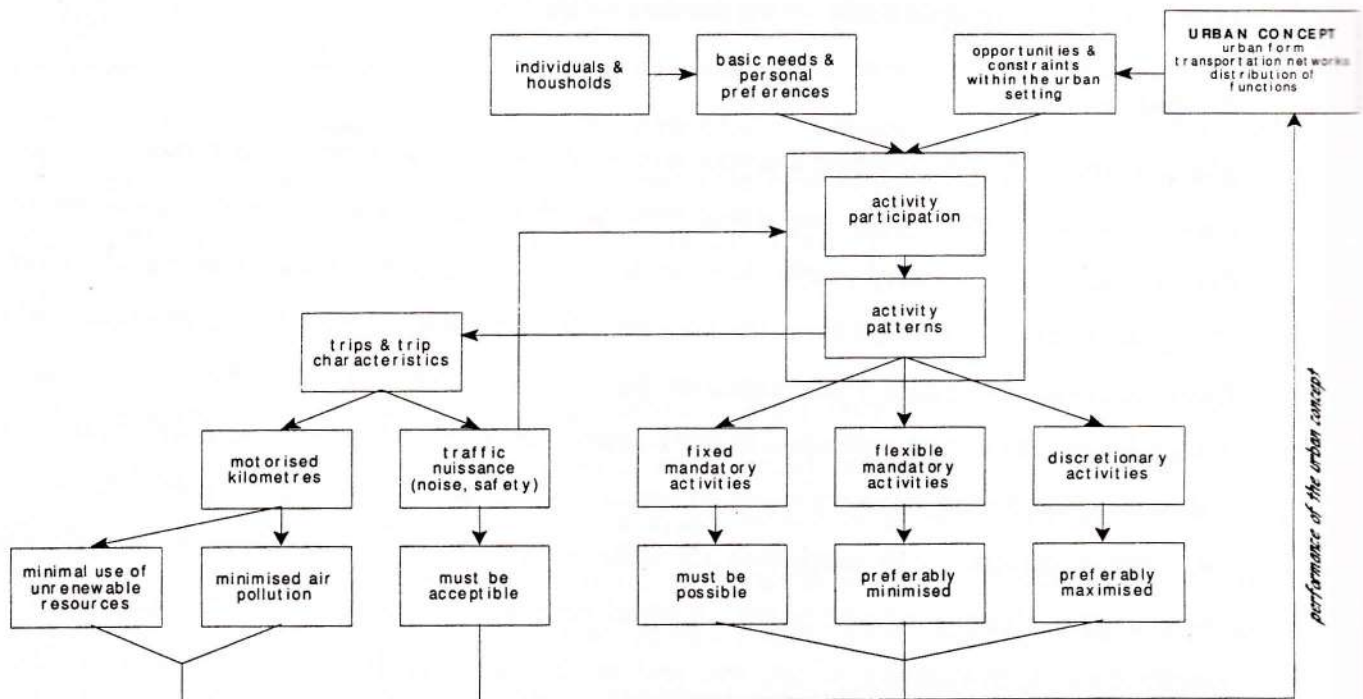


Figure 1. Conceptual framework

# Interpretation of a Disposal for the Coordination Between the Actors of Planning: The Agreement of Program as a “Space of Interaction

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## **1. Presentation of the research: subject and case-study**

The central subject of the research is the relations between actors in the implementation of Public Works in Italy. The Agreement of Programme is a disposal for coordination introduced by the national law 142/90 regarding the renewal of the competences of the local bodies. In the law the recourse to the Agreement of Programme is suggested for the “definition and implementation of public works, interventions and programmes of interventions that require for their complete realization an integrated action of municipalities, districts and regions, of national administrations and other public subjects, anyhow of two or more of the subjects above”.

The research puts forward an interpretation of this disposal for coordination by building up some hypothesis that take start from the literature on the theme and compare it with three concrete case-studies. The main references come from the reflections of the Planning theory on the ethical dimension of Planning, from the critical contributions of the Public Policy Analysis, and from some last achievements of the Sociological disciplines: actor-based approaches, theory of action, principles and applications of principles in planning.

Here follows a synthesis of the main hypothesis formulated: actor-based approaches can help the implementation of urban projects; coordination can be analysed in a social perspective; the Agreement of Programme can be described as a “space for interaction”; descriptive approaches to ethic issues can overcome the difficulties related to normative approaches; interaction is based on

some external conditions that are mainly the nature of the policy and the organisation of the process of projection; the integration of transport and land-use policies is a specific problem of coordination.

The three case-studies chosen are all concerned with strategic planning policies in the North of Italy: the doubling of the railway line between Milan and Treviglio, the second pole of the Fair of Milan, the realization of a center for goods transportation by railway in the south of Milan. The outputs of the work allow some new remarks on the role of the procedures in the processes of implementation of urban policies. The evaluation of the Agreement of Programme that is given at the end of the work underlines the importance both of the formal and non-formal resources for coordination in the implementation of public policies throughout this disposal.

*2. A first focus of the research: beyond any a-priori interpretation of a disposal for coordination, some enlightments on the ethical theories that can inspire the application of a procedure*

One of the main efforts of the research has been that of going beyond any a-priori interpretation of the Agreement of Program that is given by the law, facing critically the problem of the coordination between the actors of planning. Some examples of the interpretative work that the research has made are presented below. Generally the law describes the procedure throughout its phases, ignoring that any phase represents also a discriminatory action inspired by ethical principles.

It is not easy to say, before the application, which will be the ethical principal that will inspire each single phase of the procedure. Out of the real application, any phase can be claimed to belong to a system of values inspired to the Utilitarianism of Bentham, as to the Neocontractualism of Rawls, or to any other Ethical Theory based on the rights of the individuals or on the idealistic principle of a universal communication. Only with the help of the analyses of real case studies some answers have been given to a deeper interpretation of formal procedures.

The first phase that characterise the Agreement of Program can be defined as a “preparatory phase”. In order to realize all the works falling within the jurisdiction of the Region, the councillor of the sector involved in the policy, such as the councillor of Transports, has the power to promote an Agreement of Programme, submitting his proposal to the regional council. Once the proposal is made, the national law provides for a meeting of consultation of the public institutions involved (the *Conferenza Istruttoria*). This consultation, that usually lasts for a very short time, helps the regional administration to check the existing of a minimum consensus on the planning policy they want to start. Proposals and counter-proposals are the contents of a negotiation that generally ends with the drawing up of an outline of the agreement (the *Proposta of Agreement of Programme*).

What is evident in this starting phase is the position of favour that is owned by promoter of the initiative: the Region is in the juridic position to promote its policies, and the other subjects of the meeting of consultation have not the power to react to this top down initiative. We have to say that, in opposition to the past, the meeting of consultation conceived inside the Agreement of Program gives some more chances to a democratic participation of the subjects involved. An alternative course of actions is offered to the subjects involved by the subscription of a Protocol containing the general aims of the promoter and the specific interests they are free to express (the *Protocollo di Intesa*). This solution could be explained inside the ethical perspective of the Utilitarianism, where an impartial observer is asked to sum up algebraically the preferences expressed by a multitude of subjects to come to a collective utility. This one represents a formal way to aggregate the utilities, that has been abundantly criticized. On the contrary, the same display of preferences could represent the premise for a confrontation of the interests inside the perspective of an ethic of the communication.

The second phase consists in a longer period of negotiations between the actors involved, aiming to arrange all the different interests around goals of common interest. A time of 240 days is awarded to the negotiations that take place in the headquarters of the Municipalities or of the Region and follows a schedule of meetings defined step by step. The phase starts with the discussion around the Protocol of the goals and interests. The Ethic of Communication should

represent the main reference for this phase, even if some authors have advanced that the negotiation does not characterise as a real dialogue between equal parties, but is affected by the presence of a “strong negotiator”, the one who undertakes the initiative, while weaker subjects can just subscribe or refuse the proposal of agreement, making the Agreement of Programme more similar to a “contract of acceptance”.

The third phase corresponds to the approval of the agreement by the Region, followed by the ratification by the contracting parties. While the approval of the Region is a mere formality, for the ratification an unanimous consent is requested. From this point of view, the Agreement of Programme is a contract in all respects, allowing whichever of the concerned subjects to veto it. In particular it is a contract similar to those conceived by the Ethic of the Neocontractualism, that operates a distinction between the various interests regarding with more favour those interests of the subjects that are disadvantaged. Anyhow the law 14/1993 of the Region of Lombardia states that the usual actions and programmes of actions will be applied in case no unanimous consent is achieved.

Finally, the explanation of the cooperative undertakings inside a document that has the juridical shape of a “contract” can bring the Agreement of Program back to the Ethic of the Doctrine of Natural Law, that fixes in a “social contract” the rules that have to be respected by the parties in the future.

*3. A second focus of the research: beyond any formal interpretation of a disposals for coordination, some interpretations that face critically the problem of coordination*

Beside the description of the main phases of the Agreement of Programme from a critical point of view that enlightens the ethical belongings of each phase, the research has tried to study in depth those parts of the procedure that are generally neglected by the institutional law, concerning the management of the actions of different subjects in a process of multiple interaction. A help to the intent of the study has come from some interpretations given outside the narrow normative world of the discipline of law, rather addressing to those disciplines that have a descriptive attitude towards social events.

According to these interpretations, the Agreement of Programme has been considered as a new disposal of decision that should contrast the traditional process of decision of the public institutions, that is hierarchical, non-integrated, centralised, throughout a “free and equal negotiation”. The really innovative aspect should be the “project of coordination” that asks the different institutions to take part in the project with their different technical competences (Redaelli, 1990).

Those interpretations that have stressed the importance of the Agreement of Programme for the discipline of planning and land use, have underlined its role in the integration between plans of different levels and sectors and in the reorientation of the development towards a polycentric layout (Moretti, 1991).

Finally some other interpretations have recurred to the disciplines of sociology or public policy analysis to clear those aspects of the process that are neglected by the law, such as any informal interaction. The image that can better describe the Agreement of Programme is that of the “space of interaction”, with a definition that approximates the “concrete space of action” given by the sociologists of the theory of action in the eighties (Crozier and Friedberg, 1987). Through this image the relations between the actors that take place all along the Agreement of Programme can be described as processes that have a start, a phase of expansion, a territory of action with a limited access, some rules on the behaviours, some degrees of freedom, rewards and penalties, languages and forms of communication. The out-puts of the interaction, that correspond to the success of coordination, rely for mostly on these non-formal processes, we really know approximately.

For these interpretations any application of the Agreement of Programme does not already represent the solution to the problem of coordination. Any applications has to face ties on one side and challenges on the other . The ties come from the context that is determined by the tipology of the policy (“negative” or open to negotiations and compensative solutions), or by the organisative set up of the process (centralised or open to an integrated participation of the various subjects with their different competences). The challenges come from the capability of the

subjects to take advantage of the occasion given by the procedure in order to start a collective reflection upon the formal as upon the non-formal resources offered to coordination.

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## The Long-Term Position of Public Transport in Medium Sized Cities

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### *Introduction*

Since the Second World War the use of public transport in the Netherlands has fallen from a major transportation mode to a somewhat quieter role. The main reason for this downward slope has been the widespread introduction of the car in the fifties, followed by the process of suburbanisation in the sixties. Since then, the government has been trying to influence the flow of people by building new towns around the major cities at a distance of about twenty kilometres. When this turned out to drain the main cities of their resources and to worsen the accessibility problems the focus changed to the four major cities again. The policy of "the compact city" was adopted and new housing sites were only built in or in the immediate vicinity of the main cities. Despite results on the sustainability of the cities themselves, this policy did not have any influence on the transportation problems, simply because the jobs in the cities are taken by the commuters from the suburban towns around the cities. Looking at the increasing congestion in this area, one could say there is some potential for the public transport. It is sad, but true that the public transport did not benefit from the enormous rise in mobility since the sixties. Despite large investments in public transport infrastructure in recent years, the portion of public transport in the modal split has rather diminished than grown. Part of this can be explained by the fact that the public transport network does not match the current transport patterns of the people in the region. The public transport is not able to match the nowadays 'cris-cross-relations' in the region (le Clercq, 1996; Raad voor Verkeer en Waterstaat, 1996). Another problem is the fact that the 'quality' of the public transport compared to that of the car is low. For public transport it is almost impossible to compete with the characteristics of the car. At the moment the situation is even

worse, as the budgets for public transport have been cut and the transport companies have to become self-proficient.

When dealing with the problems of the public transport it is a logical decision to give full attention to the four main cities in the Netherlands. The chances for a successful exploitation are at their best, because of the growing congestion in the cities which frustrates car-use. This research however focuses on the possibilities for the public transport in a more competitive environment; where the chances to use either transport mode are even. This is one reason why the focus is on the medium sized cities: the large cities offers the best opportunities for public transport, the rural areas offers best opportunities for the car and the medium sized cities have equal opportunities. A second reason is the fact that the medium sized cities are on the rise in the way that plans for city-extensions are made and the amount of office space in these cities is growing (Ministry of Economic Affairs, 1994).

***Research: the long-term position of public transport in medium sized cities***

To find possibilities to deal with the encountered problems most emphasis has been laid on the 'supply' side: building more connections should increase the use of public transport. Little research has been done on the demands of the users. Especially when the living environment and demographic and socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the (potential) users is taken into account. This research is trying to fill this gap. It tries to determine whether it is possible to influence the use of a transport system by long-term changes in the spatial structure of a city. This can be done directly, by changing the structure itself. For instance, the future development of new cities or city extensions could be built in such a way as to maximise the conditions for the use of public transport. In a more indirect manner the characteristics of a spatial structure (e.g. a neighbourhood) could be changed in such a way that the city attracts groups with a different life-style than before. On a long term basis the demand for a specific transport system will change. Research needs to be done to discover mechanisms between space and people.

To accomplish this, research has to be done on three basic topics, and especially the relations between these topics has to be made clear. These three topics are all related to mobility. Looking at the topics behind mobility it is possible to speak of a triangle of relations, with three «corners»:

\* One «corner» is the spatial structure of the city. The spatial structure is a set of variables which explain the structure of the city, it contains aspects like the age and form of the city, the amount of houses and/or citizens on a square kilometer, the properties of the buildings. The spatial structure provides the conditions for the transportation system, and is also related to certain characteristics of its inhabitants.

\* A second «corner» is the transport system, which can be seen as the form of the transports networks and types ( buses, light rail or trains). The transport network is a necessary condition for determining the option a commuter has to use different modes of transport.

\* The third «corner» in this triangle are demographic characteristics of the population of the region. These characteristics can be quite basic like age, household size but on an advanced level it is possible to speak of a certain lifestyle.

Between the corners of this triangle there are two-sided relations. Between the spatial structure and the transport system there is the possibilities of the transport system and network which people can use. It is not possible to change this relation on a short term basis. The result of investigating this relation will be the design of a set of city patterns, which will be used as a basis for the study. The relation between the spatial structure and the population is a different one. Here it is not known whether there is a relation between a certain city pattern and a certain characteristic of the population. Only on a macro level it is possible to investigate the population in the city centres (Bootsma, 1998). Finally, after the relations between city patterns and a typical population has been set, it is possible to see what the relation is between the population and the forms of the transport network. The question needs to be answered whether there is a relation between a certain number of characteristics of space and certain characteristics of the population. Recent studies have shown that variables as age, size of the household and income, though important, are not sufficient any more to explain the choice of a living environment. For this reason the term 'lifestyle' has been introduced (Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars e.a., 1992). A lifestyle

can be viewed as a set of demographic, cultural and social factors that influences a persons behaviour.

After the mechanisms in this triangle have been determined a framework will be developed to explain the relations between transport networks, population and spatial structures. With this framework it is possible to determine whether it is possible to change mobility by changing the spatial structure and also what has to be done to change the car-mobility to use of public transport. system more environmentally friendly transport system. There is also established whether there is a connection to a specific lifestyle and a specific neighbourhood. This offers opportunities to give specific characteristics to the system of public transport. A lot of factors can determine the form of the transport network. A certain neighbourhood with mainly elderly people has other demands to the public transport than a neighbourhood which consist of most commuters in possession of a car. If the mechanisms behind the location of these population groups can be determined it might be possible to make the public transport more appropriate to the needs of the inhabitants. Also it will be possible to assess what characteristics of a spatial structure are needed to attract a certain population group. This could help future extension plans and might help to fulfil the need for a more qualitative level of housing in stead of a quantitative need.

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## **The Diffusion of Government Responsibilities: Movement Towards Regional and Neighborhood-Centered Policy-Making in Brazil**

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Changing economic, social, and political conditions worldwide are rapidly affecting the way governments are organized. Emphasis on efficient government is growing as democracy and market-based economics spread throughout the globe. In the past 20 years, many nations have pushed for decentralization. Central governments accumulated excessive debts, requiring that state and municipal authorities take on greater roles, while at the same time attention was focused on the effectiveness of democratic participation and localized planning at providing services. This marks the first recent shift in the distribution of responsibility within government.

Today, a second shift is occurring. Municipal governments are finding ways to shift responsibility for service provision and planning away from their offices in two directions "up" to regional agencies (see Kirlin 1993) and "down" to neighborhood associations. Regional planning agencies are gaining significance as certain problems require regional cooperation (see Turok 1995, Prud'homme 1995, Popper 1992, 1993, Doherty 1992, Gilbert 1992, Gore 1984). At the same time, many municipal governments are moving certain municipal functions down to the community level, in an effort to improve efficiency (see Bens 1994) by including the community in the decision-making (see Ortiz), and even the implementation, process (for associated problems, see Fulton 1996, Beatley 1994).

### **Main Theme**

Although this marks the beginning of a long process in which I will narrow down a topic appropriate for dissertation research, the the general topic will be the analysis of movements away from historical provision of services by the federal, state, or municipal governments in Brazil.

Various Brazilian cities would likely be compared (Porto Alegre, Curitiba, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Sao Paulo, and Salvador are candidates).

***Research Questions***

The following questions would be asked:

- (1) How were urban services traditionally provided by the municipal, state, and federal agencies? What role did neighborhood associations play? Which agencies were responsible for various types of service provision? What were the problems associated with these functions? What laws existed to regulate the manner in which municipalities organized service provision?
- (2) What shifts have there been in Brazilian legislation regarding planning institutions in recent years? What roles are newly developing regional agencies taking within the policy-setting framework? Why are these roles being bestowed on these agencies?
- (3) What shifts have there been in Brazilian legislation regarding service provision in recent years? What roles are newly developing neighborhood associations taking within the policy-setting framework? Why are these tasks being carried out by these groups?
- (4) Can one identify general characteristics of those topics that are assigned to regional agencies? Neighborhood associations? Do these topics imply a natural segregation of services/planning needs by layer of governance? What does this imply about the effectiveness and efficiency of different levels of governance?
- (5) What are the costs and benefits of devolution to neighborhood associations, on the one hand, and the shifting of responsibility up to regional institutions, on the other? For instance, the scale of a particular problem, like high school education, may indicate that it is best addressed at a metropolitan level, or that parts of it may be while others may not.
- (6) What lessons can be learned regarding appropriate delegation of responsibility? What sorts of services can best be provided at a decidedly local level versus municipal or regional?

***Hypotheses to Test***

The efficiency gains to be realized by assigning topics to an appropriate level of government are significant. More specifically, neighborhood associations play an important role in improving effectiveness of outcomes from projects in which they play an advisory or implementation role.

Projects which must be carried out by municipal authorities due to economies of scale (e.g. infrastructure improvement) will benefit from an advisory role by neighborhood associations. On the other hand, community-level concerns unique to that community such as safety and education may be better met by neighborhood associations, which will play a role in implementing these types of projects (rather than simply advising higher authorities).

Regional agencies would be used for planning functions. This may be true particularly in those cases when a region's central city is deemed "at capacity" in some form. In cities where it is found that density, crime, limited economic growth, or other indicators have reached a limit, regional planning may be a means through which to spread development over the region. Regional planning may also result in cases of economic or environmental necessity, as when cities are dependent on the surrounding agricultural economy or where areas have been set aside for ecological preservation.

***Methods***

The research would involve book/file research (particularly within local government, legal, and research libraries), and extensive interviewing (of neighborhood association leaders and participants, municipal authorities, regional planners, state and central government officials). Indicators would be developed to compare the effectiveness of new non-municipal level policy-making efforts (as well as a control group of municipal efforts which might benefit from localization or regionalization) with their municipal predecessors. Some polling might be done in coordination with a national or regional news provider or research institution. (Note: the author speaks fluent Portuguese, and has family and professional connections in Brazil.)

***Stage of Research***

At this point only the above sketch featuring areas for further inquiry has been elaborated. Field research would only commence upon completion of coursework and exams, most likely in January, 2001. There are, therefore, no preliminary results to share at this time.

***Major Obstacles in Developing Research***

The primary obstacle at this point is that of defining a specific area of inquiry. As outlined above, there are clearly many questions to tackle, several of which could yield separate research opportunities. Thus, the next step is to refine the above list of questions to focus on areas where the product of the research could be most useful to improving the effectiveness of governance in Brazil.

***Relevance for Planning Knowledge***

Rapid changes taking place globally require new views on how best to govern, including appropriate, most effective distribution of responsibility. Decentralization has been taking place worldwide over the past decades, but only recently has a similar worldwide regionalization of planning begun to develop. This regionalization is in sharp contrast to the increased use of neighborhood associations to provide localized services. However, the two phenomena may be the result of a similar international movement towards efficiency and participation. Understanding why these changes are taking place is essential, and analyzing the outcomes of these changes will help to provide the necessary direction for future changes. The proposed research would aim at providing this knowledge within the Brazilian context, with the ultimate objective of helping communities and policymakers form decisions to enhance successful outputs.

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# Tourist Representations of Urban Spaces and Places: A Study of the Behaviour and Cognitive Maps of Tourists in the City

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Lutz and Ryan (1997) have observed that in the 1980's in the UK, both central and local government turned to tourism as one means of generating economic growth. The decline in the inner cities of the UK stimulated a range of urban regeneration policy initiatives and an increasing importance was attached to tourism as a possible generator of employment, albeit often in association with retail and property development and linked to wider civilisation policies. Along these lines, Murphy (1992) notes that urban tourism cannot be regarded as an 'isolated attraction' of the city but is by definition strongly anchored in the urban morphology and the functional urban system. Furthermore, it is clear that within cities, few facilities could be identified as exclusively intended for 'tourists'. A second difficulty with the study of urban tourism is inherent in the wide variety of motives, spatial origins and patterns of behaviour of visitors to cities. (Ashworth, 1989)

Existing research has tended to concentrate on the profiling of single cities using facility and supply side approaches, or adopting an ecological approach by attempting to map the tourist 'district' within a city. Further to this, policy approaches have been initiated, following a realisation by planners that the growth of urban tourism requires the ongoing provision of a high quality tourist experience. More recently, there has been a need for cities to compete for tourist markets - cities which may display similar touristic attributes. (Page, 1993). Promoters of urban tourism are increasingly conscious of the necessity for a distinctive 'position' within the marketplace. The importance of *destination image* has been noted in various academic studies, and the emergent policy approaches to urban tourism research, as well as involving physical

planning measures, have begun to concentrate on the use of 'images' and 'branding' as a means of positioning the destination.

Other research has provided further clues as to the dynamic of urban tourism and how it should be accounted for. A recent survey by Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois (1998) concludes that there are strong arguments to focus on cultural and heritage resources in the development of urban tourism, a goal which is invariable linked to the planning process. On the demand side, promoters of urban tourism also need to address another approach; the user approach (Ashworth, 1989). An understanding of the expectations and reactions of the actual or potential visitor is essential if any planning or management is to be undertaken by urban authorities.

Ashworth (1989) discusses the user approach to urban tourism research in terms of; a) Who visits cities?, b) What do tourists do in cities?, c) Why do tourists visit cities? and d) How do tourists perceive cities?. Understanding of a tourist's perceptions of an urban destination can be used to explain the who, why and what of city tourism and this holds great relevance for planners, managers and promoters of tourism in cities. Nonetheless, few attempts have been made to adopt a user approach in this context. Ashworth maintains that future work needs more integration of approaches, as there has been too much individualistic study in terms of choice of subject matter, research design and areas of application to permit comparison among them or generalisation for wider application (1989). He also emphasises that a categorisation of tourist motivation, behaviour, facility demands and the like, based upon a distinctive type of urban environment is long overdue.

It would appear that in order to ensure that the efforts of inner city tourist promoters are accurate and efficient, further research is needed. This must integrate the various approaches to urban tourism research, whilst taking methodologies which include the measurement of place-imagery and the space-time behaviour of tourists into consideration. According to Page (1997), the knowledge of how individual tourists interact and acquire information about the urban environment also remains a relatively poorly researched area in tourism studies; particularly in relation to towns and cities. Furthermore, it can be seen as surprising that reviews of the social

psychology of tourism have tended to concentrate on study of motivation. It is also surprising that a neglect has occurred in relation to study of tourist behaviour and adaptations to the new environments that they visit, particularly, as highlighted by Walmsley and Jenkins, as '*tourists are people who temporarily visit areas less familiar to them than their home town*' (1992,269)

Page (1997) maintains that consideration must be given to a number of fundamental questions in this sense, relating to;

- a) how well do tourists know the area they visit?
- b) how well do they find their way around unfamiliar environments?
- c) what features in the urban environment are used to structure their learning process in unfamiliar environments?
- d) what types of images and mental maps do they develop?

Furthermore, perception of space and place in urban environments has become of increasing interest to geographers, particularly in terms of the geographic space perceptions of all types of individuals (Downs, 1970); but however - not necessarily tourist individuals. Understanding of how tourists interact with the environment to create an image of the real world is becoming a focus of research into social psychology and behavioural geography (Walmsley and Lewis, 1993). In fact, behavioural geographers emphasise a need to examine how people store spatial information and '*their choice of different activities and locations within the environment*' (Walmsley and Lewis, 1993).

The thesis will identify and examine the relationships between tourist representations of images of the city and the behaviour that tourists display therein. These relationships will then be examined alongside promotional activities. Tourist representations of the city will be collected with a record of places visited and activities done. Knowledge of how and where visitors spend time within the city is important to tourism planners, particularly in terms of location and type of resources (facilities) for tourists.

The primary literature review has been undertaken in the following areas: a) the creation and acquisition of images of urban environments; b) ways in which 'internal' images of urban

environments can be externally represented - this has been achieved by using sketch maps, descriptions, photography to other mapping techniques. c) techniques of measuring tourist behaviour during part of a visit - time spent at different attractions, patterns of movement in a city and activities done - diary approaches have been extensively used; d) how tourists learn about new environments; e) the need for a 'user' approach in the study of urban tourism; and f) promotion of urban destinations- the importance of destination image. Recent research in tourism cognitive mapping continues to use Lynch's (1960) typology of urban elements, but remains limited in terms of the affective or appraisive aspects of city imagery. In order to improve the focus of tourism management and promotion in cities, better understanding of where and how tourists move is required. Additionally, in capturing all components of an image in measurement, a combination of structured and unstructured methodologies should be used.

Empirical research so far has focused on the city of Exeter, located in Devon, South West England, with a population of 109,238 (1998). The city is in close proximity to the popular coastal resorts of East and South Devon and Dartmoor National Park. A report by Exeter City Council from the West Country Tourist Board (1998) concludes that tourism (direct and indirect income) contributes £54.8 million to the city's economy. This level of tourism expenditure supports 2,400 jobs, 5% of the city's working population. Exeter receives nearly 220,000 overnight trips, nearly 1 million visitor nights and 960,000 day visitors (1996).

Interviews with public sector tourism promoters have confirmed suitability of Exeter as a case study city. A framework has been used to sample tourists in Exeter during August and September 1998, following pilot work completed in 1997. These samples comprise both attraction-based and accommodation-based segments. The framework examines sketch maps, descriptive representations and space-time behaviour of tourists with profile variables and questions regarding awareness of/exposure to promotional activity. Analysis will involve the use of SPSS 8, currently in progress.

My presentation to the workshop at Finse will incorporate a review of work to date and a discussion of the next stages of the research, with details of problems and issues in undertaking

the study. Additionally, the relevance of the research to planning issues will be discussed in more detail.

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## Social Cohesion in Housing Rehabilitation; A Study of Three Housing Areas in Istanbul

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Planners are usually in favour of creating strong social ties in housing areas. Lots of models developed in history – from garden city to neighbourhood unit - intended to create social ties in newly developed urban areas. Existing community, on the other hand, is something that modern planning tends to ignore. Housing rehabilitation process is one of the cases in which planners inevitably have to involve local communities. Taking the term *community* within the framework freed from modern-traditional dichotomy, the thesis deals with especially low income immigrant urban communities who are living in bad environmental conditions, but seemingly have strong community ties. The aim of the thesis is to see whether these ties can constitute a base for an organization of housing rehabilitation.

### *Approach to the modern and the traditional*

The thesis begins with some groups of questions;

1. What happened to the *community* in 'modern' cities of non-Western countries in the «global age»? How is the *community* distorted during so-called modernization and globalization processes? What kind of combinations is established between “modern” and “traditional” aspects of social life?
2. What is happening in low income immigrant neighborhoods in terms of “solidarity”? Can social relations be defined as “social cohesion” in these areas? What kind of social networks are established between low income neighborhoods and remaining parts of the city?
3. Can these social relations be developed as a base for further local organizations for housing rehabilitation?

The study, firstly, has focused on “persisting” of the *community* in non-Western civilizations. It is widely accepted that if the *community* still exists in a civilization, it has not yet completely modernized or that it is still at the beginning of the modernization process. These arguments are based on the definition of modernization as a one way process originated from the West and encapsulating remaining part of the world through destroying pre-modern elements like *community* as well as neighborhood, religious orders and sects, and finally the family. However we describe modernity rather in a different way. Modernity is not reserved for a particular time (nineteenth to twentieth centuries) and a particular place (West and its expansions) Elvin (1986), a historian working on China, describes modernity as ‘not based on chronology’ and prefers ‘to see societies as varying combinations of “modern” and “non-modern” elements, sometimes mutually indifferent, sometimes mutually supportive, and sometimes mutually hostile. Recent comparative studies in anthropology, sociology and political sciences have focused on some networks-such as familisms, patron-client relations, affinal and traditional social structure and power systems- that modern ‘rational’ institutions intend to substitute. Insistent persistence of familial groups and traditional groupings in ‘modern’ forms deserves a serious examine rather than being left aside as some primitive residues of a newly modernising system. Globalization, if we look from this point of view, is not a homogenizing process dominating all over the world in a global age –like modernization- rather it is a part of twin processes of which other part is processes of the “excavation of traditional context of action”.

#### ***Resettled communities; Mahalle in Ottoman origin***

In the context of the thesis, the research has focused on the neighborhood as a territorial community. It takes the term neighborhood not in the “modern” planning context, but as a basic component of traditional cities of the East, mainly of the Ottoman Empire. Main settlement policy of the Ottomans had been to establish new neighborhoods –namely “mahalle”s- around conquered cities and resettlement of people from every part of the Empire in these neighborhoods. People were resettled according to their religious, ethnic and tribal origins. Thus, cities were not only segmented into main religious groups such as Muslims, Jewish, Christians, but into more detailed identities like Greeks, Orthodox Greeks, Catholic Latins, etc. Ethnic and religious communities were organized in both vertical; representing whole community all over

the Empire and horizontal; staying at the city and neighborhood level. The latter was territorial and remained more open to the influences from each other. There were not spatial clear-cut divisions between “mahalle”s in Ottomans unlike the other Eastern, especially Arabic, cities. Communities permeated through each other in time. Cohabitation of different ethno-religious groups could happen and identities gained a continuation.

Mahalle was not only a territorial community, it was also the smallest administrative unit which was represented by a local religious leader. The state did not interfere with day-to-day activities of the community. Local public services, religious buildings, schools, fountains etc. were provided by the elites or well-off families within the community. Very strong local foundations – charitable endowments- developed for that purpose. A kind of clientage is rooted from the community where the state stayed far from everyday life.

### ***Migrated communities***

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in the beginning of the century, the main policy of the newly developing nation-state was total modernization of the system through direct intervention. Traditional communities, especially religious ones were partially dissolved or isolated as a consequence of the secular policies. But in time, nation-state failed to perform the universal role –ideologically and practically- and could not create an overall reference within which modern institutions could work. New kind of communities flourished in the fields where the nation-state remained ineffective. One of the areas where nation-state’s policy was “not-to-interfere” has been the internal immigration movement and housing of newcomers. In the big cities, like Istanbul, the geographical background of the immigrants became the basis of new communities. “Townsmanship” (or fellow citizenship) – belonging to the same geographical area; city, town or village, in this case the place from where they migrated- has been a kind of glue for the new urban community. It was a useful mechanism for job finding, housing provision and security of immigrants in the city. “Townsmanship” contained a wide variety of identities that is rooted from religious, ethnic and tribal origins with geographical reference, but through time, geographical origin lost its importance and “townsmanship” associated with more urban based social ties, such as local societies, mafia, sport clubs etc. It appears in many traditional forms of

groupings –from friendship and neighbourhood relations to familism and clientage – Most important is that these communities have local and citywide political power with which they compete with each other and with more settled segments of the city to get more space for themselves to use and settle in..

***Three cases; migrants in social housing and inner-city areas and elderly in an old district***

The case studies have been conducted in three areas in Istanbul metropolitan area; one of which is a social housing area, the other is an inner city depressed area, and the last one is a co-operative housing area. Physical analysis were made to reveal environmental conditions of the street or the blocks and the buildings. Structured and unstructured interviews were conducted with women, men and youngsters in selected streets and blocks. Interviews with local officers, school teachers, real estates managers and planners of local authorities have provided useful information.

The social housing area –namely Tozkoparan- was built after a citywide squatter clearance programme in the 1960s. It is located close by the early industrial development which was at the outskirts of the old city, but now is encapsulated in the inner part of the metropolis. Textile and leather sector serving the international and the local market are the main sectors in the nearby industrial area. It created an employment opportunity of a full employment basicly for males. Women benefit from having the opportunity of doing minor piece-work at home. The social pattern is very complicated, because people from various part of the country live side by side. After clearance, even though people coming from the same squatter clearance area were resettled in nearby blocks, former social groupings and community patterns, probably based on “townsmanship”, were destroyed by this move. The spatial structure of modern blocks also promoted this break. Former common spaces in squatter settlements –streets, courtyards and gardens- were replaced by new ones -block stairs and galleries. While former common spaces had been strengthening social ties and solidarity, the latter were the places of tension and quarrel diminishing social comfort.

The area has been –after thirty years- a settled part of the metropolitan city. New relations were established in spite of spatial barriers. Broken ties were replaced by new ones; strong

neighborhood relations were established. That is because low income groups especially those who are not so mobile- like women, elderly and very poor- are in need of each other in many respects. On the other hand, social atmosphere of the district does not seem safe for children due to expansion of street gangs and drug uses among youngsters. Strong neighborhood relations become a tool for keeping control over children, youngsters and women. However, neighborhood relations did not create a homogenized social pattern even at the block level. There are several sub-groups excluding each other. Homeowners vs. tenants, settled families vs. newcomers, elderly vs. youngsters established separated social networks within the block. Thus it can be a discussion point that to what extent this social pattern can be a base for solidarity. Their attitudes to their environment is not very positive. Apart from the social handicaps, environmental quality is quite low, blocks are not well-maintained, flats are small. Even if they are happy with close social ties, they state that if they have an opportunity they prefer to move from the neighbourhood..

The second case study was conducted in a historical inner-city area –namely Tophane-. It is located in the European side, near Galata and Pera. Historically the area had been resided by Turks, Greeks and Armenians together. After the 1950s when older residents left the district, houses were bought or rented by immigrants from the East Anatolia. The studied part of the district was settled by people from a particular town of the East, from Siirt. They are very densely settled here, because the first newcomers found jobs in metal workshops of chandelier production and furniture workshops nearby. They called their relatives and a Siirt community was established in time. The community is here constituted around "townsmanship", basically Siirt identity. There are several family groups in the community. Homeowners own more than one flat in the street and rent them to their relatives or other Siirt immigrants. There are few outsider families from other parts of the country. They are almost excluded from the social life of the street. Outsiders are reluctant to be a part of the social network too, because they find the existing community conservative or even fundamentalist.

Those living in this quarter locate in the very center of the metropolitan city geographically, but they experience a peripherality as they have limited access to the central life of the city. Location

of the area is important to understand why the social ties are so strong or why they established a introverted identity. The area gets jammed into non-residential functions. In the west, Ostikla Street, primary a leisure center, is located. It is a very densely used pedestrian axis with various cultural and leisure activities; cinemas, cafes and pubs. In the south-west an old brothel district is located. Historical commercial area, port and depots in the south expands into the area. In the east, the adjacent historical district begin to gentrify, rehabilitated buildings are turned into antiquarians, offices or high status flats. The strong ties probably provide an "island" of safety for the inhabitants in the case study area in anonymous city life.

The third case study is conducted in a co-operative housing area, that was developed for the families of public officials in the 1950's, now occupied by an elderly population. The housing stock is terraced houses which is now under the threat of high density development. The existing elderly community established a very strong social network, they resist to demolish their old houses, but the demographic profile is going to change inevitably. Real estate companies begin to prepare plans for future redevelopment. This case study has not been finished yet.

### ***Outcome***

It seems evident that the *community* persists in various modern forms in non-Western metropolitan cities. It is not going to be weakened in the modernization process, on the contrary, it takes more complicated forms. *The community* is something from which people benefit in reaching opportunities provided by the city, and at the same time a vehicle to keep people in more stable conditions against social, cultural or economic fluctuations occurring in the city. It can be a point of discussion whether strong social ties in a low income neighborhood means existence of social cohesion, or solidarity. It looks that it is conjunctural for people to stay in or to escape from *the community*. So it can be a "slippery" base for further organization of housing rehabilitation.

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## AESOP PhD workshop 1999 at Finse, Norway 3-7 July

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