# EUROPEAN SPATIAL and RESEARCH POLICY

## Volume 21, No.1
## 2014

# EUROPEAN
# SPATIAL
# RESEARCH
## and POLICY

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# PART I

## DEBATING PLANNING CULTURES: AUSTRIAN RESEARCHERS IN CONVERSATION WITH JOHN FRIEDMANN

**Guest editors: Beatrix HASELSBERGER, Alexander HAMEDINGER**

## INTRODUCTION

Thousands of tourists visit Austria every year because of its rich culture: the recent World Economic Forum Tourism Competitiveness Report ranked Austria in the top 3 out of 140 tourism destinations worldwide. What is less known is that Austria is the home of one of Europe's biggest planning departments: around 100 people are currently active in research and teaching at the Department of Spatial Planning of the Vienna University of Technology (VUT). Also the student numbers tell a clear story: in autumn 2013, 295 students started the VUT planning course, and 1,150 students are currently enrolled in the study of planning. One of the Spatial Planning Department's key objectives is cooperation with other universities, public administrative bodies and private sector organizations within and beyond Austria both in research and education. These networks have proved to be of fundamental importance in bringing well-established researchers to Vienna for guest lectures.

However Austria's history also reveals a dark side: in the 1930s and 1940s many people were expelled from Vienna and Austria and forced into exile and later became perpetual travellers. A good example is John Friedmann, who after leaving Austria lived in 9 different countries around the world, of which none became his 'true home'. Nonetheless, or maybe because of this extraordinary situation, he has had a remarkable career dedicated to planning research and development, making significant contributions to debates about planning theories (cf. Friedmann, 2011), urban and regional planning (cf. Friedmann, 2002; Friedmann and Wolff, 1982) and development theories (e.g. Friedmann, 1965). What is noticeable

about his work is that in his endeavours to understand spatial development and planning he has succeeded in combining a scientific-analytical perspective with a clear ethical and value-laden position, always aiming at the goal of a 'good society' (cf. Friedmann, 1979) and empowering economically and socially disadvantaged communities (cf. Friedmann, 1992). He was one of the first planning theorists to point to the role of communication and dialogue, and to propose the link between knowledge and action in planning (cf. Friedmann, 1973, 1987). Friedmann clearly presaged both the famous 'communicative turn' in planning theory and the 'interactive research' approach in social sciences. So Healey (2011, p. xi) is definitely right when she points out that 'Friedmann has been there before them', in the sense of that he often brought topics to the planning debate long before they entered popular discourse. These scientific contributions comprise only a few selected examples of the comprehensive theoretical and empirical knowledge base he created throughout his career over the years. They are by no means a complete overview of Friedmann's life achievements, but are mentioned here only to highlight his differentiated and inspirational ways of thinking.

   John Friedmann has inspired generations of researchers and practitioners and continues to do so not only through his publications but also through continuing discussions and debates with students and researchers globally. The guest-editors of this section therefore invited John Friedmann to come to Vienna for a lecture which he entitled: 'Austria-in-the-world: Debates and Conversations about Planning and Development'. Although originally intended to be exclusively for students, following many requests from Austrian researchers and practitioners, it became a public lecture. More than 150 researchers, practitioners and students attended Friedmann's talk, followed by a lively discussion on February 23, 2012. The lecture culminated a three-day seminar that was organized with sixteen Ph.D. students selected from four different universities in Austria to exchange their ideas with him. Both the public lecture and the Ph.D seminar were made possible with the financial support of the Vienna University of Technology, the City of Vienna and the Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft.

   The topic of 'planning cultures' quickly established itself within the seminar as an essential bridging element between the very different research interests of the participants. This was driven in particular by participants' multi-cultural ethnic backgrounds (Argentina, Austria, Kosovo, Turkey) as well as the Ph.D. students' interdisciplinary scientific backgrounds (spatial planners, geographers, architects, landscape planners). This diverse composition equipped participants to grasp the necessity and importance of clarifying their underlying values as well as the planning approaches of their countries, regions and cities prior to presenting their research outcomes. In discussions, students actively reflected upon how planning cultures shape spatial development and planning practice, but also attitudes and interpretations of planning in both education and as a profession at different uni-

versities globally. According to Friedmann, planning cultures need to be addressed to enable the processes of mutual learning. Across cultures, he argues, we must be conscious of how planning is perceived, conceived and implemented in different countries and even in cities, so as 'to move forward' in our common endeavours (Friedmann, 2011, p. 9). Friedmann defines planning cultures as 'the ways, both formal and informal, that spatial planning in a given multi-national region, country or city is conceived, institutionalized, and enacted' (Friedmann, 2011, p. 168). Planning cultures consist of the relationships between the state and the civil society, particularly the role of civil society in planning, the structure of the party system, the openness of political institutions, the role of the media, the application of principles such as hierarchy and subsidiarity, legal traditions, and the relative autonomy of local governments (Friedmann, 2011, p. 196). Thus, Friedmann conceptualizes planning cultures as a set of structures, procedures, actors and institutions in the planning domain, some being visible (e.g. planning procedures codified in law), others are less visible (e.g. relationships between the state and the civil society).

In his contribution to this guest-edited section of ESR&P, Friedmann tells us how various scholars whose intellectual roots were in Austria and the Habsburg monarchy have influenced his thinking about planning such as Martin Buber with regard to the link between knowledge and action or Karl Polanyi concerning the social and cultural embeddedness of economic development and planning. In regard to planning cultures, Friedmann seems to be arguing that their study can serve:

– as an approach to enrich our understanding of planning on a theoretical level,

– as an intellectual environment for developing new ideas and concepts in planning,

– as an analytical lens through which differences between spatial planning in different countries, cities and regions can be explained analytically, and

– as an ethical attitude, which respects cultural differences and fosters mutual learning on a global scale. Cities and regions are increasingly interconnected globally, as are urban and regional planning policies. Mutual learning, based on an understanding of how planning is performed institutionally in different settings, could be a way to make planning policies more effective and efficient.

The idea of the guest-edited section emerged from both the ongoing relevance of planning cultures in current debates as well as a desire to capture and follow-up the enriching discussions with John Friedmann from the Ph.D. seminar. Some seminar participants took up the challenge to examine some aspects of planning cultures that were revealed in their research. Their contributions provide valuable insights into the various facets of processes by which planning cultures influence planning research and developments. Mindful of the fact that for some of our authors this would be their first scientific publication, the guest-editors adopted the common practice of journals such as *Geoforum* and *Environment and Planning C* to work closely with authors towards improving their papers. The principal idea of

the 'constructive review process' is that the editors work closely with the authors to ensure that their contributions meet the required quality criteria. This working method proved highly successful, as all the contributions passed the subsequent double blind review process without any problem.

We would like to use this opportunity to thank our authors for their very hard work as well as the editorial team of the journal *European Spatial Research and Policy*, in particular Iwona Pielesiak and Tadeusz Marszał for their ongoing support and help in making the project 'Debating Planning Cultures: Austrian Researchers in Conversation with John Friedmann' possible.

**The contributions to this guest-edited section:**

**John Friedmann** launches this guest-edited section with an inspiring article about how Austrian scholars influenced his work on planning and development. He combines the ideas of Bertram Hoselitz, Friedrich Hayek, Joseph Schumpeter, Karl Mannheim, Martin Buber, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Karl Polanyi, Karl Popper and Paul Feyerabend with his own conceptualizations of planning and development. He explains the economic, social, political and cultural environment in which both their thinking and his own have unfolded over the years. This is a journey through history and space, beginning in Europe at the start of the 20th century and does not end, but finds its most recent localization in present-day Canada. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Friedmann concludes that planning theory should be considered as a part of a theory of wider socio-spatial including cultural change. In his discussion of the role of planning cultures in shaping planning practices, Friedmann also mentions that processes of globalization and the global flow of planning policies increasingly shape urban and regional policies creating conditions for their possible homogenization. Nevertheless, global processes are filtered through local practices, political cultures and other factors, which eventually leads to a still more variegated picture of how planning is conceived and institutionalized at local, regional or national levels. **Alexander Hamedinger** takes up this idea in his article and examines how concepts of the mobility of mobile urban and planning policies and planning cultures could best be combined in order to explain urban governance change. He examines different concepts for capturing the increasing circulation of policy ideas on supra-local scales ('mobilities'), rooted in critical urban research. He asks how these different approaches theoretically envisage local or regional factors ('fixities'), those resisting processes against homogenization of planning policies. In turn, he examines how recent approaches to defining planning cultures precisely conceptualize these 'local or regional factors', particularly the taken-for-granted values and belief systems of urban and regional planning, which may appear invisible, but could nevertheless prove to be obstacles for governance change. Hamedinger concludes by emphasising that understanding changes in planning policies requires a clear conceptual framework which integrates processes of social, economic and political re-struc-

turing unfolding on the supra-local level, attitudes, actions and perceptions of local policy actors and the characteristics of places in cultural terms.

**Johannes Suitner** explicitly discusses planning cultures as one factor which could explain the production of cultural images. Suitner focuses on culture-led image planning and asks how planning cultures influence processes of image planning, and how cultures of image construction could be analyzed empirically. For this purpose he develops an analytical framework consisting of the planning environment, the local planning system and the underlying planning principles applied in different locales.

In her contribution, **Katharina Söpper** looks at urban development, and more specifically at urban neighbourhood development processes. She regards planning cultures as having the potential to explain differences in neighbourhood development policies, whilst also explaining how processes of collaboration unfold at the neighbourhood level. More generally, she combines a theory of governance with an approach to planning cultures in order to better understand the development of existing collaborations. She concludes by proposing a new analytical framework – 'culture-based governance analysis' – that could potentially be useful in analysing different forms of collaboration in a comparative perspective.

In the final article of this guest-edited section, **Alois Humer** seeks to contribute to a better understanding of differences in the provision and organization of 'social services of general interest' across Europe. He excavates the details of one part of a wider planning culture, namely the systems of spatial planning. As far as social services are concerned, it is primarily the level of responsibility and the territorial organization which are the elements of the planning system, or planning cultures that make a difference. Humer contends that social welfare systems and spatial planning systems are highly interrelated, whereby social welfare systems can be seen as frameworks for spatial planning systems, which basically translate the principles of the welfare systems into the territory in three stages.

Differences in planning cultures matter for all contributors to this guest-edited section, most of whom are seeking to combine planning cultures with other meso-level theories such as governance in order to enhance its power to account changes in urban and regional development. Likewise, all contributors suggest some lines of future research for improving our theoretical understanding of planning cultures, for doing more theoretically well informed empirical research in planning and spatial development, and for searching for ways to link planning cultures with wider theories of urban change. It is this message that brings us back to what John Friedmann tells researchers in planning and spatial development in the concluding words of his contribution to this issue: 'In any event, planning theory is for me part of a theory of socio-spatial change'.

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# INVITED ARTICLES

**John FRIEDMANN\***

## AUSTRIANS-IN-THE-WORLD. CONVERSATIONS AND DEBATES ABOUT PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

**Abstract**. John Friedmann has taught at MIT, the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, UCLA, the University of Melbourne, the National University of Taiwan, and is currently an Honorary Professor in the School of Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada. Throughout his life, he has been an advisor to governments in Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, Mozambique, and China where he was appointed Honorary Foreign Advisor to the China Academy of Planning and Urban Design.
**Key words**: planning theory, Hoselitz, Hayek, Schumpeter, Mannheim, Buber, Wittgenstein, Popper, Feyerabend, Polanyi.

In preparation for this talk, I read an on-line article on the *eurozine* website by the Austrian writer Wolfgang Müller-Funk, entitled: 'So viel Österreich: Mutmaßungen über die Erfindung eines Landes' ('So much Austria: Conjectures Concerning the Invention of a Country'). The gist of it was that Austria being such a small and insignificant country, it is always overlooked in world affairs. In that perspective, it is as though Austria did not exist for the world. And so, the usual identity crisis.

That essay gave me the title for my talk. I would write, not about the multilingual *Alpenland* with its 8 million people,[1] but about Austrians-in-the-world as conveyed through the many contributions of its intellectuals, writers, and academ-

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[1] Native languages spoken in Austria, in addition to German which is the dominant language, include Austro-Bavarian, Alemannic in Vorarlberg and locally also Slovenian, Burgenland Croatian and Hungarian. To this must be added the many languages spoken by its immigrant population which number more than 700,000.

ics who for one reason or another had gone out into the world and carried some-
thing of Austria's and more specifically Vienna's history, culture, and spirit into
the world beyond the country's borders. I decided I would do so by writing about
some of these cultural emissaries who have shaped my own thinking as I encoun-
tered them in my wanderings over a span of more than four decades. I will focus
on how they influenced my own thinking about spatial planning and development,
because this is what I have studied, practiced, and professed.

Here then are the nine principal characters with whom my story will be con-
cerned: three of them represent a spectrum of economists (Bertram Hoselitz,
Friedrich Hayek, and Joseph Schumpeter); the sociologist Karl Mannheim; Martin
Buber, a philosopher and Judaic scholar; Ludwig Wittgenstein, a philosopher of
language; Karl Popper, a philosopher of science; Paul Feyerabend, also a philoso-
pher of science and a critic of Popper; and Karl Polanyi, an economic historian
and social anthropologist. You will have noticed that there is not a planner among
them. Planning has become an inherently transdisciplinary field of studies.

In the rest of my talk, I will briefly describe how these men have shaped
my thinking about planning and how they provoked me to think with them or
against them. But first, let me begin with a few words about my father, Robert
Friedmann, who in mid-life, became an Austrian-in-the-world like the others. An
historian of the Reformation as well as a philosopher who in his later years tau-
ght at the Western Michigan State University in Kalamazoo, he encouraged and
challenged my intellectual curiosity. He made me presents of books by Oswald
Spengler, Lewis Mumford, Reinhold Niebuhr, Hannah Arendt, and Martin Buber,
and aroused in me an interest in the philosophy of science. From him I inherited
a strong sense of moral purpose, a philosophical disposition, and (somewhat be-
latedly) a sense of history that interrogated the possibilities of reason as a force
in history. I say belatedly, because, idealist that I was from early on, I believed
for longer than I care to remember that history could somehow be shaped by
human reason. This belief, which I now take to have been seriously misguided,
was partly why I chose to study planning rather than follow in his footsteps as
an historian. Historians looked backward in time; as a young man, I wanted to
look forward.

## 1. CHICAGO (1949–1955)

I entered the Graduate Program in Education and Research in Planning at the
University of Chicago in 1949, where I remained until 1955. During two of these
years, I worked for the Division of Regional Studies of the Tennessee Valley
Authority in Knoxville, Tennessee, where in addition to my other duties, I also

collected the basic data for my dissertation. It was at the university, however, where I had my first encounters with Austrian scholars-in-the-world.

Let me start with Karl Mannheim (1893–1947), an Austrian by virtue of his birth and upbringing in imperial Austro-Hungary. From 1922 onwards, he taught in Heidelberg, Frankfurt, and London. During his German phase, he wrote two books that initially made him famous. The first was *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. The second, initially published in the Netherlands where Mannheim had sojourned on his way to England he left Germany in 1933 was *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (German edition 1935; expanded English version, 1940). It was a visionary book, despite the somewhat rambling text in which Mannheim explored the new terrain of planning by the state.

I discovered Mannheim in my first planning theory seminar at the University of Chicago. From him I learned that planning could be thought of as an intellectual pursuit in its own right, that it was more than merely a profession but a whole new perspective on social life. In *Man and Society*, his main thesis was that democratic planning could become a third path between totalitarian fascism and soviet communism; that good planning was a pre-condition for a democratic life; and that the national state could and should intervene in the market for the benefit of society as a whole. When *Man and Society* was first published, we still had to ask and answer the Hamlet-like question: 'to plan or not to plan?' For me, as it was for many in the immediate post-war era, the answer was self-evident. We believed in the possibilities of a constructive democratic planning by the state. More precisely, we believed in a beneficent state dedicated to the common welfare.

In his earlier book on the sociology of knowledge, Mannheim had argued for the social positionality of all knowledge, and struggled to overcome the latent relativism of what we claim to know and thus retrieve a grain of universal 'truth'. Intellectuals, he thought, were somehow free-floating (*freischwebend*), i.e., without a fixed class position. Perhaps, then, planners could also be *freischwebend*. I will return to this question later on, in my encounter with Paul Feyerabend's anarchistic thesis of science. Let me just say for now that, 90 years later, I believe that this idea of a free-floating intelligentsia is a fantasy, that we are all already 'socially positioned' as Pierre Bourdieu has taught us. Nevertheless, Mannheim's analysis, illustrated with historical examples, is both insightful and challenging.

The next character in my story is Friedrich von Hayek (1899–1992). I met Hayek during my student years at the University of Chicago, where he held a professorship in the Committee on Social Thought.[2] At the time, my passing interest

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[2] The economics department at that time included Milton Friedman, one of the gurus of the neoliberal revolution in the mid-1970s whose brilliant lectures were delivered in a standing-room only class room. But in those days, Hayek played the role of social philosopher and for reasons that are not clear to me, was not allowed to teach in the economics department. Perhaps he lacked a Ph.D. in the discipline.

in his work was in his polemic, *The Road to Serfdom* (1944), where he argued that socialist state management was a recipe for disaster that would inevitably lead to the suppression of individual freedom. Hayek was a determined opponent of all forms of planning in short, all forms of state intervention in a supposedly free market which he deemed to be just another socialist plot, arguing specifically against Mannheim's speculations concerning a possible 'third way'. Fascinated as I was by Mannheim's writings, I dismissed Hayek's libertarian polemics as irrelevant. Hayek was an outspoken opponent of the British Labour Party, and believed that even the British Conservatives had excessively compromised his principles of 'freedom'. In 1974, he was crowned with the Nobel Prize in economics, but to everyone's surprise, had to share the prize with the Swedish social scientist Gunnar Myrdal who, like Mannheim, stood counter to Hayek for a social democratic philosophy and ardently defended a planning for economic growth and development. Later, engaged in research for my own book, *Planning in the Public Domain* (1987), I gained respect for Hayek's penetrating analysis of the 18th century Enlightenment and more particularly of Saint Simon and his followers at the *école polytechnique* where planning came to be linked to civil engineering.

My third mentor from these years in Chicago was Bertram Hoselitz (1913–1995). Much less famous than Hayek, Hoselitz was an economic historian and founding editor of the first academic journal on the subject, the *Journal of Economic Development and Cultural Change* (1952), which after 60 years, is still in print. Hoselitz was also among those who initiated the multi-disciplinary study of socio-economic development, which struck me as an exciting new field of research and practice. An early issue of the journal was devoted to the role of cities in economic development and this led me to the study of urban-centred regions (in my doctoral dissertation), the core-periphery (or growth pole) theorem, and in the early 1980s, the world city hypothesis. It also launched me on a career in development planning that over the next 14 years would take me to Brazil, Korea, Venezuela, Mexico, Japan and Chile. Hoselitz was by no means the only influence during my student years in the early 1950s, but his pioneering work on the journal was a catalyst that for me brought development studies and particularly the role of cities into sharp focus.

Joseph Schumpeter (1883–1950) is the fourth Austrian-in-the-world who influenced my thinking. Like Mannheim, he was born of German-speaking parents in the Habsburg Empire, more specifically in Moravia, and received his doctorate in law from the University of Vienna in 1906. A heterodox thinker, like so many of the Austrian scholars I encountered abroad, Schumpeter and his work has continued to percolate in my mind. The first of his books I read as a student and also perhaps his best known, was *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy.* Published just as I entered graduate school in September 1949, I was immediately swept up by its grandiose claims. But ultimately of greater significance for me was his earlier work, *The Theory of Economic Development*, which he had originally published

as a young man as early as 1911 (when he was only 28) and whose second, definitive edition appeared 15 years later, in 1926, which happens to be also the year of my birth.[3] Innovation was the central idea of this path-breaking work, more specifically the role of innovation in capitalist production. It was also the idea that drove his model of business cycles the work for which among economists he is perhaps best known. But technical or institutional innovations require risk takers whom he called entrepreneurs (*Unternehmer*). The idea caught on, and research into entrepreneurship became a minor academic industry at Harvard where Schumpeter taught from the 1930s onward. For me, however, it resonated in other ways, and I linked it to Hannah Arendt's understanding of 'action' (*handeln*), by which she meant 'setting something new into the world', to make a new beginning. For me, then, planning was of interest primarily as a form of programatic or institutional innovation.[4]

But the idea that made Schumpeter a by-word for many was a phrase he invented to describe the ruthlessness of capitalism's continuous striving for innovation which he called a process of 'creative destruction'. Development in the capitalist mode (including the state capitalism of the Soviet Union and the Chinese form of a state-managed market economy today) inevitably brings forth the new even as it destroys the old and has to be viewed comprehensively as an historical process.

It is easy to see how the related concepts of *entropy* and *negative entropy* (dissipation and articulated growth) can be inserted into Schumpeter's model that is based on a succession of disequilibria that every few decades toll the bell for an era in the grip of entropic decline, even as it announces the arrival of new culture heroes (the entrepreneurs), who initiate another cycle of capitalist accumulation. According to Schumpeter, these cyclical transitions are compressed into relatively short, intense bursts of ruthless innovation a form of primitive accumulation dominated by bundles of new technologies, both hard and soft. In the core areas of the global economy, so-called negentropic energies have somehow succeeded, at least until recent decades, in overcoming entropic degradation, calming our nerves with the illusion of universal progress. But on the world periphery the balance of forces is now mostly the other way around, and 'development' in much of the world comes often with a negative sign. The new forces (and the social, political, and economic entrepreneurs who are supposed to energize the process) never appear in sufficient numbers.[5]

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[3]  The first English version was published in 1934.

[4]  I never had much use for planning's other signification of regulation and control (as, for instance, in urban land use planning, zoning, and subdivision control), which I associate more with land management than with planning in a context of socio-economic development.

[5]  The idea of negative entropy is the achievement of the theoretical physicist Erwin Schroedinger, another Viennese whom I probably should add to my nine Austrians-in-the-world. His 1945 essay, 'What is Life' greatly influenced my thinking on development.

## 2. WANDERJAHRE/JOURNEYMAN'S YEARS (1955–1969)

After receiving my doctorate in 1955, I accepted a job with the US Agency for International Development (USAID), initially to participate in a course about regional development and planning in Belém do Pará (Brazil) which had been organized by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation for a group of functionaries in the newly created Amazon Development Corporation. I remained in Brazil for more than two years on other assignments, then continued working for the USAID in South Korea. Four years as an associate professor in regional planning at MIT followed, where I did research on spatial development strategies in Venezuela. In 1965, I went to work for the Ford Foundation in Chile, where I remained until 1969. In June of that year, I moved to Los Angeles as founding professor of the new planning department at UCLA in what would eventually be the Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning under Dean Harvey S. Perloff. I will end my story there. But I will bracket the 14 years I call my *Wanderjahre* or Journeyman years, because to write of these years would be another story. I will therefore pick up the thread in 1969, or more precisely in 1973, when my first commercially published book, *Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning*, appeared.[6]

## 3. LOS ANGELES (1969–1996)

*Retracking* had grown out of my experiences as an advisor to the Chilean Christian Democratic government under President Eduardo Frei and was pitched at two levels. The first was as a radical re-thinking of planning that for me no longer meant a form of rationally drawing up plans for an abstract future by professionals accountable to politicians, but a completely new formulation that, for purposes of theory-building, proposed to look at planning as the reciprocal relation between knowledge and action. At its core, this was a proposal for what I called 'mutual learning' between planner and potential actors, a form of learning that entailed direct and interpersonal dialogue. The second was as a sketch of a possible but inherently utopian system of planning based on local communities with extensive citizen involvement, a Jeffersonian Republic of the Wards.

    Central to my ideas for transactive planning is the role of face-to-face dialogue, which I had discovered over the course of my Chilean experience.[7] I had bor-

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[6] For details of these 'bracketed' years, please see John Friedmann, *The Prospect of Cities*, University of Minnesota Press, 2002, chapter 7, 'A Life in Planning'.

[7] The communicative planning paradigm which informs much Anglo-American planning today was based on a parallel concept of 'speech acts' developed by Jürgen Habermas about the same time and was introduced to planning literature by John Forester of Cornell University.

rowed the term from my fifth Austrian-in-the-world, Martin Buber (1878–1965), the Vienna-born philosopher and biblical scholar whose small book, *Ich und Du* (*I and Thou*), was originally published in 1923. Buber's idea of dialogue was based on a philosophical anthropology of what he called *das Zwischenmenschliche* (perhaps best but awkwardly translated as the inter-human), which is the concrete reality that arises when we live towards each other in personal encounters. Years earlier, I had attended a special convocation held in Buber's honor at the University of Chicago, where he appeared very much the biblical patriarch, complete with flowing white beard. I no longer remember what he said on that occasion, but the memory of that event has stayed with me through the years. Besides the dialogic principle, what attracted me to Buber was his utopian disposition as revealed in *Paths in Utopia*, originally published in 1950 (re-issued in 1996). Though not convinced by Buber's arguments for communitarian experiments, I have always been interested in utopian projects so long as they remain on a small scale and refuse to totalize their ideology. Today I would argue that innovative planning is inconceivable without a utopian imagination, which is also an expression of hope in the ever-present possibilities of social life.

Karl Popper (1902–1994) and Paul Feyerabend (1924–1994) are the sixth and seventh of my Austrians-in-the-world. I devoted the next several years to an amplification of some of the ideas expressed in 'transactive planning', specifically the critical connection between knowledge and action. I was especially interested in an epistemology that was no longer modeled on the natural sciences and the illusion that a completely objective form of knowing is possible, by which I mean the widely held belief that some ultimate certainty or Truth (with a capital T) is, in principle, attainable.

In 1975, I spent a year in London as a Guggenheim Fellow at the Centre for Community Studies (soon to be abolished by Margaret Thatcher), where I came upon Feyerabend's newly published *Against Method: An Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge*. I was enthralled by this book's message, which was a head-on attack on Karl Popper's *Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach* (1972). Popper was considered to be the world's leading philosopher of science (a science that took physics as its highest and foremost expression and as the model for evaluating all other scientific endeavors). This signification of science is peculiar to Anglo-Saxon countries, however, and is much more narrowly conceived than the German *Wissenschaft* (used more often than not in its plural form) that extends to all sorts of academic research and as such has no particular methodology attached to it. In any event, planning was not a 'science' as such, but an active engagement with world-changing practices of various kinds. My knowledge/action paradigm of planning thus posed the question of what sort of knowledge was sufficiently reliable for practice, and how such knowledge might be obtained.

Popper and Feyerabend were of different generations, but both were of Viennese origin. Popper had the foresight to leave Austria already in 1937, accepting a teaching position in Christchurch, New Zealand in 1937 where he spent the war years writing his two-volume work, *The Open Society and Its Enemies.* A manifesto of liberal thinking, this book was very popular for a time, especially in Britain and the United States. Unlike his friend Hayek, however, Popper allowed for some social welfare functions of the state to mitigate human misery, but planning by the state, which in any case, had only a tangential connection with welfare as such, was not one of them. Like Hayek, he rejected system-wide planning as an unacceptable limitation on freedom.

After the war, Popper moved to Britain, where he lectured on the philosophy of science at the London School of Economics. Feyerabend eventually became one of his students. He had stayed on in Austria after the country was annexed by Nazi Germany in 1938 and was eventually drafted into the *Wehrmacht.* Sent to the eastern front, he returned badly wounded, remaining physically impaired for the rest of his life. He had met Popper at a scientific gathering in Salzburg in 1948 and three years later secured a scholarship from the British Council with which he hoped to study at Cambridge under Ludwig Wittgenstein. By the time he arrived, however, Wittgenstein had died, and Feyerabend opted to study under Karl Popper instead. Although initially enthralled by his teachings, he eventually came to reject Popper's rule-bound methodology for engaging in scientific work with its claims for the inevitability of scientific progress through a process of falsification. The self-proclaimed anarchistic theory of science which Feyerabend championed (but was careful to hedge in with the condition that it assumed the existence of scientific research in the broad sense) declared that methods could not be prescribed. Both Popper and Feyerabend looked for evidence in support of their claims but came to very different, indeed opposite conclusions. In the end, Feyerabend rejected the notion that the only valid form of 'knowing' was rooted in objective science. Instead, he argued for a multiplicity of *knowledges* that avoided ultimate truth claims altogether. In this regard, he appears to have approached the pragmatist position of John Dewey and Richard Rorty, as well as our own field of research, as argued, for instance in Leonie Sandercock's work in *Towards Cosmopolis* (1998) and its sequel, *Cosmopolis II* (2003).

In any event, Feyerabend's polemic had created an intellectual/philosophical space for what, in a 1978 paper entitled 'The Epistemology of Social Practice', I called social learning. Allow me to close my encounter with these two brilliant, if wayward Viennese philosophers by quoting a short passage from Feyerabend's major work:

Knowledge […] is not a series of self-consistent theories that converges towards an ideal view; it is not a gradual approach to truth. It is rather an ever-increasing ocean of mutually incompatible (and perhaps incommensurable) alternatives, each single theory, each fairy tale, each myth that is

part of the collection forcing then others into greater articulation and all of them contributing, via the process of competition, to the development of consciousness. Nothing is ever settled, no view can ever be omitted from a comprehensive account (p. 30).

Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951) is another Viennese philosopher who was formative in my life as a planning academic. Like so many others, I have always been drawn to the enigmatic Wittgenstein, to the man as much as his work. Multi-talented, a rebel without cause, he had come from Vienna to pursue his philosophical studies at Cambridge. For all his reputation and fame, however, he actually published little in his life time, most famously his *Tractatus* (1921), which he chose to present as a series of numbered paragraphs and aphorisms that had their first incarnation, as was so much of his other work, written on index cards (*Zettel*) that he liked to sort into boxes. I go to the end of the *Tractatus*, beginning with aphorism 6.522, where I read:

> 6.522 There are indeed things that cannot be put into words. They make themselves manifest. They are what is mystical […].
> 6.54 My propositions serve as elucidation in the following way: anyone who understands me eventually recognizes them as nonsensical, when he has used them – as steps – to climb up beyond them. (He must, so to speak, throw away the ladder after he has climbed up it. He must transcend these propositions, and then he will see the world aright).
> 7 What we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence (p. 151).

By the mid-1970s, I started to think about a book that I came to call *The Good Society*. It took some time to put it together, and was published in 1979 by the MIT Press. It was an unconventional work in which I tried to find a foundation for my own thinking about a form of planning that would no longer be dominated by the state. Somewhat like Wittgenstein's famous *Tractatus*, I wrote it in an aphoristic style, interlaced with poems and quotations from a diversity of authors. I thought of it like a musical composition, with themes, sub-themes, variations, repetitions, and so forth. Although it never became one of my more popular books, it was important for me to have written it. As I later wrote in a note to myself,

> I have penetrated into Wittgenstein's 'zone of silence' in a double sense: of what cannot be said in propositional language and that other zone of silence, the world of planning by the state, which is the anonymous world of non-dialogic communication. *The Good Society* is a book about the moral basis of social relations and social practice, a book concerning ethics […]. One major difference with Wittgenstein, however, is this: my ethics is not propositional, but something that can only be pointed to, because it is entirely contained within relations of dialogue, and thus cannot be spoken of.

I come now to Karl Polanyi (1886–1964), my final encounter with an Austrian mind at large. From the highly theoretical, somewhat abstruse philosophical issues of *The Good Society*, I now returned to more manageable questions of socio-economic development, particularly a development that would increase the

life chances of the poorest in the world periphery. The neo-liberal revolution was already underway and had shunted much of the industrialized West's productive power to the new spaces of industrialization in South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, and ultimately China and India. Some critics called this period beginning in the 1980s as the 're-capitalization of capital', another instance of 'creative destruction'. In what is now called the global North, income inequalities were on the rise as was unemployment. At the same time, much of the rest of the world was sliding into deeper poverty, while the rich countries converted many of their former economic aid programs by channeling support to non-profit organizations to work in rural villages in Africa and elsewhere. But the non-profits were clearly incapable of attacking the multiple structural problems that beset most of the so-called developing (actually de-developing) countries. An effort by the International Labor Organization (ILO) in the 1970s to promote the idea of Basic Needs as a proper focus for national development policy had come to nothing, and by the 1980s, 'development' itself had lost much of its sheen as a subfield of economics.

It was under these circumstances that I decided to write a book on an alternative development that would at least partly be freed from the language of neo-classical economics and its categories. I had been reading some of Karl Polanyi's essays which had been published after his death as *The Livelihood of Man* (1977) and was deeply impressed by his argument for embedding the economic sphere of production into the matrix of social and cultural relations. Here is what I subsequently wrote in a note to myself:

> […] proponents of an alternative development question the assertion that 'creative destruction' is inextricably linked to the story of human progress. They demand that the question of what furthers human life be examined on its own merits. If social and economic development means anything at all, it must mean a clear improvement [or betterment] in the conditions of life and livelihood of ordinary people.

According to Polanyi, economic relations 'denote bearing reference to the process of satisfying material wants'. They include both economizing relations and substantive relations with the environment without which human life cannot be sustained. For Polanyi, 'to study human livelihood is to study the economy in this substantive sense of the term'. This methodological commitment led him to look at institutions and, more broadly, at socio-cultural relations through which our relations with the natural environment are mediated through the process of gaining a livelihood.

Like several other of my Austrians-in-the-world, Karl Polanyi was born in the second of the two capitals of the dual monarchy, and studied philosophy and law at both the Universities of Budapest and Vienna. During World War I, he served in the Austrian army, and from 1924 onwards, worked in Vienna, where among multiple editorial activities, he also lectured at the People's University or *Volk-*

*sheim*. Soon after Chancellor Dolfuss, following Mussolini's example in Italy, had succeeded in abolishing the young Republic's democratic institutions, Polanyi departed for London. Eventually appointed to teach at Bennington College, Vermont, he spent the years of World War II writing his masterful treatise, *The Great Transformation* (1944). Following the war, he was appointed to a chair at Columbia University (1947), but because his wife Ilona, a former communist, was not permitted to enter the United States, the family settled in Pickering, Ontario (Canada), from where Karl commuted to New York for his lectures. His other major work, *Trade and Markets in the Early Empires*, was published in 1957 and established his name also as an economic anthropologist.

Polanyi's substantive economics, focused as it was on people's livelihood, led me to the threshold of the household economy, the central role of which is the production of life and livelihood through the allocation of its own disposable labor time between the production of use values in the moral economy and the production of exchange values in the money economy. It was this fundamental distinction and its focus on the household as a universal social institution (rather than on the utility-maximizing individual) that led me to the concept of *social empowerment* and a view of poverty that I defined as a lack of access to the bases of social power. This was the central theme of my 1992 book, *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development*.

## 4. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

With this I have come to the end of my encounters with Austrians-in-the-world. But I think it will have become plainly evident that my Austrian or, as I would now prefer to call it, my European heritage, has profoundly shaped my intellectual development. The varied contributions of these nine men (and ten including my father) have been contributions to the world of the mind that is shared by all of us and knows no boundaries.

Let me close with a few observations about planning and its meditations on theory. As I mentioned earlier, I am interested in planning as an innovative activity. This is something I learned from Hannah Arendt, another European-in--the-world: innovation, she wrote, is to set something new into the world; it is an initiating action, a new beginning. This, I suppose, is the reason I ended up working in international development, where my focal interest, the role of cities, could also be observed at close range. My definition of planning for the purposes of theory is the relationship between knowing and acting, and where this has led me is the experience of planning as part of the ongoing historical process of a globalizing world.

We are not often aware of this, but the acceleration of social and spatial change that we see under conditions of development is actually an acceleration of *local* history, and we are aware of this only in retrospect. Even in a so-called global age, history is not moving at the same speed everywhere. Vienna today is not the Shanghai that burst out of its shell in the 1990s; spatial planning in Austria is far more cautious and, on the whole, more regulatory than in China. But to argue from this that development planning is a kind of soft technology for guiding (or 'steering') history would, of course, be nonsense. Because when we observe things more closely, what we discover is that the historical practices by the multiple actors in city-building processes on the scale of a Shanghai are actually not prescribed in some holistic plan (Chinese like Austrian planners are supposed to draw up strategic long-term plans), but rather form a dynamic pattern of interacting forces so complex that we are unable to grasp the pattern as a whole. As a colleague, Michael Leaf, has written, China's formal planning practice is more like a ritual than a guiding force. I do not know if this is the case also for the more leisurely pace of Austrian planning. In any event, planning theory is for me part of a theory of socio-spatial change. Could such a theory, if one existed, also be called a theory of history? I am not sure of it, but doubt it. Whereas planning is normative, history has no finality. It just goes on and on and on.

**Alexander HAMEDINGER***

# THE MOBILITY AND/OR FIXITY OF URBAN AND PLANNING POLICIES – THE ROLE OF DIVERGENT URBAN PLANNING CULTURES

**Abstract**. Cities and regions are increasingly interconnected on a global scale. In the process of the making of cities and regions policy actors increasingly rely on globally flowing and very mobile urban policy models, which have been originally developed in different socio-spatial contexts. Simultaneously the search for these policies and their implementation is refracted by local/regional factors, which are relatively fixed as they are rooted in historically produced planning cultures. In this conceptual paper governance change is discussed through looking at the interplay between fixity and motion in urban development. For this purpose approaches to planning cultures and policy mobilities are related to each other theoretically.
**Key words**: urban governance, planning cultures, policy mobilities, planning policies.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The increasing interconnectedness of cities and regions in economic, social and even political terms has certainly been pushed by both, processes of globalization und European integration. While most of the literature about the global-local nexus predominantly focuses on economic interconnectedness (e.g. Sassen, 1991) and the need for cities to improve their competitiveness (Begg, 1999; Giffinger and Hamedinger, 2009; Parkinson *et al*., 2004), some urban scholars consider how cities and regions are interconnected or related to each other through the exchange of knowledge and information in different policy fields (e.g. through city networks; see Atkinson and Rossignolo, 2010). Not surprisingly, these scholars

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point to the fact that the EU has consciously embarked on a variety of programs and policies since the 1980s in order to foster the exchange of 'best practice' or to stimulate 'learning processes' between cities and regions through the dissemination and exchange of policy models. Also in spatial planning the EU has pushed the idea of 'good' or 'best' practice and their exchange between and within Member States since the end of the 1990s. Stead (2012) lists a bulk of EU policy documents basically concerning spatial development and planning, which explicitly pay attention to the identification and dissemination of 'good' or 'best' practice (e.g. the European Spatial Development Perspective (CSD, 1999), White Paper on European Governance (EC, 2001), the Territorial Agenda of the European Union (German Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs, 2007)).

Urban planning is increasingly influenced by policy models circulating on an European or even global level, but this must not necessarily lead to real changes in the organization or the fundamental goals of urban planning. More importantly, against the background of historically developed and deeply rooted local planning cultures, the question arises if and in which respects planning policy models developed in certain national-(regional)-local contexts could be easily adopted in other contexts. It seems that changes in urban planning could be better explained through looking more precisely at how globally or European wide flowing good practices of urban planning are articulated with deeply rooted and relatively fixed existing urban planning practices. Processes of articulation could be conflictual because of the contradictory nature of the relation between the supra-local and the local practices of urban planning and their inherent values and norms. Taking up and modifying an argument developed by David Harvey in 1982 changes in urban planning or even in urban governance can only be understood through shedding light on the complex interplay between 'fixity' and 'motion', between what is 'fixed' and what is 'mobile' in urban planning in terms of values, norms, practices and institutional frameworks. So, in order to understand changes in urban governance and urban planning we need to create concepts which theoretically bring together 'relationality' and 'territoriality', or 'fixity' and 'motion'; a claim, which is for example brought into the discussion by Lees (2012) concerning the mobility of gentrification policies on a global scale. MacLeod and Jones (2011, p. 2463) also urgently point to that and formulate a more general claim concerning urban theory: 'it is with this in mind that we caution for any relationally constituted metropolitics and urban political/metropolitan theory to retain within this ontological purview the territorial demarcations that are intertwined with and provide shape to the relational lines of connection and disconnection, mobility and immobility: for they are place dependent'. This claim is a central point of departure for the arguments developed in this paper.

In recent critical geographical and urban research literature the accelerated circulation of policy ideas and 'good' policy models has been theoretically packed

into different concepts or notions like 'policies in motion' (Ward, 2006), 'policy mobilities' (McCann, 2011; Temenos and McCann, 2012) 'trans – urban policy pipelines' (Cook and Ward, 2012), 'urban assemblages' (McFarlane, 2011; Mc-Cann and Ward, 2011b), or 'circulation of knowledge' (Robinson, 2011). From a basically political economic point of view, most of the scholars scrutinize,

– which actors, institutions, organizations and technologies are involved in the development and dissemination of urban policy models,

– who is benefiting from them in terms of power in certain locales,

– which socio-spatial consequences the circulation of policy models in certain cities/regions produces, and more fundamentally,

– how changes in urban governance and the making of cities could be explained.

What clearly comes up in all of these different approaches is that urban policies are not simply imported or implemented in certain local contexts, but that these policy models mutate in the course of movement and that they are a kind of refracted through historically developed local/regional political and planning cultures as well as through the social and economic structures of cities or regions (Cook and Ward (2012) refer to 'certain pathways and trajectories'; Stead (2012) to 'path-dependency and path-shaping'). However, until now, most of these scholars focus on a thorough analysis of the *mobility* of certain urban policies and their conscious mobilization by local policy actors. The role of 'planning cultures' in framing these processes of mobilizing and circulating policy models has partially been neglected in this discourse.

At the same time, the recent discourse about the conceptualization and empirical analysis of planning cultures mainly concentrates on describing different elements of planning cultures, which are said to be strongly embedded in political cultures. Broadly speaking, the latest contributions to this discourse (Friedmann, 2011; Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009; Reimer and Blotevogel, 2012) argue for an even stronger 'cultural sensitization' (Reimer and Blotevogel, 2012) of empirically guided planning research, which aims at a sober comparison of different planning systems in Europe or even in the world. Implicitly this re-orientation means to concentrate on an analysis of the *fixity* of planning cultures as these 'cultural elements' of planning systems are deeply rooted in political cultures.

To summarize, it seems that conceptualizations of, on the one hand, policy mobilities, and on the other hand, of planning cultures, eagerly work to explore one central aspect of the intricacies of planning policies and urban governance change separately without conceptually and empirically taking into account the other aspect. A central hypothesis of this paper is that theoretically combining both conceptualizations could improve the analysis of urban governance and urban planning change as it takes care of the interplay between 'fixity' and 'motion'. Mainly an analysis of planning cultures could add to a better understanding of

the mobility of planning policies or the 'transferability of spatial planning methods, techniques, operating rules, instruments, programs and so on' (Stead, 2012, p. 113) between completely different contexts.

Consequently, this paper predominantly focuses on answering the following questions:

– How can concepts of planning cultures improve our understanding of the mobility of planning policy models?

– How can conceptualizations of the mobility or circulation of policies be combined with conceptualizations of planning cultures in order to better understand processes of governance change?

In order to do so, the paper proceeds as follows: in the next chapter different theoretical approaches, which seek to grasp the mobility and circulation of policies, will be questioned with respect to their conceptualizations of 'refractions' or 'mutations' of these mobile urban policies when applied in certain locales. After that, different concepts of planning cultures will be discussed concerning their potential contribution to better understand urban governance change. In the final chapter some conclusions will be made and questions for further research formulated.

## 2. UNDERSTANDING THE MOBILITY OF URBAN AND PLANNING POLICIES – BASIC CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

As mentioned above the growing literature which concerns the conceptualization of the mobility of urban policies can mainly be divided into three strands: urban assemblages, circulating knowledge, mobile policies/policies in motion.

### 2.1. Urban Assemblages

McCann and Ward (2011a) describe cities as assemblages; a concept, which they explicitly borrow from Deleuze and Guattari (1987) to shed light on the contested processes of the production of cities. They also heavily allude to Deleuze and Guattari (1987) when they describe how mobile urban policies contribute to processes of reterritorialization and deterritorialization. Assemblages are seen as ensembles of interrelated elements like actors, institutions, technologies or resources, which themselves are related to different spatial scales. Urban assemblages figure as 'inventions' or 'formations' as they embody both modernization and continuation in urban governance for a certain time and territory. In vein with this approach Cook and Ward (2012) favour the idea to empirically examine the

role of 'transitory assemblages of various elements – institutions, presentations, websites' in the process of construction, and hence fixing certain policy models in certain territories.[1] Furthermore, in the eyes of McCann and Ward (2011a) using the concept of 'assemblages' really helps to escape the narrow analytical confines of dichotomies like global and local as these assemblages are in a constant process of re-making, in which forces, which unfold on different spatial scales, are involved simultaneously. But, what is more important for them is that these assemblages also produce uneven spatial development and changes in power structures. New assemblages could be detrimental for some policy actors in terms of political power, and in turn, legitimate the practices of other policy actors.

Cook and Ward (2012) have further developed this approach to understand the mobility and circulation of policy models through the introduction of the concept of 'trans-urban policy pipelines'. Basically with that notion they mean the infrastructure and practices which facilitate the movement of policies (e.g. conferences) around the globe. More interestingly, they depict how trans-urban policy pipelines strengthen processes of territorialization of certain policy ideas on the local level. As processes of territorialization are always accompanied by conflicts or protests by local actors, whose positions seem to be threatened through the invention of new urban policies, they argue to look more precisely at the 'obstacles' and 'conflicts', which could considerably hinder the invention of new policies. Cook and Ward (2012) mention some elements, which certainly seem to refract the application of globally mobile urban policies in cities. Particularly they hint to the 'social and political acceptability' of elements of globally traveling policy models (like 'Business Improvement Districts') in certain socio-spatial contexts. Unfortunately, this argument has not been further explored by them in their paper. It misses a clear picture of how to theorize and operationalize these 'obstacles', and accordingly, how to explain the different trajectories of the development of urban policies. Exactly regarding this question, concepts of planning cultures could add to a more sober understanding of urban trajectories and to disentangle which elements of assemblages are really fixed and hard to re-work through mobile policies. Not least, the 'social and political acceptability' of policies is deeply enshrined in historically constructed political and planning cultures.

McFarlane (2011) is more sensitive concerning this critique as he discusses assemblages more clearly from an ontological perspective and critically reflects on other conceptualizations of assemblages:

> This broadly nonconceptual sense of assemblage contrasts with a more explicit rendering of assemblage as idea – a name for relations between objects that make up the world, an ontology of assemblage – which then requires content specification. And there is a notion of assemblage as an approach, an orientation to an object (McFarlane, 2011, p. 652).

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[1] In their paper Cook and Ward (2012) analyze the mobility of the policy model of 'Business Improvement Districts' and its territorialization in the case of Sweden.

For him 'assemblage thinking' also means to dig into urban histories, which influence the paths of urban policies. According to McFarlane (2011), this means to decipher 'habits of practice' or 'ways of going on', so 'assemblage draws attention less to an ecology of relations and more to the particular urban alignments formed through processes of gathering, dispersion and change' (McFarlan, 2011, p. 654). However, at this point it is not clear, which aspects of 'urban histories' are considered to come into play as potentially mobile or deeply rooted and fixed in the course of urban governance change.

## 2.2. Policies in Motion/Policy Mobilities – Circulating Knowledge

Broadly speaking, urban scholars who refer to the term 'policy mobilities' or 'policies in motion' want to figure out which processes underpin the increasing mobility of policies and how cities are relationally constructed through these growing flows of policy models. Cities are mainly seen as nodes in a space of policy flows. Peck (2002) also speaks of 'fast policy regimes'; these are 'policies that work', which are globally circulating and adopted to change policies in certain places. McCann (2011; Temenos and McCann, 2012) alludes to the idea of 'policy mobilities' in order to explain the construction of cities through being part of spatially wider flows of capital, knowledge, and information. In his approach he tries to gauge the impacts of the 'global circulation of urban policies' on the making of certain cities and to examine more precisely which actors, institutions, processes and technologies are involved in the mobilization of urban policies. Urban policy mobilities are 'socially produced and circulated forms of knowledge addressing how to design and govern cities that develop in, are conditioned by, travel through, connect, and shape various spatial scales, networks, policy communities, and institutional contexts' (McCann, 2011, p. 109). Particularly McCann's (2011) conceptualization of the relation between fixity and motion is certainly relevant in the context of urban governance change. As for most of the above mentioned scholars also for McCann (2011) Harvey's idea of the dialectic between fixity and motion (Harvey, 1982) serves as a starting point for getting a clearer picture about the processes of neoliberal urbanization. McCann (2011, p. 109) mentions the following elements of urban policies, which are locally fixed: 'longstanding policy paradigms, path-dependencies, ideologies, and frames of reference and/or by external forces'. Unfortunately, what is meant by these terms is neither theoretically nor empirically explained. In his endeavour to see cities as 'global-relational nodes' and to catch the role of urban policy mobilities in directing contemporary urbanization he partially neglects the importance of political cultures for an explanation of the relation between fixity and motion. Although he strives for a detailed empirical analysis of the mobilization of policies (e.g. through the identification of certain actors like 'local policy actors, global policy consultocracy, and infor-

mational infrastructures' (McCann, 2011, p. 109)) and institutions involved in this process in the case of Vancouver, this research suffers from a clear understanding of the processes of local embedding of policy models in certain planning cultures.

In their analysis of the making of Whistler (Canada) as a 'sustainable city' Temenos and McCann (2012) are more precise in this regard as they analyze the 'local politics of policy mobility'. However, what is partially missing is an idea of how local politics, which means actors, institutions and relations between stakeholders, are framed by historically developed common understandings of the values and goals of urban development, of the role of the state in steering develop-ment and the relation between the local state and civil society. Likewise it should have been empirically researched, which factors of local politics are favourable for the importation of certain policy models. To envisage these issues would have meant to dwell on planning and political cultures, which could explain the pro-cess of the mobilization of urban policies to a certain degree. Consequently, what is needed is to create a more detailed idea of what is contested within the local politics of policy mobility.

In approaches under the heading 'policies in motion' (Gonzales, 2011; Peck, 2002; Ward, 2006) the ambition prevails to unearth the local conditions that form the recognition of certain policy models and to reconstruct the 'trajectories' of these policy models (Ward, 2006), and hence, the above mentioned critique only partially holds for this way of analyzing the mobility of policies and the making of cities. Most of all, Ward (2006, p. 69) explicitly points to factors, which refract the adoption of the BID-model in UK capital cities: 'structural orientation of the two nations' welfare regimes (US and UK, note of the author), scalar division of the state, and urban political-economic trajectories'.

Finally, Jennifer Robinson (2011) has brought the idea of 'spaces of circulating knowledge' into this discussion. From a postcolonial perspective, she dwells on city strategies, their development and implementation in cities of the global North and the global South. Consequently, for her city strategies are not homogenous policy models sketched out only in the global North and simply taken up by cities in the global South. Rather policy actors in some large cities of the global South are eagerly taking part in the formation of these models, likewise intruding the global flow of these policy models with new insights from the global South. City strategies should be viewed as a 'global urban policy technique' (Robinson, 2011, p. 20), which is inextricably linked to changes in power relations when it comes to their application and implementation in certain urban contexts. In her theoretical argumentation Robinson (2011) drafts how 'spaces of circulation', all the sites and tracks, channels and landscapes, which are part of 'international policy learning and innovation', could be analyzed more precisely. Robinson (2011, pp. 26–27) concludes that what is urgently needed is to figure out the 'spatial and power-laden processes', which produce 'proximities or distancing' in international policy

learning and exchange. Furthermore, she makes a plea for the analysis of power relations, and hence, local politics involved in the mobilization of globally flowing policy models on the local level. To discover the 'hidden agendas' of policy actors, who want to invent some new or innovative policy models, which have been successfully tested in other cities, in their domestic arena, could be one way to better understand these power relations. Understandably, Robinson (2011) is more positive concerning the possibilities of urban actors to appropriate or even slightly change global policy models compared to the scepticism characteristic for urban scholars, which strongly refer to the inescapability of neoliberal urbanization (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010). But again, what exactly is meant by 'local specifities' (Robinson, 2011, p. 19), which shape the way of how policy models are screened, downloaded and adopted or appropriated at the local level, is not explored in more detail.

To sum up, a theoretically well informed explanation of the questions why and how globally circulating and mobile policy models are altered on the local level is relatively obscured in the above mentioned literature about policy mobilities, policies in motion or circulating knowledge. Most of these conceptualization concentrate on the more 'visible' elements of 'local specifities' (like e.g. 'scalar division of the state'). This is due to an under-theoretization of the relation between actors and institutions, the lack of a clear idea of the constitution of actors form a sociological point of view, and, more importantly with regard to planning cultures, the lack of considering the role of taken-for-granted values, norms and routines (cf. Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009), which make up certain planning cultures and which are really specific for certain socio-spatial formations. Peck (2011, pp. 19–20) defies some of the policy mobility approaches and precisely underpins that point:

> These intensely contested and deeply constitutive contexts, which have their own histories and geographies, shape what is seen, and what counts, in terms of policy innovations, preferred models, and best practice. They also frame those narratives of "policy failure" that establish the premises and preconditions for policy experimentation.

This seems to be a good starting point for considering the role of planning cultures in these framing processes more precisely.

## 3. PLANNING CULTURES – UNDERSTANDING THE FIXITY OF URBAN AND PLANNING POLICIES?

Since decades conceptualizations of 'planning cultures' have been brought to the fore and scholarly discussed within the discourse about planning theories (see DISP, 1993; Friedmann, 2005, 2011; Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009; Sanyal,

2005).[2] Most of them offer an analytical grid for a thorough comparative analysis of different planning cultures, though with a certain focus on the more 'visible' parts of planning cultures (e.g. institutional frameworks; a critique also formulated by Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009). Furthermore, not all of them are based on a clear theoretization of the interplay between structure, agency and spatial structures, of the duality of fixity and mobility involved in changes of planning cultures, and of the path-dependency of planning cultures. Only Friedmann (2005) explicitly dwells on the fixity – mobility relation with regard to the impact of globalization on different, though national, planning cultures. For him planning cultures are deeply rooted in historically developed political cultures, but they are not 'engraved in stone' (Friedmann, 2005, p. 184). According to him, what we need to develop is a more precise picture about what is 'in movement' (Friedmann, 2005, p. 211) within planning cultures and how shared interpretations and perceptions of reality of planning actors as well as institutional settings determine the context – specifty and immobility of planning cultures. What follows from this argument is the claim that comparative research, which addresses planning cultures, should have to be grounded more clearly in wider social and spatial theories.

In a recent paper Reimer and Blotevogel (2012) also argue for a 'cultural sensitization' for a better comparison of different planning systems. They clearly favour to go beyond the classical approaches applied in studies comparing planning systems, which basically rely on a comparative analysis of structures of administrative and legal systems. For them these approaches should be considerably complemented by an analysis, which builds on a detailed analysis of planning practices, of the perceptions and interpretations of actors involved in planning policies, hence on planning cultures. Also in contrast to planning and governance theories, which emphasize the trend towards a smooth harmonization or homogenization of planning systems in the course of processes of European Integration (or 'Europeanization', cf. Hamedinger and Wolffhardt, 2010), Reimer and Blotevogel (2012) very conclusively exhibit in their paper that 'cultural differences' matter and that the concept of planning cultures should be used as an analytical instrument for a better understanding of planning practices on the local level.

Generally speaking, what they are ambitiously trying to do is to reconcile the classical 'planning systems' concepts with a certain 'planning cultures' approach. They show that this most of all means to theoretically grasp the interplay between structure and agency before constructing an analytical grid for empirical research. Giddens' (1984) conceptualization of the duality of structure as well as the often mentioned approach of 'actor-centred institutionalism' (Mayntz and Scharpf, 1995) serve as a vantage point for Reimer and Blotevogel (2012) in this regard. Furthermore, in order to better describe the context-dependency of planning ac-

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[2] A broad discussion of these different conceptualizations is not done in this paper, but in other contributions of this special issue.

tion Reimer and Blotevogel (2012) introduce to concept of institutional milieus developed by DiGaetano and Strom (2003), a concept, which explicitly offers an integrated approach to analyze planning cultures empirically. Institutional milieus are 'the complexes of formal and informal political and governmental arrangements that mediate interactions among the structural context, political culture and political actors' (DiGaetano and Strom quoted by Reimer and Blotevogel 2012, p. 17). Taking this conceptualization further Reimer and Blotevogel (2012, p. 18) propose the following elements to be considered for a comparative analysis of planning cultures:

> […] locally and regionally entrenched traditions of action, processes of both individual and collective self-perception, of constructing reality, and of agenda setting on the part of local and regional elites, adaptation and learning processes, and established power structures and the restrictive and empowering impacts they exert on planning action.

More importantly, the authors explain the context-dependency of planning cultures not only through routines deeply inscribed in planning actions and the involved tacit knowledge, but also through existing spatial structures. These are 'local specifities', which really influence the mobilization of policy models and the ways of screening, adoption and implementation of these models in certain cities ore regions. So, this operationalization of the concept of planning cultures for empirical and comparative-oriented research seems to be quite promising for cushioning the above described deficits of the diverse urban policy mobilities approaches.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS

'Between fixity and motion', these are the first words of an article by Neil Brenner (1998), in which he elaborates the idea of a 'scalar fix'. For him a 'scalar fix' builds the multiscalarly organized territorial basis of different rounds of circulation of capital, which could nevertheless be re-organized in next rounds of capital circulation. Alluding to Harvey's theoretization of fixity and motion, in which this relation is described as a 'contradiction' or 'tension' inherent in capitalism, Brenner (1998) consistently argues that processes of globalization are always accompanied by processes of 're-scaling'. Cities are upgraded or downgraded in these processes of re-hierarchization of spatial scales. But more inspiring for this paper, Brenner (1998) pinpoints three issues, which could guide the answer to the second question, which is raised in the introduction to this paper, namely the question concerning the explanation of governance change:

– Tensions between fixity and motion could not be resolved; accordingly, fixity and motion are two sides of the same coin, which is capital accumulation.

– What is fixed and what is mobile cannot really be separated analytically as fixes are simultaneously a result, a precondition, but also medium of the contradictory process of capital accumulation (Brenner, 1998).

– The relation between fixity and motion is socially contested and characteristic for certain historical and socio-spatial formations.

The question how conceptualizations of planning cultures and policy mobilities can be combined in order to enrich our scientifically acquired knowledge about changes in planning policies (and urban governance) has been addressed in this paper through a description of some shortcomings of recent approaches in both discourses. While most of the conceptualizations, which fall under the rubric 'policy mobilities', 'policy in motion', 'urban assemblages' or 'circulation of knowledge', have a bias towards emphasising the 'mobility-side', but also the visible sides of urban and planning policies, the above mentioned concepts of planning cultures mainly underline the deep embeddedness, and hence, relative fixity of some part of planning cultures (with a focus on the 'invisible' cognitive elements of planning cultures). The main characteristics of both discourses are roughly shown in table 1.

Table 1. Some differences between concepts of 'policy mobilities' and 'planning cultures'

| Dimensions | Policy mobilities | Planning cultures |
|---|---|---|
| Conceptualization of space | relational | socially constructed |
| Relation between fixity and motion | blurring of this dichotomy | no clear conceptualization |
| Local 'specifities' | power structures, habits of practice, ways of doing things, policy paradigms, ideologies, welfare regimes, scalar division of the state | power structures, shared interpretations and perceptions of reality, traditions of actions, routines of planning practice, individual and collective self-perception of planners, learning processes, administrative and legal structures, taken for granted values and norm systems, traditional role of the state in society, spatial structures |

Source: authors' elaboration.

The conceptualization of planning cultures developed by Reimer and Blotevogel (2012), who offer a structurally and actors sensitive approach ('institutional milieus'), are promising for bringing more light into the 'local specifities' of planning policies and urban governance, which probably hinder governance change

induced by imported policy models. Particularly, their dimensions of planning cultures, which are planning actions, constructions and interpretations of reality, learning processes, established power structures and institutional frameworks as well as spatial structures, could really add to better understand how and why planning policies developed in certain cities are modified when applied in other cities. Four issues, which also give an idea for future research on urban governance and planning policy change, have to be highlighted in this respect:

– First, constructions and interpretations of reality, which are based on shared taken-for-granted values and norms of planning action, seem to be obstacles in processes of adaptation. These constructions fundamentally guide the screening of planning policy solutions to certain planning problems, the process of selection of certain policies out of the flow of globally circulating policy models, and the processes of implementation. Consequently, future urban and planning research should more seriously concentrate on deciphering the constructions and interpretations of reality (and space) made by urban planners and other policy actors. This aspect taken from the planning cultures approach could also contribute to better grasp the ways of mobilizing urban planning policies, a question also formulated in the introduction.

– Second, in order to explain the processes of adaptation of certain policy models to 'local specifities', in future research it should be disclosed to what degree and in which respects learning is possible. Succinctly, this also means to know more about the adaptability and flexibility of institutional structures, an aspect which also could be taken over from the above mentioned approach to planning cultures.

– Third, mainly because of the strength of historically developed planning cultures the global mobilization and circulation of urban and planning policies will not completely lead to a kind of convergence or homogenization of governance structures.

– Fourth, and in conclusion, this means to elucidate the always socially contested processes of the production and reproduction of cities (Lefebvre, 1991), which is simultaneously based on 'fixities' and 'mobilities', more clearly.

Really understanding (but not explaining) changes in planning policies and urban governance more generally necessitates a theoretically well developed analytical framework, which is both sensitive to what is fixed and what is changeable or adaptable in historically produced governance arrangements. Inextricably linked to that, comparative urban and planning research needs a clear picture about the relation between structure, agency and space. Otherwise, it misses to fully reconstruct the processes of the (re-)production of cities or the making of cities in an increasingly interconnected world, and the context-dependency of urban governance change. As a final conclusion to this aspect and to this paper the inspiring words of John Friedmann (2005, p. 228) have to be mentioned:

It could be argued that the current era of globalization and the insertion of cities into the 'space of flows' of global finance, information, and cultural exchanges will eventually lead to a greater homogenization of practices, and that the profession of city and regional, or spatial planning will exhibit more and more common characteristics. But even if this were the case on the technical side, actual planning practices must still respond to the particular conditions under which they operate, conform to the prevailing political culture, accommodate to its institutional setting, adapt to limitation of resources for local development, battle with entrenched interests and traditions, and so gradually evolve its own national and even local style.

According to Novy, Coimbra-Swiatek and Lengauer (2013, p. 45), further conceptualizing the relation between structure, agency and space could only be done through 'working with time-space dynamics […] and relating structural dynamics (including power relations) to strategic and collective agency through institutional and cultural mediation'. In order to understand the interplay between fixity and motion involved in urban governance change the relation between actors adhering to different spatial scales, their practices and perceptions as well as interpretations, structures (institutional and discoursive) and space has to be further developed on a theoretical and empirical level. Furthermore, the 'making' of cities has to be explored more precisely through a sober empirical analysis of urban planning cultures, their differences to policy and planning models downloaded from a global or European wide flow of policy and planning practices, and the processes as well as strategies of politically coping with these differences. Finally, on a meta-theoretical level this also means development a clearer conceptualization of a theory of urban politics, which is more space-and-place-sensitive and relational.

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**Johannes SUITNER***

# CULTURES OF IMAGE CONSTRUCTION APPROACHING PLANNING CULTURES AS A FACTOR IN URBAN IMAGE PRODUCTION

**Abstract**. Why do the same planning approaches cause different results around the world? Because, even in times of globalization, there is obviously more than one way of planning. These different modes are an expression of distinct local planning cultures. Hence, we need to take a closer look at the influence of planning cultures on outcomes of urban development processes. This paper joins debates on the nature of planning culture with culture-led image production as one specific process of urban development, and asks to what degree a local planning culture might influence the production of cultural image. The paper provides a first step in building an analytical framework for analyzing image production and its interplay with local planning cultures, and gives hints on critical points in the so-called 'cultures of image construction'.

**Key words**: planning culture, urban culture, image construction, cultural planning, contested space.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In our everyday involvement with planning processes we can find that similar challenges are approached differently around the globe. It would be too narrow to put this down to random contextual variations. Rather this owes to distinct local planning cultures (Friedmann, 2005, 2011).

The recognition of such specific planning cultures extends the spectrum of questions to be approached in planning research (Sanyal, 2005). Their influence on various planning activities is a major topic, which seems to be only implicitly analyzed sometimes, but rarely as a research objective itself. Hence, planning culture's relation to actual planning interventions remains widely uncharted terrain.

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Whether it be mega-projects or local regeneration processes, physical or neighbourhood planning, cultural or environmental interventions – all have to be considered as being affected by the specificities of local planning cultures. Thus, how local particularities affect different planning activities is a key question. Analyzing the substantial factors that support or hinder the respective planning practice consequently becomes an important point in planning research.

In this paper I elaborate on the relation between planning culture and culture-led image creation to make a first step in building an analytical framework on the influence planning cultures have on planning endeavours. I choose culture-led image creation, as in times of culturalization of all urban life (Scott, 1997), investigating culture-led initiatives in planning offers a seemingly infinite range of worldwide examples. And, the prevalent entrepreneurial, outward-oriented politics of planning (Hall and Hubbard, 1996) suggest to take a closer look at the production of urban images as a central instrument in this context.

This focus is of even greater interest in relation to planning cultures, as thematic diversity and image success vary heavily among recent projects (Evans, 2001, 2003; Miles, 2007). Consequently, the presumption is that realization and image-related accomplishments of anything from museums, theatres and cultural quarters to music festivals, sports events and capitals of culture are massively influenced by the local contexts of planning.

Thus, this paper discusses culture-led planning in short, extending it to the strongly related urban marketing activities, which explains why the focus of debate should be on culture-led *image* planning instead of separate investigations of culture *or* image. I join culture-led image planning with the concept of planning culture to find some of the important issues in researching the 'cultures of image creation'. Hence, I conclude with proposing central research questions to analyze the influence of planning cultures on image planning processes effectively. Yet, as a starting point, I introduce and delineate the concept of planning cultures for the purpose of this paper.

## 2. PLANNING AND CULTURE. PLANNING AS CULTURE

The first well-known involvements with theorizing about planning date back to the 1950s and 1960s, when planning practice was determined by the concept of scientific rationality. Although being children of their time, these efforts already contained a valuable shade of critique towards the rational-comprehensive approach to planning (Lindblom, 1959; Davidoff, 1965). Thereby, they initiated an intense and still ongoing discourse, which critically reflects the manifold ways of planning, introduces new rationales, and provides an indispensable overview of how the profession and its approaches changed over time.

Within this discourse on planning theory another strand was examined to shed light on how planning is organized. It dealt with the so far invisible values and beliefs that accompany planning, and tried to find out about the structures of actors and resulting relations in planning (Faludi, 2005). But only in the 1990s the debate around different ways of planning was consequently put in relation to local contexts. It appeared that specific political and administrative systems in which planning is embedded, the inherent principles and values of planners, and the history *of*, or traditions *in* planning might play an important role in understanding why similar challenges are actually carried out differently around the globe (Getimis, 2012). Eventually, planning cultures became an important issue of planning theoretical research, particularly in comparative studies (Sanyal, 2005; Friedmann, 2005, 2011; Steinhauer, 2011).

But what is characteristic of 'a planning culture'? Knieling and Othengrafen (2009) emphasize the importance of (local) socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts as major influencing factors of planning processes. These are an expression of a distinct culture, or are at least shaped by local cultural particularities. Consequently, the same is true for local, regional, or national planning, which are all embedded in and emerged from these cultural contexts. They further specify that '[…] each national or regional planning context is characterized by particularities of history, beliefs and values, political and legal traditions, different socio-economic patterns and concepts of justice, interpretations of planning tasks and responsibilities, as well as different structures of governance' (Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009, p. 301)

This approach accentuates the 'culturization' of planning (Young, 2008) and brings us close to the concept of planning cultures. Screening recent literature reveals a great pile of work on the characteristics of planning culture – a helpful foundation in defining the term. Although Young (2008) and Steinhauer (2011) rightly refuse a definite delineation as it would hinder an adaptation to other, different questions or contexts, a clear and stable understanding is needed as a framework for the purpose of this paper. I consider the following structure a useful basis of my further elaborations (see figure 1).

Three levels of analysis are distinguished in this conceptualization. The total of all cultural, historical, geographic, economic, and political contexts, in which a territory is embedded, is considered to be an important influencing factor of any planning cultural specificity, and hence a decisive foundation of a planning culture concept. These contexts form the preconditions of planning interventions and urban development in general. Therefore, it subsumes both the surrounding situation and influences from a non-local level, as well as the very local structures of the urban environment, in which planning typically intervenes. Besides geographic location, this implies a territory's embedding in border-crossing political and economic networks and any other cross-regional linkages, which co-determine the

**INSTITUTIONS**

**PRACTICES**

**PLANNING CONTEXT**

**Global & (supra-)national framing**
- Geography
- Global politics, structural and functional ties
- National regulations
- Determination of territorial system
  e.g. hierarchies and modes of allocation

**Local structures**
- Urban structure, environment, landscape, built environment
- Densities, accessibilities, centres/peripheries, ...

**PLANNING SYSTEM**

**Material components**
- Planning laws, regulations, instruments
- Institutions and institutional structures

**Discursive components**
- Societal role of planning, acceptance, legitimacy
- Institutional embededness
- Decision-making processes

**PLANNING PRINCIPLES**

**Planning traditions**
- 'History' of local planning
- Emergence of different forms of planning
  e.g. physical, functional, institutional planning
- Relation of formal and informal planning

**Planning attitudes**
- General objectives
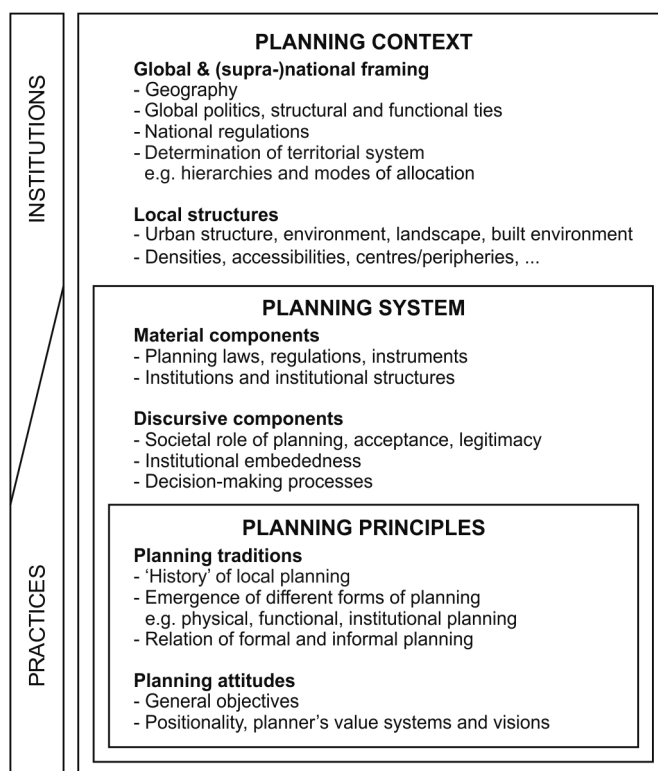- Positionality, planner's value systems and visions

Fig. 1. Delineating local planning cultures. An analytical framework

Source: author's elaboration after Salet and Faludi (2000), Stevenson (2001), Faludi (2005),
Friedmann (2005, 2011); Sanyal (2005), Young (2008), Knieling and Othengrafen (2009),
Steinhauer (2011), Getimis (2012), Reimer and Blotevogel (2012)

local planning situation. National regulations are as well considered as influencing factors of a local planning culture, for instance by determining certain modes of allocating subsidies among regions. And, the planning context involves the local structures as both, point of departure for and outcome of actual planning within the respective territory. Of course, global, national and local contexts and structures cannot be strictly separated, as today we are aware of the tight interrelations between these different scales (Massey, 2006). Still though, the planning context is meant to represent the locally constructed framework, in which a local planning culture can exist and develop (Getimis, 2012; Reimer and Blotevogel, 2012).

Embedded in these planning contexts lies the planning system. According to Reimer and Blotevogel (2012), the planning system comprises of formal institutions and the legislated regulations of planning. Yet, this is only part of what I propose to be subsumed here. While all formal instruments, the regulative framework

of local development, and all further legally drawn-up structures can be considered to be 'visible' fragments of the planning system, the 'invisible' factors characterizing it are hardly ever discussed. I speak of decision-making processes, the discursively produced role of planning in society, its acceptance and legitimacy as a forming force in local development, as well as of its embeddedness in the variety of authorities, administrations, chambers, and the like. Even though it is acknowledged that it is here that actor constellations exercise power to influence the material institutional structures (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Getimis, 2012), they sometimes seem to be of subordinate importance in discussions about planning systems. It is this layer, where institutions and practices of the local planning culture collide and most intensely interfere. Hence, the analysis of the planning system not only shows the processes and ways of formal planning, it also gives hints about powerful actors and their networks, who potentially influence planning processes and the planning system as such. Thus, the transitions between material and discursive components of the planning system are to be taken serious within the analysis of power in planning and investigations of a transforming planning culture.

Finally, the planning principles are completing the scheme of local planning cultures. By principles is meant the 'history' of local planning – the traditions of how to plan, when, where, and what to plan and by what means. These traditions are strongly linked to planning attitudes, which typically arise from a local planning tradition, but might as well be influenced by contextual changes and the planning system's condition (Young, 2008). The attitudes address the implicit values of planners, the definition of what 'good' planning means, the positionality, and the different visions arising from these principles. Of course, these principles of planning are applied in the discursive components of the planning system, massively affecting its constitution and how it impinges on the material planning system. Yet, it shall be distinguished from the planning system in analytical terms to signify the potentially different actor constellation influencing particularly the visions and value systems that serve as arguments for this or that planning. Relatedly, this level of analysis might help revealing who contributes these arguments, respectively which actors are engaging heavily in the making and re-making of general development objectives and visions for a city or region. Thus, investigating the planning principles might allow for seeing why certain development paths are taken, certain projects are realized, and planning processes initiated, and others are not.

As can be seen, the conception tries to adopt a definition of planning culture, which makes a division between separate analytical levels of local planning cultures. Although the scheme seems to ignore the transitions between context, system, and principles at the very first glance, it is well aware of the mutual influence of institutions and practices, and the interference of material and discursive factors of a planning culture. Imagine, for instance, a region finding itself embedded in

a global urban network of competing agglomerations. Of course, this context will – as soon as it is being recognized – influence future institutional and regulatory conditions. It might even bring about differently motivated planning attitudes and shake up underlying value systems within the discipline. *Vice versa*, actors might stress the need for a system's adaptation to see their planning principles realized. Even more, they might be influencing the discourses about global contexts of planning to force any local material changes. Hence, this delineation – although simplifying the local conditions of planning – can be seen as a useful basis for analyzing local planning cultures and the processes inherent in it. But for tackling the 'cultures of image creation', culture-led image planning needs to be introduced first.

## 3. FROM CULTURE-LED PLANNING TO CULTURE-LED IMAGE PLANNING

Culture received lots of attention in the past decades as a main influencing factor of urban development, particularly in urban regeneration. Approaches to culture and planning have therefore been intensely discussed since the 1990s, resulting in a whole lot of knowledge on the meaning of culture *for* planning and the various roles of culture *in* planning (Bianchini, 1993; Zukin, 1995; Evans, 2001; García, 2004; Benneworth and Hospers, 2006; Miles, 2007).

Reasons for the intensified linkage between culture and the city are manifold. While some see culture and creativity as the adequate answer to transforming economies (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002), others recognize a cultural turn in today's societies and an overarching culturalization of the world (Scott, 1997; Berndt and Pütz, 2007; Young, 2008). While a narrow conception of culture as the arts or creativity is celebrated literally everywhere through mega-infrastructures and spectacular events, a more comprehensive understanding, which derives mainly from sociology and cultural anthropology, only recently receives greater attention. Here, culture includes the wide-ranging variety of everyday practices and ways-of-life, which are of particular interest in an urban context (Eade and Mele, 2002; Young, 2008; Eckardt and Nyström, 2009).

The manifold scientific discourses on relations between culture and the city can be subsumed under four strands that are of specific importance from an urban planning view. First, culture is believed to be a unifying, while at the same time distinguishing element between local challenges and global impacts. In times of fragmented societies and ever new contextual shifts, culture becomes the promising factor of resistance, local difference, democracy, and identity (Harvey, 1989; Fohrbeck and Wiesand, 1989; Miles, Hall and Borden, 2000; Young, 2008). It is here that heritage and traditions are cherished in urban spectacle as the signifiers of a distinct cultural identity (Gotham, 2005). Second, economic restructur-

ing and de-industrialization have brought about an intensified involvement of culture as a factor in urban economies (Young, 2008; Benneworth and Hospers, 2009). The 'culture industry' seems to hold the potential for regenerating urban economic growth and prosperity, bringing 'creativity' to the fore and making it a must-have buzz-word in urban strategies of the past decade. Anything from installing creative industry quarters to promoting policies that attract a high-skilled creative class seems possible in this respect (cf. Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002). Third, culture often forms the pillar of urban renewal processes. As fragmentation, segregation, repression, and exclusion are widespread challenges in today's cities, planning is tempted to apply culture to its interventions to attribute new meaning to places and build common values on the shoulders of cultural expression. In this respect, culture can be both, artistic work and specific ways-of-life – in each case directed at regenerating parts of the city that have suffered from recent processes of urban change (Evans, 2001; Miles, 2007; Springer, 2007). And fourth, culture is heavily employed in strategies towards global competition. Such models of planning strongly emphasize big projects, particularly those, which promise visibility on the global scene, where contest over resources and attention resides. Here the famous examples of cultural planning emerged: museums like the Guggenheim in Bilbao and events like EXPOs or the European Capital of Culture each culture city needs to inhabit (Scott, 1997; Evans, 2001; García, 2004; Miles, 2007).

Yet, what needs to be emphasized is that all these different approaches of utilizing culture in planning have one thing in common. They are central to the images that sell the city to the world (Ward, 1998; Göschel and Kirchberg, 1998; Madgin, 2009). The image of cities as such has recently received massive attention as a decisive factor in global urban competition (Helbrecht, 1994; Evans, 2003; Kavaratzis, 2004). And culture with its attached values is considered not only a generator of attention on global business and tourism markets, but also an appropriate means of global distinction and local identification (Evans, 2001; Miles, 2007). Hence, it is a reasonable thematic base of urban images. This view reflects the notion that ultimately it is the image of a place that is affected by planning interventions, which is particularly true for cultural interventions with their immense symbolic character (Zukin, 1995; Evans, 2001, 2003).

If we consider the image itself as an objective of planning action, the original project or planning initiative becomes a means to another end. In a field of planning, where immaterial factors like attention, values and symbols play such a significant role, the realization of the culture-based project is not a goal in itself, but has to be seen as a step in a strategy towards constructing an urban image based upon culture. Hence, instead of discussing culture-led and image planning as separated strands, we should emphasize the symbolic layer of such planning interventions by focusing on the process of 'culture-led image construction'.

Vienna's *Museumsquartier* is one such example of re-shaping an urban culture-led image upon the shoulders of a big cultural project. Opened in 2001, the Museumsquartier hosts a number of museums with national significance and other creative industry-related institutions in a central location of the city. In the first years of its existence, its marketing was already primarily dedicated to celebrating contemporary architectural design and the overall incredible size of the project – an indication of the city's urge to step up on the international stage of culturally competing cities. More recently, the Museumsquartier became the symbol of a new cultural image of Vienna. Now it has joined the traditional sites of Vienna's imperial culture in global advertisements and tourism strategies, constructing the picture of a young urban lifestyle and contemporary culture (de Frantz, 2005; Suitner, 2010).

Of course, in the context of such culture-led image creation, the aspect of power in planning and related questions of competing culture*s* become urgent. Sharon Zukin (1995) first expressed that defining and re-defining urban cultures is a process of negotiation that is strongly contested – a fact, which is true also for culture-led image production. Constructing images can be considered a communicative process in the sense of planning through debate (Healey, 1992; Helbrecht, 1994), which is also determined by the negotiation over divergent goals. These goals are shaped by the underlying perceptions and implicit values that comprehend each individual's understanding of the city and its image. Understandably, these sometimes opposing goals and visions make the process of culture-led image construction a contested one. This contest over culture and the succeeding image is even more intense, if we not only consider the multi-actor character of urban image construction, but also the conflict between locally-based, bottom-up cultural initiatives and top-down imposed cultural images (de Frantz, 2005; Gotham, 2005; Suitner, 2010).

Considering the relation between such contested processes of culture-led image construction and planning culture now, brings a number of questions to the fore, which shall be discussed in the following section.

## 4. PLANNING CULTURE AND THE URBAN IMAGE: APPROACHING CULTURES OF IMAGE CONSTRUCTION

All three levels of the conceptualized local planning culture potentially hold answers for the different cultures of image construction. The planning contexts already reveal useful insight into the role and position of the city. In line with Kelly (1999), the local discourses about these contexts determine the directions the city wants to take in its development or can take at all. Imagine, for instance, a city

embedded in a functionally integrated transnational network of urban agglom-erations. This city's cultural imaging strategy will look different if mediatic and political discourses construct the picture of intense competition with cities aim-ing at similar target groups, or if they highlight historic cultural commonalities as an argument for cooperation in marketing for tourism and the construction of a cross-regional cultural identity. Thus, the specific local echoing of a surrounding national and supra-national context, and the sensitivity to certain local conditions is a first influencing factor of the cultures of image construction.

While the environing planning context is an indispensable knowledge base for understanding the framework for a local planning culture to develop, the planning system and principles are important explanatory factors of how planning inter-ventions are constituted and implemented. Both material and discursive layers of the planning system might give decisive hints on tight or loose networks that are an indication of powerful coalitions in planning activities. Discursive com-ponents presumably reveal important information about certain coalitions and, consequently, power relations in constructing a culture-led image. Reviewing the political and mediatic discourses that construct the relation of culture and a city or region will thus foster depicting *who* has power to construct meaning (Flyvb-jerg, 1998; Torfing, 1999) – power to re-shape a culture-led image. Comparative analysis on this part will support carving out one of the decisive planning cultural differences: actor constellations and planning-political elites who are envisioning a cultural future of a territory.

Considering image construction as a communicative action causes a strong bias when approaching it analytically. How are decisions made? Who is allowed to decide formally? How are communicative processes structured and embedded in the planning system at all? These are questions that are highly dependent on the constitution of the local planning culture and must be approached as a precondi-tion to analyzing processes of culture-led image construction. Here, the implicit values and embodied visions of actors in planning processes can be assumed to be of crucial importance. The imagined futures we consider apposite for a city are a combination of images we have in mind about the places where we live, the perception of what makes our cities special and livable, and the guiding values, by which we act and plan (Huyssen, 2008; Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009). As there is no formal act of planning images, it is even more important to reveal the different and often contesting visions, which are negotiated on other, informal channels. Hence, in the cultures of image construction we need to search for the underlying attitudes of these conflictive visions to understand why some finally win over others. It might be that the history of local planning favours the opinion of an expert planner in decision-making. Likewise, media discourses or interest groups might be the pivotal influencing factor in envisioning this or that cultural image. Anyhow, this can only be found out by reviewing the respective planning

and decision-making processes and the related institutional landscape and legal regulations framing these processes. Here lies another planning cultural difference, framing also the cultures of image construction. Presumably, market-oriented planning systems will rather foster an entrepreneurial marketing-perspective in the process of constructing an urban image, while state-minded planning might be more interested in image planning as a bottom-up, communicative measure (cf. Helbrecht, 1993, 1994).

Furthermore, experience has shown that bottom-up cultural initiatives can be generators of an urban culture-led image of whole cities (Evans, 2001; Suitner, 2010). Following, the construction of a culture-led image is not a sheer top-down determined action, but a mutual process of top-down and bottom-up initiatives, which ideally complement each other. This asks for looking at the planning principles more closely. What is the relation between formal and informal planning interventions? How are informal planning actions handled? Are there significant connections between actors embedded in the planning system and those engaging in informal interventions? Which state- and non-state actors are involved here and there? These are the questions that need to be analyzed here.

Thus, what can be distilled from these elaborations is that the conceptualization allows for distinguishing analytical levels, which help answering critical questions on power in planning, exclusions from decision-making and the processes of local planning. And, acknowledging the variations between different planning cultures holds significant information about different outcomes of similar planning endeavours.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

If today we consider planning a task shaped not by universal laws but by ever specific socio-cultural contexts, a concept is needed that takes this shift into account appropriately. This concept is that of planning cultures. It is the long sought answer to the question why similar challenges are approached differently in planning (Sanyal, 2005).

Although manifold ideas on what constitutes a planning culture exist, there cannot be a definite delineation. Instead, the concept has to be fuzzy to be adaptable to variations (Young, 2008; Steinhauer, 2011). Anyhow, a stable definition is needed to understand how planning cultures influence specific planning endeavours. In the presented conceptualization three levels of analysis are distinguished: the environing planning context, the local planning system with all its legally drawn-up and informal ways of planning, and the underlying planning principles

– subsuming the approaches *to* and understanding *of* planning of involved actors. These levels can only in theory be separated as they naturally influence each other. But the analytical distinction allows for an investigation of influences of planning cultures on culture-based image construction. Looking at these 'cultures of image construction' reveals a variety of crucial points, which need to be highlighted when analyzing planning culture's influence on culture-led image planning:

   – The local planning culture provides a valuable framework of what can reasonably be done or achieved in planning. The question, 'What can be planned at all, and what can't?', is strongly dependent on how a local planning culture is constituted. It seems that planning traditions and the local discourses about planning contexts play a decisive role in this concern. For the cultures of image construction this means to ask whether a culture-led image can be a matter of negotiation at all, or whether it is an unplanned thing – an incident of random processes.

   – Planning attitudes and traditions strongly influence the planning system and how it is constituted. What is visible and what *vice versa* happens on informal channels has once been determined and is constantly re-determined by underlying principles. The controversy over the materialization of values and visions in space is a process of negotiation that is hardly ever legally drawn-up. So, whether image planning is an established planning act or an informal, contested process, depends heavily upon the constitution of the planning system and the underlying principles that co-produce it.

   – Analyzing the planning system with its institutional structures and formal decision-making processes reveals not only actor's networks, but also certain relations of power. Searching for the tight and loose relations in the planning system – particularly at the boundary line between material and discursive components – might give hints on potential coalitions, or be an indication of certain hegemonic powers that construct the culture-led image.

   While the construction of urban images is only one specific strand of urban planning interventions in contemporary cities, approaching it through the concept of local planning cultures has shown that planning culture provides a useful framework for answering questions about the *Why* and *How* of any planning action. Furthermore, with this concept and its underlying ideas and understandings of planning culture in mind we might be able to sketch the limits to planning in the ever specific local contexts better than before. The local planning cultures discussed highlight the boundary lines between formal and informal planning, powerful actors and institutions and those that are largely excluded from decision-making and potential oppositions in planning thought. Therefore it can be deemed a framework of general usefulness in studying planning cultures. Still, it needs to be reconsidered each time the researched variables are changed to ensure a suitable foundation for exploring the influence of local planning cultures on specific ways of planning.

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## GOVERNANCE AND CULTURE – A NEW APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING STRUCTURES OF COLLABORATION

**Abstract**. The paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of structures of collaboration and their underlying logic by combining theories on Governance and (Planning) Culture. By the introduction of an integrative approach, called the 'The Culture-Based Governance Analysis', aspects of both discourses are combined. Factors from the Governance discourse, providing analysis on the frameworks of collaboration, were integrated with factors from the Culture discourse, providing analysis of the underlying reasons for people collaborating or not. This novel approach provides a way to analyze and understand how existing collaborations have developed and the basis on which they operate. As a further step, it enables planners to use this knowledge for the establishment of future collaborations between already active as well as not yet involved actors, for example, in urban redevelopment processes.

**Key words**: governance, (planning) culture, collaboration, urban redevelopment, structures, values, stakeholder.

## 1. INTRODUCTION: WHY TO COMBINE GOVERNANCE AND CULTURE

At first glance, the approaches of Governance and (Planning) Culture belong to different fields of study. Governance has developed from the economics field, but is understood in various ways nowadays and examines the varying structures of collaboration used to steer public policies. In contrast, cultural approaches explain the underlying mindsets and historical roots of current decisions and situations. The reason for combining elements of both approaches becomes clear when studying the motives for and quality of stakeholders' collaborations. For example,

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in the field of urban planning, participative instruments and projects in neighbour-
hood redevelopment including different stakeholders can only be fully character-
ized by using both theoretical approaches in combination. Using one or the other
in isolation would lead to only a partial understanding, and omit or misinterpret
certain aspects of the collaborative process.

The key research question is: 'What is the best way to understand and/or ex-
amine collaboration structures between stakeholders (in planning processes)?'
Understanding how collaborations have developed and on what basis they are
grounded enables planners to establish more effective collaborations for already
involved, as well as new actors. This is highly relevant because of the increas-
ing level of activities which involve participation, activation, and mobilization
processes, as well as the growing number of Private-Public-Partnerships (for ex-
ample, in redevelopment processes). Both the Governance and (Planning) Cul-
ture approaches can be used during such studies, but each only partially analyses
aspects of collaborations. Currently, no combined approach seems to exist, yet.
The Governance approach analyzes the existing stakeholder structures and their
quality and intensity in collaboration; the Culture approach is useful for compara-
tive research examining the underlying mindsets and ideas of actors involved in
planning. A full understanding of the situation therefore requires a combination
of results from both fields, in particular a two-step process. First, the Governance
approach describes the kind of existing collaborations: why people collaborate
in general and in that particular way. The cultural dimension can then be added
to understand the underlying motives to that collaboration, and perhaps why it
takes a particular form. Therefore, the question is how a combination of Govern-
ance and Culture approaches can contribute to a comprehensive understanding of
stakeholder collaboration in urban planning processes.

Urban redevelopment strategies can be used as practical example to illustrate
the useful combination of Governance and Culture. The instrument is based on
collaborations between different stakeholders at the neighbourhood level. For the
enhancement process to be successful, it is crucial to understand structures and
motivations underlying stakeholder collaborations. The paper will explain how
the newly developed approach serves this task.

The paper continues with an introduction of Governance in section 2, and
theories on (Planning) Culture in section 3. Answering the shortcomings of both
approaches, a combined approach is established in section 4. The conclusion out-
lines the novel combined approach in detail and includes some practical recom-
mendations for its use.

## 2. GOVERNANCE

The Governance approach is used in many different disciplines today, mainly focusing on collective modes of regulating and steering (Antalovsky, Dangschat and Parkinson, 2005; Frey, Hamedinger and Dangschat, 2008). Policies, which used to be duties of the state, can now be organized and provided by a growing number of stakeholders. The declining engagement of the state is the central theme of recent publications on the Governance approach. They study the new networks that are being established between newly connected actors (Benz, 2004; Fürst, Lahner and Zimmermann, 2004).

These shifts thus require the establishment of formerly unknown combinations of actors in cities (for example, due to substantial cutbacks in governmental programs like the 'Soziale Stadt' in Germany) (Hirth and Schneider, 2011). Therefore, relationships and networks between actors need to be studied in detail to understand existing and potential future stakeholder structures in urban planning and redevelopment processes. Therefore, the study of roles and structures of collaborations has become more necessary. Governance can be used as an analytical approach for this task, since it analyzes existing regulations and relationships between the government, economy, and civil society, including rules, institutions, and patterns of interaction.

Due to the wide use of Governance in various disciplines, besides the above-mentioned general understanding, no common definition of the term exists: Governance has its own understanding and meaning in the context of different disciplines. Although this imprecision can be criticized, it can also be advantageous, as the approach is consequently not limited to one particular theory (Benz, 2004).

However, no distinguishable common definition of Governance covering all disciplines exists; there are commonly three main lines of understanding: analytical understanding, descriptive understanding, and the normative perspective (Hamedinger and Peer, 2011). The analytical approach is mainly used in political sciences, and focuses on the collaborative elements between hierarchy, power, and political networks. This way of understanding Governance is static, without examining the development of steering structures over time. It prioritizes the understanding of methods of political and social cooperation and networks. Structural changes in political steering are mainly understood descriptively. Considering a shift from 'Government to Governance', the descriptive approach focuses on the development of political and social networks over a longer period of time. A normative perspective on Governance involves a determined conception of how Governance should be constituted and how it should work. In particular, the term 'Good Governance' represents normative ideas of quality, which should be included in political processes of steering and coordination (Holtkamp, 2007).

Given that this paper is investigating different forms of stakeholder collaborations, using an analytical approach. The following sections examine the analyti-

cal Governance approach in more detail and in particular the aspects relevant to examining collaboration structures.


## 2.1. Governance as an Analysis Tool for Collaboration

Using the analytical understanding allows a view that takes all relevant stakeholders (civil society, private actors, and state officials) into account. As Pierre (2005, p. 452, in Holtkamp, 2007, p. 367) puts it, the Governance perspective makes it possible 'to search for processes and mechanisms through which significant and resource-full actors coordinate their actions and resources'. Existing institutional regulators are, for example, the state, market, and social networks as well as associations, which collaborate in various combinations. Important elements used in these collaborations are hierarchy, competition, and negotiation. In contrast to unilateral decisions based on governmental regulations, Governance collaborations are based on cooperative decisions (Benz, 2004). Despite Governance's diverse usages in many different institutional, political, and personal contexts during steering and coordination processes, four characteristics of the core can be distinguished, describing the general core of Governance. Benz (2004, p. 25) distinguishes the following four characteristics in this regard:

– Governance means steering and coordinating related to governing, focused on the management of interdependencies between (collective) stakeholders;

– Steering and coordination are based on institutionalized regulating systems which guide the stakeholders' actions. However, no single regulating system exists; instead, there are combinations of a diverse range of systems: market, hierarchy, majority law, negotiation etc.;

– Ways of interaction and collective action within institutional settings are also part of Governance (networks, coalitions, contractual relationships etc.);

– Steering and coordinating processes go beyond organizational structures (defined as for example, state or civil) that arise when collaborations are built.

This paper makes use of Governance as a way of understanding steering and coordination process: examining common actions, different ways of interaction, which follow distinct rules and evolve from different fundamental and institutional backgrounds (Fürst, Rudolph and Zimmermann, 2003). The approach aims at clarifying the coordination of common activities, their methods and mechanisms of operation (e.g. hierarchy, competition, negotiation), the involvement of all stakeholders in their institutional settings and impacts on interrelationships which develop as a result of the collaboration (Hamedinger and Peer, 2011).

Figure 1 displays the collaboration structures between stakeholders (A, B, C etc.), as studied by the analytical Governance approach. The existing structures between different actors, which are embedded in institutional settings, are analyzed to ex-

plain the overall network structure. This is accomplished by exploring the character of the existing collaborations; here, character means the type of connection that exists between stakeholders. In addition, the regulating systems and the mode of operation are of particular importance.
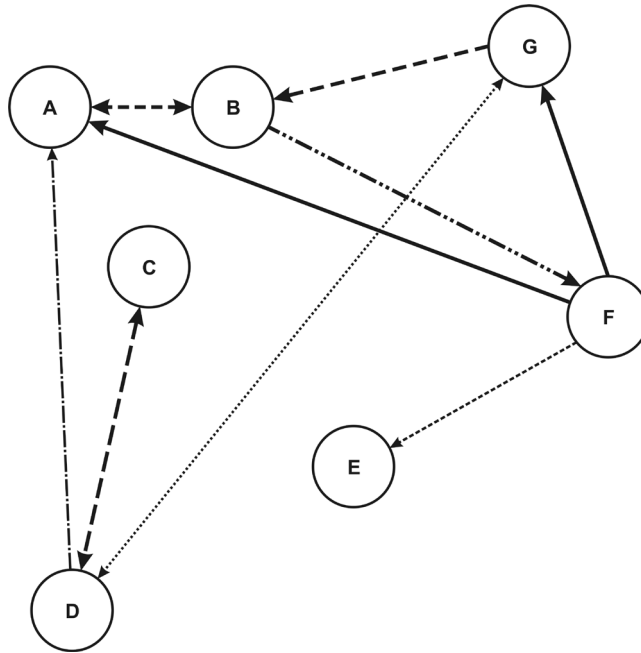


**Structures of collaboration between stakeholders** – seen through *Governance* approach (analysis by structures), → Explanation by character of existing collaborations

Fig. 1. Structures of collaboration between stakeholders – Governance
Source: authors' elaboration

The static nature of that diagram reiterates that there are difficulties and omissions in the Governance approach regarding how structures have developed, in particular the underlying reasons which have influenced the current structures of, for example, hierarchy, competition and negotiation rules. Governance analysis leads to the understanding of the institutional settings, in which the actors are embedded, explaining the mode of operation – at which point the scope of Governance analysis is complete. Using Governance alone, cannot sufficiently explain why actors collaborate and the rationale for networks.

However, examining the connections between stakeholders and the institutional structures is a good and necessary starting point for an analysis of collaboration. It is useful to understand this static picture, but to deepen the understanding of the collaboration, more detailed information is necessary: in particular, why

people from different institutions collaborate in this specific manner needs to be analyzed. This is where the Culture approach enters the analysis.

## 3. CULTURE AND PLANNING CULTURE

Culture can be defined as 'the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another' (Hofstede, 2001, p. 9). It is an approach which is used not only to study peoples' actions but also to analyze the underlying reasoning for particular behaviours, including invisible values, meanings, and intentions (Harris, 1999, p. 25, in Othengrafen, 2010, p. 76). The study of collaboration structures has to take existing backgrounds and mindsets into account, and thus Culture is fundamental to understanding collaborations. Regarding the paper, Culture will be used to gain insight into the values and assumptions that lie beneath the surface of collaborations. Its role in the combined approach advocated here is to elucidate and illuminate reasons, motives, values and meanings which are inherent in interactions, and to illustrate the impact of these factors on realized actions and behaviors (Harris, 1999, p. 25, in Othengrafen, 2010, p. 76).

Planning Culture, in particular, should be part of the research process in the planning field. The recognition of existing planning styles and of differences and similarities between planning behaviours makes the research well-grounded. Planning activities are always embedded in the Culture of their surroundings, which means that a country's Planning Culture is greatly affected by the Culture of the country itself. In addition, although planning is still a governmental task, a wide range of civil actors are also involved and important in the process. Besides the strong ties with history, Planning Culture is also strongly influenced by the political culture of the country (Friedmann, 2011, pp. 167–168).

According to Knieling and Othengrafen (2009), Planning Culture consists of:

– methods of formal and informal planning practices;

– methods of handling different planning tasks; existing problems, planning rules, processes, and methods (including citizen participation);

– shared attitudes, values, rules, standards, and beliefs of the involved stakeholders;

– the societies' (formal) constitutional and legal framework and (informal) traditions, habits, and customs.

A small number of theoretical approaches attempt to distinguish between Planning Cultures, beginning with research in Europe in 1990s (Keller, Koch and Selle, 1993). This section compares two recent approaches using a systematic model to compare planning systems while including their cultural background: (i) 'The Culturized Planning Model' (Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009; Othengrafen, 2012); and (ii) the institutional settings approach proposed by Friedmann (2011).

Knieling and Othengrafen were looking for a model for comparative research in planning, which includes the cultural aspects of planning. Their special interest lies in the hidden aspects of planning, i.e. the culture of planning. The generated model aims on the one hand at providing researchers the possibility to identify the role of culture in planning and to find out whether there are common or different understandings of culture in the observed countries. On the other hand, the model operationalizes the culture for planning to use knowledge about culture in planning processes and in comparative work (Knieling, Othengrafen, 2009, pp. 54–55). According to Knieling and Othengrafen (2009), there are three main aspects to the 'Culturized Planning Model': Planning Artifacts, Planning Environment, and Societal Environment. Planning Artifacts are the 'visible planning products, structures, and processes' (Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009, p. 57) – e.g. urban plans, development concepts, planning institutions, planning instruments (Othengrafen, 2010). The Planning Environment is less easy to observe from the outside, consisting of 'shared assumptions, values, and cognitive frames that are taken for granted by members of the planning profession' (Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009, p. 57) – e.g. principles of planning, norms and rules influencing planning, as well as political, administrative, economic and organizational structures. Societal Environment has a wider scope, encompassing 'underlying and unconscious, taken-for-granted beliefs, perceptions, thoughts and feelings which are affecting planning' (Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009, p. 57), including the (self-)perception of planning, people's acceptance of planning and the general understandings that lie behind planning.

By contrast, Friedmann (2011) notes the importance of the institutional settings in different countries as important framework for Planning Culture, characterizing them as: form of government, level of economic development, differences in political culture, and different roles of civil society. The form of government (e.g. unitary states, federal states etc.) provides the overlying structure of every decision, including planning decisions of the different countries. Planning also has to react to very different situations, depending on the level of economic development: lower-income nations, for instance, face different challenges to economically strong countries (Friedmann, 2011, pp. 195–196). Friedmann also identifies political culture as distinguishing element of planning and Planning Culture. Political culture refers to how active civil society is in decisions: for example, there can be political processes dominated by one (mostly political) player, open processes guided by various actors, or media-ruled processes (Friedmann, 2011, p. 196).

Due to this more comprehensive methodology, the institutional settings approach of Friedmann will be used for this paper, as it very clearly illustrates distinctions between the backgrounds which constitute Culture, and the underlying values of the actors' behaviours.

### 3.1. Culture as an Analysis Tool for Collaboration

The Culture approach analyzes the invisible values that are frequently taken for granted and assumptions which guide actions and behaviour of stakeholders, including those in existing collaborations; therefore, the study of the cultural backgrounds of planning contributes to the understanding of existing networks. Examining the form of government, level of economic development, political culture, and the role actors play in the planning system provides reasons for preferences or the non-existence of collaborations with specific other actors, whose actions may in turn be based on different underlying values and beliefs.

As displayed in figure 2, each participating actor in a planning process network has underlying values and beliefs derived from the culture he is embedded in. Some are consistent with the beliefs of other stakeholders, which makes collaboration more likely to occur. Different cultural backgrounds (for example, very different economic backgrounds) most probably hinder the establishment of connections between actors.
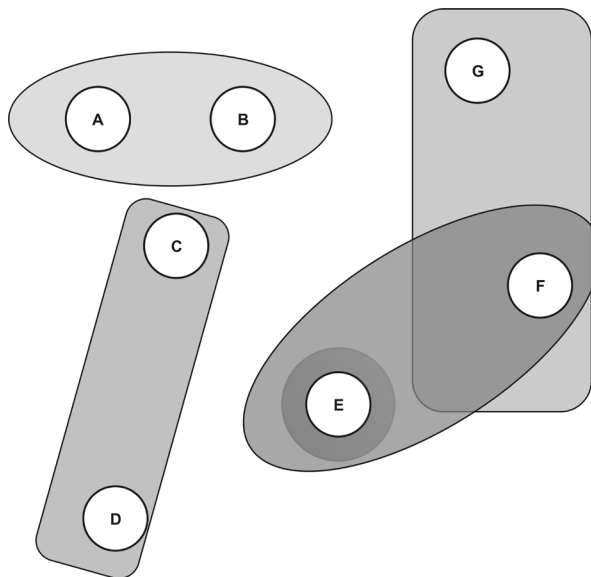


**Structures of collaboration between stakeholders** – displaying *cultural* aspects (analysis by backgrounds), → Explanation by underlying reasons for existing collaborations
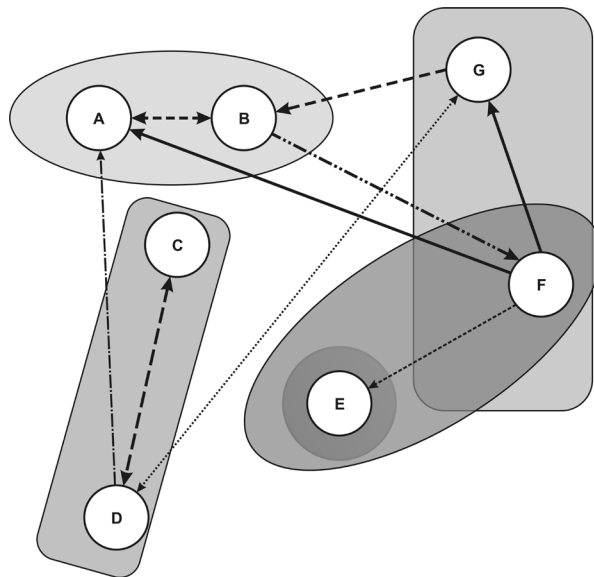
Fig. 2. Structures of collaboration between stakeholders – (Planning) Culture

Source: authors' elaboration

## 4. GOVERNANCE AND CULTURE COMBINED

The question remains of how the analysis of underlying mindsets can be combined with the Governance approach and thereby contributes to a better understanding of network structures in planning processes. Using the Governance approach to study collaborations between stakeholders, for example in planning processes, provides insight into the structure and quality of their collaborations, but this approach cannot provide knowledge on the reasons for setting up their collaboration. Collaborative projects might take place due to shared values and beliefs, but cultural analysis does not provide information on the way of working together. Sharing the same cultural background does not always lead to a successful interaction and working climate between different stakeholders. Therefore, understanding the likelihood of collaborating due to shared cultural values does not necessarily predict collaborations and their outcome. The cultural approach omits the possibility of examining the qualities of collaborations.

Thus, the approaches of Governance and (Planning) Culture can be combined into a new approach, which can be referred to as 'The Culture-Based Governance Analysis', displayed in figure 3.



**Structures of collaboration between stakeholders** – seen through *Governance* approach (analysis by structures), complemented by *cultural* aspects (analysis by backgrounds), → Explanation by character of as well as reasons for existing collaborations

Fig. 3. 'The Culture-Based Governance Analysis'

Source: authors' elaboration

Figure 3 is a combination of figures 1 (Governance) and 2 ((Planning) Culture) and illustrates the advantages of the new approach. Research on stakeholder networks can take place in a two-step fashion. First, stakeholder connections are studied based on Governance parameters such as regulating systems and mode of operation. Being clear about the obvious structural connections, the next step provides knowledge on why the connections have developed that way. This second step brings the individual into focus, introducing his/her underlying values and mindsets to the explanation of the existing collaboration structures. Only the comprehension of the particular reasons of every stakeholder of the different groups will allow full understanding of the network structure discovered by the Governance approach. As result of the analysis with the newly developed approach, a comprehensive understanding of collaboration structures can be gained.

This knowledge can be used not only for explanation of the status quo, but can also support the establishment of new and different stakeholder collaborations, since the researcher now understands why these and other stakeholders do or do not work together in a particular way. Changing and expanding collaborations is possible by altering the parameters which guide the decisions of stakeholders, in terms of both Governance structures and Culture backgrounds.

## 5. A NEW APPROACH AND ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS (IN PRACTICE)

This paper has provided an answer to the research question: 'What is the best way to understand and/or examine collaboration structures between stakeholders (in planning processes)?' By the introduction of an integrative approach, 'The Culture-Based Governance Analysis', the structures of analysis of the Governance and the Planning Culture approach were combined into a single analysis. This approach helps to understand how existing collaborations, for example at the neighbourhood level, have developed, and the basis on which their mission operates, e.g. enhancement of the area. As a next step, it enables planners to use this knowledge for the establishment of further collaborations between already active local and non-local, governmental and non-governmental etc. actors as well as those not yet involved in collaboration. Governance thereby analyzes the existing structures in the neighbourhood including their quality and intensity, while Culture is used to analyze the underlying mindsets and ideas of involved stakeholders.

This is highly relevant, as – particularly in the planning field – the understanding of different connections and collaborations between stakeholders is gaining in importance, creating the increased need to understand not only the structure of collaborations, but also the underlying reasons for their existence. The following paragraph looks at how this approach might be applied in practice, for example in urban redevelopment.

The enhancement of local neighbourhoods has gained importance during the last decades. Various redevelopment measures were initiated around the world. Most instruments focus on the establishment of strong local collaboration structures between different stakeholders. Various actors (government, citizens, nonprofits, businesses etc.) can and should be involved in the improvement of the neighbourhood. Understanding and analyzing existing structures as well as supporting the establishment of new structures needs a clear understanding of the way stakeholders collaborate. For that reason, the newly developed approach will be useful.

Governance analyzes stakeholder connections in terms of coordinating and steering interactions. Of particular importance is the inclusion of all relevant redevelopment stakeholders, the underlying institutionalized regulating systems of the country, as well as existing structures of collaborations in the neighbourhood and their modes of operation in common projects. Collaborations take place between all organizational structures. The Governance analysis can therefore be seen as the initially important level of analysis that reveals the status quo of connections between redevelopment actors. However, it has to be accompanied by the investigation of the cultural background of the actors, using the Planning Cultural approach, which provides the necessary information on stakeholders involved in collaboration structures on the neighbourhood level. This background consists of the form of government (local, state, federal), level of economic development (mostly local), political culture (all levels), and the planning system of the country that shapes and influences the stakeholders in the neighbourhood, who are embedded in their system(s). The cultural background of the actors also guides their decisions on how to collaborate and – of particular importance – with whom to collaborate in the neighbourhood.

Using the newly developed approach allows a thorough understanding of local collaboration structures. All stakeholders active in the redevelopment process can be analyzed regarding the quality of their collaborations (Governance). Moreover, the underlying values, which not only bring collaborations to life but can also hinder such common projects can be observed and explained. Since the success of neighbourhood enhancement processes depends mostly on successful collaboration between stakeholders, this theoretical approach promises to be crucial to the understanding of existing and establishing future collaborations. This will contribute to an enhanced neighbourhood improvement process.

In addition, the novel approach of 'The Culture-Based Governance Analysis' could prove particularly helpful in comparative studies. Analyzing different stakeholder constellations in different surroundings often requires in-depth knowledge on underlying mindsets. The cultural aspect of the analysis becomes even more important when conducting international research, such as studying collaboration structures in different countries. In conclusion, the new integrated approach represents a useful tool for analysis and understanding of complex collaborations

between stakeholders, and – with a few adaptations – might not be limited to the planning and redevelopment field.

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**Alois HUMER\***

# RESEARCHING SOCIAL SERVICES OF GENERAL INTEREST: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK DERIVED FROM UNDERLYING POLICY SYSTEMS

**Abstract**. This paper discusses Social Services of General Interest, a political term of the European Union, which lies at the heart of the European Model of Society and Cohesion concepts. How and why is the organization and provision of services across Europe rooted in, and shaped by, the prevailing national constitutional components of social welfare and spatial planning systems? A high degree of interrelation between these two systems is confirmed and Social Services of General Interest are detected and conceptualized as a substantiation of components of both systems. In a concluding step, an analytical framework is introduced which enables us to research Social Services of General Interest from different angles for the purpose of deploying promising policy solutions.

**Key words**: social welfare, spatial planning, European Union, social services, analytical frame.

## 1. INTRODUCTION: SOCIAL SERVICES OF GENERAL INTEREST AND THE POLICY PROCESS

'Social Services of General Interest' is a loosely defined but nevertheless important term relating to the EU policy process. It remains loosely defined in so far as while there is increasing reference to it on the EU agenda its conceptual operationalization remains primarily based on the notion of subsidiarity with the final decision on how it is to be understood left to the individual EU member states and the prevailing political norms in each country. It relates to similar but often subtly different national terms such as the French *service public* or the German *Daseinsvorsorge* thus presenting something of a vexed scientific and conceptual conundrum. The term entails a social and a territorial dimension and is actually

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shaped by the diversity of settings of the respective policies. On the one hand, socio-economic aspects of service provision are tackled in a state's welfare policy while on the other, the delivery and locations of services can be regulated via spatial planning policy.

Social Services of General Interest are regarded as key features of the European Model of Society, social inclusion and quality of life and so represent an essential characteristic of the European society. Apparently this is why the European political debate on it is so pronounced in recent times of economic crisis and societal consequences. The potential contributions of the policy instrument 'Social Services of General Interest' to a positive societal development are not yet fully explored with regards to the challenges ahead. This asks for a sound scientific approach and conceptual understanding first; preparing for promising empirical results and policy recommendations in further consequence.

In the following, a conceptual discussion of the components and types of Social Services of General Interest as well as European social welfare systems and spatial planning systems – and their interactions – is initiated in order to answer two basic questions. Why the differing constitutional forms of Social Services of General Interest can be reasoned by the shape of social welfare systems and spatial planning systems and how these two systems impact on the organization and provision of different sectors of Social Services of General Interest. These two questions are analyzed under the premise of focusing on ideal-types of systems on a conceptual basis. Neither the discerning of specific insights into the practical functioning of Social Services of General Interest across Europe, the evaluation of 'better' or 'worse' policy approaches, nor the identification, in practice, of potential imperfections are deemed to be within the ambit of this paper. The discussion does however culminate with the outlining of a comprehensive view of the social and territorial policy embeddedness of the organization and provision of Social Services of General Interest while in addition offering three stages of policy connection which allow us to analytically grasp more fully this difficult term and to more easily conduct comparative studies on the macro level as well as targeted in-depth studies.

Before arriving at the outlining of the analytical framework in section 4, Social Services of General Interest, social welfare systems and spatial planning systems are reviewed and clarified in section 2 and analytically set into relation in section 3. While the individual elaborations set out in section 2 can be backed up by reference to an already extensive literature, the combined analysis of services, welfare and planning focused on in this paper has not received significant attention thus far in literature.

## 2. REVIEW: THE CONSTITUTION OF SOCIAL SERVICES OF GENERAL INTEREST SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEMS AND SPATIAL PLANNING SYSTEMS

In this section, Social Services of General Interest, social welfare systems and spatial planning systems are introduced in more detail and discussed in isolation from each other.

### 2.1. The Definition, Organization and Provision of Social Services of General Interest

The character of Social Services of General Interest is normatively defined. This means that it is not *a priori* given but rather that it is shaped by political norms and designs. Approaching the term from a purely scientific, or theoretical, point of view is unlikely then to be particularly rewarding in terms of clarification and indeed could rather blur existing concepts like 'Public Goods'. Argumentation derived from scientific concepts that are in proximity to Services of General Interest like the elaboration on services and goods of a rival/ non-rival character or the excludability/ non-excludability of services and goods will thus not be further referred to in this paper.[1]

'Services of General Interest' is a term that has been used for many years in EU policy circles, evolving from European decision processes and appearing in differing expressions; first with an economic connotation ('Services of General Economic Interest'), then in a grand – marked and non-marked based – version ('Services of General Interest'), and later also with a social emphasis ('Social Services of General Interest'). Already in the founding document of the European Economic Community, the Treaty of Rome 1957 (EEC, 1957), Services of General Economic Interest are mentioned as being subject to the general rules of competition written down in this treaty; limited in so far as this inclusion in competition rules does stop at a point where the fulfilment of their particular tasks is endangered (EEC, 1957, art. 90, par. 2). Already with the invention of the term 'Services of General Economic Interest', the lasting and subtle conflict of being a hybrid of market and state affairs appears. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU (EC, 2000) draws special attention to the individuals' rights and 'recognises and respects access to services of general economic interest as provided for in national laws and practices' (EC, 2000, art. 36).

This reference to national situations is rooted in the initial rather loose definition of Services of General Interest by the European Commission in 1996 (CEC, 1996) with the importance of Services of General Interest in relation to the

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[1] Insight into related theories of public goods is provided by the works of e.g. Buchanan (1968), Buchanan and Tollison (1972, 1984), Marmolo (1999) and Kaul and Mendoza (2003).

European Model of Society and to Cohesion also being addressed here. In 2003, the European Commission launched a Green Paper, addressing the grand version of 'Services of General Interest' (CEC, 2003) with the main message that it is left to the Member States and their policy design to finally specify which services are to be understood as Services of General Interest and which are not; in individual cases however the European Court of Justice is in a position to interpret the Treaty and thus the general character of the particular service in question.

The White Paper 2004 (CEC, 2004), following the Green Paper, finally introduces the term 'Social Services of General Interest' and refers to it as an integral part of the European Model of Society.[2] Even though no exhaustive definition is given by the European Commission, social service domains of health care services, child care and long term care services, social housing, labour market services, training and educational services, social security and social insurance schemes are all recognized as Social Services of General Interest (CEC, 2007). These above-mentioned domains of Social Services of General Interest can be of economic as well as non-economic character in national contexts but definitely should 'respond to vital human needs, in particular the needs of users in vulnerable position' (CEC, 2007, p. 7).

Summarizing the communications of the European Commission and in particular the White Paper 2004, there are clearly several standards associated with the provision of Services of General Interest. Taking the above-mentioned documents as the starting point, five consecutive standards are postulated with a view to delimiting the full provision of Services of General Interest: availability/security, accessibility, affordability, quality and choice/variety. Services need to be (S1) available and provided on a secure basis for the users. There needs to be (S2) fair access to these services in a territorial sense as well as in a monetary sense – i.e. (S3) affordable pricing. Furthermore, citizens have the right to demand (S4) services of quality and services which respond to their needs and, in the best case, (S5) have the opportunity to choose from a variety of similar services. The relative importance of these five standards of service provision decreases constantly from S1 to S5. Furthermore, they each relate more or less to a social and to a territorial dimension, when it comes to service provision. In this respect, accessibility is primarily a territorial matter while affordability and quality is more a social question.

The political and normative problems associated with defining Social Services of General Interest are unlikely to be resolved in the near future though several interesting features of the debate are now clearly discernible. While Social Services of General Interest are rooted in national political contexts and thus are not fully exposed to market rules they do nevertheless require that fair provision is made for all citizens. Regardless of the concrete domain, the organization of Social

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[2]  A thorough elaboration of the term 'European Model of Society' with a territorial perspective is provided by Faludi (2007).

Services of General Interest needs someone to produce, someone to finance, someone to be responsible for and someone to deliver them. In an empirical study, Humer, Rauhut and Marques da Costa (2013) apply and sub-divide these four attributes. For (O1) the source of production of a service and (O2) the financing of a service we have the complementary options of public, familial/voluntary and/or private commercial. (O3) The main level of public responsibility over a service can be located at the national, regional and/or local tier, or if missing, it is left to the individual level and then outside of public responsibility; e.g. responsibility for certain care services that is mainly addressed within the context of traditional family ties or households. Finally, the mode of delivery is expressed by (O4) the territorial organization of a service, which can be more explicit, only implicit or even missing. These four attributes of organization are situated within social and territorial policies and thus influence the performance of the five standards of service provision (see figure 1).

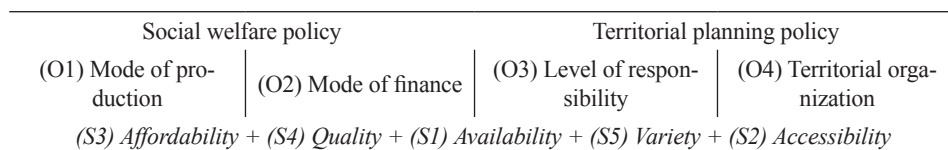| Social welfare policy | | Territorial planning policy | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (O1) Mode of production | (O2) Mode of finance | (O3) Level of responsibility | (O4) Territorial organization |
| *(S3) Affordability + (S4) Quality + (S1) Availability + (S5) Variety + (S2) Accessibility* | | | |

Fig. 1. The organization of Services of General Interest: four attributes relating to social and territorial policies

Source: authors' elaboration

The discussion on standards of provision and attributes of organization highlights the link to social and territorial aspects. This is then addressed in the framework context of social welfare and spatial planning systems in the following.

## 2.2. Components and Types of Social Welfare Systems

'Social welfare system' is the framing term for the attributes and functions of social policies in a public sector context. This is not only meant in an additive sense, as the sum-total of individual policies but more, as Arts and Gelissen (2002, p. 139) interpret from the work of Gosta Esping-Andersen; 'he defines welfare state regimes as a complex of legal and organizational features that are systematically interwoven'. Esping-Andersen's *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990) is commonly viewed as the most influential contribution to social welfare research, bringing the important work of Titmuss (1974) and Wilensky (1975) to a new level and setting the scene for what became a wave of mostly empirically but also some theoretical interventions. Abrahamson (1999), Arts and Gelissen (2002), Nadin and Stead (2008) and Matznetter and Mundt (2012) all review the

multitude of social welfare system typologies and methodologies that subsequently emerged from Esping-Andersen's seminal work. Despite the inevitable critics, his 'three-worlds' typology (Ireland and UK in a liberal/British type; Austria, Belgium, France and Germany in a conservative/Continental type; Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden in a social democratic/Scandinavian type) still serves as the main reference point when discussing the features of a social welfare system.[3] With a little variation, authors like Ferrara (1996), Bonoli (1997), Vogel (2002), Alber (2006) and Sapir (2006) argue for a fourth, Southern European type – with Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. At the centre of attention here are the two components that stand behind Esping-Andersen's typology: the degrees of de-commodification and of stratification.

De-commodification is 'when a person can maintain livelihood without reliance on the market' (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 22). Originating from labour market theories, de-commodification is used in welfare system theories to approach the dichotomy of state and market power – complemented by the sphere of civil society/family/household – in assuring basic social needs and financing social services. Basically, two main policy models are to be distinguished. On the one hand, the Beveridgean model that aims at poverty prevention, and on the other, the Bismarkian model that focuses on the issue of income maintenance for employees (Bonoli, 1997). Beveridgean policy is characteristic of liberal and social-democratic welfare systems where most of the budget for social policies is collected through taxation. Bismarkian policy is applied in conservative-corporatist states, where social budgets are fed by employers' and employees' insurance contributions. As such, it is much more labour market and earnings-oriented.

This has an influence on questions of equality and re-distribution and leads to the second component of a welfare system: the degree of stratification – i.e. the degree to which social policy upholds the positioning of people within their social class. In Bismarkian policy the kinds of social benefits and services one is entitled to, and thus the level of stability and integration one enjoys, depends on ones participation in the labour market. Beveridgean policy is more universalistic in its approach seeking to minimising inequalities among citizens (Arts and Gelissen, 2002). Bonoli (1997, p. 356) quotes Maurizio Ferrara's idea of the coverage model, a two-type classification that speaks of universalist welfare states versus occupational welfare states.

Notwithstanding the 'how' of social welfare policies Bonoli (1997) recommends also investigating the 'how much'. In this respect, social expenditures – as a share of GDP – are the main indicator used in welfare typology building. Regardless of the policy settings outlined above the quantity of financial input is

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[3]   Esping-Andersen himself has re-discussed single cases of his initial typology several times. E.g. he later constitutes a hybrid character for the Irish welfare system, being in between a liberal and a catholic based conservative regime (Esping-Andersen, 1999).

a crucial factor when discussing the organization of social benefits and services. The 'how much' does not necessarily coincide with the 'how' of welfare organization as the two strands of Beveridgean policy show, where liberal-oriented states have a much lower level of social expenditures than social-democratic states (Bonoli, 1997).To sum up, the 'how' points to the approach taken to policy design, the 'how much' to the level of input to social policies.

In addition to these two basic questions in respect of social welfare, a third question, namely, 'what' – which kinds of social policies are at stake – needs to be introduced. State expenditure and the funding of social benefits in general are regarded as the steering instrument of welfare policy. Five fields of welfare provision – the 'what' – can be distinguished. Following the ideas of the visionary British social reformer Beveridge (1942), Abrahamson (2005) lists five pillars of social welfare services by translating Beveridge's five defined social risks – want, disease, ignorance, idleness and squalor – into five counteracting remedies – social insurance and assistance, health care, education, employment and housing. The first mentioned remedy assumes a special position by being the means by which the other remedies are received.

Together with the three questions on the focus and functioning of policies on services, a fourth question, the 'why', then goes into more detail and looks beyond the policies into the framing conditions of society, economy and territory – in which the organization and provision of services and respective policy choices take place. Socio-demographic conditions – e.g. ageing society – as well as macro- and micro-economic trends – e.g. financial crises, public and private capital – and territorial prerequisites – e.g. urban or rural areas of different density and connectivity – influence the activities and goals of welfare and planning policies.

So finally, the answers to the 'how', i.e. social policy principles, the 'how much', i.e. social public expenditures and investments in services, and the 'what', i.e. social benefits and various other services, express a state's welfare system; and the 'why' allows for a reasoning to be made around the constraints and opportunities that can be derived from external megatrends.

## 2.3. Components and Types of Spatial Planning Systems

The purpose of spatial planning can be summarized as a translation of public policy structures and goals on various tiers into the territory by 'managing spatial development and/or physical land use' (Duehr, Colomb and Nadin, 2010, p. 26). The constitutional, legislative and administrative structure of a state is seen as an important point of departure in terms of national spatial planning systems (Newman and Thornley, 1996; Larsson, 2006; Nadin and Stead, 2008). 'National' in this respect does not necessarily mean that spatial planning is predominantly a matter for the national governmental level but rather that the competences in

spatial planning follow the constitutional structure of a state and thus may also be situated on sub-national levels as well – e.g. as in Austria or Belgium. Newman and Thornley speak of five legal-administrative 'families' in Europe: *British* (Ireland and UK), *Napoleonic* (Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal and Spain), *Germanic* (Austria, Germany and Switzerland), *Scandinavian* (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) and *East European*. *The EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (CEC, 1997) and its update (Farinos Dasi, 2007) go beyond this legal-administrative framework and offer the most detailed analysis of features of a spatial planning system by also including the roles of public and private sectors or the gap, in policy practice, between defined goals and planning. Four partly overlapping types of spatial planning result from this analysis. First, a 'regional economic planning approach' as e.g. identified for France; secondly, the 'comprehensive integrated planning approach' of the Nordic and German speaking countries; thirdly, a type of 'land use management' to be found in connection with the British planning style, and lastly, something which is termed 'urbanism planning' which is predominant in the Mediterranean countries (see CEC, 1997; Farinos Dasi, 2007).

Summarizing the elaborations of the EU Compendium (CEC, 1997) and Larsson (2006), the following components of a spatial planning system are at stake: (P1) legal-administrative structure, (P2) scope, (P3) general understanding and planning culture, (P4) principles and objectives and (P5) character of planning instruments.

(P1) The legal-administrative structure is a result of the general architecture of a state system and appears in three versions in European states. Unitary structures contain the primary competences on the national tier only. Certain operative processes and tasks may be devolved to the sub-national tiers but the major decisions remain to be taken at the national level. Authentic federal structures emphasize the competences of the regional tier which are complemented by processes on the national level by the coordinated actions of the regional authorities. Regionalized states are located between those two other ideal types and are characterized by the devolution of powers from the national to the sub-national level. Besides the spatial planning system, these grand structures also influence all of the sector policies of a state along its vertical dimension.[4]

(P2) The scope of a planning system then relates to the horizontal dimension and differs from narrow-to-broad concerning the level of involvement in sector policies and competences. In a narrow sense, spatial planning is about assigning and allowing uses for a certain plot of land. In a much wider sense however spatial planning is the territorially-based steering and coordination of a wide range

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[4]  For a more detailed discussion on unitary, federal and regionalised states and their tiers of planning power see also Balchin, Sykora and Bull (1999).

of policy fields and sectors. Furthermore, planning systems can be understood within a range encompassing continuity-to-flexibility. Continuity-based systems perform in a more stable and secure but also more static fashion while flexible systems allow for quicker interactions and a lighter regulatory touch; the latter being greatly appreciated by the market sector as well as by the lower tiers of the planning structure.

(P3) In addition to the institutional framework the general understanding of planning – or, in other words, the culture of planning – allows a further distinction to be made between spatial planning systems. Friedmann (2011, pp. 167) 'propose[s] to define planning culture as the ways, both formal and informal, that spatial planning in a given multi-national region, country or city is conceived, institutionalized, and enacted'. Knieling and Othengrafen (2009) combine features of culture and planning into a model that perceives underlying aspects of the societal and planning environments as impacting components on planning artefacts such as the outcomes, structures and processes of planning.

(P4) The principles and objectives of a planning system sketch the practice of planning and are influenced by their respective planning cultures. These principles set out how a spatial planning system should actually function, namely, how decisions are taken, to what extent actors from state, market and private sphere participate and which broader paradigms – such as sustainability – are followed. This is connected to the definition of objectives; which is closer to the operation of spatial planning. Content-related questions of land use, accessibility or socio-economic interventions are tackled and answered in particular cases and for particular addressees.

(P5) Planning instruments are there to set planning objectives into operation – by following planning principles. The character of planning instruments can vary and can be described within the range represented by abstract-to-detailed, binding-to-voluntary and regulative-to-open. Instruments of higher tiers have a tendency to promote rather long-term perspectives. Generally, the more concrete the territorial focus and/or shorter the time line of a planning objective, the more operative the instruments used. Irrespective of the level and timeframe of a planning intervention, binding or rather non-binding plans and instruments can be processed. This characteristic is instead in relation to the division of policy competences and the range of influence of spatial planning in the whole policy arena. While instruments of a regulative character attempt to delimit activities, more openly designed instruments try to offer incentives. Both approaches are nevertheless supposed to steer and control spatial development, though within the context of different modes. The predominant instruments, however they are characterized, within a spatial planning system are always closely connected to the administrative structure and to the scope of the system.

This outline of the components and characteristics of spatial planning systems unfolds in a strong relation to the overall policy arrangements of a state. Empirically, the types of state, across both the welfare and the planning systems, undoubtedly overlap.

### 2.4. Overlap between the Social Welfare and Spatial Planning Systems

The grouping in Esping-Andersen's (1990) three worlds of welfare capitalism – and to a greater or lesser extent its variations from other authors – is broadly similar to the administrative-legal families of Newman and Thornley (1996), in which spatial planning systems are embedded. This is explicitly the case for the British and Scandinavian political areas. The conservative-continental welfare model is in large parts equal to the Germanic, and in the cases of Belgium and France, also the Napoleonic family. The latter grouping is perhaps more attached to the Southern European welfare regime initially proposed by some of Esping-Andersen's critics.[5] The EU Compendium's (CEC, 1997) type of British land use planning coincides geographically with the liberal welfare systems while countries exhibiting the urbanism planning tradition coincide with Southern European welfare systems. Continental and Scandinavian types are closer to each other in the EU Compendium (CEC, 1997) than in the purely welfare and administrative-legal oriented typology (Newman and Thornley, 1996) but basically follow a similar grouping. In a more conceptual sense a strong connection between the social welfare and the spatial planning systems can be postulated in geographical and political realities, not only in a static sense but also in an emergent one. Indeed, as Nadin and Stead (2008, p. 44) note, '[t]he changes in spatial planning closely reflect the trends in various recent welfare reforms (e.g. social security, labour market policy, healthcare and immigration)'.

### 3. ANALYSIS: THE CONNECTION BETWEEN SOCIAL SERVICES OF GENERAL INTEREST, SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEMS AND SPATIAL PLANNING SYSTEMS

In this section, the connections and interdependencies between Social Services of General Interest, social welfare systems and spatial planning systems are discussed on basis of the above-mentioned components for the five pillars of social

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[5] Nadin and Stead (2008) provide a comprehensive overview and exhaustive listing of states into the various typologies of social welfare systems and spatial planning systems. They also develop arguments for a stronger interrelation to be drawn between the two systems primarily through their discussion of the cases of England and the Netherlands.

welfare. In the case of Social Services of General Interest the components are (O) the four attributes of organization and (S) the five standards of provision. In the case of social welfare systems these are the four questions of 'how', 'how much', 'what' and 'why'. In the case of spatial planning systems these are (P) the five components of structure, scope, understanding, principles/objectives and instruments.

As noted previously, a social welfare system is a complex of systematically interwoven legal and organizational features while a spatial planning system essentially places public policies into a territorial dimension. In other words, a spatial planning system acts as the transmitter of social welfare policies into the territory. Here, the five welfare pillars – the 'what' – will serve as the fields of public policies, in which both policy systems interact on three stages. The argumentation in the following is that Social Services of General Interest can be described as the substantiation of the connected policy designs of a social welfare system and a spatial planning system. This is manifest in three stages of connection. (C1) Since it is up to the individual EU member states which services are ultimately defined as being of general interest, the decision is shaped by the respective systems in the different strategic-political approaches of state-exclusive or shared sovereignty in the organization; i.e. the question of 'how' in production, finance, responsibility and delivery. (C2) All five welfare pillars – social insurance and assistance, health care, education, employment and housing – can be found on the sector-political agenda of welfare and planning policies though often each has a different emphasis and a different relative importance. (C3) Furthermore, the provision of Social Services of General Interest is shaped by the operational approaches in terms of meeting the five postulated standards of provision under different framing conditions.

**(C1) First Stage of Connection: The Strategic-Political Stage Defining the Attributes of Service Organization.**

Referring to figure 1, the principle organizational questions, the 'how' of a welfare system – i.e. the production and financing of services – and of an administrative planning system – i.e. the level of responsibility and territorial organization – are in the centre of attention during this first stage.

The sources of production and finance lie within the triangle of public authorities, familial/voluntary fulfilment and private commercial activities. Regarding social welfare systems therefore the question of the production and financing of Social Services of General Interest is a matter of the level of de-commodification. In a system with a high level of de-commodification – with an ideal-type of a social-democratic system as a prime example – the state finances services to a vast extent without reliance on the market and without transferring obligations to the individual; this of course implies low individual contributions but high taxation. The actual production of services then may also be fulfilled by the state directly or

in a more liberal system – the British way according to the literature – in partnership with private institutions. Universities and other tertiary education facilities may serve as an example. The sources of funding and the ways of operating for this kind of service differ significantly across Europe.

The two other attributes of the organization of Social Services of General Interest – the level of responsibility and the territorial organization of delivery – are closely related to the administrative-legal prerequisites and instruments of a spatial planning system. The administrative level at which the responsibility is located, is primarily a consequence of the state's structure – be it unitary, federal or regionalized – and secondly a consequence of the rank of centrality of a service that is to be defined in terms of the spatial planning objective. Responsibility over services of ubiquitary demand and therefore rather low centrality – like child care – generally lies within the local level while responsibility over services of higher centrality – like tertiary education – lies with the national or regional level. How explicitly spatial planning is involved in structuring the delivery of services in a territory depends on the state's understanding of spatial planning and the character – regulative or open, abstract or detailed, binding or voluntary – of the applied instruments. E.g. in some European states it might be the case that the decision on locations for labour market services are derived from spatial plans but in some cases the respective sector ministry might not act on the basis of spatial planning instruments but on own rationalities.

**(C2) Second Stage of Connection: The Sector-Political Stage Defining the Relative Importance of Services.**

The scope of a spatial planning system can to a large extent be derived from the fundaments of the referring social welfare system. Given the wider scope of planning, the five pillars of social welfare – social insurance and assistance, health care, education, employment and housing – can be seen as objectives of the spatial planning agenda. For the latter four – service-related – pillars, territorial presence is evident through facilities and installations, as well as questions of accessibility to, and connectivity between, these services. The first pillar of social insurance and other beneficial transfer schemes is somewhat detached from this direct planning focus due to its lack of a physical-territorial character but, as noted previously, is decisive in supporting the services entailed in the four, territorially specific, welfare pillars. Moreover, this pillar influences the socio-economic potentials and opportunities of society and thus it indirectly becomes a matter of spatial planning.

The volume of public expenditure and other investments made in respect of services is an indicator of the importance of a service within a state. Since money is a limited resource the funding of various services has to be decided on the basis of a comprehensive, sector-political agenda with some services seen as being, relatively speaking, of greater importance than others. E.g. social housing is a service that receives great attention in some European cities and states while in other it barely

exists. Similarly, this is the case for e.g. care services and other social welfare pillars. This finds expression in the number, density and equipment of service locations and also in the attention some service sectors get on the spatial planning agenda.

**(C3) Third Stage of Connection: The Operational-Political Stage Defining the Standards of Service Provision.**

The notion of different socio-economic opportunities introduces the third stage of connection. Questions of equality and redistribution in a social welfare system do influence spatial planning principles; i.e. the premise under which spatial planning is undertaken. Concretely, this addresses the principal levels of rights and duties of the public side in relation to the level to which the private sector and civil society are supposed to participate in service provision. Similar to the rational of de-commodification in social welfare systems, spatial planning systems differ to the extent to which residual power is left to private forces. Spatial planning objectives may then either support or counteract the level of stratification of a society whether the objectives address rather selectively certain groups or are set out more inclusively. This has a direct impact on the five standards of service provision: availability/security, accessibility, affordability, quality and choice/variety.

So, the operational-political orientation of social welfare systems and spatial planning systems is important when it comes to the five standards of service provision. Accessibility to services in a physical sense is a matter of spatial planning in two ways. First, the location of services is one of the main issues and second, the connectivity of users to these locations is important. Accessibility in a socio-economic sense is a question of the level of stratification, namely, whether there is universal or selective access for society to services. E.g. there may be restricted entitlements for social housing or for receiving certain care services. The variety and choice offered by different providers of the same kind of service is closely connected to the question of accessibility but also to the way in which services are produced and thus to social welfare systems as well. In more market influenced service provision it may be that different providers at the same time try to satisfy the needs of users with similar services, thus increasing the level of variety in terms of service providers. E.g. in the case of compulsory schooling users may chose between state or private providers, according to their entitlements and opportunities.

The impact of the social welfare system is seen in relation to the standards of secured availability, affordability and quality. The first is the most basic standard of a Service of General Interest rendering obligations *per se*, at least in the case of market failure, on the state. Affordability and the quality of services is, on the one hand, a question of investment and financial benefits, and thus a state question, and on the other, a question of competitiveness and efficiency in production, and thus a market question also.

Notwithstanding the conception and method of delivery in respect of the provision of services, all such services need to respond to external megatrends. The socio-demographic structure of a state requires specific solutions while territorial

preconditions demand regionally targeted solutions – e.g. providing accessibility to services is a more difficult task in peripheral rural areas and the demand for certain social services depends on the age structure of a society. In addition, the economic potential of households and service users must also be taken into account in order to ensure the satisfactory provision of services. Here, special attention may be given to economically limited parts of society through financial reliefs.

At each stage, it is the social welfare system that takes a framing role while the spatial planning system adopts an integrative role. Both systems receive content and a kind of substantiation through their shared objective which is the organization and provision of Social Services of General Interest.

## 4. DISCUSSION: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR RESEARCHING 'SOCIAL SERVICES OF GENERAL INTEREST'

The analysis above highlights the significant impact of social welfare systems and spatial planning systems on Social Services of General Interest when (C1) organizing and (C2) prioritising them; and when (C3) going into operationally-based details of standards of provision. Figure 2 visualises the three stages in which social welfare systems and spatial planning systems are substantiated through Social Services of General Interest.
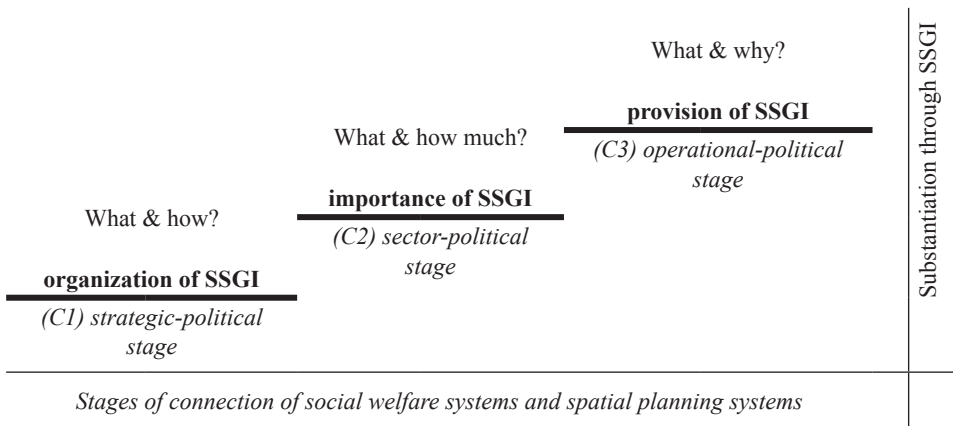


Fig. 2. Stages of connection and substantiation of Social Welfare Systems and Spatial Planning Systems through Social Services of General Interest (SSGI)

Source: authors' elaboration

The main ideas of discussion result in a conceptual framework that offers three different stages of analysis in respect of Social Services of General Interest. Social welfare systems and spatial planning systems are strongly connected and interrelate with each other in a sense that the former provides the framework while the latter transmits these framing principles into the territory. This connection is made in three stages – strategic-political, sector-political and operational-political. The constitution of Social Services of General Interest as a substantiation of the two connected systems is shaped in each of these stages. In the first stage of political strategies, the organization of Social Services of General Interest is defined. In the second stage of sector policies, a relative weighting of political importance is given to the various Social Services of General Interest taken from the five welfare pillars. In the third stage of operationalization, concrete character is given to the provision of Social Services of General Interest according to standards of availability/security, accessibility, affordability, quality and choice/variety.

How far do these three stages form an analytical framework encapsulating the term 'Social Services of General Interest'?

Stage 1 – asking about the 'what' and the 'how' – provides a framework within which we can analyse the policy approaches in respect of Social Services of General Interest from a macro perspective. Comparative studies between states' service organization along the four attributes of production, finance, responsibility and territorial organization (see figure 1) can help to uncover certain types of policy forms.

Stage 2 – enquiring about the 'what' and the 'how much' – proposes a quantitative statistical analysis of expenditures on Social Services of General Interest as well as on the attributes of service locations such as number, density and equipment. At this analytical stage of the relative importance of services, again, comparative studies on the local, regional, national or other scale can be conducted in a territorial sense and/or between different services in a socio-political sense.

Stage 3 – concerning the 'what' and the 'why' – introduces the possibility of analyzing case studies and practices in respect of the provision of Social Services of General Interest under specific framing socio-demographic, economic and territorial conditions. This stage of the analysis can take the outcomes of the initial stages of the framework as background information, goes more in-depth and allows for the drawing up of policy recommendations for specific operational features of service provision, referring here to social welfare policy options as well as spatial planning concepts and instruments.

## 5. CONCLUSION: SOCIAL SERVICES OF GENERAL INTEREST AS THE SUBSTANTIATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEMS AND SPATIAL PLANNING SYSTEMS

Coming back to the questions raised in the introduction, it is clear that components of both the social welfare and spatial planning systems shape the organization and provision of Social Services of General Interest. Understood as the five welfare pillars (the 'what') Social Services of General Interest are an objective and a substantiation of the social welfare and spatial planning systems. From the social welfare policy perspective, production and finance shape service organization (the 'how'), while from the spatial planning perspective, it is the level of responsibility and the territorial organization that are key here. Through financial means and policy instruments, a relative and differing measure of importance is assigned to various sector services (the 'how much'). Social welfare and spatial planning policies thus need to respond to external socio-demographic, economic and territorial megatrends and therefore service provision finds different expressions in operation (the 'why'). Taken together, these three stages – strategic-political, sector-political and operational-political – provide a framework that allows us to analytically grasp the complex notion of 'Social Services of General Interest' within different methodologies and for different research purposes.

So the added value provided here is a conceptual framework, which is a necessary asset to continue with empirical, evidence-based analyzes. In further consequence, promising policy recommendations may be derived and the potentials of the policy instrument 'Social Services of General Interest' towards positive societal development better deployed.

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# PART II

# ARTICLES

**Ioannis A. PISSOURIOS***

## TOP-DOWN AND BOTTOM-UP URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING: TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR THE USE OF PLANNING STANDARDS

**Abstract**. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the ways that the top-down and the bottom-up approaches to planning can be combined in the practice of planning standards. In the first part, the paper examines the utilization of planning standards through time, while in the second part it aims to unravel the relationship between the use of planning standards and the top-down as well as the bottom-up planning approach. In the third part, the paper focuses on the limitations of bottom-up approaches, in order to demonstrate that they can only be used in a certain planning scale, leaving all other scales to top-down approaches. Last but not least, the paper proposes a framework for the use of planning standards in a combined top-down and bottom-up planning approach.
**Key words**: top-down, bottom-up, planning theory, planning standards.

## 1. INTRODUCTION: FROM TOP-DOWN TO BOTTOM-UP PLANNING THEORIES

It is a fact that urban planning is not a science, i.e. an analytical field, but a technique, i.e. an applied field, that is inextricably linked to the political sphere (Lagopoulos, 2009, p.135). However, the political aspect of planning and the political role of planners have not been emphasized by the theories of the 1960s and the early 1970s, with particular regard to the systems view and the rational process of

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planning, in which planning was approached mainly as a technocratic procedure of urban intervention. In response to these procedural perspectives, since the mid 1970s, planning theory has viewed urban planning mainly as a political discourse. The launch of the communicative approach in the 1990s took this perspective to its extreme, tending to equate urban planning to politics and planning theory to political theory. Parallel to and highly correlated with the above transition in planning theory's interest, was the shift from a top-down to a bottom-up approach in urban planning. As Patchy Healey indicates (1996), two main tendencies have marked the history of town and country planning over the past 50 years. On the one hand there has been a tendency towards centralism and de-politicizing decision-making as well as increasing the role and power of technical experts. On the other hand there have been demands for more participation in decision-making, a call for more accountability on the part of local politicians and officials and increasing criticism of technical expertise. These two tendencies, which are very much at odds with one another, have been labeled as the *top-down* and *bottom-up* approaches to planning (Murray *et al.*, 2009, p. 444).

Among bottom-up approaches, the postmodern and the communicative approaches have provoked the interest of the academic community during the last three decades, although their impact on planning practice ranges from nil to very limited. Concerning the postmodern approach, Philip Allmendinger (2002, p. 157) and Nigel Taylor (1998, p. 166) argue that transferring, or even to interpreting, the postmodern positions into the field of urban planning is highly problematic, if not unfeasible. Communicative theory cannot take pride for its applicability, which has been exhausted in small scale practices, like the *Planning for Real* movement, that enhance citizen awareness and mobilize their participation in planning procedures. In addition, the communicative approach that derives from the Habermasian philosophy remains highly abstract (Allmendinger, 2002, pp. 201, 206) and therefore it is difficult either to guide planning practice or to point to it as an alternative planning theory.

One of the foremost implications of the highly political character of communicative planning is its focus on theoretical issues pertinent to the normative part of a decision-making, as these issues relate to and support this highly political approach. As a result, it lacks the crucial components of a typical planning theory, equally as much concerning the analysis of urban space as the procedure and the methodology of urban intervention (cf. Murray *et al.*, 2009, p. 444). Characteristic of this situation is the fact that it cannot be linked to well-established urban planning practices. The elaboration, the criticism, or even the commenting on issues like the classification of urban uses, the practice of zoning and the utilization of planning standards, which constitute basic features of urban analysis and planning diachronically, are totally absent. This situation reinforces the urban planning theory-practice gap that has been cited and discussed by various scholars during

the last two decades (cf. Alexander, 1997, 1999, 2010; Harris, 1997; Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 1997; Watson, 2008; March 2010; Moroni, 2010; Lauria, 2010, Pissourios, 2013) and leaves the top-down systems and rational planning theories as the main guides of the current planning practice.

Even if planning practice is dominated by top-down planning theories, the quest of a planning system that considers the local needs more studiously and allows greater citizen participation comprises an acceptable objective, as such a system tackles some of the weaknesses of the top-down approaches. According to Paul Sabatier (1986, p. 30),

> […] the fundamental flaw in top-down models, is that they start form the perspective of (central) decision-makers and thus tend to neglect other actors. […] A second, and related, criticism of top-down models is that they are difficult to use in situations where there is no dominant policy (statute) or agency, but rather a multitude of governmental directives and actors, none of them preeminent. […] A third criticism of top-down models is that they are likely to ignore, or at least underestimate, the strategies used by street level bureaucrats and target groups to get around (central) policy and/or to divert it to their own purposes.

In this landscape of planning theory, where top-down approaches, despite their weaknesses, rule planning practice and bottom-up approaches are unable to construct an alternative methodology of urban intervention, the purpose of this paper is to discuss the ways that these two opposite approaches can be combined in planning practice and specifically in the practice of planning standards. The paper is divided into four parts. In the first part, it examines the utilization of planning standards through time in order to demonstrate that their use is still widely accepted as a crucial part of planning practice. In the second part, the paper aims to unravel the relationship between the utilization of planning standards and top-down theories, i.e. the systems and the rational approach of planning, as well as the bottom-up theory of communicative planning. In the third part, the paper focuses on the limitations of bottom-up approaches, in order to demonstrate that this approach can only be utilized in a certain planning scale, leaving all others scales to top-down approaches. Lastly, in the fourth part, this paper proposes a certain framework for the use of planning standards in a combined top-down and bottom-up planning approach.

## 2. THE UTILIZATION OF PLANNING STANDARDS THROUGH TIME AND SPACE

Planning standards portray a desirable as well as attainable state of affairs at a specific future time, i.e. a desirable state of affairs within the limitations of certain socio-economic conditions. Usually, planning standards are given in a quantitative

form that connects the requirement of a certain number, type or size of urban uses to the population size or other features of a settlement (e.g. 5 square metres of open green spaces per inhabitant). Planning standards exist for all urban uses, although the majority of them refer to public community facilities (e.g. education, health, sport, law enforcement, judicial and welfare public facilities). In the case of urban uses that are closely associated with the function of the free market (e.g. retail and wholesale trade, offices and manufacture/industries), planning standards can either portray a projection of their growth at a specific future time (for example, in ten years there will be 3 square metres of retail trade per inhabitant), or set certain limitations for their growth (e.g. no more than 1 shopping centre per district) or their location (e.g. heavy industries must be 1 mile in distance from residential areas).

Planning standards are interwoven with planning practice, as their use is traced back to the beginning of the 20th century. The 'golden' era of planning standards is identified as having occurred after World War II, when planners had unfortunately overestimated the importance of standards to urban planning and had formed the erroneous impression that their main task was to identify and implement the 'right' standards. This impression was established just before World War II in Germany, where the concept for 'order' (offspring of the totalitarian regime) was translated into urban planning as a meticulous standardization of all the required facilities of a settlement (Aravantinos, 1997, p. 324) and continued after World War II in socialist countries, mainly in the Soviet Union (cf. Feder, 1939; USSR, 1962).

Nowadays, the use of planning standards has been significantly altered compared to their use in the middle of the last century. They have evolved from a tool of definitive determination of the necessary facilities of a settlement, to a more flexible tool that provides general guidance to land-use planning. The consequence of this shift is their reduction in number and the elastic definition of their value range (minimum – maximum values). However, their use has been expanded internationally and they now comprise part of the planning practice in most developed countries.

The aforementioned positions are based on the review of the urban planning practice within six western states, which is explored in greater detail below. Specifically, four European countries were selected as case studies: England, Germany, Italy and Greece, which comprise representative examples of the various legal and administratives systems in Europe (Neuman and Thornley, 1996, pp. 28–38). Outside of Europe two more regions were studied: the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong in China and the State of California in the United States. In three of these cases, namely Greece, Italy and Hong Kong, the use of planning standards is binding, according to their planning legislation in force (see respectively: GGG, 2004; OGRI, 1968; HKPD, 2010). In Germany and the United States, the use of standards is not binding, as the federal administrative structure of these countries does not allow the development of central planning legislation. However, a study of the urban plans of certain cities in Germany and the United States (Ernicke and

Partner, 2002; Ötisheim and VVM, 2006; SPFS, 2009; City of Sacramento, 1988, 2005, 2008a, b; SFPD, 1990, 1997a, b, c, 2004, 2007) highlighted the extensive use of standards that derive from various sources. In England, an intermediate situation was detected. Specifically, the use of standards is not binding, although the standards used by planners were provided by Ministries and other governmental departments (e.g., The Department for Education and Employment, Sport England, London Healthy Urban Development Unit). This suggests substantial involvement of the central government in standards identification. As it is obvious from the above analysis, planning standards belong to the backbone of planning practice in western states. We should also not forget that indicators by and large, as well as standards in specific, form a substantial part both of the everyday practice and of the current theoretical pursuits in an extensive set of different scientific fields that relate to the socio-economic and the environmental sphere (Pissourios, 2013a, b).

## 3. TOP-DOWN AND BOTTOM-UP APPROACHES TO PLANNING AND THEIR RELATION TO PLANNING STANDARDS

As is demonstrated in the brief historical presentation above, planning standards preceded the theories of the 1960s and onwards. Therefore, it is crucial to delve into the relationship between the use of standards and the planning theories, in order to ascertain the degree of the embodiment of planning standards in these theories. Specifically, the attention will be focused on the systems view and the rational approach to planning, as these two theories are characteristic top-down approaches and have also set the foundations of the current planning practice. Moreover, the study will examine if planning standards are embodied in communicative planning theory, as this theory comprises the more representative recent example of a bottom-up approach. Paul Davidoff's advocacy planning (1996, originally published in 1965) and postmodern planning are also bottom-up approaches, they will not however be examined further, as the former dates over 50 years and is not in the current theoretical foreground and the latter because of the difficulty in ascribing any coherent meaning to what the postmodern is – by definition it involves no agreement (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 172).

### 3.1. The Systems View of Planning

The systems view of planning arose in the UK in the late 1960s through the work of Brian McLoughlin (1969) and George Chadwick (1971, 1978) contributing to the break from the long-standing tradition of physical planning that perceived

urban intervention as a design practice. The core of this new approach was the acceptance of the settlement as a system, i.e. as a complex set of parts interacting with each other. If settlements are perceived as urban systems, then urban planning may be seen as a form of systemic control and thus planners can utilize all tools provided by cybernetics.

To understand the relationship between the use of planning standards and the systems planning theory, it is useful to refer to the operational level of the latter. Systems planning theory is based on the principle of *error-controlled regulation*, which means that 'the system is actuated by a control device which is supplied with information about its *actual state* compared with the *intended state*' (italics are part of the original text) (McLoughlin, 1969, p. 85). On urban planning, 'the city of course is the system we wish to control, the desired states are expressed in the plan, we measure the actual state at any time by all forms of survey and can thus compare the actual conditions with those intended by the plan' (McLoughlin, 1969, p. 85).

The desired state of a settlement is defined in the planning program. The planning program organizes the policies and actions into *goals*, which have a general character, into *objectives* which are more precise and into *sub-objectives*, which comprise detailed instructions for specific actions (McLoughlin, 1969; Chadwick, 1971, 1978). Although goals are too general and therefore can not be quantified, objectives and sub-objectives are expressed quantitatively and entail the use of standards. According to McLoughlin (1969, p. 106), working with objectives and sub-objectives in quantitative terms is necessary, because on the one hand, planners need to accurately describe the intended state and, on the other hand, it allows them to measure the deviation between the actual and the intended state at any time. In relation to the above, McLoughlin (1969, p. 106) considers the goal of providing the most convenient pattern of major shopping centres for the people in an area:

> This statement [i.e. goal] is not capable of providing a clear basis for the design of a plan nor an operational basis for its implementation. It lacks the more precise statements of objectives and standards which are needed. These might take the form of 'minimizing the total amount of personal travel involved in reaching major shopping centres' (planning design objective) [i.e. objective] and 'containing the average distance of households from major shopping centres at no more than 4.3 miles' (implementation/control objective) [i.e. sub-objective].

In several examples, McLoughlin (1969, pp. 114, 97) presents the use of other planning standards, such as 'area of green space per inhabitant' and 'area of urban uses per certain distance of the city centre'.

In conclusion, the above presentation reveals that systems planning has embodied planning standards in its approach, using them as a tool for translating the general goals into specific planning actions.

### 3.2. The Rational Approach to Planning

Just as McLoughlin and Chadwick are synonymous with a systems view of planning, so is Andreas Faludi's name closely associated with rational process theories of planning (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 53). In urban planning, this approach became coherent in 1973 when Faludi published the books *Planning Theory* and *A Reader in Planning Theory*, the first as an author, the second as an editor. The essence of the rational approach of planning is well illustrated by Patsy Healey, Glen McDougall and Michael Thomas (1982, p. 8). According to these scholars, the process of rational action involves the systematic analysis and definition of the problems, the identification of goals, the logical production of alternative plans/policies, the evaluation of the latter and the implementation and monitoring of the chosen plan. The same five steps of this procedural planning theory is also described by Nigel Taylor (1998, p. 68), who also marks the feedback loops, emanating from the monitoring stage (fifth step) and directed to each of the remaining stages.

Rational planning process is mainly based on program formulation. Program formulation means to devise a set of intentions concerning the type and intensity and the timing of actions aimed at manipulating the control variables of a problem situation so as to achieve a set of objectives (Faludi, 1973, p. 89). However, on some planning occasions, the planner is unable to formulate a clear set of objectives, even on the basis of agreed goals. Even in this situation, the rational planning process provides the best approach to formulating a rational program (Faludi, 1973, p. 95). Specifically, Faludi (1973, p. 95, italics are part of the original text) states that 'instead of objectives precisely describing a world in which one source of tension has been removed, one must accept the idea of proceeding on the basis of statements concerning the *direction* into which one ought to move to reduce that tension'. For instance, if the planner recognizes the need for more urban green spaces, but is unable to accurately determine their required overall size, it suffices to move towards the direction of planning as many green spaces as possible. Although the replacement of objectives by directions, as presented above, is a good choice in terms of the rational planning process, it may be subject to criticism in terms of the amount of resources spent on the attainment of fixed objectives. Faludi (1973, p. 96, italics are part of the original text), realizing the impact of his proposed methodology, suggests that the planner should seek 'the most favourable ratio between the extent to which one moves towards that ideal (measured in terms of some *standard* like number of houses, or jobs, or acreage of open land), and the amount of resources spent'. As it is seen, Faludi highlights the use of planning standards in the core of the rational planning process.

In the above, the discussion was focused on Faludi's rational planning process towards finding the optimal solution. However, the controlled suspension of the rational planning process is also rational when finding the optimal solution is

impossible or undesirable (Faludi, 1973, pp. 113–114). One of Faludi's proposed strategies for the controlled suspension of rational judgement is the *satisficing strategy*. This strategy is very common among engineers who tackle problems of high complexity, like the design of a beam. Specifically, engineers use standards that set minimum requirements on the beam's dimensions given the stress and the pressure applied. Having used these minimum requirements the engineers are then satisfied, not that they have optimized the design of the beam, but that the beam will not collapse (Faludi, 1973, p. 114). In relation to the above, Faludi (1973, pp. 114–115) states that: 'in physical planning a wide range of standards exists. Standards such as residential density, sunlight, provision of open space and so on are minimum requirements which any solution to a physical planning problem must meet'. These minimum requirements do not differ from planning standards discussed earlier, apart from the fact that they comprise the bottom end of the planning standards' value range, i.e. are minimum standards (Faludi does not make this distinction).

In conclusion, it is evident that rational planning procedure embraces the use of planning standards. Specifically, there are clear references of their use, equally as much at the core of the rational process, as when controlled suspension of rational judgement occurs. Albeit, this suspension does not cease to be a rational choice; it continues to be part of the rational planning procedure by and large.

### 3.3. The Communicative Approach to Planning

The communicative approach to planning was developed in the 1980s and 1990s by John Forester and Patsy Healey, who have been focused on the rather abstract philosophical work of the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas (Taylor, 1998, p. 123). Central to the communicative approach is *communicative rationality*, which breaks down the dominance of scientific objectivism and builds, instead, a different kind of objectivity based on agreement between individuals, reached through free and open discourse (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 184).

According to Healey (1997, pp. 29–30), the key emphasis of communicative planning theory is the recognition that knowledge has many forms and all of these forms are socially constructed, and that power relations and the social context affect the preferences of individuals, as well as the view that planning is based on consensus-building practices. In this way, planning work is embedded in the context of social relations through its day-to-day practices and has the capacity to challenge and change these relations. That which is apparent from this epigrammatic presentation of communicative planning principles has been successfully pointed out by Allmendinger, who states that communicative planning theorists, in seeking to translate the ideas of Habermas, have simply moved from the highly abstract to the abstract. Therefore, it is difficult to point to communicative plan-

ning as an alternative planning theory as it remains abstract (Allmendinger, 2002, pp. 201, 206).

Concerning the case study of the current paper, the question emerges of whether we are able to infer from the above abstract ideas what the relationship might be between planning standards and the communicative approach to planning. As expected, it is highly risky to affirm the possibility of a positive answer, however it is possible to highlight some aspects of this relationship and make certain observations that may not comprise a comprehensive assessment of their relationship, but are sufficient to draw a general conclusion.

The communicative approach criticizes any given and well-established planning system, in order to promote a sort of mental 'unhooking' from previous assumptions and practices and to trace new ways of doing things (Healey, 1997, p. 272). In addition, local communities must challenge existing routines of strategic planning and generate new conceptions, ways of thinking and strategy-making processes (Healey, 1997, pp. 268–269). These new ways will be found through inclusionary, open-style forms of discussions among the various stakeholders of any given local community (Healey, 1997, pp. 268–269). Even if the aforementioned positions could be saluted for promoting innovation and leading to new ideas in planning, they could also be criticized for deconstructing any well-established planning system without replacing it with a better or, at least, any other method of urban intervention. In any case, the communicative approach to planning questions any fixed planning process and in this context the utilization of planning standards seems to be questioned too. Planning standards have been used for more than a century and nowadays constitute one of the backbones of planning practice. In other words, they are a well-established tool of planning practice and thus contestable in terms of the communicative approach. For most planners the tenaciousness of planning standards over time would be an adequate reason to keep them in use. However, for the communicative approach, this is an adequate reason for questioning their usefulness, in the hope of the emergence of new and better tools or methods of planning practice (cf. Healey, 1997, p. 272).

Besides the criticism of planning standards as a part of a fixed planning process, the communicative approach also seems to not welcome their use. This is due to the belief that planning standards underestimate the preferences of local communities, thereby dealing with different settlements as having uniform needs and expectations, and also replacing public participation and judgement with experts' knowledge. Regarding the first position, manifestly standards ought, by their very nature, to apply to a wide range of different urban spaces (not just locally), otherwise the characteristic studied does not have the expected regularity and therefore cannot and should not be standardized. Even if planning standards propose a value range to which the characteristic studied should be conformed and this elasticity allows a freedom of choice in planning, from the perspective to which the communicative approach adheres, this value range sets certain limits, thus reducing the

planning possibilities of any given community. On the second position, planning standards have certainly been developed by experts and not through public participation processes. Standards comprise pre-formulated knowledge about the preferences of the 'typical'/'optimum' settlement that has been constructed by the study group that produced the standards. In any case, the way that planning standards are formulated is a far cry from the communicative approach to knowledge production as, according to Healey (1996, p. 246), 'knowledge is not preformulated but is specifically created anew in our communication through exchanging perceptions and understanding and through drawing on the stock of life experience and previously consolidated cultural and moral knowledge available to participants'.

Based on the above findings, it is crystal clear that the communicative approach refrains from the use of standards. In particular, standards are part of a fixed planning process, which restrains the elaboration on new conceptions, ways of thinking and strategy-making processes; underestimate the preferences of local communities; and replace public participation and judgement with experts' knowledge.

## 4. THE WEAKNESSES OF BOTTOM-UP APPROACHES AND THE APPROPRIATE PLANNING SCALE FOR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

As presented in the above analysis, the systems and the rational planning theory have embodied planning standards in their approach, while the communicative planning theory refrains from their utilization. This statement should not lead to the early conclusion that planning standards have no role to play in a possible bottom-up approach. In order to ascertain the role of standards in bottom-up approaches, it is crucial to understand the weaknesses of such approaches and also explore the appropriate planning scales for their utilization.

The fundamental precondition for the implementation of a bottom-up approach is the existence of a 'bottom level', which for urban planning corresponds to the existence of a community that has certain needs, problems and expectations, that are different from other communities, and is also willing to participate in planning procedures in order to influence them. However, on certain planning occasions there is no 'bottom level'. This may be the case in the planning of a new settlement or a large city plan expansion. On such planning occasions, there are not any residents yet, so the utilization of a bottom-up approach is unattainable and planners can only turn to top-down approaches.

In the case that there is a local community which is willing to participate in planning processes, an assumption that is quite challengable, the implementation of a bottom-up approach meets certain other obstacles. One of them is the relative

difficulty in translating a bottom-up procedure of urban intervention into legislation. The existence of some sort of legislation is crucial, as it provides formalized rules and procedures that can maintain the agreement reached through the participative processes (cf. Healey, 1997, p. 279). If any community is going to develop its own bottom-up planning process – that is, a perspective to which the communicative approach adheres (Healey, 1997, pp. 268–269) – then inevitably the legislation should also be subject to the local community. However, this perspective on local lawmaking power is a far cry from the current administrative and constitutional organization of modern western states, even for those states with a federal structure. In the event that local legislation cannot be made, then there is no hope that central legislation can deal with the various planning systems that each local community will produce and exercise. As a result, the desire for unlimited freedom in choosing or constructing individual planning processes on behalf of each local community is restrained due to the lack of local lawmaking power.

Concerning the implementation of bottom-up approaches, their efficiency in planning is inversely proportional to the size of the community that is planned. Participatory processes become cumbersome when the population size increases, slowing down the process of urban intervention, which is already a time-consuming process. In particular, the gathering of the various stakeholders of the community, the arrangement of the procedure in which the open-ended forms of discussions will be held, the arrival at agreement on conflicted and interrelated issues and the translation of these agreements into planning objectives require the ampleness of time. Thus, in large communities, either the bottom-up processes will be inefficient, due to the slow progress of participatory processes, or techniques of representative participation will be adopted, which degenerate the nature of the bottom-up approach.

A third weakness of a bottom-up approach that further limits its scope is that such an approach can be implemented when planning deals with spatial issues as related to local interests and consequences only. Petter Næss (2001, pp. 514–517) has argued on the weakness of bottom-up approaches in the field of sustainable development, where a higher level of coordination is necessary. The same also applies for objectives that have consequences far beyond the local borders or their planning is affected by the preferences and needs of the residents outside these local borders. Such objectives are related to the location of supralocal facilities, like hospitals, universities and industries, which serve the population of more than one local community, to the planning of the transportation systems and their terminals, like airports and railway stations and to economic and environmental planning by and large. Thus, as Næss (2001, p. 516) concludes,

[…] the local level should not have full sovereignty over such dispositions. Local planning should therefore take place within frames ensuring that consequences primarily manifesting themselves at other scales than the local are also taken into consideration.

Based on the above analysis, it is obvious that bottom-up approaches are unable to guide either regional planning or strategic urban planning, as on the one hand such approaches cannot deal with the allocation and the location of supralocal facilities and, on the other hand, their implementation becomes cumbersome, due to the large population size of the planned communities. Thus, for regional and strategic urban planning, a top-down approach is inevitably the only available choice for planning practice. As a result, the scope of bottom-up approaches is limited to the local planning of small settlements, or to the planning of districts in larger settlements. On these occasions of planning, the higher level strategic planning has already indicated the long-term objectives, for which the contribution of local participation is debatable, and has also resolved the conflict of interests among neighbouring settlements or districts. In addition, because of the small study area, participants are likely to have a clear and comprehensive view of their communities' strengths, weaknesses and opportunities, so their participation in planning procedure can be beneficial to the understanding of local needs, while participatory processes can be quick and flexible.

## 5. THE USE OF PLANNING STANDARDS IN TOP-DOWN AND BOTTOM-UP APPROACHES AND IN THE DISCERNIBLE PLANNING SCALES

The assigning of top-down and bottom-up approaches to discernible scales of planning helps the role of planning standards in each planning approach to become clear. As we saw above, regional and strategic urban planning should be ascribed to top-down approaches, while local urban planning that encompasses physical planning to bottom-up approaches.

Central to regional planning is the axis of economic development, in which planning standards have limited contribution. Economic development is related to uses closely associated with the function of the free market, such as industrial uses. However, the appearance of such uses in regional space cannot be standardized, as this appearance does not exhibit any regularity. Thus, the description of McLoughlin's *intended state* is more a matter of political economy than a matter of standards application. However, regional planning also deals with the allocation of supralocal public facilities, such as health, higher education, sports, law enforcement, judiciary and administrative installations, for which certain standards can be identified and applied. For these uses the utilization of one type of standards, *locational standards*, which refer to the type or number of public facilities per type of settlement, is crucial. The type of settlement can be identified based on population criterion (small, medium, large settlement), its position in the administrative structure (capital of a state, of a region or of a municipality), or its position in the functional network (higher and lower order settlements).

In strategic urban planning, standards constitute a basic tool of the typical top-down planning practice and are used equally as much for the planning of the uses that are closely associated with the function of the free market as for the planning of the public facilities. For the description of the intended state of the former uses, the application of planning standards coincides with the projection of their growth at a specific future time. However, for the planning of these uses in non-built-up areas, where no projection can be made – for example, in the case of planning a new settlement or a great city plan expansion – planning standards portray the typical/average contribution of these uses in the total area of the settlement. This case corresponds with Faludi's *satisficing strategy*, in which the planners allocate the uses in such a way that suffice for the sound function of a typical/average settlement or city segment. For both planning occasions, either planning in a built-up area or in a non-built-up area, locational standards can be used, although the use of a second type of planning standards, *service standards*, is recommended. Service standards link the total built-up area of a specific urban use with a certain population size (for example: 3 square metres of retail trade per inhabitant). By adopting service standards for all urban uses, planners are able to estimate the overall built-up area that is needed for a specific population size and are successively able to calculate the necessary land area of a settlement for certain given *plot ratios* (that is, the gross built-up area of all floors divided by the land area). Locational standards can complement service standards, demonstrating certain limitations in the location of the uses, such as: heavy industries must retain 1 mile distance from residential areas.

For the strategic urban planning of public facilities in specific, locational and service standards are equally useful. In this scale of planning, locational standards link the type or the number of public facilities with certain divisions of residential areas (districts and local neighbourhoods) or certain hierarchical types of city centres (primary and secondary city centres). The detail of these standards used in strategic urban planning should be quite limited, in order to allow for a certain degree of flexibility in the above local planning scale. Thus, planning standards should describe the overall intended state of whole categories of urban uses and not the state of specific urban uses. This perspective leads to the substitution of locational standards for local uses – in which the specific type and number of uses is recommended – from service standards. For example, the various locational standards that specify the number and type of necessary local cultural facilities should be replaced with only one service standard that allows the specification of the overall necessary built-up area of local cultural facilities.

As is obvious from the above, the allocation of the specific number and type of local uses is completed on the local planning scale, which may be approached bottom-up. Although bottom-up planning is mostly based on citizens' participative processes, the use of planning standards can be beneficial. Contrary to Hea-

ley's position (1997, p. 269), planning standards can and should form a starting point of citizens' discussion on the number and the type of the facilities that they will decide to allocate, as this allows participants to track the possible deviation of their proposal from a typical arrangement of urban uses. In this context, the existence of locational standards for specific local facilities is crucial. Moreover, the existence of a third type of planning standards, *occupancy standards*, can also be beneficial. Occupancy standards demonstrate the optimum ratio between the built-up area of a certain use and the number of its users or employees (for example, occupancy standards for elementary schools suggest that each student should possess 7 square metres of built-up school area). These standards can be utilized either at the phase of analysis and evaluation of the settlement's actual state (by comparing the actual with the optimum state that these standards indicate), or at the phase of planning, where they can be used for the estimation of the built-up area of the proposed facilities. The use of these standards supposes that the number of the users, or of the employees for each current or planned urban use is known, a fact that makes their utilization appropriate in the scale of local planning, as local communities have easy access to such information.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The use of planning standards is interwoven with the past and the current planning practices. The case study of the planning systems of six western states revealed that in all of these states, planning standards have been utilized for the preparation of the planning program. However, despite the significance of these standards to planning practice, planning theory has not elaborated a framework for standards utilization. Within planning theory, two main tendencies can be noted, which are very much at odds with one another: the top-down and the bottom-up approach to planning. The analysis of representative theories of these two tendencies revealed a clear relationship between each tendency and the use of standards. On the one hand, the top-down systemic and rational planning theories prompt the use of standards, even though they have not systematically considered a methodological framework of standards utilization. On the other hand, the communicative bottom-up approach lacks any methodological references as it stays at a highly abstract level and seems to refrain from the use of standards.

The paper has also demonstrated that both tendencies have advantages as well as weaknesses that make them appropriate for application in certain planning scales. If a three-tier structure of planning scales is to be adopted, then the regional and strategic urban planning scale should be ascribed to top-down approaches, while local urban planning scale to bottom-up approaches. Linking top-down and

bottom-up approaches of planning with discernible planning scales has been the key for an initial construction of a framework for planning standards utilization. In particular, it has been possible to discern that certain types of planning standards are more useful than others in certain scales of planning. In the scale of regional planning, locational standards are foremost in terms of usefulness, while in strategic urban planning, locational and service standards are equally useful. Last but not least, in the scale of local planning, occupancy standards are undoubtedly the most useful.

Apart from the aforementioned conclusions regarding the methodology of standards utilization, the foremost conclusion of the paper pertains to the fact that standards can be and should be part of any planning theory. The approach to planning, either top-down or bottom-up, the scales in which planning is exercised, from regional to local planning, and the types of standards that are used in each approach and scale, are all these interrelated issues that should be elaborated on in a coherent theoretical body. The same should also be applied for others issues that are central to planning practice, such as the classification of urban uses, the clarification of the components of the survey of the planned area, the construction of alternative scenarios and the methods for their assessment, or the construction of the planning zones. Unfortunately, most current planning theories, i.e., the postmodern and the communicative theory, either do not delve into such issues or delve into them in order to challenge them without submitting alternative options of practice and therefore abolish their link to practice. Even if in sciences methodology is second to theory, as it allows us to move from theory to application, in the applied fields, such as urban planning, the emphasis is on methodology, since these fields aim to be operational and achieve real-world efficiency (cf. Faludi, 1986, pp. 12, 23, 115). Thus, any planning theory that hopes to guide practice should elaborate on methodological issues, and, based on this position and the above analysis, we can conclude that there is still plenty of research that has to be performed in relation to the sound use of planning standards.

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# URBAN REGENERATION IN ROTTERDAM: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL VALUES

**Abstract**. Development of economic and social values is regarded as a key factor in urban development and urban regeneration. With its history of urban renewal and regeneration since the 1970s, Rotterdam provides an example to assess the profound changes from a socialized mode of housing provision and urban renewal towards more market-oriented strategies. In this light, new forms of gentrification are becoming a regular strategy in former urban renewal areas, mainly dominated by social housing. The paper examines the development of economic and social values in areas of Rotterdam that have been transformed through the vast urban renewal and subsequent regeneration programs. Mostly these programs are area-based approaches that got priority in more European countries.

**Key words**: urban regeneration strategies, economic values, social values, gentrification.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the Netherlands since the 1970s major changes in urban planning, including the stagnation of land revenue, have been caused by the shift from urban expansion to city regeneration. Currently, the municipality of Rotterdam, as other Dutch municipalities, is looking to prioritize public investments based on economic value development. An increase in real estate value stimulated by public investments might encourage private investors to participate in real estate development projects, making the city more attractive for living and working particularly for middle and high(er) income groups. Due to the market-led policies, since the 1990s' gentrification processes might be in conflict with the living conditions of sections of the urban population that are excluded from 'regular' prosperities. And thus

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increase of economic values might be corresponding with improvement of social-economic conditions of the current residents of an area but can also lead to displacement of a share of these residents.

According to the Big City policy,[1] in Rotterdam, nearly half of the neighbourhoods have been designated as low-income area by the government. The ambition is to counteract the problems in these deprived areas through area-based initiatives by dealing with physical, social and economic aspects integrated. Most of these areas were also part of urban regeneration programs in the past (Stouten, 2010). Between 1975 and 1993, urban renewal and social housing had a major effect on urban planning in the Netherlands, particularly in its major cities. In this respect it should be emphasized that the Netherlands has the highest proportion of social housing in the EU, about 36% of the total housing stock, and for the large Dutch cities this proportion measured as high as 50% in 2009. In comparison to other Western European cities, Rotterdam provides an early example of more profound measures taken to combat decay: a socialised mode of consumption, a welfare state policy and a high degree of institutionalised forms of tenant participation. The approach taken prior to 1993 involved more decentralized decision-making by which local authorities and tenant groups worked in cooperation.

The main question guiding this paper is: how have economic and social values changed in urban regeneration areas in Rotterdam? An important issue in answering this question is gentrification versus displacement of current tenants. Besides, the impact of urban design and planning on the changes in economic and social values will be evaluated. This is an interesting challenge for creating lasting solutions for urban regeneration and planning e.g. improvement of the residential environment by completion of pocket parks, modernization of buildings and revitalization of riversides.

The research concerns an ex-post evaluation of the constructed quality resulting from urban renewal and regeneration initiatives and is focused on two cases that were addressed by these policies. Research by SteenhuisMeurs (2009) and Stouten (2004), policy papers, statistics of the municipality and housing associations provide important information about these areas. In this context, the change

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[1] The Big City policy covered five fields of activity: work, education, security, quality of life and health care (Stouten, 2010): (1) Work and education: long-term unemployment, mainly concentrated in deprived areas, should be appreciably reduced: education should improve the chance of entry to the labour market; (2) Security: action should be taken to reduce insecurity feelings experienced in public space by both residents and visitors; (3) Quality of life and health care; real improvement should be achieved in quality of life in deprived areas and in the city as a whole. An area-based approach was assumed for the implementation of this policy, and a link was established between social, spatial and economic factors: (1) Strengthening of small and medium-sized businesses; (2) Special attention to retailing, commercial services and tourism; (3) Development of new forms of industrial activity; (4) Deregulation and priority in spatial development; Experimental projects for creating jobs.

in the property prices was analyzed, with reference to the improvement of the residential environment and interventions in the urban and social fabric. The case studies focus on the changes to the urban fabric, socio-economic features, development of economic values and social qualities. The development of economic values was defined based on values that are used by Dutch local governments for determination of property tax (so-called 'WOZ-values'), and aggregated at the level of a building block. The representative value of the estimate has been checked through consultation with experts at the municipality. Differences in the development of values at the local level were based on mapping and matching the changes in the urban fabric concerning the economic value (particularly property prices) before and after the regeneration process. Moreover, the value of social qualities was analyzed by referring to the national monitor of livability (*Leefbaarometer*) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and two indicators of the municipality of Rotterdam; the *safety index* and *social index*.

For this research the areas Oude Noorden and Spangen were selected according to the following criteria: the areas considered had to be part of the urban renewal approach according to 'building for the neighbourhood' during the period of 1975 to 1993 and addressed by the following Big City policy, area-based policy and designation as 'empowerment areas'. Furthermore, the urban regeneration scheme had to be completed within the urban fabric such that an evaluation of value development was possible. Secondly, each area had to be representative for Rotterdam of differences in economic development based on environmental features, location and effects of the approach.

The chosen areas have quite different positions in relation to the city centre; the southern part of the Oude Noorden area is directly adjacent while for Spangen this is not the case. This means that comparison of both areas provides insight into the impact of location on value development.

In this paper, we first set out the theoretical foundations and definitions of economic and social values connected to urban regeneration. After identifying these issues, we focus on urban regeneration in Rotterdam, particularly in the two selected areas, and the development of economic and social values.

## 2. URBAN REGENERATION AND GENTRIFICATION; ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL VALUES

As in many other European cities, urban regeneration and urban renewal were and are accompanied by debates about gentrification. Jones and Evans (2009) define gentrification as 'the process by which buildings or residential areas are improved over time, which leads to increasing house prices and an influx of wealthier resi-

dents who force out the poorer population'. Though gentrification is basically driven by the private sector, urban regeneration and renewal processes are very dependent on governmental national and local policies.

In the Netherlands, as e.g. in the UK (see Jones and Evans, 2009) the label urban renewal with its community-led policies changed to the physical modernization of infrastructure and large urban projects (e.g. areas around railway stations, brownfields) which is broadly defined as urban regeneration of cities and regions (Stouten, 2010). The essential features of urban regeneration were summarized by Roberts (2004: 17) by defining it as: 'comprehensive and integrated vision and action aimed at the resolution of urban problems and seeking to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subjected to change'. The main components put forward as relevant to the regeneration of UK cities (as in the Netherlands), are strategic activities including economic regeneration and funding, physical and environmental aspects, social and community issues, employment and education (including training), and housing.

Urban regeneration, as Sassen (1991) already indicated in the 1990s, needs to respond to changing conditions with new economic concentrations in cities that are accompanied by new markets for new population groups. Urban regeneration aims to stimulate this process. In most of the Dutch cities (like the UK, Tallon, 2010, p. 205) national and local policies have encouraged the repopulation of the city centre exemplified by urban renaissance, brownfield development and mixed-use development. There is a wide range of strategies from restructuring and privatization by demolition of the social housing stock to upgrading and modernization measures involving community-led improvements: physical, social, economic and cultural.

Some of these strategies are more or less connected to gentrification and accompanied by increases in land prices and displacement of people (Porter and Shaw, 2008). This mostly state sponsored gentrification is a multi-faceted and heterogeneous process that affects neighbourhoods in and near the city centre (Tallon, 2010). The process identifies physical, social, economic and cultural transformation as part of urban regeneration.

This paper focuses on economic transformation with economic 'reordering' of modernized property values and social transformation as a process involving questions about displacement and/or marginalization of a variety of indigenous residents by 'invading outsiders' (Tallon, 2010). That means that the focus is on spatial-economic issues, addressing the development of the market value of an area and socio-cultural aspects including upgrading quality of life and safety. The ratio between these economic and social values is influenced by government measures. Accordingly, less attention will be paid to a socio-economic approach, for example issues such as segregation and poverty.

The potential for conflict between social value and market value and the effect of such conflicts on the new status of urban renewal areas and new and modern-

ised complexes is back on the agenda. This certainly applies in cases of restructuring. Residents and administrators both find that new interventions and additions to the housing stock and the urban fabric lead to an increase in value, though this can differ between owner-occupiers and tenants (Stouten, 2010). The tension in policy on community renewal between the idea of bottom-up community-led empowerment and the ideas of centrally driven priorities remains. Concerning gentrification and urban renewal in individual neighbourhoods, this tension is in most cases a relatively limited process from a temporal as well as spatial perspective. To understand these perspectives, more insight in the development and changing context of urban renewal towards urban regeneration is needed.

## 2.1. From Urban Renewal to Urban Regeneration

Stimulating gentrification versus combating displacement is, as described above, strongly related to government policies. At the end of the 1960s, there was growing dissatisfaction with slum clearance operations and programs stimulated by central and local government, aimed at displacing residents from these urban areas to peripheral estates or other poor-quality housing in Rotterdam as in other Western European cities (see also Couch, Fraser and Percy, 2003). An area-based approach became the basic principle underlying policy at this time (Stouten, 2010). Urban renewal has always been broadly defined in the Netherlands, considering not only social housing and spatial planning but also traffic, business, education, art, services, assistance, employment, unemployment, the environment, management etc. These comprehensive strategies demonstrate the wide-ranging nature of the problems experienced by the residents with respect to their living and housing conditions. Despite significant modernization of the housing stock, the improvement of the urban fabric according to current standards mostly failed to solve the high concentration of social problems in these areas, such as low-income groups, unemployment, high crime rates and school drop-outs (Stouten, 2010; Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, 2010). A distinction should be made between changes in conditions for urban renewal brought about through external developments and those that can be traced back more or less directly to the urban renewal policy itself, such as the building of social housing for the neighbourhood population and purchasing housing from private landlords by the local government. External developments include the economic recession, unemployment and changes in the structure of employment, the affordability of housing, changing ratios of immigrants to natives, social and cultural changes and changing relationships between central government, municipalities, housing associations and residential groups. Economic developments in the 1980s, including an economic recession, had a radical effect on urban renewal. Area-based activities declined in the wake of these national developments.

By the end of the 1980s, a market-oriented approach responding to new sets of challenges had become dominant in much of Europe. An important new issue was the need to take into account environmental objectives as part of sustainable development. In the Netherlands, urban renewal became part of an even more comprehensive form of regeneration of a city or region and became a subject for design aimed at providing more lasting solutions.

Last decade, due to sharper conflicts shown in the debate on politics to attack segregation and improvement of livability in urban areas, integration and safety were added to the economic, social and physical pointers of the urban agenda. It did fit in the area-based approach that got priority all over Europe. These policies extended to more areas, also beyond the four main (Big) cities to areas of more than thirty smaller cities. Main policy changes are the decentralization of budgets from national government to municipalities and provinces, and the approach being more tailor made and dependent on the local context. This seems to be adequate, for research has shown that in Dutch cities social and economic problems arise in small, dispersed concentrations (Kempen, 2005). Besides, cities become affected by gentrification and urban regeneration where no longer individual neighbourhoods become gentrified, but larger parts, particularly brownfields and inner city areas, are upgraded e.g. by building luxury apartments.

## 3. URBAN REGENERATION IN ROTTERDAM

With its history of urban renewal and regeneration since the 1970s, Rotterdam provides an example to assess the profound changes from a socialised mode of housing provision and urban renewal towards more market oriented strategies, for other cities in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe. Most of the programs of social renewal, subsequent Big City policies (*Grote Stedenbeleid*) and neighbourhood approaches such as the strategic area-based approach (*wijkaanpak*) started in Rotterdam and were later adopted by central government. The objective of the Big City policy was to combat inner-city deprivation by strengthening and taking advantage of economic potential at city and area level. The policy was inspired by concern for the urban labour market, where the demand for the highly educated no longer bore any relation to the generous supply of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The policy covered five fields of activity: work, education, security, quality of life and health care (Stouten, 2010, p. 126). Though Tallon (2010) criticised Roberts' definition, outlined above, stating that the approach in the UK cannot be considered comprehensive, 'comprehensive' is certainly an appropriate description of urban regeneration in Rotterdam since the 1970s.

Partly due to tenants' protests, the 1970s saw a fundamental change in approaches to solve problems in pre-war deteriorated areas, mostly around city centres. The urban renewal policies, launched in 1974 by the new elected local gov-

ernment, placed a greater emphasis on rehabilitation and improvement rather than large scale demolition of existing building stock. Moreover, the approach called for participation of residents in the planning process and decentralized control. The fact that priority access to new or modernized housing was given to lower income groups made the aims, techniques and results of 'building for the neighbourhood' (*bouwen voor de buurt*) unique in the history of social housing. 'Building for the neighbourhood' meant that the current tenants were given priority to improve their housing and living conditions.

New approaches that were taken in the 1980s, 1990s and in this century, have led to a higher degree of integration of social, economic and building policies. Since the 1990s, the aim has been to achieve a population with more variation in income and household composition whereas during the 'building for the neighbourhood' period, priority was given to increasing housing quality through new social housing and housing improvement. In the 1990s, the provision of more differentiated housing was seen as a way to combat the threat of spatial segregation. The theme that became central in urban renewal was housing in relation to other more economic functions, in combination with strengthening the housing provision for higher income groups rather than for economically weaker social groups. Differentiation of the residential environment became a new objective. Differentiation, sustainability and the designed quality of residential environments were emphasized, in combination with strategic planning as important elements in giving shape to the new framework for regeneration. The development of new housing types and residential environments is seen as a way of matching supply to changing requirements and demands. The design of public spaces as well as urban management is necessary to strengthen public spaces as places for informal activities, and to ensure that such spaces are not only used as transitional zones for transport and mobility.

However, many problems, such as unemployment, proved to be stubborn. Horizontal and vertical integration of different policies and problem areas at different levels of scale, and cooperation between different parties continued to give rise to conflicts. There has also been much uncertainty regarding the completion of the plans. Since the mid-1990s housing production in the Netherlands remains far behind central government forecasts, a situation that has been reinforced by the economic crisis of 2008: from 30% to 40% not completed before 2008 to about 50% to 60% after 2008.

In 2002, the Minister for Housing, Regional Development and the Environment launched the *Actieprogramma Herstructurering* (Action Program of Restructuring) including instruments for the improvement of 56 priority districts (Stouten, 2010). According to this approach, the program was initiated in Rotterdam in five areas, taking a large-scale and long-term physical approach to battle the complex problems of quality of life. Once again the areas in question had for years been included in lists prepared as part of earlier urban renewal policies. Since 2007 the central government has renamed 'problem areas' and 'priority areas' as 'empow-

erment areas' (*krachtwijken*) of which there are 40 throughout the country. The areas have been selected on 18 criteria referring to English experiences. These areas are defined by a high representation of residents with hardly any access to the labour and housing market, including problems of quality of life. Rotterdam is considered a 'champion' on this list, comprising seven of the 40 areas on the national list. In total, about one third of the Rotterdam population lives in areas that are assigned as 'empowerment areas' with policies on physical and social issues driving the agenda. Within the Netherlands, both the municipality and the region of Rotterdam are not very prosperous: 29% and 24% of the households respectively are considered low income.

While overall measures of livability have improved and unemployment has decreased at the national scale between 2008 and 2010, the situation in Rotterdam has been better addressed than in many other cities. There is a large variety in the development of areas inside Rotterdam. On the one hand, many 'new' areas have developed with problems of livability. On the other hand, because of the positive results in the same period, there are also many areas that have been improved substantially. The improvement of the living environment means a more differentiated housing stock, and also decrease of social incivilities and increase of social safety (RIGO and Atlas for Municipalities, 2011, pp. 27–28). Mainly this situation is caused by the area-based approach focused on tackling unemployment and modernization of the housing stock. The public investments of the central and local government and housing associations for upgrading these areas of Rotterdam in the period of 2007 to 2011 were: 60 million euros by the central government and 212 million euros by the municipality of Rotterdam. Housing associations will invest another 878 million euros by 2018 (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment and the Municipality of Rotterdam, 2008). Moreover, there are investments by real estate developers, for example new built housing in the market sector. Subsidies of the national government have acted as trigger money to multiplied effects: one euro public money did lead to 10 euro private investments on the urban environment.

Despite the improvement of the living environment in deprived areas, the aim of the municipality to attract higher and middle income groups seems to be too ambitious, considering the housing production (Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, 2010). In the period from 1990 to 2008 there were 54,000 houses built in Rotterdam, which is nearly half of the total regional production. But due to the demolition of 42,000 houses, the total increase in numbers of the housing stock is poor. Besides, targeting buildings in urban renewal areas towards middle and higher incomes has been threatened by building new housing at the edge of the city (e.g. VINEX locations) because particularly nuclear higher income families often choose to leave urban areas in favour of moving into fringe developments.

However, the research *Settle and Go* (*Komen en gaan*) (Municipality of Rotterdam, Office of Statistics (COS), 2010) shows a slight overall increase of these middle and high-income groups. By replacing the old obsolete rental housing with

new owner-occupied housing 'social climbers' have been more inclined to stay within the same neighbourhood and also there has been an influx of higher income households. The same effect is also being achieved by selling old social rental housing after modernization (see e.g. Spangen and Oude Noorden below).

## 4. TWO CASE STUDIES OUDE NOORDEN AND SPANGEN

An important aim of the municipality of Rotterdam is to stimulate gentrification in the areas around the city centre (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2007). As mentioned above, this paper focuses on two areas, Oude Noorden and Spangen, that are representative of the approach to urban renewal developed in Rotterdam since the 1970s.

Urban renewal in the Oude Noorden area started in 1975 and in Spangen in 1982. According to the strategy of 'building for the neighbourhood', a high production of new built and modernized social housing was reached. At the end of the 1990s, old housing had been replaced by new housing in neighbourhoods of both areas. A mix of social and owner-occupied housing remained, but the social rental sector still dominated the housing provision. The developments in both areas show a representative picture of more general trends such as the decrease in the number of families, the increase of singles and immigrants, and the level of unemployment in these sorts of areas (see table 1). Since the end of the 1980s, special programs have been developed, aimed at improving social qualities in the two areas. The initiatives have been founded on the local governments' efforts to create an undivided city. Both areas were chosen because they have serious problems to solve.

How have economic and social values changed over time in these areas? To answer this question, referring to gentrification, we will give a more detailed description of the urban renewal and regeneration approach in these areas, physical changes and the development of economic and social values and changes in the division of tenure.

## 4.1. Oude Noorden

In the period of 1975 to 1993, comprehensive urban renewal occurred, mainly aimed at the modernization of housing stock and refurbishment of inner courts through the clearance of old businesses. One of the shortcomings of the area was and is the lack of public space. Particularly, green spaces were missing in the neighbourhoods that have tight lot configurations. Sometimes the enlargement of community space was achieved by adjoining two original building blocks or through the demolition of an entire block (see figure 1).
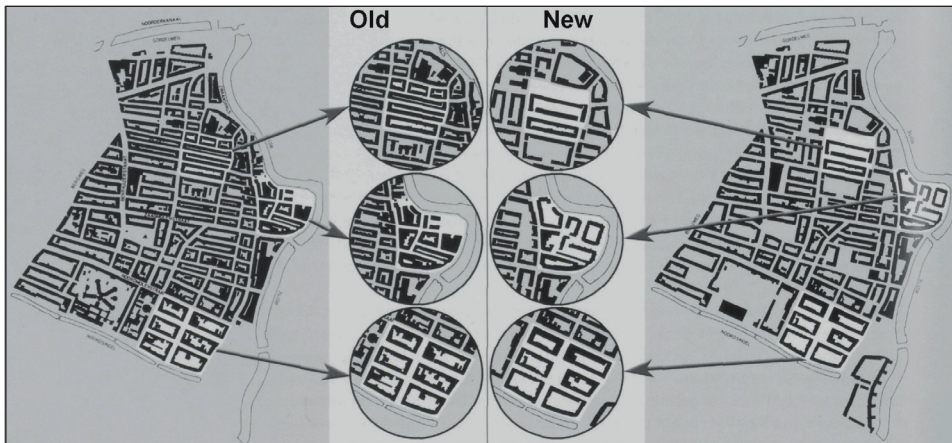
Fig. 1. Changes in the urban fabric as a result of urban renewal

Source: Stouten (2010)

However, these changes caused fragmentation in the neighbourhoods with the most compact building parcels. In this period the main changes to the urban fabric and housing stock were 28% new built social housing and 45% modernization, also in the social sector. Partly due to this approach, the amount of small businesses and shops decreased by 27%.

Since the 1990s, public investments have been aimed at an integration of social, physical and economic policies with a focus on reducing long-term unemployment, enhancing facilities, for example the creation of enterprise areas ('breeding grounds', see figure 2), and further improvements of the building stock and public space, for example the potential of the river front. Finally, investments have been focused on stimulating the owner-occupied sector. This enables residents that would otherwise move away (the so-called social climbers), to improve their housing conditions within their own neighbourhood. These opportunities for staying in the neighbourhood support social cohesion. Coordinated investments of housing associations, the municipality, entrepreneurs from the cultural/creative sector and an art foundation were made in a shopping area to stimulate small scale employment. Due to new built housing in the owner-occupied sector, after demolition of old social housing, and sales of social housing after modernization, the share of owner-occupied housing rose from 9% in 1999 to 18% of the housing stock in the area in 2009. As a result of restructuring, the housing density declined. After already decreasing from 90 dwellings per hectare in 1975 to 83 dwellings per hectare in 1999, by 2009, the density was 79 dwellings per hectare.

Fig. 2. The ROTABS Style Centre: units for rent to the 'creative class' in a former firehouse

Source: photo Paul Stouten

## 4.2. Spangen

Spangen, in the western part of Rotterdam, was built in the period between 1920 and 1940 as a coherent ensemble (SteenhuisMeurs, 2009), different from the individual lot developments along main streets that occurred in the Oude Noorden area a few decades before. Most of these dwellings were constructed as social housing. As in the Oude Noorden area, there was a lack of public green spaces in Spangen. A lot of investments have been made to create new public squares and a new river front along the Schie. Prior to the 1990s urban renewal was mainly concentrated on the modernization of social housing, meaning that the original urban fabric was maintained, but the street frontage was changed by adding new stores and balconies. In the period between 1982 and 1993 about 22% of the total housing stock of Spangen was newly built and about 34% was modernized.

At the beginning of the 1990s residents experienced severe problems with the quality of life due to drug-tourism, dealers, prostitution etc. particularly concentrated in the private rented sections of the area. In protest, residents cordoned off the area and controlled car access to prohibit drug-tourists from visiting dealers. The area was part of the special programs for social and physical upgrading; slum landlords were targeted by local government policies. The most deteriorated section including drugs, crime and social safety issues became one of the largest restructuring projects located along the canal. This estate of about 450 dwellings, mixed with a school, community centre and room for small enterprises was constructed between 1998 and 2008. As in the Oude Noorden area, changes within the

urban fabric resulted in more public space in Spangen as well; the current housing density per hectare is about 65, compared to 95 houses per hectare in 1975. A remarkable modernization strategy was developed with support of the municipality concerning self-built housing and co-housing (*collectief particulier opdrachtgeverschap*) after delivering the building shell by the local government free of charge, but with the obligation of investing at least 70,000 euros (for one floor of 50 m²) to 200,000 euros (for four floors) (see figure 3). Newly built housing and modernization caused a change in tenure; the share of the owner-occupied sector increased from 5% in 1999 to 24% in 2009 and the social rental sector declined from 77% to 64% in the same period.



Fig. 3. Renovation by means of self-built housing and co-housing.

Source: photo Paul Stouten

## 5. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL VALUATION OF THE URBAN REGENERATION AREAS

Table 1 shows the scores of the Oude Noorden area and Spangen according to the various indicators, also in comparison to the average of the city. The economic and social valuation of the areas is explained successively.

Table 1. Neighbourhood characteristics of the Oude Noorden area and Spangen

| Specification | Oude Noorden | | Spangen | | Rotterdam | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| General | | | | | | |
| sub municipality | Noord | | Delfshaven | | | |
| building period | 1870–1900 | | 1920–1940 | | | |
| surface (hectare) | 107 | | 64 | | | |
| Demography | initial measurement | recent | initial measurement | recent | initial measurement | recent |
| number of inhabitants (1999–2009) | 18,246 | 16,895 | 10,705 | 9,801 | 592,597 | 587,161 |
| age groups (1999–2009) | | | | | | |
| inhabitants 0–15 years (percentage) | 20% | 18% | 28% | 23% | 17% | 17% |
| inhabitants 15–65 years (percentage) | 72% | 74% | 67% | 71% | 67% | 69% |
| inhabitants 65 years and older (percentage) | 8% | 9% | 6% | 6% | 15% | 14% |
| share of immigrants (percentage) | 58% | 65% | 80% | 85% | 39% | 47% |
| Housing stock | initial measurement | recent | initial measurement | recent | initial measurement | recent |
| number of dwellings (1999–2009) | 8,929 | 8,434 | 4,479 | 4,183 | 284,227 | 289,337 |
| dwelling density (dwelling per hectare) (1999–2009) | 83 | 79 | 70 | 65 | | |
| owner-occupied housing (percentage) (1999–2009) | 9% | 18% | 5% | 24% | 21% | 32% |
| share of social rental housing (percentage) (1999–2009) | 69% | 64% | 77% | 64% | 58% | 49% |
| index of the average property tax value of dwellings per m² (2000–2008)* | 75 | 90 | 65 | 62 | 100 | 100 |
| Socio-economic characteristics | initial measurement | recent | initial measurement | recent | initial measurement | recent |

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Table 1 (cont.)

| Specification | Oude Noorden | | Spangen | | Rotterdam | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| share of low incomes (percentage) (2002–2008) | 62% | 65% | 75% | 66% | 52% | 51% |
| unemployment (percentage)** (2000–2010) | 10% | 6% | 11% | 6% | 6% | 4% |
| share of social security recipients (percentage) (2000–2010) | 12% | 9% | 12% | 8% | 8% | 6% |
| Livability (1998–2008)*** | negative | mediocre | very negative | negative | mediocre | fairly positive |
| Safety Index (2001–2009) | unsafe (3.8) | threatened (5.6) | unsafe (2.5) | attention (6.3) | threatened (5.6) | safe (7.3) |
| share of inhabitants that is satisfied with their area (percentage) (2002–2009) | 47% | 64% | 31% | 66% | 68% | 73% |
| Social Index (2010) | | vulnerable (5.3) | | vulnerable (5.1) | | vulnerable (5.8) |

Source: http://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl, unless indicated otherwise: * Indexed to the Rotterdam average (€ / m$^2$) of respectively 2000 and 2009. Based on: Braun *et al.* (2011). ** Percentage of the potential labour force, unemployed for more than a year. *** Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs Livability Monitor (Leefbaarometer), www.leefbaarometer.nl

The economic value of the Oude Noorden area greatly increased during the period of 2000 to 2008. The average house value per square meter in the area increased by 136%, compared to an average increase in Rotterdam of 97% in this period (see table 1 and figure 4). There were only four areas in Rotterdam where the economic value increased more during this period (Braun *et al*., 2011).



## Legend

Increase of property tax values 2000 - 2008 (%)

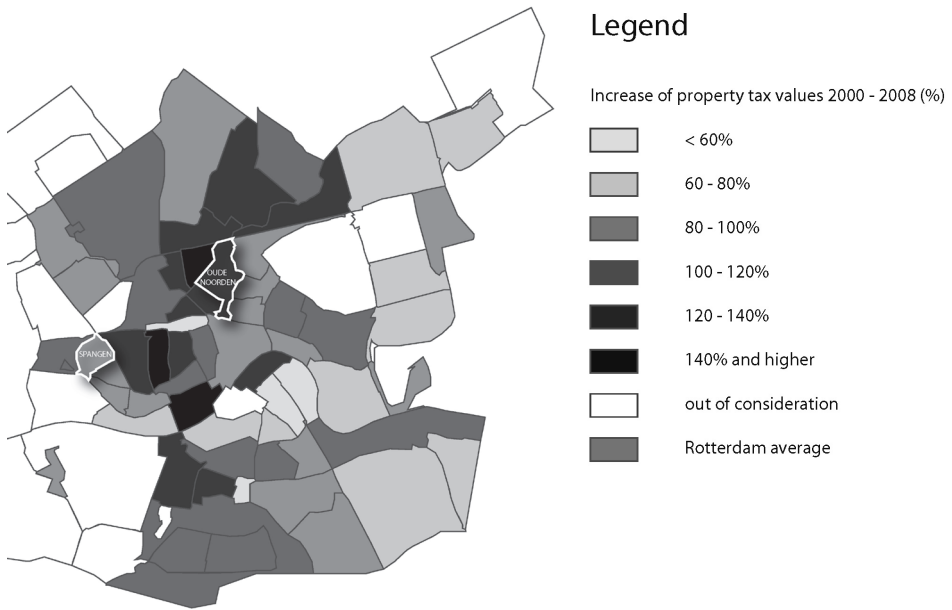| | |
|---|---|
| | < 60% |
| | 60 - 80% |
| | 80 - 100% |
| | 100 - 120% |
| | 120 - 140% |
| | 140% and higher |
| | out of consideration |
| | Rotterdam average |

Fig. 4. Relative increase of property tax values per square meter of Rotterdam neighbourhoods between 2000 and 2008 (%)

Source: based on Braun *et al.* (2011)

It should be noted that the focus is on increase of economic value. The level of the average home value in the Oude Noorden area in 2008 was comparable to the average of Rotterdam. On the other hand the increase of economic value in Spangen between 2000 and 2008 remains behind the average of the city (an increase of 89% in Spangen, compared to 97% in Rotterdam). The average home value in Spangen in 2008 was actually the lowest in Rotterdam (Braun *et al.*, 2011).

What factors can explain the above-average increase of economic value in the Oude Noorden area? The location of the area, adjacent to the city centre, is expected to be an important factor. The positive impact of proximity to the city centre on the increase of economic values was found in studies by Visser and van Dam (2006), Schuurman (2010) and Braun *et al.* (2011). The first study
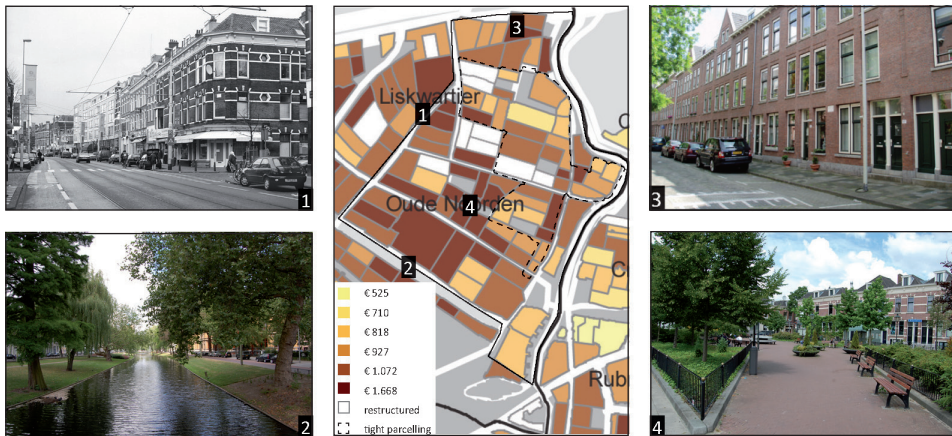
Fig. 5. Relative increase of WOZ values per square meter per block (with a minimum of ten dwellings) in the Oude Noorden area in the period 2000–2008

Source: based on Municipality Rotterdam, dS+V (2009) (addition of accents by authors, photo 1 by Hans Krüse, photos 2–4 by Paul Stouten)

mentioned includes a national comparison. Schuurman (2010) compared the increase of economic value of areas in Amsterdam and Braun *et al.* did so for areas in Rotterdam. The relatively high concentration of facilities (see figure 6) is a possible explanatory factor for the increase of economic value. The positive impact of the presence of facilities was also found in a study by de Groot *et al.* (2010). Furthermore, the creative sector is strongly represented in the Oude Noorden area. A study by Brouwer (2009, p. 15) shows that the presence of this sector positively impacts the economic value of an area. Brouwer notes that this effect is particularly found in deprived areas.

Beside these functional characteristics, there are physical characteristics that explain a high increase of economic values. The area has a high share of buildings dating from before 1906; the share of these buildings in the housing stock (mostly modernized) is 33%, compared to an average of 6% in Rotterdam (COS, 2011). Visser and van Dam (2006) concluded from their study *Price of the Location* (*De prijs van de plek*) that housing dating from before 1905 is an explanation for differences in home values. The increase of economic value of the neighbourhoods that have a compact lot configuration remains lower (see figure 5).

Next to these inherent qualities of the area, the high increase of the economic value can be explained by large investments. For instance, around a refurbished square and a new square, the average home value increased by almost 1,700 euros per square meter in the period of 2000 to 2008. Undoubtedly, the historic buildings and the location adjacent to the city centre also played a significant role in this valuation.
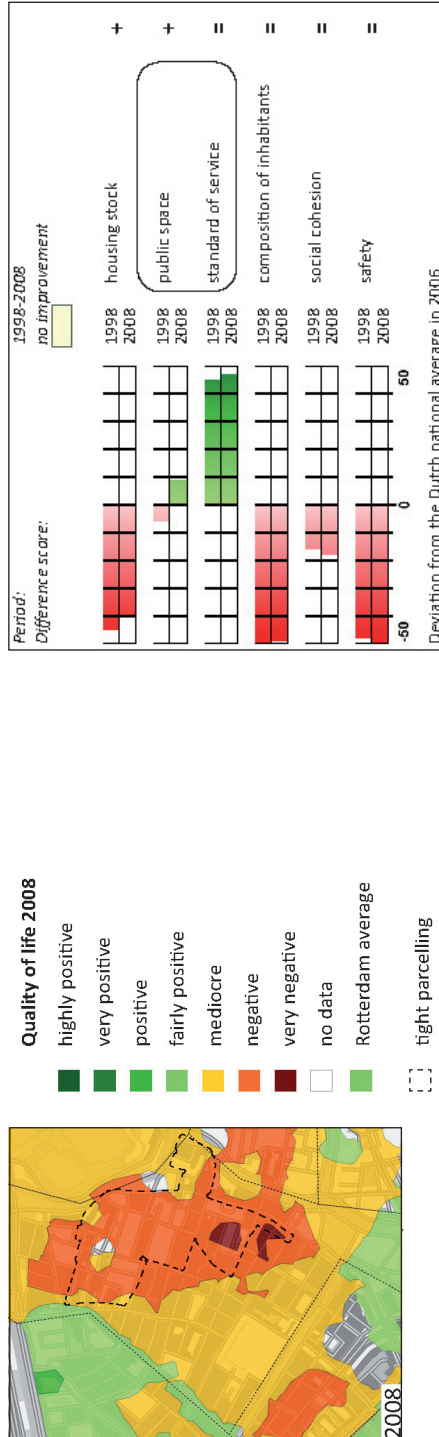
Fig. 6. Left: Livability in the Oude Noorden area in 2008 on cluster level.
Right: Development of the livability in the Oude Noorden area in the period 1998–2008
Source: www.leefbaarometer.nl (translation and addition of accents by authors)

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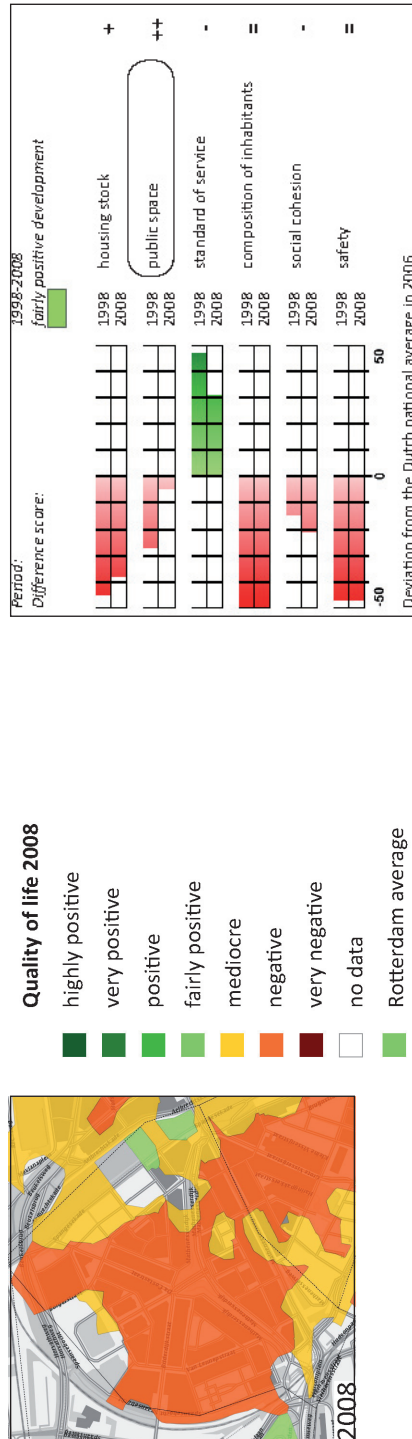


Fig. 7. Left: Livability in Spangen in 2008 on cluster level
Right: Development of the livability in Spangen in the period 1998–2008

Source: www.leefbaarometer.nl (translation and addition of accents by authors)

The aim of improving livability of areas in deprivation is in the literature (see before) connected to gentrification, particularly to the spatial process of social-economic upgrading. Compared to the increase of the economic value in the Oude Noorden area that was well above average in Rotterdam, the indicators of socio-economic development show a moderate picture. The score of the area on the Livability Monitor (*Leefbaarometer*) and the Safety Index (*Veiligheidsindex*) improved from negative to mediocre (see table 1 and figure 6).

The livability of the neighbourhoods that have tight lot configurations remains behind in this, because the livability of these neighbourhoods is negatively evaluated (see figure 6). This can be explained by the high claims on the use of public space, due to the high housing density of these neighbourhoods. However, the situation has improved in the last decade, probably due to additional investments. For example, a square was added and a building block was restructured. Also in Spangen, which demonstrates a limited increase of economic value, the livability and the safety improved (see table 1 and figure 7). The situation is still vulnerable, but greatly improved compared to the 1980s and 1990s. The improvement of the livability is visible as well in the satisfaction of the residents with their living conditions: in both areas, about two thirds of the residents are satisfied with their area. In Spangen, that is a doubling compared to 2002.

The *social index* score shows that the socio-economic situation in both areas is vulnerable, 'sufficient income' still being the main problem field of the areas: about two thirds of the residents have a low income. However, unemployment in these areas decreased between 2000 and 2010, as did the share of residents receiving social security. The form of gentrification that has been developed last decade means that not all (former) residents moved out – a large proportion stayed in their area.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Urban regeneration accompanied by a new mode of gentrification has been developed. Policies aiming at socio-economic and physical upgrading show similarities with processes that are identified in international literature. In areas of Rotterdam where investments in urban regeneration have been made, the development of economic and social values shows a diffuse image. Favourable results of livability in Rotterdam compared to many other cities in the period of 2008 to 2010 indicate the consequences of vast investments in deprived areas by the municipality, central government and housing associations according to the area-based approach. Since the 1990s there has been a sharper focus on spatial-economic development referring to urban regeneration, in other words the future value and position on the market of an area. This meant a fundamental break with the policies in place prior to the 1990s that were mainly driving modernization of social rental housing.

Changing planning conditions such as stagnation of revenue in the case of land development include a shift from urban extension towards interventions in the urban fabric. In the 1990s residential differentiation to diminish segregation became a new aim in urban regeneration. This meant giving more priority to building for higher and middle class households than economically vulnerable groups. Favourable effects might be that so called 'social climbers' will remain more permanently in the neighbourhood alongside a decrease in segregation, particularly of low income and non-western minority ethnic groups. But together with the aim to retain middle class and higher income groups, problems such as unemployment and the high share of low income groups remain structural. The two selected case studies show in depth an emphasis on spatial-economic and social-economic problems. In the last decade in both areas there was a rise in the economic values particularly in the property prices, that is partially explained by investments in urban regeneration. Moreover some neighbourhoods show an extra economic value increase. In the Oude Noorden area the differences between values of housing properties are larger than in Spangen: for instance value development in the southern part near the city centre is larger than in other parts of the neighbourhood. That means that the location issue is more dominant. Housing associations have opportunities to claim an extra rent increase for a succeeding tenant, for example, after a previous tenant moves away. Particularly, since the 1990s housing associations and the municipality have prioritized economic value development. In the case studies there are clear examples of the sale of modernised social housing around parks or public space, created by the demolition of building blocks. Also important are locations along rivers or canals. In both areas new built and modernized housing result in a higher share of owner-occupied housing at the expense of the share of social housing, which are indications of gentrification. However, gentrification in these areas remains limited to the level of building blocks and state sponsored projects, like the enterprise areas in the Oude Noorden and co-housing in Spangen. Gentrification in Rotterdam is related to larger developments, like brownfields and inner city areas, rather than individual neighbourhoods.

Though urban regeneration is accompanied by an improvement of livability and safety of neighbourhoods, including a decrease in unemployment, the socio-economic situation still is quite vulnerable. Displacement of economically vulnerable residents within the city will not bring a fundamental change in the employment structure and participation in the labour market. Though the development of social and economic values shows some positive results in Rotterdam, high priority on both issues is still needed. This requires active cooperation, involving schools, housing associations and e.g. organizations of local businesses to avoid a situation that special qualities referring to the social and urban fabric are modernized or bulldozed away.

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# REVIEW ARTICLES

**Ivana HVIŽĎÁKOVÁ\* , Nataša URBANČÍKOVÁ\***

## THE LEVEL OF SOCIAL CAPITAL, INNOVATION AND COMPETITIVENESS IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU)

## 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Social capital has become a widely accepted concept in the field of politics, sociology and the economy, thanks to the groundwork of authors Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. Bourdieu's thoughts on the benefits individuals obtain through group membership (Bourdieu, 1986) and Coleman's contribution to the research on the transfer of social capital through education from generation to generation (Coleman, 1988), led to the current concept of social capital. Putnam's definition includes factors of trust, network structures and norms, which support cooperation between subjects in a society leading to mutual benefits. Putnam thus used the original social capital of individuals (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988) and formed the concept of collective-territorial social capital.

Extending the concept of social capital to the level of community and region made it a concrete concept of the society which enables people to cooperate for common interests (van Oorschot, Arts and Gelissen, 2006). Collective behaviour should be connected to general trust, which can be found in social networks and voluntary associations, because repeated interaction leads to the creation of the

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norm of general reciprocity and reliability between members of a large group (Putnam, 2000). Societies in which mutual reciprocity is present are more efficient, because reciprocity contributes to beneficial collective behavior (van Oorschot, Arts and Gelissen, 2006).

Social capital, like other aggregate and multidimensional concepts, is hard to measure. Many authors analyze social capital through its three basic dimensions (components) – trust, norms and networks (i.e. Dakhli and de Clarcq, 2004; Doh and Acs, 2010).

## 2. SOCIAL CAPITAL BENEFITS

Social capital is nowadays considered as the fourth type of capital alongside the financial, human and physical capital. Physical capital, which has been simplistically regarded as the main source of economic growth in the past, explains the economic results jointly with human and social capital and their interactions (Piazza-Georgi, 2002). Social capital can be understood also as a partnership (especially public-private partnership) (Hudec, 2007), which is an inseparable part of human actions and its effective realization yields positive synergic effects (Sucháček and Koľveková, 2005). Social capital can have impact on career success and the creation of human capital on the individual level, on the inter-firm level it enables the exchange of resources and innovation of products and finally, on the national level it influences the economic development and growth (Zhang and Fung, 2006).

### 2.1. Benefits in Terms of Innovation

Over the last 50 years the concept of innovation has undergone many changes. At first, it was considered an event that was the result of inventors' and researchers' knowledge. Today, innovation is regarded as the result of a process that depends on the interactions and exchange of knowledge between diverse subjects (Landry, Amara and Lamari, 2002). It is 'the process of introducing a new product or service to the market, […] an interactive process involving both formal and informal relationships among various actors interacting through social networks' (Doh and Acs, 2010, p. 241). Innovation in this sense is the combination of research and development and social capital.

The relationship between social capital and innovation faces certain limitations. The results of research differ, some are positive (e.g. Coleman, 1988), some are negative (e.g. Dasgupta, 2000). Generally, developed social capital has a positive impact on innovation (Doh and Acs, 2010) and societies with low levels of social capital are exposed to higher transaction costs (Maskell, 2000).

Social capital supports the flow of knowledge within (regional and local) economies, and thus becomes an important indirect source of innovation (Miguélez, Moreno and Artís, 2011). In regions where the relationships are based on trust, common values, solidarity and mutual support, there is higher membership in social organizations and social capital is on a higher level, while low trust can result in lower innovation (Putnam, 1995). The research results dealing with the relationship between social capital and innovations are summarized in table 1.

Table 1. Social capital and innovation

| Authors | Social capital | Innovation | Sample | Results |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Doh and Acs (2010) | Trust, networks, norms | The number of patents, R&D expenditures | 53 countries | Social capital has a positive impact on innovation |
| Ackomak and ter Weel (2006) | Trust | The number of patent applications, ratio of R&D employees on total employment in the business sector | 102 European regions | Trust has a positive impact on the number of patents |
| Dakhli and de Clercq (2004) | Networks, general and institutional trust, norms | The number of patents, R&D expenditures, export of high-technology firms | 59 countries (30 from Europe) | None of the dimensions of social capital influence the number of patents. Higher institutional trust supports the export of high-technology. Higher norms lower the export of high-technology |

Source: self-processed based on Akcomak (2006), Dakhli and de Clercq (2004), Doh and Acs (2010).

## 2.2. Benefits in Terms of Competitiveness

National and regional competitiveness is becoming more connected to the main intangible inputs – the workforce and social capital (Nielsen, 2000). Also, the authors of the Global Competitiveness Report 2008–2009 (p. 3) define competitiveness as the 'the set of institutions, policies and factors that determine the level of productivity of a country'. Competitiveness is understood as the ability of the country to produce higher level of income for its citizens and also the probability that the country will grow faster in the medium to long term (Global Competitiveness Report 2008–2009). Therefore, competitiveness is generally seen as the achievement of prosperity and well-being of the population (Hudec, 2007). Socio-

economic factors like culture, values, the accumulation of social capital and the existence of social networks are the most important factors for the long-term international competitiveness and economic development (Grupe and Rose, 2010).

Countries or regions with high levels of social capital are associated with higher levels of political and economic performance (Putnam, 2000) and also with the growth of competitiveness (Skokan, 2004). Access to social capital means higher competitiveness and social solidarity, while lack of social capital is related to missing economic success and consequently to social exclusion (Harloe, 2001). The main existing research results dealing with the relationship between social capital and competitiveness are summarized in table 2.

Table 2. Social capital and competitiveness

| Authors | Social capital | Competitiveness | Sample | Results |
|---------|----------------|-----------------|--------|---------|
| Bronisz and Heijman (2010) | Knowledge (the number of students with higher secondary, vocational and university education), associational activity (the number of non-state organizations, volunteers, cultural activities and other), local election participation | Competitiveness index defined as:<br><br>– inputs: business density, economic participation, knowledge-based firms<br><br>– outputs: GDP *per capita*,<br><br>– outcomes: unemployment and income | 16 regions in Poland | Social capital has a positive impact on growth and competitiveness of regions in Poland |
| Ackomak and ter Weel (2006) | Trust | growth of GDP *per capita* | 102 European regions | Social capital has a direct influence on the economic results. Innovations represent an important element, through which social capital influences the economic growth |
| Knack and Keefer (1997) | General trust and norms | Average annual growth of income per capita,<br><br>GDP *per capita* | 29 countries | Trust and civic norms have a positive impact on economic growth and prosperity |

Source: self-processed based on Akcomak and ter Weel (2006), Bronisz and Heijman (2010), Knack and Keefer (1997).

Generally, innovation activities represent the base for future competitiveness in the form of new knowledge and products, thus increasing the effectiveness of the economy (Bobáková, 2007). Innovation processes prosper also due to trust, networks and norms, which lower transaction costs, increase the quality and quantity of information, facilitate coordination and lower the level of common problems. Social capital strengthens innovation and innovations generate economic growth and development (Nielsen, 2003). This paper analyzes the level of social capital, innovation and competitiveness in the EU countries, and their mutual relationship based on the main existing research of the respective indicators.

## 3. METHODOLOGY

The aim of the paper is to investigate the relationship between the level of social capital and innovation and competitiveness in the EU countries. Existing research justifies setting the following two research hypothesis:
- A positive dependence exists between social capital and innovation.
- A positive dependence exists between social capital and competitiveness.

The research relies on three key representative sources. The basis for the comparison in the area of innovation is the European Innovation Scoreboard 2009 (EIS). For the purpose of the paper five EU countries from each innovation category were chosen, except for the last category, where only three EU countries were available. The data used for assessing social capital come from the last wave of the European Values Study (EVS) releazed in 2008. The data used for assessing the competitiveness of countries comes from the Global Competitiveness Report 2008–2009 (GCR).

The relationship between the social capital dimensions, innovation and competitiveness is verified using the Pearson correlation coefficients and the general model of linear regression, which can be expressed in the following form (Hatrak, 2007):

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{i1} + \beta_2 X_{i2} + \ldots + \beta_k X_{ik} + u_i \qquad (1)$$
$$i = 1, 2, \ldots, n$$

where y represents the dependent variable (innovation or competitiveness), $X_1$, $X_2$, …, $X_k$, are the independent variables (the individual dimensions of social capital), u is the unobservable error estimate and parameters $\beta_0$, $\beta_1$, $\beta_2$, …, $\beta_k$ are the coefficients which should be estimated. In the paper two models of linear regression are used, which were tested for the presence of normality distribution (Jarque-Bera Normality test), heteroscedasticity (Breusch-Pagan test), autocorrelation (Durbin-Watson test) and multicollinearity.

## 3.1. Social Capital Measurement

Based on the previous research into social capital (van Oorschot , Arts and Ge-lissen, 2006; Knack and Keefer, 1997), social capital is measured using the fol-lowing dimensions (see table 3): trust, networks and civism (term given by van Oorschot to social norms and political engagement). Each dimension is analyzed by two aspects, while each aspect is measured using EVS questions.

Table 3. Social capital dimensions

| Dimension | | | Question |
|---|---|---|---|
| Trust | General trust | | Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you cannot be too careful in dealing with people? |
| | | | Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair? |
| | Institutional trust | | Please look at this card and tell me, for each item listed, how much confidence you have in them, is it a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all? |
| Networks | Formal networks | | Please look carefully at the following list of voluntary organizations and activities and say which, if any, do you belong to? |
| | | | Please look carefully at the following list of voluntary organizations and activities and say which, if any, are you currently doing unpaid voluntary work for? |
| | Informal networks | Socializing with friends | How important are friends and acquaintances in your life? |
| | | Socializing with family | To what extent do you feel concerned about the living conditions of your immediate family? |
| | | | How important is family in your life? |
| Civism | Social norms | | Please tell me for each of the following whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between |
| | Political engagement | | When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never? |
| | | | How often do you follow politics in the news on television or on the radio or in the daily papers? |

Source: self-processed based on data: EVS (2011), van Oorschot, Arts and Gelissen, (2006).

**Trust:** this dimension distinguishes between general and institutional trust. General trust, also called interpersonal trust, is assessed by questions examining trust or distrust. Institutional trust is measured by questions examining the trust towards different institutions (church, armed forces, education system, the press, trade unions, the police, parliament, civil service, social security system, European Union, NATO, United Nations Organization, health care system, justice system, major companies, environmental organizations, political parties, government).

**Networks:** this dimension is divided into formal (membership of voluntary organizations and working unpaid for a voluntary organization) and informal (socializing with friends and family).

**Civism:** the third dimension of social capital represents the characteristics of people's attitudes and behaviour. Social norms of morality are measured by questions dealing with justifiable/unjustifiable behaviour of respondents in the case of, for example cheating on taxes, claiming state benefits respondents are not entitled to, lying in their own interest and other (together 22 questions). Political engagement is assessed by the degree to which respondents follow politics in the media, and discuss political matters with friends.

### 3.2. Summary Innovation Index in EIS

The Summary Innovation Index (SII) consists of composite innovation sub-indices (Human resources, Finance and support, Firm investments, Entrepreneurship, Throughputs, Innovators and Economic effects). The seven dimensions are then divided into three blocks (Enablers, Firm activities, Outputs). The block Enablers covers the main drivers of innovation, which are external to the company, the block Firm activities deals with the innovation activity of companies and the block Outputs covers outputs of company activities (European Innovation Scoreboard, 2009).

For the purpose of the paper, the following countries were chosen based on EIS: Denmark, Great Britain, Germany, Finland, Sweden, Austria, Belgium, Netherlands, Estonia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Greece, Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Romania, Latvia and Bulgaria.

### 3.3. Global Competitiveness Index in GCR

The Global Competitiveness Index (GCI) is based on 12 basic pillars of economic competitiveness (Institutions, Infrastructure, Macroeconomic stability, Health and primary education, Higher education and training, Goods market efficiency, Labour market efficiency, Financial market sophistication, Technological readi-

ness, Market size, Business sophistication and Innovation). Individual pillars have different influence on the development of countries; therefore GCI divides these pillars and countries into three development stages (1. Factor-driven stage, 2. Efficiency-driven stage, 3. Innovation-driven stage). Based on GCI 2008–2009 Bulgaria and Romania belong to the second development stage; Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Poland belong to the transition stage between the second and third stages, while the remaining analyzed countries belong to the innovation-driven stage, i.e. the last stage (Global Competitiveness Report 2008–2009).

## 4. STRUCTURED METADATA

Metadata are adopted and structured for the purpose of analyzing correlations. Table 4 depicts the summary results for individual countries in the area of innovation, competitiveness and social capital. The countries are ranked in a descending order, based on the results of the Summary Innovation Index: Sweden, Finland, Germany, Great Britain and Denmark belong to the innovation leaders; Austria, Belgium, Netherlands, Estonia and Slovenia belong to innovation followers; the Czech Republic, Greece, Slovakia, Poland and Lithuania belong to moderate innovators; and Romania, Latvia and Bulgaria belong to the catching-up countries. The values of innovation are the values of SII of individual countries, which represent the unweighted composite index. The values of competitiveness are the results of GCI of individual countries, which represent the weighted composite index. The calculation procedure of SII and GCI is stated in the EIS and GCR. The values of social capital represent the percentage of responses to each question. Questions relating to formal networks, social norms and trust in institutions are averaged, in each category of questions, *per se*.

Table 5 contains the results of correlation coefficients and the p-values for each dimension of social capital, innovation and competitiveness. The values of the Pearson correlation coefficient point to a strong and positive dependence between innovation and these social capital dimensions: participation in voluntary organizations, friends important, norms and trust. This means that the innovation of countries is significantly related to strengthening of trust, participation, norms and socializing with friends. From the stated follows that the first hypothesis (a positive dependence exists between social capital and innovation) was confirmed. It concerns the dimensions network and trust.

The same results of strong and positive dependence are detected also in the case of competitiveness. Therefore, if the competitiveness of a country increases, this is significantly related to the level of trust, participation and socializing with friends. However, strong and negative dependence exists between competitive-

Table 4. Overview of the results in individual areas

| Country | Innovation | Competitiveness | Social capital | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | networks | | | | | civism | | | trust | |
| | | | formal networks* | | informal networks | | | | | political engagement | | general trust | |
| | | | | | networks | socializing with family | | social norms* | | | | |
| | | | | | socializing with friends | | | | | | | |
| | | | particip. | voluntary work | friends important | family important | family (living conditions) | norms | politics (media) | politics (friends) | trust | fairness |
| Sweden | 0.636 | 5.530 | 0.091 | 0.040 | 0.552 | 0.925 | 0.882 | 0.373 | 0.657 | 0.112 | 0.707 | 0.072 |
| Finland | 0.622 | 5.500 | 0.106 | 0.043 | 0.458 | 0.844 | 0.100 | 0.371 | 0.395 | 0.116 | 0.647 | 0.027 |
| Germany | 0.596 | 5.460 | 0.048 | 0.021 | 0.426 | 0.779 | 0.829 | 0.422 | 0.575 | 0.235 | 0.388 | 0.049 |
| Great Britain | 0.575 | 5.300 | 0.064 | 0.023 | 0.632 | 0.897 | 0.364 | 0.466 | 0.347 | 0.129 | 0.403 | 0.044 |
| Denmark | 0.574 | 5.580 | 0.183 | 0.326 | 0.606 | 0.879 | 0.716 | 0.454 | 0.684 | 0.274 | 0.76 | 0.233 |
| Austria | 0.536 | 5.230 | 0.063 | 0.032 | 0.568 | 0.790 | 0.319 | 0.459 | 0.521 | 0.172 | 0.368 | 0.098 |
| Belgium | 0.516 | 5.140 | 0.087 | 0.036 | 0.463 | 0.871 | 0.762 | 0.371 | 0.483 | 0.092 | 0.346 | 0.038 |
| Netherlands | 0.491 | 5.410 | 0.209 | 0.070 | 0.613 | 0.859 | 0.767 | 0.396 | 0.530 | 0.168 | 0.617 | 0.034 |
| Estonia | 0.481 | 4.670 | 0.054 | 0.028 | 0.289 | 0.750 | 0.618 | 0.506 | 0.485 | 0.115 | 0.326 | 0.044 |
| Slovenia | 0.466 | 4.500 | 0.072 | 0.041 | 0.486 | 0.835 | 0.461 | 0.485 | 0.429 | 0.067 | 0.242 | 0.062 |
| Czech Republic | 0.415 | 4.620 | 0.057 | 0.036 | 0.379 | 0.785 | 0.155 | 0.362 | 0.267 | 0.099 | 0.301 | 0.043 |
| Greece | 0.370 | 4.110 | 0.026 | 0.016 | 0.459 | 0.864 | 0.843 | 0.515 | 0.525 | 0.226 | 0.213 | 0.018 |
| Slovakia | 0.331 | 4.400 | 0.032 | 0.016 | 0.439 | 0.897 | 0.491 | 0.367 | 0.467 | 0.091 | 0.126 | 0.026 |
| Poland | 0.317 | 4.280 | 0.016 | 0.007 | 0.384 | 0.865 | 0.693 | 0.463 | 0.347 | 0.140 | 0.276 | 0.051 |
| Lithuania | 0.313 | 4.450 | 0.028 | 0.016 | 0.183 | 0.619 | 0.725 | 0.438 | 0.580 | 0.094 | 0.299 | 0.023 |
| Romania | 0.294 | 4.100 | 0.029 | 0.019 | 0.286 | 0.866 | 0.655 | 0.588 | 0.365 | 0.067 | 0.176 | 0.084 |
| Latvia | 0.261 | 4.260 | 0.033 | 0.027 | 0.274 | 0.684 | 0.539 | 0.481 | 0.524 | 0.147 | 0.255 | 0.027 |
| Bulgaria | 0.231 | 4.030 | 0.022 | 0.016 | 0.382 | 0.864 | 0.810 | 0.594 | 0.510 | 0.157 | 0.179 | 0.056 |

* Average per question category.

Source: self-processed based on data European Innovation Scoreboard (2009), EVS (2011), Global Competitiveness Report 2008–2009.

ness and norms. The second hypothesis was confirmed only in the case of social capital dimensions networks and trust. In case of the dimension norms, the dependence was negative. Regarding other dependencies, the statistical significance, which should be confirmed by the values of Pearson correlation coefficient, was not proven.

Table 5. Values of Pearson correlation coefficient and the corresponding p-values

| | | | Innovation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Innovation | | | ***** |
| Competitiveness | | | 0.932 (< 0.001) |
| Social capital | networks | participation | 0.592 (0.010) |
| | | voluntary work | 0.342 (0.165) |
| | | friends important | 0.674 (0.002) |
| | | family important | 0.307 (0.215) |
| | | family (living conditions) | −0.164 (0.514) |
| | civism | norms | −0.530 (0.024) |
| | | politics (media) | 0.238 (0.342) |
| | | politics (friends) | 0.241 (0.336) |
| | trust | trust | 0.774 (< 0.001) |
| | | fairness | 0.292 (0.239) |
| | | institutional trust | 0.030 (0.907) |

Source: self-processed.

Table 6 shows the results of linear regression. At first, all dimensions of social capital were included in the observation. The p-values were statistically significant in the case of innovation, socializing with friends and trust, and in the case of competitiveness, socializing with friends, norms and trust.

The models of linear regression can be expressed as follows:

Innovation = 0.14530 + 0.34926 friends important + 0.40092 trust + u.

The model can be accepted given the low p-value of 0.0002275 and the coefficient of determination of 62.96%.

Competitiveness = 4.5075+1.1258 friends important −1.9144 norms + 1.8242 trust + u.

Analogically, the model can be accepted given the p-value of 7.182e-06 and the value of coefficient of determination 80.81%.

Both independent variables have a positive impact on innovation, while trust has a greater influence, although only by a slight margin. If trust and socializing with friends increases in a country, the innovation is higher.

Socializing with friends and trust have a positive impact on competitiveness, while norms show a negative influence. If trust and socializing with friends grow in a country, competitiveness of that country grows as well. However, if the strength of norms increases in a country, it influences the competitiveness negatively. The impact of norms is the strongest in the model.

Table 6. The results of linear regression

| Specification | | Coefficient | Standard deviation | T-statistics | P-value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Innovation | β0 | 0.14530 | 0.06956 | 2.089 | 0.05417 . |
| | Friends important | 0.34926 | 0.18843 | 1.854 | 0.08358 . |
| | Trust | 0.40092 | 0.12660 | 3.167 | 0.00638 ** |
| Competitiveness | β0 | 4.5075 | 0.5478 | 8.229 | 9.85e-07 *** |
| | Friends important | 1.1258 | 0.5862 | 1.920 | 0.075414 . |
| | Norms | −1.9144 | 0.9586 | −1.997 | 0.065642 . |
| | Trust | 1.8242 | 0.4220 | 4.323 | 0.000702 *** |
| Statistical significance: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1 | | | | | |

Source: self-processed.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The new stage of an economy driven by innovation and securing the competitiveness of a country require on the one hand the development of high-tech firms (Kraftová and Kraft, 2008), but on the other hand it is necessary to develop also the social capital in the country, which is confirmed by the research results. The

values of the Pearson correlation coefficient and linear regression show a strong and positive dependent relationship between social capital, innovation and competitiveness. Socializing with friends and especially trust from the social capital dimensions positively influence innovation and competitiveness. On the other hand, norms have a negative influence on competitiveness.

The determination of the dependence between social capital and innovativeness or competitiveness was based on already compiled indices of innovation and competitiveness, which are constructed in a more complex manner and take into account more indicators than just, for example, the number of patents in case of innovation, or GDP per capita in case of competitiveness, like other existing research studies.

The existing theoretical conclusions (e.g. Akcomak and ter Weel, 2006; Dakhli and de Clercq, 2004; Knack and Keefer, 1997), in which trust, in particular, showed a positive relationship with innovation and competitiveness of countries, are also confirmed by the results of this paper. On the other hand, in some of the existing studies (e.g. Dakhli and de Clercq, 2004) norms had a negative influence on innovation of countries or regions, which is confirmed by the results of correlation coefficients; however, in case of regression analysis, they were not statistically significant. It can be concluded that individual dimensions of social capital have a different impact on innovation or competitiveness, but also, that there exists a strong relationship between innovation and competitiveness. It has been proven in several studies (Clark and Ken, 1998; Porter, 1990) and it is natural due to the relatively strong penetration of the evaluated indicators.

The results of comparison of social capital between the EU countries show considerable differences in this area. The countries of Western Europe show a higher level of social capital than the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. According to several studies, the explanation lies in the fact that countries which experienced strong political centralization, during which an absolute monarch or state intentionally tried to eliminate competition for power, show lower levels of social capital (Fukuyama, 1995; Hudec and Urbančíková, 2008). Social capital, which possibly existed in the period before absolute centralization, was depleted. On the other hand, countries which have higher levels of social capital have never experienced a long period of centralized state power. With spread political power a large number of social organizations could prosper without such intervention and could become the base for economic cooperation (Fukuyama, 1995).

A differing standpoint is that former communist countries have a lower level of social capital due to lower level of economic development and poorer state institutions, and not because of communism. The problem of these countries is mainly corruption (Fidrmuc and Gerxhani, 2008). Also the main difference between countries is no longer institutions, but culture – the character of their civil societies, the social and moral traditions, which form the base of their institutions

and which differentiate them (Fukuyama, 1995). The culture and the historical development determine the level of trust in a society, which is a social capital dimension that improves the state of the economic system and shapes civic attitudes (Mularska-Kucharek and Brzeziński, 2012).

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# IMPACT OF PROTECTED AREAS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUBURBAN AREAS: THE CASE OF KRAKÓW METROPOLITAN AREA

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Suburbanization is growing in Poland and is resulting in an increasing investment pressure on suburbs. In the market economy system, which has been in place in Poland for a relatively short time, land ownership is changing on a large scale and many hitherto agricultural areas are being converted into residential areas. Open areas, with naturally attractive locations, are most often targeted (Drzazga and Ratajczyk, 2005). Similar trends have been observed and described for the United States and western Europe (Watson, Plattus and Shibley, 2003; Diez de Pablo and Camina del Amo, 2009). For local communities, sale of land for non-agricultural use brings profits, both in terms of sale revenue and growing fiscal revenue for the communes. Sadly, however, the unrestrained urban sprawl usually leads to spatial chaos, as pointed out by authors including Lisowski and Grochowski (2008), Hołuj and Hołuj (2010) and Forman (2008).

The chaotic urban sprawl results in increasing pressure on areas of high natural value, causing landscape degradation, biodiversity decline and pollution. In highly developed regions, designating a protected area helps to preserve the natural environment and landscape in a relatively good condition, but at the same time severely limits settlement and business activities. Restrictions resulting from nature conservation priorities are often perceived by local communities as an obstacle to local development, leading to conflicts (Fortin and Gagnon, 1999; Getzner, 2003).

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From the local development perspective, the presence of areas of natural value in a commune should be an asset and bring benefits to the local community. These benefits should be intangible, including a perceived higher quality of life, pride of living in an area of natural value and health benefits, as well as tangible, favouring the economic development of the commune (Zawilińska, 2012). The population's support for the existence of a protected area tends to grow with the profits it brings (Zawilińska, 2010). A local population that is indifferent or hostile to the designation of an area as protected will not accept restrictions it entails; they might attempt to eliminate those restrictions, to reduce the protected area or even to eliminate its designation as such. Efforts should therefore be made to recognise the role that protected areas play in local social and economic systems and to develop mechanisms to enhance the beneficial effects of protected areas to the local communities.

## 2. OBJECTIVE, SCOPE AND METHOD OF RESEARCH

This paper presents part of the results of a broader research that was conducted in June 2012 in Kraków Metropolitan Area (KMA) and looked into the economic effects of spatial development (Brańka, Hołuj and Zawilińska, 2012). Kraków Metropolitan Area includes the city of Kraków and 50 surrounding communes (gmina). The total area of KMA is 406,511 hectares, i.e. 26.8% of Małopolskie Voivodeship. The research covered all KMA communes excluding the city of Kraków (number of communes n = 50) and included questionnaire surveys in the commune offices and among local residents. The questions asked to commune officials and those asked to the residents covered two thematic categories: (1) strategic and spatial planning in the commune development and (2) the impact of protected areas on the local economy. This paper concentrates on the latter thematic category.

The objective of the study has been to gain insight into the opinions of municipal offices and inhabitants of KMA on the impact of protected natural areas on the local development, as well as into the nature of interactions between the local authorities on the one side and the authorities of Ojców National Park and of Małopolskie Voivodeship Landscape Park Complex on the other.

The research was limited to analysing the impact of large-area natural protection sites (national parks, landscape parks, protected landscape areas and Natura 2000 sites) on the development of their host communes. Other types of protected sites (nature reserves, documentation sites, ecological areas, natural and scenic complexes) have not been included in the research, as their creation does not tend to have a significant economic impact on their host communes due to their small unit areas.

35 commune offices (70% of the total number) provided responses to the questions on protected areas. The respondents were staff of municipal offices within KMA, mostly employees responsible for spatial management and planning, real property management, communal services management and nature conservation. Several responses came from heads, deputy heads or secretaries of communes.

Questionnaire surveys included 15 to 20 inhabitants of each commune. After incomplete, incorrect or illegible responses were rejected, responses of 679 individuals were used for analysis in the part concerning the impact of protected areas on the local economy.

## 3. IMPACT OF PROTECTED AREAS ON LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

Designation of protected areas usually has the aim of nature conservation, but it also has a significant impact on economic development as well as strategic and spatial planning on the local and regional level. Legal protection of a given area always restricts the scope of activities possible in that area to a degree that is proportional to the protection regime. On the other hand, protected areas, especially national parks and landscape parks, contribute to promoting their regions, developing tourism and taking actions to protect the environment.

Comprehensive studies on the impact of protected areas on social and economic development are lacking in Polish literature. On the other hand, numerous studies explore detailed issues related to conducting activities in protected areas (e.g. Bołtromiuk, 2003; Bołtromiuk ed., 2011; Osiniak, Poskrobko and Sadowski, 1993), focussing mainly on development of tourism (e.g. Partyka ed., 2002; Kasprzak and Raszka, 1996) and existing conflicts of functions (e.g. Domański and, Partyka, 1992; Hibszer and Partyka ed., 2005; Hołuj, 2012; Królikowska, 2007). The few existing studies on the economic context of a protected area's functioning include the results of a research by Bołtromiuk (2010), presenting Białowieża National Park as an employer, business counterpart, investor, consumer of services, and real property owner.

According to authors including Konopka (2001), Owsiak *et al*. (2001), Raszka, Szczepański and Motycki (2009), most benefits and opportunities of territories located within, or adjacent to, protected areas come from tourism, bio-agriculture and craft. Local authorities and inhabitants usually perceive the key role of national parks and landscape parks in promotion, education, tourism development and nature conservation (Osiniak, Poskrobko and Sadowski, 1993; Zawilińska, 2010; Zimniewicz, 2005). Downsides of the existence of protected areas mainly include restrictions on land development and business. In areas involving high protection regime even more restrictions are present, e.g. limited right to move freely in for-

ests. These issues have been described in detail in studies concerning Białowieża Forest (Poskrobko ed., 1996) and Wigry National Park (Osiniak, Poskrobko and Sadowski, 1993). Limitations and obstacles to business, as well as unemployment in protected areas, have also been pointed out by Popławski (2005) and Szczepanowski (2007), while Gotkiewicz (2001) and Stachowiak (2007) signalled lower profitability of agriculture in protected areas.

More references to the impact of protected areas on social and economic development within their borders or in their neighbourhood are to be found in English language sources. They focus on national parks and include analyzes of the economic impact of tourists' visits in those parks (e.g. Stynes *et al*., 2000; Huhtala, 2007; Saayman and Saayman, 2006; Eagles, 2002; Driml, 2010). The effect of national parks on adjacent areas has been studied in Austria, where local governments' representatives found national parks very important and generally beneficial for the economy of local communes. Those benefits stem mostly from the development of tourism and agriculture, as well as the emergence of new investment projects and businesses (Getzner, 2003). The author also points out that the economic success of national parks largely depends on planning and decision-making processes and the involvement of local and regional stakeholders, as well as cooperation between local governments and national park authorities.

Another issue that has been explored in scientific literature is the planning and management of social and economic development of territories hosting protected areas. A co-management model for protected areas, based on systematic cooperation between park authorities, local governments, residents, businesses and non-governmental organizations, is being increasingly recommended (e.g. Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari and Oviedo, 2004; Plummer, Fennell, 2009). The need for adopting a participatory approach to managing all categories of protected areas has also been pointed out in many IUCN publications (e.g. Davey, 1998; Dudley ed., 2008; Phillips, 2002). In Poland, the concept of social participation in the management of protected areas is not yet popular, but is emphasised in the spatial planning and change management processes in administrative units (Brańka and Hołuj, 2012; Hołuj, 2012; Zachariasz ed., 2012).

The Nature Conservation Act of April 16, 2004 (published in *Dziennik Ustaw* no. 92, item 880, as amended) requires nature conservation plans to be drawn up for each national park, nature reserve and landscape park for the period of 20 years. For Natura 2000 sites, conservation measure plans are drawn up for the period of 10 years. They include guidelines for addressing internal or external risks in comprehensive spatial development plans (*studium uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego*) of the communes as well as land use plans of communes and voivodeships. Nature conservation plans are consulted with the relevant commune councils prior to their adoption. Regrettably, as Ptaszycka-Jackowska (2011) pointed out, established methods and principles of incorporating

nature conservation issues in spatial planning are lacking in Poland. The choice of methods depends on the environmental awareness of planners, officials, consulting and consulted bodies and local residents. Often the negotiating skills and proactive attitude of protected areas' managers towards the local authorities are the key.

Landscape parks should be the areas where actions aiming at development programming and fostering initiatives to reconcile nature conservation with social and economic objectives are particularly relevant. According to Mizgajski (2008), they should become training grounds for developing patterns of such approaches since, unlike national parks and nature reserves, landscape parks are areas largely open to human activity. In practice, however, harmonious development in landscape parks is often hampered, as their multiple functions entail conflicts of interests and also because no sufficient legal, administrative and financial means are in place for the implementation of legal obligations (Zawilińska, 2010). Nature conservation and landscape protection in those parks is often reduced to a list of prohibitions, an approach ill-suited to face the 21st-century challenges of sustainable development, formulated decades ago by precursors of landscape parks (Schubert, 2008).

## 4. NATURE CONSERVATION AREAS IN KRAKÓW METROPOLITAN AREA

Due to its location at the meeting point of several geographic units, Kraków Metropolitan Area is naturally diverse. Its northern part is divided between Silesia–Kraków Upland (Kraków–Częstochowa Upland macroregion) and Małopolska Upland (Nida Basin macroregion), while the southern part is in Outer Western Carpathians (West-Beskidian Foothills and Western Beskids macroregions). These two major parts are divided latitudinally by Subcarpathian depressions: Kraków Gate and Sandomierz Basin.

The areas with best preserved natural environment have been designated as protected areas of different categories, covering a total of 23.6% of KMA. This share is far lower than for the entire Małopolska Voivodeship (52.1%) and also lower than for Poland as a whole (32.5%). However, it is still significant given that KMA consists of densely populated, intensively developed urban and suburban areas. The areas of high protection regime (i.e. located within Ojców National Park and nature reserves) make up only 0.9% of KMA and 3.6% of the total protected area within KMA. Landscape parks are the dominant nature conservation form in KMA, accounting for nearly 14% of KMA and 58.7% of protected areas within KMA (table 1, figure 1);[1] these percentages are much higher than the shares

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[1]  KMA includes the following landscape parks or their parts: Little Beskids LP, Bielany–Tyniec LP, Dłubnia LP, Kraków Valleys LP, Eagle Nests LP, Rudno LP, Tenczynek LP, Wiśnicz–Lipnica LP.

of landscape park areas both in Małopolskie Voivodeship and in Poland (table 1). Another significant protection category in KMA are protected landscape areas, covering 8.8% of KMA and 37.4% of its total protected area (table 1, figure 1).[2]

Table 1. Share of protected areas in the total areas of Kraków Metropolitan Area, Małopolskie Voivodeship and Poland

| Protected areas | % share of total area | | | % share of area of protected areas | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | KMA | Małopolskie | Poland | KMA | Małopolskie |
| National parks | 0.53 | 2.51 | 1.01 | 2.23 | 4.81 |
| Landscape parks* | 13.87 | 11.58 | 8.09 | 58.68 | 22.25 |
| Protected landscape areas* | 8.83 | 37.66 | 22.36 | 37.37 | 72.34 |
| Other protected areas | 0.41 | 0.31 | 1.00 | 1.72 | 0.60 |
| Total protected areas | 23.64 | 52.06 | 32.46 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

* Excluding the areas of nature reserves, documentation sites, ecological areas, natural and scenic complexes within the borders of landscape parks.

Source: own calculation based on Local Data Bank (BDL) of the Central Statistical Office of Poland (GUS). Situation as of 2011.
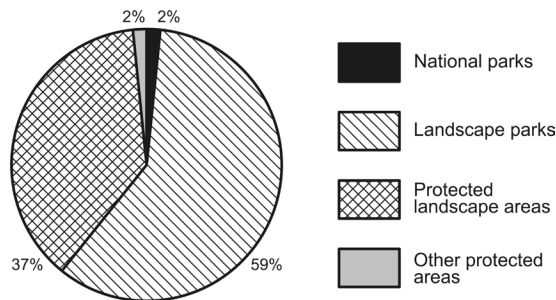


Fig. 1. Structure of protected areas in Kraków Metropolitan Area

Source: own calculation based on Local Data Bank (BDL) of the Central Statistical Office of Poland (GUS). Situation as of 2011

Beside the protected areas listed above, KMA hosts Natura 2000 sites, covering 4.3% of its area. Most of them are located within the national park, landscape

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[2]  KMA includes the following protected landscape areas or their parts: Bratucice PLA, Koszyce PLA, Miechów Upland PLA, South Małopolska PLA, West Wiśnicz Foothills PLA and East Wiśnicz Foothills PLA.

parks and protected lanscape areas. Special bird protection areas dominate, accounting for around two-thirds of the total area, while special habitat protection areas account for one-third.

The areas of highest natural value within KMA are protected as part of Ojców National Park and nature reserves. Their history dates back to the 1920s, when the project of a nature reserve in the Prądnik River valley was first developed by a team led by Prof. W. Szafer. It served as a basis for Ojców National Park, created in 1956 (Gradziński, Gradziński and Michalik, 1994). It is the smallest national park in Poland, covering just 2,145.7 ha, of which 11.7% is under strict protection. The majority of the Park (65.4%) is under partial protection and 22.9% under landscape protection. The buffer protection zone surrounding the Park has an area of 6,777 ha. The Park's suburban location puts it under a severe pressure of tourist visits and investment projects. The Park is visited by approx. 400,000 tourists per year. In relation to its small area, this means a tourist pressure of 186.4 visitors per hectare, which is one of the highest in Poland, after Karkonosze National Park and Pieniny National Park (*Ochrona środowiska*, 2011). This is further exacerbated by two roads crossing the Park: regional road no. 773 from Skała to Sułoszowa and a road from Skała to Jerzmanowice. Another factor which hampers protection is high (around one-third) share of private land ownership within the Park.

The vast majority of protected areas within KMA have medium or low protection regime, which allows them to be used economically to a high extent. It is worth recalling that the idea of introducing protected area designations other than national parks and nature reserves in Poland was born in late 1940s in the community of architects and spatial planners from Kraków. It was first formulated by Z. Novák and his team from Kraków Technical University. As part of their plans concerning the Kraków-Częstochowa Upland, they proposed to create Jura Landscape Park (Novák, Bogdanowski and Łuczyńska-Bruzda, 1967), a vast recreational area for the residents of Kraków and Upper Silesia, designed primarily to protect the landscape and its aesthetic value (Bogdanowski, 1978). Novák (1963) defined the landscape park as an 'area of attractive landscape, with significant scenic and cultural value, designed for various forms of leisure, both active and passive, collective and individual'. The proposal was put into practice by creating the Jura Landscape Park Complex in 1981.

The idea of creating a landscape park on the Kraków-Częstochowa Upland was a result of an accurate identification of trends in settlement development and future tourism and leisure needs of the inhabitants of quickly growing urban areas. The park was to prevent an excessive and inappropriate economic use of the area and allow its natural, cultural and scenic value to be preserved for their sustainable use by the residents of Kraków and Upper Silesia (Katowice) urban area. As the concept of landscape park evolved, more emphasis was being put on nature conservation; however, as Schubert (2008) pointed out, this was always in the context of human activity, which was the key difference between this form of protection and the pre-existing national parks and nature reserves.

## 5. LOCAL AUTHORITIES' AND RESIDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE IMPACT OF PROTECTED AREAS ON THE COMMUNES' DEVELOPMENT

According to Polish Central Statistical Office's (GUS) data, 70% of KMA communes host protected natural areas of different categories. In 30% of the communes, protected areas cover more than half of their territory. Nine communes lie entirely within legally protected areas. Replies given by commune officials during the research imply that the relative size of protected areas within a commune is not as important for the commune's development as the protection regime.

Ojców National Park covers parts of four communes. Despite the Park's relatively small area both in absolute terms and relative to the commune's areas (it covers between 2% and 16% of each commune), according to the commune officials it has a large impact on local development. Landscape parks, according to commune officials, have a much smaller influence on the communes' development, as the restrictions they impose are far less strict. Of 14 communes hosting landscape parks, their importance was described as significant for their development in eight communes, and as high – in four (table 2, figure 2). The mean response, on a scale of 1–5 (5 for 'very high importance' and 1 for 'marginal importance'), was 3.3.
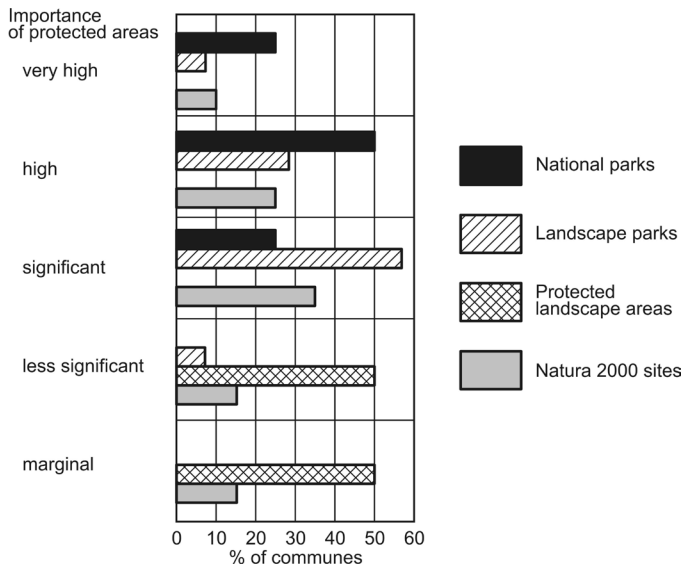


Fig. 2. Importance of protected areas in the development of communes

Source: own work based on questionnaire survey in commune offices

Table 2. Importance of protected areas in the development of communes

| Protected areas | Importance of protected areas | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | very high | | high | | significant | | less significant | | marginal |
| | no. of communes | % of communes | no. of communes | % of communes | no. of communes | % of communes | no. of communes | % of communes | no. of communes |
| National park | 1 | 25.0 | 2 | 50.0 | 1 | 25.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 |
| Landscape parks | 1 | 7.1 | 4 | 28.6 | 8 | 57.1 | 1 | 7.1 | 0 |
| Protected landscape areas | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 50.0 | 2 |
| Natura 2000 sites | 2 | 10.0 | 5 | 25.0 | 7 | 35.0 | 3 | 15.0 | 3 |

Source: own work based on questionnaire survey in commune offices.

Table 3. Impact of protected areas on the social and economic situation in communes

| Protected areas | Impact of protected areas on the social and economic situation | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | very positive | | mostly positive | | neutral | | mostly negative | | very negative |
| | no. of communes | % of communes | no. of communes | % of communes | no. of communes | % of communes | no. of communes | % of communes | no. of communes |
| National Park | 1 | 25.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 3 | 75.0 | 0 |
| Landscape parks | 1 | 7.1 | 6 | 42.9 | 2 | 14.3 | 5 | 35.7 | 0 |
| Natura 2000 sites | 1 | 5.0 | 7 | 35.0 | 6 | 30.0 | 6 | 30.0 | 0 |

Note: questions on the impact of the national park, landscape parks and Natura 2000 sites on local development were only asked in communes hosting the respective protected areas (n = 25). Responses were given in 24 communes.

Sources: own work based on questionnaire surveys in commune offices.

The questionnaire also included a question on the importance of protected landscape areas. However, that form of legal protection turned out to be largely unknown. While there are eight communes in KMA hosting such areas, in four of them the commune officials were unaware of their existence. Of the remaining four, the importance of the protected landscape areas was assessed as marginal in two and less significant in the other two (table 2, figure 2). On the other hand, in five communes which do not host protected landscape areas, their importance was assessed as significant or high, which may suggest that they were confused with other protection forms. Given these two factors, i.e. minor influence of landscape protection areas on local development and little awareness of their existence among commune officials, the officials' statements concerning that form of protection were disregarded in further analysis.

Natura 2000 sites, on the other hand, despite being the most recent nature protection form in Poland, have turned out to be far more known to commune officials, compared to protected landscape areas. This is certainly a result of a broad campaign that has been carried out in Poland. Natura 2000 sites have been designated in 24 communes of KMA. 20 of those were included in this study. The mean response on the importance of Natura 2000 sites was somewhat lower than for landscape parks (3.0 on a scale of 1–5), but the diversity of responses was higher (table 2, figure 2). This is attributable to the fact that protection scope and permitted land use forms on those areas are diverse and dependent on the types of habitats and wildlife species that each site is designed to protect. Thus, the impact of Natura 2000 sites on human economy is more diverse than that of landscape parks.

Commune officials' statements on the impact of protected areas on their communes' social and economic situation varied widely. In Ojców National Park, as many as three out of four communes declared that the impact is mostly negative. Only in one commune the impact was described as very positive (mean response, on a scale of –2 to +2, was –0.25). In communes hosting landscape parks, the opinions of the parks' impact on social and economic development were slightly more positive (mean response, on a scale of –2 to +2, was 0.21), likewise for Natura 2000 sites (mean response: 0.15). It has to be stressed, however, that opinions in communes were very diverse (table 3, figure 3).

Benefits from the existence of protected areas are perceived mostly in tourism (figure 4). In all communes whose areas are included in Ojców National Park, the Park was declared to have a very positive impact on the development of tourism. For landscape parks, the opinions were more divided. In one commune the impact of the park was thought to be neutral; in three it was mostly positive; half the communes declared that a very positive impact was observed (on a scale of –2 to +2, the mean response was 1.43). The estimated impact of landscape parks on tourism was noticeably more positive in communes located in the vicinity of Kraków than
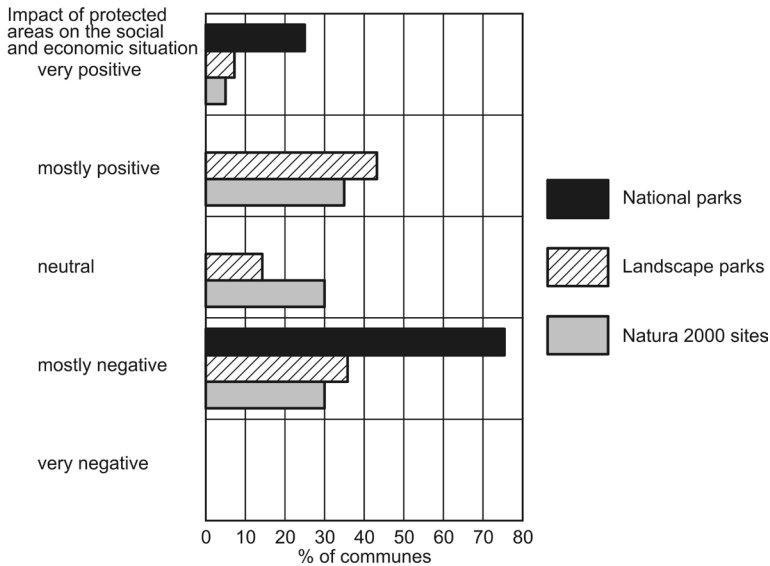
Fig. 3. Impact of protected areas on the social and economic situation in communes

Sources: own work based on questionnaire surveys in commune offices

in more remote communes. A possible explanation is that, in densely populated sub-urban communes experiencing high pressure from construction development activity, landscape parks have a more significant role to play in safeguarding the natural and scenic value and are perceived as a 'guarantor' of maintaining the attractive areas for tourism and leisure for the residents of the metropolitan area. Commune officials also notice a beneficial influence of Natura 2000 sites on tourism: in half of the communes hosting such areas, they were found to have a very positive impact on tourism development; a further quarter of the communes described the impact as mostly positive and the remaining quarter, as neutral (mean response: 1.21).

Protected areas are also seen as beneficial for the natural environment, as well as local residents' environmental awareness and quality of life (figure 4). Surprisingly, the protected areas' impact on spatial order does not seem to be perceived as positive. In one of the communes within Ojców NP the Park was found to have a mostly negative impact on spatial order; in further two communes it was found to be neutral. Similar results were obtained in a research in all of Poland's national parks (Zawilińska, 2012). Such a low result is attributable to a discrepancy of the public's views on what a national park is and what it should be. During their research in Ojców NP, Domański and Partyka (1992) realized that for most residents, a national park should ideally be orderly and clean, rather like an urban park, and have a well developed tourist infrastructure, including accommodation. 'Mess' in forests, demolitions of buildings and restrictions in land development are perceived as poor management.
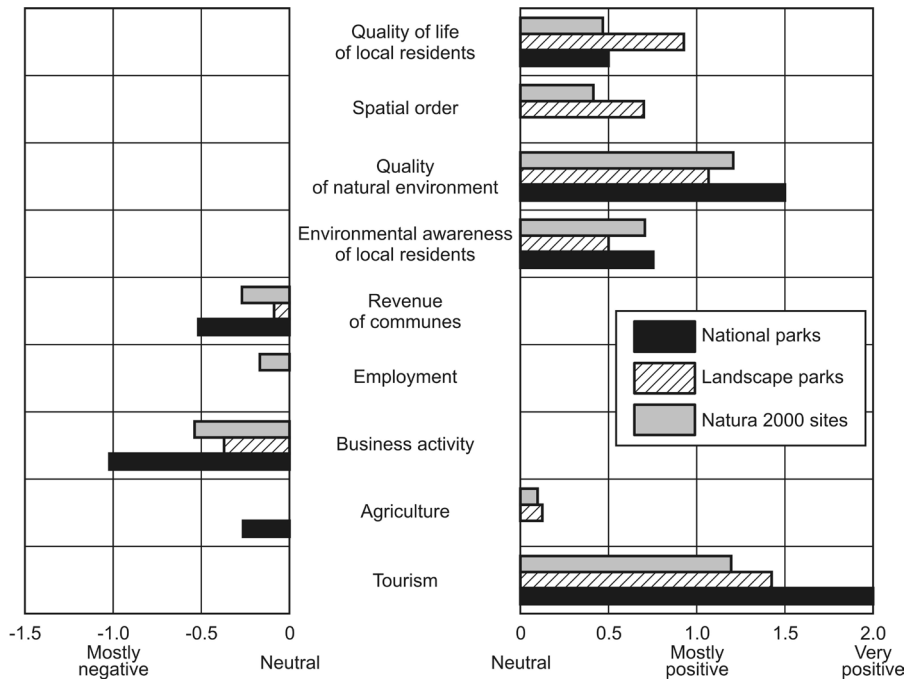
Fig. 4. Direct and indirect impact of protected areas on selected aspects of communes'
development (–2 – very negative; –1 – mostly negative; 0 – neutral; 1 – mostly positive;
2 – very positive)

Sources: own work based on surveys in commune offices

On the other hand, the impact of landscape parks on spatial order is perceived
by most respondents as mostly positive; in none of the communes, however, was
it viewed as very positive. The opinions on Natura 2000 sites in this respect were
very divergent, from mostly negative to very positive.

According to views expressed in commune offices, the impact of protected ar-
eas on economic development is mostly negative, except on tourism. Respondents
found the national park, landscape parks and Natura 2000 sites to contribute (di-
rectly and indirectly) to a decline in business activity and decrease of communes'
revenues. The national park also has a slightly negative impact on agriculture
(figure 4).

Judging from the results of interviews in commune offices, the communes
are aware of the positive effects of their areas being legally protected, resulting
in preservation of natural and scenic values, higher environmental awareness of
local residents, health benefits from lower pollution. Other benefits which were
mentioned included a reduction of construction activity and more rational man-

agement of communes' land, as well as improved image and promotion of the communes, with a resulting increase in prices of real property. Improved capacity to raise funding, including the European Union funds, was also mentioned. However, it is in terms of tourism development that the communes saw their most significant benefits, with as many as 67% of the communes pointing to this aspect. Only in two communes the respondents were unable to mention any benefits from protected areas, and in one commune they expressly stated that there were no benefits.

Almost all of the communes also perceive negative aspects of having protected areas on their territories. Protected areas are an obstacle to investment, as declared in half of the communes. They hamper business activity, as projects must be consulted, which extends the decision-making process; they drive up the costs of preparing planning documents, reduce the communes' revenue and limit private landlords' freedom in disposing of their property.

Communes hosting national parks, landscape parks or Natura 2000 sites broadly share the view that designation of protected areas should be followed by according special privileges to the communes hosting them. This view was expressed by all the communes which had any opinion in this respect (22 communes), but different specific solutions were proposed. Half of those communes expected financial compensation for lost revenue and the limited possibilities of social and economic development. That compensation, in their view, should take the form of subsidies for environmental protection, increased use of green technologies, development of tourist infrastructure and roads, promotion of the commune and ecology education. Other proposed measures, besides financial compensation, included preferential treatment when applying for funding, tax credits for local residents, guidance for communes and a bigger say for local governments on protection plans for areas within their respective territories.

Besides commune officials, also residents of KMA communes were asked on how they perceive the protected areas' impact on local development. However, the survey revealed their limited awareness concerning those areas. Ojców National Park is the best known, with 64% of the respondends (residents of communes hosting the Park, n = 66) aware of the Park's existence within their communes. Those residents' opinions on the Park's impact on the communes' economy were usually positive (the mean response was 0.77 on a scale of –2 to 2; figure 5).[3]

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[3] The survey was conducted in localities hosting the commune offices. These localities are located outside Ojców National Park, therefore a vast majority of the respondents were presumably people living outside the Park.
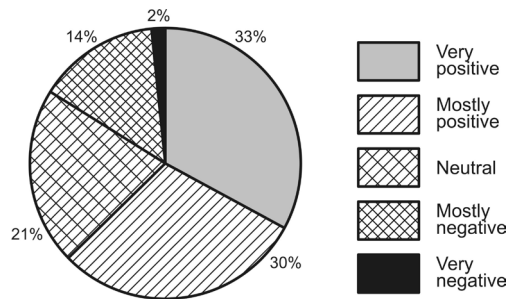
Fig. 5. General impact of Ojców National Park on the communes' economic situation,
as perceived by local residents

Sources: own work based on questionnaire surveys in commune offices

In communes hosting landscape parks, most of the respondents (n = 214) knew that there were nature protection areas within their communes, but only 39% of them correctly identified them as landscape parks. Protected landscape areas as a protection form are completely unknown to the residents: in the communes hosting them, no respondent (out of n = 80) mentioned them. Also Natura 2000 sites remain unrecognised for most part: in the communes hosting them, only 16% of respondents (n = 255) identified them as a protection form. The impact of landscape parks and Natura 2000 sites on their respective communes' economy was viewed as mostly positive. However, with such a low awareness of their existence, these views, presumably, have limited reliability and it could be inferred that, save for the National Park, protected areas do not have significant impact on the lives of local communities.

The benefits and downsides of protected areas' existence, as mentioned by the residents, did not differ much from those declared by commune officials. The positive impacts were linked mostly with nature conservation and the region's natural and scenic attractiveness, as well as economic aspects of tourism development. The negative impacts mainly included restrictions on land use, especially on development of investment projects (residential construction, industrial facilities, transport infrastructure). The residents also mentioned the nuisance caused by high numbers of tourists visiting the protected areas.

One of the main reasons why, in the communes' view, the existence of protected areas does not bring significant benefits seems to be a relatively low degree of cooperation between the authorities of communes and those of the protected areas. The approach to protected areas' management involving partnership and cooperation between local governments and parks' authorities, as broadly recommended in foreign literature, is not in place in any of KMA communes. Only one commune within Ojców NP declares systematic contacts and regular cooperation with the Park. Most interactions between commune offices and protected areas' managements are limited to consultations required by law (half the communes

of Ojców NP and 64% communes hosting parks of the Małopolskie Voivodeship Landscape Park Complex) or occasional consultations relating to specific actions, as well as joint initiatives which are very rare (28% of communes hosting parts of landscape parks) – see figure 6.
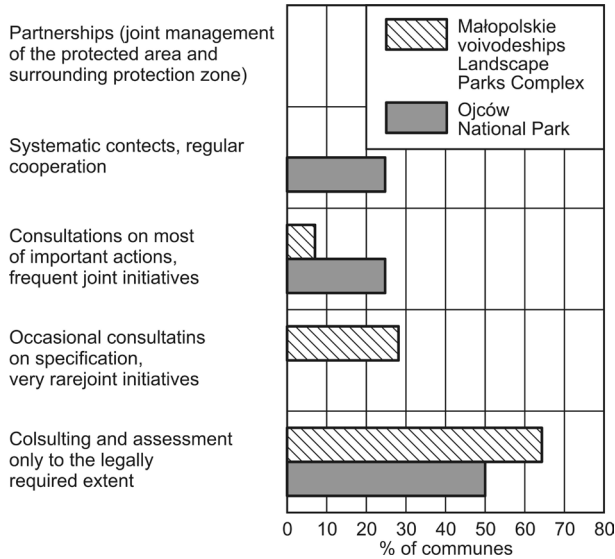


Fig. 6. Cooperation of communes with the management of Ojców National Park and the Małopolskie Voivodeship Landscape Park Complex

Sources: own work based on surveys in commune offices

Regrettably, the same pattern of low cooperation between communes and authorities of protected areas as in KMA is observed elsewhere in Poland, as shown by surveys conducted by Bołtromiuk (2011) in Białowieża National Park and by Zawilińska (2010, 2012) in landscape parks in the Carpathian region and in national parks in Poland.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Natural protected areas exist in most communes of KMA and affect significantly the development of their respective territories. Their impact depends mostly on the protection regime of each area. The impact of the national park on local development is the most far-reaching but, as declared by commune officials, it is mostly negative in social and economic terms. Landscape parks and Natura 2000 sites

have been perceived as having a more positive influence. Protected landscape areas have turned out to be largely unknown as a protection form and their impact could be considered as minor.

The authorities and local residents of communes perceive the positive aspects of protected areas' existence mostly in terms of preservation of natural and scenic values as well as development of tourism. On the other hand, the areas' influence on business and on the communes' revenues is viewed as negative. The respondents view protected areas as an important obstacle to investment and business development as well as a factor limiting the private landlords' freedom in disposing of their property, driving up the costs of preparing planning documents and protracting administrative procedures. There is a widespread view that designation of protected areas should be followed by according special privileges to the communes hosting them, to compensate them for their losses.

At present, the interactions of local authorities with the protected areas' authorities are in most cases limited to consultations required by law. In the future it would be advisable to develop a closer cooperation between the two sides and to promote a partnership approach to managing the development of the relevant territories, which would contribute to maximising benefits for local communities while at the same time ensuring the preservation of natural values.

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# BOOK REVIEWS

**Gidon ESHEL, *Spatiotemporal Data Analysis*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2012, 312 pp.**

As stated by the author in the introduction, 'data analysis is essential for scientific progress'. No matter what background you have: medicine, ecology, computer science, geophysics, psychology etc. – to start data analysis, it is necessary to know mathematical foundations and quantitative tools. *Spatiotemporal Data Analysis* by Gidon Eshel is a comprehensive guide to analyzing multidimensional data sets. The book is clearly divided in two sections: foundations and methods of data analysis. The first part (chapters 1–5) provides introduction to the subject. It organizes knowledge of linear algebra and data analysis tools, i.e.: properties, assumptions and basic operations on vector spaces and matrixes, as well as eigenanalysis and singular value decomposition (SVD). The second part (chapters 6–13) covers a wide range of econometric methods available for simultaneously analyzing more than one data set. This section deals primarily with regression models and their properties. As emphasized in the preface, 'latter chapters are best appreciated by a reader for whom this book is not the first encounter with linear algebra'.

One of the primary strengths of the book is its plain language and clear presentation of the subject. Each chapter begins with a narrative preface, which smoothly introduces the topic. Most of the described theoretical issues are supported by examples from everyday life, which enable the reader to imagine complex econometric problems in an accessible way. For instance, the author compares the covered material to colours. He illustrates linear algebra as some kind of ideal world, where everything is indisputable: either black or white, and contrasts it with the world of practical data analysis, where one can find a lot of greyness, i.e.: unambiguity, simplification and subjectivity. This imperfection of data and limitations of modeling can be dissolved by means of statistics, which 'somehow fill in the gap', according to the author.

The last chapter of the publication consists of practical exercises and sample exams, corresponding to the presented material, which suggests that it is a textbook for students. However, the book – thanks to its accessible language and narrative character – seems to be rather a guide for experts from many different fields, not only mathematicians, who use data analysis in their work.

One cannot discuss with theory of algebra or econometrics included in the publication, but we can assess the way it is presented. In this case the clear presentation supported by interesting examples makes it valuable for those interested in data analysis.

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**Alexander OTGAAR, Jeroen KLIJS, Leo van den BERG (eds.), *Towards Healthy Cities: Comparing Conditions for Change*, EURICUR Series, Ashgate, Farnham 2011, 128 pp.**

The book *Towards Healthy Cities: Comparing Conditions for Change* evaluates the progress of the WHOs Healthy City program (launched in 1988) in five cities across Europe and Canada. Health is a complex subject and the authors have used an integrated framework to evaluate healthcare programs under the Healthy Cities project across these five case-studies. The book is written from a 'developed world' perspective and the issues discussed are quite varied but contrast the experiences of the cities in much of the 'developing world' where urban populations are much larger, inequalities are deeper and healthcare systems are inadequate and inaccessible to the urban poor including distress migrants from rural areas. The nature of health issues is also different in the two worlds. For example, the case study of Helsinki in the book reveals that lifestyle issues such as those of 'couch potatoes' (p. 28) were a concern in the city. In the developing world however infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and AIDS are major killers. Although the case studies are limited to the 'developed world', the book will serve as a useful guide for planners and policy makers all over the world and is a valuable contribution to the field of urban planning and health.

The major theme explored in the book is the inequality in the access to healthcare. The five case studies are those of Helsinki, Liverpool, London, Udine and Vancouver. In the introductory chapter the authors explain the integrated framework that they have used for the analysis of healthcare across these different cities, such as that of 3C's i.e. Citizen Empowerment, Corporate Responsibility and Coordinated Improvement of urban health conditions. Chapter two deals with Helsinki in Finland, which has been a largely egalitarian society but where inequality and social segregation is on the rise (p. 21). The authors explain how the IT companies formed a Forum Virium to address six areas such as traffic services, healthcare, learning, retail trade, multi-channel distribution and digital home. A living lab was also set up to introduce new healthy living concepts to the population.

Chapter three deals with Liverpool, which the authors explain is the 'most deprived' city in the United Kingdom. It describes the innovative interventions that were made to make the city healthier, such as strengthening public-private partnerships on health, having big debates on health, and optimising the use of hospital space. The case study of London in chapter four details the 'Well London' program that was operational from the year 2007 to 2012 (p. 65). It focused on improving healthcare in 20 small areas in the city

through nutrition, exercise and mental well-being. This reflects a progressive and broader view of healthcare that promotes long-term healthy lifestyles rather than patchy healthcare interventions that can be emulated in the 'developing' world.

The case study of Udine in chapter five highlights how in the year 2009 the government of Udine identified 3 categories of people/aspects for interventions: the elderly; the young and adolescent and the environment. Interventions targeted at children included promoting healthy snacking habits among them and encourage them to walk to school by facilitating walking clubs.

Chapter six deals with the city of Vancouver, which has a large migrant population. The authors explain that it is one of the best performing cities in terms of health indicators. However, downtown eastside had a public health emergency in the 1980s when prostitution entered the scene (p. 92) and HIV/AIDS was on the rise especially among drug users. The strategy used by Vancouver administration to overcome the crisis was cooperation among the three levels of government i.e. the state, province and the city. The three levels of government signed an agreement in the late 1990s to revitalize downtown eastside. The program included a multi-pronged strategy which would involve community development, a homeless action plan, build opportunities with business and enrich the supply of cultural facilities. The authors conclude by saying that Vancouver adopted an effective approach to empower its citizens, ensure corporate responsibility, and effectively coordinate the efforts (p. 104).

In the concluding chapter the authors re-iterate their conceptual framework and how it helped them to analyze cities that are varied in their characteristics such as population size and other socio-economic characteristics. While London, Vancouver and Liverpool are metropolitan areas, Helsinki and Udine have smaller proportions of migrant populations. They also varied in socio-economic profiles, traditions to cooperate and autonomy. This is the reason the authors argue that these cities adopted diverse strategies under the healthy cities framework. The documentation of these varied strategies is what makes the book a useful guide-book for governments, policy makers and health professionals across the world. The book would however have benefited from a discussion of Healthy City practices in the 'developing' world. Asian and African countries joined the WHO Healthy Cities program in 1994; case studies from countries like Egypt, Tanzania, Bangladesh and Pakistan would have helped bring perspective from the Majority World.

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**Colin MCFARLANE, *Learning the City: Knowledge and Translocal Assemblage*, Wiley–Blackwell, London 2011, 232 pp.**

For most European planners, urbanists and professionals dealing with local development, the process of learning is strongly connected with the notion of region – learning regions, regional policy, clusters, innovations. For McFarlane learning is the gate to postmodern city. Postmodern or rather poststructural attitude is manifested in another notion used by

the author – *assemblage*. As he explains in the *Introduction* 'it connotes the processual, generative and practice-based nature of urban learning, as well as its unequal, contested and potentially transformative character' (p. 1). Thus the key concept of the book is 'urban learning assemblage' which is developed by conceptualization of learning and its translocal character.

The city is seen by the author in its everyday existence. The notion of everyday practice was introduced to Anglo-Saxon academic oeuvre by French philosopher Michel de Certeau (*The practice of Everyday Life*, English edition 1984). Certeau distinguished between producers (institutions of power and their strategies) and consumers (individuals with their tactics). City created with strategies is a compatible total unit whose image we can find on the maps. Individuals never see the whole. They have their particular views and shortcuts. Ordinary dwellers of the city by using their tactics fight for their specific way of life and place of life. They creatively resist power strategies.

For McFarlane the actors are average city dwellers as well as planners and decision makers. Interpretation of the city is also done using the concept and practice of policy mobility. It seems that to some extent Certeau's 'practice' is substituted by 'learning' – on-going process of creation and negotiation. While Certeau pays attention to all aspects of living in the city, McFarlane focuses more on dwelling. For him 'assembling the everyday' can be seen with 'incremental urbanism and tactical learning'. As he notices 'learning the city emerges not through a formal, linear cognitive process, but through experiential immersion in urban space-time'. There is also certain tension between actors depicted by McFarlane.

*Learning the City* consists of six chapters. In the first one the author discussed the notion of urban learning assemblage. As mentioned above, it is the key concept and definitely needs examination. It provides the basis for the rest of the essay. McFarlane sees learning as a three-dimensional process which combines *translation*, *coordination* and *dwelling*. Such attitude evokes Heidegger's *Building Dwelling Thinking*. *Assemblage* is presented as a spatial grammar of learning – resultant of distinctive combination of knowledge, power and resource. In the second chapter he examines everyday life through two concepts: incremental urbanism and tactical learning. The third part is dedicated to the politics of urban learning. The author uses the example of Slum/Shack Dwellers International to 'demonstrate the importance of translation and coordination' (p. 10). It is interesting to read this part in the context of Harvey's *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* – the book was published a year after *Learning the City*. Also the forth chapter might be read having *Rebel Cities* in mind. McFarlane looks here for common urban forums and wonders what circumstances may encourage people (various actors of everyday city life, from marginalized poor dwellers to state, researchers and activists) to participate in such forums. He concludes that it depends on the quality of the forum itself and openness of authorities. In chapter five the author addresses the question of ideology and tries to solve the problem of urban policy mobilities and its presentism. Finally, in the last chapter the author constitutes *critical geography of urban learning*.

McFarlane brilliantly quotes literature, people and places. We have a review from Le Corbusier to Lefebvre and Massey, we visit places from Mumbai to Los Angeles. It is

a beautiful example of geography done in and out of academia. *Learning the City* proves that combination of vast fieldwork and solid theoretical reflection may succeed.

The book should be called an erudite lecture on geography. It is not easy to say what geography – urban, social, human or maybe geography of learning as the author concludes. *Learning the City* needs real attention and prior *knowledge assemblage* from the reader. In return it offers mature consideration of the city and learning process.

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