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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

We are pleased to present the second issue of *Transactions of the Association of the European Schools of Planning*, the open-access, double-blind peer-reviewed journal of AESOP.

In keeping with the journal's aim, this issue brings together a variety of reflective and research papers, associated with AESOP events and activities.

This issue again opens with a commissioned piece – a conceptual essay from Willem Salet, who explores the concept of transition and change from the vantage point of anthropology and cultural sociology drawing on seminal works by Arnold van Gennep in 'The Rites of Passage' (1908), Victor Turner's liminality (1967, 1977) and Bourdieu's work on institutions (1991). Defining transition as a pattern of cultural change of social order, Salet emphasises the need for a cultural understanding of place in planning studies, and for a perspective that focuses on cultural relationships in the intersection of institutions and purposive strategies of action.

Following Salet's article, the issue comprises five articles which are derived from the papers nominated for the Best Congress Paper award at the annual AESOP Congress held in Lisbon in July 2017. The papers mirror the diversity of cultures and approaches to planning, as well as planning research and education in Europe and beyond. Read in conjunction with Salet's essay – they demonstrate vividly the engagement of planning and planners in invoking change, steering transition, as well as the important role of local cultures, and socio-cultural understandings in interpreting place and providing solutions to problems.

In their article based on a Danish case study, Anne Tietjen and Gertrud Jørgensen use actor-network theory, and examine how assemblages of people and things can help formulate place-based strategic urban and landscape design interventions that can successfully counter (and thus bring change to) rural decline and be sustained by new actions and new actors.

In the second contribution, Simone Tulumello, Ana Catarina Ferreira, Alessandro Colombo, Caterina Francesca Di Giovanni, and Marco Allegra adopt a genealogical perspective to analysing housing policies in Portugal. Criticising the limited capacity of taxonomic and linear approaches to describe planning and housing systems that undergo processes of change, they illustrate the potential of genealogical research, which considers national and local cultures that are central to the shaping of policy.

Erblin Berisha, Natasa Colic, Giancarlo Cotella, and Zorica Nedović-Budić provide a contribution to filling the gap within existing studies that examine the nature and characteristics of spatial planning in the Western Balkan Region. They show that the Western Balkan Region has complex, diverse and path-dependent spatial planning systems due to the transition from socialist/communist regimes, and consequent challenges in adjusting to the market economy and complying to EU requirements.

Presenting their research on Suzhou, a Chinese historic city, Joon Sik Kim and Yi-Wen Wang demonstrate how data from social media can help to explore the identity of a city's tourist destinations. Developing a framework for analysing the contents of social media, the authors discuss how the analysis of digital data can provide a better understanding of tourists' perceptions and experiences, and consequently improve tourism planning.

Finally, in an article on planning education, Lukas Gilliard, Fabian Wenner, Gal Biran Belahuski, Elisabeth Nagl, Anna Rodewald, Fabian Schmid, Maximilian Stechele, Michael Zettl, Michael Bentlage, and Alain Thierstein argue that despite the multidisciplinary nature of urban planning, challenges remain in the development of

teaching approaches that combine different sub-disciplinary knowledge, particularly for students of different disciplinary backgrounds. They report on the experience of two studio courses on planning issues in Germany, and highlight the importance of providing students with a relational understanding, and the need to develop multi-methodological planning approaches across disciplinary boundaries.

We thank all the authors who contributed a paper to this issue, and especially our reviewers for their support of the journal. We hope you enjoy reading this issue of Transactions.

Kind regards

Ela Babalık-Sutcliffe, Andrea Frank, Nikos Karadimitriou, and **Olivier Sykes**

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SIFTING THROUGH TRANSITION: REVISITING 'RITES OF PASSAGE'

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Abstract

Planning research frequently deals with issues of transition. Transition is defined here broadly as the change of social and spatial state from the one position into another. In planning theory and urban studies, there are many attempts to conceptualise such processes of change (material theories, evolutionary approaches, pragmatic perspectives, and so on). This paper traces some classic sources of functional anthropology and cultural sociology, focusing particularly on the meaning of the 'rite of passage'. This line of reasoning contemplates transition as a pattern of cultural change of social order, and deals both with the structural and the process oriented aspects of transition. The paper builds upon the pivotal work of the French anthropologist Arnold van Gennep and the further explorations of Victor Turner as well as present-day interpretations.

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Introduction

Planning studies, inherently, deal with processes of social and spatial change. In the most voluptuous perceptions, it is the planner who moves the wheels of transition but as John Friedmann recognised almost fifty years ago, social change goes through its own transformation (Friedmann, 1973): it is not likely that a social system will be transferred to a new state from an external position. If a planner aims to be an active part of such complex social processes, it is crucial first to understand the why and how of social change. This is a deep challenge for planning studies, which can never be achieved completely. Personally, I believe, the best way to proceed is to follow the starting points of different paradigms and to stimulate the accumulation of findings. Some follow the inferences of historic materialism, unravelling the macroscopic determinants of power and capital on social change. Others follow evolutionary premises of how states of social interaction learn and adapt under changing conditions. Complexity theory doubts whether we will be able to understand social change at all; its corollary is grounded in probabilism. Other planning approaches take situational and experimental trajectories of discovery, such as those outlined in pragmatism. There are many relevant ways to frame the drives and mechanisms of social change, and they all deeply impact on the way planning studies are conceptualised.

One of the relevant frameworks concerns the cultural perspective of social change, and addresses the meaningful terms of interpretation. This is widely investigated in anthropology and cultural sociology but appears to be less explored within planning discourses. Investigating social change as a cultural transition introduces a particular way to inspect. A cultural gaze introduces the meaning of a social state. Framed with a cultural lens, social transition is not just a process of moving from the one state to another under the instigation of personal motives or external incentives. Rather, it implies the transgression of a state of social meaning. This state of social meaning includes a public representation, ritualisation and often also ceremonies, that make a particular state socially important and require particular trajectories in cases of their change. In the words of Catharine Bell:

> Ritual is the means by which individual perception and behaviour are socially appropriated or conditioned. It links the collective representations of social life (as a meta-mental category and individual experience and behaviour (as a category of action (Bell, 1992, p.20).

Its function is to distinguish the social meaning of particular states from more quotidian activities. It fulfils this social function in contemporary societies as well as in tribal communities. Ritualisation is a cultural strategy for setting some activities off from others, it is fundamentally 'a way of doing things to trigger the perception that these practices are distinct and the associations that they engender are special' (Bell, 1992, p.220). Certain features, such as formality, fixity and repetition appear to be crucial in these processes of social differentiation (Bell, 1992, p.91).

The impact of cultural strategies on the differentiation of social states and spaces may explain the high relevance of cultural strategies to planning. They might reveal at least a part of the magic box of social change. This paper explores the evolution of a classic conceptual framework in anthropology to explain cultural processes of transition: the rites of passage, introduced one hundred years ago by the French anthropologist Arnold van Gennep (1908). He contemplated transition to be a pattern of cultural change of social order, and dealt both with the structural and the process oriented aspects of transition. The paper leads from this pivotal work to the further explorations by Victor Turner (fifty years later) and to present day interpretations. In the concluding part of the paper, I discuss some relevant building blocks for planning theory.

Arnold van Gennep: 'Rite de passage'

In the life of individuals and groups there are always new thresholds to cross. Each society displays differences between individuals, groups and subgroups. Moving from a group to another requires one to fulfil certain conditions (education, language, apprenticeships, and so on). Critical changes in social life and spatial organisation are conveyed by ceremonies which contain a diverse set of rites. Examples include those ceremonies that convey the regular stages of a lifetime, such as birth, social puberty, betrothal and marriage,

and death; other ceremonies are related to the crossing of territorial borders; others concern the changes of season in nature and the involved social and economic impacts of fertility and harvesting; still further relate to border crossing of social states and groups, such as the social movements in educational or professional life. At the start of the twentieth century, anthropologists were investigating these ceremonial changes in social life in different cultures. They used to analyse ceremonial acts as separate happenings, not seldom conceptualising them as folkloristic acts or mysteries. The French anthropologist Arnold van Gennep was the first to recognise a general pattern behind these ceremonies. He recognised that 'beneath a multiplicity of forms, either consciously expressed or merely implied, a typical pattern always recurs: *the pattern of the rite of passage* (Gennep, 1960, p.191). It is essential for rites of passage that the underlying arrangement is always the same: 'The rites of preliminary or permanent separation, transition, and incorporation are placed in relation to one another for a specific purpose' (Gennep, 1960, p.191). The consequent search for purpose and cohesion within different ceremonies made him one of the precursors of functional anthropology (Kimbali, 1960). Van Gennep investigated all ceremonies that conveyed a passage: those that guide the *separation* of a given social state, those regarding the stage of *transition* and those enabling *incorporation* in a new social state. Individuals and groups pass though stages, traversing several boundaries. He recognised that not all ceremonies in life are characterised by this pattern of passage, that the use of ceremonies may be asymmetric in different stages of a passage, and that the local uses of ceremonies, rites and symbolic acts differ highly across time and space. Yet, the search for integral patterns of passage provided a hold to explore comprehensive and coherent processes of change. Increasing specialisation in complex societies may lead to a subdivision of the three stages in autonomous steps, for instance autonomous transition ceremonies (such as the novitiate and the betrothal). It is the 'concept of transition that provides an orientation for understanding the intricacies and the order of rites preliminary to marriage' (Gennep, 1960, p.192).

Based on these foundations, van Gennep made a classification of rites. In keeping with many anthropological researchers of his time, he was most interested in magico-religious rites, combining religious views with the use of magic that comprised techniques (ceremonies, rites, and services). Religious theories are distinguished in dynamistic and animist views. Dynamistic views are based on external monistic and impersonal powers while animist views are based on personalism and reciprocity amongst the believers. However, van Gennep did not consider the religious dimension as a necessary condition; his classification extended to ritual practices in secular contexts. He further distinguished sympathetic (reciprocal) and contagious rites; positive (adulation) and negative rites (taboos, prohibits, do not and do); and finally direct and indirectly working rites (transmitted with the help of a carrier, such as an arrow shoot in the air and directed by the gods to the heart of the enemy) (Gennep, 1960, p.3). Ceremonies always consist of a combination of several rites, for instance they do not exist of just taboos. Considering them in isolation 'would remove them from a context which gives them meaning in a dynamic whole' (Gennep, 1960, p.89). Their function is to convey individuals or groups through the passage of separation from existing social states, the process of transition, and incorporation into new social states. Getting married means that you have to separate from parental dependence first, traverse through a stage of transition, and then become incorporated into a new social state; marriage. Giving birth to a child would start a new cycle of passage, first the separating the pregnant woman from the rest of society, next the rites of pregnancy itself (the transition), and then the rites of childbirth and reintegrating into society as a mother (Gennep, 1960, p.41). Such passages are conveyed by various rites. Famous are the ceremonies of entrance: 'The novice is first separated from his previous environment, in relation to which he is dead, in order to be incorporated into his new one' (Gennep, 1960, p.81). He is first taken into the forest (here seclusion takes place, or intoxication with palm wine), then come the transition rites (bodily changes or paintings), and next the incorporation (the initiate pretends not to know how to walk or to eat, he must learn all gestures of the ordinary life) (Gennep, 1960, p.81). The rites make this traversing of borders a passage through a 'sacred' world, grading up the novice into a new state. Van Gennep distinguished the sacred and the profane in order to understand the stages of transition. This 'sacred' is not necessarily religious, it represents the cultural function of ritualising as a means to make a difference with ordinary life: 'The person who enters a status at variance with the one previously held becomes "sacred" to the others who remain in the "profane" state (Kimbali, 1960, p.viii). Van Gennep explained this transition as following:

> The idea is that a person is lifted. Rites may be used to show that at a moment of transition the individual does not belong to the profane nor to the sacred. Or if he does belong to one of the two that he intends to move to the other, and he is therefore isolated and maintained in an intermediate position, held between heaven and earth (…).The various rites of appropriation, which include the imposition and lifting of taboos, and so forth, and whose purpose is to remove

> a person from the common domain in order to incorporate him into a special domain, also include essential elements of the pattern (van Gennep, 1960, p.186).

Van Gennep was particularly interested in territorial passages. Territorial borders are marked by landmarks with rites of consecration. Frequently, there are prohibits or conditions (cultural, political, legal, or economic formalities) to enter a territory. The territory is sacred. Passing a border means entering a symbolic and spatial area of transition (van Gennep, 1960, p.18). In magico-religious passages, ceremonial transitions of frontier crossings are embedded in rites of separation (sacrificing a bull to Zeus, washing of hands, and so on) and rites of incorporation (such as joined meals, union events, or obligating rites of socially binding via gifts, such as widely investigated by Marcel Mauss, 1954): 'crossing the threshold is to unite oneself with a new world' (van Gennep, 1960, p.20). To underline the relevance of territorial passages van Gennep emphasised the 'limen' (Latin for: the threshold). He calls

> the rites of separation from a previous world, preliminal rites, those executed during the transitional stage liminal (or threshold) rites, and the ceremonies of incorporation into the new world post-liminal rites (p.21).

The territorial passage is often made a part of social passages: moving from one social state to another (consecrating the passage in embarking and debarking rituals of travelling; spatial separation as part of the ceremonial passages in marriages; consecrating victory by passing a special *arc de triomphe*; separating social categories; changing residence to profile your new social state, and so forth) (van Gennep, 1960, p.191).

Victor Turner: Liminality

Fifty years after van Gennep, Victor Turner revisited the concept of the rite of passage. He was interested, particularly, in the ambiguous stage of transition, called 'liminality'. Liminality is the unstructured space in-between settled states of social structure. The characteristics of the liminal ritual subjects are ambiguous, they do not correspond to the attributes of the past or to coming social states. The generalised bonds of social structure have ceased to be, and are fragmented into a multiplicity of social ties in this transitional stage (Turner, 1967, p.94). In liminal stages, individuals or groups slip through the network of classification that normally locate social states, or social positions in cultural place: 'Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial' (Turner, 1977, p.95; Turner, 1967).

Turner generalised the ambiguity of liminality by introducing two general modalities of social relationships: social structure and community (Turner, 1977, p.131) (he mentioned 'communitas' instead of 'community' to avoid area-based definitions of community but - in this paper - I stick to the wider meaning of social community). Both modalities are needed in social life to enable social relationships, according to Turner. He was particularly interested in the dialectic between these two dimensions of social relationships. He distinguished social structure and community in a spatio-temporal sense by identifying social structure as 'durable' social relationships, and by situating community in the 'temporal and situational' in-between stages of transition. More generally, he distinguished the different nature of the two concepts. Social structure differentiates the positions and roles of individuals and groups: their position and behaviour are tied to rules and customs (implying differences of status and social hierarchy, distinctions of wealth and property, distinctions of social position, rights and obligations, and so on). The modality of community is completely different, it consists of relationships between concrete, historical, idiosyncratic individuals (Turner, 1967, p.131). These individuals are not bounded by position or social state but interact spontaneously as equals without distinction of rank, hierarchy, or property. It may not surprise that - within this framework - community is identified with times of change, becoming explosive or potentially powerful, particularly in times when ties of social structure are considered as too densely tightened.

Turner emphasises the dialectical relationships of community and social structure in social life, containing successive experiences of high and low (Turner, 1967, p.97). The research into the dialectics of hierarchy and humility is fascinating. In liminal processes, the norms and values that govern public processes are peripheral

to normative expectations of social structure. Turner distinguishes rituals of 'status elevation' that convey ritual persons to a higher status and rituals of 'status reversal' (Turner, 1967, p.166); in rituals of status reversal, persons or groups of low status are encouraged to exercise ritual authority temporarily over their superiors (it is expected that the latter will accept this ritual degradation). The symbols of liminality often indicate the structural invisibility of the ritual subjects (such as in noviciate) Turner, 1967, p.170). The aim is not to discipline obedience but to bring the superiors to primary human nature below the accepted status forms: 'the implication is that for an individual to go higher on the ladder, he must go lower than the status ladder (Turner, 1967, p.170). Turner describes cases of throning in which the new leader of a community has to first undergo a process of being humiliated by the community before being seated on the throne with the full respect of the same community. Throning is a sort of purification ceremony which, whilst paying tribute to the public character of the office also enables ordinary people to taunt the new leader before he is upgraded to the power of office. The liminal rites of status reversal do not destroy social structures but reflect a dialectic of social structure and liminal community. As Turner explains, 'By making the low high and the high low, they reaffirm the hierarchical principle (they underline the reasonableness of everyday culturally predictive behaviour between various estates of society' (p.176). Social structure and its innovation cannot exist without relaxing the reins: 'The gaps between the positions, the interstices, are necessary to the structure' (Turner, 1967, p.201).

In this perspective, the unbounded process of community leads, at the end, to a new state of social structure, the transitional stage of structure-less community is not a 'durable state'. Turner analysed liminality as a process of community, a stepping stone to new social structure. He discussed well known experimental processes of community that start as a contestation against a given state of social structure but simultaneously contain the germs of a new social structure. St Francis, for instance, started a process of community, he refrained from all social hierarchy, property, or status and deliberately decided to live in poverty and wanted to keep his fellow-men in a permanent state of liminality – whereby they did not accept gifts, property, or even their own settlements (Turner, 1967, p.147). However, the movement of Francis grew, and after his death the conventionists were embedded in the organisational networks and hierarchy of the catholic church. Apparently, community was a stage of transition and a new structure was needed to survive through time (Turner, 1967, p.150).

Bourdieu: Rites of Institution

The classic sources of rites of passage are contemporary theories of social differentiation and social change. The initial emphasis on the religious foundation of rites of passage has been replaced by theological disciplines, whilst the discovery of the meaning of rites in social life has been enlarged through social scientific studies of social differentiation and social change. Van Gennep indicated the wider social function of rites of passage in society but did not empirically investigate these social functions in depth. The pioneer of the sociology of social distinctions, Pierre Bourdieu, made this step. He focused on 'the *social* function of ritual and the social significance of the boundaries or limits which the ritual allows one to pass over or to transgress in a lawful way' (Bourdieu, 1991, p.117). He was not interested in the phases of ritual as such, but gave more attention to the difference between those who pass the rites and those who do not. The rites are there to draw and mark a line between two social states. In this perception, the liminal rites of social relationships institute a lasting difference between groups and social states. For this reason, Bourdieu replaced the focus of research from rites of passage to *rites of institution*, and through so doing consecrated the differences of order of social relations (Bourdieu, 1991, p.117).

Bourdieu's framing of rites of institution recalls the (almost forgotten) conceptual distinction that van Gennep made between the 'sacred and the profane', which were noted in the first section of this paper. The ceremonies, rites and symbols canonise the differences of social state: stepping into the new state is made sacred in comparison to the profane. Bourdieu suggests that rites of institution

> tend to consecrate or to legitimate an *arbitrary boundary*, by fostering a misrecognition of the arbitrary nature of the limit and encouraging a recognition of it as legitimate; or, what amounts to the same thing, they tend to involve a solemn transgression (Bourdieu, 1991, p.118).

A boundary between social states might be arbitrary or ambiguous but it is made straight by culturally and symbolically enlarging the line. By solemnly marking the transgression, the spectator observes the passage

but – according to Bourdieu - the border is actually consecrated. The rite of institution consecrates and legitimates social differences. The instituting of social differences is a strong cultural and social power. One might think that it makes no sense to mark the differences because they already exist. Bourdieu claims that social differences are often ambiguous and that subjects do not always realise their own social position. Rites of institution mark the differences of social order, they encourage you to 'become what you are' (Bourdieu, 1991, p.122). They constitute social order by making social borders known and enable them to become recognised in front of everyone. Their symbolic effectiveness is achieved, first, by demarcating the objective difference (you are a professional, a doctor and so on, or not), and secondly, because the community acts upon your status. The effectiveness is even deepened because individuals tend to act upon the image that the given community holds of him because of the professional status (Bourdieu, 1991, p.117).

The active constituting of rites to mark differences of social order is an essential part of Bourdieu's framework of cultural institutions. It is a permanent process of active reproduction and social normalisation. Rites contribute to the institutionalising of new meanings and shape what is considered normal, such as in the case of household food rituals that shape the meaning that households confer upon food and food waste (Pineda Revilla and Salet, forthcoming 2018). The social and cultural power that is invested via ceremonies, rites, and symbols is obviously not just a policy instrument of politicians and planners. In order to become real and effective, it must be recognised and authorised by the community (reflecting interactions with sets of dispositions and champs of capital) (Thompson, 1991, p.14).

Discussion

Planning studies often deal with issues of social and spatial transition. The aim of this paper is simply to recall a particular line of cultural analysis (may be also a bit as antidote to the overemphasis of organisational change in planning studies) and to discuss some symbolic-cultural building blocks of research on social transition, mediating between structure and process. I could only deal in brief overview with some of the classic sources but I hope it makes visible the rich conceptual and empirical tradition of *rites of passage*. Van Gennep's rites of passage socially enlarge the different stages of transition (separation, transition and incorporation), making sense of the thresholds of border crossing; playing with the dialectic social and spatial distances and passages of the marginal 'profane' and the 'sacred'; as well as the territorial shifts of pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal phases. Turner focused on the unbounded nature of liminality and raised community as a dialectic counterpart of structure in social relationships. It enabled him to conceptualise the dialectic interaction of hierarchy and humility, of status elevation and status reversal. Bourdieu stipulated the social function of rites, labelling these as rites of institution. His rites of institution mark and consecrate the differences of social order. These concepts of order and community, and in particular the weighted processes of change, are still relevant building blocks to enrich and deepen the studies of social and spatial transition today.

The classic sources, obviously, have not been delivered uncontested. Van Gennep focused on the phases of transition from one fixed layer of social structure to another. His cultural analysis of limines and transitional passages goes deep but today we know that the pillars of social structure are all but fixed certainties. Social structure is not evident, upholding social structure is a permanent challenge for a society, and moving from one set of social states to the next is usually not moving toward something that is already known. Rather it is matter of creating social order for unknown futures. Turner focused on the interstices of liminality. The emphasis of his conceptual framework is on community as a temporal and essential counterpart of structured order. However, he is not precise in defining the liminal transitions, they might take a lifetime. More generally, Turner tended to overstretch his concept of community. His demarcation is so wide that it does not promote a focused analysis. He is also criticised for idealising the processes of community. He did not stick to his abstract definition of idiosyncratic, concrete, and situational action but tended to idealise community in an almost utopian sense of social relationships (harmonious relationships of equals, without hierarchy, distinction, property, and so forth.). Yet, he very convincingly demonstrated that besides the structured layer of social order there is an important anti-structure layer in social relationships, a layer of direct and spontaneous action prone to social innovation. He limited this liminality to interstices of social structure but today many observers believe that it is a permanent and vibrant dimension of social relationships. In the present epoch it even seems to get more systematic attention than orders of social structure.

In his seminal work on 'The Secular Age' Taylor makes some interesting observations that I wish to borrow to conclude this paper. Reflecting on Turner's dialectic he notes: 'It incorporates some sense of the complementarity, the mutual necessity of opposites, that is, of states which are antithetical, can't be lived at the same time' (Taylor, 2007, p.47). I would like to add 'yet the antithetical contrast cannot avoid be lived at the same time'. Taylor continues:

> All they have in common is that they postulate a world, and underlying this perhaps a cosmos, in which order needs chaos, in which we have to give place to contradictory principles (Taylor, 2007, p.47).
>
> There is a play of structure and anti-structure, code and anti-code; this either takes the form of the code's being momentarily suspended or transgressed; or else, (…) the code itself allows for a counter-principle to the dominant source of power; it opens space for a complementary "power of the weak". It's as though there were a felt need to complement the structure of power with its opposite (Taylor, 2007, p.48-49).

In breaking us out of coded roles, it also does a number of other things besides releasing fellowship. It also sets free our spontaneity and creativity. It allows free reign to the imagination (Taylor, 2007, p.50).

Exploring relevance for planning

What is the significance of this cultural institutional exploration for planning studies? As outlined in the introduction of the paper, planning studies rarely explore the potential of cultural explanation in depth. Communicative planning approaches love to fabricate symbolic frameworks of change, usually with the planning subject in the catalytic role of mobilising change. However, investigating the meaning of underlying cultural order does not so often occur. A white raven is in Seymour Mandelbaum's *Open Moral Communities* (2000). Mandelbaum identified several communities as social settings of moral order and investigated how communitarian sensibility selects, disciplines and shapes meaningful frameworks (including myths) as effective carriers of cultural power. Investigating cultural meanings is not a simple challenge, it is difficult to ground empirical findings. A highly relevant theme for cultural planning research is the search of the meaning of *place*, such as Patsy Healey's interesting conception of 'relational place' (Healey, 2004, and 2007). Healey analyses place in a dynamic way and suggests that it is made up of 'multiple webs of relations that transect and intersect across an urban area' (Healey, 2004). Elaborating further on this relational concept of place through cultural lenses, such as indicatively outlined in this paper, would raise additional questions, such as why certain of these place relationships have been made more important than other relationships; why some of these relationships have developed into pillars of cultural order, and how such social importance has been brought forward. The cultural perspective enables one to investigate the differentiation of social relationships. The noted questions are very relevant because the answers to them may contain some keys to the particular trajectories that would be needed to enable a successful transition of existing cultural relationships of place. A transition of 'cultural place' is not evident. A cultural understanding of 'place' may learn why and how subjects have attached particular meaning to spaces. They have deliberately made it important in particular ways (rituals, ceremonies, symbols), in their mutual contacts, and by reproducing such particular cultural meanings in practice. Thus, a transition of this attached cultural meaning would require particular efforts and trajectories. Analysing the concept of cultural place as a 'rite of passage' might be helpful in selectively refining the lenses of discovery.

In my own work, I focus on the interaction of institutions and the purpose strategies of action. In my view, the potential of planning has to be discovered in the dialectic of public norms (institutions) and purposive aspirations (Salet, 2018a, Salet, 2018b). These dialectical relationships may be social, political, legal, economic, and - obviously - cultural. The cultural relationships in the intersection of institutions and purposive strategies of action are not intensely studied but I feel that there is a fascinating agenda here waiting for further exploration. For instance, when this perspective is applied to analyse the major issues of urban transition. For urbanists and planners it has been evident for almost two decades that the hierarchical concepts of the compact city no longer matches reality in the current stage of urbanisation. The urban complex has aggrandised and has been widely segmented into fragments of urban spaces. Planners and urbanists fully understand the urgency of upgrading this spread-out urban fragility to a new network-type quality of spatial organisation at a regional

level (facing the challenges of climate and the increasing social polarisation of living conditions). However, the practices of this transition agenda appear to be extremely arduous, and sometimes even slide back to the hierarchical concepts of the previous stage of urbanisation. It sometimes feels as if local policies are preparing for the last war. Urban transition, apparently, struggles with a problem of cognitive dissonance. How can we understand this arduous transition and find keys for more productive change? Social, political, legal, and/or economic explanations cannot completely explain this gap between public morality and public action; partly for this reason, they do not yet provide the clues for a more successful transition. Could it be, that defining urban transition as a cultural rite of passage and exploring the why and how of the lasting importance and dominance of the traditional meaning of place and urbanisation might provide additional knowledge and more sensibility for the cultural conditions of 'separation, transition and new incorporation' of this arduous urban challenge? Communicative planning strategies bring creativity, imagination and promising future frameworks to urban transition. Yet, would these communicative planning strategies not become a bit more effective when exploring a productive match with underlying flows of cultural order?

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THERE IS MORE TO IT THAN MEETS THE EYE: STRATEGIC DESIGN IN THE CONTEXT OF RURAL DECLINE

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Abstract

Based on a Danish case, this paper investigates how strategic urban and landscape design can contribute to positive developments in rural areas that are challenged by population decline. From 2007–2012, the municipality of Bornholm conducted a strategic planning process, which aimed to enhance quality of life by strengthening place-based qualities and potential through local physical projects. Guided by actor-network theory (ANT) we analyse the socio-material effects of the new assemblages of people and things around the design interventions that were made. We find that strategic spatial projects can contribute considerably to quality of life in declining rural areas. From a wider strategic perspective, they can also define new spatial development perspectives rooted in place-based resources and potential. Methodologically, ANT offers a pertinent framework for studying the long-term performance of strategic spatial projects and how design actions can continue to gather new actors, spark new initiatives and, thereby, fuel repercussive effects.

Keywords

Strategic spatial design, socio-material effects, rural decline, actor-network theory, Denmark.

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> 'Eventually everything connects – people, ideas, objects… the quality of the connections is the key to quality per se.' Charles Eames

1. Introduction

Rural decline is considered a major spatial planning issue in Denmark. Since the 1990s, work places and population have been increasingly concentrated in the bigger cities (Ministeriet for By, Bolig og Landdistrikter, 2013). Traditional rural industries, such as agriculture, fisheries and mining industries, have declined in relative importance and, as a consequence, many production areas and buildings have lost their original functions and have been abandoned (Sloth Hansen, Møller Christensen and Skou, 2012).

The main problem that peripheral rural areas face today is demographic: loss of population in general, an increasingly aging population (KL's analyseenhed, 2015), and a lack of individuals with the skills needed to fill jobs in the knowledge-based industries (see, Egedal, 2017 on the case of Bornholm).

Urbanisation is a driver of population decline in peripheral areas. At the same time, urban lifestyles are expanding into rural areas, not only close to the big cities, but also further away in relatively remote areas in the form of counter or hidden urbanisation, both in the countryside (Madsen et al., 2010; Zasada et al., 2011) and in small towns (Fertner et al., 2015). The rural urbanites are well educated, commute to work over long distances, seek a well-functioning service infrastructure, and value attractive built environments as well as accessible landscapes for recreation and outdoor activities. Today, in terms of people's way of life, Denmark is a predominantly urbanised country (Tietjen, 2011). The spatial conditions in declining rural areas do not cater well for such urbanised lifestyles, and traditional rural policies have focused primarily on agricultural subsidies.

In recent years, however, new ways of dealing with rural decline have emerged. The 'new rural paradigm' in European rural policy involves a move away from agricultural subsidies towards strategic investments that utilise local strengths and opportunities (Bryden and Hart, 2004; OECD, 2006). This policy shift has also influenced Danish rural policies (Ministeriet for By, Bolig og Landdistrikter, 2013) and stimulated new place-based and project-oriented approaches to spatial development.

Several innovative planning initiatives involving many municipalities and projects have shown that spatial development within declining rural areas is being increasingly considered a strategic transformation task whereby the adaptation and renewal of the existing built environment plays an important role in adapting to structural economic and demographic changes and new, urbanised, ways of life (Sloth Hansen, Møller Christensen and Skou, 2012; Tietjen and Jorgensen, 2016). In line with this, urban design and landscape design projects are being carried out as strategic spatial projects to achieve social, economic, and environmental changes beyond the immediate purpose of the given project and across multiple scales: locally, regionally and even internationally. The general idea of strategic spatial projects is to steer spatial development in a desired direction through strategic interventions (Burgess and Carmona, 2009; Oosterlynck, Albrechts and Van den Broeck, 2011; Tietjen, 2017).

These emerging practices require a new and broader understanding of urban and landscape design quality; not only in terms of form and function, but also the tangible and intangible effects that design generates in a wider spatial and strategic perspective. Strategic thinking raises the question: what is the transformative capacity of spatial design? This in turn requires new methods for assessing the outcome of spatial design in new ways: studying not only the concrete design interventions, but also what design *does* in a wider perspective.

Based on a recent Danish case, this paper investigates the transformative effects of strategic urban and landscape design in the context of rural decline. We ask: how can spatial design contribute to developing rural areas that are challenged by population decline?

From 2007–2012 the municipality of Bornholm, in partnership with the philanthropic organisation, Realdania, conducted a strategic, collaborative planning initiative at the municipal level called *Land of Opportunities*

(Mulighedernes Land). This initiative aimed to enhance quality of life and improve the framework for settlement and tourism by strengthening place-based qualities and potential through local physical projects. Four of the realised seven projects dealt with the transformation of post-industrial mining and fishery landscapes into new or improved public spaces; the former granite shipping harbour Hammerhavn, the beach of the mining and fishing village of Sandvig, the closed granite quarries of Ringebakker, and the underused fishing harbour of Hasle. This paper analyses the transformative effects of these projects in a socio-material perspective.

Guided by actor-network theory (ANT), we propose an operational framework for studying what design does; apply this framework to the four cases; analyse and discuss the results; and outline some conclusions with implications for research and practice.

2. Theoretical Framework: An ANT View on Urban Design

Actor-network theory (ANT) offers a method to study how complex actor-networks of people, ideas and things 'reassemble the social' (Latour, 2005). Originally developed to analyse research and technological innovation processes, actor-network studies are increasingly being used in the study and conceptualisation of spatial planning, urban design and architecture (see, for instance: Healey, 2007; Tietjen, 2011; Yaneva, 2012; Beauregard, 2015).

ANT proposes 'the idea of engagement with socio-technical systems rather than just with the (human) actors as the key to understanding planning outcomes and offering a better planning practice' (Rydin, 2010, p.266). Due to the fact that 'the structure of the material world pushes back on people' (Yaneva, 2009, p.277), actor-network theorists argue that agency – the capacity to act in the world – is not limited to intentional human action. Indeed, *'any thing* that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor' (Latour, 2005, p.71). Through transformative interaction, human and non-human actors gather in dynamic networks, what actor-network theorists call socio-material *assemblages*. Things – such as designed objects – are thus a constitutive part of social reality and all action is distributed and shared among heterogeneous actors (Lieto, Beauregard, 2013, p.11). Precisely because ANT equally perceives people and things as agents of change, we find that it can offer an operational framework for studying the socio-material effects of urban design actions.

2.1. Strategic Design as Translation

With ANT, we can understand strategic design as a *translation* of existing interactions into desired interactions between human and non-human actors. Through the design process, humans and things are being assembled to work together for shared purposes in new socio-material assemblages. Following the model developed by Michel Callon (1986) a translation process has four decisive moments – problematisation, interessement, enrolment, and mobilization of allies – which can also be applied to strategic urban design; 1) the formulation of a strategic vision and the identification of a set of actors who are concerned with the formulated goals; 2) project development and gathering of actors through negotiation of and with actors; 3) definition of concrete design actions and commitment of project actors; 4) implementation of design actions and activation of new actor-networks (Braae and Tietjen, 2011; Tietjen, 2018) (Figure 1).

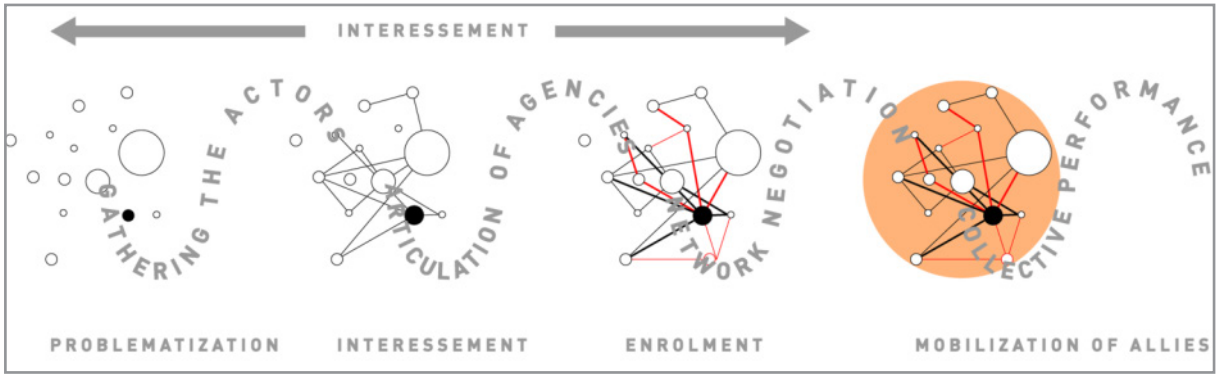

Figure 1: Strategic design as translation (Tietjen, 2011, p.114). The diagram shows how a project (the black dot) develops from the first vision to the realised project by assembling human and non-human actors (the black circles) until a constraining actor-network has been built.

2.2. The Quality of the Connections is Key to Design Quality

Thinking of spatial design as translation enables new ways of studying design outcomes in terms of what design *does* – how things create new connections and make humans and non-humans work together in new ways. Quite different from the shiny images that urban designers usually present us with, ANT provides us with a view in the machine room; unveiling that the result of spatial design actions is much more than just new physical appearances and local functions. Rather, design actions co-constitute new, dynamic socio-material assemblages, which potentially effect change across multiple scales. They are *interventions* in a dynamic context rather than fixed results; by further articulating existing and establishing new connections among people, ideas and things, design actions literally reassemble the social (Tietjen, 2011).

A translation model suggests that this reassembling process starts long before the implementation of design actions with the gathering of actors and the negotiation of cooperative relationships which these actors would all commit to. After implementation, it is the work done in interaction with, and stimulated by, design interventions that keeps an assemblage together and *makes the social hold* (Yaneva, 2009). This is a continued process and, as a result, the assemblage will carry on developing and transforming over time; it will gather and integrate new actors and omit others; it will thrive and grow or eventually fall apart. In short, translation is an open-ended process with an essentially uncertain outcome (Tietjen, 2011).

From an ANT view, design is what it does to and together with other actors (Tietjen et al., 2017). This means that the quality of the connections established and sustained by design actions is key to spatial design quality. Design quality shows in the work done and in the capacity of the assemblage to sustain itself and eventually expand over time. Therefore, in the assessment of design outcomes, the physical and functional results of design actions cannot be separated from the assemblages they co-constitute or from the collective effects of these assemblages over time.

2.3. Follow the Actors!

ANT-scholars have shown that studying translation requires 'following the actors' whilst mapping their controversies. This has enabled them to trace how new assemblages are being formed and what differences and transformations they produce (see, for instance: Callon, 1986; Latour, 2005).

In order to understand the design outcomes of the strategic spatial projects on Bornholm we first studied the process of their making from the beginning of the planning initiative *Land of Opportunities* to the implementation of the design projects. Thereafter, we studied their transformative effects after implementation. These could be traced back to the design interventions and the new assemblages that they had co-constituted. By analysing the interaction between people, things and ideas in the planning and design process, we were able to identify the actors who came to work together in new assemblages and describe the socio-material effects in terms of the work done by these assemblages.

3. Methodology

3.1. A Qualitative Multi-Method Approach

To study the Bornholm cases as translations, we applied a qualitative multi-method approach. We analysed primary documents from the planning and design process (planning and design documents, status reports, minutes from meetings and project evaluations carried out by a consultancy firm), related municipal policies and plans, external project communication (project website, press reports and book publications), and media reactions in the local press; carried out repeated site visits and interviewed key actors in the process (civil servants from the municipality and representatives from local communities and user groups).

We began the case study in August 2014 with introductory site visits and on-site interviews with municipal planners and local key actors in all the *Land of opportunities* projects. These interviews were conducted as open-ended, semi-structured interviews about the process, the different actors' roles, and the factual and perceived results. As a result of these initial investigations we decided to focus on the four projects discussed in this paper because they clearly stood out with regard to their strategic focus and transformative effects beyond the local scale. In November 2016, we conducted follow-up interviews on long-term project effects with the project managers of the four cases discussed herein. Moreover, since 2015, one of the authors has been a consultant to a municipal follow-up project, Future Landscape North Bornholm, which aims to develop a strategic landscape development plan in collaboration with local communities and stakeholders.

The document studies, the site visits, and the first interviews in 2014 provided us with detailed insights into the making of the project and its immediate outcomes. The follow-up interviews in 2016 provided us with a more nuanced understanding of the project outcomes and contributed knowledge about the long-term effects at local and regional scales. Finally, the direct involvement in a municipal follow-up project has provided insight into how local projects have influenced municipal planning practice and, specifically, how they prepared the ground for a strategic landscape development plan.

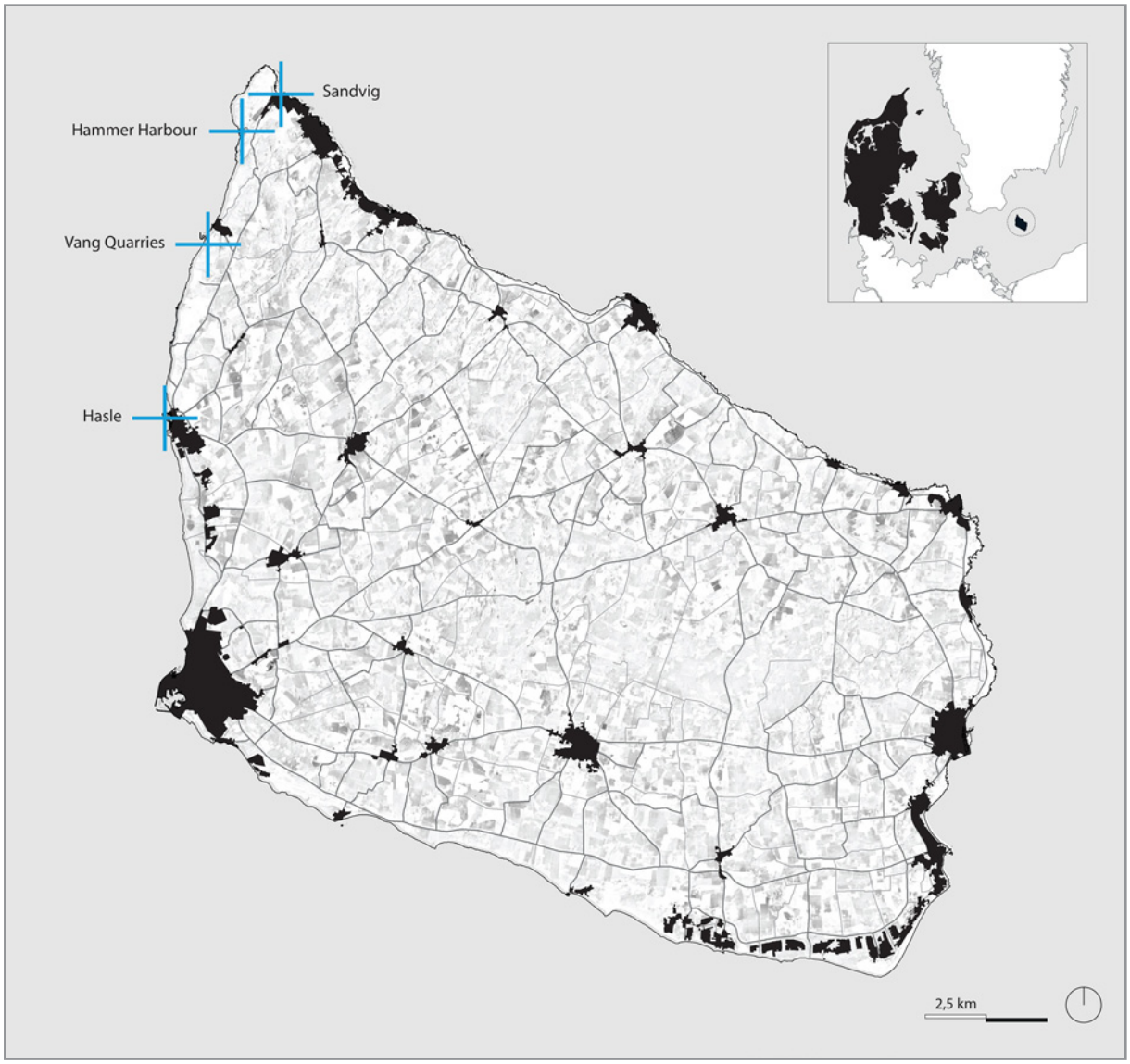

Figure 2: Map of Bornholm: The blue crosses mark the project locations: Sandvig, Hammer harbour, Vang quarries and Hasle harbour. The small map shows the location of Bornholm (marked with a circle) in relation to Denmark, Sweden and Germany.

3.2. Case Background Information

Bornholm is an island in the Baltic Sea, east of Denmark, south of Sweden, and north of Poland. Bornholm's Regional Municipality covers the entire island, which has close to 40,000 inhabitants on a surface area of 589 km2 (Figure 2).

Since the 1980s, the population has been in continuous decline. From 2003–2014, one in ten inhabitants (4,500 people) left Bornholm (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2014). There are few work places for the highly educated and employment opportunities in the primary sector have decreased, especially after the collapse of the fishing industry in the early 1990s and the successive closure of granite quarries since the 1970s. On the other hand, the island has distinctive place-based resources: a long coastline with small harbour towns and fishing hamlets, characteristic rock formations, and large forests and wetlands, which together form a unique landscape. Also, many local communities, associations and interest organisations are engaged in local development (Sloth Hansen, Møller Christensen and Skou, 2012).

These place-based resources and the active population formed the basis for the planning initiative *Land of Opportunities* (2007–2012), which was initiated and co-financed by the philanthropic organisation, Realdania. Bornholm's Regional Municipality carried out seven strategic spatial projects within this framework, each with several physical interventions, for a total sum of 77 million Danish Crowns (€10 million) co-financed by the philanthropic organisation, other sources of external funding, and the municipality.

Land of Opportunities first focused on the shrinking small towns in the interior of the island, as these were thought to be the most pressing problem. After two years, the planning process had resulted in the creation of only three small projects with a very local focus and little strategic ambition for settlement and tourism in Bornholm (two projects established green paths to better link the small villages with their surrounding landscape, while the third project converted part of the parking space in front of a local supermarket into a public open space). The total cost of these projects was only 7.5 million Danish Crowns (€ 1 million). Given that this represented a significant underspend of the total *Land of Opportunities* budget, it was decided that further new projects should be developed on the basis of existing ideas from local communities, existing development initiatives and, not least, existing possibilities for external financing. This led to a shift in focus from the interior to project development on the coast (Sloth Hansen, Møller Christensen and Skou, 2012).

The four projects discussed in this paper are all second-generation *Land of Opportunities* projects on the coast. The focus of each project was on the transformation of post-industrial landscapes. They were developed in a short time span of only three years (2010–2012), but accounted for the majority of investments made; 24.5 million Danish Crowns (€3.3 million) for the *Granite Adventure and Hammer Harbour*, 16.5 million Danish Crowns for *New Life in Vang Granite Quarry* (€2.2 million), 10.2 million Danish Crowns for Sandvig Beach Promenade (€1.4 million) and 18.5 million Danish Crowns (€2.5 million) for *Hasle Harbour*, a total of 69.7 million Danish Crowns (€9.4 million) (Sloth Hansen, Møller Christensen and Skou, 2012).

4. Translations of Four Post-Industrial Landscapes

4.1. The Granite Adventure and Hammer Harbour

Figure 3: Aerial photo of the Hammerknuden promontory with Hammer harbour to the south-west and Sandvig to the north-east. © COWI 2016

4.1.1. Context

Hammer harbour occupies a picturesque location on Bornholm's west coast at the foot of the ruin of Hammershus, which is one of the island's biggest tourist attractions. Hammer harbour was built as a granite shipping harbour in the early days of Bornholm's granite mining in the late 1800s. During the heyday of the granite industry, Hammer harbour was part of a vast production landscape with several quarries on the

promontory of Hammerknuden (meaning: hammer-shaped crag of granite) and a large granite processing plant was located on the harbour. The last granite was shipped in 1974 after which the production buildings and transport structures were dismantled, and the whole promontory was listed as a protected nature area. Since then, local anglers, sailors and the rowers from Sæne boat club have created new life in the harbour; over the years, an allotment-like environment developed in relation to the new harbour activities (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2010a, p.3), but the harbour itself started to decay and did not match its exclusive location and the up to 100,000 visitors every year (Sloth Hansen, 2014, p.21).

4.1.2. Project Development

In 2007, Bornholm's mining industry was highlighted as one of 25 particularly valuable industrial heritage environments in Denmark. From 2008–2009, the municipality developed a new local development plan for Hammer harbour and, together with existing users, tidied up the area. This left a large undefined space next to the harbour, which could be used for new purposes. Concurrently, the municipality pointed out the Hammershus area – including Hammer harbour – as a regional focus area for the development of recreational activities and outdoor life (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2011, p. 105). These two initiatives paved the way for the *Land of Opportunities* project, the overall aim of which was 'to strengthen the communication of the Bornholm granite adventure and improve the quality of the physical environment' (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2010b, p.1).

In dialogue with users and stakeholders, municipal planners identified needs and desires for new facilities in Hammer harbour. In addition, local heritage experts from the Bornholm Museum informed the process. The ideas developed formed the basis of an architecture competition for a new master plan and the design of new multi-functional harbour facilities. The winning proposal was then negotiated and further developed with local users and stakeholders. New actors joined during this process, which initiated new design interventions: the kayak club in Sandvig, a small town a few kilometres away, became interested in moving to Hammer harbour after seeing the master plan and a distinctive kayak shed was added to the project. The new harbour facilities were opened to the public in June 2012 (Sloth Hansen, Møller Christensen and Skou, 2012; Sloth Hansen, 2014).

4.1.3. Key Design Interventions

The following three key interventions improved and reorganised the harbour:

- The port facility was restored to reveal its original granite and timber constructions; a new jetty was constructed and the fault along the coastline was rebuilt;
- A new multi-functional building, a new café, and new toilet facilities in the form of three small timber buildings on a wooden deck were established on the large open space next to the harbour;
- A new, long kayak shed was built in front of the existing sheds stretching halfway across the new open space and defining a boat-parking area and a parking area for cars and tourist buses.

Figure 4: View of Hammer harbour with the new kayak shed and the cluster of new facilities; in the background, the ruins of the medieval castle, Hammershus.

Concentrating and staging existing and new activities in a new iconic building ensemble was clearly the main design strategy of this project. The characterful timber building ensemble created a new visual landmark and gathered existing and new activities on the harbour, while the materials used along with their size and colours are well-integrated with the surroundings. The small open spaces on the wooden deck between and around the buildings provide local users and visitors with shelter and a place to meet informally. The so-called 'multi-house' contains a new clubhouse for the Sæne boat club and an indoor meeting and exhibition space, which is open to the public year-round, 24 hours a day. A permanent poster exhibition communicates the history of Hammer harbour through 100 years of 'granite adventure' on North Bornholm. Besides the exhibition, the 'granite adventure' is communicated through websites, apps, educational material, and new routes in the landscape (Bornholms Museum n.d).

4.1.4. New Assemblages and Collective Effects

The new facilities considerably expanded the actor-network around Hammer harbour and intensified the interactions between users and activities. In 2014 – two years after completion – the municipal project manager, Vivi Granby, reported to the Danish planning magazine *Byplan* that 'the multi-house attracts local users, visitors and associations from the whole island as well as runners, divers, kindergartens and schools, who use the area year-round' (Sloth Hansen, 2014, p.22).

According to Granby, the active participation of users and stakeholders in the planning process was decisive for the project:

> The new buildings divided people's opinion at first, but they have provided the harbour with a new heart… (they) have become an icon of the place and … have gathered and strengthened the harbour life (Sloth Hansen, 2014, p.21).

'A few members left Sæne boat club because they preferred things to remain just the way they were', recalls chairman Kenn-Erik-Olsen (Personal communication, 13 August 2014); but the project also attracted new

club members and new harbour users: The Sandvig Kayak Club moved to Hammerhavn. The new harbour café has been a great success and was favourably mentioned in the international journal Euroman both for the quality of its food and its architecture (Kaas, 2015). Since 2012, several tourism-based businesses have set up new activities such as guided kayak tours, stand-up paddle surfing, and angling from small boats, whilst many outdoor events use Hammerhavn as a base or stopover, and the number of overnight visiting boats has increased considerably, report project managers Vivi Granby and Jacob Jensen (Personal communication, 15 November 2016).

The cooperation with Bornholm Museum on the heritage of the area led to a comprehensive study of the history of Bornholm's mining history (Bornholms Regionskommune, Kulturarvsstyrelsen, Bornholms Museum, 2011). This further informed the *Land of Opportunity* projects in Sandvig and the Vang quarries. In this way, the project led to a new strategic focus on communicating Bornholm's granite mining history. Moreover, the municipality expects synergies to emerge between the Hammer harbour project and a forthcoming new visitor centre for the nearby ruin of Hammershus castle (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2010b).

4.2. Sandvig Beach Promenade

4.2.1. Context

Sandvig is a small town, situated right at the rocky northern tip of Bornholm, which is known as the Hammerknuden promontory. Originally a fishing hamlet, Sandvig developed into a residential town for workers in the nearby granite quarries and became a seaside resort. Today, tourism is Sandvig's main industry. The town has a large tourist population in the summertime, but only 500 full-time residents. When the last store that was open year-round closed, Sandvig became a 'ghost town' in winter. The urban environment was run-down, which meant that tourists went to nearby Allinge for shopping and entertainment. Specifically, the beach promenade with hedges, lawns and rose beds was neglected and a large, dilapidated concrete building – a former wave pool – spoiled the beach and blocked the view over the bay towards Hammerknuden (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2004, p.2-3).

Figure 5: Aerial photo of Sandvig with the new beach promenade linking the local historical archive in the former council hall high above the beach to a historical row of granite workers' houses and a foot path to Hammerknuden promontory. © COWI 2016

4.2.2. Project Development

According to municipal planner, Gugga Zachariasdottir and resident Sus Dahl Petersen, the foundations for the renewed beach promenade were laid in 2000 when a small group of residents organised a workshop to discuss the future development of Sandvig (personal communication, 13 August 2014). Several project ideas were put forward, including the renewal of the beach promenade, and the local citizens' organisation Sandvig Association was formed. In 2004, the national urban renewal program provided funding for urban development and to improve identity and attachment to the place, renovate run-down urban structures and preserve valuable heritage (Bornholms Regionskommune 2004, p.3; see also: Ministeriet for By, Bolig og Landdistrikter, 2013). *The Land of Opportunities* project built upon this work focusing on the beach promenade, but the original idea was expanded to also communicate Sandvig's mining history and emphasise the granite adventure, thereby connecting the Sandvig project to the projects in Hammerhavn and Vang. The new beach promenade was based on a collaboratively developed design and opened in June 2011.

4.2.3. Key Design Interventions

The design strategy for the beach promenade project was to open up the town towards the sea, create a new activity space, improve access to the beach, and communicate the granite mining history by creating a link between the local historical archive in the former council hall, *Rådstuen*, and a former granite workers' settlement at the other end of the beach.

The key design interventions:

- Reshaped the existing promenade in front of the beach hotels, established a 160-m bench on the promenade and replaced the adjacent rose- and hedge plantings with more natural and open beach vegetation. The beach promenade now ends at the former granite workers' settlement from where a foot path leads to Hammerknuden.
- Established a viewing platform including stairs down to the beach, and a 'cave' under the platform itself. The cave faces the sea and is ideal for picnics in inclement weather.
- Demolished the derelict wave pool and restored the dune landscape next to the beach, thereby opening up the view of Hammerknuden across the bay.

Figure 6: Sandvig. The weekly market around the long bench along the beach promenade with the new viewing platform and stairs to the beach in the background. Photo: Sus Dahl Petersen

4.2.4. New Assemblages and Collective Effects

The new beach promenade was quickly appropriated for midsummer feasts, a local children circus, and line dance performances (Sloth Hansen et al., 2014). In the summer, a weekly market is held, and an annual music festival has been held since 2015 (Ebdrup 2016a). There are plans to open the renovated hotel and two new cafés year-round (Ebdrup, 2016b). The youth hostel has been renovated and is open year-round, and a boarding house was recently bought by 'Copenhageners', (Kaas, 2016). The Sandvig Association website (www.sandvig.info), boasts that the village has 52 entrepreneurs (mostly in tourism) and that 'several' businesses are open year-round. Whether this is the result of the area renewal or specifically the beach promenade is difficult to determine, but it is safe to assume that the improvements have been noted and have made a positive contribution to local identity. Sus Dahl Petersen states:

> I think it is appreciated. People visiting will say 'Oh, it looks great' – visitors who knew the place before. Then you feel proud as a citizen, and you can pass it on to others. I think it's great (personal communication, 13 August 2014).

Sandvig Association, has proved to be a stable actor-network and continues to pursue new projects. In particular, two follow-up projects stand out: The new Hammerknuden pathway and the renovation of Sandvig harbour.

Whilst there is already a path along the coast, the Hammerknuden pathway will lead the hiker over the top of the area, past former quarries and 'hitherto forgotten nature' all the way to Hammer harbour (Ebdrup, 2016c). Sandvig Association has promoted the project idea and received funding from private foundations, the municipality and the national forest agency. The association has also agreed to help maintain the pathway in the future. This project further strengthens the communication of the *Granite Adventure*, while it also builds on and expands the networks and competencies developed during the area renewal project.

Sandvig harbour now serves as a marina. In 2016, the municipality set aside funding to renovate the piers. In cooperation with harbour manager Jakob Jensen, Sandvig Association has managed to obtain funding for a sauna for winter swimmers, to be established 2018. This project was inspired by *Land of Opportunities* in Hasle and draws on the networks and competencies created during that project (personal communication, Jakob Jensen, 15 November 2016).

4.3. New Life in Vang Granite Quarry

4.3.1. Context

A few kilometres south of Hammer harbour, near the village of Vang, Vang Pier marks the entrance to the former granite quarries of Ringebakkerne – an impressive man-made rocky landscape that stretches for more than a kilometre into the interior of the island. When the quarries were still in use, the owner, NCC Roads A/S, allowed the area to be used for recreational purposes outside working hours, such as mountain biking or rappelling. In 2002, the national sports association, DGI, held their annual event in Vang quarry. However, for the majority of Bornholmers and tourists, the area was closed and completely unknown (Sloth Hansen, Møller Christensen and Skou, 2012, p.173).

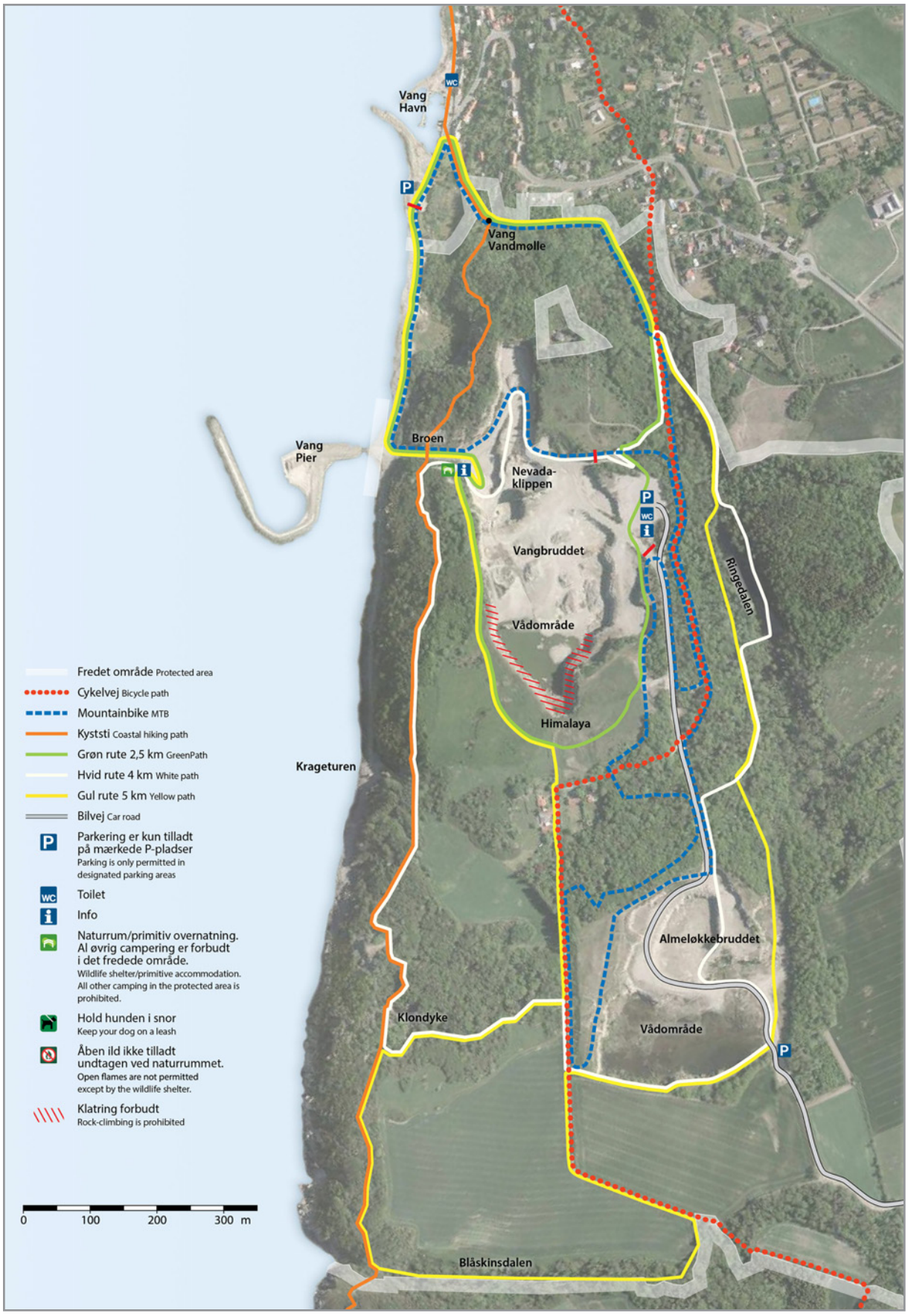

Figure 7: Vang quarries with the new path system and the main destinations.
© Bornholms Regionskommune.

4.3.2. Project Development

Before the quarries were closed, a plan to regenerate the area was formulated with an exclusive focus on nature conservation (see map on figure 7). However, in 2008, the Bornholm Outdoor Council proposed a vision for outdoor life on Bornholm in which the Vang quarries were to be transformed into a new regional outdoor life centre (Friluftsrådet Kreds Bornholm, 2008). The municipality approved of the idea and initiated an ambitious project to transform the quarries into a multifunctional open space for nature *and* outdoor life within the framework of *Land of Opportunities* (Sloth Hansen, Møller Christensen and Skou, 2012, p.173).

In 2011, the municipality assumed ownership of the area and conducted an on-site workshop with stakeholder organisations (the regional tourism organisation, Destination Bornholm; Team Cycling Bornholm; Bornholm's Climbing Association; Bornholm's Outdoor Council; the Nature Conservation Association Bornholm and the Danish Ornithologist Association Bornholm), the former owner, and representatives of local communities. The workshop was facilitated by the landscape architecture firm that subsequently designed a shelter and viewpoint in the quarries. The workshop resulted in the development of project ideas, established a project working group, and initiated an extended dialogue about potential conflicts of interest between nature protection and outdoor recreation. For example, what for some was the nesting site of a family of protected peregrine falcons was potentially a climbing wall for others. Thereafter, the specific design interventions were negotiated incrementally in the project group and agreed with the regional nature conservation authority, Fredningsnævnet Bornholm (Personal communication, Vivi Granby, project manager, and Nina Gjettermann, Team Cycling Bornholm and Danish Ornithologist Association Bornholm, 13 August 2014). The project was completed in the summer of 2014.

Figure 8: The new shelter and viewing point on top of the derelict granite crushing plant. Photo: Vivi Granby.

4.3.3. Key Design Interventions

The overall design strategy sought to create new destinations for recreation by highlighting existing built structures and landscape elements through new activities and distinctive new architecture as well as to open up and connect the area with a new path system while protecting vulnerable nature habitats. Focused design interventions created a framework for new recreational activities, nature protection, and the development and communication of the area's mining history:

- A new access path, a few cubic metres of sand, and a diving board have converted Vang pier from a granite shipping pier into a public beach; the pier was lowered by several metres to open an unobstructed view of the sea from Vang village and 60,000 tons of granite was removed and used to restore several harbours on Bornholm.

- At the derelict granite crushing plant, information boards communicate the history of this particular building. On top of the plant, two sculptural wooden structures have been added; a new viewpoint provides a spectacular view of the quarry and creates a new visual landmark, while a new shelter creates an informal place to stay.
- On the prominent Nevada cliff, climbing routes have been established.
- A new retention basin protects the breeding site of peregrine falcons and has created a destination for ornithologists.
- A new path network and signage provides access to the landscape and guides visitors, linking the new destinations and facilitating new activities such as mountain biking, and hiking, while protecting the vulnerable nature areas.

4.3.4. New Assemblages and Collective Effects

Since 2012, several recreational events have taken place. Notably, Vang beach party, a bi-annual music festival arranged by young 'exile' Bornholmers, has attracted around 1,000 visitors every year since 2012. The Nevada Cliff is now a top destination for climbing novices, while Vang quarries has been featured as a prominent destination in an international climbing guide (Kurz, 2014), whilst extreme and mountain bike (MTB) races targeting international participants have been organised. Just as importantly, the quarries are being used by Bornholmers and tourists for everyday recreational activities such as walking, school visits, and weddings. In particular, the shelter has been extremely popular. Vang pier is popular for swimming, angling and diving and is also being promoted by several tourism businesses. In the nearby village of Vang, the number of cafés and shops have increased, according to project manager Vivi Granby (Personal communication, 12 August 2014 and 15 November 2016).

Many of the new users and the new activities, which are supported and stimulated by the design interventions, can be traced back to the collaborative process, which gathered and engaged the actor-network that came to work together in and around Ringebakkerne. The assemblages of people and things gathered throughout the process have stabilised and taken shape around the new design interventions, while also attracting new users and activities.

Holistic design solutions, such as establishing a retention basin in front of the falcons' cliff to create a 'natural' buffer zone between the birds and the interested public, mitigated conflicts and made it possible to include functions other than nature conservation in the protected area. However, today, the nature protection status of the area restricts further changes in the landscape, thereby hampering the development of additional new activities and assemblages. The fact that the MTB trails have proven to be too steep for 'everyday' MTB cyclists, has led local MTB enthusiasts to propose the construction of new more-manageable trails. However, the municipality disapproved due to the area's protection status and so as to prevent conflict between user groups (Personal communication, Vivi Granby, 15 November 2016).

4.4. Hasle Harbour

Figure 9: Hasle harbour with the new harbour bath in the northern part of the harbour and the new beach island in the southern part of the harbour. © COWI 2016

4.4.1. Context

The small town of Hasle (about 1,700 inhabitants) is located a few kilometres south of Vang and a few kilometres north of Rønne, where ferries to Bornholm arrive. Hasle was a working-class town, and not picturesque. Accordingly, it was a low-status town according to tourists and other Bornholmers (Personal communication, Kaj Erik Mortensen, Knud Erik Olsen, Sven Olaf Kjær, Bytinget, Hasle, 13 August 2014). In the early 1980s, a major extension to the harbour was constructed to serve the then thriving fishing industry. However, ten years later, the Baltic Sea fishing industry collapsed and large parts of the almost 10 ha harbour area have been vacant ever since (Sloth Hansen, Møller Christensen and Skou, 2012).

4.4.2. Project Development

Like Sandvig, the *Land of Opportunities* project in Hasle grew out of a local area renewal project, which was conducted from 2008-2014 in collaboration with local residents and associations, organised in Hasle Byting (Hasle City Court). Hasle Byting selected the harbour for area renewal and proposed a number of projects focusing on new recreational uses. As a result, the municipality prepared a local development plan for the southern part of the harbour in 2009. A temporary bathing platform at the northern end of the harbour was a great success, and in 2011, the municipality conducted a competition to design a permanent harbour bath (Sloth Hansen, Møller Christensen and Skou, 2012).

4.4.3. Key Design Interventions

The *Land of Opportunities* project in Hasle co-financed four design interventions to transform the harbour into a public open space with new recreational uses:

- A new harbour bath with a prominent diving tower and a sauna creates a new destination at the northern end of the harbour.
- Lowering the quays provides a better view of the water and creates new places to stay.
- A new harbour square at the southern end of the harbour establishes a market place where fishermen in Hasle can sell their fish.
- From the harbour square a bridge leads to a new urban beach on an artificial island, which was created by digging a new canal through a former landfill site.

The harbour bath was opened to the public in July 2013; the new beach followed in July 2014.

The strategy behind the project was to create two new destinations which rejuvenated both ends of the harbour; connecting the two ends as well as the harbour with the town. The project has also improved Hasle's connection with the landscape; specifically, the new beach on the island creates a 'natural' link with the sea and the coastal landscape and beaches south of Hasle.

Figure 10: Hasle harbour bath. Photo: Signe Find Larsen, White architects

Figure 11: Hasle harbour: the new harbour terraces on the lowered quays at the southern end of the harbour. Photo: Gugga Zachariasdottir.

4.4.4. New Assemblages and Collaborative Effects

The municipal project manager, Gugga Zakariasdottir, reports that Hasle harbour bath has not only become a location for swimming and relaxing, but also a landmark which has created a reason to go to Hasle, given the town a new identity and made it more attractive to live in: 'from being a town you used to drive or cycle past, Hasle has become a destination for tourists and residents from all over the island' (Sloth Hansen, 2014, p.23).

The new facilities and physical improvements to the harbour have also stimulated private investments and are attracting new businesses. The boat motor club, Columbus, established a maritime museum in a vacant building on the new harbour square. A new beach café opened in 2014 and was doubled in size in 2016, while two existing cafés have considerably increased their turnovers. Several providers of outdoor activities, such as angling and kayaking, have moved to Hasle harbour. In 2015, the sale of fresh fish commenced, and the existing smokehouse now offers activities such as smoking fish and tasting events (Personal communication, Gugga Zakariasdottir, 15 November 2016). In 2016, there was a 16 percent increase in the number of overnight visiting boats to Hasle harbour, which resulted in a 23 percent increase in income for the harbour (Larsen, 2016). Currently, a house boat project is in the development phase; this involves the construction of ten locally-produced boats (Personal communication, Jakob Jensen, 15 November 2016).

Zakariasdottir emphasises that the transformation of such a large area as Hasle harbour takes time; the new physical framework needs to be brought into action (Personal communication, 13 August 2014). Collaboration during the development of the project has been vital in gathering together a network of associations and residents who continue to arrange activities and events in connection with the new facilities year-round. For example, Hasle Byting has arranged a local music festival and midsummer bonfires at the new beach, which have attracted a large number of visitors (Stubkjær, 2016).

Working for, and with, the design interventions has strengthened the sense of community in Hasle: 'Before the area renewal project, only a handful of residents came to local events, now we can easily mobilise 200–300 people' (Personal communication, Kaj Erik Mortensen, Knud Erik Olsen, Sven Olaf Kjær, Hasle Byting, 13 August

2014). Currently, Hasle Byting is working on a new plan for the artificial island and the beach to create more activities (Larsen, 2016).

5. Perspectives from the Four Projects

When comparing the four projects, we find several recurring effects which are particularly relevant in the context of rural decline:

- New regional communities of interest developed around new recreational activities, thereby establishing new social organisations across shrinking local communities.
- Concentrated, shared facilities and activities for both tourists and local users increased public life in sparsely populated areas.
- The landscape became a focal point for strategic design: all projects improved the connectivity between settlements and landscape. The transformations of the Vang quarries and Hammer harbour additionally created, or substantially improved, public spaces outside the settlements, which improved access to the landscape and initiated new physical and mental connections across North Bornholm.
- The transformation of Hasle harbour and the Sandvig beach promenade also increased local pride and citizens' identification with the town and their sense of community, which today manifests itself in the continued engagement of local actors in events and activities in and around the new public spaces and the development of local follow-up projects.
- All the projects have presumably triggered – or at least improved the basis for – small scale, locally-based business development.

Three of the four projects focused on the transformation of a former production landscape into a recreational public space, while the project in Sandvig linked the development of public space to the town's mining history. A few key design interventions brought in new recreational facilities and activities in a manner which reorganised the structure and staged the transformation to a new identity, thereby transforming how the whole landscape is experienced. Identified key strategies are the concentration and staging of existing and new activities in characterful new architecture, the establishment of new destinations for recreational activities in and around characterful existing built structures and landscape elements, and the creation of new connective path networks.

While all the projects resulted in local physical and functional transformations, our analysis shows that their effects also reach far beyond the local intervention areas. The project in Vang quarries achieved new physical connections on a large scale by opening up a previously closed area, creating new paths and enhancing the connectivity of existing path networks. The projects at Hammer harbour and Sandvig led to improved connectivity between the two locations and across the Hammerknuden promontory. The communication of Bornholm's mining history created new cross-local mental connections. Finally, all the projects created new social connections across multiple scales by gathering and engaging people, as well as organisations and communities in the use and, to some extent, further development of the project areas.

A collaborative process which engages local communities, stakeholders and users in the project development appears to be vital for creating and maintaining the new activities as well as new communities of interest around the design interventions. In particular, the projects in Hasle and Sandvig, which were part of a long-term local renewal process, demonstrate that collaborative design interventions can create strong assemblages of things and people through strong senses of ownership, active use of and care for the renewed public spaces, and continuous engagement in their future development. Existing evaluations of Danish area renewal projects in small towns confirm the positive experiences from Hasle and Sandvig (Aagaard, Tychsen, 2016).

In all four cases, the municipal project managers focused on broad collaborations with local actors and on their integration with municipal strategies and plans. However, although all four projects were part of the same strategic planning initiative and were located in the same geographical area, they were largely developed and managed independently as local projects. This might partly be explained by the fact that all the project ideas emerged before and outside *Land of Opportunities* and were eventually adapted to fit the scope of the initiative – to demonstrate the potential of strategic place-based development – rather than the other way

around. In addition, the development of the local projects was used to develop and test new municipal visions for spatial development. Thus, the preservation and communication of Bornholm's mining history was framed and staged as the granite adventure first in Hammer harbour, and then in the Vang quarries and Sandvig, and has now become a brand for North Bornholm. The transformation of the Vang quarries and pier also contributed to the implementation of Bornholm's strategic focus on outdoor life. In addition, new cross-local links were established through the collaborative processes; Hasle residents, for example, participated in both the development of Hasle harbour and the Vang quarries, while members of the Sandvig Kayak Club participated in the development of Hammer harbour. A current follow-up project in Sandvig aims to establish a new path to connect Sandvig with Hammer harbour.

At the municipal level, these four projects have inspired a new strategic development initiative, which focuses equally on the development of place-based potential and collaborative processes. *Future Landscapes on North Bornholm* is part of a national research and development programme on holistic landscape development carried out by 13 Danish municipalities in collaboration with the University of Copenhagen (http://fremtidenslandskaber.ku.dk/). The Bornholm project aims to develop a comprehensive landscape plan based on the initiatives of recent years (hereunder *Land of Opportunities*) in which landscape, natural and cultural historical resources play an important role as development factors to strengthen the towns, tourism and other businesses in North Bornholm. The plan is being developed in collaboration with landowners, users, stakeholder organisations and the municipality (http://fremtidenslandskaber.ku.dk/projekter/bornholm/).

In 2016, in-migration to Bornholm was higher than out-migration for the first time in many years, although the population is still declining due to the negative birth-death ratio (Danmarks Statistik, 2017). Moreover, tourism on Bornholm has developed very positively over the last few years (Egedal, 2017). While the causes of these developments are complex, it is safe to say that *Land of Opportunities* and other similar projects have contributed to these positive developments. The outcome, moreover, demonstrates that investments in recreational infrastructure and attractive public spaces can benefit residents and visitors alike. Tourism can have both positive and negative impacts on local communities' senses of local identity (Cocossis, 2009). On Bornholm tourism has a long tradition and is primarily perceived as an asset by local communities. Yet, in light of continued population decline, it will be increasingly important to strike a balance between visitors' and residents' interests.

Land of Opportunities set out to strengthen place-based qualities and potential through local physical projects that also enhanced quality of life and improved the framework for settlement and tourism. These overall aims clearly link the initiative to the new rural paradigm and to present Danish and European rural development policies. The strong focus on the transformation of post-industrial landscapes is, moreover, similar to German project-based planning initiatives in declining regions; specifically, the much-debated International Building Exhibition (IBA) Emscher Park in the former steel and coal mining Ruhr district (see, for instance: Mayer and Siebel, 1998; Shaw, 2002) and, more recently, the International Building Exhibition (IBA) Fürst-Pückler-Land, in the former coal mining district of the Lausitz (see for instance: Altrock, 2007). Experiences from the IBA Emscher Park confirm that the transformation of post-industrial landscapes can help declining areas to overcome economic and demographic change (Shaw, 2002; see also: Seltmann, 2015). The two German initiatives focused on sustainable landscape development at the regional scale from the start, while *Land of Opportunities* primarily focused on the creation of better local frameworks for settlement and tourism. This might be partly due to the fact that the latter started out with a general focus on place-based potential and only thereafter focused on post-industrial mining landscapes. However, the follow-up project *Future Landscape North Bornholm* is equally working with large-scale landscape development to create synergy between local projects and provide a basis for holistic landscape development. This suggests that strategic landscape development inside and outside settlements and across local and the regional scales can be pertinent when developing better quality of life in declining regions.

6 Conclusions with Implications for Further Research

This paper has investigated the socio-material effects of strategic urban and landscape design in the context of rural decline.

Actor-network theory offered an operational framework for analysing design quality in terms of what design does in a wider strategic perspective. It allowed us to study how physical projects effect socio-material change both through the process of their making and after their implementation. By studying the interaction between people, ideas and things as a collective *translation* process, we were able to identify not only immediate physical and functional changes, but also more far-reaching and long-term socio-material effects resulting from the four transformation projects of post-industrial landscapes on Bornholm, Denmark.

The analysis of the four cases showed that collaboratively developed design interventions can help transform and strengthen local identity, attract new activities and users, stimulate local business development, create new regional and international connections, and define new spatial development perspectives rooted in existing place-based resources and potential. They can also help to increase local senses of community, engage local communities and, – particularly important in the context of shrinking rural communities – encourage regional communities of interest in the development of public life.

ANT does not, however, specifically sustain post-occupancy studies where quantitative effects are in focus, neither is it well suited for analysing unresolved conflicts in planning and participation processes. An ANT-analysis focuses on the effects of controversies between actors and the resulting socio-material assemblages, while there is less focus on, for example, actors and agencies that are excluded in the planning and design process. We have been aware of this so as not to *forget* conflicts and paint an overly positive picture of the processes, yet our focus has been the outcome of strategic spatial projects.

From an ANT perspective, the quality of the connections established and sustained by design actions is vital. This means that design quality shows not only in the work conducted, but also in the capacity of the assembled actors to sustain the work and eventually expand the established networks. As this is a continual process, the connectivity of design actions and gathered assemblages is a key aspect of strategic design quality. We found that ANT is a pertinent framework for studying the long-term performance of strategic spatial projects and, in particular, how design actions can continue to gather new actors, spark new initiatives and, thereby, fuel repercussive effects. This may be an area for further research, not only to study the immediate outcome of strategic spatial projects, but also their long-term performance and connectivity. We believe that the knowledge generated by this type of study could not only be used for the assessment of successes and failures, but also in strategic ways to manage and further develop existing interventions and to initiate new projects and cooperation.

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COMPARATIVE PLANNING AND HOUSING STUDIES BEYOND TAXONOMY:

A GENEALOGY OF THE SPECIAL PROGRAMME FOR REHOUSING (PORTUGAL)

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Abstract

Recent European comparative studies in the fields of housing policy and spatial planning have been dominated by taxonomical and linear approaches, and by normative calls for convergence toward systems considered more 'mature' or 'advanced'. In this article, we adopt a genealogical perspective and consider those cultures that are central to the shaping of policy. We set out a long-term exploration of the intersection between spatial planning and housing policy in Portugal and focus on the Special Programme for Rehousing (Programa Especial de Realojamento, PER), a programme that has had changing roles (from a financial instrument to a core component of policies of urban regeneration) in connection with political and planning cultures changing in time and space. In this way, we provide evidence of the limited capacity of taxonomic and linear approaches to describe planning and housing systems undergoing processes of change and, conversely, show the potential of genealogical research.

Keywords

Comparative planning studies; planning cultures; housing systems; policy diffusion; Programa Especial de Realojamento.

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1. Introduction

The Special Rehousing Programme (Programa Especial de Realojamento, hereafter PER) was launched in 1993 to provide financial instruments to the municipalities of the two main metropolitan areas of Portugal, Lisbon and Oporto, to rehouse the thousands of households living in informal settlements.[1] Despite having never been formally concluded, the PER had its acme during the late 1990s. Much had been written in that decade, but the PER and housing issues seem to have fallen out of fashion since then. Indeed, in late 2014, while preparing the bid for the research project for the project from which this article stems, we found among fellow Portuguese scholars a lack of interest in the PER, and housing policy more generally. In the wake of the global economic crisis, issues of housing once more took centre stage (see Garcia-Lamarca and Kaika, 2016; Madden and Marcuse, 2016). Paradoxically, it was the recovery, rather than crisis and subsequent austerity politics, that triggered the debate about housing in Portugal, and particularly the gentrification and 'touristification', which followed the boom in tourism and real estate sectors. In 2016, the UN Special Rapporteur for Adequate Housing visited Portugal and highlighted the permanence of precarious housing conditions in informal settlements (Fahra, 2017). In March 2017, the national parliament urged the government to evaluate housing needs and act.

Recent academic and political attention to housing has reverted a long trend, started around the 1970s/1980s, of declining public intervention in housing policy and the commodification of housing (see Madden and Marcuse, 2016). The commodification of housing, however, happened at the same time as the focus of public policy shifted toward promoting urban regeneration, hence making housing one component, among many others, of planning policy.

This article intends to explore these transitions by focusing on the intersection between the European fields of comparative planning and housing studies. Both fields have been dominated by taxonomic and linear approaches that have often proved unable to provide an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of policymaking in areas that are characterised by complex intersections between different sectorial policies and levels of governmental action. By adopting a genealogical approach (see Foucault, 1994 [1976]; Gutting, 1990) and using the concepts of 'planning cultures' (Knieling and Othengrafen, 2015) and 'public action' (Allen et al., 2004), we intend to gain a better understanding of the development of the policy process – in a way that unites the characteristics of the local environment, the dynamic of overarching trends and the process of policy diffusion, and the complex network of relations between actors sitting at different scales. This theoretical approach is, we argue, especially needed in the case of Portugal. This is for two reasons. First, comparative exercises have so far failed to define the country's planning system in the light of conventional taxonomic categories (see Campos and Ferrão, 2015). Secondly, reflecting on Portugal's awkward place in comparative planning research (and, more broadly, on the country's position at the 'borderlands' of urban theory, see Baptista, 2013; Tulumello, 2016b) can enrich and de-parochialise our theoretical understanding of the phenomena under observation – such as the idea of 'sociology at world scale' proposed by Robinson (2011).

Our theoretical goals are to provide evidence of the limited capacity of taxonomic and linear approaches to describe planning and housing systems, and especially their evolution over time; and to show the greater potentiality of a genealogical approach. We will pursue these goals by locating the specificities of the PER in the Portuguese socio-political context – with particular attention to the political cycles of national government – and, at the same time, by reflecting on the impact of the programme on the Portuguese planning and housing system.

There are two main reasons for us to study the PER. First, it is a good example of a multilevel policy without territorial governance – the national government provided the funding instruments, financial regulations and generic guidelines, while municipalities were in charge of planning, design and implementation. Secondly, the case of the PER allows us to explore the tensions that exist between the dimensions of housing provision and urban regeneration. The PER constituted an incipient regional plan: it significantly restructured the regional built environment – in the Lisbon metro more than 20,000 households were rehoused – but it did so in the

1 Here 'informal settlements' refer to self-built settlements in squatted lands (often called 'slums', in Portuguese, bairros de barracas). These should not be confused with illegal/informal allotments (in Portuguese clandestinos or Áreas Urbanas de Génese Ilegal).

absence of proper planning instruments. As such, the extent to which the provision of housing was integrated with larger concerns pertaining to urban regeneration was dependent on contingencies, contextual factors, and local trajectories of path dependency, including, for example, the approaches to planning deployed by each municipality, and the different phases of national governmental action.

The article starts by emphasising the dominance of taxonomic and linear approaches in comparative planning and housing studies (Section 2). We then set out our genealogical perspective for the study of the Portuguese case (Section 3). The backdrop of the evolution of the Portuguese planning and housing policy is explored in Section 4, before we present the history of the PER with specific reference to its implementation in Lisbon metro (Section 5). We conclude by summarising the contribution that our genealogical exploration of the Portuguese case brings to comparative studies more broadly.

2. A Brief Summary of the European Field of Comparative Planning and Housing Studies

European comparative studies have tended to focus on two key elements: first, within a taxonomic perspective, they have investigated the differences that exist in the various national planning and housing systems; secondly, they have investigated the process of convergence of these systems, for example in the light of the so-called 'Europeanisation' (Giannakorou, 2005; Ferrão, 2011).

The Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems (CEC, 1997), commissioned by the European Commission, triggered a rush of comparative planning studies (see, amongst others, Farinós Dasí, 2007; Nadin and Stead, 2008; Stead and Cotella, 2011). The Compendium divided planning systems of EU member states in four 'traditions' (CEC, 1997, pp.33-37): the regional economic approach (typical of France); the comprehensive integrated approach (Denmark and Netherlands); land-use management (UK); and urbanism (Italy and Spain); with other systems falling in between two or more traditions. The Compendium, and most following comparative works, have discussed the 'maturity' of systems to foster (linear) convergence toward those considered more mature. Maturity was broadly defined in terms of the 'degree of public acceptance of the need for planning', of the 'provision of up-to-date policy instruments', of the 'degree of vertical integration and cooperation between levels of administration', and of the 'existence of transparent and productive consultation mechanisms' (CEC, 1997, p.35). That a major ongoing ESPON comparative study is concerned with measuring the maturity of national systems (Nadin et al., 2016, p.10) suggests that the dominant approach remained quite stable over time.

Comparative housing studies (see, for different perspectives, Harloe, 1995; Kemeny, 2001; Alves, 2017; Di Feliciantonio and Aalbers, 2017) have focused on two main dimensions: the composition of housing systems (e.g. types of tenure, weight of public/private/non-profit sectors, quality of the built environment); and (national) policy approaches. Within this field, many have been concerned with emphasising the systems 'lagging behind', typically Southern European ones, in the implementation of housing policies when compared with more 'advanced', typically central European, countries (Allen et al., 2004). At the same time, most studies have described a process of convergence within housing policies since the 1980s based on the neo-liberal transformation (and retrenchment) of welfare states, that is, the shift from state-provided social-rented housing towards regulation, the stimulus of home ownership, the support given to private/charity social housing, and the privatisation of public housing stocks. Doling (2006) suggested that the EU has played a role in this transition, developing a deficient housing policy 'by stealth', made up of regulations in different fields. All in all, the increase in levels of home ownership and private renting (and therefore the shrinking of the social housing component) seems to be 'desirable' for EU policies/politics (Doling, 2006)[2]. In the context of state withdrawal from direct housing provision, public resources have been re-directed toward the regeneration of the built environment (Cameron, 1992), as opposed to the emphasis on new developments that was prevalent during the post-WWII golden age of public housing provision.

2 Indeed, the memoranda of understanding signed with Portugal and Greece by the European Commission for the recent bailouts included provisions for the liberalisation of housing markets.

3. Beyond Taxonomy and Linearity in Comparative Studies: Epistemological and Methodological Notes

The fields we have surveyed in the previous section have, on the one hand, provided a set of 'boxes' (e.g. 'traditions', 'paradigms'), where systems can be placed and compared. On the other, they have captured grand processes of transformation at the European level; namely, the Europeanisation of spatial planning and the neo-liberalisation of housing policies. Recently, critiques of the dominance of taxonomic and linear approaches have emerged in the fields of planning and housing studies. In planning theory, doubts have been cast over the explanatory capacity of the concepts of paradigm and tradition (Getimis, 2012; Tulumello, 2015). The field of planning cultures emerged to contribute to the de-parochialisation of planning studies (Sanyal, 2005) – in line with post-colonial approaches to urban studies (Roy, 2009; Robinson, 2011). In Europe, Knieling and Othengrafen (2015) developed the 'culturised planning model' to explore the trajectories of planning policy by looking into 'taken for granted assumptions' and 'unwritten patterns of power' (p.2135). With respect to the harmonisation of planning systems amid Europeanisation, Knieling and Othengrafen concluded that

> adaptational pressures, for example Europeanization, obviously result in the customization of existing structures, frames and policies ('planning artefacts' and 'planning environment') but do not necessarily touch the underlying core cultural traits ('societal environment') (2015, p.2144).

That is why, they argue, static comparisons focusing on institutional and formal features of the planning systems often fail in explaining specific spatial developments across EU member states (Knieling and Othengrafen, 2015; see also Fürst, 2009, p.27). This approach resonates with the concept of 'public action' (Allen et al., 2004) in housing studies, namely the idea that we should look at housing issues and housing policy 'as the outcome of a system of relationships among the different actors involved' (p.57). What the approach of planning cultures and public action have in common is the critique of the tendency of taxonomic and linear approaches to project normative ideals in contexts where these may not be adequate or even relevant. This has two implications: from an analytical perspective, there is a risk of losing sight of the peculiarities of specific cases, particularly with regards to processes of policy change; from a normative perspective, there is a risk of reproducing and imposing hegemonic ideals outside the contexts where they have developed and are fully meaningful.

In contrast, the epistemological approach of this article is the adoption of a genealogic perspective, which is applied through an account of the history of the PER against the background of the evolution of the Portuguese planning system and housing policy. As a methodology of historical research, genealogy (Foucault, 1994 [1976]; Gutting, 1990) is designed to investigate the non-linear nature of the dynamics of societal change – from one system of thought and knowledge (a 'discursive formation', in Foucault's words) to another. Foucault set out three key methodological elements for genealogical investigations: specificity, discontinuity and exteriority. The idea of specificity constitutes an exhortation to describe each discursive formation on its own terms, acknowledging its contingent and self-sustained nature, and its inherent logic – in contrast to an ahistorical analysis based on supposedly universal categories, ex-post judgments, and so forth. The idea of discontinuity suggests that we should investigate ruptures and mutations (or the absence thereof) that intervene between successive discursive formations (and policy formulations). Finally, the concept of 'exteriority' calls the researcher's attention to the material, practical conditions of existence of each discursive formations – suspending, so to speak, the tension towards the search for deeper meanings and interpretation.

In this article, the genealogic approach is deployed in order to understand the dynamics of change in the particular system of power and knowledge represented by the field of Portuguese planning system and housing policy in the last 30 years – the PER being our entry point. The contribution that the adoption of a genealogical approach to a single case can provide to the field of comparative research can be summed up in two steps. First, one single case can be sufficient to call into question conventional wisdom (Flyvbjerg, 2006), for instance, by showing how a taxonomy cannot accurately describe that very case. This is particularly relevant when studying contexts that have long remained at the 'borderlands' of mainstream theorisation (Baptista, 2013; Tulumello, 2016b). Secondly, the analysis of a single case study over a long time-span can produce more nuanced theorisations and avoid recourse to shallow culturalist explanations of the divergence of certain national contexts from normative ideals produced elsewhere (see Tulumello, 2016a, pp.6-7). This

allows us, in turn, to avoid falling into the trap of particularism, and look instead at processes of continuity and change in a given policy area by accounting for the mutual influence between local context and wider structural processes.

Our reconstruction of the history of the PER is based on three sources of evidence: first, the original policy documents (laws, decree-laws, diplomas, reports, governmental programmes); secondly, in-depth interviews with key informants[3]; and thirdly, field notes from several meetings with civil servants in most municipalities of Lisbon metro during the collection of data for the research project[4].

4. Before the PER: The Portuguese Planning System and Housing Policy between Continuity and Change

Placing the Portuguese planning system and housing policy within existing taxonomies is no easy task. Campos and Ferrão (2015) note that there is no consensus in comparative literature with regard to the understanding of the Portuguese system – the key features of which are linked by the Compendium, for example, to three out of four planning 'traditions' (CEC, 1997). Portugal's awkward position seems to reflect the broader problem of fruitfully including 'Southern perspectives' (Janin Rivolin and Faludi, 2005) in the EU debate on planning amid the dominance of the maturity perspective. This section attempts to describe the main traits of the Portuguese planning system and housing policy before the launch of the PER in 1993.

Campos and Ferrão (2015) argue that planning has traditionally had a weak status in Portugal. Specifically, they highlight three key historical features: i) the dominance of architects and engineers in the field (hence the link to the tradition of 'urbanism', as per the Compendium's definition; CEC, 1997); ii) the lack of a sound reference framework for spatial planning at the regional level; and iii) the centralised nature of policymaking in this area, combined with the state's limited effectiveness in confronting the interests of the real estate sector. The authors also describe the long and significant process of change that has occurred in the last three decades. In the aftermath of the 1974 democratic revolution, the creation of municipal power inaugurated a dialectic with the centralism of the national government. The decade that preceded the enactment of the PER (1993) and the years that immediately followed it were marked by significant steps toward a more integrated planning perspective at the urban and regional level. In 1982 the municipal masterplan (Plano Director Municipal, PDM) was introduced in planning regulations; virtually all municipalities had produced their own local master plan by the early 1990s when municipal masterplans became a mandatory requirement for municipalities to apply for EU funds and expropriate land (Campos and Ferrão, 2015, p.18). The municipal masterplans 'introduced into public consciousness the idea that urbanisation and construction had to follow rules […] [and] created, for the first time, a market for specialists in urbanism and spatial planning' (Campos and Ferrão, 2015, p.19).

Different factors contributed to this trend: i) a period of relative political stability after turbulence which had marked the first years after the revolution; ii) the opening, in 1982, of the first Portuguese master's programme in urban and regional planning in Lisbon; iii) the development of a new interdisciplinary approach, which conceived housing as a key component of urban planning (former Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities, interview); iv) the role of geographers, during the 1990s, in 'the establishment of spatial planning perspectives as a counterweight' to the traditional urbanism approach (Campos and Ferrão, 2015, p.19); and v) Portugal's adhesion to the European Community in 1986, with participation in the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). New planning instruments and bodies, inspired by a more integrated and strategic approach to spatial planning, were introduced with the goal of consolidating the planning system. A comprehensive reform (Spatial and Urban Planning Policy Act, Law 48/1998) regulated spatial planning as an

3 A research professor and former Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities (2005-2009); a former Secretary of State for Housing (1995-1999); a former civil officer in the national Department of Housing; a researcher and former IHRU board member; a Professor of Sociology at UNL; a politician, president of the Municipal Assembly of Lisbon and MP; a Professor of Sociology and Urban Studies at ISCTE-IUL; an architect, civil servant at Lisbon Municipality; a professor of urban sociology at ISCTE-IUL; a former president of IHRU and former civil servant at Oeiras Municipality; a former Minister for Public Works, Transport and Communication (1990-1995).

4 All translations of documents, texts and interviews from Portuguese are ours.

autonomous policy area; introduced a clear-cut distinction between the statutory and developmental arms of the planning system; and harmonised Portuguese planning law with key principles derived from the ESDP process.

The Portuguese housing system is similar to other Southern European ones (Allen et al., 2004), especially with regard to the high levels of private ownership and low levels of social rented housing; the high proportion of second homes; the crucial role of family welfare in supporting access to homes; and the significant role of self-promotion. This configuration has emerged over time due to three main factors, namely i) a political consensus on home ownership as an effective way to achieve social sustainability; ii) the sale of public rented housing stock as a result of institutional difficulties to manage it; and iii) an orientation of public administration toward 'implementing rules to control private initiative, rather than developing "entrepreneurial attitudes" within the public sector' (Allen et al., 2004, p.166). Furthermore, housing has been traditionally considered (especially at the level of central administration) as an issue of financing and public works – 'giving people a home' (dar casa às pessoas) in the words of many of our respondents[5]; and acted upon through single programmes rather than a comprehensive strategy. In the words of a Professor in Sociology and Urban Studies (interview),

> there has never been a housing policy in Portugal. There have been packages [pacotes] […]. Why packages? Because one can control goals, and funds allocated to it, better. Now, an integrated housing policy, thinking of housing needs and solutions, this is something…

Other respondents shared this idea. A former Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities, for example, pointed to the many institutional and political pushbacks encountered during one of the most ambitious attempts of developing an integrated housing policy (see Section 5.4). These included i) the difficulty in transforming the main governmental agency in the housing sector (the Institute of Housing and Urban Regeneration, Instituto de Habitação e Rehabilitação Urbana, IHRU) from a financial institution to a promoter of housing/regeneration policy[6]; ii) the bipartisan consensus on the importance of home ownership; iii) the processes of alienation of public housing stock already ongoing at the time; iv) and the failure in passing a national strategy for housing policy. Another respondent (researcher and former IHRU board member), pointed out that the Portuguese experience in recent decades has followed a path, in which some ideas, generated more or less consciously during earlier eras laid the conditions for further advancement.

All in all, however, the historic trajectory of Portuguese housing policy significantly contributed to the build-up of the housing crisis of the early 1990s, which the PER was enacted to solve. During the dictatorship era (1926-1974), the primacy of private intervention coupled by scarce and paternalistic public interventions (Serra, 1997) made the housing system unable to accommodate population growth and rural-urban migrations. After the 1974 democratic revolution, housing issues were brought to the limelight by a wave of activism and the 'right to housing' was included in the democratic Constitution (art. 65). With the creation of local power and processes of decentralisation, housing came to be considered a de facto responsibility of municipal authorities, a proximity policy to be developed in close relation with urban planning. In the late 1970s several programmes to promote social housing and improve informal settlements were launched (see Bandeirinha, 2007). Although these represented the first attempts at making housing policy a core element of urban policy (researcher and former IHRU board member, interview), they did not bring about structural transformations. Indeed, housing problems (including the proliferation of informal settlements in the metropolitan areas) worsened after the revolution, as housing policies and the market were unable to accommodate the housing needs of hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the former African colonies – both Portuguese settlers with their descendants and people of African descent.

5 On this distinction there are different interpretations. For instance, one respondent, researcher and former IHRU board member, agreed that 'not much [of housing] falls in the state's competences'.

6 This was confirmed by the president of IHRU in those years, interview.

5. The Programa Especial de Realojamento: Genealogy of a Housing Policy

This section describes how the PER came about; reflects on the implications of the program on the housing situation and urban growth; and discusses the extent to which the programme has been a component of wider attempts at urban regeneration or remained a narrow, sectorial housing policy.

5.1. Before 1993: Early Policy Responses to the Housing Crisis and the Birth of the PER

Before 1993, some policies for the regeneration of the built environment were launched, but they still fell short of solving the problem of informal settlements. In 1985 the government launched the Programme for Urban Refurbishment (Programa de Reabilitação Urbana, PRU). This expanded to public spaces the interventions on degraded housing that had taken place under the Programme for the Recovery of Degraded Buildings (Programa de Recuperação de Imóveis Degradados, PRID). The PRU increased financial resources and was an important attempt at integrating housing policy in the broader framework of urban policy. The PRU, not being restricted to intervention in specific areas, could theoretically cover interventions in any degraded area, including illegal neighbourhoods. However, a few months later, Decree-Law 366/1985 (later replaced by Decree-Law 226/1987) provided special guidelines for rehousing populations living in informal settlements, de facto separating interventions in these areas from regeneration.

With the beginning, in 1985, of a decade of centre-right governments (which largely conceived housing as a 'productive sector', and the purview of private companies) regeneration became marginalised to planning policy and rehousing was considered the remit of local authorities, with the state providing some financial support (Decree-Law 226/1987). Towards the end of the 1980s, the housing shortage was still a major problem, for a plethora of reasons (Ferreira, 1988, pp.55-56). These included i) the absence of a comprehensive national housing policy[7]; ii) the relevance of land property in processes of accumulation – a typical feature of Southern European countries (Salzano, 1998); iii) weaknesses within the financing system; and iv) scarce technological and organisational development in the building industry. The electoral campaign of 1991 seemed to mark a turning point: pressured by public opinion and opposition parties, the prime minister promised more incisive action in housing. This promise, however, remained forgotten until 1993, and public investment in housing policy remained stagnant until that date. Overall, public action was not capable of taking the lead in regulating urban growth and the promotion of housing (Serra, 1997).

Within the contradictory trends that we have described, pressure mounted, in the early 1990s, for decisive political action to solve what was perceived to be a pressing social and urban concern. The urgency was the product of several interlocking factors. The problem of informal settlements in Lisbon had reached unprecedented levels. Even more importantly, a more acute awareness began to develop among activists, decision-makers, and public opinion at large. Portugal's membership of the European Community and the organisation of a number of high-profile international events (and particularly the 1998 World Fair) added to the urgency. The state of Lisbon's peripheries gained media attention (see Alves, 2016); several activists' campaigns against evictions received considerable exposure; and the informal settlements became an object of political campaigning, with the mayor of Lisbon and the President of the Republic – both affiliated to the Socialist Party, the main opposition to the centre-right government – promoting high-profile public initiatives designed to put pressure on the executive to address the problems. 'Acabar com as barracas' ('getting rid of the shacks') became the largely consensual formula that propelled the enactment of the PER.

A few months before the enactment of the PER, an expert committee, made up of scholars and practitioners politically close to the Socialist Party, was formed through the initiative of various organisations operating in the field of housing. The committee published the influential White Paper on Housing Policy in Portugal (Livro Branco sobre a Política de Habitação em Portugal; Ferreira, 1993). It called for a plan for the construction of 500,000 houses (p.67), and the creation of a publicly owned stock of land to be allocated to the plan (p.70). Some 60,000 of those houses were indicated as instrumental to the 'provision of socially rented housing on an appropriate scale, in order to allow for the elimination of the informal settlements and illegal allotments

7 Also because of the 1977 intervention by the International Monetary Fund, which froze the launch of public housing developments.

existing in the metros of Lisbon and Oporto' (p.60). This stock was supposed to adopt an investment and management model (pp.60-68) characterised by: i) partnerships between public authorities (local, national or regional housing companies to be funded by the central administration and the municipalities) and residents' associations; ii) the adjustment of rent levels to market value; iii) the refurbishment of public housing stock; and iv) the possibility of selling public housing units to tenants. The White Paper further suggested the integration of programmes for the refurbishment of existing public housing stock into a wider refurbishment programme including 240,000 housing units (p.22), which was also expected to contribute to reducing the need for social housing developments. In short, the White Paper sought a systematic integration of the goals of housing provision and urban regeneration, an integration neglected by subsequent policies launched by the centre-right government.

5.2. 1993-1995: PER as a Purely Financial Instrument

In 1993, amid growing public and political debate about housing issues, the government launched six measures, announced as a comprehensive 'housing package' (pacote da habitação). The Decree-Law 163/1993, which established the PER, indeed intended to 'get rid of shacks'. It followed the suggestions presented in the White Paper in relation to the cooperation between central and local authorities, and the adoption of a system of subsidised rents. However, differences between the Decree-Law and the White Paper were significant and, notably: i) in relation to the nature of the financial resources, the White Paper's suggestion for the creation of a specific national fund made up of both national and EU resources was discarded; ii) while, in addition to new developments, the White Paper focused on refurbishment, the PER envisaged the possibility to purchase on the market; and iii) the Decree-Law did not provide any guidelines as to the management model. The PER was not very dissimilar to previous legislation, especially Decree-Law 226/1987. Its novelty consisted primarily of the better financial conditions offered to the municipalities with regard to borrowing funds, and the overall availability of more finance[8]. The PER intended to solve the 'plague' (Decree-Law 163/1993) of informal settlements in the two main metropolitan areas of the country. According to the then Minister for Public Works, Transport and Communication, who was responsible for the launch of the PER (interview), the government delegated implementation entirely to the municipalities in order to privilege effectiveness: had any sort of coordinating structure been put in place, this would had signalled an intention of the state to 'impose its will' over the municipalities, creating a conflict that would complicate the implementation of the programme.

The emphasis on the complementarity between new construction and the purchase of housing units on the market is an illustration of the centre-right government's housing policy. The PER aimed at stimulating the 'contribution of the market' for the development of the social housing sector. For this reason, especially important was Decree-Law 165/1993, which reformed the legal regime of the contracts signed between public institutions and private companies for the construction of housing units, making it easier for private developers to participate in the development of social housing sector.

The land policy, one of the cornerstones of the White Paper (Ferreira, 1993, pp.74-76), was completely forgotten in the 'housing package'. Although another Decree-Law (164/1993) acknowledged the 'lack or relative scarcity of land that would allow construction at affordable prices', interventions on this issue remained limited to allocating publicly-owned land for construction – and included no attempt to counter speculation in the real estate sector. Similarly, the only aspect of 'regeneration' included in the PER was the obligation to demolish the shacks once the rehousing had been completed.

In the words of a respondent, the former Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities,

> the PER was a financing instrument based on an agreement with local authorities. What happened is that some local authorities had a more strategic vision and included the PER in wider strategy of [urban] interventions, others [did not] […] Let us be crystal clear, the PER was a funding instrument. Nothing more than that. The ways it was adopted by each local authority may have been different […] Virtually no one in [the field of] spatial planning considered the PER a spatial planning instrument.

8 This is the idea of a former Secretary of State for Housing (interview) who concluded that the centre-right government was politically capable of repackaging and 'selling' pre-existing policies as new ones.

The design of the PER as a financial solution to an exceptional problem was consistent with the long-term shift of Portuguese housing policy away from housing provision; the transition was wholly and fully completed during the decade of centre-right governments (1985-1995). The building sector was liberalised, and this paved the way for the boom in real estate investments and construction after Portugal joined the European Community. Since then, public housing policy was de facto promoted by the Department of Finance, and consisted primarily of incentives to home ownership (Santos et al., 2014) – a 'concealed' housing policy, according to a former Secretary of State for Housing (interview). Overall, between 1987 and 2011, 17.9% of public expenditure in housing was used for provision (basically, the PER), while 73.3% was funnelled to subsidies for home ownership (IHRU, 2015, p.4; see Figure 1). The housing sector and housing policy played a crucial role in the financialisation of Portuguese society and its 'semi-peripheral' economy (Santos, 1985; Santos et al., 2014).

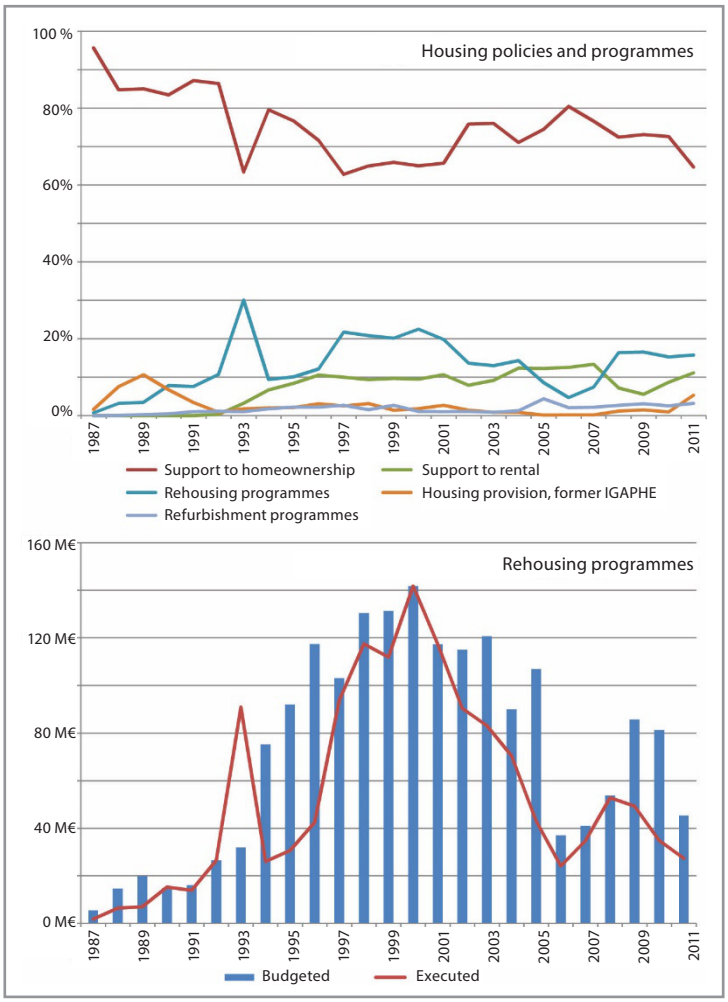

Figure 1. Distribution of Public Spending for Housing (above) and Public Spending in Rehousing (below) in Portugal, 1987-2011 (adapted from IHRU, 2015)

5.3. 1995-2002: Steps toward an Urban Policy?

During the first few years, due to the financial nature of the PER, and the total autonomy of municipalities, its implementation was virtually exclusively dependent on local planning cultures and political traditions.

Despite the great expectations that the launch of the PER generated among experts and civil servants (Cachado, 2013), the PER did not gain pace during the first few years (see Figure 1) except within municipalities such as Lisbon and Oeiras, which had already developed their own rehousing programmes. Some municipalities governed by the Communist Party initially resisted the implementation of the PER because they believed that housing policy was a state responsibility (former Secretary of State for Housing; Professor of Sociology and Urban Studies, interviews).

In addition, the capacity of the PER to be integrated within wider urban policies was quite uneven. In 1997, only a third of the municipalities within the Lisbon metro had included urban refurbishment and regeneration among their goals and 'only a fraction of the municipal authorities involved have articulated the PER within broader strategies of territorial regeneration' (Guerra, 1999, p.60).

The new socialist governments (1995-1999; 1999-2002) prioritised speeding up the implementation of the PER, while at the same time they also tried to make it a more flexible and comprehensive policy instrument. For the first time in the history of democratic Portugal the housing portfolio was placed in a ministry responsible for urban and regional planning, that of Infrastructure, Planning and Territorial Administration. This innovation was short-lived as the next executive reformulated the organisational chart and re-separated the portfolios of planning and housing. The Secretary of State for Housing at the time (interview) maintained that virtually no rehousing operations were in fact conducted under the previous government. New regulations were, therefore, approved to make the PER more flexible[9], and the rate of expenditure accelerated swiftly, peaking in 2000 (Figure 1). In 1996, the PER-Households (PER-Famílias) was introduced to allow individual households to use the financial instruments of PER to enter the private housing market.

In the absence of local authorities acting beyond simply providing housing, the government used EU Structural Funds to complement the rehousing process with the provision of public services and businesses (former Secretary of State for Housing; civil servant in the national Department of Housing, interviews). In 1996, the sub-programme Operational Intervention for Urban Renewal (Intervenção Operacional Renovação Urbana, IORU) was reformulated to allow for the construction of open spaces and public facilities, and to support the establishment of small private enterprises (see also Coutinho, 1997). By widening the offer of programmes that could complement rehousing[10], the socialist government established a more integrated approach: The socio-economic integration of the rehoused families was now seen in the context of the urban development. Regeneration became, however, dependent on EU funds, which funded most complementary programmes implemented by municipalities (Guerra, 1999).

Guerra observed that the PER had no significant influence on planning policies in the Lisbon metro, for two reasons (1999, p.60): first, improving informal settlements was not a central goal of municipalities; and secondly, the PER was implemented when the municipal masterplans had been already defined. Indeed, in half of the municipalities, the PER only arrived during the late phases of the elaboration of the masterplans. However, in the other half of the municipalities, the two processes developed together (masterplans approved between 1995 and 1999). Following Guerra (1999, pp.71-72), in 1997 the municipalities that were developing rehousing operations of an average scale presented the highest rate of progress (>25%). This observation led Guerra to conclude that the presence of either a relatively large or a relatively small number of households to be rehoused was a factor in delaying the action of municipalities (1999, p.73). We wonder, however, whether the pace of implementation was not accelerated, at least in some cases, by the lack of a masterplan in force – a case in point could be that of Sintra, a municipality that implemented medium-scale rehousing operations and attained, in 1997, the highest rate of progress in the northern part of Lisbon metro (46.20%, against a national average of 20%). The impact of local planning regulations also deserves more attention in light of the publication, in 1997, of Decree-Law 156/1997, which increased the flexibility of municipal land use regulations in areas interested in rehousing programmes, creating a sort of state of exception for implementing the PER because it allowed municipalities to swiftly change land uses, building regulations and development plans. While it is difficult to estimate the impact of Decree 156/1997 on the implementation of the PER, the years following the decree were indeed those with the most budgeted operations (Figure 1)[11].

9 Law 34/1996; Decree-Law 79/1996; Diploma 420/1996; Decree-Law 30/1997; Diploma 371/1997.

10 Decree-Law 163/1993 only referred to the Anti-Poverty Programme (Programa de Luta contra a Pobreza), as the framework for municipalities to establish agreements with the national government for complementary programmes for social integration.

11 Surprisingly, this provision has received scant attention by academics and policymakers, to the point that none of our respondents seemed to remember it – the only exception being, to our knowledge, a brief mention in a 2006 article on urban planning and social cohesion (Fernandes, 2006).

5.4. 2002-…: Demise and Rebirth of the PER

A new phase of the PER story began in 2002 with a change of government from centre-left to centre-right. The program of the new government adopted a discourse that was in line with the prevailing emphasis on integrated and sustainable urban development in European debates. The key objective of housing policy became the creation of incentives for the refurbishment of existing buildings and the revitalisation of the rental market. As far as social housing was concerned, the main goals became the definition of policy instruments for the renewal of the existing housing stock and ensuring the progress of the PER.

The discourse of the new 'urban policy' (política para as cidades), in line with wider and academic debates (Guerra et al., 2005), had urban regeneration at its core – and for the first time a ministry for urban policy was created (Ministry of Cities, Spatial Planning and Environment). However, in line with the governmental goal to 'reduce the role of the State in the development and management of housing provision' (Decree-Law 199/2002), virtually no national resources were invested in this field (Figure 1; IHRU, 2015). Housing policy, with the exception of the programme POLIS, remained, therefore, almost completely dependent on EU funds and private investments (civil servant at Lisbon Municipality, interview). The PER followed this pattern. Shifting away from construction and toward regeneration, a new set of amendments (e.g. Decree-Law 271/2003) eased the selling of municipal housing units built with the PER or other municipal programmes. In addition, and for the first time, municipalities were allowed to use PER funds to build public facilities and services. In 2004, the PROHABITA programme was launched (Decree-Law 135/2004). This provided a broader framework for rehousing interventions outside of the metros of Lisbon and Oporto and extended the provision of the law to all situations where there were severe housing stresses.

Despite the introduction of significant conceptual, legal and operational changes, the national budget approved for 2003 introduced a set of limitations on municipalities' ability to borrow funds. While it did not affect the projects already budgeted, the new provision made it virtually impossible to contract new rehousing operations. Concurrently, stricter budgetary requirements pushed the municipalities to sell council housing stock to fund new developments. Even before the passing of the 2003 state budget, various municipalities had voiced their concerns about the possible demise of the PER (see Morais, 2002). This proved to be the case after 2003; expenditure for rehousing plummeted (Figure 1) – and there was a parallel rise in critical voices (see Felner, 2003; Simão, 2003).

The Socialist Party took back control of the government in 2005, and promoted the most comprehensive attempt to structure housing policy within urban and regeneration policies. Responsibility for housing was given to the Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities, a renowned Professor of Geography. The attitude of the government was signalled by the transformation of the National Institute for Housing (Instituto Nacional da Habitação, INH), basically a financial institution, into the Institute for Housing and Urban Regeneration (Instituto da Habitação e Reabilitação Urbana, IHRU). At interview, the former Secretary of State stressed that his goal was transitioning from a 'social housing policy' (politica de habitação social) toward a 'social policy for housing' (política social de habitação) – i.e. articulating housing provision within urban regeneration.

With the goal of integrating housing policy into the broader framework of urban and regional planning, the government vowed to conclude the implementation of rehousing programmes, and to promote a policy of regeneration within and beyond these programmes. Two initiatives were launched. First, an amendment to PROHABITA (Decree-Law 54/2007) was introduced to address households that were living in informal settlements that were scheduled for demolition in the context of the PER, but had not been originally included in the survey of 1993. These households were, and in some contexts still are (as denounced by activist campaigns), facing evictions for the advancement of slum-clearances. Secondly, a number of policies and programmes for urban regeneration – including the Critical Neighbourhoods Initiative (Iniciativa Bairros Críticos, IBC) and the Urban Regeneration Partnerships (Parcerias para a Regeneração Urbana, PRU) – were launched. However, these were never fully implemented as a consequence of the global financial and economic crisis of 2010. All in all, as the former Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities, (interview) admitted, the failure to pass the national strategy for housing policy negated most reform attempts.

In 2011, the socialist government was forced to ask for international financial help, and on June 2011 a centre-right government took office. The new government – amid the pressures of the external borrowers – enforced a harsh austerity agenda (Pedroso, 2014). This placed housing at the margins of governmental agendas. As of today, according to one of our respondents, a Professor of Urban Sociology, housing policy is exclusively 'local', in that no state intervention exists. Against the background of various, if often contradictory, attempts at decentralisation, urban policy has become an important focus for local government (see Campos and Ferrão, 2015). However, rather than political competences and resources, the central government has been delegating 'duties and obligations' (Mendes, 2016), making urban policy much dependent on an uneven distribution of resources and skills among municipalities.

In the absence of funds, rehousing programmes progressively ceased while demolitions and evictions multiplied (Alves, 2016). This was especially true in the municipalities of Amadora, Loures and Seixal. At the same time, after the negotiation of the memorandum of understanding with the external borrowers, different reforms were passed to liberalise both the rental market and the planning system. Only after the return of the Socialist Party to the government in 2015 (as majority stakeholder of a parliamentary coalition including the Left Bloc and the Portuguese Communist Party) has a new phase for Portuguese housing policies appeared to be opening. Amid political and public pressures following the extremely critical report on local housing conditions by the UN Rapporteur for Adequate Housing (Fahra, 2017), the government appointed a new Secretary of State for Housing, and has launched the New Generation of Housing Policies (Nova Geração de Políticas de Habitação, NGPH). The latter includes the programme First Right (Primeiro Direito) that provides financial instruments to municipalities for addressing 'serious housing needs' (Decree-Law 37/2018). At the same time, a draft for a framework law for housing (Lei de Base de Habitação) is being discussed in the Portuguese parliament. Twenty-four years after its launch, and a decade or so since its de facto demise, the PER is reborn from its own ashes, and is itself triggering renewed political attention and policy action with regard to housing policy in Portugal.

6. Conclusion

What emerges from the history of the PER, seen against the backdrop of the planning/housing system(s), is 'something one might call a genealogy, or rather a multiplicity of genealogical researches, a painstaking rediscovery of struggles together with the rude memory of their conflicts' (Foucault 1994 [1976], p.83). The historic reconstruction has shown how the Portuguese planning and housing fields are characterised by complex patterns of continuity and change, marked by inertia and sudden accelerations, by critical junctures and watershed moments, as well as by tensions between different levels of government and policy traditions. We have been especially interested in exploring the intersection between a 'weak' planning system in transition, and the convergence of housing policy toward home ownership and regeneration. These relations seem to be particularly problematic for a number of reasons (Carmo et al., 2014): the limits of statutory instruments which are incapable of regulating urban growth but at the same time too rigid to allow for the regularisation and upgrade of informal settlements and illegal allotments; and the dependency of municipal authorities on the issuing of building permits as a source of financing – within a context of decentralisation without resource transferences. In this respect, the case of the PER allows us to add some nuances to consolidated ideas about housing and spatial planning in Portugal, as well as policy diffusion in Europe.

In the first place, the PER largely failed to establish itself as an example of genuine urban policy. Despite the promise noted by the early 1990s – with the development of a more thorough reflection on housing policies and the introduction of significant novelties in the planning system – the design and implementation of the PER were consistent with long-standing characteristics of previous housing and planning policies. Three main factors prevented the institutionalisation of the programme into a plan with strategic vision over urban and regional development, and cogent regulatory power. First, the programme lacked coordination at the regional level. Secondly, this was because of the institutional nature of the actors involved at the central level, seen, for example, in the lack of interest at the IHRU, an essentially financial institution, for territorial dimensions, and the local level, for instance in a lack of planning professionals and technical expertise in several municipalities. Finally, the programme was strongly dependent on electoral cycles.

While this seems to support the thesis of an enduring 'immaturity' in the system, there are some other elements that contradict this idea. First of all, the design and implementation of the PER was influenced by a number of contingent factors, particularly a diffused sense of urgency around the issue of the informal settlements. The 'quick-and-dirty' nature of the programme (as opposed to a more holistic and integrated approach) in a way represented an effective answer to the problem. Secondly, the PER itself evolved over time, gradually moving toward a more integrated and flexible design. Thirdly, despite the awkward, vintage nature of the PER – a large programme of direct housing provision implemented when most European states had already abandoned this kind of intervention – Portuguese housing policies proved relatively up-to-date in following broader continental trends. Indeed, since the 1980s the largest share of Portuguese spending for housing consisted of subsidies for home ownership, boosting the financialisation of housing. Finally, the political dynamics and irregular flow of financial resources further blur the contours of the PER in terms of its impact on local cultures in the fields of planning and housing policies. A notable example is that of the reforms by the centre-right government in 2002/2003, which did indeed make the PER more flexible, by allowing its use to provide public services; at the same time, however, the government virtually killed the programme by halting the flow of financial resources available to it.

To conclude, we suggest that traditional and taxonomical explanations of the relative 'underdevelopment' of Portuguese (and Southern European) planning and housing policies – which tend to stress paradigms, path-dependencies and the temporal 'delay' in comparison to wider European transformations (see, for example, Giannakorou, 2005; Seixas and Albet, 2012) – can give only a partial understanding of the complex political and multi-scalar dimensions through which policies such as the PER are implemented in the long run, and their effects on local environments. In contrast, genealogical analyses are helpful in showing the contemporary presence of trends of continuity and change, and the non-linear trajectories of the diffusion of policy paradigms and tools; the interaction between a variety of economic, cultural and political factors; and the interaction of different actors across the local, national and supranational. This remains in line with recent critiques of the dominance of the 'paradigms' approach to policy studies and comparison (cf. Getimis, 2012; Tulumello, 2015). In normative terms, understanding the trajectory of a supposedly 'old-fashioned' programme, such as the PER, can illuminate challenges that remain today remarkably similar for more 'advanced' policy schemes, such as the NGPH.

Finally, we want to list some key directions for further explorations that will complete and deepen our genealogic investigation. First, precisely because of the nature of the PER (which left the municipalities in charge of design and implementation), any evaluation of the programme's impact cannot be appropriately conducted without investigating its local dimension. For example, to what extent has the PER influenced the internal organisation of municipal administration, and the accumulation of resources in terms of knowledge and networks? In this respect, the framework of institutional learning and social innovation may provide useful paths (see Ferrão, 2011, pp.91-114). Secondly, the relation between housing, economic and financial policies seems to be a privileged point to understand housing policy more holistically (cf. Aalbers, 2016), for instance by exploring the way housing policies have often been 'concealed' as financial supports to home ownership while housing policy proper was being cut in the name of sound national finances. Finally, once one abandons the idea of benchmarking planning and housing systems and postulating a linear path of progress toward the best practices of more 'mature' systems, which alternative concepts can be mobilised to explain change, path dependencies and the persistence of long-standing features, and provide frameworks for comparison? It seems to us that, for instance, a theoretical framework of uneven development (cf. Hadjimichalis, 2011), much more than the comparison of developed/under-developed systems, is a fruitful approach to understand in depth the relations between planning and housing systems.

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MIND THE GAP:

SPATIAL PLANNING SYSTEMS IN THE WESTERN BALKAN REGION

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Abstract

Starting in the 1990s, an increasing number of studies and reports have focused on examining the nature and characteristics of spatial planning in Europe. The geographical coverage of these comparative analyses broadened over time, paralleling the progression of EU integration. However, the Western Balkan countries were only vaguely mentioned within such studies, mostly due to their fragmentation and geopolitical instability. This paper analyses and compares spatial planning systems in the Western Balkan Region since the 1990s. More specifically, it presents an overview of the geographical and socio-economic situation, explores administrative and legal frameworks for spatial planning, analyses spatial planning instruments produced at each territorial level, and addresses future challenges. Through so doing this paper exposes the complexity of the subject and sets a base for further research.

Keywords

Spatial planning system, Western Balkan Region, European integration, transition.

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1. Introduction

Modern spatial planning systems arose as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, when increasing urbanisation rates and the movement of population away from agriculture towards industrial and service sectors created substantial development pressures across countries. As a response, most governments established procedures to channel these pressures and resolve conflicts between competing land uses. Over time legislation was introduced in each country to establish the principle whereby public authorities were empowered to monitor and control territorial development and prepare plans. From this, spatial planning systems may be defined as comprising a system of institutions that allow and determine the spatial organisation of social and economic life within a particular national context, through multiple processes of vertical and horizontal coordination (Janin Rivolin, 2012). The evolution and consolidation of spatial planning systems occurred at different times in different European countries from the late nineteenth century onwards. These processes depended on political attitudes and the acceptability of public powers over land regulation and development, as well as varying perceptions with regard to the value of planning.

A proliferation of comparative studies on spatial planning systems in the European Union (EU) has occurred since the late 1980s (Davies et al., 1989, Newman and Thornley, 1996; CEC, 1997; Nedović-Budić, 2001; ESPON, 2006; COMMIN, 2007; Reimer, Getimis and Blotevogel, 2014; ESPON and TU Delft, 2016). Over time, such studies broadened their geographic scope to include the new countries joining the enlarging EU (Table 1). However, due to the geopolitical instability of the area, the countries of the Western Balkan Region (hereafter WBR) were left out from almost all comparative accounts. For the purpose of this paper, the WBR is considered to comprise:[1] Albania (ALB), Bosnia & Herzegovina (BiH), Kosovo[2] (XKX), the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia (MKD), Montenegro (MNE) and Serbia (SRB) (Figure 1).[3] With many of these countries soon to become full EU member states, their systematic exclusion constitutes a clear knowledge gap in the empirical analysis and theoretical understanding of spatial planning in Europe. Despite some recent attempts (Berisha, 2018, Cotella and Berisha, 2016a, b), the evolution of spatial planning systems in the WBR remain generally ignored. This gap should be overcome if the EU wishes to promote an economic, social and territorial cohesion policy to the benefit of all its citizens (ESPON, 2015).

This paper reflects on the evidence collected by the authors in more than a decade of comparative spatial planning research in Europe and the WBR. Differently from the work of Cotella and Berisha (2016a, b), that compared only three countries (Croatia, ALB and BiH), this contribution compares the spatial planning systems of six countries in the WBR since the fall of their respective communist regimes. Here, the evolution of spatial planning systems is understood as a consequence of various driving forces. First, spatial planning models have been shaped by the transition from centrally planned to market-oriented economic models, and their progressive embedding within the broader globalisation and EU integration processes (Adams et al., 2011; Cotella and Janin Rivolin, 2010, 2015; Stead and Cotella, 2011). Secondly, each planning system is characterised by, and the complex path-dependency derived from, the specific national, historical, geographical and socio-economic contexts which determined the actual direction of transformation as a reaction to external and internal stimuli (Table 2; Figure 2, Figure 3).

Table 1: The Geographical Coverage of Comparative Analyses of Spatial Planning Systems in Europe.

Study	Geographical coverage
Davies et al., 1989	DE, DK, FR, NL, UK (England)
Newman and Thornley, 1996	AT, BE, DE, DK, FR, IE, IT, LUX, N, NL, PT, SE, UK, Eastern Europe
CEC, 1997	AT, BE, DE, DK, ES, FI, FR, GR, IE, IT, LUX, NL, PT, SE, UK
Nedović-Budić, 2001	CZ, HU, SL
ESPON, 2006	AT, BG, BE, CY, CZ, DE, DK, EE, ES, FI, FR, GR, HU, IE, IT, LT, LUX, LV, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SE, SK, SL, UK
COMMIN, 2007	BY, DE, DK, EE, FI, LT, LV, NO, PL, RU, SE
Reimer, Getimis and Blotevogel, 2014	BE (Flanders), CZ, DE, DK, FI, FR, GR, IT, NL, PL, TR, UK
ESPON and TU Delft, 2017	AT, BE, BG, CH, CY, CZ, DE, DK, EE, ES, FI, FL, FR, GR, HR, HU, ICE, IE, IT, LT, LUX, LV, MT, N, NL, PL, PT, RO, SE, SK, SL, UK

Source: Authors' elaboration

1 Country codes according to ISO-3166. https://laendercode.net/en/3-letter-list.html

2 The status of Kosovo is considered in this paper according to UN Security Council Resolution 1244.

3 Croatia is geographically part of the WBR. It has not been included in this research as it became a EU member state in 2013 and it is already covered by the ESPON COMPASS project.

Figure 1 - Western Balkan Countries Included in the Analyses
Source: Authors' elaboration

After this brief introduction, the paper provides an overview of spatial planning in the WBR during the socialist period and discusses the main drivers of change. Section Three explores and compares the spatial planning systems of WBR countries through several variables: (i) the administrative and legal framework for spatial planning and the main planning authorities involved (subsection 3.1); and (ii) the spatial planning instruments produced at each territorial level and the allocation of development rights (subsection 3.2). Section Four discusses the main findings that emerged from the analysis as well as future challenges. Finally, Section Five rounds off the contribution, recalling its main objectives and advancing the need for future research.

Table 2: Geographical and Economic Information

DATA	ALB	BiH	XKX	MKD	MNE	SRB
Territorial Surface (km²)	28 748	51 210	10 887	25 713	13 812	88 361
Population (2015)	2 889 167	3 810 416	1 801 800	2 078 453	622 159	7 095 383
Population Change 1990-2015 (%)	- 12.0	- 15.8	- 3.2	0.4	2.6	- 6.5
Urban Population 2015 (%)	57	39.7	49	57	64	55
Total GDP (Billion US$) 2015	13.2	18.3	6.8	10.1	4.5	40.2
GDP per Capita (USD) 2015	4543	4801	3785	5093	7268	5663
GDP growth 2014 - 2015 (%)	+2.8	+3	+3.9	+3.6	+3.1	+0.7

Source: Authors' elaboration from World Bank database

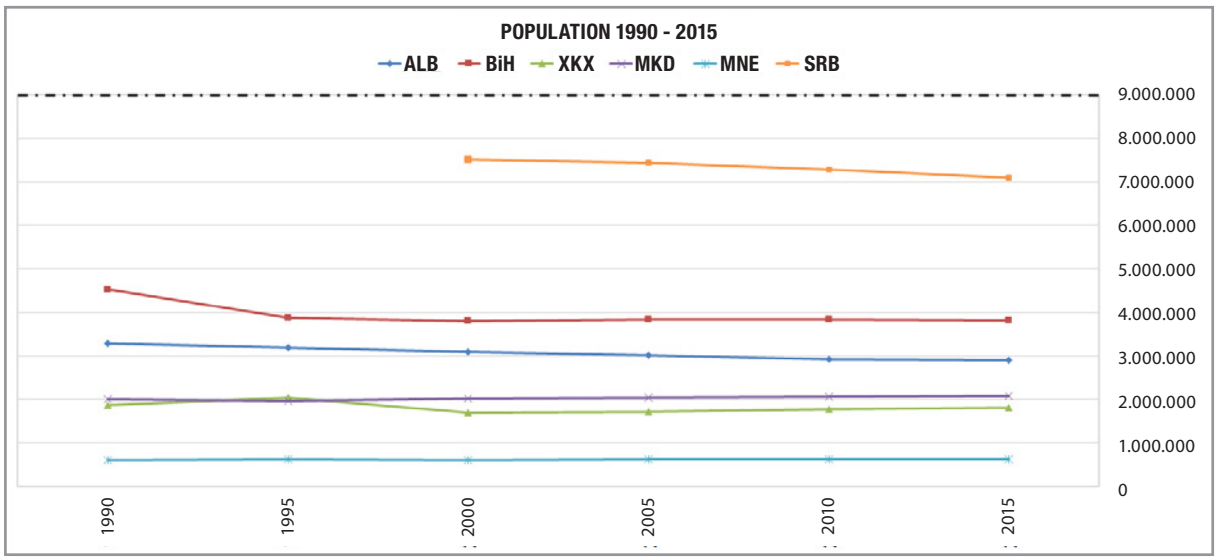

Figure 2 - Population Trends in the WBR
Source: Authors' elaboration from World Bank

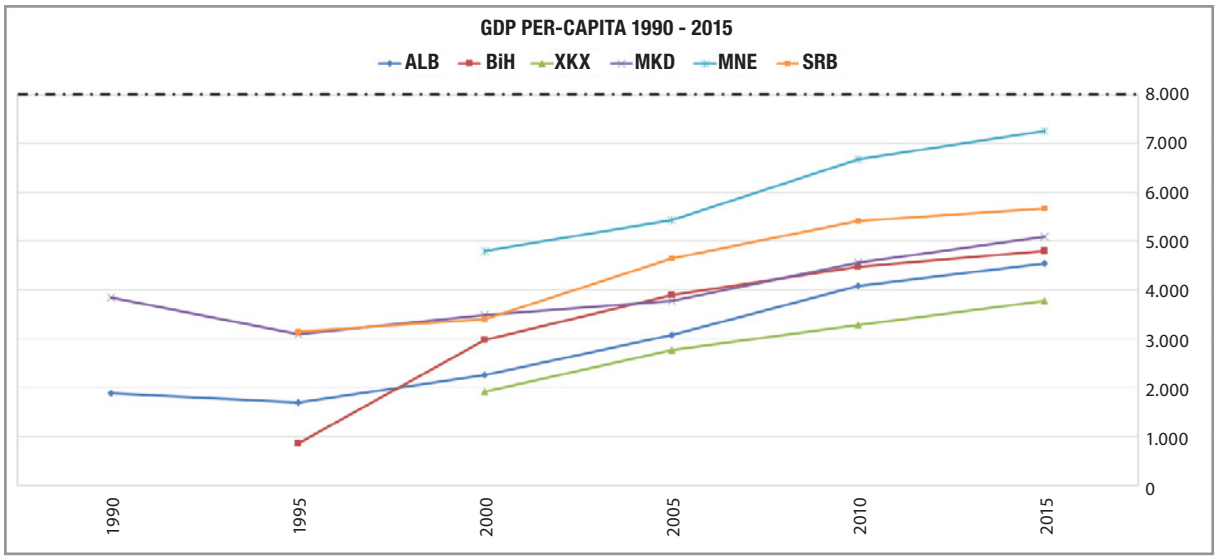

Figure 3 - GDP Per Capita Trends in the WBR
Source: Authors' elaboration from World Bank

2. Traditional Arrangements and Main Drivers of Change

Spatial planning after WWII in the countries of the WBR is often described as having been subordinate to central economic planning. The latter was a key function of communist and socialist states. However, some sources suggest that Eastern and Central European planning practice was influenced by the West and its patterns in physical planning, development and management (Pichler-Milanovich, 1994). Within the major spatial planning comparative studies, post-socialist countries have been generally excluded from analysis (EU Compendium, 1997), classified as part of a generic East European family (Newman and Thorney, 1996) or generally lumped under an umbrella of centralised planning systems. Even if that were generally true, there is more diversity between various spatial planning systems than these studies suggest (see, for instance: Cotella et al., 2012; Adams et al., 2014). Hence, the possibility to strictly categorise WBR countries within a broader context or planning family seems limited by the complexity and diversity that characterise their governmental structures, culture, history and law (Nedović-Budić, 2001). Such issues are elaborated upon in this section.

In this sense, ALB was characterised by a strong, top-down, communist model with centrally-controlled spatial planning, where local urban authorities had responsibility for development coordination but lacked decision-making power. In contrast, Yugoslavia detached itself from the Soviet centralised planning model during the 1950s and developed a participatory system of integral planning (Nedović-Budić, Djordjević and Dabović, 2011) that had a partially decentralised system within each of the individual republics (Hirt and Stanilov, 2009). The regime of the former Yugoslavia was a form of 'market-socialism' which operated through decentralised decision-making processes, with the municipality being the basic local government unit holding considerable executive power (Nedović-Budić, Djordjević and Dabović, 2011, p.430). Nevertheless, until the late 1960s, some of the main problems in planning practice in Yugoslavia were seen as bureaucratic, technocratic and political compliance in planning organisations and a lack of wide and transparent public participation (Petovar, 2012). Internally, the main driver of socialist development in this early post-WWII period was described as a renewal strategy, and had as its primary goals the restoration of the function of the urban tissue destroyed in the war and the provision of housing for new workers and their families who had migrated from rural to urban areas under state-sponsored industrialisation. The Albanian State continued to play a dominant role in planning and plan approval throughout the 1970s (Eskinasi, 1995); its 1976 Constitution banned private property completely and reduced public engagement to a symbolic role (Mele, 2011). By this time, in the former Yugoslavia, urban land was in societal (public) ownership, while most land in rural areas was privately owned. However, both ALB and the former Yugoslavia witnessed processes of land nationalisation under the communist government (Turnock, 1989). In both contexts, land ownership allowed the State to act as the main pillar of the urbanisation process, central investor, and initiator of urban development (Petovar, 2012).

In the former Yugoslavia post-WWII, planning professionals were mainly educated in the fields of engineering and architecture and operated in a technocratic manner that excluded any economic justification for planning proposals. Nevertheless, the profession evolved rapidly with the successful introduction of spatial planning degrees and an integrated approach to planning from the late 1970s (Cavrić, 2002). This coincided with the establishment of planning as a separate interdisciplinary field in both the practical and educational realms. In parallel to innovations in practice, the 1970s and 1980s saw the institutionalisation of extensive public participation that became a legally mandated element of the planning process, as was established by the Law on Planning and Construction in 1961 and 1974. The decentralised system that promoted cross acceptance in the decision-making process was practised in Yugoslavia for more than a decade ahead of some of the traditional market-economy societies (Cullingworth, 1997), with most scholars referring to this period as a golden age of planning and development (Vujošević and Petovar, 2006). Similar, although less radical, transformations of the planning system were evident in ALB by the mid-1980s as well (Nientied, 1998).

At the beginning of the 1990s, systematic regime changes, political pluralisation and socio-economic reforms were initiated in the WBR, as a consequence of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent dismantling of communist institutions in all satellite countries (Mojović, Čarnojević, and Stanković, 2009). Post-communist Europe saw a multi-dimensional process of transition to democracy, market and decentralised governance, as it became increasingly influenced by globalisation and Europeanisation processes (Tsenkova and Nedović-Budić, 2006; Faludi, 2014). The introduction of market economic principles occurred through a series of macroeconomic reforms that entailed rapid privatisation and the almost complete withdrawal of state aid. This, in turn, led to the shutting down of numerous production plants, growing unemployment and increasing social costs (Brada, 1993). The heterogeneity that already characterised the WBR countries was reinforced by these processes and the new economic systems that worsened the situation with the weakest countries widened regional disparities. At the same time, the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s and the Albanian civil war in 1997 emerged as major destructive and disruptive forces with regard to the ongoing process of transition. As argued in the following section, the transformation of spatial planning in each context depends on the given system's capability to follow and adapt to each transition process. The influence of each country's distinctive pre-socialist, socialist and post-socialist past contributed to the institutionalisation of a variety of spatial planning systems (Cavrić and Nedović-Budić, 2007; Nedović-Budić and Cavrić, 2007; Tsenkova and Nedović-Budić, 2006; Petrović, 2005; Tosics, 2004; Enyedi, 1998; Szelenyi, 1996).

3. Spatial Planning Systems in the WBR after 1989

The initial period of the post-socialist transition of 1990s in most countries of the WBR was characterised by a fluid, unregulated institutional framework. According to Hirt and Stanilov (2009, p.4), this 'institutional vacuum' was dominated by private economic interests that were close to the political establishment. Various authors claim that the transition was mostly characterised by extreme battles for capital manifested through the accumulation of, and grab for, resources, with urban land being a major target in this process (Vujošević, 2003). Within the complex framework of the political and economic transition, the privatisation of land and housing in ALB and almost all public housing stock in the former Yugoslavia took place (Hirt and Stanilov, 2009). At the same time, encroachment on public space and illegal construction rose substantially. In Yugoslavia this phenomenon worsened due to the social consequences of the war and, in particular, the increasing demand for housing by refugees and internally displaced persons (Žegarac, 1999). At the same time, ALB remained stuck with socialist procedures in obtaining building permits and intensified rural-urban migration that overwhelmed the capital city of Tirana, with 25 per cent of informal housing being developed during the 1990s (Deda and Tsenkova, 2006).

The turn of the millennium brought forward a renewed enthusiasm for the transition to democracy, economic liberalisation, marketisation and political decentralisation. This was also a consequence of the normalisation of the geopolitical tensions that had characterised the previous decade. As Figure 4 illustrates, most of the countries reformed and/or amended their legislative frameworks for spatial planning multiple times as a consequence of the growing influence of globalisation and the EU integration process. In addition, significant efforts were made in the attempt to accelerate the procedures of delivering construction permits, to adapt to administrative and institutional reorganisation, to introduce legislative procedures for the recognition of informal development practices, and to intensify public participation.

Within these evolving circumstances, planning professionals were expected to acquire new types of knowledge and skills with respect to market forces, while also being required to recognise and balance the variety of interests held by new stakeholders within the decision-making process (Vujošević and Nedović-Budić, 2006). The post-socialist transformation of WBR countries also means that spatial planning practice should be able to recognise and meet the specific needs of the local context in which it is carried out. Thus, it should be able to confirm the prevailing political culture and adapt to the institutional framework, acknowledge the resources and constraints of local development, and deal with a variety of interests, as well as the traditions that exist at both the national and local levels (Friedmann, 2004). In order to understand current tendencies and possible future trends related to spatial planning, the following subsections present and compare the key characteristics of spatial planning systems in the WBR countries that are the focus of this study.

3.1. Administrative Subdivisions and the Main Spatial Planning Authorities at Each Territorial Level

The current administrative organisations that exist within the countries included in this research have arisen as a result of the major processes of restructuring that started in the early 1990s. The process of post-socialist decentralisation led to a different administrative hierarchy in each country (Table 3). In most countries, administrative restructuring was driven by internal variables (above all, political, geographical, functional, economic and historical factors), with the exception of BiH and XKX, where a prominent role in state restructuring was directed by the international community.

In this regard, the Albanian administrative system is the result of recent territorial reforms implemented from 2014. The reforms reduced the number of local administrative units from 373 to 61 with the aim of improving coordination at the local level, as well as reducing existing territorial differences (primarily economic and demographic regional disparities). Presently, the government is engaged in reforming the number and role of Qarku (districts), reducing the present 12 districts to only three or four functional regions. In the case of BiH, the existing administrative subdivision is the result of the Dayton Peace Agreement signed in 1995. The agreement structured the BiH system into different levels: the central government, two independent entities – the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) and Republic of Srpska (RS) – while the Brčko District (BD) was introduced in 1999. In the FBiH only, there are further two additional levels: cantons and the local level, represented by the municipality and large cities such as Sarajevo. The territorial administration system of XKX includes only two levels of government, the national and the local; both were instituted for the first time in 2000 by the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and later ratified by the Republic's Parliament in 2008. This subdivision aimed to reduce internal ethnic conflicts and recognised that 27 municipalities have an Albanian majority, 10 Serb and 1 Turkish (Mamusha). Similarly, the MKD and MNE administrative systems are characterised by two levels: the central and the local. However, MKD also introduced 8 statistical regions that include all the rural and urban municipalities, while the Special Law on the Territorial Organisation of MNE organised the territory in municipalities and the capital. Finally, the territory of SRB includes one autonomous province, Vojvodina, cities, municipalities, and the capital city of Belgrade as a special territorial unit. As shown, the territorial administration system differs from one country to another. The process of decentralisation contributed to the introduction of new administrative levels, as well as reorganising existing ones, and opening up new statistical regions (according to the European NUTS classification). Simultaneously, at the local level, the number of local units has been reduced, while more importance has been given to the main cities and capitals.

It is interesting to note that, in many cases, the process of decentralisation remains purely on paper; the central level still holds considerable power. Different from the other countries, in BiH the state-level institutions remain fundamentally weak, while the entities are largely autonomous.

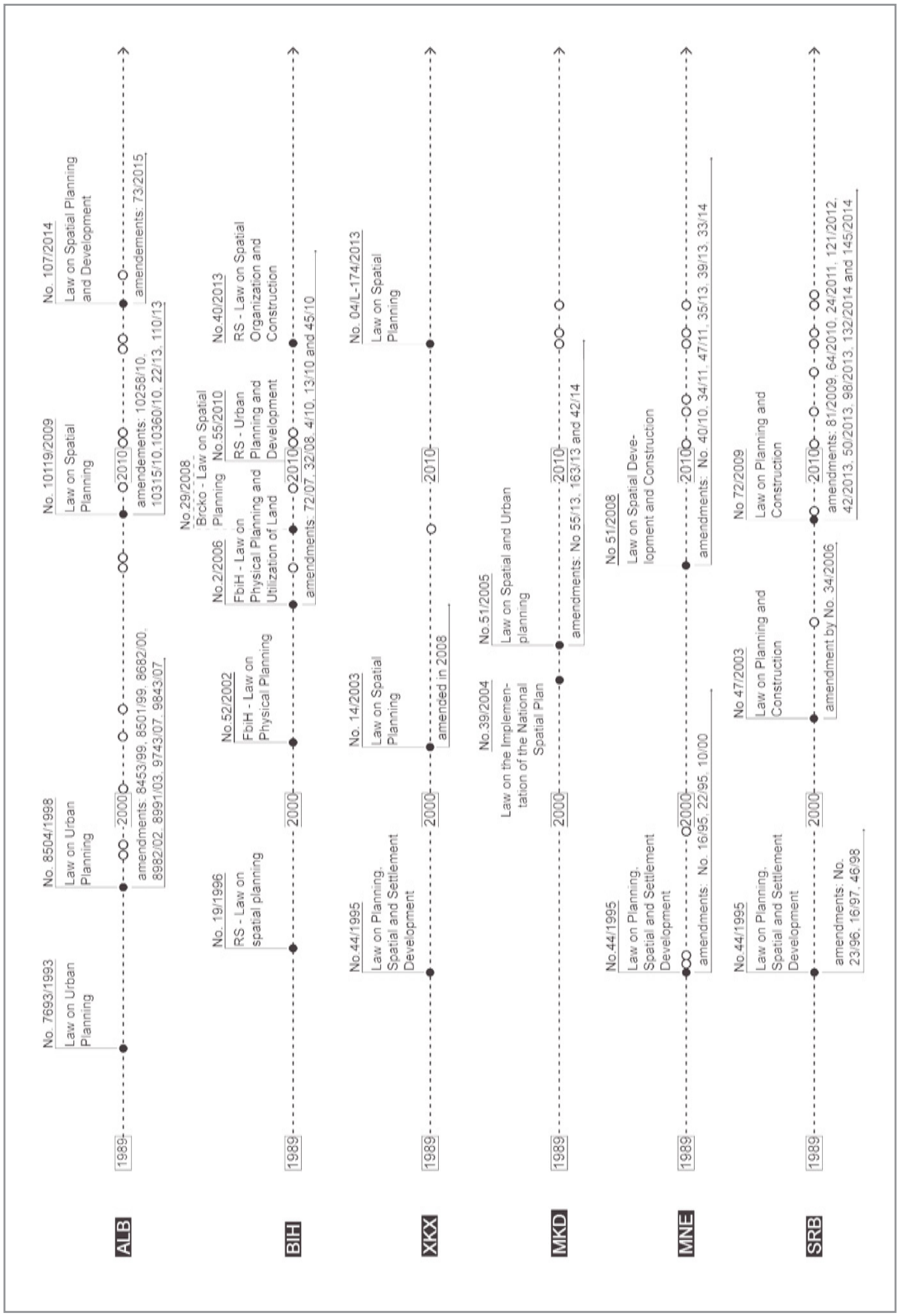

Figure 4 - The main spatial planning reforms between 1990 and 2017
Source: Authors' elaboration

Table 3: Administrative Subdivision of the Countries of the WBR

	ALB	BiH	XKX	MKD	MNE	SRB
Central	Albanian Government	Government of Bosnia Herzegovina	Government of Kosovo	Government of Macedonia	Government of MNE	Government of SRB
Meso Level 1	12 Qarku/District	Entities (FBiH and RS) ---------- District of Brčko	-	-	-	Autonomous Province of Vojvodina
Meso Level 2	-	FBiH – 10 Cantons	-	-	-	-
Local	61 Municipalities including the city of Tirana	FBiH - 79 Municipalities including the city of Sarajevo ---------- RS – 62 Municipalities including the city of Banja Luka	38 Municipalities including the city of Pristina	80 Municipalities including the city of Skopje	21 Municipalities including the city of Podgorica	150 Municipalities, 23 cities and the city of Belgrade

Source: Authors' elaboration

Specific administrative subdivisions in WBR countries were derived in line with their historical, geographical, and political evolution. In parallel, countries have developed and adjusted legislative frameworks for spatial planning and allocated bodies which hold responsibilities in relation to the distribution of competences at each administrative level (Table 4). In all countries, with the exception of BiH, there exists one or more ministries in charge of decision-making at the national level in the fields of urban development, environmental issues, and spatial planning. Some differences are present within the MNE ministry, which focuses its responsibilities on sustainable development and tourism, and the SRB ministry which positions spatial planning under the field of construction, traffic and infrastructure. It should be mentioned that the name of the Serbian ministry has changed several times since 1989. The Albanian spatial planning system allocates specific competences to the Council of Ministers and the Territorial Council at the national level. In addition, ALB and MKD feature a National Agency for Spatial Planning, while XKX and MNE feature Institutes for Urban Planning which operate at the national level and are specifically responsible for the development of spatial planning tools. A similar agency existed in Serbia until it was abolished in 2014. When it comes to the meso-level, XKX, MKD and MNE have no spatial planning authorities. In ALB, the Qarku councils hold specific planning competences in relation to each district. Serbia represents a particular case in relation to the other countries of the WBR. Although the country has no official regional administrative subdivision except for the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, it adopted the international Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics Level 2 (NUTS-2) as units of planning, but not as administrative units. Here the national government and the ministry are responsible for the adoption of Regional Spatial Plans (based on NUTS-2 division) and Spatial Plans of Special Purpose. Moreover, there is a Province Secretariat for Urbanism and Environmental Protection which is in charge of the territory of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Unlike other countries, the BiH meso-level represents the highest level of decision-making in the field of spatial planning. In Bosnia and Herzegovina both the FBiH and the RS feature ministries in charge of spatial planning. In particular, in the FBiH, spatial planning lies within the competence of the Federal Ministry for Physical Planning, while in the RS they are shared by the government, the National Assembly and the Ministry for Spatial Planning, Civil Engineering and Ecology. In Brčko District, the main authority is the Department for Spatial Planning and Property Legal Affairs. In addition to this, each canton of the FBiH (meso-level 2) features a cantonal ministry that shares spatial planning responsibilities with municipal authorities and planning departments at the local level.

Table 4: Main Bodies Responsible for Spatial Planning within Each Country

	ALB	BiH	XKX	MKD	MNE	SRB
Central	Council of Minister National Territorial Council Ministry of Urban Development National Territorial Planning and Development Agencies Other ministries competent	No planning authorities at the national level	Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning Institute for Spatial Planning	Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning Ministry of Transport and Communications Agency for Spatial Planning Communications Agency for Spatial Planning	Ministry of Sustainable Development and Tourism Republic Institute for Urban Planning	Ministry of Construction, Traffic and Infrastructure
Meso Level 1	Qarku Council	Entities' ministries and departments	-	-	-	Ministry of Construction, Traffic and Infrastructure Province Secretariat for Urbanism and Environmental Protection for Vojvodina
Meso Level 2	-	FBiH - Cantonal ministries in charge of physical planning	-	-	-	-
Local	Municipal administration (council, mayor, Department for Urban Planning) Private local planning agencies	Municipal administration (council, planning departments) Private local planning agencies	Municipal administration (authority responsible for spatial planning and management)	Municipal administration Local planning agency, local planning enterprises public and private	Municipal administration Local development agency, local planning enterprises public and private	City/municipal administration (Department for Urban Planning) Local planning agency / institute public and private

Source: Authors' elaboration

Moving from the meso level to the local level, all of the countries feature specific authorities that are in charge of spatial planning. SRB further articulates different competences for municipalities and cities. In ALB, XKX and BiH competences are shared between the municipal council, the mayor, and the department for urban/spatial planning. In MKD, MNE and SRB, the municipal/city administration consists of the local council, the assembly, the mayor, the departments for urban planning, and other public administration bodies that provide norms and standards for development. Additionally, these countries feature local planning agencies and enterprises which can be public or private. It is important to note that in ALB, XKX and BiH, spatial planning is under the jurisdiction of local administration, while in MKD, MNE and SRB there are, in addition to state administration, public and private enterprises in charge of spatial planning (mainly dealing with the drafting of plans). Nevertheless, local public enterprises are not fully autonomous bodies – they closely cooperate with local administration and are often partly financed from the latter's budget. However, the existence of these enterprises can still be observed as a sign of the decentralisation of planning activities from those that existed hitherto.

3.2. Spatial Planning Instruments and Allocation of Development Rights

The administrative heterogeneity that characterises the WBR implies that a number of instruments have been developed and implemented within each local context. This section presents and explains the system of plans at the national, regional, and local levels in the countries of the WBR. Moreover, it addresses the common traits as well as differences in the allocation of development rights, which is usually seen as the main goal of a spatial planning system (Janin Rivolin, 2012).

Most of the countries included in this research (with the exception of BiH) assign spatial planning competences related to the country's development to national-level bodies, while the development of binding and more detailed spatial plans remains under the authority of local government units or, in some cases, local planning agencies. Although increasingly less detailed in nature, spatial plans at the national level in the WBR are still considered as a form of zoning plan when compared to planning instruments in Western Europe, which tend to be more focused towards strategic and visionary planning (Knapp et al., 2015). A common feature between all the countries in the WBR is that they foresee some sort of hierarchical relation within their plans. This means that local-level plans should be in line with regional-level plans, whilst the latter should be in line with national-level plans (Table 5). Although the terminology of planning varies between the countries, there are similarities in relation to the scope and role of plans, and it is possible to distinguish three groups. First, national spatial plans cover the entire territory of a country and are visionary, future-oriented and have strategic elements. Their scope, content and coverage are wider than city-level urban plans, but less detailed. Secondly, there are sectoral spatial plans that usually focus on determined sectors/areas, for example, the national sectoral plans of ALB. Thirdly, spatial plans are adopted for particular projects of national and/or public interest. In ALB these are called Detailed Plans for Areas of National Importance, while in most other Western Balkan countries these are labelled as Plans of Special Purpose (SRB, MNE), Special Zones (XKX) or Special Interest (MKD). Overall, it can be argued that in most of the WBR countries, planning activity at the national level aims to influence the future strategic distribution of activities, environmental protection, the planning and development of projects of national interest, and indicate the regional and national priorities for economic and social development. National-level plans are more strategic and less oriented towards defining norms and standards or land use. Nevertheless, they still have a strong spatial and regulatory character (for example, the Zoning Map of XKX introduced in 2013). Their main role is the coordination of local spatial plans, the organisation of networks of settlements and infrastructures, and often the horizontal and vertical coordination of decision-making processes.

Different from the national level, not all of the countries of the WBR feature planning instruments at a regional level. In ALB the only plans produced at the Qarku level are of a sectoral nature; they aim to enhance vertical coordination within the various sectors. In addition, SRB produces Regional Spatial Plans for the NUTS-2 regions at the national level. These spatial plans have a more strategic and less regulatory character and seek to coordinate balanced territorial development. The main exception to this trend is BiH, which features numerous planning documents at the meso-level of the entities FBiH and RS, as well as the FBiH cantons. It is interesting to note that in both entities, planning documents have similar characteristics; the spatial plan focuses on defining a shared, long-term vision and strategy for the entire territories of FBiH and RS respectively, while the Spatial Plan of Areas with Special Features/Purpose establishes measures for planning implementation. Thus, they are considered more regulatory and less strategic. In contrast, the Brčko District has produced a Spatial Development Strategy that defines the long-term goals of spatial planning (for 20 years), by establishing principles and goals for spatial planning area development, selecting priorities and instituting protection measures. When it comes to the FBiH cantonal planning documents, these are of two kinds: the Spatial Plans of Cantons are of a more strategic character, while the Cantonal Spatial Plans for Areas with Special Features are of a more regulatory nature. Countries such are XKX, MKD and MNE do not have planning instruments at the meso-level.

Finally, in order to direct spatial development, planning instruments at the local level play a crucial role in balancing national and regional priorities with local interests. In this regard, each country has structured its planning system in line with spatial, economic, social, political and environmental needs and perspectives. While national and meso-level plans are usually described as spatial and more strategic in nature, local plans in most WBR countries are characterised as urban/regulatory plans which provide substantive guidance, and define norms and standards for spatial development. Local-level plans vary in relation to terminology, scope, and the possibilities afforded to ensure development rights. Countries of the WBR usually recognise two types of planning instruments at the local level. These are legally defined as spatial (BiH, MNE and SRB) and general urban plans (all WBR countries) and are developed for cities and/or municipalities. As mentioned at the start of this section, local plans are to be aligned with regional- and national-level plans. This kind of hierarchy of planning instruments is present at the local level as well, where detailed plans are to be in line with the general and spatial plans for cities/municipalities.

Table 5: Planning Instruments for Each Administrative Level

	ALB	BiH	XKX	MKD	MNE	SRB
National Level	General National Plan (GNP)	-	Spatial Plan of Kosovo	Spatial Plan of the Republic of Macedonia	Spatial Plan of the Republic of MNE	Spatial Plan of the Republic of SRB
	National Sectoral Plans (NSPs)	-	Spatial Plans for Special Zones	Spatial plan of special interest for the country	Spatial Plan of Special Purpose	
	Detailed Plans for Areas of National Importance	-	Zoning Map of XKX		Detailed Spatial Plan State Location Study	Spatial Plan of the Area of Special Purpose (SPSP)
Meso Level 1	Sectoral Plans at Qarku Level (SPQL)	**FBiH** - Spatial Plan of the Federation of BiH, Spatial Plan of Areas with Special Features **RS** - Spatial Plan of Republika Srpska, Spatial Plan for an Area with Special Purpose **Brčko** - Spatial Development Strategy	-	-	-	Regional Spatial Plan
Meso Level 2	-	**BiH** - Spatial Plan of Cantons	-	-	-	Spatial Plan for the Territory of the Province of Vojvodina
Local	General Local Plan (GLP) Sectoral Local Plans (SLPs) Detailed Local Plans (DLPs)	**FBiH** - Municipal Spatial Plan, Urban Development plan, and detailed planning documents **RS** - Municipal Spatial Plan or Spatial Plan of a Self-government Unit, Urban Development Plan, Zoning Plan, and Detailed Plans **BD** - Spatial Plan of the District, Urban Development Plan and Detailed Implementation Documents	Municipal Development Plan Municipal Zoning Map Detailed Regulatory Plan	General Urban Plan (GUP) Regulation Plan for GUP Detailed Regulation Plan (DUP) Urban Plan for Villages Urban Plan Outside of Populated Spaces Urban-technical documentation	Spatial-Urban Development Plan (SUDP) Detailed Regulation Plan (DUP) Urban Development Project Local Location Study	Spatial Plan of the Unit of Local Administration General Urban Plan (GUP) General Regulation Plan (PGR) Detailed Regulation Plan (DUP) Urban Project (UP)

Source: Authors' elaboration

Spatial plans in BiH, MNE and SRB are developed with the purpose of defining the main urban and rural land-use zones, natural areas under protection, infrastructural corridors, as well as the other priorities that exist for the local development of the given area. It is common for these plans to be adopted at the level of local municipality and contain strategic as well as some regulative guidelines for future development. In BiH there are Municipal Spatial Plans which are strategic long-term plans. The main purpose of these is to harmonise strategy at the entities level (and cantonal, in the case of FBiH) to local strategic priorities. In MNE there is a spatial-urban development plan which defines strategic objectives of spatial and urban development for the local government unit (municipality), in line with planned economic, social, ecological and cultural-historical developments.

Besides spatial plans in these three countries, all WBR countries feature some form of general/regulatory urban plans at the local level. It can be argued that these local planning instruments are more regulatory than strategic in nature, and they are most often associated with land-use planning tools. General urban planning dates back to the socialist era. It has been under the authority of local communities for over 50 years, satisfying, in the former Yugoslavia, very important decentralisation criteria within the sector of urban planning and construction. These plans are usually separated into three groups based on their level of detail. First, there are general (ALB, SRB, MKD) or development plans (BiH, XKX, MNE), which propose long-term strategic priorities for city/municipality development, land use, the intensity of development, the borders of urban areas, and so forth. Secondly, there are city/municipality general and development plans which are more detailed than the first group. Although differently labelled, these plans are present in most of the WBR countries. In ALB there are also Sectoral Local Plans which aim to enhance the implementation of national and local sectoral strategies and programmes. In XKX, the Municipal Zoning Map is a regulatory document that determines the land-use and action measures for public and private investment for all the territories of the municipality. The lowest level of general planning instruments in WBR countries are called detailed plans. These plans define land-use and specific norms and standards for construction. Besides these, some planning systems include additional local planning instruments which work in concert with the formal planning system and have similar, or even more detailed content, than the detailed plans. In the case of MNE these are Local Location Studies; in MKD it is urban-technical documentation, while in SRB these are characterised as Urban Projects. These planning instruments can assist in the obtaining of construction permits, and in some cases can even effect changes in higher-level plans.

Concerning the question of allocating development rights, in all of the countries included in this research, the development rights are established by plans, at both the national and local levels (see Table 6). The process of allocating development rights is set up in two main steps: (i) obtaining the urban/technical conditions which establish the land use, norms and standards of development; and (ii) obtaining the construction permit, which allows the initiation of the development process. In order to complete the process of development and allow its actual use, the developer needs to obtain an additional use permit in all of the countries mentioned in this research. There is a general trend towards accelerating the planning process in order to enhance the issuing of development rights in WBR countries. For example, in SRB the construction permit can be obtained on the basis of four different plans, while in most other countries it can be obtained on the basis of three different plans. In all of the WBR countries, national-level plans can allow development rights to be issued. For example, plans of special purpose (available in all WBR countries) can work as parallel planning instruments that can enable construction permits to be issued in addition to the local level plan. In most WBR countries, these developments are proclaimed to be 'in the public and national interest' by public authorities. The legal framework of MNE recognises this kind of practice through the Spatial Plan of Special Purpose where the national and public interest is mostly concerned with coastal/tourist development. Nevertheless, planning practice which enables national-level documents to issue construction permits is not unusual when developing projects of national interest (for example, infrastructural corridors), even in Western European counties. Besides the possibility to allocate development rights through national level planning instruments, in all of the WBR countries the detailed plans are those which provide sufficient guidance to allow construction permits to be issued. Additional planning documents which are not part of the formal system of plans can also enable this in the case of MKD, SRB, and MNE. For example, the planning system of MKD recognises this kind of practice through so-called urban-technical documentation, where development rights are issued for zones of special interest.

Table 6: Planning Instruments Responsible of Allocation Development Rights and Procedures

	Planning instruments that may allocate development rights			Development rights procedure (main steps)
	National	Meso	Local	
ALB	Detailed plans for areas of national importance	-	General Local Plan and Detailed Local Plan	Development permit, construction permit and Use permit
BiH	-	**FBiH** - Spatial Plan of Areas with Special Features **RS** - Spatial Plan for an Area with Special Purpose	**FBiH** – Detailed Spatial Plan **RS** – Zoning Plan and Detailed Plans **BD** – Detailed Implementation Documents	Development Permit, Construction Permit and Use Permit
XKX	Zoning Map of XKX	-	Municipal Zoning Plan and Detailed Regulatory Plan	Terms of Construction and Construction Permit and Use Permit
MKD	-	-	Detailed Urban Plan (DUP), Urban Plan for Villages, Urban Plan Outside of Populated Spaces, Urban-Technical Documentation	Urban/technical conditions and Construction Permit and Use Permit
MNE	Spatial Plan of Special Purpose (SPSP)	-	Detailed Urban Plan (DUP), Urban Development Project, Local Location Study	Urban/technical conditions and Construction Permit and Use Permit
SRB	Spatial Plan of the Area of Special Purpose (SPSP)	-	Spatial Plan of the Unit of Local Administration, General Regulation Plan (PGR) and Detailed Regulation Plan (DUP) Urban Project (UP)	Urban/technical conditions and Construction Permit and Use permit

Source: Authors' elaboration

4. Main Findings and Issues

Building on the proposed analysis, it can be argued that spatial planning in the WBR countries is a highly heterogeneous activity, characterised by a variety of administrative levels and bodies which hold responsibilities in relation to spatial planning practice, as well as by a number of planning instruments. This heterogeneity is the result of both path-dependent logic as well as incremental adjustments to market economic mechanisms.

Territorial administrative systems vary between the WBR countries; where XKX, MKD and MNE have two levels of administration – the central (national) level, and the local level (municipalities and cities) – ALB, BiH and SRB have additional regional levels of planning. This particular administrative subdivision in the WBR countries can be related to the path-dependent nature of each system. When looking at the institutional setting in all the WBR countries, it is possible to notice that there has been a tendency towards the decentralisation of spatial planning through the abolition of the role of public planning enterprises in cities and the assignment of spatial planning activities solely to the jurisdiction of the given local administrative unit. These public planning enterprises date back to the socialist era and served to satisfy the criterion of decentralised planning activities when each municipality in Yugoslavia had its own institute (larger cities) or directorate (municipalities). Today, ALB, XKX and BiH do not fully recognise such planning institutions. In the other WBR countries there is also a strong tendency to abolish them.

When it comes to the system of plans, WBR countries apply a variety of planning instruments at each level. It is common for all countries to organise these instruments hierarchically, with national, regional, and some local plans having more of a strategic rather than strong regulatory dimension. Nevertheless, spatial planning in WBR countries is still very much identified with zoning, due to the importance of hard visualisations and maps. Hence, although national planning instruments do not have a strong regulatory nature, an exception to this are those plans for areas of special purpose which are prepared for areas of national interest and contain land use, norms and standards for development. Different from the national level, only ALB, BiH and SRB contain planning instruments at the regional level. These spatial plans still have more of a strategic rather than regulatory character and serve to coordinate balanced territorial development. While regional spatial plans in ALB aim to enhance vertical coordination within the various planning sectors, SRB produces Regional Spatial Plans for the NUTS-2 regions at the national level with the exception of the province of Vojvodina, which has its

own regional spatial plan. The highest level of planning in BiH is the meso-level of the entities FBiH and RS, as well as of the FBiH cantons; the plans for both entities have similar characteristics.

Through comparing each planning system in terms of how it allocates development rights, it can be noted that in each country the development rights are issued in accordance with the plans developed both at the central (or entity) level and the local level. Here there are two observations to underline: all of the systems are similarly framed in terms of the allocation of development rights, and it is not only local plans that may allocate the right to develop. Across all cases, local urban plans are considered as the ones that provide sufficient data on the possibilities and constraints for development, and as such they can enable the allocation of construction permits. Nevertheless, all of the countries in this research show that plans at the central and entities level (for FBiH) are also able to allocate development rights within specific sites and given certain conditions. Secondly, in some cases, even planning documentation which is not part of the formal planning system can enable the allocation of construction permits. This kind of practice points out the dual nature of national-level planning instruments which contain regulatory as well as strategic elements. Moreover, it points out a potential (re) centralisation of planning systems, whereby national planning instruments can bypass local, regulatory ones. On the other hand, the fact that at least three different planning documents in each WBR country can allocate development rights, points to the fact that there is a tendency for acceleration within the planning process in line with the requirements of market economies.

5. Conclusion

Due to their complex past, fragmentation and geopolitical instability, until recently the WBR countries have been excluded from a majority of studies on spatial planning (see, for instance, Cotella and Berisha, 2016a). This paper addresses this analytical gap. Its main aim was to sketch out and compare the evolution of spatial planning systems in the WBR countries through an analysis of their geographical and socio-economic tendencies and administrative and legal frameworks, as well as their spatial planning instruments. In so doing, particular attention has been given to understand the relationships that exist between upper and lower planning documents in allocating development rights and issuing building permits.

Based on the evidence presented in this article, it can be argued that the spatial planning systems of the WBR countries are complex, path-dependent systems that are still influenced by their socialist/communist legacies as well as by subsequent transitional stages. Moreover, they are also facing a variety of challenges in adjusting to the requirements of market-economy, EU perspective, as well as other international influences. In this light, the main contribution of the developed comparative analysis is to highlight similarities and differences in terms of their development paths and present configurations, and in so doing provide comment as to how to tackle present and future challenges.

The findings of this study point out the possibility that the decentralisation of spatial planning activity has taken place in each country through a variety of mechanisms, including the abolition or downsizing of independent public planning enterprises, and the acceleration of procedures for obtaining construction permits for projects of national interest through 'parallel' legal framework and planning instruments which work in concert with the formal system. As emerged from Cavrić and Nedović-Budić (2007), the degree of centralisation of power is the key indicator of the interaction between the local and national levels of government, and represents a significant factor in formation of planning systems and practice. Although the existence of a centralised system is often attached to previous socialist/communist regimes, it appears that it gained a new and contemporary role when coupled with market forces and the external influences that are faced by each WBR country included in this study.

Although the evolution of each spatial planning system appears rigid, incorporating some socialist/communist elements (especially during the first decade of transition), most of them have undergone frequent amendments of planning legislation since the 1980s. Most of the amendments to the laws were concerned with increasing the level of system flexibility in order to respond to the challenges posed by market economies, the EU, and other international influences. However, it is still unclear how these amendments affected the traditional role of planning in order to protect the public interest as public goods, public services and public land use, which were some of the basic principles enshrined within socialist planning agenda.

It is concluded, therefore, that more research is needed. The presented material makes, therefore, only a small contribution toward a greater understanding of the spatial planning systems in the WBR. Future research might be oriented in two directions: (i) the development of a set of indicators which aim to provide an in-depth understanding of how various internal and external factors influence the nature of the spatial planning systems of the WBR countries; and (ii) a triangulation of the preliminary findings obtained from desk-based research. This is a process that should examine the described transformations in local planning practices by involving planning professionals and other planning-related actors.

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TOURISM IDENTITY IN SOCIAL MEDIA: THE CASE OF SUZHOU, A CHINESE HISTORIC CITY

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Abstract

In the context of tourism planning and promotion, there is wide acknowledgement that conceptualisations of tourism identity cannot be grounded merely in physical place, but should also encompass a wide range of factors including, for instance, cultural relations, tourist activities, and social networking. There are opportunities in late modern society for relating the identity of a city's tourism with digitally-presented tourists' perceptions and activities through social media studies. This research explores multiple research approaches to delineate the digital identity of Suzhou's tourist destinations, as presented in online user-generated contents. It is hoped that this social media study can provide supplementary information for tourism bureaus and agencies to make informed judgements on effecting pertinent improvements to optimise existing tourism resources and create more enticing environments for tourists. The research follows a case study approach and conducts an empirical study on Suzhou, a Chinese historic city. The analysis of the results show that the social media study is potentially useful in identifying the key characteristics of particular tourist destinations from visitors' perspectives that may also be helpful for the evaluation of tourists' experiences.

Keywords

Tourism, social media, place identity

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1. Introduction

The importance of the tourism identities of cities has been emphasised in contemporary tourism planning practice. Many studies on tourism planning and promotion have concluded that local identities and tourism potentials in the development of cities' tourism strategies must go beyond aspects of geographical space. With emerging social media communication and increasing crowd-sourced data, there is a great potential for engaging social media studies with tourism planning practice in order to reflect visitors' experiences and subjective views of a city's prime tourist attractions. This research explores a new approach to extending existing studies on senses of 'spatial' place to 'digitally-presented' senses of place.

1.1. Research Background

Tourism development and marketing has become increasingly globalised and extremely competitive. Forging a strong global tourism identity and international reputation has been noticeably high on the agenda of many city governments across the world. Recent studies have shown that tourism in small and medium cities in China is often driven by standardised solutions for mass tourism with emphasis being placed on the given city's major tourist attractions (China Tourism, 2016). In the context of Chinese tourism planning and promotion, cities' local tourism identities have been studied primarily based on geographical space and tangible tourist destinations (Li, 2000; Mao and Liang, 2013). Concurrently, there is a wider acknowledgement that tourism identity studies must be based on tourists' experiences such as interpersonal relations, activities, and social networks (Inskeep, 1991; Hall and Page, 2014). Policy and decision-making processes surrounding tourism development and management are complex and impossible to separate from a city's economic, social, environmental and political contexts (Hall, 1994; Mason, 2015; Edgell, 2016). These studies indicate that uniform tourist information and standardised tourism strategy can no longer closely connect to the multitude of diverse interests that tourists (collectively and individually) possess. Many tourism planners have faced challenges in accommodating the various expectations of culturally-minded visitors as well as the need to attract domestic and/or international travellers to pay repeated visits to a given locality. In addition, the number of communication channels has grown exponentially in recent years, (at least for those who have access to the relevant technologies), and these can be used as tourism planning tools by which to understand tourists' real experiences. As a passive data collection method, acquiring user-generated data voluntarily posted online may enable the researcher to collate more honest responses from visitors and to better capture their experiences as tourists.

1.2. Research Aim and Objectives

The primary aim of this research is to demonstrate how data from social media can be used to examine the digital identity of tourist destinations in a city. The challenging task here is how user-generated online contents with wide-open subjects and free-text can be systematically structured and analysed to capture tourists' perceptions. It is also hoped that the outcomes noted in this research can help in the development and planning of the tourism sector. The overall objectives of the research are twofold:

- to develop an evaluation framework for analysing the contents of social media;
- to explore possible research methods to analyse a unique tourism identity perceived from social media data that may improve the tourism planning practice.

This research employs a case study methodology and conducted an empirical study on Suzhou, which was designated as a national historic city by the State Council of China in 1982. It possesses a wealth of tangible and intangible heritage assets. It has already been established that investigation into contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context can only be satisfied through the adoption of case study methodology (Yin, 2003). To achieve the above-mentioned research objectives, the data collected included details upon: where visitors go; and, what relevant content they post on social media. The city's tourism identity was then evaluated in order to relate the tourists' perceptions to tourism planning practice. This researcher used four different analytical methods: spatial analysis, temporal analysis, popularity analysis, and text analysis. The research framework is illustrated in Figure 1.

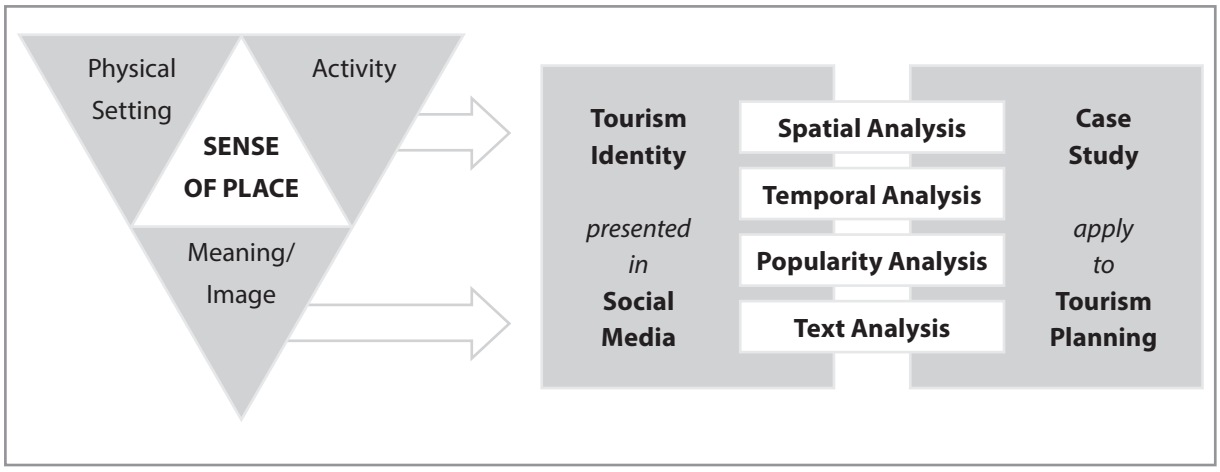

Figure 1 – Research Framework

2. Conceptualising Digital Tourism Identity

General concerns over the disadvantages of social media study have centred on the lack of a theoretical framework that provides a sound basis for systematic evaluation. This section explores how tourism development has engaged with social media research, and how digital tourism identities can be evaluated in the framework of place identity.

2.1. Tourism Development and Social Media

In modern society, new communication technologies have encouraged tourists to share their experiences, as well as information digitally (Buhalis and Law, 2008). Many tourist destinations have employed the concept of smart tourism (Gretzel, et al., 2015). It has become popular to develop smart tourism solutions in order to provide innovative information platforms for tourists and to enable the further growth in both tourist numbers and revenue. Smart tourism enables self-organised tours to be more feasible and manageable and also enables individual tourists to collect comprehensive tourism information, services, and experiences from diverse online resources (Fu and Zheng, 2013).

China is a case in point. According to the Chinese government report, Advice on Accelerating Development of Tourism Industry (General Office of the State Council of China, 2009), emerging smart tourism has greatly promoted socio-economic and cultural development. Over the last few years, tourism-related mobile apps have exponentially proliferated in China. Many cities including Jinan, Wuhan, Chun'an, Tianjin and Nanjing have launched smart tourism projects in order to provide integrated resources for tourists. Other terms such as 'professional tourism' and 'digital tourism' have often been used interchangeably with 'smart tourism' in Chinese tourism industries (Huang, 2014). Prior studies focused upon China suggest that governments have played the primary role in building and regulating smart tourism instruments in the Chinese context (Lin, 2013; Huang, 2014; Wang and Liao, 2014). Many smart tourism projects in China provide similar functions and services, such as information on scenic spots, ticketing, accommodation, public transport, cultural facilities and events. However, there have also been key failures of smart tourism including, for instance, listing fragments of tourist information without considering the diverse needs and interests of users. Smart tourism apps can be used as a tool to collect place-based tourists' experiences. However, a major drawback of this data collection method is that there is restricted data accessibility due to issues of data confidentiality and the limited numbers of survey participants who used the aforementioned apps.

Another significant influence of smart technology on tourism is social media. According to a recent research on social media penetration (We Are Social, 2017), the number of social media users has grown 21 percent in 2017 compared with the previous year's record, and about 134 million new users were registered in China in 2016. It is also reported that, in the United States, members of the over 65-year-old demographic have driven the

growth of social media in recent years, as the use of such media among younger age groups may have reached saturation (Chaffey, 2017). Social media, as a new type of online communication tool, creates interactive relations between users, as well as personal and business networks. Social media communication in tourism includes not only information on the physical environments of tourist destinations, but also personal experiences and comments upon levels of satisfaction reached (Sigala et al., 2012). It is discernible that online user-generated content has caused tourism markets and industries to be more interactive. This new media has also provided an opportunity for tourism industries to understand and respond to the needs and demands of tourists more quickly and systematically. User-generated content can be seen as factual data that is readily available, and analysing such content can improve our understanding on tourists' perceptions and experiences as well as their movements and behaviour patterns in the real world (Krumm et al., 2008). It is evident that the study of social media can contribute to our understanding of the relative popularity of tourist attractions as defined and constructed by tourist experiences.

2.2. Components of Place Identity

The concept of place identity is vague, and resists a simple definition. Various efforts have been made to conceptualise this concept since the 1970s, including seminal works on place identity (Proshansky, 1978), sense of place (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977; Buttimer, 1980), sense of community (Sarason, 1974), and place attachment (Gerson et al., 1977). In many previous studies, the concept of place identity has been defined as the contribution of place attributes to one's self-identity (Proshansky, 1978; Sarbin, 1983; Proshansky et al., 1983; Rivlin, 1987). Place identity can be defined as a sense of dependence and belonging that individuals have to a certain place, psychologically. Individuals experiencing a particular place can generate a certain symbolic meaning or emotional attachment. Place identity is not steady and permanent but changeable and fluid. A definition of place, therefore, goes beyond a simple geographic location, as it is also attached to human activities that occur in the place; these may include people's lifestyle, perception, diet, transport, events, and habits, to name but a few. This human-centric approach to place identity is also closely associated with historical and cultural dimensions of place. Different geographies, climates and environments influence inhabitants' lives, habits, traditions and customs. The unique climate, historic stories and legacies of the past enrich the cultural attribute of a place (Bernardo and Palma-Oliveira, 1977). While cultural and social aspects of place identity are emphasised in much literature, there is no doubt that the physical asset of a place is the fundamental element of place identity. Notably, the geomorphic features, landscapes, architecture styles, and materials. In a systematic approach to explaining the concept of place identity, Montgomery (1998) applied the notions of physical setting, activities and meaning to the conceptual framework to define sense of place (Figure 2).

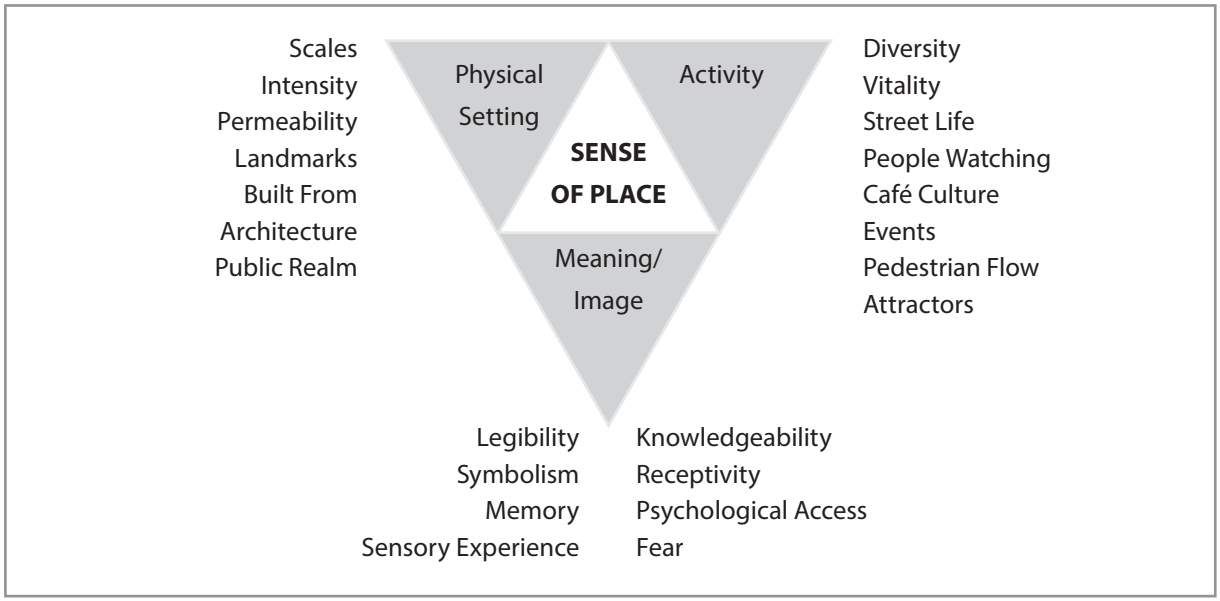

Figure 2 – Three Components of Place Identity (modified from Montgomery, 1998)

2.3 Evaluation Framework of Place Identity

In the increasingly interconnected and globalised world, place identity has gained growing prominence in a city's tourism development. Tourism development has consequently capitalised on various material and immaterial attributes of a locality, such as culture, lifestyle, festivals, local specialties and customs, along with tangible and intangible heritage assets. Although it is critical to understand the image of a city when developing tourism strategies, there are operational difficulties in examining place identities. This is because the analysis of place identity, which can be seen as phenomenological perspectives of the self, is almost impossible to communicate with others fully (Proshansky et al., 1983; Hernández et al., 2007). Similarly, Relph (1976) addresses the idea that the psychological meaning is more important than the physical environment or human activities and debunks the claim of human geographers (Tuan, 1977; Sack, 1997) that place, as 'space', can be presented accurately in aspects of geographic location and physical form.

The above-mentioned three components – physical setting, activities, and meaning – provide this research with a frame of reference to explain the conceptual formation of place identity. However, challenges remain as to how they can be applied as an analytical framework for evaluating place identity in a scientific or quantitative manner. The major challenges lie in, on the one hand, reducing the considerable overlap between the three components; and on the other hand, in differentiating the indistinguishable geographical scales of place. Place identity can be formed at micro, meso, and macro level of geospatial aggregation. As they are interrelated with each other, difficulties arise when an attempt is made to separate each quality as a dependent variable in the evaluation framework. Therefore, it is necessary to connect the definitions of physical setting, activity, and meaning with more tangible descriptions in developing an evaluation framework of place identity. Given the considerations above, the research has developed an evaluation framework of place identity that can be applied to social media research (Table 1).

Table 1: Evaluation Framework of Place Identity

Main Category	Sub-category	Descriptions
Physical Setting	Scenery	natural landscape, panoramic view, building skyline
	Topography	canal, streams, hills,
	Landscape	artificial landscape (i.e. gardens)
	Landmark	recognisable natural or artificial feature
	Architecture	one or two building(s), but not landmarks
	Public Space	public realm (street, square, park, etc.)
	Object	detailed elements of physical features
	Public Arts	arts objects in public space (graffiti, cultural items, etc.)
Activity	Transport	transportation and route finding
	Water Transport	water transport, boat riding
	Shopping	shopping and commercial activities
	People	local culture, social activities, street life
	Food	food and drinks (food and café culture)
	Event	specific events organised
	Paid Activity	paid tourist/leisure activities
	Attractor	items attracting attentions (animals, unusual items, etc.)
Meaning	Memory	memory of place, evidence of visit, selfie, self-portrait photo
	Emotion	feelings and psychological meaning
	Knowledge	knowledgeable explanations, craftsmanship
	Sensorial	sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch
	Seasonal	seasonal changes, city lightings (night view)

The framework is derived from the work of Montgomery (1998) and has further divided his three components into 21 sub-categories. It has been adapted to be aligned with social media contents and data analysis as well as to reflect the character of the selected case study city, Suzhou. For example, as a consequence of Suzhou possessing, as a key feature of its tourism offerings, an extensive canal network, the sub-categories of the activity criteria have been further divided to include 'transport' and 'water transport'.

3. Case study: Suzhou, Chinese Historic City

The research conducted an empirical study on Suzhou, a historic city in China, located in Jiangsu Province (Figure 3). As an important commercial centre since the 10th-century Song Dynasty, it has a wealth of heritage resources and is well known for being a water town featuring canals, stone bridges, vernacular architecture and classical gardens. These were placed upon the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1997 and again in 2000. To date, there are 863 statutorily protected heritage properties in Suzhou City; 45 percent are located within the area of the Historic City. A total of 39 properties are designated as national heritage; 24 of these are in the Historic Centre (Suzhou Planning Bureau and Suzhou Planning and Design Institute, 2013).

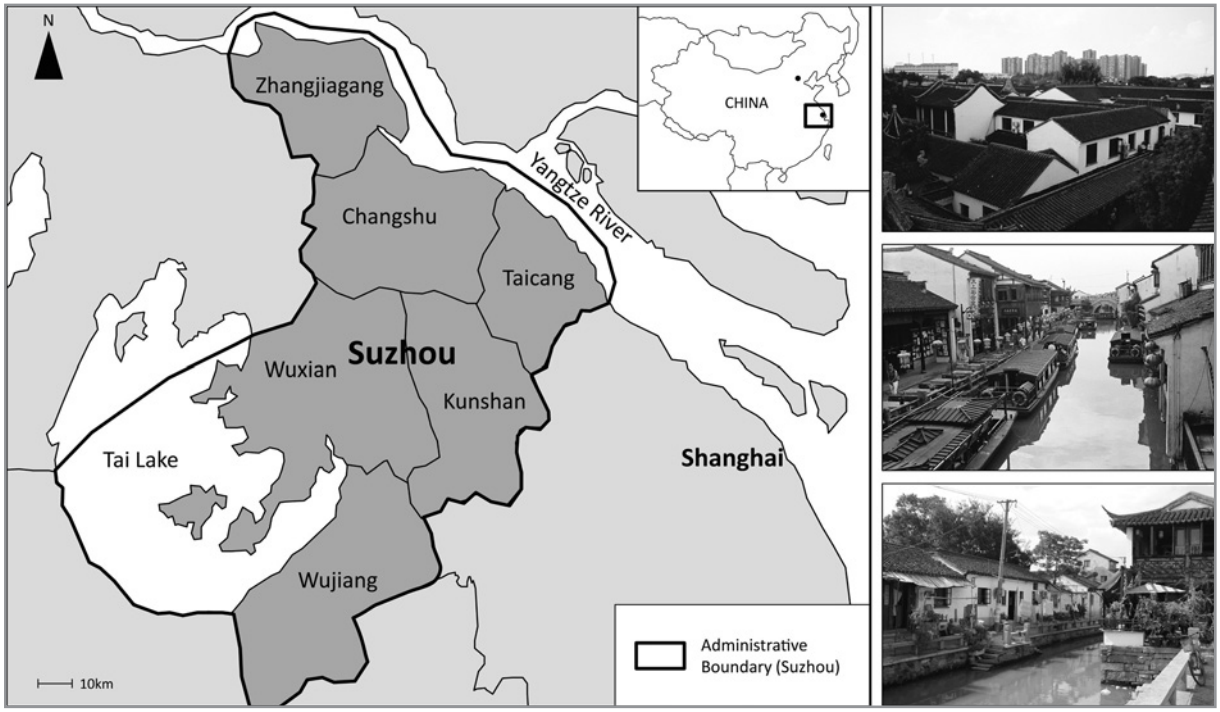

Figure 3 – Location of Suzhou

The walled city of Suzhou was built on the region's interlocking network of waterways, with an inner-city canal network connecting to the Grand Canal and major waterworks in the region. The city is characterised by a system of canals, bridges and traditional dwellings that resemble the characteristics of the water towns in the Yangtze River Delta. Suzhou has been dubbed the 'Venice of the East' or 'Venice of China' (Pereira, 2004). Suzhou's government sees tourism as a catalyst for the city's socio-economic growth, as stated in the 13th Plenary Session of the Eighth Communist Party of the City. A strategic plan was drawn up and prioritised six aspects for tourism development (Suzhou Municipal Office, 2017):

- Internationalisation Strategy: promoting Suzhou's tourism globally to make Suzhou an 'international first-class travel destination';
- Branding Strategy: encouraging revisits to Suzhou and improving the city's tourism reputation by enhancing the three brand images of the city, 'cultural tourism in the old town', 'romantic and fashionable holidays in new districts', and 'ecological leisure on the shore of Tai Lake';
- Integration Strategy: integrating tourism development with urban regeneration to improve the quality of life and revitalise the city's economy;

- Information Strategy: facilitating tourism using ICT technologies, and promoting 'Smart Tourism' to develop a comprehensive tourism information platform;
- Low-carbon Strategy: promoting the concept of green GDP through the development of low-carbon tourism and eco-tourism; and,
- Marketing Strategy: structuring the market development mechanism with collaboration between government and enterprises.

Best known for its World Heritage classical gardens and its parallel layouts of streets and canals (Wu, 2011), Suzhou has attracted a significant number of domestic tourists to visit the city year after year. However, the overemphasis and increasing reliance on the world heritage brand and a few historic places has also resulted in there being an increased disregard for other places that are also representative of local cultures and customs and hold potential for diversification within cultural tourism. Criticisms of the city's tourism practice have centred on the monotony; visitors have not really been encouraged to explore Suzhou beyond the gardens or the historic centre. Accordingly, Suzhou needs to rethink its approaches to tourism development in order to increase its competiveness in the global tourism market.

4. Research Methods

This research evaluates the city's tourism performance and characterises its digital tourism identity by employing a bottom-up form of data collection and the mapping of existing tourist activities. This research method using crowd-sourced social media data harnesses the involvement of tourists in: mapping their own interests and resources; and, raising the visibility of existing place-based tourist activities. An integrated research method was required in order to fully utilise the knowledge potential embedded in social media data. This includes not only conventional spatial analysis but also temporal, multimedia and user-behavioural analysis methods (Campagna, 2016). However, as Sui and Goodchild (2011) argue, it is also important to consider the possible bias in the quality and credibility of social media data for both scientific analysis and the interpretation. The social media analysis in this research is divided into three distinct parts: survey, analysis, and evaluation.

First, this research conducted a survey of social media postings to categorise the diverse comments of tourists as to what they saw and did, and what they felt and liked. The data collection began with the selection of online platforms where users submit their comments as to their travelling experiences. Then, the 20 most popular tourist destinations in Suzhou were selected as case studies. In total, 640 social media postings, which contained 3,960 samples of text comments and images were analysed.

Secondly, with social media data collected, tourism identity was analysed with an emphasis on four aspects:

(1) spatial analysis to investigate the spatial relations between tourism destinations;

(2) temporal analysis to examine the temporal change of digital tourism identities;

(3) popularity analysis to review digital tourism identities in 20 tourist attractions; and,

(4) text analysis to explore the linguistic landscape of users' comments posted upon social media.

Finally, the research findings were analysed to investigate how social media research can be applied to the practice of tourism planning and management. This aspect of the research also used participant observation research methods to reflect the insights gained from the authors' own experiences of living in Suzhou and visiting the city's tourism destinations.

4.1. Selecting Social Media Platforms for Data Collection

There are a vast number of online platforms that provide interactive travel forums. Drawn from a number of interviews with social media users in China, the researchers initially identified 24 candidate platforms including Weibo, Dianping, Ctrip, Qunar, Tongcheng, Tuniu, Lvmama, 58 City, and Mafengwo. Out of the

platforms mentioned above three were chosen for data collection: Weibo (similar to Facebook, one of most popular social media platforms in China); Ctrip (similar to TripAdvisor, well-established enterprise-led online tourism platform); and, Dianping (restaurant/place review site, one of the largest user-generated review sites in China). The selection was based on the number of users, reputation, popularity, the amount of user-generated contents, and the fact that each platform had existed for a period of at least five years. It was expected that these three social media platforms would enable the collection of diverse opinions and experiences of tourists in various data formats, including photo-oriented and text-oriented postings.

In terms of defining the geographical scope of the research, 20 tourist destinations in Suzhou were selected by paying systematic attention to their rankings in the three selected platforms – Weibo, Ctrip, and Dianping. As the Baidu online map service (similar to Google Map) provides real-time locations of service users in the form of a density heat map, this spatially-presented density was taken into account in the selection process. This density data was collected from 6–24 June, 2016 and compared with the location of tourism destinations. The selected 20 tourism destinations of Suzhou are categorised as follows:

- Classical Gardens (five destinations): Humble Administrator's Garden, Master of the Nets Garden, Lingering Garden, Lion Grove Garden, Pavilion of Surging Waves
- Old Towns (four destinations): Feng Bridge, Mudu Ancient Town, Tongli Ancient Town, Zhouzhuang Ancient Town
- Streets (three destinations): Guanqian Street, Pingjiang Road, Shantang Street
- Historical Heritages (three destinations): Hanshan Temple, Panmen Gate, Tiger Hill
- Natural Landscapes (two destinations): Qionglong Mountain, Tianping Mountain
- Artificial Landscapes (three destinations): Suzhou Amusement Land, Jinji Lake, Suzhou Museum

4.2. Collecting Social Media Data

The research employed a pilot approach to demonstrate how social media can be used in the analysis and planning of tourism. The analysis results in this research are based on 640 postings from the three selected online platforms. A single posting in social media usually includes multiple images and/or text comments, hence this dataset contained 3,960 valid samples in text and/or image formats. Due to resource constraints, the research was focused on social media data posted between January and June 2016 (six calendar months including two out of three national holiday periods). Considering there are many casual postings in social media that are not closely related to the topic of this research, a purposive sampling method was adopted in order to obtain meaningful data. Manual inspection and selection was deemed essential in the sampling process due to the prevailing use of Internet slang and shorthand. The research dealt with different types of social media platform, and the data collection methods were adjusted to meet the particular format of each platform. In order to evaluate the temporal change, the data was collected evenly throughout the six months of the data collection period. The collected social media posting data was classified using 21 sub-categories of place identity (Table 1). In this process, a single social media posting could be tagged with multiple sub-categories (a maximum of five within the 21 sub-categories). This was important because it allowed for the diverse interpretations that could arise from a single posted image or comment. For example, an image of a wall painting spotted in a tourism destination can be seen as 'public arts' (the Physical Setting category) and, at the same time, 'attractor' (the Activity category). In order to assess the visitor's satisfaction expressed in the text-format postings, trained surveyors evaluated each comment using ten likelihood classifications from -5 to +5 (-5 means strongly negative comments, 0 means neutral, +5 means strongly positive comments) to conduct a quality measurement for the text-format comments. While there are many automated analysis tools available, this research employed a manual technique as it involved a small sample size. For text analysis, 45 words were selected as the most frequently used words in the collected text-format data and used for further analysis. For greater consistency in categorising and assessing satisfaction in the data collection process, a one-day training session for surveyors was organised.

4.3. Data Verification

While the research used 640 postings, the sample size for each tourism destination per calendar month was relatively small. Since there might be concerns pertaining to the small sample size, the researchers selected

a particular tourist destination for an in-depth study to compare the analysis results between different data sampling sizes. For this purpose, Humble Administrator's Garden was selected for the comparison, because: (1) it was ranked as the best known tourist destination of Suzhou in the three social media platforms used in this research; and, (2) it scored the highest number of social media postings among the 20 tourist destinations. The tourism identity data was collected in two different sample groups containing: 142 samples and 603 samples (Figure 4). The analysis results suggest that there was no significant difference (less than 3.6%) between the two sample groups. This supports our assumption that the analysis outputs from a smaller sample can provide a snapshot that is illustrative of a city's tourism identity.

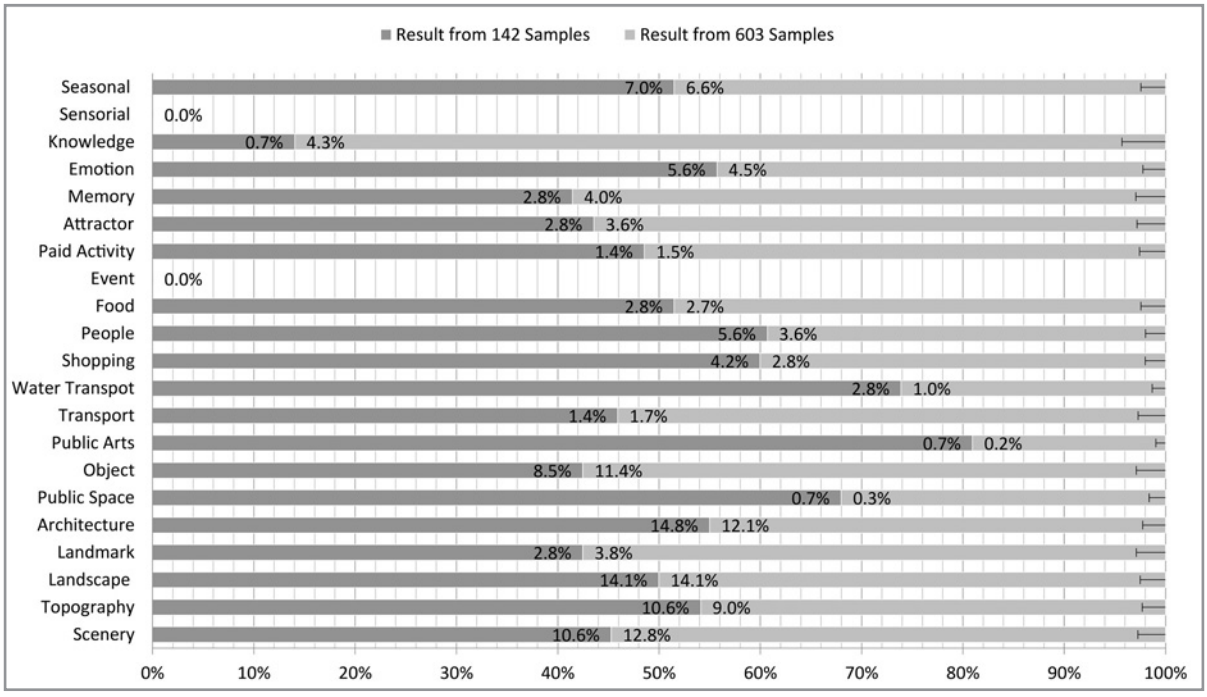

Figure 4 – Comparison of Survey Data from Different Sample Sizes

5. Analysing Place Identity for Tourism Planning

In the process of place identity classification, 640 social media postings were tagged with 1,775 place identity categories. Within the three main categories of place identity, the results show that the postings related to the first category 'physical setting' were the most noticeable, especially, the architecture element (Figure 5). One possible explanation for this is that the unique architectural style of Suzhou (black roofs and white walls) attracts visitors' attentions and is considered 'something different' from other cities in China. Another interesting result from the physical setting category is that visitors published many postings categorised in 'scenery', 'landscape' and 'object', but were less interested in posting contents on the city's landmarks such as historic monuments. In the second category 'activity', food and people watching were most commonly posted, and attractors such as animals and unusual items were also popular topics in the postings. Finally, in the category of 'meaning', the popular postings were selfies and photos recording visits. Seasonal change was another item posted frequently.

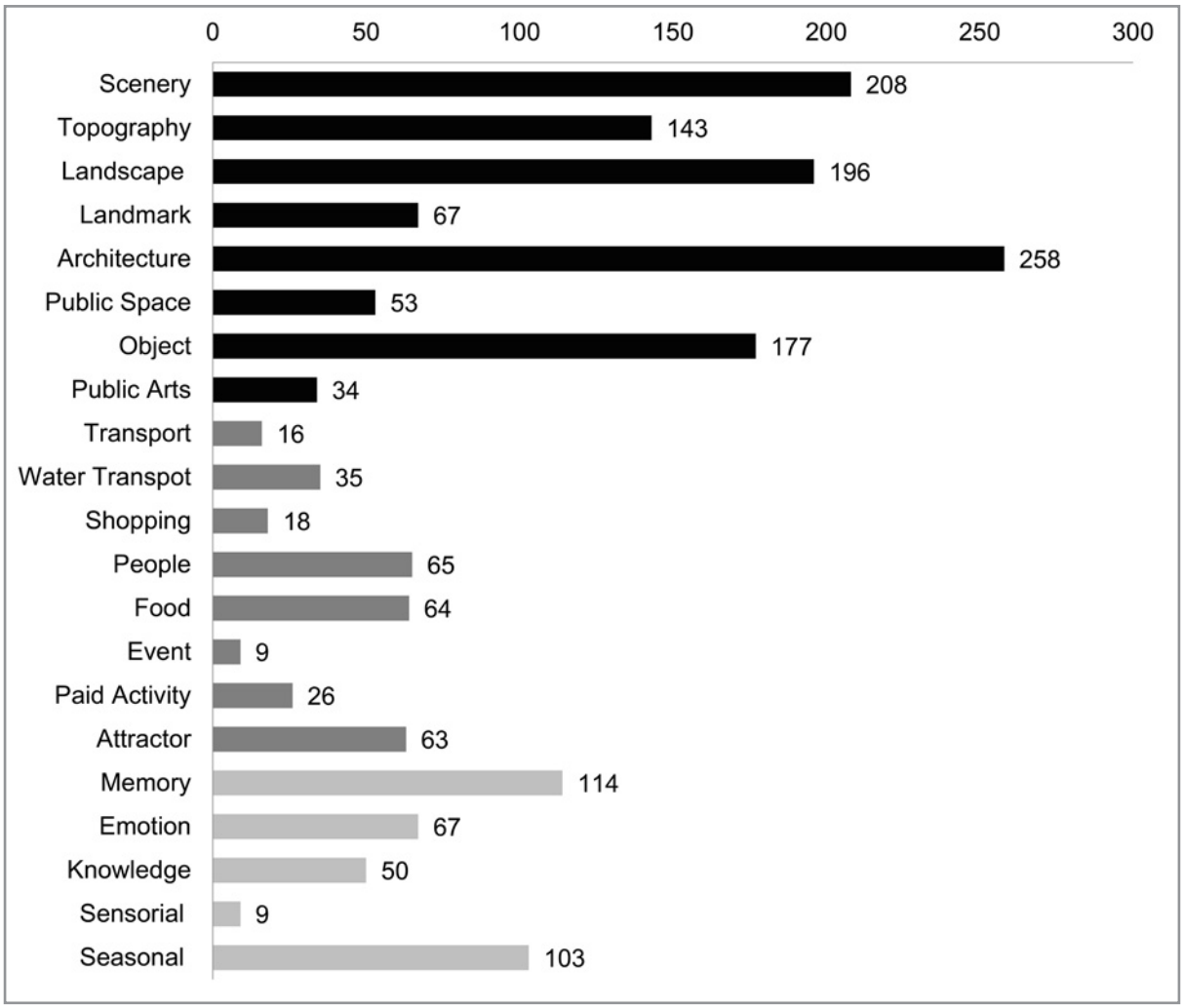

Figure 5 – Social Media Postings and Place Identity

5.1. Spatial Analysis

In order to explore the spatial pattern of tourists' activities, the research identified locations of the top 100 tourist destinations ranked in the three social media platforms used in this research. These were compared with the number of social media postings at the top 20 tourist destinations (Figure 6).

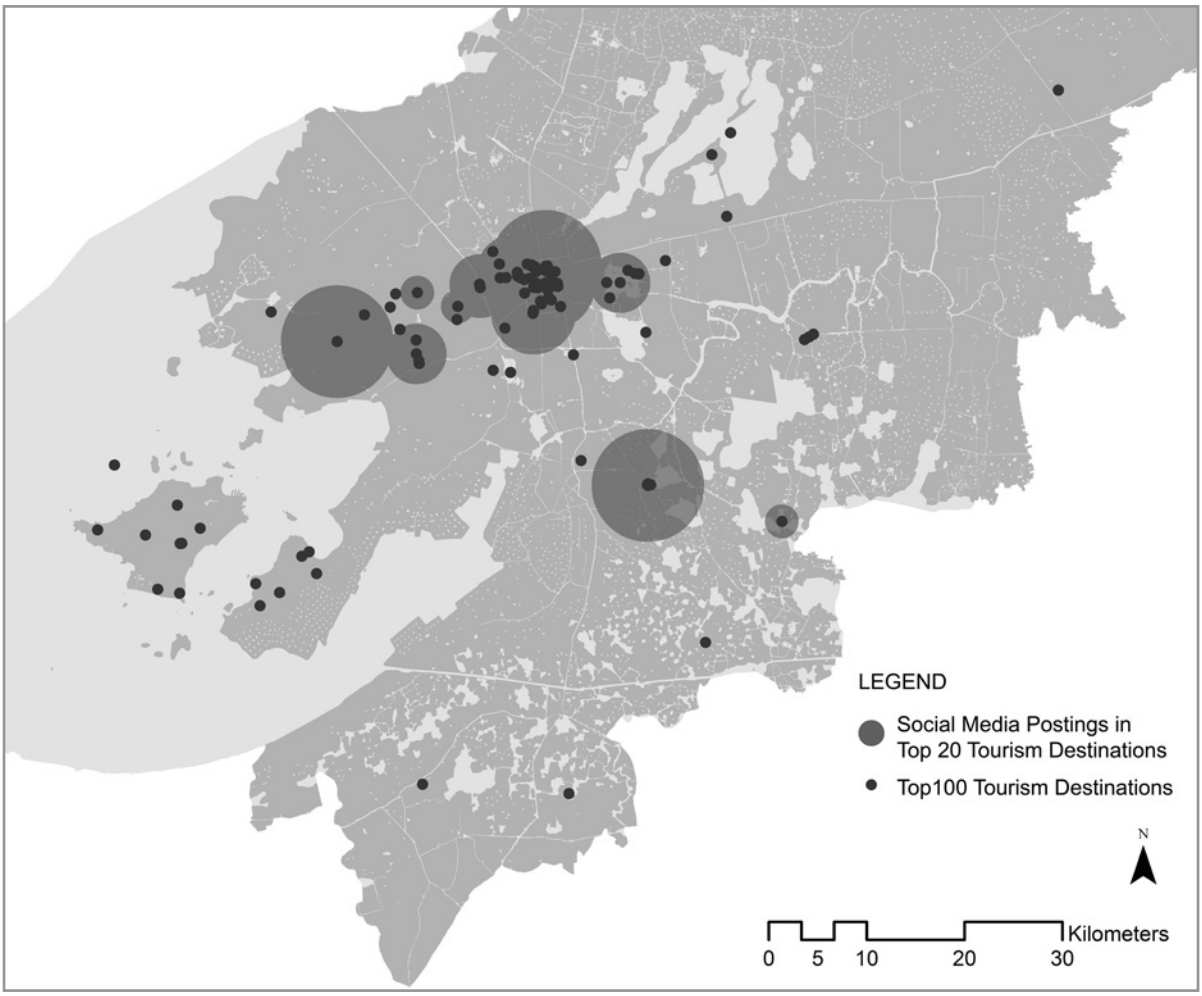

Figure 6 – Spatial Distribution of Suzhou's Tourism Destinations

The result shows that Suzhou has a strong potential for tourism with many tourist destinations across the city. However, it is also recognised that the most popular tourism attractions of Suzhou are located in the historic centre, with the others being clustered in different areas. The Suzhou Tourism Master Plan (2009-2020) has addressed this issue, and summarised the strategy as 'One Core, One Belt, Three Districts'. Many scholars hold the view that spatial agglomeration and the clustering of destinations could benefit regional tourism growth and related industries (Smith, 1994; Malmberg and Maskell, 2002; Capone and Boix, 2008; Lazzeretti and Capone, 2009). It is believed that the location-specific tourism resources would create synergies between neighbouring tourist attractions, thereby enhancing local accessibility, improving the interaction of tourist-related activities, and sharing costs for infrastructure (Cole, 2009; 2012; Yang and Fik, 2014). Considering the spatial distribution of tourist attractions, cross-marketing links between all the tourist venues seems to be desirable for Suzhou so that tourists can see the wide spectrum of activities available within the area.

In contrast to the spatial agglomeration of the tourist destinations, the analysis results suggest that there are significant differences in how the visitors perceive tourism identity in different tourist destinations (Figure 7). The following maps show the results of the spatial analysis comparing the numbers of tagged tourism identities posted on social media in three categories: physical setting; activity; and meaning. The findings from this study reveal that most tourist destinations show a stronger representation of a particular category, rather than an equal distribution among all categories. Bearing in mind that those are the 'top 20' tourist destinations in Suzhou, these results would seem to suggest that it is not necessary to be heavily recognised in all elements of tourism identity in order to be a well-known tourist destination of the city. This was particularly evident in the case of Zhouzhuang Ancient Town, the easternmost tourist destination of Suzhou. Although it is located remotely and receives little benefit from spatial clustering, the tourists have focused strongly on the activity element of tourism identities in particular, while the other two elements were little recognised.

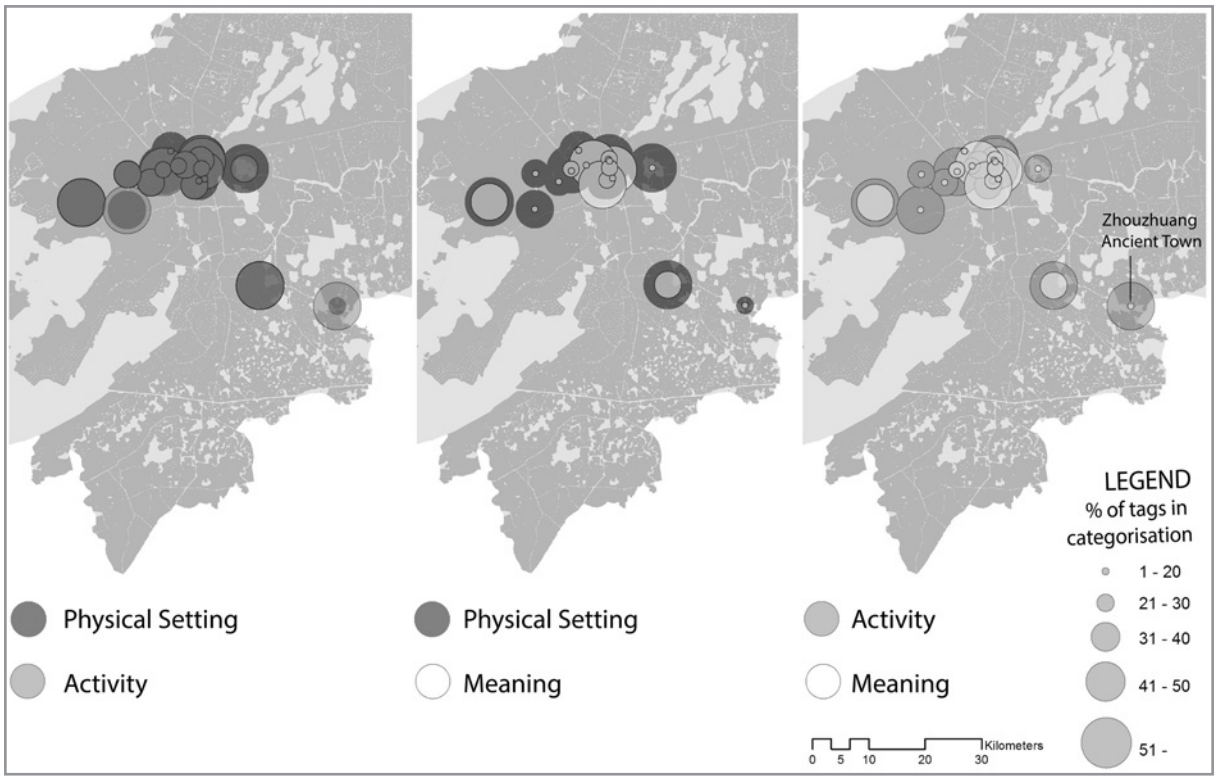

Figure 7 – A Comparison Between Three Elements of Tourism Identities

5.2. Temporal Analysis

Drawn from 1,775 sub-category tags of place attributes, the results of the temporal analysis are shown in Figure 8. Although a number of postings vary in each calendar month, there is no significant difference in terms of the proportion of the three categories: physical setting, activity, and meaning. There was an expectation that visitors may post more seasonally related contents about the change of seasons, for example on flower blossom in spring. However, while visitors post many seasonal contents in their social media accounts (Figure 5), there was no particular proportional change of seasonally-related content throughout the survey period.

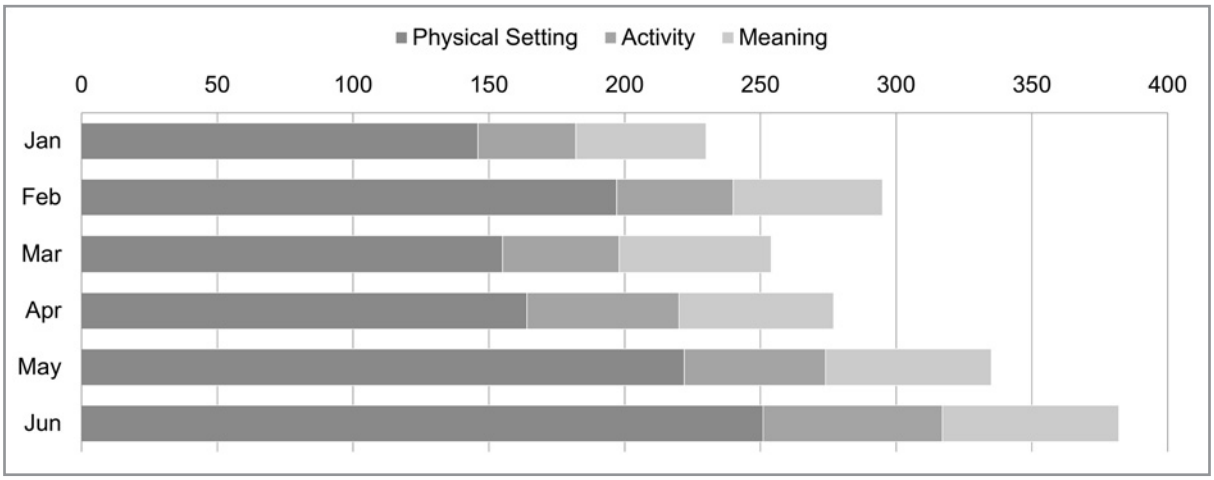

Figure 8 – Temporal Analysis Results (January to June 2016)

5.3. Popularity Analysis

Popularity analysis is considered in two aspects: an analysis of tagged tourism identity; and, tourists' opinions and satisfaction. All 1,775 category tags were analysed based on 20 tourist destinations (Table 2). An

interesting interpretation of the results is shown in the 'shopping' category. Humble Administrator's Garden, which is the best known classical garden in Suzhou, is recognised, on social media, as the most popular place for shopping activities. However, Guanqian Street, the city's town centre shopping district, scored lower in 'shopping' activity. This may be because people do not perceive the shopping experience in Guanqian Street to be unique or worthy of sharing upon social media. Another possible cause could be the decline of Guanqian Street in recent years, due to the competition that it has faced from newly developed large-scale shopping malls in Suzhou. Among 21 sub-categories, 'public space' and 'knowledge' are well recognised in Guanqian Street. It can be inferred that postings tagged with the knowledge category in Guanqian Street were mainly related to the demonstrations of jewellery craftsmanship that were arranged by shops to attract more customers (Figure 9). The data reported here appears to support the suggestion that Guanqian Street is in transition, transforming from the city's shopping centre for local citizens to a commercial area featuring cultural performances targeted at tourists. Another case illustrating a mismatch between the characteristics of tourist destinations and visitor experiences posted upon social media is Pingjiang Road. Pingjiang Road is one of the major tourism development areas; with rich architectural heritage it is recognised as a cultural area due to its having a high concentration of traditional artisan craft shops. Although it was expected to score more highly in relation to architecture and shopping considering its surrounding environments, data analysis suggests that 'food' and 'sensorial' categories were highly ranked. This data showed that many postings of food were related to the most popular food shop selling chicken feet in Pingjiang Road. It seems that eating chicken feet has been widely recognised among tourists as a must-do activity in Pingjiang Road, and it is visible from the social media data collected (Figure 9). Suzhou Museum is also worthy of attention, as the 'knowledge' category obtained a low score. This was surprising given that it is a museum. The 'architecture' category was also not strongly recognised, although this museum building was designed by a well-known Chinese architect (Figure 9).

Table 2: Popularity Analysis Results (unit: %, except Review Score)

Popularity Analysis		Physical Setting								Activity							Meaning					Review Score (Avg. 3.9)
		Scenery	Topography	Landscape	Landmark	Architecture	Public Space	Object	Public Arts	Transport	Water Transport	Shopping	People	Food	Event	Paid Activity	Attractor	Memory	Emotion	Knowledge	Sensorial	Seasonal	
Classical Garden	Humble Administrator's Garden	7	10	10	6	8	2	7	3	13	11	33	12	6	0	8	6	4	12	2	0	10	6.8
	Master of the Nets Garden	0	0	5	0	4	6	2	3	0	6	0	5	2	0	0	6	3	4	2	0	3	1.2
	Lingering Garden	1	0	12	6	6	2	11	12	0	6	0	5	6	0	0	5	4	3	6	0	3	4.5
	Lion Grove Garden	3	1	7	3	5	2	7	12	0	0	0	6	0	22	15	8	4	0	2	0	1	5.9
	Pavilion of Surging Waves	6	4	9	6	5	4	9	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	4	3	12	0	9	3.1
Old Towns	Feng Bridge	4	3	3	1	3	8	3	6	19	9	11	2	3	0	4	6	4	9	6	0	1	1.9
	Mudu Ancient Town	5	7	7	4	6	11	4	3	0	0	0	5	9	22	8	8	4	3	4	0	3	2.2
	Tongli Ancient Town	7	17	3	4	6	11	3	3	19	11	22	3	16	11	4	0	8	12	8	0	4	5.9
	Zhouzhuang Ancient Town	5	6	4	0	3	0	3	0	0	6	11	6	3	22	8	0	3	4	4	0	3	1.6
Streets	Guanqian Street	2	1	0	4	2	13	1	3	6	6	6	3	0	0	0	6	8	1	10	0	6	2.4
	Pingjiang Road	1	6	1	3	4	4	3	9	6	6	0	6	20	0	4	3	10	13	4	22	6	7.2
	Shantang Street	7	17	4	4	5	6	5	0	0	0	0	11	3	0	8	10	4	6	12	22	9	4.2
Historical Heritages	Hanshan Temple	3	5	5	12	8	6	7	18	13	0	0	8	0	0	4	3	3	7	4	0	8	3.3
	Panmen Gate	7	2	5	1	6	4	3	3	0	6	6	5	6	11	0	3	3	9	6	33	2	1.9
	Tiger Hill	4	8	6	7	7	0	6	3	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	3	3	3	2	0	7	5.3
Natural Landscapes	Qionglong Mountain	10	1	6	13	6	4	11	3	0	20	6	5	5	11	0	8	10	0	4	22	9	4.2
	Tianping Mountain	9	0	7	4	3	2	3	3	13	0	0	6	3	0	8	8	4	3	6	0	6	5.6
Artificial Landscapes	Suzhou Amusement Land	7	3	2	3	3	6	6	6	6	3	0	6	6	0	12	5	9	1	0	0	5	1.1
	Jinji Lake	12	8	0	12	3	9	2	9	0	9	6	2	8	0	0	6	6	3	4	0	4	5.0
	Suzhou Museum	0	0	7	3	5	2	5	3	6	3	0	2	2	0	19	2	5	1	2	0	4	4.1
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Jewellery Craftsmanship
Guanqian Street

Chicken Feet Food Shop
Pingjiang Road

Museum Architecture
Suzhou Museum

Figure 9 – Images of Tourist Destinations in Suzhou

A 10-level Likert scale on positive and negative comments posted on social media was also calculated with regard to popularity analysis (Table 2, Review Score). The weights from +5 to -5 were added in the review score calculation and standardised by the numbers of comments posted in each tourism destination. The average review score was 3.9, and Pingjiang Road and Humble Administrator's Garden showed higher visitor satisfaction levels than the other attractions. Suzhou Amusement Land (theme park) was awarded the lowest score for visitor satisfaction.

5.4. Text Analysis

There have been various studies that have applied text-based analysis methods to tourism research. These include tourist opinion analysis based on online text messaging (Loh et al., 2003), tourism destination choice analysis in the use of online communication (Jalilvand and Samiei, 2012; Sotiriadis and van Zyl, 2013), travel behaviour analysis on user-generated contents (Wenger, 2008; Ye et al., 2011), online popularity analysis with web-based opinion platforms (Zhang et al., 2010), quality in translation on online tourism platforms (Pierini, 2007), and a number of other studies. This research employed a simple text analysis method of word frequency using word counting software. Considering the similarity of the meanings, 45 words were selected for further text analysis to evaluate text-format postings of the 20 tourism destinations. Certain words like 'wonderful', 'beautiful' and 'eating' were frequently used in collected social media postings (Figure 10). However, future analysis shows that there were also distinctive differences when the visitors described the characteristics of individual destinations (Table 3).

Figure 10 – Word Cloud Results from Text Analysis

Table 3: Text Analysis Results

Frequently Used Words		1st	2nd	3rd
Classical Gardens	Humble Administrator's Garden	wonderful	beautiful	knowledgeable
	Master of the Nets Garden	wonderful	Suzhou Pingtan	evening activity
	Lingering Garden	stroll	knowledgeable	rockery
	Lion Grove Garden	rockery	amusement	enjoyable
	Pavilion of Surging Waves	flower	beautiful	culture
Old Towns	Feng Bridge	poem	canal	bell tone
	Mudu Ancient Town	Yans Garden	beautiful	architecture
	Tongli Ancient Town	ticket	eating	walk
	Zhouzhuang Ancient Town	beautiful	eating	Wansan's pig feet
Streets	Guanqian Street	snack	stroll	unique feature
	Pingjiang Road	eating	stroll	chicken feet
	Shantang Street	eating	wonderful	unique feature
Historical Heritages	Hanshan Temple	poem	ticket	temple
	Panmen Gate	city gate	good	boating
	Tiger Hill	tower	Jian pool	history
Natural Landscapes	Qionglong Mountain	high	amusement	air
	Tianping Mountain	red maple	stone	high
Artificial Landscapes	Suzhou Amusement Land	exciting	queue	installation
	Jinji Lake	ferry wheel	existing pier	nightscape
	Suzhou Museum	Bei Yuming	design	modern

For example, Humble Administrator's Garden, the largest and most popular classical garden, was tagged with the words describing feelings, such as 'wonderful', 'beautiful' and 'knowledgeable'. On the other hand, other smaller gardens in Suzhou were described with words related to the particular activity and physical appearance, such as 'flower', 'rockery', 'evening activity' and 'Suzhou Pingtan' (a local musical performance). One possible explanation of this is that a particular feature in a relatively smaller space may help visitors to recognise the unique characteristics of the garden more easily. In the case of Lion Grove Garden (comprising a total of 11,000 square meters), the visitors used the word 'rockery' most frequently to describe the garden in their social media postings. It seems that they reflect the most famous feature of the garden, the large and labyrinthine grotto of Tai Lake rocks at its centre. In contrast, Humble Administrator's Garden (52,000 square meters) is five times larger than Lion Grove Garden, and composed of numerous inner gardens with different scenes and themes. These may make it difficult for tourists to capture a single feature to describe the overall characteristics of the garden (Figure 11). Unlike other gardens, the Master of the Nets Garden was mostly characterised by its regular art performance event, Suzhou Pingtan, instead of the garden's physical landscapes. These appearances can be used for the development of tourism strategies and marketing for the classical gardens.

Lion Grove Garden Humble Administrator's Garden

Figure 11 – Characteristics of Suzhou's Gardens

6. Conclusion

In this study, data from social media was used to examine the digital identity of tourist destinations in Suzhou. Through mapping place-based activities with visitors' personal interests and experiences, the results should be of assistance to planners of tourism and its governance.

Current data gathering methods such as questionnaires and interviews are resource intensive; furthermore, they are highly structured and therefore likely to lack spontaneity. Badly designed questionnaires and poor interviewing techniques may further skew results. Conversely, social media captures comments that reflect genuine, unprompted reactions. These may point to possibilities and attractions for tourists, previously ignored or not even recognised. The downside of this is the challenging task of analysing images which have wide-open subjects and are free of text. It is also possible that social media users may shun more obvious comments, such as 'beautiful building' or 'tranquil place', in favour of unusual experiences and uncommon events.

Despite these difficulties, the authors show that valuable insights can be gained from social media by detailed structuring / classification of types of experiences, combined with text analysis. Most importantly, the capture of spontaneous feedback from tourists is a uniquely powerful element. Whether alone, or in combination with conventional techniques, it offers a route to achieve more penetrating analysis. Regardless of methodology, sample size is important. Advances in machine linguistics and image recognition will gradually ease the manual analytical burden and lessen resource constraints. This is particularly true with regard to the text-free aspects of data gathering.

Acknowledgements

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USING BOUNDARY OBJECTS TO MAKE STUDENTS BROKERS ACROSS DISCIPLINES: A DIALOGUE BETWEEN STUDENTS AND THEIR LECTURERS ON BERTOLINI'S NODE-PLACE MODEL

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Abstract

The competencies required for steering urban development sustainably are scattered amongst various disciplines. This is particularly relevant for planners working at the interface of different sub-disciplines, such as transport and land-use planning, exemplified by transit-oriented development (TOD). In this paper, we use Bertolini's node-place model (NPM) example for TOD to test whether it enables interdisciplinary work to be undertaken in planning education. We tested our hypothesis in two design studios by challenging urban design students to develop their own design brief based on an NPM. The paper is of a dialogic, discursive nature. Students discuss whether or not the NPM enables them to better understand the relationship between transit and urban development and to develop spatial strategies based upon an integrative approach. Our discussion reveals that the NPM cannot necessarily bridge disciplinary boundaries successfully. However, both lecturers and students see value in the model as a didactic instrument.

Keywords

Planning education, interdisciplinarity, transit-oriented development, node-place model.

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1. Introduction

Steering urban development sustainably requires knowledge and skills from various disciplines. Cities, with their multitude and complexity of actors, structures, and processes cannot be conceived as being the domain of one particular discipline. Rather, they are shaped and (re-)produced by the overlapping, converging, and sometimes conflicting outcomes of a range of disciplines. A number of them are explicitly connected to understanding, and in some cases ultimately influencing urban environments. Among these are architecture, civil and transport engineering, human geography, urban economics, or urban sociology, to name just a few. Public administration follows the same disciplinary logic by subdividing its institutions into different sectoral departments and agencies. Urban planning has already laid claim to interdisciplinarity with respect to urban space. However, it has conformed to the same idea of vertical separation between disciplinary domains. This vertical separation is evidenced in the distribution of responsibility and power among various stakeholders. While politicians and citizens expect planners to effectively steer urban development, planning departments have to act as brokers between various public and private actors.

Despite the multidisciplinary nature of urban planning, teaching approaches combining different sub-disciplinary knowledge are still relatively rare (Rooij and Frank, 2016). Establishing planning degrees with homogeneous groups of students has led to the formation of unique ways of thinking and doing within such programmes. However, scholars and practitioners alike are confronted with the challenge of understanding and incorporating different disciplinary backgrounds in group work. As a result, programme administrators and lecturers are looking for new ways to bridge potential incomprehensibilities between students, for example in graduate programmes of urbanism which admit students who have had a range of different undergraduate experiences (Bertolini, 2012).

Interdisciplinarity has been discussed as being both an encouraging and underdeveloped avenue for future research and teaching for a range of subjects over the last few decades. One case where this becomes clear is integrated transport and land-use planning. Sectoral technical planning and comprehensive land-use planning both exert a strong influence on our built environment and these are not always aligned. Planning practice and academia has long acknowledged the deficits that can arise for our urban environment if one of the disciplines involved in its formation becomes dominant over the others (Jacobs, 1961; Mitscherlich, 1965; UN Habitat, 2009). The dominance of the private car in Western cities can partly be attributed to the supremacy of traffic engineering in the post-war urban development of the 1950s and 1960s. This is strongly connected to the modernist ideal of the functionally segregated city and its adoption has, in many cases, been to the detriment of the quality of public space. It was only in the 1970s and 1980s that other disciplines, such as heritage protection and urban design, reasserted their claim to be considered equally in urban development. This example shows that it is necessary to find methods and tasks that enable disciplinary experts to introduce their knowledge into the urban development process.

Today, integrated transport and land-use planning is still an area that yields potentials for interdisciplinary student group work. Often, students with a civil or transport engineering background view urban development challenges more in terms of quasi-mathematical optimisation problems, while students with a background in the social sciences emphasise the specific place-based qualities that are in need of protection or strengthening. The planning vision of transport-oriented development (TOD), which suggests a joint analysis and alignment of settlement densities and (public) transport quality, creates space for a common discourse to take place between these disciplinary approaches (Kinigadner et al., 2016). The emergence of interdisciplinary discourses in urban planning and developments is summarised under the title of urbanism (Wolfrum and Schöbel-Rutschmann, 2011; Olsson and Haas, 2014; Gilliard and Thierstein, 2016).

2. Methodology

This paper presents two studio courses that took place over the last two years and employed the node-place model (NPM) which was developed in the 1990s by Luca Bertolini (Bertolini and Spit, 1998) to acquaint students with the challenges of integrating land-use and public transport planning.

We chose the NPM as an interdisciplinary approach because it reflects the relational turn in social and spatial sciences in a tangible and intuitive way (Graham and Healey, 1999; Jessop, 2008). A relational understanding conceptualises space in two complementary dimensions. The first dimension addresses physical space and localised qualities. The second dimension refers to the interlinkages of such places to other places and involves a network perspective on space. The NPM operationalises the two dimensions as node and place. Because of its restriction to two relatively simple and easy measurements, it is more suitable for the direct engagement of students, as opposed to the use of more abstract spatial frameworks such as the "space of flows" (Castells, 1989), even though the latter might be crucial for an advanced understanding of spatial processes.

The students had to familiarise themselves with the NPM and were asked to use it as an evidence base for identifying areas for development. The students had to understand the model, apply it as a calculation model, and interpret the results. Consequently, they developed design proposals on the scale of individual public transport stations and their surroundings as well as general strategies for an entire city. The learning goal was to familiarise students with an object that can span the boundaries of two disciplines: urban planning, and civil (transport) engineering.

The studio also fulfilled a second goal for us as teachers. Our MSc Urbanism programme is designed for graduates from various disciplines. Developing interdisciplinary methodologies that help students who arrive upon the course with different previous knowledge to communicate about urban space is crucial for their success upon the MSc degree programme. Our hypothesis for the studio course, as well as the paper, is that the NPM is a boundary object that allows experts from two fields of transportation and urban planning to jointly develop plans for the future. Wenger (2000) conceptualises boundary objects as processes, discourses or artefacts shared by multiple disciplines. They are designed 'to enable multiple practices to negotiate their relationship and connect their perspectives' (Wenger, 2000, p.236).

Students of both the MSc Urbanism and the MA Architecture programme joined our studio course. Ideally, students from the engineering department would have had the same opportunity to join the course, but different curricula and study regulations make this currently impossible. The MSc Urbanism programme is designed as an interdisciplinary course and admits students from various academic backgrounds. Participating students held bachelor degrees in architecture, civil engineering and geography. We tested our hypothesis on two scales: first for the city of Munich, and secondly for the metropolitan region of Munich. The hypothesis was assessed by a discursive, qualitative methodology. First, both student groups talked about their application of the NPM to an integrative land-use and transportation design project. Both groups then individually reflected on their experiences before developing a structured conclusion together. A positive outcome for us would be a more integrative understanding of the two disciplinary groups of participating students: transport develops a three-dimensional spatial realm beyond physical infrastructure, and spatial qualities are heavily influenced by non-visible changes in accessibility induced by stops of transport infrastructure. The last part summarises what we as educators learned from both projects and what we think the important implications of this are for planning education.

3. Node-Place Modelling as a Didactic Instrument

3.1. Bertolini's Node-Place Model

While the general, long-term impact of accessibility improvements on settlement patterns in the past is well documented (Wenner, 2017), the effect of land uses on transport infrastructure is not (Rietveld and Bruinsma, 2015). The node-place model (Figure 1) is an analytical tool that enables the formulation of planning guidelines. One of the major advantages of Bertolini's model is its combination of two basic concepts of space. First, space is formed by its geographical structure and refers to the dimension of place. Secondly, space also inheres a topological component that is addressed by the term 'node'. Regarding didactics, the NPM enables us to understand locations in a wider regional context and consider these from their position

in transport networks as well as their physical qualities. The NPM suggests matching densities of activities, which generally corresponds to building densities, with the level of public transport services in order to achieve more sustainable urban development. The NPM essentially describes a normative relationship: areas of high density of activities ('places') should be served by more frequent and more diverse public transport, and accessible locations ('nodes') should be surrounded by dense and diverse urban development, while for sparsely used areas a lower accessibility level is acceptable, and vice versa (Bertolini, 1999). Locations where node- and place-quality are balanced are called 'accessible' (Bertolini, 1999). This serves two functions: on the one hand, high accessibility levels of public transport in low-density areas mean that there is an inefficient use of public resources which should be avoided (this would be an 'unsustainable node'), while high densities with low public transport accessibility gives rise to car-dependency, which is associated with negative social and environmental consequences ('unsustainable place').

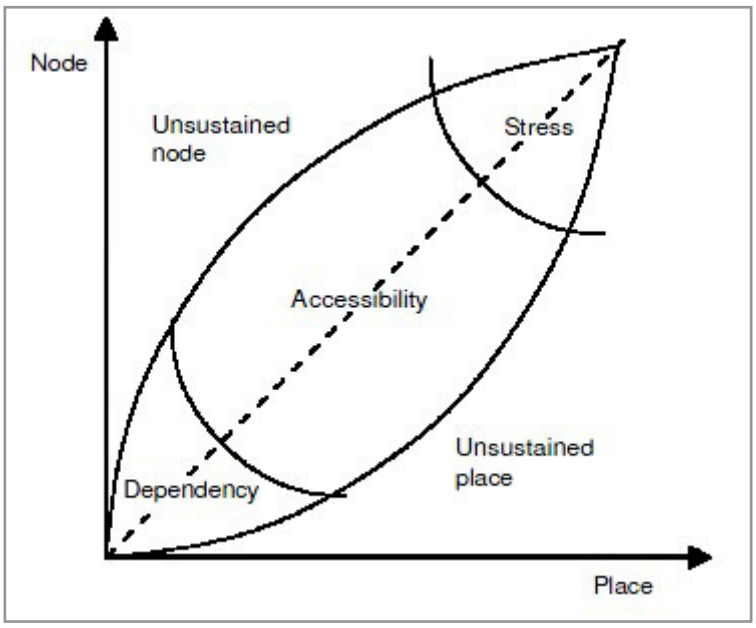


Figure 1: The Node-Place Model. Source: Bertolini (1999, p. 202)

There are, however, cases where node- and place- quality match which nevertheless can cause difficulties for urban development. First, there are situations of stress:

> 'Great concentrations of flows and activities mean that there is an equally great probability of conflicts between multiple, extensive claims on a limited space. The property development ideal of maximised intensity of land use and the transport development ideal of maximised flexibility for infrastructure adaptation and expansion have to find here a difficult synthesis' (Bertolini, 1999, pp. 201-202).

Secondly, there are dependent locations: here, factors other than accessibility are influential in maintaining the supply of both public transport and urban activities.

3.2. Experience of the First Studio

The studio included an analysis of the city of Munich, using Bertolini's NPM as a guideline, in order to identify places having potential for development and implementations of urban design projects. For the analysis, a node was defined as a rail-operated public transport station (suburban rail, underground or tram) and a place was defined by the characteristics of an area within a 700-metre radius around a node. Thereafter, calculable sub-values that comprised the final node and place values were defined.

The node value (Figure 2) was calculated from two sub-values: centrality and frequency. The centrality value represents the number of people who would travel through a certain station when going from point A to

point B using the shortest path (between-ness centrality, as defined in Sevtsuk et al., 2016). The values were calculated using the 'Urban Network Analyst' tool developed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) as a plugin for ArcGIS. The frequency value represents the sum of the frequencies of all public transport lines that pass through a specific station. The frequency was calculated as the average of weekday and weekend frequencies at different times of the day (7am, 12pm, 9pm) and was given in trains per hour.

The place value (Figure 3) was also calculated from two sub-values: density and diversity. The density value comprised population density (municipal data from the City of Munich was available by neighbourhood and was recalculated for the 700-metre radius of each place), whilst built density was the percentage of the built area within the radius at ground floor levels (not considering the height of the buildings). The density of activities was defined by the number of businesses within the radius categorised by NACE as retail (G), gastronomy (I) or culture (R) and density of workers (which was taken from GIS firm data and modified to take into account small businesses as well as corporations). The diversity value was defined as the level of balance between the population density values, the number of workers, and the number of firms. The basic assumption was that ideal diversity exists when all three values are equal. Conversely, the bigger the difference between the three values, the lower the diversity value.

The final phase of the analysis required the node-place value for each station area to be entered into Bertolini's node-place diagram. This was done, as Figure 4 shows, in order to determine a classification for each station (unsustained node, unsustained place, stressed, dependent, or accessible). To calculate the node and place values, we used GIS data provided by the City of Munich, while frequency data was compiled using the online timetable of the municipal transit agency.

Figure 2: Node Values Overlaid on a Map of Munich. Larger circles indicate higher values.
Source: Authors' interpretation

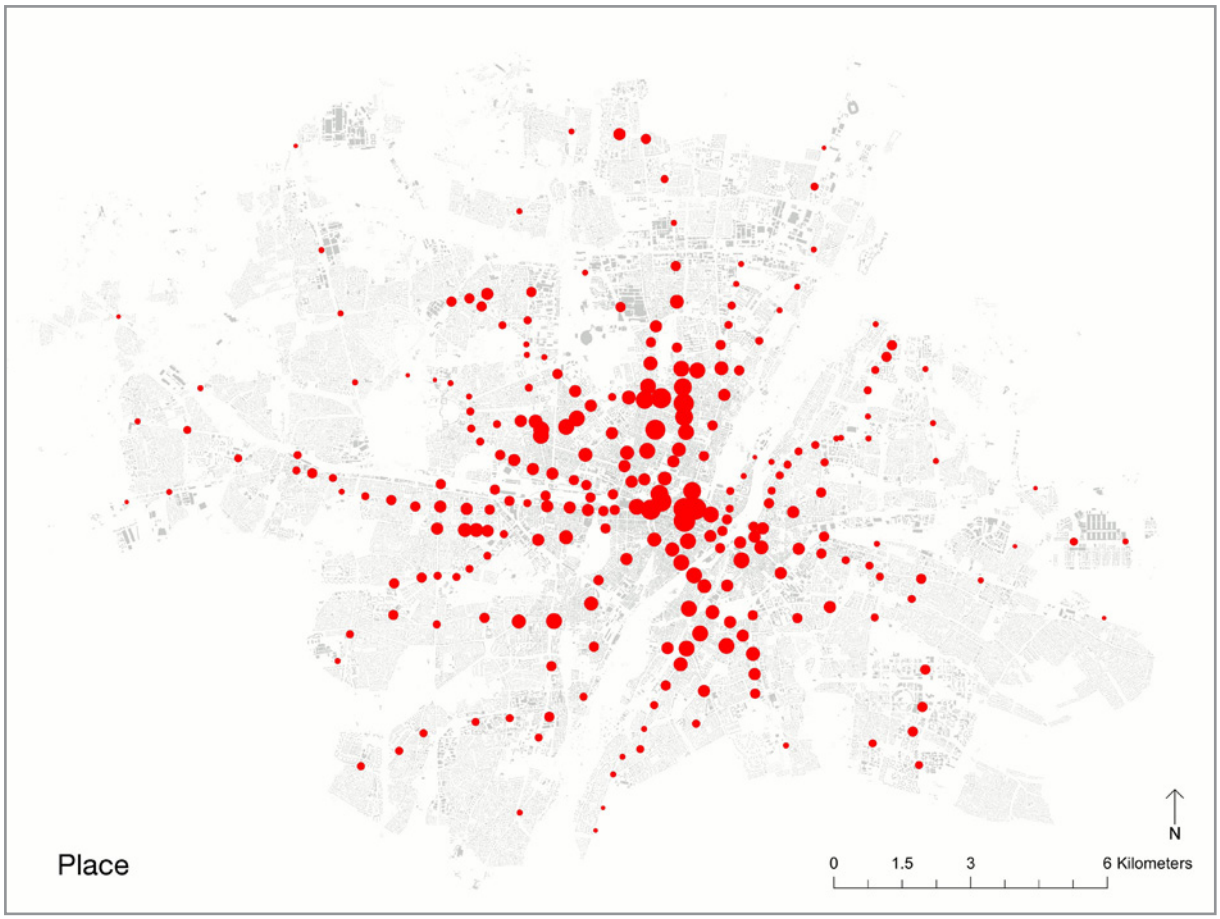


Figure 3: Place Values Overlaid on a Map of Munich. Larger circles indicate higher values.
Source: Authors' interpretation

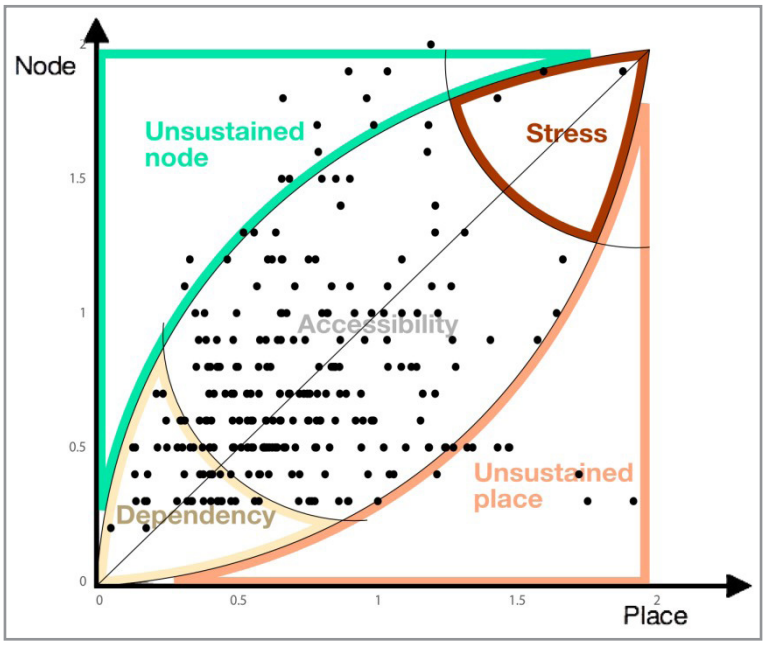


Figure 4: Node-Place Diagram Showing All Analysed Stations in Munich.
The abundance of accessible areas is clearly visible. Source: Authors' interpretation using Bertolini (1999, p.202)

The results of the analysis showed that Munich is mostly a balanced city with a majority of accessible station areas (Figure 5). The stressed stations were, as expected, in the city centre, within close proximity to the main station and the historic centre. Most of the unsustained places were found in neighbourhoods close to the city centre where the population, business, and activity densities were highest. The majority of unsustained nodes were located along the main suburban rail line passing through the city from east to west. The stations categorised as dependent were mostly located in the city's periphery. The results of the analysis were mostly unsurprising, except for a few of the station classifications that stood out and required further attention. In Schwabing, a popular neighbourhood north of the city centre, three adjacent station areas with less than 500 metres between them received different classifications. Clemensstrasse Station was classified as an unsustained place, Karl-Theodor-Strasse as accessible, and Scheidplatz as an unsustained node. Scheidplatz Station also stood out as one of only three unsustained nodes not located on the main suburban line. A similar situation was found in Giesing, another central neighbourhood, with the two adjacent Tegernseer Landstrasse and Giesing Stations. Finally, it was very surprising to discover a cluster of mostly dependent stations right next to the city centre in the Altstadt-Lehel neighbourhood (Tivolistrasse Station, Bundesfinanzhof Station, and Paradiesstrasse Station).

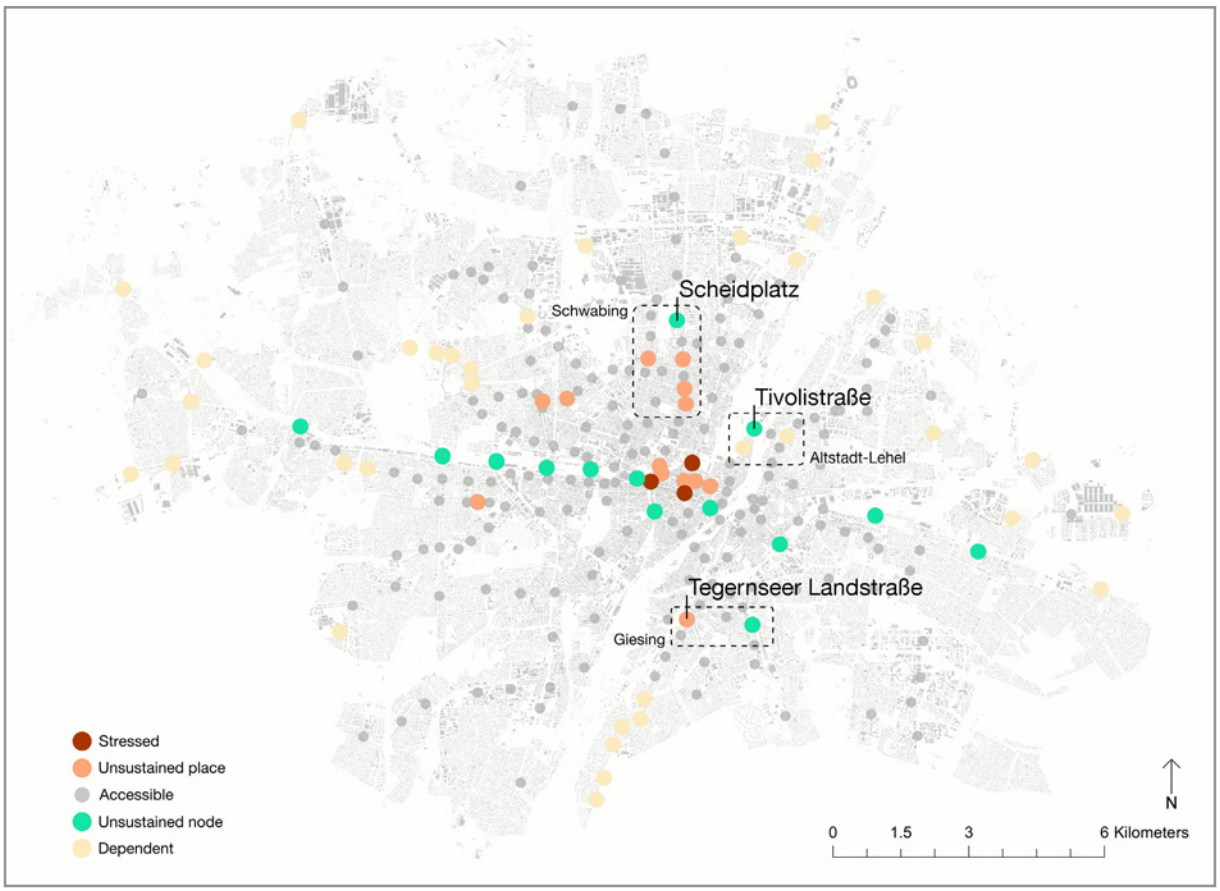


Figure 5: The Five Categories of the Node-Place Model: Accessible stations (grey), stressed areas (red), unsustained nodes (green), unsustained places (orange) and dependent areas (light brown). Source: Authors' interpretation

Limiting our analysis to rail-operated public transport stations meant that areas not covered by these networks were excluded. However, extensive coverage of the Munich suburban rail, underground, and tram networks made this a negligible problem as virtually all relevant areas of the city were found to be within reach of such stations.

As a way of checking our results, we calculated the model with a modified radius of 400 metres instead of the previously used 700 metres. This was meant to take into account the fact that 400m is, with regard to what people are actually willing to walk, a more realistic distance. Across the majority of stations, the relative place-value decreased. This produced a higher number of unsustained nodes. Although we could not, with

absolute certainty, attribute a cause to this effect, we assume that it might be related to the often significant proportion of empty spaces that exist in the vicinity of stations such as street junctions, railway land, and so forth. A decrease in radius would render these areas proportionately more important. Another factor was that a decrease in radius would very often lead to a decrease in the diversity value on account of functions not being evenly spread out across the analysed area. This was an important find because it clearly illustrated the inaccuracies involved. As the NPM is relative, results can easily change depending on the dataset used. Thus, a station that is categorised as an unsustained node or place could, in another dataset, possibly be in an accessible range.

We also encountered several other shortcomings in the results of our node-place analysis. The analysis did not take the positive aspects of public open spaces (namely parks or the banks of the Isar River) into account. By virtue of being non-built-up areas, these areas had a negative impact on the place values of nearby stations. They do, however, especially during the summer months, generate significant footfall and contribute to a high quality of place.

We also found that the model could not realistically display situations where stations of different lines or modes were spaced closely together. This was especially true of many of the tram stops within the city centre which would consistently get low node values. However, many tram stops are within easy walking distance of a railway or underground station and interchange is therefore possible, but this is not accounted for in the model.

There have been many instances where the model could have been calculated in a much more detailed manner (e.g. by using actual walking distances instead of a predefined radius to define our areas of analysis). Since a strength of the model was its simplistic approach, we felt that the model would not necessarily be more powerful with such an increased level of complexity.

As the design phase of the studio did not seek to develop a coherent spatial strategy for the City of Munich, it was decided to pinpoint several localised improvements across the city which were taken forward by individual students. When choosing these locations, we selected a two-phased approach. First, a shortlist of stations was compiled from those that featured in the outer extremes of the node-place diagram. Secondly, the shortlisted stations were visited to enable an empirical analysis of the sites to be undertaken. During this stage it was decided only to interrogate the unsustained stations as we thought they would be more interesting to develop than stressed or dependent areas. It was also felt that this was appropriate because some of them were, as has been mentioned, among the more surprising results of our analysis. The stations that were selected were Scheidplatz and Tivolistrasse as unsustained nodes, and Tegernseer Landstrasse as an unsustained place.

Scheidplatz stood out as the sole unsustained node in the northern neighbourhoods of Maxvorstadt and Schwabing. Although the station is among the most important interchange nodes in the north of Munich, it is located between a quiet urban park and a primarily residential area. During the design process, an approach was taken to develop business and leisure in the area and to open up the park so as to increase its attractiveness and usage. By relocating large allotments within the park towards new buildings, diversity and density values could be raised to make the area more balanced (Figures 6 and 7).

The tram stop Tivolistrasse was found to have a similar urban setting. Located in a thin strip of urban fabric bordered by the green spaces of the English Gardens and the Isar River, the site is severely constrained in its development potential. A currently proposed tangential tram line across the north of Munich would pass through the station, further unbalancing its node-place values. This increase in connectivity would heighten the development potential of the area. An existing business park immediately to the north of the station was chosen as the most suitable location for an architectural intervention. Redeveloping this area through a mixed-use approach with high-rise elements enabled a significant increase in the density of both residential and office space units.

As the only unsustained place to be developed in our design studio, Tegernseer Landstrasse required an entirely different approach. Further analysis of the site showed the results of our node-place model to be somewhat misleading in this case. While the tram stop is situated next to a dense urban neighbourhood, the immediate

vicinity is characterised by one of the most congested road junctions along the urban ring road called 'Mittlerer Ring'. This isolates the tram stop from its surrounding neighbourhood and there are also two underground stations located within only a few hundred metres of the site which have much better connections to the city centre. We felt that to propose an increase in services to the station was not an appropriate response. The chosen proposal for the site was a pedestrian-oriented redevelopment of the public open space. This included strengthening walking connections across the entire site and between the residential/commercial areas and nearby nodes as well as improving pedestrian crossing times at the road junctions.

In the course of our design studio, we came to understand that first ideas for selecting areas for development can be taken from the node-place analysis. Following our basic assumption that a balanced and diverse place is best, we tried to take action across all three locations that would increase the lowest values so as to optimise results. However, in most cases the NPM only served as a starting point and further analysis was necessary to determine the best way forward. Nonetheless, we feel that the model did help our design process by offering an additional level of analysis and through bringing our attention to locations that we would not normally have looked at. While it is our belief that it cannot serve to define the qualities or shortcomings of a given site, it presented a different way of looking at a city and its functioning. Whereas the place values are more of a micro perspective of an area, the node values are a macro perspective, connecting a small area to the perspective of an entire city. The NPM helped to understand the immediate needs of an area in the city and made us appreciate that it is important to think about each small area and its particular functions, as well as how the city works as a whole.

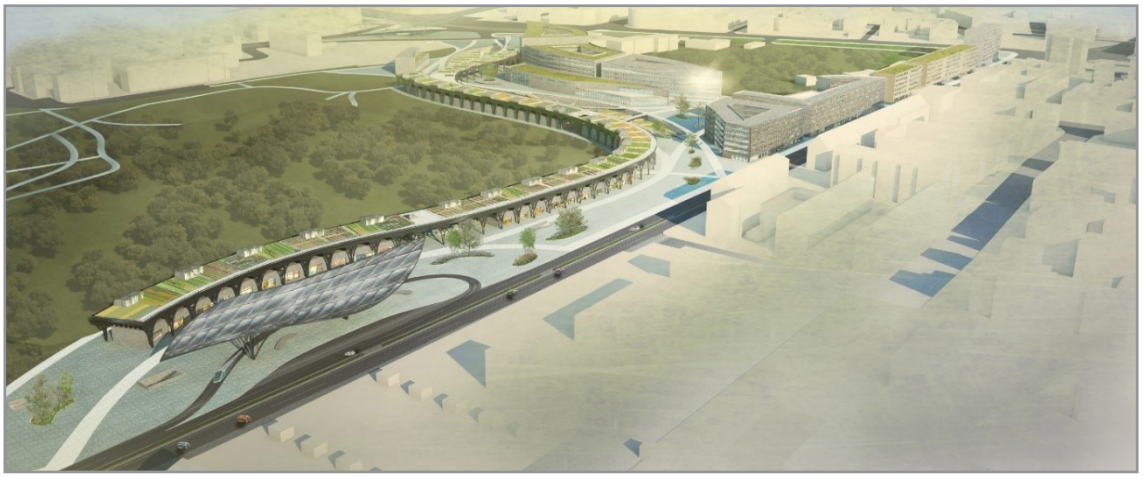


Figure 6: An Overview of the Urban Development Proposal in Scheidplatz Station, project by Gal Biran

Figure 7: Night Street View of New Business and Leisure Area in Scheidplatz, project by Gal Biran

3.3. Experiences of the Second Studio

The second studio started with the same task but for the entire metropolitan region of Munich. The project's first phase was to set up an NPM for the railway network of the metropolitan region of Munich (MMR). This network comprises regional and long-distance trains serving the more rural areas as well as the main city's additional underground and suburban rail services. Only trams were not included in our analysis for reasons of data complexity. For the calculation of node values, we used betweenness and gravity measures for every railway and underground station in the MMR. The gravity measure assumes 'that accessibility at [one specific station] is proportional to the attractiveness (weight) of [surrounding destinations] and inversely proportional to the distances between them' (Sevtsuk et al., 2016, p.12). In contrast 'the betweenness of a [station] is defined as the fraction of shortest paths between pairs of other [stations] in the network that pass by' (Sevtsuk et al., 2016, p.12).

With these two complex components, the calculation of the node-values could be quite standardised. To widen the node value's meaning we tried to add some extra information about the stations' inherent qualities. Therefore, we analysed the infrastructure and facilities of the stations such as Park & Ride areas and the possibility to charge electric vehicles. However, adding more criteria to our analysis did not make our analysis more accurate, so we decided to rely on the sum of gravity and betweenness.

Due to this extensive data analysis, it was simple to deduct the place values. In order to define it, we examined the number of inhabitants living in the stations' catchment areas to a radius of 600 metres, as well as the socio-economic services in the areas, which were classified by a ranking system including all enterprises, larger concerns and educational facilities. In addition, the cultural and leisure opportunities were considered. The first phase was concluded by the set-up of the node-place diagram and its interpretation.

The results of the data output of the first calculation gave a consistent and argumentative overview of the railroad stations of the entire MMR. Locations with a high frequency, line quantity and population density as well as services yielded a high node and place value (each on a scale of 0 to 100), such as the Munich Central Station (MHBF in the chart below, with node =100, place=88) or Marienplatz München (MMAR in the chart below, with node=50, place=94). Besides their high importance for commuters and travellers, these places also offer a high range of facilities such as high retail, office or housing density. Furthermore, stations with high node values and low place values in comparison, including Ingolstadt Central Station (IHB in the chart below, with node=68, place=50), were identified (Figure 8).

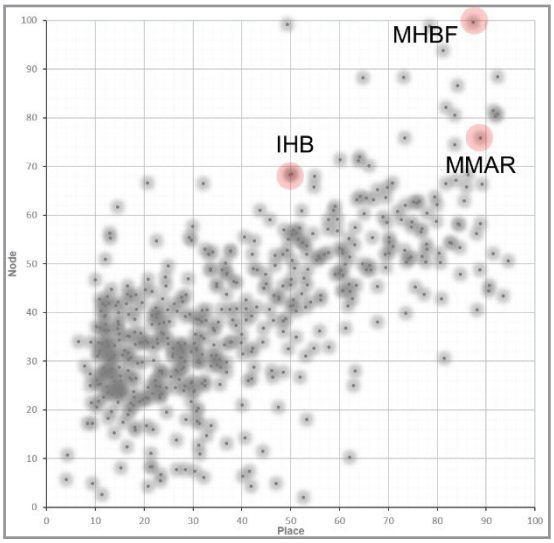
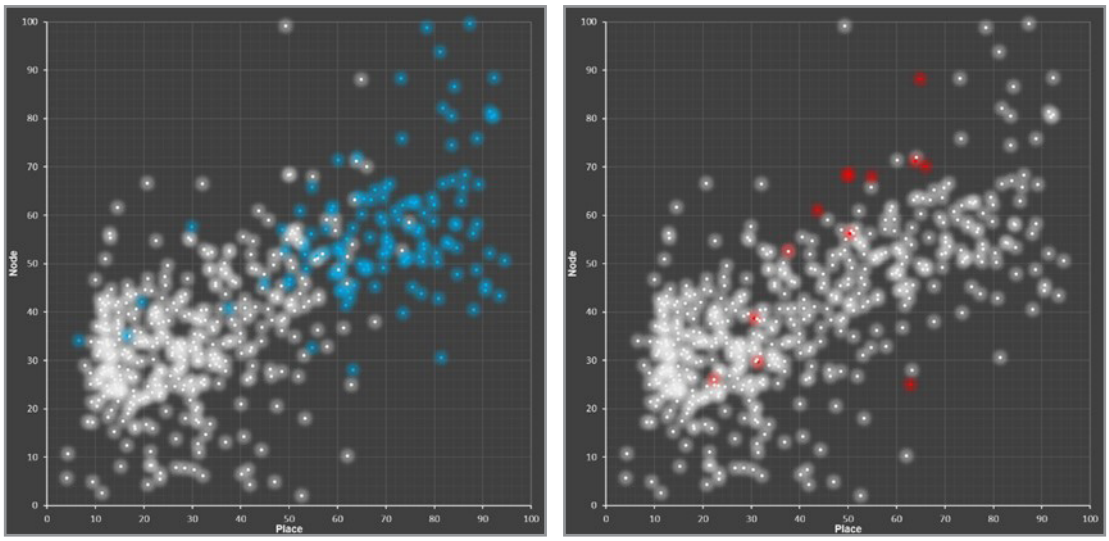


Figure 8: Node-Place-Diagram of the Metropolitan Region of Munich. Source: Authors' interpretation

After detailed consideration, we had a closer look at the nature of the investigated cities and locations. This reflected the results in a new way, as shown in Figures 9 and 10.



Figures 9 / 10: Node-Place-Diagram of the Metropolitan Region of Munich with Munich's stations highlighted blue, other smaller cities highlighted red.
Source: Authors' account

Some problems in understanding occurred with regard to the interpretation of the chart. Some stations are located in unexpected positions. Through closer examination we got concluded that Bertolini's calculation model is disputable. With the metropolitan region being a very diverse area consisting of dense city structures as well as extremely rural areas, it is questionable as to whether one can compare the same data for stations that are located in very different locations. Furthermore, in some areas the importance of the railway network is not as high as it is in other areas. For example, cities like Ingolstadt and Augsburg that are a lot smaller than the city of Munich are not covered by an urban railway system. This phenomenon is supported by our calculation of the inhabitants per railway station value. As shown in Figure 11, a city like Ingolstadt would need 14 additional stations in its railway network to reach a coverage similar to that enjoyed within Munich. Ingolstadt has fundamental problems with motorised individual traffic, but the essential information about the connection of public transport coverage and urban development could not be deduced from the previous model.

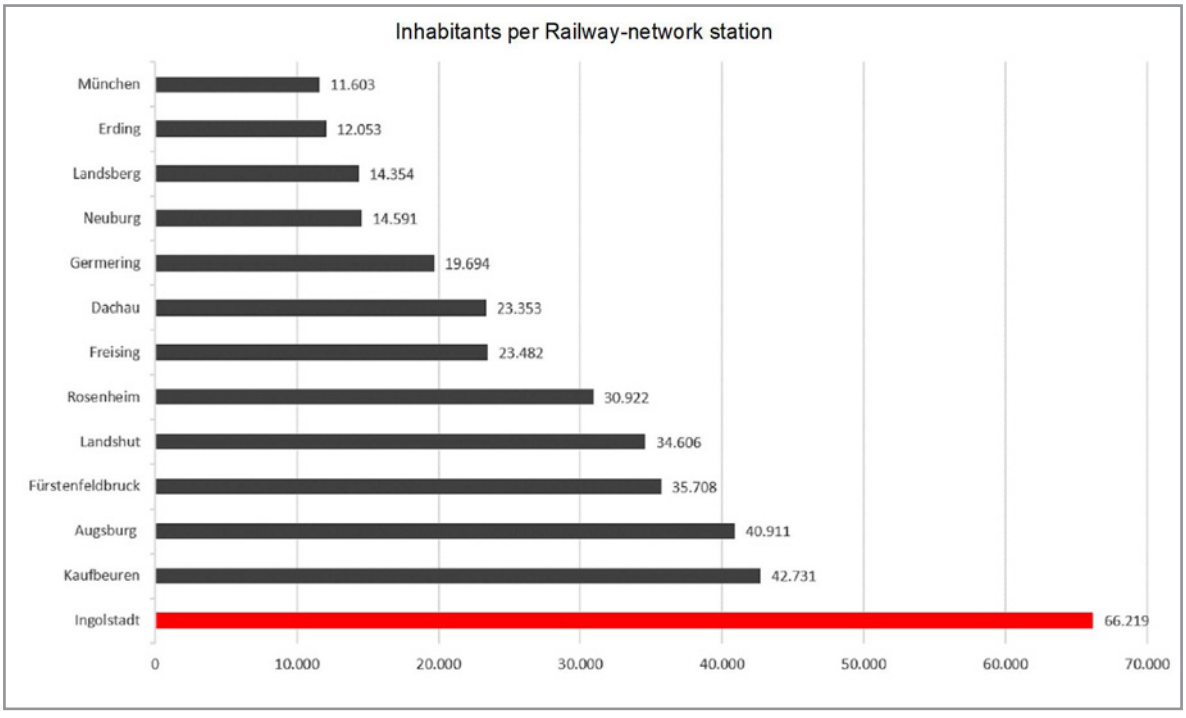


Figure 11: Inhabitants per Railway-network Station in the Cities of Metropolitan Region.
Source: Authors' calculation

An adapted calculation is needed as a result of our examination of the city's public transport system and scale. The hypothesis was that a systematic adaption of the node-place model is needed for the suggestion of interventions to reduce the centrality and accessibility deficits in cities such as Augsburg, Ingolstadt or Rosenheim in the MMR. These cities' public transport is highly dependent on their bus networks. We concluded that an adaptation was necessary since the role of the bus system in these cities was not incorporated in the prior calculation.

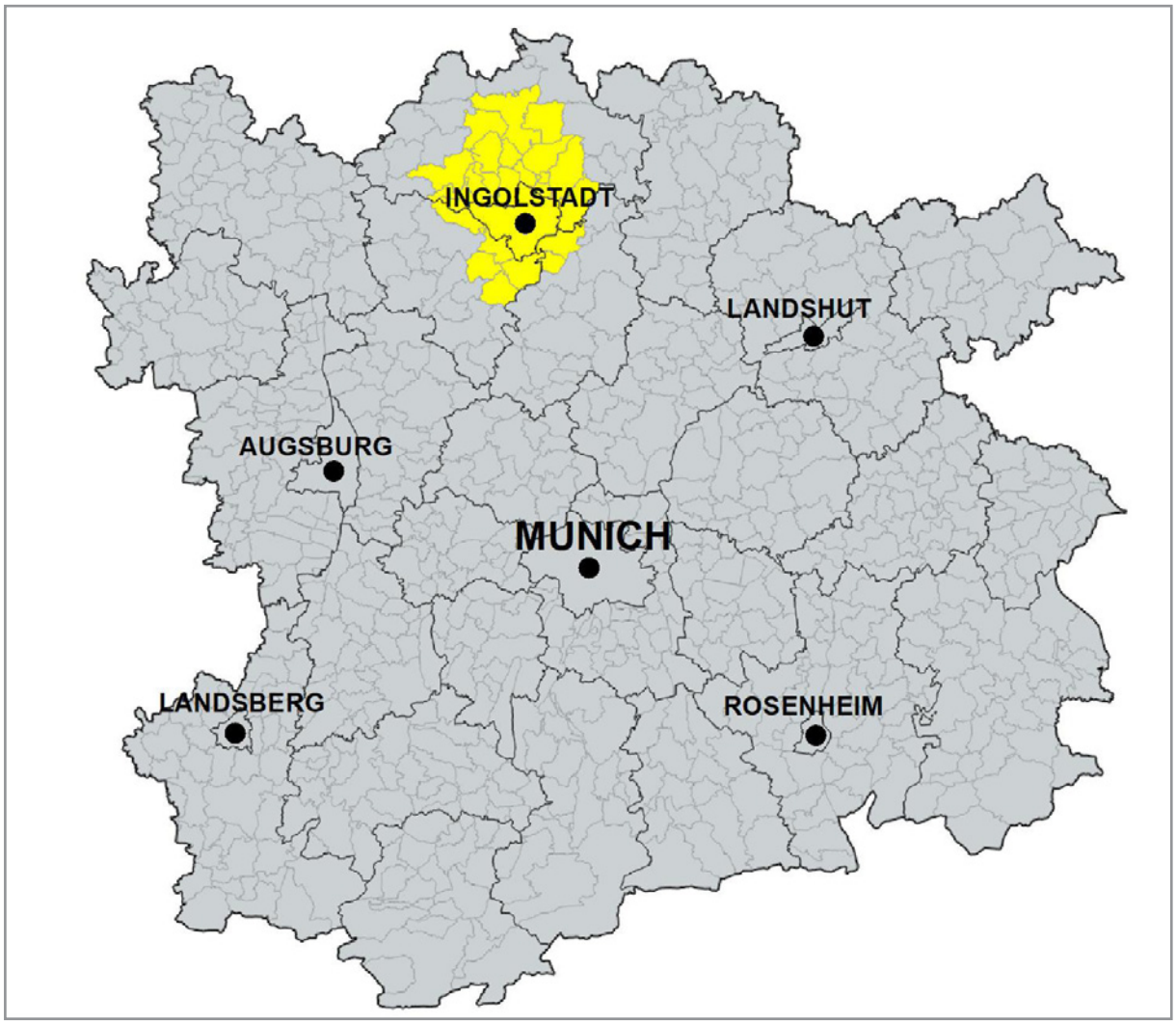


Figure 12: Munich Metropolitan Region. INVG area highlighted. Source: Authors' account

The main reason to examine the City of Ingolstadt is shown by the calculation of inhabitants per railway station (Figure 11), which is the highest in the metropolitan region. The conclusion, as suggested by the results, that there is no working public transport, is misleading. Rather it is because the public transport is organised through a bus system - a system that was completely neglected in the first phase of our analysis. Resultantly, the second phase included a focus on this bus system. To ascertain the values of place and node, all stations in the bus network of the INVG (the city's public transport corporation) were analysed (Figure 12). The place value for each bus station consisted of the same factors as in the first phase calculation, but the catchment area was defined smaller; 200 metres. The radius of 200 metres was chosen because it represents a reasonable walking distance for users of the bus network. The data of gravity and between-ness, in accordance with the definition described above, was calculated by GIS Analysis for every bus station in INVG's network through the Urban Network Analysis Tool designed by the City Form Lab of Harvard University. We then set up a new node-place-diagram for the INVG bus system (Figure 13).

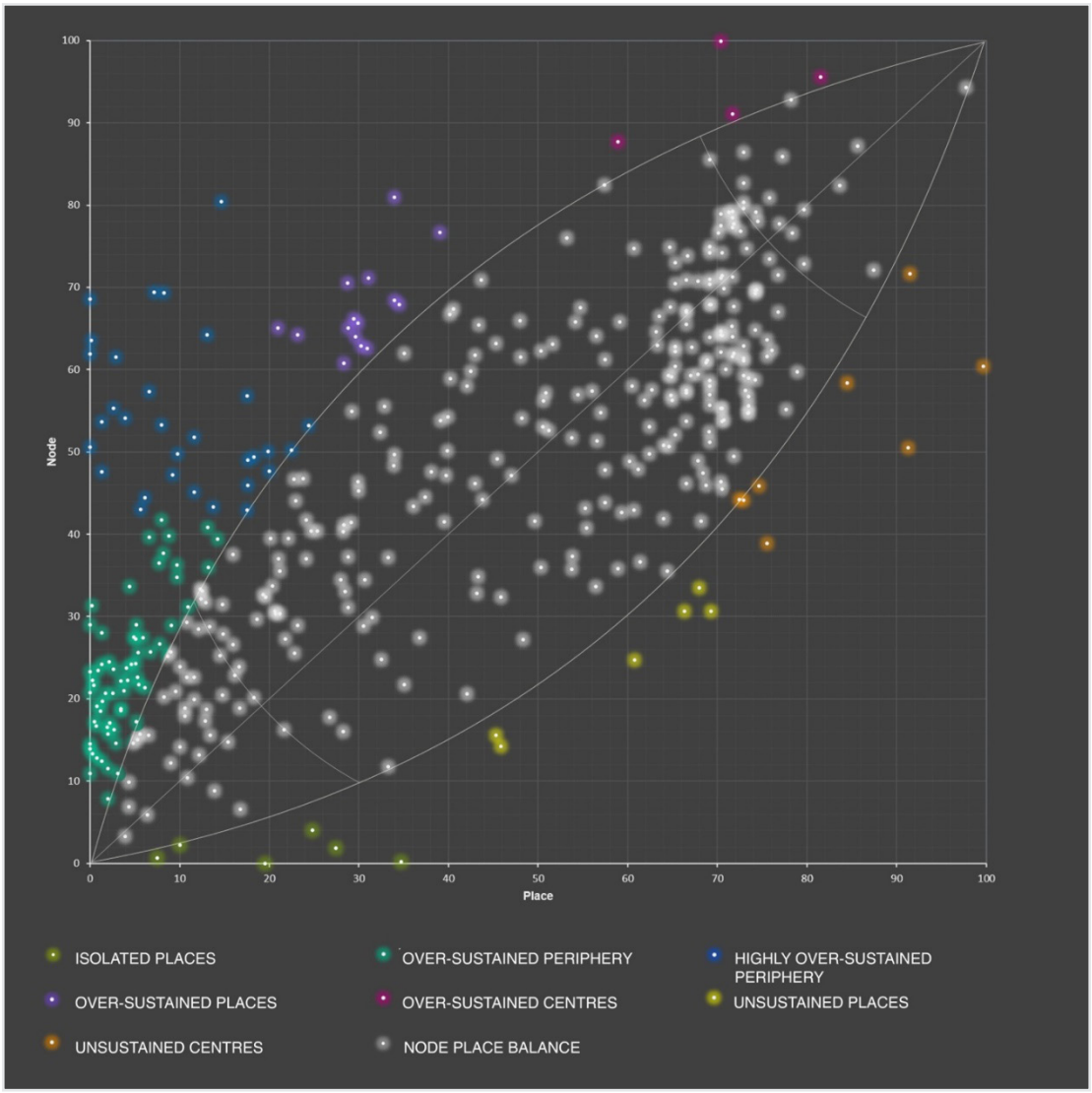
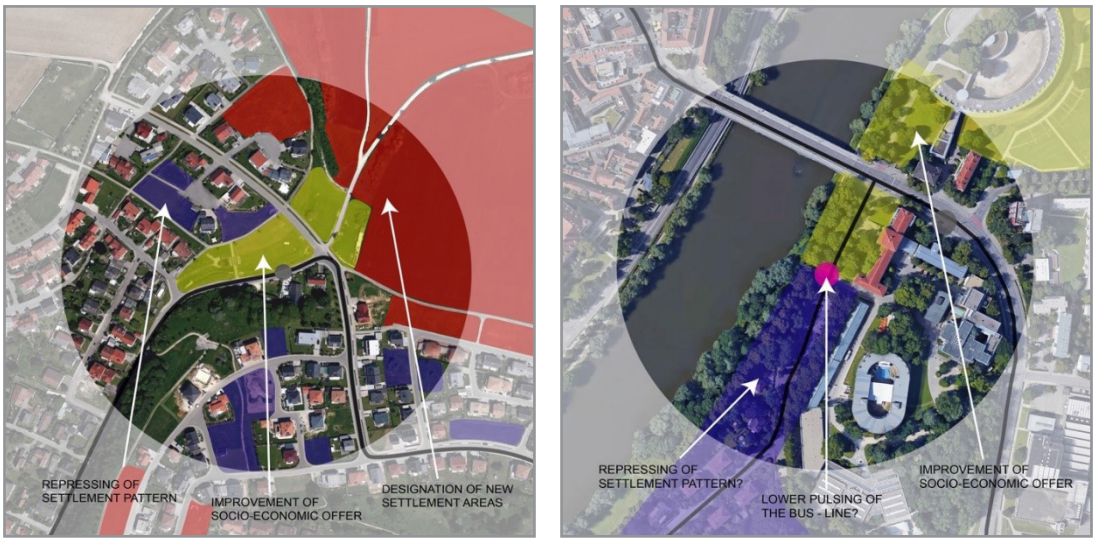


Figure 13: Node-Place-Diagram of INVG Area. Source: Authors' interpretation

In the third and last phase of the project, the applicability of this new model was tested. A catalogue of very different planning tools (such as settlement densification, founding of new settlements, changing frequency of bus lines) in the field of public transport in spatial and urban development were introduced. Each single intervention of this catalogue was classified by its impact on the position of a station in the node-place model, whether or not it changed the node or the place value. To validate these evident actions in other contexts, working examples of stations in Ingolstadt were highlighted. To make a selection, a cluster analysis of all the bus stations was undertaken. The clusters were defined by the station's position in the node-place-diagram in relation to the 45° line. Seven different kinds of stations were identified: isolated places, over-sustained places, over- and highly over-sustained periphery, over-sustained centres, unsustained centres, and places. For each of these clusters one outlying example was selected. Every suitable intervention of the catalogue was taken into consideration. In some cases, this approach delivered logical and working solutions. In other cases, the outcome was not definitive and, in some instances, illogical. This was because the actions demanded by the station's position in the model did not fit with the actual place and its surroundings. It does not make sense to densify the urban structure around a station which is classified as an over-exploited place just because the charted results suggest this. Sometimes an overstated infrastructure provision is a result of factors far beyond planning mistakes. It just makes sense that, for instance, a station near an attractive park needs to have high accessibility so as to make the park fully open to the public. To claim densification here is not just illogical but counterproductive.



Figures 14 and 15: Useful Instructions Deducted from the Model for the Station Andreas-Schmöller-Strasse (over-sustained periphery, left) and Questionable Instructions for the Station Brückenkopf (over-sustained centre, right). Source: Authors' interpretation

To conclude, working with the NPM is, at first sight, helpful in analysing the relationship between public transport and urban development. The model, and especially its visualisation in terms of a diagram, is comprehensible and gives a better understanding of the interdependency of transport and development. It offers a good base for discussion of the various participants in urban development. Urban researchers, municipalities, investors, and all other actors in the development of cities have an easily discussable and understandable model.

However, there are problematic aspects. The diagram leads to quick and often false assumptions based on the oversimplification of a rather difficult and complex field. The simplicity of the XY-chart leads to reductionist conclusions. Another problem was identified: the well-served station 'Brückenkopf' in Ingolstadt (node=87, place=40) is a touristic place, where a museum and the nearby Klenzepark are located. The area is characterised by wide green and open spaces (Figure 15). According to the model's high node value, densification was suggested to position the station in the accessibility area of the diagram. This case demonstrates that the model gives a first-hand, simple overview of the stations and their future strategies. Irrespective of this, the spatial situation of all stations also needs to be considered.

Furthermore, the systematic thinking of the calculation of node and place values is only indicative of the current situation. Future investment and development are not considered or projected. The model and diagram can only be seen to support initial research and to be indicative of possible interventions. Additionally, the calculation results are only relative to each other. There are no absolute values. The selection of parameters for the calculations and the quantification can be questioned as more subjective than objective. To simplify the process, only one city public transportation network (Ingolstadt) was examined. The interaction between different cities was not considered. Therefore, the gravity and between-ness values were not accurate, especially on the boundaries of the public transportation network of the municipality.

In the case of Ingolstadt, the predominant public transport provided is the regional bus system of the Ingolstädter Verkehrsgesellschaft GmbH (INVG). However, in the earlier analysis, just rail-bound traffic was considered. Thus, the transport system of Ingolstadt could not be evaluated on a smaller spatial level. This fact does not prove the model false. Rather, it makes it more difficult and time-consuming to analyse and calculate the values in order that they are comparable to the rest of the stations in the MMR. An exact alternative for such assessment is not suggested. This points to the vulnerability of the model and more subjective evaluations. The evaluation of node and place values for every city has to be done at both the macro and micro level spatial standard, although this makes the model less comparable where a wider spatial scale is used.

Furthermore, the calculated values are specific to the public transportation system. Node and place values cannot be compared across systems. Another critical point is that the public bus network is a flexible and

small-scaled system. The system of the node-place model is based on transport-oriented development. The bus system is not based on this approach. Finally, all outcomes - clustering as well as indicated interventions - need further examination and discussion.

4. Conclusions

The reflections of both the Architecture and Urbanism students pointed out various issues while operationalising Bertolini's NPM. These can be categorised into three groups of issues: underlying assumptions, calculation and interpretation.

Bertolini (1999, p.201) defines a node as the 'potential for physical human interaction' and place as the 'realisation of potential for physical human interaction'. Implicitly, he argues that public transportation infrastructure is a 'given' resource, which planners can exploit by redeveloping areas around stations. Our analysis shows that this argument is plausible as long as the majority of public transport is realised on rail infrastructure. Both the railways and its stations are long-lasting investments that are relatively resilient to changes in funding and planning policy. It is, therefore, not only in the developer's interest, but also in the interest of public authorities to utilise the potential created by such infrastructure investments. The studio work on Munich demonstrates that the NPM leads us to areas that are worthy of consideration for redevelopment.

This was unfortunately not the case for the city of Ingolstadt. The students' first attempt to identify potentials across the entire region were quickly limited by the extent of rail-based transport infrastructure. An initial NPM that only included rail services rendered most areas of major cities across the MMR undesirable for redevelopment, despite the fact that these cities are important economic centres. Instead redevelopment should have happened around stations in peripheral areas. This would lead to a clustered, but dispersed settlement structure, while potential for general inner-city and brownfield developments in cities without rail-based public transport were neglected.

The inclusion of bus services puts the underlying assumption of public transport as a resource into question. Bus services require little specific infrastructure. Transportation authorities change bus services frequently to satisfy demand. Taking the bus-service-based public transport network as a given infrastructure is, therefore, unjustified and led us to conclude that the premise of the studio should be adjusted to development-orientated transportation (DOT). This is obviously a fallacy, because DOT is the simple adjustment of public transport according to demands and – as argued – this is only possible for bus services. The application of the NPM in the Ingolstadt case distracted us from the main issue; that the city is in desperate need of rail-based public transportation instead of ineffective optimisation of its bus services.

We conclude that Bertolini's NPM should only be applied in regions where rail services carry the majority of public transit across the entire region. Even in the much more successful application of the model (in the case of the City of Munich), we realise that, despite the density of rail and tram services, the calculation of the node value does not easily account for non-motorised transportation modes such as cycling and walking. An underlying problem of the NPM is that it is a mono-modal concept. Though this issue limits the applicability of the NPM geographically, it does not necessarily impair its usefulness to boundary objects that bring together students from various disciplinary backgrounds.

The second group of issues arises from applying the abstract NPM and calculating concrete node- and place-indices. Bertolini's (1999) paper implies the model's intent to be applied by citing its application as part of two master's theses at Utrecht University. He does not, however, provide a proven and tested way of calculation. It is suggested that multi-criteria analysis is used. Our experience shows that the results are not necessarily improved with more criteria applied. Choosing, collecting and weighing data requires a deep understanding of the interrelation of various criteria affecting public transit service and commuters' behaviour. Whilst we do not doubt that advanced modelling could yield excellent results, we cannot verify the expectation that the NPM can be easily used by both transportation and development experts. Planners with limited expertise in modelling will quickly reach their limits and will just change their calculations for the worse by introducing

additional criteria. Moreover, the more criteria introduced, the more difficult the interpretation of the values becomes. Perhaps the success of the NPM is explicable by the intriguing nature of most popular games - that they are easy to understand but hard to master. This may be an excellent feature of a game, but it makes the NPM less functional as an easy-to-use layman's tool for planning across disciplinary fields.

Interpreting the results is the last, but perhaps most important, challenge in using the NPM. Both groups of students pointed out that the premise of Bertolini's model is easy to grasp. It quickly led both groups to discuss measures that could be taken to bring both the node- and place-value of an area into equilibrium. However, a tendency towards generalisation and oversimplification resonated consistently. Almost all top-down approaches reveal, under closer inspection, other criteria that may play a bigger role than the ones calculated as part of the model. Obviously, it is surprising that an area with great potential for redevelopment according to the NPM cannot be redeveloped due to environmental, economic, social or aesthetic concerns. It would, however, be unfair to accuse the NPM of being misleading in such cases because it does not promise to combine these domains with urban development. The NPM is however introduced to facilitate transport-orientated development – hence the interplay of transportation and development planning. As such, it delivers interesting results in many cases whilst failing in others. One of the Munich design projects demonstrated that the appropriate measure can be related neither to node- nor place-value but to the qualitative improvement of public space.

After testing the NPM for two semesters, we conclude that the NPM cannot necessarily serve as the sole boundary object in order to connect the fields of transportation and development planning. We identified three shortcomings, of which the latter two impair significantly the NPM's ability to serve as boundary object:

The NPM is most applicable under spatial conditions of dominant rail-based transportation, since bus networks can easily be redesigned and do not justify changes in the built environment as strongly.

Using the NPM as a calculation model requires a deeper understanding of modelling to be sufficient for robust interpretation.

The NPM is prone to oversimplification - working across the boundaries of development and transportation planning requires a multi-method boundary practice.

5. Further Research and Implications for Planning

Spatial planning bases itself on various disciplines, each of which holds valuable conceptual and methodological knowledge. Planners are, therefore, constantly challenged by the need to gain deeper insight into a specific discipline while keeping an overview and interrelated understanding across several of them. It is important that educators raise awareness amongst students as to the need for this duality of knowledge in planning. Otherwise, planning graduates may fall into the trap of applying planning principles and concepts blindly.

It is well established among planning scholars that, besides universal challenges, local specificity plays an important role in planning practice. There is no typical planning case. Planning problems are essentially unique (Rittel and Webber, 1973). The internationalisation of research and practice has led to an increase of transnational flows of ideas (Healey, 2012). As such, scholars in Germany as well as other countries have embraced Bertolini's NPM. Although the contexts of the Netherlands and Germany seem to be very similar, local differences are enough to bring into question some of the underlying assumptions of the NPM.

The key learning outcome is perhaps not the application of the appropriate boundary object to link transport and development planning, but the awareness that multi-methodological planning approaches across disciplinary boundaries need to be developed. The NPM can be a valuable didactic instrument. Its simplicity prompts us to think about the connection of transport infrastructure and land-use development, but it also quickly reveals its insufficiency as a singular tool to bridge the gap between disciplines. Using a boundary

object such as the NPM prevents students from relying on disciplinary ways of thinking and doing, and it replaces intricate disciplinary knowledge with simplistic interdisciplinary concepts. Hence, the NPM needs to be combined with progressively more abstract and complex spatial theories from complementing courses.

Preparing students for the interdisciplinary field of planning practice requires the development of fully-fledged cross-boundary experts. Bringing together disciplinary experts such as architects and engineers in a course is a valuable exercise to raise awareness of each other's disciplines but it does not replace the planner as the mediator between spatially relevant disciplines. Spatial development requires a boundary discipline that is able to broker knowledge between various disciplines (Gilliard and Thierstein, 2016).

Thus, we recommend that planning educators look further into two issues:

- The core of the planning curriculum could be competencies for brokering knowledge between spatially relevant disciplines – such as boundary objects and boundary practices. We feel that these competencies are more likely to be of a methodological nature. We should therefore shift our focus from better planning outcomes to better planning processes. It may not be the built city that we should study as planners but the way that the city has formed over time.
- Planning degrees must connect to other disciplines. Learning to broker knowledge between disciplines requires disciplines to broker knowledge between each other. This trivial statement is easily neglected when planning as a discipline establishes its own unique ways of thinking and doing. Perhaps, therefore, a planning department must sit horizontally within otherwise vertically organised universities.

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