

Creating our futures

ECTP-CEU

European Council of Spatial Planners
Conseil européen des Urbanistes

A Centenary of Spatial Planning in Europe



Edited by João Teixeira

With contributions by Gerd Albers, Louis Albrechts, Elias Beriatos, Luc-Emile Bouche-Florin, Philippe Brun, Joan Caffrey, Enda Conway & Philip Jones, Michel Cantal-Dupart, Paulo Correia, Manuel da Costa Lobo, Philippe Doucet, Andreas Faludi, Paolo Ia Greca, Cliff Hague, Patsy Healey, Jiří Hrůza, Charles Lambert, Fergal MacCabe, Tomasz Ossowicz, Georges Phedonos, Ricard Pié & Josep Maria Vilanova, Andrej Pogačnik, Pierre Puttemans, Thomas Sevcik, Stefan Slachta & Juraj Silvan, Borislav Stojkov & Tijana Zivanovic, João Teixeira, Robin Thompson, Arnold van der Valk, Alfonso Vegara & Judith Ryser, Bo Wijkmark and Zygmunt Ziobrowski.

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A CENTENARY OF SPATIAL PLANNING IN EUROPE

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JOÃO TEIXEIRA: INTRODUCTION

ECTP-CEU, the European Council of Spatial Planners, is celebrating the Centenary of Spatial Planning in Europe. It is not just a matter of celebrating past achievements: we draw lessons from the past to overcome the problems of today, as we consider the transition to the Ecological Age with its new challenges and new paradigms.

For this celebration ECTP-CEU has designed a programme of several initiatives: one of these initiatives is this publication.

ECTP-CEU has invited distinguished European Spatial Planners to write about the past, the present and the future of spatial planning. As planning assumes different forms all over Europe, it is important to present different views.

The values of spatial planning, the principles, the objectives and future prospects are discussed here from different perspectives. The importance of planning, pitfalls, challenges, opportunities, new topics, paradigms, endeavour, intelligent landscape, strategy, the role of the narrative, humanised planning, territorial impact and research are all aspects of the new planning discipline - European Spatial Planning – being created by the EU and Members States all over Europe. We also have the local planning perspective and testimony of local practitioners from European regions and cities.

This book is compiled from essays written by European spatial planners with very different perspectives on the contribution of spatial planning to the development of Europe over the last 100 years. These perspectives range from the challenges of history to the challenges of the present; from the global to the more focused in terms of place or subject; and from one period of history to another.

One of the challenges of this book is the differing views presented by each planner.

The most important themes of spatial planning are included in the following papers:

Alfonso Vegara and Judith Ryser – ‘Landscape Intelligence’ Andreas Faludi – ‘Twentieth Century Foundations of European Planning’

Charles Lambert – ‘Planning has become strategic for human race’

Cliff Hague – ‘Can planners assess territorial impacts?’

Jiří Hruška – ‘In Search of the City’

João Teixeira – ‘Celebrating the Past and Facing the Future’ Louis Albrechts – ‘Pitfalls, Challenges and Opportunities in and for Strategic Spatial Planning’

Luc-Emile Bouche-Florin – ‘Awakening landscape awareness: a vector of social and territorial cohesion’

Manuel da Costa Lobo – ‘Planning the Humanised Space in Europe: From Idealism to Sectoral Competition’

Paolo la Greca – ‘New topics and players for research in spatial planning’

Patsy Healey – ‘The planning endeavour in the 21st Century’ Paulo Correia – ‘Spatial Planning Changes in a World of Changing Paradigms’

Philippe Doucet – ‘History reshaping geography: towards borderless territorial development policies?’

Ricard Pié and Josep Maria Vilanova – ‘Town Planning and Architecture in the Spaces for Tourism’

Thomas Sevcik – ‘The Role of the Narrative in Urban Planning and Identity’

Tomasz Ossowicz – ‘Hierarchical vs. network city structure in planning’.

Regional and local perspectives are focused in these papers:

Borislav Stojkov and Tijana Zivanovic – ‘Implementation of spatial plans in the Balkans’ West: from raw socialist model and self-governance to the period of pluralism and transition’

Bo Wijkmark – ‘The Role of the Capital City and Region-Building in North European Countries – the Case of Stockholm and Observations on the Four Other Nordic Capitals’

Elias Beriatos – ‘Maritime and Coastal Spatial Planning: Greece in Mediterranean and Southern Europe’

George Phedonos – ‘European Spatial Planning and Cyprus’ Philippe Brun – ‘Land planning in Switzerland – Visions and realities’

Robin Thompson – ‘Planning at the sharp end. A case study in local development and planning regulation’

Štefan Šlachta and Juraj Silvan – ‘Bratislava, Slovakia: City on the Borders (The Old, Young City)’

Zygmunt Ziobrowski – ‘Spatial Planning in Poland’.

Historical approaches are included in these papers:

Andrej Pogačnik – ‘100 Years of Spatial Planning in Slovenia’ Arnold van der Valk – ‘The formative years of the Dutch town planning movement. Programme and practice of good town planning’

Fergal MacCabe – ‘Spatial Planning in Ireland 1910- 2010’ Gerd Albers – ‘The role of exhibitions for the promotion and development of planning’ Joan Caffrey, Enda Conway and Philip Jones – ‘The Development of the Planning Profession in Ireland’

Michel Cantal-Dupart – ‘Town Planning: From hygienism to sustainable development’

Pierre Puttemans – ‘Town Planning in Belgium’.

This classification is not absolute because several papers cover more than one category.

This book will provide the reader with a global perspective and a focus on several important subjects (thematic, historical and regional) of spatial planning in Europe and the challenges and opportunities presented by European cities.

Alfonso Vegara and Judith Ryser, Andreas Faludi, Charles Lambert, Cliff Hague, João Teixeira, Louis Albrechts, Paolo La Greca, Patsy Healey and Paulo Correia present views on the future of planning.

Alfonso Vegara and **Judith Ryser** give examples of the holistic approach: combining research, innovation and incubation into an integrated, pro-active process, designed to make things happen in co-operation with city leaders, in the real world, without adverse effects on future generations.

Andreas Faludi poses a question about European Planning in the 21st century: ‘At the turn of the century, a firm European planning programme existed, with three chief elements: harmonious development; coherence of policies as they affect space; and territorial governance being conducted, not from the top down but in cooperation with stakeholder. With essentially the same elements, territorial cohesion policy could become the vehicle for pursuing it. How this will play itself out in relation to ‘Europe 2020’, successor to the Lisbon Strategy, and the negotiations leading to the post-2013 Financial Framework and cohesion policy remains to be seen.’

After an overview of planning over the last century in Europe, **Charles Lambert** offers seven suggestions:

- Develop the current definition of the city
- Care for the city
- Accept the logic of competition between cities and territories
- Think ‘complex’
- Simplify the city
- Be carbon-efficient!
- Overcome the obstacles of organised ignorance and adopt the creative value of mediation.

Cliff Hague defends the Territorial Impact Assessment (TIA) ‘as a way of applying to European policy-making a long-standing (though challenged) planning belief in spatial integration of sectoral investments’.

João Teixeira gives a general overview of planning, arts, sciences and technologies around 1900, the turning point in the decades under review. Now with the Limits of Growth and Climate Change new challenges must be faced, new paradigms appear. New theories, models and methodologies will be developed. It is necessary to prepare cities and towns for future generations.

Louis Albrechts defends the thesis that ‘European society as a whole has to accept that it lives in a world in which much of what it does and how it does it simply cannot continue (Hames, 2007: 278). Planners in Europe – within an intrinsically changing, transforming social and physical reality in flux – are also called upon to study the forces of change and to look for means and instruments to make alternatives happen. For me, there is ample evidence that the problems and challenges that confront European regions, city-regions and cities cannot be dealt with and managed adequately either on the basis of a neo-conservative perspective or on the basis of the intellectual, technical-legal apparatus and mind-set of traditional planning.

This implies that only a pro-active response is appropriate, as it calls for the transformative practices that are needed to cope with the continuing and unabated pace of change driven by (structural) developments and challenges. Transformative practices focus on the structural problems in society; they construct images/visions of a preferred outcome and how to implement them (see Friedmann, 1987)’.

Luc-Emile Bouche-Florin points out the links between the quality of life in cities and territories and the landscape as a factor of social and territorial cohesion.

Patsy Healey, considering the planning endeavour in the 21st Century suggests three 'aphorisms':

1. Know your place!
2. Foster active and inclusive debate!
3. Know your institutional context!

And, she says, 'planning's contribution to our urban futures lies in helping to create the physical and social fabric in and through which our future lives will be lived, and in helping to grow the governance capacity to form a socio-political 'public realm' capable of addressing the complex issues of 'living together while living differently' in the everyday flow of urban life'.

For **Paolo La Greca** the issue is 'to become aware of which role town and regional planning can play to improve the social conditions and face the new big challenges of present time. The discipline of planning is facing radical changes. Planning is turning from an almost exclusive production of plans toward urban and regional sciences and techniques, aimed at promoting the growth of founding territorial values. Sound territorial policies require deep knowledge of places and their differences. Taking this challenge we can list a series of primarily relevant topical issues for new research in planning:

- Redefine discipline approach to cope with unexpected
- The social and environmental threats in the facing of climate change humanitarian challenges
- Integration of Urban and Mobility Planning in European Practices - Transport Oriented Development approach
- Strategic Environmental Assessment for sustainable planning.'

Paulo Correia focuses on the changing paradigms and the role of the planner who 'must be a scientist ... must also be a designer and a visionary ... must also be as a political advisor and a mediator ... but not least, an urban manager'.

Manuel da Costa Lobo reminds us of the message of idealism: '... only through idealism and humanism we will be able to bring cities and regional planning to achieve their objectives. The two great civic principles for planning [are]:

- Respecting Nature
- Looking for human solidarity'

In a step-by-step analysis of planning evolution **Philippe Doucet** concludes that 'History reshapes geography'.

Jiří Hruža presents an overview of the evolution of a century of urban planning, finding that 'At the beginning of the 21st century we – as citizens and consistently as urban planners – are trying to find out how our future settlements should look like. We are wondering about Mankind's ability to cultivate urban environment and our qualification to define the needed measures and steps to it. These efforts – including inevitable errors and their fixing – are not new. They have been looked for since the beginning of permanent human settlements'.

Ricard Pié and **Josep Maria Vilanova** describe the development of links between tourism and planning through history and conclude: 'In the early twenty-first century, there are two new challenges: to turn the tourist conglomeration on the coasts of Southern European into a city and to include leisure in the post-industrial city debate.'

Thomas Sevcik concludes: 'In a world where simple models become more and more useless (as seen in the economist's failure to anticipate the financial crisis 2008-9) narratives will have a renaissance. Nothing is more powerful than a story. Linking narratives with strategies and planning is an interesting area in contemporary urban planning and is worth being investigated further as some early case studies from around the world show'.

Tomasz Ossowicz analyses the hierarchical versus the network city structure in planning. 'Hierarchical and network structures co-exist and create a pattern for the contemporary city.

The question is whether they conflict with or complement each other. In the context of this hypothesis, matters of fragmentation, polycentrism and public spaces are deliberated.'

Two contributions are regional approaches to former Yugoslavia. **Borislav Stojkov** and **Tijana Zivanovic** compare spatial planning systems and spatial planning documents that were in place after World War II in countries belonging to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, focusing on the connection between spatial planning and the political system, the economy and the social component of the state. **Andrej Pogačnik** sketches a history of urban and spatial planning in Slovenia from the 19th century onwards, placing it in a European context.

Bo Wijkmark gives a 'personal reflection by a practitioner in the city and region of Stockholm from the early sixties to the late nineties, with some knowledge of the other Nordic capital regions'. He makes recommendations for the three Scandinavian capitals: 'build denser cities and accept high-rise buildings in the central districts, expand and modernise the public transport network and pursue transit-oriented development, reinforce and

expand restrictions against private car use, construct lanes and paths for cyclists and pedestrians, make better use of waterfront sites for development and public use, and safeguard green and blue areas’.

Elias Beriatos ‘aims to investigate the effectiveness of planning instruments and policies launched by the EU in relation to maritime and coastal areas and adopted by the competent public agencies and bodies in Greece and the Mediterranean’.

George Phedonos gives a picture of Cyprus planning system.

Philippe Brun answers the question: ‘Do the particularities of Switzerland lead this country to follow a land planning process which differs from those of other European countries?’

Robin Thompson presents a case study and concludes:

- ‘Over the past century, a major role of spatial planning in Europe has been to mediate between the pressures for growth and development on the one hand and the interests of the environment and of local communities on the other’;

- ‘... a profound shift in government policy away from the regional and strategic and towards the local and community based. It is too early to know how effective this shift will be or to know whether many other European countries will show similar tendencies. There are potentially grave problems attached to the abandonment of a strategic context ...’

Štefan Šlachta and **Juraj Silvan** give a picture of Bratislava.

Zygmunt Ziobrowski provides an overview of spatial planning in Poland last two decades.

Arnold van der Valk describes the Dutch town planning movement from 1850 to 1950, the history of government policy and the discipline of planning, paying particular attention to their ideals. ‘Spatial planning without ideals can easily be suffocated by bureaucratic routines, unfounded dogmas and empty rhetoric. Thus it may offer an easy target for opportunistic politicians. Spatial planning will never be a docile possession; it is a living social legacy which merits critical scrutiny and re-appreciation’.

Gerd Albers brings us, in detail, the foundations of planning in Europe: movements, publications, planning courses and exhibitions.

Fergal MacCabe presents the evolution of planning in Ireland and **Joan Caffrey**, **Enda Conway** and **Philip Jones** describe the development of the planning profession in Ireland.

Michel Cantal-Dupart explains the long road through the 20th Century, as spatial planning moved towards cultural renaissance and sustainability after the ‘hygienism’/sanitation and functionalist stages.

Pierre Puttemans gives us a panorama of the town planning history in Belgium.

These different approaches and varied perspectives provide diversity and complexity and the rich texture with which it is customary for planners to work.

ECTP-CEU wishes to thank all who contributed to this book.

GERD ALBERS: THE YEARS AROUND 1910 – A FORMATIVE PHASE OF TOWN PLANNING IN EUROPE

A historic account of town planning covering the last hundred years must pose a question: What was the state of town planning at the beginning of this period - of knowledge, goals and procedures which established the framework for the reality of town development? To answer this question a survey of the preceding decade is required, because some ideas and concepts were formulated in this period which strongly influenced later developments. To this end, various sources have to be tapped; one is the professional literature, another is the outcome of congresses and exhibitions on town planning: especially those which transcended national boundaries.

In the last decade of the 19th century some innovations took place in town planning which aimed at overcoming the schematic street patterns which had characterized so many town expansions in the last third of the 19th century. In Austria and Germany, the work of Camillo Sitte and Karl Henrici emphasized the importance of spatial considerations for the layout of streets and squares which would offer more visual qualities than the common grid patterns.

Moreover, concepts were developed for directing the inevitable urban growth not only toward the expansion of existing cities, but also toward the foundation of new towns, for example in 1896 by the German author Theodor Fritsch ('Die Stadt der Zukunft'), two years later in Britain by Ebenezer Howard under the title 'To-Morrow A Peaceful Path to Real Reform', retitled for its second edition in 1902 'Garden Cities of To-Morrow'. Obviously, the term 'garden city' developed a special fascination also beyond Britain; already in the same year, the 'Deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft' was formed. In 1904, a British periodical 'The Garden City' was established and in the same year Letchworth was founded as the first 'Garden City'. In 1907, the foundation of Hellerau near Dresden followed as a German attempt of a similar kind; at the same time, the German translation of Howard's book appeared as 'Gartenstädte in Sicht'. The French publication 'La cité-jardin' by Benoit-Lévy (1904) and the Spanish 'La ciudad-jardín' by Cebrià de Montoliu (1912) demonstrate the spread of the new idea.

Toward the end of the 19th century, questions of hygiene and housing came to be the topic of international congresses; for their further development, the 'Commission Permanente des Congrès Internationaux d'Hygiène de l'Habitation' was founded in 1904. Increasingly, town planning came to be a concern of these congresses; a comment to the Dresden exhibition on hygiene, presented at the occasion of a congress in 1911 stated: 'It may well be the first time that an exhibition on hygiene deals so extensively with questions of town planning as such.' (In: Der Städtebau, 1911, 15)

In the first decade of the new century, two periodicals with the general topic of town planning were established: the German monthly 'Der Städtebau' in 1904 and the English quarterly 'Town Planning Review' in 1909. There had been a precursor: the Spanish 'La Ciudad Lineal', founded in 1897 and since 1902 subtitled: 'Revista de urbanización, ingeniería, higiene y agricultura', but little known beyond Spain.

'Der Städtebau', subtitled 'periodical for the artistic form- giving of cities according to their economic, sanitary, and social principles', was ambitiously introduced in its first issue: 'Städtebau is the union of all technical and form-giving arts into a great comprehensive whole; Städtebau is the monumental expression of true civic pride, the basis for the sincere love of one's home, Städtebau organizes traffic, must provide the basis for healthy and comfortable housing, must care for the most favourable location of industry and commerce and help to reconcile social inequalities. Städtebau is not only to serve individual and communal interests, but it has a general importance for the population and the state. Städtebau is a science, Städtebau is an art with clearly defined goals for research, clearly defined great tasks of realization in practice.'

The 'Town Planning Review' was published by the University of Liverpool where the first 'Department of Town Planning and Civic Design' was established in 1909. The introduction to its course of studies states: 'Town Planning, although intimately

connected with Architecture and Engineering, is a distinct and separate study in itself, and the primary object of the school is to equip Architects, Engineers and others with a knowledge of the supplementary subjects which town planning connotes'.

An important impulse for the development of German town planning in the first decade of the 20th century was given by an exhibition in Dresden organized in 1903 by the German municipalities - the 'Städte-Ausstellung'. According to its programme, it was to answer the questions: 'What are the cities (Großstädte)? What is their importance in terms of material and ideas for the presence and future of nations? How should they be organized in order to fulfil their task?' The accompanying publication contained several comments and answers to these questions, mainly optimistic. Cities were seen as pathfinders on the road to an ascending and truly social cultural development. A more sceptical view was presented by the sociologist Georg Simmel in his contribution: 'Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben' (Cities and the life of the spirit), an early sociological analysis of urban life: Formed

by monetary economy and rule of the intellect, the big city leads to an 'atrophy of individual culture through the hypertrophy of objective culture'; the big-city dweller, self-centred and without affiliations, disposes of a freedom which does not make him happy. (1903, 195f)

Another social scientist concerned with the problems of cities was the Scot, Patrick Geddes, who wrote extensively about urban development, as for example in 1905 on 'Civics:

As Applied sociology': 'This is the age of cities, and all the world is city building. (...) In a dim sort of way many persons understand that the time has come when art and skill and foresight should control what so far has been left to chance to work out; that there should be a more orderly conception of civic action; that there is a real art of city making and that it behoves this generation to master and practice it.' (Pepler 1955, 19f).

In his comprehensive work 'Cities in Evolution' (1915) Geddes discussed the evolution and the characteristics of cities - and the way in which town planning should approach and influence them.

A remarkable contribution to the international exchange on questions of planning were the publications of the British author Thomas Horsfall who reported on planning and developments in Germany and Sweden; especially his book 'The Improvement of the Dwellings and Surroundings of the People: The Example of Germany' (1904) attracted much attention.

In this first decade of the 20th century, Raymond Unwin played a leading role in British town planning; together with Barry Parker, he had designed Letchworth as the first garden city along the lines of Howard's proposals. In 1909 he published the comprehensive book 'Town Planning in Practice'; a German translation appeared only a year later, although replacing 'practice' by 'foundations': 'Grundlagen des Städtebaues' - perhaps a symbol of the contrast between German fundamentalism and the practical British approach? In its introduction it stated: 'Städtebau has become a discipline with us for some years. Social scientists, architects, aestheticians and engineers assemble the results of their science and practical experience to the joint study of town planning'.

The year 1910 marks also a very spectacular event in German town planning: a big exhibition presented in Berlin in 1910 and two years later in Düsseldorf; it was documented by Werner Hegemann in two volumes entitled 'Der Städtebau nach den Ergebnissen der Städtebau-Ausstellung in Berlin und Düsseldorf 1910 und 1912'. The first volume was devoted to Berlin, the second emphasized urban traffic and open space, demonstrating the situation in several big cities of Europe and the USA. Many citations were included to characterise the contemporary notion of city planning and its goals - for example in this extract from Benjamin Marsh's 'Introduction into City Planning' (1909, 27): '... no city is more healthy than the highest death rate in any ward or block (indicates) and (...) no city is more beautiful than its most, unsightly tenement. The backyard of a city and not its front lawn is the real criterion for its standard and its efficiency.'

The background for this remarkable exhibition was a competition for a general development concept of the Berlin conurbation held in 1909; at that time, its administration was split up into many separate municipalities, and to coordinate their plans was an urgent task. One of the projects which won a prize - by Möhring, Eberstadt und Petersen - was published under the title 'Groß-Berlin - Ein Programm für die Planung der neuzeitlichen Großstadt'. Both the terms 'Programm' and 'Planung' were innovations in the German vocabulary for 'Städtebau' - town building.

In this context, a note on terminology may be appropriate: while 'planning' in Britain had become a common term around 1905, in Germany 'Städtebau' was generally used since Sitte's book title of 1889, only slowly paralleled by 'Stadtplanung'. In 1910, a French geographer employed the word 'urbanisme' for the first time in the title of a publication; its meaning included the analytical knowledge of the city as well as its planning.

1911 we encounter the first professional organization in this field: 'Société Française des Architectes Urbanistes', soon to be renamed as 'Société Française des Urbanistes'. The British 'Town Planning Institute' followed in 1914, the 'American Institute of Planners' in 1917. In this respect, Germany came late: in 1922 the 'Deutsche Akademie des Städtebaues' - now the 'Deutsche Akademie für Städtebau und Landesplanung' - was established.

Of the ample literature on town planning published around 1910, two important Austrian contributions should be mentioned: Otto Wagner, chief planner of Vienna, published 'Die Großstadt - Eine Studie über Diese' ('The City - A study of this subject') in 1911, in which he demonstrated his planning principles, characterised by formal rigidity; in 1912 Eugen Fassbender presented 'Grundzüge der modernen Städtebaukunde' (Basic elements of modern town planning knowledge) in a rather concise form, well suited to the needs of experts, students and other interested parties alike.

Questions of urban renewal emerged as a general topic in the last years of the 19th century and received increasing attention in the new century. Thus, the, renowned town planner Josef Stübben, author of the German standard work 'Der Städtebau' (1890), added (in the second edition of. 1907): 'But there are also many old buildings, crooked alleys and localities, incompatible with health and traffic, which (...) should be torn down as soon as possible, in order to provide by new plans for streets and buildings light, air, and traffic for the inhabitants.' (1907, 23.). In the same year, Hans Christian Nussbaum, author of 'Die Hygiene des Städtebaues' discussed this topic and warned against 'the danger of destroying a great number of small and extremely cheap buildings'; 'For this reason, greatest care is required before unhealthy dwelling areas are razed; otherwise the removal of one evil my cause still greater problems.' (1907, 99f).

In a similar sense, Cornelius Gurlitt raised the question in 1912, 'whether it would not be better to retain the old quarters and create healthier conditions within them instead of destroying them.' (1913, 10).

Gurlitt, who was to become the first president of the aforementioned 'Deutsche Akademie des Städtebaues', defined an ambitious role for the town planner: 'The enormous responsibility rests in the fact that the town planner's work is the most durable in the life of a nation. He must never forget his duties toward future generations. He must have the courage to fend off the 'practical people' who 'judge everything under the perspective of today. He shall oppose them with carefully considered arguments explaining the needs of a nearer and more distant future. He is responsible to the sons for the short-sightedness of their fathers.' (1920, 3).

It seems that the years between 1910 and 1914 were especially fruitful for international contacts and activities in the field of town planning. Thus, on the initiative of Unwin, a considerable part of the material presented at the Berlin exhibition of 1910 was transferred to the London exhibition on town planning later in the same year and found there much attention – especially the plans for Berlin and for the garden city Hellerau. Among the British contributions were garden cities and garden suburbs, efforts toward establishing a 'British school of civic design' and the results of the Edinburgh Civic Survey, commented by Patrick Abercrombie: 'It is safe to say that the modern practice of planning in this country would have been a more lamentary thing if it had not been for the Edinburgh room and all that this implied. It was a torture chamber to those simple souls that had been ravished by the glorious perspectives or heartened by the healthy villages shown in the other and ampler galleries. Within this den sat Geddes, a most unsettling person, talking, talking, talking... about anything and everything.

The visitors could criticise his show – the merest hodge-podge – picture postcards – newspaper cuttings – crude old woodcuts – strange diagrams – archaeological reconstructions; these things, they said, were unworthy of the Royal Academy - many of them not even framed – shocking want of respect; but if they chanced within the range of Geddes' talk, henceforth nothing could medicine them to that sweet sleep which yesterday they owned. There was something more in town planning than met the eye.' (1943, 128f).

This exhibition and the congress held at this occasion have certainly prepared the ground for the formation of an international association for town planning which Patrick Abercrombie proposed 1911 in the 'Town Planning Review'. So in 1913, the 'International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association' was founded in London – and it still exists today under the title 'International Federation for Housing and Planning'.

In the same year Abercrombie undertook a comparative evaluation of various national contributions to town planning: 'Nations have specialised, as it were, according to their temperaments, and both legal enactments and spontaneous artistic or voluntary movements have crystallised their idiosyncrasies. (...) It is indeed exceedingly difficult during these congresses, exhibitions, and hurried visits to grasp the whole significance of what one hears and sees. (...) Germany presents by far the greatest bulk of material for this comparative international study. It has concretely achieved more modern Town Planning than any other country (for France has been almost quiescent during the past 25 years) and its city organisation is as elaborately thorough as the Teuton mind can make it.' Another comment refers to housing accommodation of the poorer population in Britain and Germany; 'On the whole, as compared with the advantage of the English one-family house set in an unrelieved monotony of dreary streets, Germany has the tenement barrack in a wide street, with some park, play space or promenade always at hand - there is an absence of meanness and an insistence on the cheerfulness of city life in the beer garden, municipal band etc.; some serious attempt is made at studying the art of city life.' (TPR 1913, 102).

A remarkable event was an international urban congress in 1913, organized in Ghent as 'Congrès international de l'art de construire les villes et l'organisation de la vie municipale' with the aim of establishing an international organisation of cities. The records mention the participation of 22 governments and 150 towns. Patrick Abercrombie valued the congress as the first international one truly concerned with town planning, hoped for continuing efforts toward the promotion of town planning and reported: 'The toasts on this occasion, which were proposed by the representatives of the principal countries of Europe, were a testimony to the cordial feelings that exist internationally between those who are studying the advancement of city welfare.' (TPR 1913, 20).

In retrospect, the time between 1900 and the First World War appears to have been an exceptionally fruitful period for the development of town planning, both on national and international level. Its special atmosphere is characterized by Helen Meller (1995, 30.): 'For a brief moment, charity, self-interest and welfare had been brought together into an international town planning movement aimed at securing the greatest good for the future.'

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LOUIS ALBRECHTS: PITFALLS, CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN AND FOR STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING

Introduction: Setting the Scene

European society is facing major developments, challenges and opportunities that affect its cities and regions directly or indirectly: growing complexity (the rise of new technologies, changes in production processes, the crisis of representative democracy, diversity, the globalisation of culture and the economy, the rising cost of energy), the financial crisis and the subsequent economic crisis, persistently uneven development, the problems of fragmentation, the ageing of the population, and the increasing interest (at all scales, from local to European and even global) in environmental issues (global warming, etc.). Moreover, in addition to the traditional land use regulation, urban maintenance, production and management of services governments in Europe are called to answer new demands, which imply the abandonment of bureaucratic approaches and the involvement of skills and resources that are external to the traditional administrative apparatus (Martufi, 2005).

Some believe in the strength of a creative capitalism to tackle these problems and challenges and focus on how to most effectively spread the benefits of capitalism and the – in their view – huge improvements in quality of life it can provide to people who have been left out (Gates, 2008). Others are convinced that the current problems and challenges are central and structural and hence cannot be tackled by means of traditional approaches (Hames, 2007), by “just more market” (Sachs & Esteva, 2003; Hamilton, 2004), by extrapolating from the past and the present, by simply relying on economic growth (Mishan, 1967; Hamilton, 2004), or by keeping to vested interests, concepts, discourses and practices. My thesis in this chapter is that European society as a whole has to accept that it lives in a world in which much of what it does and how it does it simply cannot continue (Hames, 2007: 278). It means that planners in Europe – within an intrinsically changing, fluxing and transforming social and physical reality – are also called upon to study the forces of change and to look for means and instruments to make alternatives happen.

I see in Europe four different types of response to the developments and challenges. Reactive (the rear-view mirror), inactive (going with the flow), pre-active (preparing for the future) and pro-active (designing the future and making it happen) (see also Ackoff, 1981). For me, there is ample evidence that the problems and challenges that confront European regions, city-regions and cities cannot be tackled and managed adequately either on the basis of a neo-conservative perspective or on the basis of the intellectual, technical-legal apparatus and mind-set of traditional planning. This implies that only the pro-active response seems appropriate, as it calls for the transformative practices that are needed to cope with the continuing and unabated pace of change driven by (structural) developments and challenges. Transformative practices focus on the structural problems in society; they construct images/visions of a preferred outcome and how to implement them (see Friedmann, 1987). My focus on transformative practices does not imply that day-to-day problems are not important for me. They are important! But there is evidence that, for whatever reasons, spatial planners are often left out (or leave themselves out) or else are reduced to being mere providers of space when major decisions are at stake. So a shift is needed from a more regulatory, bureaucratic approach towards a more strategic, implementation-led and development-led approach suited to embedding transformative practices in its approach.

A Shift towards Strategic Spatial Planning

Strategic approaches, frameworks and perspectives for cities, city-regions and regions became fashionable by the late 1980s and 1990s across all the very different traditions of planning in Europe (Healey et al, 1997; Pascual & Esteve, 1997; Albrechts, 1999; Salet & Faludi, 2000; Albrechts et al, 2001; Albrechts, Healey, Kunzmann, 2003; Pugliese & Spaziante, 2003; Martinelli, 2005; Sartorio, 2005; Motte, 2006; Healey, 2007; Balducci, 2008 ; Van den Broeck et al., 2010). The motivations for using strategic spatial planning vary, but the objectives have typically been: to construct a challenging, coherent and coordinated vision, to frame an integrated long-term spatial logic (for land use regulation, for resource protection, for sustainable development, for spatial quality, etc.), to enhance action-orientation beyond the idea of planning as control, and to promote a more open multi-level type of governance. The city of Barcelona started a strategic planning process in 1988 to enhance cooperation between the public and the private sector in order to strengthen the position of the city as a candidate for the Olympic Games (see Garcia, 2003). Turin, inspired by Barcelona, started a strategic planning process in the mid-1990s which formed the basis for rethinking the potential of a former ‘one-company town’ that had been hit by the crisis in the automobile industry. The aim was to transform Turin into a European Metropolis: a city of activities and know- how

(Ave, 2005). For Bilbao, the purpose was to transform the city into the economic, financial and cultural capital of the Atlantic Arc. For Prague, the focus was on integrating the city into European structures.

As practices in Europe clearly demonstrate, strategic spatial planning is not a single concept, procedure or tool. In fact, it is a set of concepts, procedures and tools that must be tailored carefully to the situation at hand if desirable outcomes are to be achieved. Strategic spatial planning is as much about process, institutional design and mobilisation as it is about the development of substantive theories. Content relates to the strategic issues selected in the process. The capacity of a strategic spatial planning system to deliver the desired outcomes is dependent not only on the system itself, but also on the conditions underlying it. These conditions – including political, cultural and professional attitudes towards spatial planning (in terms of planning content and process) and the political will on the part of the institutions involved in setting the process in motion – affect the ability of planning systems to implement the chosen strategies. Just as in planning, generally speaking, there are different traditions of strategic spatial planning and there is no “one best or one single way” to do strategic spatial planning. The most appropriate approach depends to a large extent on the challenges faced, the particular (substantive and institutional) context of a place and the values/attitudes of the main actors in the process. I construct the outline of a strategic spatial planning through a what, a how and a why question. Elements of this construct are clearly present in European practice (see Motte, 2006; Healey, 2007; Balducci, 2008; Van den Broeck et al., 2010; Oosterlynck et al, 2010).

What?

I define strategic spatial planning as a transformative and integrative, public sector-led but co-productive, socio-spatial process through which visions/frames of reference, the justification for coherent actions and means for implementation are produced that shape and frame what a place (a neighbourhood, city, city-region or region) is and what it might become (Albrechts, 2004; 2006; 2013). The term ‘spatial’ brings into focus the ‘where of things’, whether static or dynamic; the creation and management of special ‘places’ and sites; the interrelations between different activities and networks in an area; and significant intersections and nodes in an area which are physically co-located (Healey, 2004: 46). Amin (2004: 43) argues that cities and regions possess a distinctive spatiality as agglomerations of heterogeneity locked into a multitude of relational networks of varying geographical reach. Strategic spatial planning processes with an appreciation of ‘relational complexity’ demand a capacity to ‘hear’, ‘see’, ‘feel’ and ‘read’ the multiple dynamics of a place in a way that can identify just those key issues that require collective attention through a focus on place qualities (see Healey, 2005; 2006).

The focus on the spatial relations of territories allows for a more effective way of integrating different agendas (economic, environmental, cultural, social and policy agendas) as these agendas affect places. It also carries a potential for a ‘rescaling’ of issue agendas down from the European, the national or state level and up from the municipal and neighbourhood level. The search for new scales of policy articulation and new policy concepts is also linked to attempts to widen the range of actors involved in policy processes, with new alliances, actor partnerships and consultative processes (Albrechts, et al., 2003). Moreover, a territorial focus seems to provide a promising basis for encouraging levels of government to work together (multi-level governance) and in partnership with actors in diverse positions in the economy and civil society. The end product may consist of an analysis of the main processes shaping our environment, which amounts to a dynamic, integrated and indicative long-term vision (frame), a plan for short-term and long-term actions, a budget, and a strategy for implementation. It constitutes a commitment or (partial) (dis) agreement between the key actors. For the implementation, credible commitments to action engagement (commitment package), and a clear and explicit link to the budget are needed where citizens, the private sector, different levels of governance and planners enter moral, administrative and financial agreements to realise these actions (collective spatial agreement).

How?

Strategic spatial planning focuses on a limited number of strategic key issues; it takes a ‘collective’ critical view of the environment in terms of determining strengths and weaknesses in the context of opportunities and threats. Strategic spatial planning focuses on place-specific qualities and assets (social, cultural, intellectual, qualities of the urban fabric which may be physical or social) in a global context. It studies the external trends, forces and resources available. Strategic spatial planning identifies and gathers major actors (public and private), it allows for a broad (multi-level governance) and diverse (public, economic, civil society) involvement during the planning- decision-making and implementation processes, it creates solid, workable long- term visions/perspectives (a geography of the unknown) and strategies at different levels, taking into account the power structures (political, economic, gender, cultural), uncertainties and competing values. Strategic spatial planning designs plan- making structures and develops content, images and decision frameworks for influencing and managing spatial change. It is about building new ideas and processes that can carry them forward, thus generating ways of understanding, ways of building agreements, and ways of organising and mobilising for the purpose of exerting influence in different arenas. Finally, strategic spatial planning, both in the short and the long term, focuses on framing decisions, actions, projects, results and implementation and incorporates monitoring, evaluation, feedback, adjustment and revision.

Why?

The why question deals with values and meanings, with 'what ought to be'. Without the normative, we risk adopting a pernicious relativism where anything goes (see Ogilvy, 2002). In a conscious, purposive, contextual, creative and continuous process strategic spatial planning aims to enable a transformative shift, where necessary, to develop openness to new ideas, and to understand and accept the need and opportunity for change. Transformative practices oppose a blind operation of the market forces and involve constructing 'desired' answers to the structural problems of our society. Normativity indicates the relations with place-specific values, desires, wishes or needs for the future that transcend mere feasibility and that results from judgments and choices formed, in the first place, with reference to the idea of 'desirability', to the idea of 'betterment' (Ozbekhan, 1969) and to the practice of the good society (Friedmann, 1982). To will particular future states is an act of choice involving valuation, judgment and the making of decisions that relates to human-determined ends and to the selection of the most appropriate means for coping with such ends. This is contrary to futures as extensions of the here and now. 'Futures' must symbolise some good, some qualities and some virtues that the present lacks (diversity, sustainability, equity, spatial quality, inclusiveness, accountability). Speaking of spatial quality, virtues and values is a way of describing the sort of place we want to live in, or think we should live in.

Operationalisation of the process

Strategic (spatial) planning approach can be operationalised in a four-track approach. The four tracks (Albrechts et al, 1999; see also Van den Broeck, 1987 for a three-track approach) can be seen as working tracks: one for the vision, one for the short-term and long-term actions, a third for the involvement of the key actors and, finally, a fourth track for a more permanent process (mainly at the local level) involving the broader public in major decisions. The proposed tracks may not be viewed in a purely linear way. The context forms the setting of the planning process but also takes form and undergoes changes in the process (see Dyrberg, 1997).

The Challenge of Changing Power Relations

The strategic spatial planning approach as used in many places in Europe cannot change the power relations (see also Forester, 1989; Sager, 1994; Innes et al., 1994; Healey, 1997 about power relations in planning). Linking strategic spatial planning with socio-spatial innovation allows us to raise governance issues that go beyond established discourses and practices of technical/legal regulation and a mere technical-rational use of instruments. Social innovation can be defined as "the innovation in social relations geared toward the implementation of a local development agenda meant to overcome socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political alienation of (parts) of the population in a neighbourhood or locality" (Moulaert, 2009). It implies that the socio-cultural and political context needs to be structurally embedded in planning (process, content, instruments used, people involved in the process). This refers to changes in governance relating to current and historical relations of dominance and oppression (see also Young, 1990). It involves a dynamic interaction between actors (also the weak groups) in the process rather than a unidirectional flow. The broad involvement of non-conventional actors is needed for their substantive contribution, their procedural competences and the role they might play in securing acceptance, in getting basic support and in providing (a kind of) legitimacy. This type of approach uses public involvement to present real political opportunities, learning from action not only what works but also what matters. The process helps the participants to think more broadly about the future and its driving forces and to realise that their own actions may move a place towards a particular kind of future. The process should allow participants to step away from entrenched positions and identify positive futures that they can work at creating. It allows for a high degree of ownership of the final product and illustrates that all citizens must get the opportunity on an equal basis to take a responsibility for the(ir) future. It urges strategic spatial planning to enrich its theory and practices with social innovation theory and practices.

Epilogue

I presented a type of strategic planning not as a new ideology preaching a new world order, but as a method for meeting the challenges, problems and opportunities in Europe and for creating and steering a (range of) better future(s) for places in Europe on the basis of shared values (see also Ogilvy, 2002). Its focus on 'becoming' produces quite a different picture than traditional planning in terms of plans (strategic plans versus master plans or land-use plans), type of planning (providing a framework and a justification for specific actions versus technical/legal regulation), type of governance (government-led versus government-led but negotiated form of governance) and content (vision and concrete actions that accept the full complexity of a place while focusing on local assets and networks in a global context, social-spatial quality, a fair distribution of the joys and burdens). Strategic spatial planning and social innovation are both process and action driven.

They share a need for changes in governance institutions and agency that aim to contributing to sustainability and spatial quality in an equitable and just way (see Gonzales and Healey, 2005; Oosterlynck et al, 2010). We must raise the critical question of the leverage that European strategic spatial planning exercises will achieve over time. Do they have the persuasive power to shift territorial development trajectories or, as some argue (Kunzmann 2001a, b, c) are they little more than a cosmetic veil to hide the growing disparities evolving within Europe? The many European experiences (Healey

et al, 1997; Pasqual & Esteve, 1997; CEC, 1999; Albrechts, 1999; Albrechts et al, 2001; Albrechts et al, 2003; Pugliese & Spaziante, 2003; Motte, 2006; Healey, 2007; Balducci, 2008; Van den Broeck et al, 2010) provide a fertile laboratory for advancing the understanding of the nature and the potential of strategic spatial frameworks and strategies for 21st century conditions in Europe.

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ELIAS BERIATOS: MARITIME AND COASTAL SPATIAL PLANNING: GREECE IN MEDITERRANIAN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE

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ABSTRACT

Maritime and Coastal areas play an important role in the development of human activities and are a substantial influence on the economies of their respective hinterlands. Seas and coasts are among the most complex, vulnerable and sensitive of all natural ecosystems, and their management lies especially in our era of climate change in which coastal cities and populations face a range of serious threats (including rising sea levels). The singularity of these areas necessitates an equally singular handling of the issues of their land development and management.

At the start of the 21st century the critical issue of the spatial regulation and organisation of the seas and coasts is a key priority for Greece and Mediterranean in the era of climate change. There can be no doubt that the Mediterranean's coastal and marine areas are facing ever greater risks from natural disasters and human pressures alike.

Given the experience of EU and UN programs and projects initiated and run by other international organisations which have shown that implementing sustainable spatial development in the coasts and seas is anything but easy, there is clearly a great need for coordinated action and co-operation at the transnational and international level. Over the past decade EU has adopted a strategy for the maritime environment incorporated in an Integrated Maritime Policy (IMP) (a European vision for the seas and the oceans). In the framework of the above policy the Commission launched a road map for the Maritime Spatial Planning (MSP) in 2008 as the basic means for the implementation of the IMP and a fundamental tool for the sustainable development of the European seas and coasts.

The paper aims to investigate the effectiveness of planning instruments and policies launched by the EU in relation to maritime and coastal areas and adopted by the competent public agencies and bodies in Greece and Mediterranean. Furthermore, the paper argues for the substantial implementation of the policy documents relating to Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) and the Spatial Maritime Planning in the framework of EU strategy for the Integrated Maritime Policy.

1. Introduction: the Pressures on the Mediterranean Sea and its Coasts and the Need for an Integrated Spatial Planning

At the start of the 21st century, the critical issue of the spatial regulation and organisation of coastal and marine areas is a key priority for Europe, the Mediterranean and Greece in an era of climate change and environmental shifts. There can be no doubt that the Mediterranean's coastal and marine areas are facing ever greater risks from natural disasters and human pressures alike. The coastal environment is under serious threat from activities such as tourism and transportation carried out without recourse to even the most rudimentary principles of sustainability; as a result these activities are anything but beneficial from a developmental and environmental point of view. Marine transportation and coastal and marine tourism constitute sources and focal points for pollution on land and at sea, and lead to the degradation of marine and coastal ecosystems. Moreover, the building up (legally or illegally) of the coastal zone particularly near or on the foreshore and seashore exacerbates the downgrading of these areas, which are also core tourism assets.

It should be noted that while the Mediterranean's coastal zones account for just 12 per cent of the surface area of the nation-states bordering the Mediterranean, they are home to 33 per cent of their populations. In addition, while the Mediterranean accounts for 7 per cent of the world's population, the tourists who choose to holiday there account for roughly 33 per cent of the world's tourists! [1]. Construction pressures stemming from tourism are expected to lead to an increase in both the permanent population of the Mediterranean and in visitor numbers, which are forecast to rise from 200 million in 2008 to 300 million in 2025, a leap of 50 per cent [2]. It should also be noted that there is significant differentiation in both

the quantitative (absolute number) and qualitative (country of origin) composition of the international tourists visiting the European and African/Asian Mediterranean.

On the other hand, as far as the process of urbanization is concerned, the developments of the second half of the 20th century were as follows: while there were ten metropolises (meaning cities with over a million inhabitants) in 1950, there were no fewer than 29 by the end of the century (1995). This leap in urbanisation has led to more and larger metropolises, and thus, also, to the erection of a cement wall along the entire length of the Mediterranean coast, thanks to the construction of a mass of hotel and tourist complexes (Egypt, Turkey, Spain) as well as linear coastal settlements of second- homes constructed legally or illegally (Greece, Spain). This wall tends to create a zone between the coastal highway and the coastline itself. Areas whose coastal development mirrors this pattern include Alexandria and El Alamein in Egypt, the area east of Antalya in Turkey, the coast beside Málaga and north of Valencia in Spain and the west coast of the Peloponnese in Greece.

Similarly, the Blue Plan data points to the agricultural population having remained stable or declined as a result of tourist development in every Mediterranean coastal nation, in the developed north-west and less developed south-east alike [3]. The situation described above – and coastal urbanisation and linear development, in particular – creates serious environmental problems as well as raising the cost of the necessary infrastructure. Integrated planning for the coastal and adjoining marine zones is thus essential.

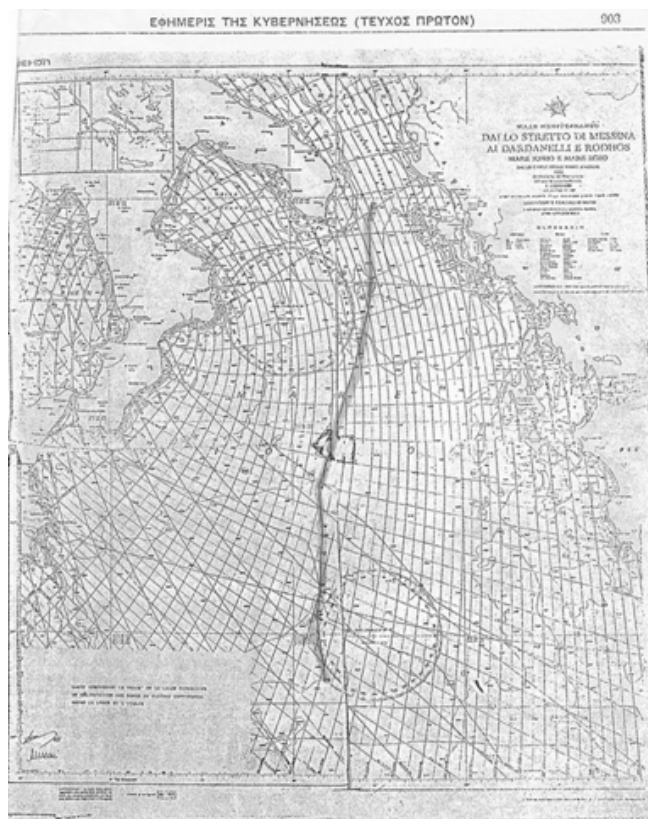
2. International Policy for Coasts and Seas Relating to Europe and Mediterranean Basin

Mediterranean policy – for the sea and the coasts - essentially began in 1975 when the Mediterranean Action Plan (MAP) was set up in Barcelona in the context of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). The MAP, the first scheme of its kind, was set in motion by the UN to protect the planet's regional seas. Structurally, it is comprised of a coordinating unit, which has had its headquarters in Athens since 1982, plus six Regional Activity Centres based in six Mediterranean cities (Split, Palermo, Sophia Antipolis, Barcelona, Malta and Tunis) covering a range of issues and programmes, the most important of which are:

a) The Blue Plan / Plan Bleu based in Sophia Antipolis, which seeks to analyse environmental problems and achieve viable Mediterranean development by means of an interdisciplinary systemic approach, and b) the Priority Actions Program / Programme d'Actions Prioritaires, which is based in Split and focuses on integrated coastal zone management with the emphasis on solving problems created by increasing urbanisation of the Mediterranean coast.

It was within the MAP framework that the Barcelona Convention was signed in that city in 1976 by the representatives of the Mediterranean's coastal states. Originally entitled the 'Convention for the Protection of the Mediterranean Sea Against Pollution', the Convention came into force in 1978; amended in 1995, it came into force in 2004 as the 'Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment and the Coastal Region of the Mediterranean'. It should be noted that a number of sub-regional conventions were signed as a direct result of the Barcelona Convention, and numerous international committees formed with members drawn from neighbouring coastal states and a view to protecting the Mediterranean coasts and seas. Among them must be comprised the treaty between Greece and Italy "On the protection of the marine environment and the coastal zones of the Ionian Sea" signed in Rome in 1979 and ratified by the Greek parliament in 1982 (Law 1267/82- Official Journal 85A/5-7-82). The previous year 1978 had been signed another treaty, concerning the delimitation of the continental shelf between the above mentioned countries (figure 1).

One of the Barcelona Convention's core functions is the publication of technical protocols on a series of crucial environmental issues (Table 1). One of the recent protocols, the supremely important Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) Protocol, was signed in Madrid in 2008. Although the Protocol represents a compromise between the conflicting interests of the states involved, it still constitutes an important legal obligation to protect the Mediterranean coast, and is a realistic document drawn up by a team including representatives of accredited NGOs which takes international experience into account. However, it has been ratified by just three states to date: France, Albania and Slovenia. Innovative and ground-breaking, the Protocol is a unique legal instrument on ICZM in the entire international community in the context of the Coastal Area Management Programme (CAMP) and is unprecedented on a regional level [4].



Source: Law 1267/82 (Official Journal 85A/5-7-82).

Figure 1. The maritime space (Ionian Sea) between Greece and Italy and the boundary of Continental Shelf.

Turning to its content, it is interesting to note that the protocol adopts inter alia the spatial - organic ecosystems - approach, the principle of the non edificandi zone and interdisciplinary analysis. We are of the opinion that the Protocol would be hard to implement, and that the use of national spatial planning instruments (see section 4) is therefore essential to enable problems to be dealt with and solved, including the need for bodies and measures to be coordinated, for control mechanisms to be introduced with regard to the implementation of the legislation, for land policy to adopt mechanisms for the acquisition of land into the public domain, and for measures to be taken in the light of climate change. The Coastal Area Management Programmes / Programme Activity Centres (CAMP-PAC) set up in many countries are one of the fundamental means of implementation for the ICZM protocol [5]. Figure 1 shows the areas where these programmes have been run or are currently running.

Various examples of policies and instruments on the national level are also worthy of note including the Conservatoire de l'Espace Littoral et des Rivages Lacustres (CELRL), a French national protection body for coastal spaces, lakes and rivers set up with a view to acquiring land from the public sector [6].

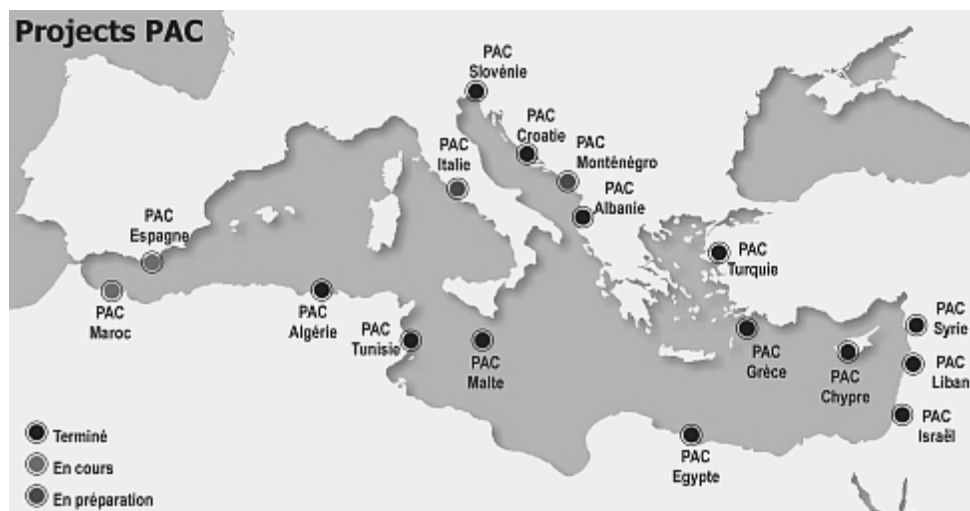


Figure2: Coastal Area Management Programmes in specific Mediterranean regions.

Source: [5]

In parallel and in combination with the activities of the UN and the Barcelona Convention, the EU has undertaken initiatives relating to Integrated Coastal Zone Management in all its Member States. Thus, a pilot programme was set in motion in the late 1990s (1997-1999) whose conclusions led to the submission of a Proposal for a Recommendation [7] and the issuing of a Communication [8] to the Council and the European Parliament, which made a Recommendation on 30/05/2002 relating to the implementation in Europe of the ICZM [9]. The Recommendation refers to the need for a strategic approach, the application of core management principles, national strategies and cooperation. In 2007, the Commission published a Communication [10] in the form of a report to the Council and the European Parliament evaluating the ICZM Recommendation in the light of previous evaluations (by the European Environment Agency (EEA) the indicators working group etc.).

Table 1: Protocols of Barcelona Convention.

Date (adoption/ entry into force)	Content
16-02-1976/12-02-1978	Dumping Protocol (from ships and aircraft)
16-02-1976/12-02-1978	Prevention and Emergency Protocol (pollution from ships and emergency situations)
17-05-1980/17-06-1983	Land-based Sources and Activities Protocol
10-06-1982/23-03-1986	Protocol concerning Mediterranean Specially Protected Areas
14-10-1994/Not yet	Offshore Protocol (pollution from exploration and exploitation)
10-06-1995/ Not yet	Dumping Protocol (from ships and aircraft or incineration at sea) (amended the Dumping Protocol of 1976)
10-06-1995/ 12-12-1999	Protocol Concerning Specially Protected Areas in the Mediterranean (replaced the Protocol concerning Mediterranean Specially Protected Areas)
10-06-1995/12-12-1999	Replaces the Protocol concerning Mediterranean Specially Protected Areas of 1982
07-03-1996/11-05-2008	Protocol for the Protection of the Mediterranean Sea against Pollution from Land-Based Sources (replaced the Land-based Sources and Activities Protocol of 1980)
01-10-1996/18-01-2008	Hazardous Wastes Protocol
25-01-2002/17-03-2004	Protocol Concerning Cooperation in Preventing Pollution from Ships and, in Cases of Emergency, Combating Pollution of the Mediterranean Sea (replaced the Prevention and Emergency Protocol of 1976)
21-01-2008/ Not yet	Protocol on Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM)

Source: Relevant Official texts of Barcelona Convention protocols.

Table 2: Coastal and maritime spatial planning in Europe: Policy documents.

Date	Content	Form
1999	Towards a European (ICZM) Strategy General Principles and Policy Options	Reflection paper
08-09-2000	Implementation of Integrated Coastal Zone Management in Europe	Proposal for Recommendation
27-09-2000	On Integrated Coastal Zone Management: A strategy for Europe	Communication
06-06-2002	Implementation of the Integrated Coastal Zone Management	Recommendation
07-06-2006	Towards a future Maritime Policy for the Union: A European vision for the oceans and seas	Communication /Green Paper
07-06-2007	An evaluation of Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) in Europe	Communication
10-10-2007	An Integrated Maritime Policy for the European Union	Communication/Blue Paper
25-06-2008	Establishing a framework for community action in the field of marine environmental policy (Marine Strategy Framework Directive)	Directive
25-11-2008	Roadmap for Maritime Spatial Planning: Achieving Common Principles in the EU	Communication
26-06-2008	Guidelines for an Integrated Approach to Maritime Policy: Towards best practice in integrated maritime governance and stakeholder consultation	Communication
15-10-2009	Progress Report on the EU's integrated maritime policy	Communication

Source: Relevant EU Official texts.

This document also refers to the reports produced by 14 of the EU's 20 coastal member-states – Greece among them- which had been presented to the Commission. The evaluation revealed that, despite the positive impact made by the Recommendation through its championing of a “more holistic spatial planning”, there had been delays and no significant progress. The national reports provided only limited information on the effectiveness of implementation mechanisms, while few countries and regions had contributed to the analysis of the environmental indicators. Moreover, the evaluation report recognized that the environmental degrading of the coasts remained a serious problem, and linked future progress in relation to ICZM with: a) the Green Paper on maritime policy, b) the ICZM protocol within the framework of the Barcelona Convention and c) the INSPIRE directive (2007/2 EU L108) which aims at a combined environmental information system (relevant policy documents in Table 2).

3. The Case of Coastal Greece: a Critical Approach to the Existing Situation and Spatial Planning

In formal, official terms, Greece, an EU Member State, is considered a developed nation in accordance with every UN human development index. In essence, however, Greece is geographically part of the Balkans, south-eastern Europe and the Mediterranean, with all that this entails in terms of influences from neighbouring states. Due to its geopolitical position, but also to its domestic policies and cultural and social traditions, Greece has problems which relate to its political system, its productive infrastructure, its administrative organisation, to the development or research and technology and – above all – to the organisation and planning of its space: urban, rural and special categories like coastal space.

That Greece has more coastline than any other European or Mediterranean country is a fundamental consideration in its spatial planning as well as its environmental and developmental policies. In fact, Greece has over 3000 islands and islets which represent 20 per cent of its surface area and 14 per cent of its population. In Greece, with over 15,000 km of coastline, every square kilometre equates to 114 m of coast or ‘sea front’, compared to an EU-27 average of 6.5 m, and a world average of just 4.3 m! The Greek coastline accounts for roughly a third of the entire coastline of the Mediterranean, and to almost a quarter of that of the EU-27) [11]. With over 70 per cent of Greece’s population and over 90 per cent of its tourists concentrated in its coastal zone, the possible consequences of climate change are likely to render this zone especially vulnerable to flooding and rising sea levels.

Recognising, analysing and interpreting the structural features of the coasts is an essential prerequisite for any institutional regulation and planning which seeks to bring about their viable and integrated protection and development.

A study of the brief history of spatial planning in Greece reveals that the regulation of coastal space (institutional instruments, planning techniques etc.) has mirrored the course of spatial planning in general, which, due to social, economic and technological developments, has moved from small- to large-scale regulation. Thus, initial efforts sought to address the problems facing the coastline - meaning the coastal zone where water met land - with corresponding legislation (Law 2344/1940, later replaced by Law 2971/2001). Then, in the early 1980s, Law 1337/83 sought to tackle the problems of unregulated construction and access to the sea in a 500-metre coastal setback zone in which enclosures were forbidden. Finally, from the 1990s on, the focus has been on regulating the spatial organisation of the coastal zone in general and on instituting new zones (in addition to those mentioned above) with a view to integrated coastal zone management, the removal of conflict between different land uses, free access to the sea and the regulation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. The development of the core legislation (not including provisions from other legislation dealing indirectly with coastal zone) is summarised in Table 3.

Table 3: Core legislation relating to Greek coastal space.

Date	Type and content of institutional regulation	Comments
1940	Compulsory Law 2344/1940 'On the Sea Shore (foreshore and backshore)' OGG 285/2001	
1983	Law 1337/83 Articles 23 & 24 'On the protection of coasts and coastal roads', OGG A33/83	Never implemented
1984	Presidential Decree 236/84 'On enclosing coastal land', OGG 95/84	Never implemented
2001	Law 2971/01 'On the Sea Shore (foreshore, backshore etc.)', OGG A285/2001	
2010	National Guidelines for the Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development of the Coastal Zone - Ministerial Decision	Not yet approved

Source: Relevant issues of the Official Government Gazette (OGG), Hellenic Ministry for the Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works, 2009.

The coastal zones and the regulations applying to each will be examined in more detail below.

3.1 The Sea Shore: Foreshore and Backshore Zones

The foreshore (the 'amphibious' part of the coastal zone exposed at low tide) and the backshore are the most sensitive and critical coastal zone from an ecological and environmental as well as a social, economic and developmental point of view.

The space of the foreshore is delimited by nature. According to the current legislation: 'The foreshore is the zone which is wet by the largest non-extraordinary waves' (OGG A285/2001). In contrast, the backshore is a social product defined by the state ('The backshore is the terrestrial zone added to the foreshore which is defined as having a breadth of up to fifty (50) metres from the upper limit of the foreshore to serve communication between land and sea and vice versa'). As spatial zones, the foreshore and the backshore are organically and functionally linked. There can be no foreshore without a backshore, which is the functionally public space necessary for enjoying the environmental and social good of the foreshore and for providing free access to it.

Law 2344/1940, the first legislation that sought to regulate the foreshore and backshore zone, dates back to the end of the inter-war period and was ground-breaking for its time. It would be amended on several occasions during what would prove a long active life (over 60 years), the most important amendment, from an environmental point of view -in view of the accelerated urbanisation of the coastal zone during the post-war period (see the following subsection) – being the institution of a new and larger backshore width (raised from 30 to 50 metres) in 1983. Clearly, this initial legislation could not foresee the developments to come in the contemporary period, which included tourist development, coastal erosion and a rise in sea-levels due to the greenhouse effect.

Still, the efforts which began in the early 1980s to thoroughly overhaul the special legislation relating to the foreshore were slow in bearing fruit, delaying the process excessively until the first decade of the 21st century. And while the Hellenic Ministry of Finance sought to modernise the relevant institutional framework in technical, administrative and bureaucratic terms, despite the last-minute amendments, the new institutional framework ultimately proved unsuccessful both in ensuring the public good it was supposed to have defended, and in ushering in genuinely new conditions. For instance, the institutional protection provided for coastal zone could have been bolstered – as the circumstances of the age demanded, with the proliferation of building without planning permission – by legally setting the coastal setback at a minimum of 50 metres from the upper limit of the foreshore.

To be truly effective and beneficial, any legal framework governing the space, development and environment of the foreshore and backshore would have to take a contemporary and innovative approach to land policy issues. For instance, the provisions relating to the expropriation of property in the backshore zone would have to come packaged with the means (financial resources) for purchasing these properties. Otherwise, other land policy instruments will have to be found for acquiring the backshore land, which must, in accordance with the core aim expressed by the law itself, be both public and for common use. Moreover, on a larger scale, the zone must be spatially and geographically linked to the coastal zone as a whole - of which the strip comprised of the foreshore and backshore constitutes a spatial subset - to an adequate depth both landwards and seawards.

3.2 500-Metre Coastal Setback in Which Enclosures are Forbidden

Law 1337/83 on the expansion of cities and settlements, which formed the basis for the Urban Restructuring Programme (EPA), also included provisions relating to the protection of the rural environment, primarily through the institution of the Controlled Construction Zone and the 500-metre setback

from the coast in which enclosures were forbidden, both to protect the coasts and to ensure access to them – a perennial issue in Greece. This second provision has proved to be of critical importance in protecting the coastal zone, even though it has not been applied as widely as expected, despite the importance of the issue for Greece and Greek public opinion being supposedly sensitive to the issue of ‘liberating’ the nation’s coasts. These innovative and radical provisions addressed two issues as crucial in today’s social context as they were then:

a) The exclusion – as a rule – of enclosures in a 500-metre setback zone from the shoreline intended to ensure free access to the sea; in those cases where enclosures were permitted, guidelines were provided for their positioning and construction in accordance with the use to which the enclosed land was to be put. It should be noted that the Presidential Decree was formulated and published with the application of this provision specifically in mind;

b) The creation (through the expropriation of privately-owned property for the public good) of public access routes to the sea and the shore. These routes are chiefly foreseen as pedestrian, without this precluding the creation of roads for vehicles with the required parking spaces but without provisions for roadside plot divisions and building constructions.

It should be noted that the law foresaw the demolition of existing enclosures blocking access to the coast – a radical measure by the standards of the time – as well as the removal of buildings on the shore and the transfer of the ownership of these buildings to the local authorities or to organisations for the public good until their demolition. However, while these provisions were considered reasonable by all parties and satisfied the ‘sense of public justice’, they have not – with very few exceptions – been applied, due to the familiar inertia and involvement of governmental bodies and the corruption and clientelism of local politics. However, this does not rob the provisions of their importance even today, since all remain in force and can be activated at any time, demonstrating once again that Greece has a well stocked and well-provisioned – though inactive, unused and sometimes undermined – spatial planning armoury.

3.3 Zones Foreseen in the National Guidelines on Coastal Areas

The need for the coastal zone to be organised and administered in a more integrated way and on a larger scale in the context of the guidelines laid down in international and European treaties and conventions necessitated the drawing up of national guidelines on the basis of an institutional instrument foreseen by Law 2742/99: the Special Framework for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development (SFSPSD). However, although drafting of the framework – which addressed Greece’s coastal space and islands – began in the late 1990s and the result was presented in 2003 as emergency legislation on Greece’s coastal and island space, it has yet to be implemented. The latest version of the Framework, which was submitted to the Ministry of the Environment for discussion in 2009, is substantially different from the original, due to developments in international and European-Mediterranean space, as well as to changes in Greek spatial planning policy.

Specifically, the Framework now adheres to European models in promoting Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM), defining the coastal zone more broadly both landwards and seawards, and introducing a three-way division of the coastal area into critical, dynamic and other/transitional zones, all of which have a terrestrial as well as a marine section and are subject to different provisions with regard to permissible construction and land uses. The landward limits of the transitory zone extend as far as the administrative boundaries of coastal municipalities, though not beyond or further than the 600-metre index contour line (Figure 2). These zones constitute the hinterland of the foreshore zone, and are equally important for the functioning of the coastal ecosystem and for the production activities that take place there.

Undoubtedly, the Special Framework (national guidelines) for coastal areas is both necessary and useful for planning, since it can coordinate and incorporate the existing regulations governing the foreshore and the 500-metre enclosure-free zone. Still, although it regulates construction in each coastal zone in detail, the Framework does not reference the aforementioned coastal legislation and correspondences cannot be drawn between the two. In addition, the framework does not seem to correlate satisfactorily either with the already approved Special Framework (national guidelines) on Tourism or with regional and local spatial plans.

However, quite apart from problems of internal cohesion and organisation, the Framework seems to fail to address substantial issues relating to the degree of protection it provides for the coastal environment: its retention, for example, of a 50-metre setback from the shore for buildings in place of the 100-metre zone enforced in other countries, and its failure to ban roads running parallel to the coast, despite the pressure they exert for road-side constructions being extremely well-documented. It should be noted, too, that other Mediterranean countries such as Italy, Spain and Portugal have introduced stricter provisions in relation to building on the coast (greater setbacks, stricter control of land uses etc.), while the Framework’s provisions aimed at reducing the coverage coefficient in the dynamic zone in relation to the institutional framework for spatial planning in general remain somewhat ineffective.

4. Conclusions

In an era in which the greenhouse effect and desertification are making their presence felt ever more acutely as they pose a serious threat to the coastal and marine ecosystems in Greece and the Mediterranean, we need to look ahead to new organisational structures with a view to integrated planning for coastal regions. The 'usual' offices in the various ministries, regions, prefectures and municipalities that are usually called upon to solve the problems relating to demarcation, protection and administration are insufficient, as a result of which the all-important issues of coordination and cooperation between the bodies involved and the drafting and application of policy are totally ignored by the proposed regulations as they stand, which all fail to deal with the critical and important issues relating to the policy of creating a reserve of public land for the protection of the coastal environment.

To date, management by means of a powerful and inspired national programme – significantly absent from the post-war planning landscape – has not served to redress this state of affairs. With the experience amassed thus far and the requisite political will, the legal and technical solutions can be found to create free common spaces in the backshore zone, and to do so without burdening the public purse excessively. In the coastal zone, an area beset by problems of land ownership, it is essential that a special mechanism be put in place for their solution, meaning something similar to the French Conservatoire du littoral adapted to the Greek situation, which will help in the drafting of a well thought-out spatial planning policy for our coasts and provide the means for its application.

There is also an urgent need to incorporate/adapt/codify legislation relating to Spatial Planning in order to coordinate the activities and programmes of all the parties involved.

The integrated coastal zone planning management remains a complex issue and a difficult project requiring systematic approach and data gathering. This will have to lead to the drawing up of a strategy which will be in accordance with and make active use of the favourable provisions included in the international conventions and EU guidelines as well as in the Blue Plan produced by the UN Mediterranean Action Plan to make it possible - within clear limits - to protect and develop a valuable natural resource of vast environmental and socio- economic importance.

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Figure 3: The coastal zone of Greece at the level of first-tier local authority territorial units (marked in grey).

LUC-EMILE BOUCHE-FLOIRIN: AWAKENING OF THE LANDSCAPE AWARENESS, VECTOR OF SOCIAL AND TERRITORIAL COHESION

Introduction

The European Landscape Convention, otherwise known as the Florence Convention², was first made available for signature by the Council of Europe on 20th October 2000 in the capital of Tuscany. This international treaty has now been ratified by the parliaments of 40 of the 47 members of the Council of Europe. Its success lies in its recognition of landscape as a principal factor in implementation of sustainable development in terms of culture as well as society and the economy.

It is worth remembering that landscapes – goods held in common – are not merely an essential component of the cultural heritage of territories; they also contribute to the strengthening of multi-cultural identities in Europe. European landscapes, often shaped by successive populations, testify to the richness of those multi-cultural inputs which make up landscape identities. The quality of life of European citizens requires us to take into account the landscape dimension of urban planning; but we also need to wake up to 'landscape conscience': the awareness of landscape as an efficient vector of social and territorial cohesion.

Landscape Framework: Definition and Vocabulary

The most commonly used definition, and the one that is now widely recognised, is the definition in the Florence Convention: 'Landscape' means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors³. This definition, while open to improvement and perhaps question, was at least able to unite the Member States around essentials. It goes on to express the idea that landscape quality refers first of all to the aspirations of the population to manage the environment in which they live. It implies particular emphasis on facilitating popular participation in development of landscape policies. It is also based on a definition of landscape that includes natural, rural, urban and suburban landscapes. It deals with terrestrial space and with inland and maritime waters. It is as much concerned with highly-valued landscapes as everyday or degraded landscapes. Protecting, managing and planning landscape can – indeed must – become a major issue of sustainable development.

Europe is varied and so are its notions of landscape; semantics can help us here by providing a picture – a 'landscape' – of naming which takes it to a higher level, awakening awareness of the environment seen, perceived, lived in time and space.

Through each translation – or rather interpretation – of the concept of landscape, glossaries of urban planning terms direct us to very different to visions.

Landscape in English, Landschaft in German, landschap in Dutch or Flemish or landskab in Danish, define what can be looked over in its entirety: a sort of panoramic vision, which is obviously limited in its visual perception. It does indeed deal with perception, where the subject is the only actor, without qualification of place or of the level of interpretation. British English vocabulary has even acquired a neologism: cityscape, which tries to qualify the urban dimension of landscape, knowing that this word should be seen in relation to the word 'skyline', referring to a wide view of the urban horizon or the urban silhouette.

In Romance languages, paysage in French, paesaggio in Italian, paisaje in Spanish or paisagem in Portuguese are based on the concept of countryside, qualifying the perception of landscape. Even if, during the 16th century, from Vasari⁴ in Italy to Robert Etienne⁵ in France, the word slipped from a definition mediated by art to an 'objectivisation' of perceived territory, landscape is accepted as an ensemble of signs giving sense to a limited territory (without a predefined scale) and moreover one that is consistent for any stretch of land. Landscape can then be objectified, defined by its own elements (signs, symbols, objects). It is no longer the observer who restricts his or her perception, but the identity of the landscape, the 'double' or sublimated image of the land that imposes itself on the observer.

One can see here how much those two approaches differ, in this striking if reductive vision of North/South contrasts, just in Europe. From a more symbolic, less anecdotal view: the page orientation 'portrait' and 'landscape' in common use in computing show clearly the horizontality of the dominant western landscape vision of the Anglo-Saxon world; the Orient leads us to a vertical vision of the world. On the one hand

we have human, conscious vision; on the other, the rise of the soul, the expression of feelings, of a higher level of consciousness more than physical reality. Perhaps that is over-simplified, but we won't dwell on that in the framework of this discussion.

In the Anglo-Saxon vision, where there is a land to watch, to apprehend (apprehendere: to seize) in one look, there is a landscape. All that is around us can therefore be a landscape as long as it is looked over, objectified. This means that a landscape that is not watched, not subjectivised, does not exist; only the act of looking can make sense of it. Alain Corbin⁶ tells us that 'Landscape is a reading, forms an indivisible whole from the person who is contemplating the considered space'. Does this mean that there would be as many landscapes as there are individual readings? No, insofar as the landscape is 'shared' (in the meaning of 'having in common' not 'dividing up', though the partition could be the combination of individualities). Landscape becomes the origin of cohesion, of common vision and of 'shared' identity.

As regards the Latin vision, I use, though with a few reservations, the theory of Alain Roger⁷ based on the transition or slide from land to landscape by 'artialisation' (filtering and transforming Nature through art, a concept developed originally by Montaigne in *Les Essais*, Livre III⁸). Without representation or the words to say it, for the most part the land remains ignored aesthetically and talked about at best in halting language – though a sensitive and cultural approach does emerge.

But do we have to set the land of the geographer and the naturalist at odds with the landscape of the painter and contemplative writer? There is not necessarily a duality: it is not useful to oppose what can be considered as ordinary, in the customary and everyday sense, to the remarkable, in the sense of exceptional, noteworthy or uncommon. A more detailed study of appearances would show us that the emergence of landscape consciousness needed time, and that in the end, it was enriched by both the North and the South of Europe. I would gladly follow Michel Baridon⁹ in asserting that landscape was not born, in western countries, at the time of the Renaissance; it was born as soon as Mankind made a mark on the environment, leaving a trace of his stay.

The emergence of this 'landscape consciousness' – awareness of landscape – even now requires us to put in some effort, especially since the loss of the 'shared sense'¹⁰ of the landscape confronts us once again with the question: is it legitimate to regard landscape as shared and as essential to the quality of life of those who live in it, in the spirit of the value of fundamental human rights? The social need for landscape is brought to light in several studies that begin to answer the question.

Landscape: a Common Good

Before considering the social status of landscape, let us dwell on this much discussed 'shared sense' which I have just referred to as lost. Beyond the popular meaning of the term, this 'shared sense' can be understood as common perception or common sensitivity in the Aristotelian¹¹ meaning of the term. Applied to landscape, this approach to awareness of consciousness starts with activation of perception of the environment by the senses. But beyond the five classic senses – in which sight and hearing dominate – we should add the sense of space and time, not forgetting the sense of 'the other'. Moreover, an objective, adjusted, qualitative approach to the phenomena imposes itself, in the spirit of the great scientist and poet Goethe and of his phenomenological¹² vision of the environment. We will not pursue this here on the grounds that it would be bound to come up against the Cartesian idea of the mind-spirit.

Let us posit that shared sensitivity to a territory can create a common landscape. The shared sense can facilitate the emergence of consciousness of the common good. The notion of common good now leads us to think about the feeling of belonging and of rightness; and about interest linked to it.

A common good signifies well-being or collective happiness more than interest. It has also an inferred moral meaning, essentially religious in origin. It deals with the collection of advantages or benefits in terms of quality of life from which a community – a specific community – can benefit. For Thomas Aquinas, in line with Aristotle, the 'bonus communis' must always outweigh the individual interest; the Christian reference sends us to the Anglo-Saxon notion of 'common land' or to the Latin notion of 'communaux', lands belonging to the rural collectivity before enclosure or privatisation. We should not confuse this with the general interest covering the largest number of people. It is only in the 18th century, in the Age of Enlightenment, that the idea of 'general interest' progressively supplanted the moral and religious notion of 'common good' attached to a community or a specific collectivity. In the same era, agrarian landscape evolves significantly under the pressure of productivity. The anthropisation of territory, already significant, becomes more widespread. The natural landscape becomes almost synonymous with the agrarian landscape.

In economic theory, a common good is a good that is accessible to all, such as water, but marked limited in nature and consequently the potential source of rivalry and conflict. We should keep in mind that bourgeois capitalism emerges in Europe in parallel in the same century. Landscape becomes the centre of local interest in protection of the right to respect of a shared vision based on the specifics of place.

For the philosopher Myriam Revault d'Allonnes¹³, the common good 'constitutes, in a society, an indispensable link between individuals, like culture or language. Common good, as distinct from private good, is a good that imposes itself on everyone, a value understood by everyone, to which all members of a society can refer.' Designating landscape as a 'common good' therefore requires us to ask ourselves on what values this common good is

based. It deals with the ethics of landscape, sends us back to the notion of accessibility in its broader sense; it raises the issue of the collective interest or the general interest.

Let us try now briefly to discern what is implied by collective interest. We may be inspired by the vision of the general interest arising from French constitutional law¹⁴. We should admit that the two concepts are in conflict. One sees in the collective interest only the sum of particular interests, arising essentially from the search for economic agents of utilitarian ends. The other concept, essentially voluntarist, sees the general interest as overcoming particular interests. From this point of view, the expression of the general will confers on democratic representatives the responsibility of imposing on all individuals ends that go beyond particular interests.

The opposition between those two concepts, one utilitarian, the other voluntarist, corresponds precisely with our present situation. In reality it deals with two visions of democracy as the French Council of State puts it¹⁵: on the one hand, the vision of a democracy of the individual, tending to reduce public space to the guarantee of co-existence between distinct interests, and sometimes conflicting interests, of the various components of society; on the other hand, a concept that is closer to the French Republican tradition, which calls upon the capacity of individuals to transcend their belongings and their interests to exercise the supreme freedom of forming together a political society.

If we wish management of landscape to be considered in terms of commitments rather than obligations, we have to admit that landscape is political (in the sense of a public thing) and that it is the role of the political field to define what is of collective interest. The political must take back its rights from the utilitarian vision of markets and above all of those who drive them. The challenges of Climate Change can be vectors of awareness of the implications for us all, though the results of the Rio+20 Conference show the chasm that still separates decision-makers from the awareness of those implications. Governance of landscape nevertheless remains a political question; it is up to political actors to take charge and then to define what is of collective interest.

Once the concepts are examined, can we postulate that the people's view of the territory gradually changes the landscape? Landscape seen, lived, represented, images of places where we live, act and move, is made real only by the movement of 'awakening of landscape consciousness' that seems to me to be fundamental to good governance and therefore to the exercise of democracy.

The Awakening of Landscape Consciousness

The European Landscape Convention¹⁶ regards landscape as a guiding principle for the improvement of the quality of life of the populations. It requires definition and implementation of landscape quality objectives. 'Landscape must not be a topic reserved to the circle of experts, but must become an integral part of political subjects, a subject to be debated democratically', which means a concerted effort and popular participation. Landscape analysis leads inevitably to landscapes considered by experts as exceptional becoming privileged; though their iconic nature may be a strong identifying feature, it is the landscapes of everyday life that are the environment for the life, work and mobility of the people.

But then we must ask how we can make landscape consciousness emerge in everyday life. We need not just to listen but also positively to encourage free speech about the environment around us; once objectivised, that becomes 'our landscape'. This process of appropriation creates a shared value and thus a sense of the common good.

To that end, good governance of everyday landscapes is based on information which encourages involvement, active participation in decision-making and finally ownership of decisions. I would add a prior stage of creating a sensitive awareness of landscape: appropriation, including a diversity of cultural approaches which are a factor in integration and in social cohesion.

The awakening of landscape consciousness starts in school. The main component of this awareness is personal development. This must be the essential goal of all education. It encourages us to make the sense-based or aesthetic dimension the central dimension of relations between society and the environment.

This is a subtle, sensitive process suggesting active participation of all agents in a particular territory; it requires firm political will and the establishment of real, local, effective democracy to create collective understanding or collective vision and find the 'shared sense'. Good governance allows a fresh look at the territory based on awareness of landscape consciousness. Then, as Marcel Proust¹⁷ writes: 'The real voyage of discovery, the only fountain of youth, consists not in seeking new landscapes, but seeing with new eyes'¹⁸.

Landscape and Territorial Identity

It is always tricky to talk about identity. We can already sense the reluctance or fear that the use of this word arouses' it is sometimes the sterile object of debate under cover of ideological or political exploitation. We need to go beyond that to ask why identity is relevant to space and spatial planning.

Every professional in the field of spatial planning should consider this: landscape is a central element in the discipline. Spatial planners are concerned first as humanists and then as strategic advisors, mediators of spatial land-use policies and designers, a space mapped out for them in the New Charter of Athens¹⁹ published by ECTP-CEU, the European Council of Spatial Planners (ECTP-CEU, Lisbon 2003).

For a city or territory to be coherent, we need first to have spatial coherence and work towards territorial and social cohesion. Landscape can be an ideal way in to perception of this coherence, as long as the territorial analysis is carried out in depth and above all with sensitivity. Only a refined approach will lead to the emergence of identity. This does not rule out physical and human analysis; indeed they should be complementary if we aspire to work from the land to a respected and shared landscape.

Of course geographers will want geomorphology, climatology or anthropology to influence or contribute to the classification system for landscape. But perception of our environment is too subtle, complex and above all personal to allow us to make it the basis of a classification system. Should we make a distinction between natural landscapes and anthropised landscapes? Do spaces which have not been touched by human beings still exist? Analysing biodiversity status and trends or climate change already gives us some insights without the need to refer to observable human intervention. It seems we need a classification system to set landmarks, given the propensity of human beings to be sensitive in their perception of the environment around them.

As long as it uses a phenomenological approach (in the broadest sense), this approach allows appropriation of the environment without aesthetic or merely qualitative bias.

It makes sense of the perception causing land to slide into landscape, imbued with identity based on the identity of the person perceiving it. Landscapes hold their own cultural identity which may be contemporary or timeless, imaginary, real or rebuilt, with a history enriched by cultural diversity, with no time-scale or place-scape, and ultimately shared. The 'user' of a territory, whether living there, working there or just passing through, can adopt the same revealed vision of the environment; moving from land to landscape the user adopts the shared identity.

If territories can be perceived as coherent and can contain landscapes, and if sensitively approached landscapes are in harmony with their territories, landscape becomes the relevant and appropriate way in to shared identity; it is one factor of social and territorial cohesion within a society which is rich in cultural diversity. We can therefore try to talk about inclusive 'cultural cohesion' enriched by this diversity. We need to develop this concept of cultural cohesion though it is as controversial – for the same reasons – as the notion of identity.

Returning to the idea of sensitive perception: who has not been tempted, when confronted with a singular landscape, to wonder about harmony in the Platonic sense or in the mystical/ sublime sense of Petrarch²⁰?

It would be wrong to imply that the sensitive approach to the environment or access to 'consciencialisation' of landscape is the prerogative only of an elite, or that it requires a figurative or written 'artialisation'. Effort is needed to go from the sphere of the intellect down to the level of rhythm and sensitive consciousness; to open oneself up to receive and share a perception of territory and the landscapes it holds, to bind to an identity which finally makes sense and can become a shared sense.

The identity of a territory is also the identity of the social groups which have succeeded each other there. It can be more or less homogeneous; it may have lost some meaning or have been enriched by successive cultural contributions. Those two identities blending together are built on joint acknowledgment of all the signs or landscape symbols which build the identity and hence is shared. Arising from this we need to ask about the emergence of spatial signs contributing to and sometimes emblematic of landscape.

Pierre Donadieu²¹ tells us that the semiotics of landscape has yet to be invented. Perhaps we should put that another way: the semiotics of landscape have yet to be decoded. That is why there is often a loss of meaning of landscape and why, as a matter of urgency, we need to re-establish or create an identity of landscape. But in order to maintain, re-establish or create an identity, we need to define the rules of production of signs denoting occupation of space which may be ephemeral, enduring or evolving.

'A society which does not control the production of signs in its territory is directly threatened by anomie' writes Pierre Donadieu²²; he goes on to state that we are concerned here primarily with natural forms. This is far from certain given that Nature has the ability to free itself from chaos. Moreover human activities can create chaos in natural spaces such as oceans, ice floes and mountains, as well as locally in wetlands, forest or moors. Those natural elements always contribute to the signs that collectively form landscape identity.

In rural areas all over Europe, agriculture and traditional food production activity that had a strong influence on landscape identity, has slid into an agro-industrial logic which is an integral part of a globalised market. This has led to a profound modification of the signs and loss of marks. This is not about the 'sanctuarisation' of landscape signs of the past but about access to a global thought process that is more respectful of Nature, linked more closely with local reality, and ultimately allows us to build an ensemble of signs defining a shared social and territorial identity. We can assert that the

functional meaning of signs adds to landscape meaning, that the techno- natural still has its place in the landscape as it has had for centuries. The relevance of those signs written in time and space will guarantee the landscape coherence of territory and hence the emergence of a real identity. We need to keep in mind the fact that this experiment makes sense only in the framework of a coherent territory whose geographical limits must be defined by overlapping criteria based on the logic of sustainable development. We should not forget that when we apply the term sustainable development to spatial planning, we explore four components, usually called the four pillars. The environmental pillar is often limited to energy issues; there is a consensus about the social pillar though we should bear in mind that it is not enough to ordain a balanced social mix to solve issues of exclusion; in times of crisis the economic pillar becomes an excuse for policy drift; the final one, the foundation of sustainable development is the cultural pillar, often forgotten though it is the one that makes sense of all the signs.

Conclusion

In the light of this short discussion on the origin and scope of the sensitive, conscious approach to landscape, we might say that the 'the landscape portal' constitutes a fantastic vector of shared and integrated reading of territory, of a shared identity which integrates the double objective of social and territorial cohesion.

What remains open is the question of how to initiate this raising of consciousness. It is a real political issue that the agents of spatial planning must take on board. We need to implement processes of local democracy and participation with the aim of enhancing the quality of life of all the people.

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PHILIPPE BRUN: LAND PLANNING IN SWITZERLAND – VISIONS AND REALITIES



Figure 1 Switzerland – 2636 communes

ABSTRACT

Do the particularities of Switzerland lead the country to follow a land planning process which differs from those of other European countries? To answer this question, this contribution will attempt first to show the principal characteristics of this small country where institutional compartmentalisation and power fragmentation make it hard to look forward at a national scale. Adducing examples of published work on land planning issues in Switzerland, it will then show that analysis and forward- looking propositions were published as early as the Thirties. But innovative ideas conflict with a normative and defensive vision of territory organisation. To re-open the debate a radically alternative territorial project is proposed.

Is Switzerland a 'Sonderfall' (special case)? This idea remains in the mind of many citizens. This argument is often invoked particularly by those opposed to integration into the European Union. Do its particularities lead the country to follow a land planning process which differs from other European countries? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to understand the country's particularities and how contemporary visions and realities of Swiss territory are constituted.

Switzerland: a small country of 7.7 million inhabitants, situated in the centre of Europe, strongly decentralised, made up of 26 cantons and 2636 municipalities (Figure 1).

A society based on concordance, with direct democracy, federalism and armed neutrality, three major linguistic regions and four national languages: these are its principal characteristics.

In mid-1937, at a time of economic crisis, the federation of workers in metallurgy and watchmaking and the employers' organisation signed the first collective convention establishing 'Labour Peace'. This first agreement of social accord establishes a new regulation system based on a conciliation committee, renunciation of strikes by the workers and lock-outs by the employers. This model still prevails in the country today. It is based on a negotiated approach to wage relations, with conflict only as a last resort.

In the same period, the socialist Left renounced confrontation with the conservative parties and entered government. From that time there has been concordance democracy in which principal political parties share power in the parliament and Federal Council. The seven federal counsellors (ministers) represent the principal political forces of the country level and hold the post of President of the Swiss Confederation, essentially ceremonial, in turn.

The Swiss Confederation, which celebrated its 700th anniversary in 1991, has been constituted over centuries by progressive aggregation of rural communities and cities, among them many already benefiting from charters in the Middle Ages. After the Napoleonic wars and the short-lived existence of a Helvetic Republic, most cantons adopted republican values. During the Sonderbund War of 1847, which set Catholic secessionist cantons and progressive ones at odds, the country came close to disintegration.

Today, equilibrium remains fragile. Each linguistic region is polarised by the dominant culture of the neighbouring country, Germany, France and Italy. The country remains heavily influenced by its local particularities. Although there have been several attempts to strengthen the central State, particularly supported by left movements, most have failed. Switzerland

is a country which remains predominantly rural. Cities which once dominated the countryside have lost their political power while the cantons have gained power. National identity has been built on the values of land, nature and landscape beauty. The farming lobby, representing just 4% of the active population, remains very powerful and maintains key influence in cantonal and federal parliaments. The protection of local interests and property ownership leads to repeated attempts to limit restrictions imposed by the rules of land planning.

The Federal Constitution of 1848 gives great autonomy to cantons and municipalities, so land planning institutions are characterised by extreme fragmentation of power. In the field of spatial organisation, the Swiss Confederation plays a coordinating role, leaving the competence of planning their territory to the cantons and municipalities.

In 1974, the Federal Houses adopted a first Federal Town and Country Planning Act. This Act was rejected in a popular referendum, because it was considered too restrictive and too centralist.

In 1979, the Federal Houses adopted a new formulation of the Federal Town and Country Planning Act. This one advocates 'measured land use'. The Act introduces the obligation on the Confederation to set out principles applicable to the whole national territory, for cantons to establish master plans and for the municipalities to establish local land use plans. It distinguishes building zones, agricultural zones and zones to be protected.

This Act, which strongly limits the influence of the Confederation in planning its own territory, will be completed through various essentially protectionist sectoral legislations, which relate to strictly delimited fields such as protection of water, forest and environment, and rural land property.

During the long period of the 'Glorious Thirties' the principal preoccupation was to contain the extension of urbanisation.

Though major parts of the population had become urban, until very recently, the proper existence of cities was not recognised in the Federal Constitution or the Federal Town and Country Planning Act.

So, as François Walter writes, 'the abandonment of the urban dimension and hesitancy of spatial policies contrast with the success of planning through specialised paths (such as planning of national roads, Rail 2000, the Mountain Investments Law, aid for innovation, agricultural policies, landscape protection, etc.). But for the rest, one is struck by the continual and flagrant under-estimation of the complexity of spatial realities'(1).

However, there was no lack of initiatives for promoting debate about the territorial development of Switzerland.

As early as 1933, Armin Meili, an architect and politician in Zurich, published *Weitdezentralisierte Grossstadt Schweiz* (Widely-decentralised City Switzerland) (2). To fight against the excessive development of cities, he proposed to prevent urban growth in the form of 'glove fingers' by developing middle range cities and agglomerations in the form of strictly delimited 'batches' of constructions, linked together by an efficient network of public transport, constituting a city of 6 million inhabitants. For the first time a vision of a future Switzerland appears. It aims to avoid the formation of metropolis and to preserve the identity of a network of historical cities and regional small towns.

In 1973, the Local-, Regional- and Country Planning Institute of the Federal Polytechnic School of Zürich proposed a debate about guiding principles for Swiss land planning. From a comparative analysis of nine scenarios, the principle of concentrated decentralisation was adopted. This principle recommends a network of middle-range cities covering the whole Swiss territory linked by efficient public transport. (3)

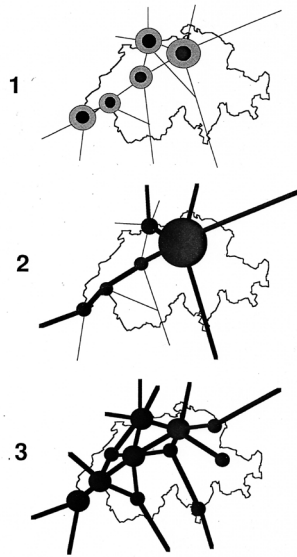


Figure 2
1. Withdrawal
2. Zurich metropole 3. Cities network

In 1996 for the first time, the Federal Council proposed a spatial strategy for the whole country. The problem was to recognise the metropolisation process developing worldwide and to take measures so that Switzerland would not be marginalised in the competition between big international cities. The Report on large outlines of Swiss territory organisation(4) recommends a multi-polar network of cities constituting by itself a metropolitan area able to compete with big European metropolis (Figure 2).

These attempts to develop spatial strategies at national level did not receive much interest in the media and population. The existing planning tools such as cantonal master plans and communal land use plans have been rolled out to the entire Swiss territory and applied according to local particularities. The urbanisation of the Swiss plateau and Alpine valleys has developed in a diffused form and without coherence, without a restrictive regulation system being put in place at national level.

At the same time, the metropolisation and urban concentration process has run its course around the main cities of the country: Zurich, Basel and Geneva.

With the intention of maintaining a balance between the different regions of the country and to avoid excessive urban concentration, the Federal Council defined in 2004 a Policy for Agglomerations (5), aiming to maintain and improve the quality of life in agglomerations and to reinforce their competitiveness. With the goals of sustainable development in mind, the Federal

Council now recommends the development of public transport on agglomeration scale, mild mobility, stopping urban sprawl and densification of urban zones.

In this case, the Federal government initiated an interventionist policy insofar as agglomerations are put in competition through the promise of co-financing their transport infrastructures if they realise a project meeting defined criteria and objectives.

More recently, following the proposal of Federal Office for Spatial Planning, the Federal government, cantons and communes have signed an agreement concerning the elaboration of a common Swiss territory project. For the first time this project should provide a global framework as the basis for coordination of territorial development between public authorities. This agreement notes in particular that localism – internal frontiers between cantons and municipalities – is an obstacle to harmonious territorial development, that cities are not recognised at institutional and political level and that traditional tools of city planning are not efficient. Initiated in 2006 via consultation of a college of international experts and organising various regional forums, the debate on this project seems today to have run out of steam.

The work of the Studio-Basel of Federal Polytechnic School of Zurich published in 2006 as Switzerland – An urban portrait(6) proposes a statistical, phenomenological and perceptive analysis of Switzerland. It establishes a relation between identity and the mental representation of territory.

Criticising the 'official' representation which defines territory through its agglomerations and creating a distinction between urban territory and 'the rest', this work proposes a typology of five categories of territories: metropolitan regions, cities networks, calm zones, Alpine resorts and Alpine wilderness.

This analysis is based on three hypotheses:

- The whole country is urbanised. The distinction between urban and rural territories is no longer relevant.
- Swiss territories have developed at different speeds; the differences are growing. They represent potential: possibilities and opportunities.
- It is possible to define Switzerland as a country with five speeds, a model based on differences.

Referring to Henri Lefebvre's theory on urban space, the authors propose three notions for the analysis: networks, frontiers and differences. The combination of these three criteria allows them to determine different forms of urban space and their expressions. 'Neither size, nor density, nor heterogeneity give the city its particularity, but the quality of active elements and everyday interactions'.

Another point of view on the future of Swiss territory appears in the work *Stadtland Schweiz* (literally City-country Switzerland) (7) published in 2005 by the Foundation Avenir Suisse, a think-tank of the largest multi-national firms of the country. This work notes that, for a long time, the three metropolitan regions of Zurich, Basel and Geneva/ Lausanne have been the three gravitation centres of the country, strategic poles in which more than half the Swiss population lives. National and internal institutional frontiers no longer correspond with actual functional and multi-polar spaces. Cantons are an obstacle to the constitution of large agglomerations which could compete on an international level. For the authors, the traditional distinction between cities and countryside is no longer relevant. The concept of the 'City- country' expresses this insight. Old questions such as 'where is the centre?', 'where is the periphery?', 'where is the city?', 'where is the countryside?' are no longer relevant, particularly in the global economy. Contemporary tools of city and country planning are outdated. Today, none of the metropolitan regions in Switzerland is large enough to defend its place in international competition.

To stimulate the debate, Avenir Suisse commissioned a Dutch agency to visualise the spatial situation of Switzerland in an unconventional way and elaborate scenarios for the future: Urban sprawl, Highway cities, Urban nodes, Border cities and Super-Zurich.

In its final synthesis, this document suggests in particular promoting density, concentrating infrastructure, promoting co-operation or defining strategies of economic and fiscal incentives. But the main preoccupation is clear: maintaining the competitive capacity of the Swiss economy. Beyond that there is no innovative proposition and no spatial project.

These attempts to promote debate do not seem to have generated the desired feedback. From this time, the worldwide economic crisis has cooled ambitions. Big infrastructure projects have been reduced or deferred. Although Switzerland has been less affected than neighbouring countries, the present preoccupation is saving rather than undertaking grand projects.

A recent Federal initiative completed this morose picture. 'For the Landscape', promoted by the ecology and socialist parties, requires in particular slowing down urbanisation and the 'concreting' process in the country by stopping all development of building zones across the entire national territory. This initiative reflects a normative conception of land planning, a defensive and conservative position in the face of pressure to urbanise. Compelled to give an answer, the Federal Committee, refusing a general blocking of building zones in the country, proposes small modifications to the Federal Act that will not bring about any important change in the present situation.

So Switzerland is not a 'Sonderfall' (special case); this country, like neighbouring countries, encounters difficulties in controlling the organisation of its territory. All stakeholders agree that institutional partitioning of the territory is a major obstacle. A forward-looking national debate about the future of territory is slow to emerge.

A way to promote the debate would be to propose a radical alternative, tackling taboos and old certainties.

Such a project would mean taking into account relations between economy, space and society. Territory today is characterised by economic and social division of space. Social differentiation and segregation processes cause fragmentation of urban space. Cities are at the centre of development and the transformation of the territory. They constitute the motor of urbanisation. A territorial project for Switzerland should not only recognise the role of cities but distinguish what binds them, divides them and differentiates them.

Another central problematic is the ageing of population. The Baby Boom generation is now entering old age; the proportion of older people in the population will significantly increase in future. On the other hand, the active population will begin to decline in a few years. The return of retired people from the periphery to the centre is a confirmed trend. It is likely that we will see a new phenomenon: development of abandoned residential stock

on the urban periphery. This probability is currently ignored or underestimated. Consequently, any forward view of territory must take into account a stronger trend towards imbalance between young, rich urban regions on the one hand and old, poor peripheral regions on the other.

Finally, to bring depth to the debate, this project should discuss the values which inform our vision of territory. And alternative project would therefore propose in particular:

- criticism of 'levelling' federalism
- abolition of communal autonomy with regard to land use – recognition of difference and the complexity of spatial realities
- the Right to the City (8)
- restriction of land ownership in favour of the common good.

And + that is a project that has yet to be undertaken...

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JOAN CAFFREY, ENDA CONWAY, PHILIP JONES: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLANNING PROFESSION IN IRELAND

The Irish Planner

In Ireland, planning is a profession in its own right. The Irish Planning Institute represents the profession at home and in Europe. Full membership requires a recognised third level planning qualification: thus architects and engineers are not eligible for full corporate membership unless they have obtained the appropriate postgraduate qualification in planning as well. Similarly they are not eligible for senior planning posts in state and public authorities. This is a similar situation to other planning associations in Europe.

The majority of planners in Ireland are employed in local authority planning departments (city and county councils). Others are employed at state and semi-state level, in research and education, and as self-employed consultants. Entrants to the profession come from a wide variety of basic disciplines, including architecture, engineering, geography, economics, politics and social science. This broadly-based background provides the profession with the comprehensive range of allied disciplines so essential to cope with the complexity of today's planning problems.

The Irish Planning Institute is born

The Irish Planning Institute was launched in 1975. At that stage, the primary legislation in planning – the Local Government Planning and Development Act of 1963 – had been in existence for over a decade. There were many issues to be addressed, but the professional planners did not have a collective voice to participate in guiding the direction of the evolving procedures and administrative practices. At the time, many of the planning sections of local authorities were dominated and staffed by civil engineers or architects; planners were not employed or were employed only at the junior levels.

Planning education was at a very embryonic stage, and for the initial years there was no planning education in Irish educational establishments. The first formally educated planners trained in Ireland graduated from the College of Technology in Dublin and from one of the two universities in Dublin, University College Dublin, in 1969. Prior to this, those wishing to obtain a planning qualification had either to take the external examinations of the UK Royal Town Planning Institute, or attend a planning course generally in Britain or America.

As the number of graduates increased into the 1970s, and entered into employment, it was clear that there was no organisation to which the new planners could belong which would also protect their professional status and improve the image of planning generally. It soon became obvious to many planners concerned about the future development of the profession that this could be best advanced through the establishment of a formal body. Arising from this, a small group of planners came together to set up the Institute. A Memorandum of Association for the Institute was prepared for registration under the Companies Acts. The Institute was registered as a 'limited company'. The objectives of the Institute were set out in detail and included a comprehensive range of specific aims to be pursued.

Prior to this in 1970 the 'Association of Physical Planners' (APPI) was set up by Enda Conway. Membership included all professionals then employed on planning work in local authorities; the association's mandate was to represent its members' interests in the evolving planning practice field. This association pursued many relevant issues with the Minister for Local Government, local Planning Authorities and Education Authorities relating to employment of planners, recognition of qualifications and furtherance of good planning practice.

It was also actively involved in the Education for Urban and Regional Planners Review Reports in 1973 and 1976, and made submissions to several bodies relating to planning. When the proposal to form the Institute was mooted, the association merged with the founder group in 1975.

For many years there had been a 'Southern' Section of the Irish Branch of the Royal Town Planning Institute in the Republic of Ireland (there is also a Northern Ireland section), but it was felt that the Irish planners needed an independent and autonomous representative body to play an active part in the evolution of planning in our country.

Staffing levels in virtually all the planning authorities were seriously inadequate. Some authorities did not have a single qualified planner. There was no accredited access to the (then) Department of the Environment on such issues. The planning appeals system was considered unsatisfactory and in need of an overhaul. The public image of planning was declining and the judiciary were sceptical of the constitutionality of the planning legislation

Early activities

The newly elected Council set about its tasks with enthusiasm. In the early years of the new legislation 'planning' was well regarded and seen as a welcomed addition to our living environment. Sadly, however, this welcome began to weaken. The Planning Act contained mandatory as well as optional provisions. In all of the 87 planning authorities only Development Control and Development Plan-making provision was activated. Unfortunately none of the optional provisions relating to conservation, preservation or special amenity area orders were initiated. The result was an evolving public perception of a negative and restrictive activity, emanating from widely publicised examples of refusals for planning permission for some high profile developments.

One of the first priorities of the Institute was to foster good communications with the elected representatives of the community. Conferences were organised dealing with current relevant planning issues at which elected representatives, allied professionals, experts in specialised topics and public authority planning staff participated. Public lectures on topical issues were organised. Communication lines were established with the relevant governmental departments, An Bord Pleanála, allied Professional Bodies and An Foras Forbartha, the National Institute for Physical Planning and Construction Research.

Particular attention was devoted to fostering relationships with the schools of planning in University College Dublin and Queens University Belfast. UCD was visited and accredited by the Institute in 1986. Thanks to the good offices of Pat Branniff and the late John Greer, regular Council visits took place to Queens University Belfast. Inter-student meetings between the schools were organised and Institute student awards given.

To serve the membership regular newsletters were issued. An annual Journal 'Pleanáil' was published. A Rural Forum was established and an official list of planning consultants was published. An Institute logo was also chosen through a design competition with Dublin's College of Art and Design. Regional branches of the Institute were established to service the Institute's growing membership.

During the 1980s the Institute formally approached the Southern Section membership of the Irish Branch of the Royal Town Planning Institute with the objective of the amalgamation of the two bodies. However this initiative was rejected.

European involvement

It was an objective of the Institute from its inception to expand its interest into the European Community. Since 1978 town planners in the European Community were working to promote the separate identity of the town planning profession. A liaison committee of planners in private practice in member countries existed with the objective of harmonisation and securing legal registration and the right to practice and style themselves as Town Planners. However the realisation that a specific Directive for town planners would not be forthcoming forced the liaison committee to refocus its role. Subsequently the European Council of Town Planners emerged in November 1985.

The Institute's representative to the European Council for a number of years was Joan Caffrey. Joan was president of the IPI from 1983 to 1985. She was elected President of the ECTP for the period 1989 to 1991. During her involvement in the Council she made a very significant contribution to the advancement of the Council. Joan contributed to the making of the 'Charter, International Agreement and Declaration by the National Institutes and Associations of Professional Town Planners within the Economic Community'. Joan also contributed to 'The Field and Nature of the Professional Planner's Activities'. She also compiled the 'Vademecum' (directory) and represented the Council at conferences and seminars in Member States.

Amongst the achievements contributed to by Joan were:

- Liaison with and input into the European Commission DGXI (Environment) and DGIII (Internal Market) in respect of a variety of European Directives such as the Review of the Town Planning Profession in the Member States.
- Securing consultative status with the Council of Europe in relation to reviews and publications.
- Achieving an active liaison with the Association of European Schools of Planning, representing over 80 educational establishments throughout Europe.
- The Irish Planning Institute achieved inclusion as the first Irish professional body to satisfy the criteria set out in the 1991 European Community Directive for the 'Mutual Recognition of Higher Education Qualifications in Europe'.
- An ECTP partnership with the European Commission DGXVI (Directorate-General for Regional Policy) for an Europe-wide annual competition, the 'European Urban and Regional Planning Awards'.
- Inclusion of the ECTP in the list of expert bodies whom the Commission consults in relation to its initiatives for investment in urban areas, transportation, cross-border integration, enhancement of regional diversity and identity.

Joan has been followed, over the years, by other outstanding Irish planners who have served as delegates to the ECTP General Assemblies, and as members of the ECTP Executive Committee, including Ciarán Tracey and the late John Greer as Vice-Presidents.

Moving to the New Century and Beyond

Within Ireland, the Institute grew from strength to strength into the 1990s. Membership burgeoned, and new categories of membership – graduate and affiliate - were added to the main membership category (Corporate Membership). Most of the students from the one professional planning course through the 1990s – the Masters Degree in Regional and Urban Planning at UCD - joined the IPI and many went on to play their part in the organisation of the Institute.

The Institute's role was also increasingly being recognised in official channels. Through active liaison with parliamentarians, the IPI had a seminal influence on the planning legislation in 1990 which set out changes to the compensation provisions, and also on the development of the EU Environmental Impact Assessment regime into Irish domestic law.

As the turn of the century took place, a new development for the Institute was public relations. For many years, it had been seen that the public mainly saw planning in negative terms, as a means of opposing development, and the Institute began to use its resources to foster a greater public awareness of the value of planning both in environmental and developmental terms. Under Philip Jones, the then President, the Institute started to employ professional Public Relations specialists, and increasingly was seen in the public media as the voice of planning, contributing to public debate and in many cases setting the agenda. It is interesting that, in the early 2000/2001 period, the Institute publicly put forward radical proposals for intervention in the planning process that are only now, ten years later, coming into force, including betterment taxes and greater alignment between national, regional and local plans. The Institute was also able to demonstrate that, while there was endemic corruption in public life, including corruption in planning that was under investigation by a series of judicial tribunals, this was not as a result of the activities of professional planners, but of politicians (mainly local or municipal councillors).

The Institute itself also increased its own internal resources, with the appointment, in 2002, of a part-time administrator to run its members' services. This was followed, in 2006, with the provision of its own dedicated office in Dublin city centre, and a full time administrator. In addition, it combined with the professional institutes representing engineers, architects, landscape architects and chartered surveyors in a collaborative think-tank called the Urban Forum, and used the combined influence of all of the built professionals in Ireland to advance concepts in urban development and sustainability, influencing government policy in this area.

In the education area, the development boom (or perhaps bubble) led to an increase in demand for planners, and two new professional planning courses were established, one at Dublin Institute of Technology and at University College Cork, both of which were quickly accredited by the Institute.

Quo Vadis?

As Ireland now settles into, or perhaps stumbles into, a recession, the role for coherent and evidenced-based planning is all the more crucial. The fact that the planning profession is strong, and has a vibrant and active professional Institute to represent and support it, can only be to the benefit of the country and its people as the years go on. (One can only hope that our political masters see it this way too!)

Joan Caffrey (IPI President 1983-1985, ECTP President 1989-1991)

Enda Conway (IPI President 1977-1979)

Philip Jones (IPI President 1999-2001)

MICHEL CANTAL-DUPART: SPATIAL PLANNING: FROM SANITARY PLAN TO THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

To define town planning as the urban aspect of ecology is to assimilate it with the history of the human race in its territories. The ecosystem in which we live is not divided up into rural areas and urban spaces. There is an interpenetration of territories but planners often manage to simplify their complexities.

On the maps that are sold to help you to plan an itinerary, colour coding is significant: built up areas are shown in black, roads in red, rivers, lakes and streams in blue, forests, groves and thickets in green and agricultural zones in white. Just like in the case of unchartered territories, there are also open spaces which are ready to be swallowed up by whoever seeks to devour them.

Town planning is related to the life of people in the cities where they live. There is however a disconnect between urban projects which give priority to shape, form and living space and those which make the choice in favour of lived-in space. However, there is no urban composition of cities where anthropology and politics are absent.

In France, this led to the creation of 'large housing estates' also termed social cities, whose model is a determining factor in all major urban areas. The reverse of this trend is fuelled by the popular desire to have a thatched cottage with a heart, which can be seen in the surrounding areas of our cities, which are also dotted with increasing numbers of suburban, pavilion residences for a long while now, and which are devoid of any heart.

The French Town Planners Society was founded a century ago, in 1911, bringing together professionals with projects. I don't really want to rewrite the encyclopaedia of the city that was penned in 1975 by Leonardo Benevolo entitled 'la storia della città' (the history of the city), but I do think it is absolutely vital to revisit these urban innovations which punctuate the lives of town dwellers.

A Saga of Cities – From a Closed City to an Open City

The history of a Neolithic settlement on the eve of the Iron Age is full of lessons on land planning. The occupation of knolls and hillocks, the position of the settlement in relation to the river, their distance from it, is all determined by factors such as the line of vision of fires and listening to various sounds. This type of organization is similar to that found on all sites, be they European or African.

All primitive urban sites have a certain sense which anchors them in this context. In Egypt, Amenophis IV (Akhenaton) decided to abandon Thebes in favour of Tel el-Armana (1350 BC). Regardless of the modernity of its urban organization, his city fell prey to the ravages of sand shortly after his death only because it lacked cultural mooring.

The architect Hippodamos of Miletus sketched out a chess-board design which completely ignores geography. He thus invented a 'colonial' system for the city which makes it prosperous and flourishing. Rome adopted an even wiser choice by nestling between its hills and thus was assured of eternity in architectural terms.

The cities which really impregnate themselves in geography are those which were created during the Arab conquest: Cairo (973), Kairouan (670) and Córdoba (711). These are proliferating cities which cling to their sites like ivy on a wall, solidifying their portals, their monuments as well as the sense of the city itself.

The Middle Ages reintroduced the cult of the vacuum, in other words, the city square. Whether it is covered, open, or a cathedral, these great market squares served to organize public life whose beauty can be seen in the country houses. These cities are under a pariage or condominium contract (paréage, in Mediaeval French) and are seen in the south-west of France, in the south of England, in the Piedmont region of Italy and also in the Czech Republic. However, these are closed cities, whether for military or trade reasons. The desire to become a citizen here was compulsorily tied to an initiation process just like trading itself was tied to toll charges.

The modern city is a city which opens up to the outside and this is the first demonstration it gives of solidarity, which in turn is the primary principle for sustainable development. Frederic de Montefeltro created the Piazza del Mercatole, an open city without walls, on the road to Rome, in the middle of the 15th century in Urbino. It was an event.

When Charles V ransacked Rome in 1527, Michelangelo created one of the most beautiful perspectives for the city by rebuilding the Capitol. This art that embraces perspective which gives order to cities demonstrates symbolism at its best. At the beginning of the 17th century, Sixtus V set them up between the grand basilicas, the outstanding Roman monuments and the Quirinal which was his palace. Giulio Mazarin who spent his entire childhood in Rome surrounded by these urban constructions, tried by all possible means to make Lorenzo Bernini come to France in order to set up a baroque school in the city for the glory of Paris.

Le Nôtre drew his inspiration for the planning and building of Versailles from Rome and from the Villa Lante de Vignole in Bagnaia, close to Viterbo. The symbolic character of form and shape was enjoying its hour of glory.

Later on, colonial cities copied the metropolises; they only added gigantism to the original structure. Mexico, which is a closed city, is built around the immense Zocalo square (it measures 250 metres on the side), which is now called Constitution Square, and is the political heart of both Mexico and the Mexicans.

The Age of Enlightenment served to open up the city. Here, the role of the French Encyclopaedia is decisive. Under the guidance of Diderot and Alembert, a large number of scientists and persons who possessed great knowledge in their particular area of specialisation participated in the writing of this immense work where the multidisciplinary aspects of this achievement were closely interwoven with specialised knowledge. In the past, dictionaries or encyclopaedias were compiled by just one man. However, the vastness of this type of project was commendable but limited because of the limited the sources of knowledge. The work makes very little reference to land planning and the organization of cities, rather it points up a certain type of mind-set which is obvious in Bordeaux, Nancy and Lisbon.

In Bordeaux in 1730, Jacques-Angel Gabriel designed the plan for the Place de la Bourse, in the centre of the perimeter that lies between the fortifications of the Trompette castle and the historical port of Bordeaux. He created a neighbourhood which he 'opened up' to the world (1730), respecting the right to strike and setting up a concentration of services. He started work on an urban ecosystem which he reproduced at the Place de la Concorde in 1753.

Nancy is a medieval city which is composed of the old city and the new one and both are inscribed in their own particular contexts. In order to build the administrative city that Hérre was asked to do, he had to create a third city. He chose to recreate La Place Stanislas (1751) and its surrounding area in the foul-smelling ditches which separate the two cities. He thus created the image of the city.

In 1855, an earthquake razed the city of Lisbon to the ground. The Marquis de Pombal who was Prime Minister at the time, quite in keeping with the spirit of the French encyclopaedists, replaced the perimeter with the Praça do Comércio. In so doing, he followed the example set by Bordeaux, a city which opens up to the entire planet.

One can never look long enough at these cities that came about during the Age of Enlightenment. These cities open up to the outside world by effectively obliterating their walled in aspect to the point where they no longer appear to be fenced in.

The 'Plan of the Artists,' ordered during the time of the French Revolution achieved this type of openness for Paris just by applying the lessons that were learned from these cities.

However, the industrial city, the ergonomic city seeks to combine work and productivity. The English model of the city of Manchester is repeatedly used in all mining cities in Europe: it resulted in the construction of boring mining cottages.

In 1825 an alternative was proposed, albeit not a very forceful one, which spoke about people at work and their habitat – this was thanks to Fourier and his phalanstery project. The ecological vision was beginning to be visible through a vision based on hygienics. However, all efforts that were made in this area at that point in time were doomed to fail, especially with regard to the city of La Réunion that Victor Considerant wanted to build in Texas.

Nevertheless this dream existed. In 1850 the Guise cooperative in Picardy was built thanks to the devotion of Jean-Baptiste Godin. Here town planning comes alive. Housing, bandstand, school, theatre and swimming pool are all modelled on the Place de la Bourse in Bordeaux. The perspective looking towards the Place d'Armes in the city centre is a real addition. The relation with spaces and gardens around the river Oise highlights a great example of town planning that was disparaged for too long because of its paternalist and especially secular undertones. This is a place which exudes tolerance and was self-managed until 1968.

The end of the century imposed monumental town planning where form was given due importance. This can be seen in each of the following World Fairs: 1851 in London, Crystal Palace, in 1889 in Paris, the Eiffel Tower, 1900 in Paris, the underground railway and the Seine.

In 1834, a cholera epidemic spread through Europe. In Nantes, Doctor Ange Guépin and a fellow doctor named Eugene Bonamy developed the habit of noting the hygienic conditions in the residences of their patients. In 1835 Dr. Guépin wrote a book in which he made a connection between the unhygienic conditions that prevailed in the residences of his patients and the state of health of the occupants ('Nantes in the 19th century – Industrial and Moral Topographic Statistics'). However, the university did not accept the findings set out in this book, as it was believed that disease was the will of God. Ange Guépin was deprived of his post at the University, and then chose to go into politics for the good of the people of Nantes.

It is important to note that this first treatise on epidemiology is a determining factor for all researchers who work for public health and are unable to do so without a contextual approach.

In 1854, John Snow completed the same type work after a cholera epidemic took hold in London.

It was much later – in 1922 – when faced with the devastation caused by the Spanish influenza epidemic that the Committee of Hygiene was created, a forerunner of the World Health Organization.

All these efforts contributed to the cleaning up of the environment. It is obvious that each one of these advances gained momentum in view of the urgency of the situation. The same could be said of the town planning situation.

The Spirit of Town Planning or the Humanistic City – A City for People

French town planning was initiated for Paris in 1909, that is to say 74 years after the failed effort of Doctor Guépin. One more century would be necessary to enable the move towards a sustainable type of town planning.

Competition in Europe made this a necessity: Sweden had promulgated a law dating back to 1874 on the need to rebuild cities, the Netherlands had imposed town-planning rules from 1901, and everything accelerated when, in 1909, London adopted the Housing & Town Planning Act. France was of course not likely to stand by and do nothing!

It was the mayor of Neuville sur Oise, Honoré Cornudet de Chaumettes, parliamentary representative for Pontoise, who made it his driving theme and in 1909 drew up the basic elements of a law.

It took him 10 years to be able to impose his point of view on those concerned and therefore oblige the communes where there were more than 10,000 inhabitants to draw up a town- planning scheme. It is widely accepted that if a decision has to be made, an emergency situation is always required to speed things along: a war and its attendant disasters, where cities have to be rebuilt and especially when important numbers of the population come surging towards the metropolitan area. This is known as the 'Law on Land Planning, Embellishment, Extension'.

Planning, which is much less than a tool for governance, is the response in times of crisis.

That is interesting! Project bearers also become more effective during crisis times. Louis Bonnier, an architect, whose style is a link between art nouveau and modernism, drew up the first plan for the extension of Paris between 1911 and 1913. He proposed moving infrastructure to the fortifications which were abandoned and to transform the areas released into gardens and public places.

He was inspired by a British idea, which claimed that garden cities could be instrumental in eradicating tuberculosis. In 1914 he helped the mayor of Suresnes, Henri Sellier, to acquire the land required to build the first garden city in the Paris region. In the same year, with a view to making his knowledge available on a wider basis, he created the Higher University for Public Art, which, in 1919, became the School of Urban Advanced Studies at the insistence of Marcel Poëte, who taught about the evolution of cities and Paris in particular, and thanks to the efforts of Henri Sellier, mayor of Suresnes.

Among these project bearers, there was Henri Prost, who, in 1911 created the French Company of Town Planners with the assistance of architects, such as Eugène Hénard, Léon Jaussely, Marcel Auburtin and included representatives who hailed from other professions: engineers, landscape designers.

These first town-planners got their training in the cities and territories of the French colonies and thought that it was necessary to pass on this art and this science to others. Therefore, the first review on town planning was founded in 1919 known as 'the Urban Life' by Marcel Poëte and Henri Sellier with a view to making these ideas known to a wider public.

These architects brought reactive projects, created a school, and legislation had to put an end to the effects of the war.

The initial effects of this were felt immediately and in 1924 a development plan was drawn up for all the following communes: Courneuve, Le Bourget, Dugny and Stains. The authors were Auburtin, the architect and Raoul Dautry, graduate of the École polytechnique. Their plan proposed to resolve the workers' housing problem – this was social reformism in a placated society.

Thought should have been devoted to solving the question of the fortifications that were still there: 'the zone' and the excluded parts of the population created slums in space. It was then decided to create a green belt area; it was bordered by cheap residences on the Paris side and also had a sports field.

Later on there would also be the ring road which is the dividing line between Paris and its suburbs.

In 1930 a law was passed which imposed a compulsory Land Planning scheme for the Paris region. In 1935 this provision was extended to include those communes which were organized into a regional grouping for the purposes of town planning.

The City becomes Functional thus Exacerbating Exclusion

However, the realities of the industrial city held great interest for modern architects who assembled for the International Congress on Modern Architecture, led by Le Corbusier.

In 1933 they went to Athens to work out a Charter on the organization of a functional city. It proposed to separate the following four functions: life, work, leisure activities and transport infrastructure.

Although the objective of the functional city was interdependence and solidarity, it had set itself up for exclusion.

In 1935, in Drancy the first large functional housing development was built by Lods and Beaudouin, the architects responsible for this construction. It is called 'la Muette'! (English translation - 'the silent one'!)

Henri Prost and Raoul Dautry's plan is, in reality, a real poetic work of art, but it proposed a type of territorial organization on the basis of urban motorways and bypass roads which responded to the needs of a burgeoning automobile industry, which, for a very long while exerted its influence on all town and land planning activities. Everything is now in place for a radio-concentric and a road city.

Yet once again, there is an emergency situation! The bombing of the Renault factories in Boulogne-Billancourt in March 1942 was necessary to accommodate the 'Délégation Générale à l'Équipement National'.

The concept here is a simple one: it encourages the return to a rural lifestyle in order to escape overcrowding. Decentralisation of the factories is just a pretext. The by-passes highlighted in the Prost plan are used to counter unemployment and the idea of satellite towns is given due prominence.

In 1941 Le Corbusier published the Athens Charter instituting the principle of space sharing. It was entitled 'the functional city'.

In 1943 a law on town planning was passed - it became a State affair and this principle remained unchanged for the next forty years. The law sought to put an end to dilapidated and crumbling structures and other similar obstructions, which were detrimental to public health. It instituted the principle of zoning, which was like a curse for the territories concerned. Specialists however tried to make the best of a bad situation. The city was splitting up into different parts.

The Carefree Thirty Glorious Years

In 1947 the 'Direction Générale de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat' was created and because of it, the law of 1943 remained unchanged. From a territorial point of view, nothing was in place to take advantage of the opportunities that arose because of the thirty year post-war boom. These were the years of growth from 1945, which was the end of the Second World War, until 1973, the year of the first oil crisis and the awareness for the need of a territorial alternative that followed in its wake.

The advent of the fifth Republic turned the idea of this type of passive town planning on its head.

In December 1958 the Plan d'Aménagement et de l'Organisation for the Paris Region was launched. It was future-oriented town planning, which bore the brunt of a rapidly expanding automobile industry. In any event the political division of the Paris region weighed heavily in the balance when it was a question of choice with regard to the various projects.

The Loi d'Orientation Foncière was promulgated in December 1967 and proposed the rules for town planning based on two documents: les Schemas d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme and the Plans d'Occupation des Sols. However, these tools were not clearly understood in the first place, and were probably also badly drafted, which could explain why they were badly executed. Road transport was given high priority, the occupation of the grounds only took care of regulations and zoning, and very little concern was given to regional planning.

At this point in time therefore, districts of exception and districts of exclusion came about and a two-speed city was born where shared powers pulled in opposite directions.

The events of May 1968 had a direct impact on town planning. Many universities created ad hoc institutions. The old town planning institute was regenerated and housed within the University of Paris XII in Creteil; Pierre Merlin, the first director of the IAURP created the French Institute for Town Planning within the University of Paris VIII-Vincennes. The work of the university is based on transfer of knowledge, but an important part of its know-how escapes this principle! It was at the insistence of the old SFU that project workshops were created within certain Academic Institutes. Those which responded to these criteria grouped together in 1984 under the name of APEREAU ('Association for the Promotion of Teaching and Research in Town Planning').

The Long Road leading to Cultural and Sustainable Town Planning

In 1982, Hubert Dubedout, mayor of Grenoble, drew up a report on the excluded districts, which, according to him, took approximately ten years to come about, and even then, it was because these districts responded to the battering they received by becoming violent.

In parallel, urban experts made known their point of view in an open letter published in the press. Roland Castro and Michel Cantal-Dupart were put in charge of what became known as operation 'Suburbs 89' by the President of the Republic via the Prime Minister. Their first intervention was based on urban reintegration of the major housing development complexes and they proposed a strategy for Greater Paris.

Districts are transformed, cultural upheavals mobilize suburban towns which create an association, but most important of all, the privileges given to new towns were abolished.

But, as was the case for the Dubedout mission, the means were sporadically available only when the districts were marginalised because of the turmoil and upheaval in which they were caught up.

In 1988, all the projects which took care of the various aspects of these difficult districts were regrouped within a single structure known as 'la Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville'.

All efforts were now related to the urban renovation of the so called sensitive districts. Politics tended towards solidarity, and the amount of financial aid was progressively increased from one financial year to another until the setting up of the 'Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine (ANRU) became a reality. The financing processes were being worked out, the renovation mechanisms were being improved, town planning was becoming a key subject, but those projects which sought to ban exclusion through better urban integration were the exception!

The SRU law (Loi relative à la solidarité et au renouvellement urbains) passed on December 13th 2000 introduced the notion of greater solidarity, which is a prerequisite for sustainable development and it also seeks to evolve the concepts such as 'zones' and 'density'.

All was now in place for major changes in the way the city was planned. It is with particular reference to Paris that the process was moving ahead.

The inconsistencies of fragmented governance were amplified by the decentralisation laws and this was particularly visible in the Paris region. A political consensus was taking shape to visualise a more effective land planning operation. These were narrow ideas because active intercommunal structures were thinking in terms of administrative units that resemble the petals of a flower which would give Paris its equilibrium, whereas those in the departments or in the region were rather in favour of a transfer of responsibilities

This movement is international and started in Rio in 1992 during the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development – the city is not really at the centre of the discussion. The World Summit on Sustainable Development took place in Johannesburg in 2002 to evaluate the results of Rio. Finally, the Kyoto Protocol, implemented since 2005 is essential for the city to participate in the fight against climate change.

However this question remains posed - it was first posed in 1983 by François Mitterrand and again in 2007 by Nicolas Sarkozy. Meanwhile the mayors have already experimented with decentralisation, the limits of which they now perceive with clarity. The President of the Republic launched the idea of a Greater Paris at the time of his election in 2007. The process which he has set up is associated with a planning logic: first comes the project, followed by governance and the institutions. He has set out the idea of simultaneous studies being carried out on the city in the wake of Kyoto and the 'Greater

Paris in the urban area of Paris' which he has entrusted to 10 teams of architects of international renown who are extremely skilled in matters pertaining to town planning.

One is fully aware of the creative genius that architects possess to give a megalomaniac response to a problem posed in these terms. It is at this point that there is a change. The idea of having a team lays the foundation for all the work that now needs to be done.

No ideal city, no satellite city and no new city will ever be able to implement, in just one place, all the solutions which were not able to be implemented in the complex city. The teams which are now constituted are made up of more than 500 multidisciplinary specialists. Their answers show that they are against the idea of a functional city and they are viscerally against the idea of zoning which they roundly denounce:

the city will be rebuilt on itself, the land reserves have been pinpointed, more extension of agricultural land which has become a necessity for local food supplies, no by-passes, ring roads or motorways which encumber the peripheral areas of the cities. An alternative must be provided, an interlinking network of city transport, a more interdependent city which develops without leaving aside certain districts, an eco-responsible city in other words, which encourages its inhabitants to adopt a more economic behaviour and to cultivate a more civic mentality.

An overall vision is necessary which deals with themes like the valleys of the Seine River.

There is another point of view which strangely enough incorporates all the points of view expressed by these ten teams.

They have come together in the International Workshop for Greater Paris. Their projects would ineluctably involve the passing of a law, the setting up of another type of governance and obviously, a place where they could exchange their know-how. The elected regional authorities, the departments and the majority of the communes are very conscious of this problem. A broad consensus is being formed to make it possible to realise these changes in the city under democratic conditions. This is a phase which opens up prospects on this long road which leads to an objective which is dear to my heart – it is 'the city of rights' i.e. the sustainable development city for its inhabitants and their children.

Michel CANTAL-DUPART July 2010

PAULO V. D. CORREIA: SPATIAL PLANNING CHALLENGES IN A WORLD OF CHANGING PARADIGMS

The evolution of planning theory and practice in Europe throughout the 20th century is, to a great extent, determined by the challenges brought to the planning process by a changing and increasingly globalised world in which new paradigms about the roles of the public administration and its accountability, the involvement of stakeholders in urban development and sustainability, amongst others, have been introducing new scopes and visions.

The understanding of these changes in Europe and of their consequences for the planning profession is widely described in the literature. Different cross-interpretations of the underpinnings of these changes have been presented, not only taking into account the wide variety of planning issues and planning systems which exist in Europe, but also the different approaches that have been adopted, their outcomes and lessons learnt.

Throughout the 20th century, planning approaches to the development of society – some of them visionary – have evolved from urban design to land-use planning and to the integration of these into development strategies which support policies, programmes and key projects: spatial planning.

Focusing upon the interests of society as a whole, considering a city or a region as an entity, and thinking in the longer term are indeed great challenges, which require a distinctive approach from other disciplines. Planning is therefore an increasingly political process, which aims to balance public and private interests, to solve conflicting demands on space, development strategies and actions, to manage spatial change or conservation and to support political decision-making, towards the achievement of social consensus.

Over the 20th century the European population has become urban, concentrating in expanding planned cities and city networks, based on voluntary public-led processes and to rationales which did not necessarily translate spatial social

policies. The urban policies have been complementary to other modes of social intervention and, to some extent, revealing of the spatial dysfunctions of such actions.

The decline of labour-intensive industry, inner-city problems, industrial unemployment and social exclusion together with the decline of the welfare state have brought new challenges to planning. However, these are no longer the shortening of the distances between social classes in space, but rather the lessening of social and economic fractures which result from spatial disruptions and exclusion, which can only be overcome with the involvement of institutional stakeholders and improved citizenship.

In countries where the Modern Movement has had a stronger influence, planning has been one of the roots of social segregation. Indeed, in large urban projects, the relationship of the new districts to the existing city – often outnumbering it – has led to large mono-functional urban areas. These new urban districts were often located according to land availability and financial limitations, thus introducing physical obstacles, urban cleavages or connection distances to the existing urban areas, which enhanced their exclusion. Transportation, social facilities, shopping and networks were relatively neglected when compared to the existing city. Finally the 'quality of built-up areas' has not lasted.

The rules of the real estate market, together with a lack of leadership on the part of public administrations, have increased the number of spatially segregated areas, in spite of a planning 'myth' which attempted to erase social differences through allegedly unified styles and ways of life.

Urban expansion has given way to urban conservation and renewal, but often accompanied by gentrification. The welfare state is withdrawing from leading the development process, allowing the private sector to take over the once-exclusive sphere of public action, through public procurement and concessions. The well-known 'Scala case' in Milan illustrates the present conflicts that may arise from the public sector granting planning permission only when infrastructure is built, before or during the building process, by the private developer for the municipality. In that way the European Directive on public procurement can be easily circumvented (Korthals Altes, W. K., 2006).

In any case, a key issue in today's Europe is the extent to which it is possible to ensure a 'juridical model' of planning in order to enforce social and political change without adequate awareness of the importance and influence of the interests which form collective values and public choices (Mazza, L. 2004), especially when the public sector seems to rely increasingly on market-led development initiatives.

In contrast to planning proposals which address short-term political conveniences, the regulatory framework of planning systems does not seem to be able to address the real mechanism of urban transformation, though allegedly they oppose deregulatory, unbound neo-liberalism and, according to

Mazza, are far from ensuring market competition. There is, therefore the need to set political and institutional preconditions for effective and just urban development processes and public steering. This calls for a strategic approach to local planning reform which includes its governance modes.

At a world scale, the economic globalisation process, together with international population migration and associated ethnic issues, space-time compression due to improved transportation and new technologies of communication and information, privatisation of former strategic sectors and the withdrawal of the state, and increasing 'bottom-up' social movements call into question the future role of planning:

will it be rational, positive, and useful in organising space, distributing resources and balancing different interests affecting the resources and the quality of life of a given community according capitalist modern societies, or will it be rather a tool of social, political and cultural control?

The present challenges of the urban agenda and of spatial planning, and its relevance to the quality of life and social cohesion, call for a re-composition of spatial public action, which must work simultaneously at different scales: the local scale - the citizen level; the city or city region level - the solidarity and spatial management level; and the inter-regional level - the social and economic equity level. These 'problem levels' relate directly to the scope of political power, decision-making, financing and governance.

There is a growing argument that the gap between planning theory and practice is widening in different contexts (e.g. Kunzmann, 2007 and Mazza, 2004), since to the uncertainties inherent to the planning process, are often added unnecessary uncertainties through the hypotheses assumed in plan-making. Though theoretical approaches seem to remain valid, action is often ineffective.

Other authors note that the 'redemptive power of regeneration' and the 'stimulus for reinvention' are incompatible with static and frozen places (Shaw, K, 2005). When the creative field is at stake, activities are clearly more important than places. In a neo-liberal environment, this leads to displacement rather than institutionalisation. A creative city approach refuses cultural appropriation and gentrification and favours authenticity. Thus, it is highly questionable that the eventual appropriation of cultural values by market forces will yield renewed and vibrant cities.

Understanding Governance as the complex system of political institutions, laws and customs through which the function of government is carried out in a specific political unit has attained crucial importance in the management of the public interest in spatial planning and territorial development. Internationalisation, de-localisation, globalisation, multi-layer competitiveness, and other mainstream factors have caused a shift from the 1960s and 1970s, dominated by political theories and movements mainly founded in the Fordist model, to the rise of new concepts. The new approaches include concepts such as networks (social networks of relations, and not networks of entities), systemic flows, interaction, co-operation and negotiation, which are becoming more and more relevant and substantive in spatial planning approaches, especially in participatory governance.

Thinking of a city as an important planning and development platform, it can be readily agreed that this platform itself is embedded within an uncertain environment, within a changing process, both intensified by competition. The quality, rate of progress and scope of development depends strongly on the interaction and negotiation of many key actors. The public sector is moving away from regulatory and distributive stances into more flexible and unbounded projects and ways of doing things, meaning that the frontiers between public and private, inside the team and outside the team, are becoming lighter and less well defined.

The relationship between the state and the market which liberalism has sought to shift is central to planning as a means of regulating land-use, certainly in mixed economies (Swain, C. and M. Tait, 2007). Advanced liberal policies have tried to rebalance the relations between market mechanisms and state intervention, leading to the decrease in the regulatory powers of planning, and therefore to trust in planning, its institutions, and planners.

Trust in the institutions of government to work in the public interest is being replaced with trust in market mechanisms to secure the best for society. It is therefore questionable whether the planning system can be trusted to protect the public interest, and equally questionable whether planners can be trusted to use their expertise to serve the public. These trusts, namely abstract trust and, as well as trust in the professionals' identification of public values, have been replaced by systems that attempt to embed a rational and/or calculative trust in planning practice (ibid.). On the other hand, the rise of pluralism is another cause of the lack of trust in planning.

The failure of planning systems to respond to the needs and desires of an increasingly heterogeneous society and the reliance of planners on technocratic and instrumental sources of rationalism, which deny and suppress difference, are well described in the literature.

The conciliation of the protection of individual rights with public interests cannot rely on market mechanisms, as liberalistic approaches suggest. Seeking consensus in situations of conflict must be at the core of planners' actions, whilst attempting to secure wider benefits, and not just the achievement of targets. Under a pluralistic approach, the system should be understood as an actor-network whose operation requires enrolment, translation and mobilisation. In this approach the conditions to act at a macro and at a micro level can be created. A hermeneutic circle, from macro conditions into micro views and back, is necessary in order to allow the progressive building-up of a balanced network, which means that actors are enrolled to act in aligned ways under common collective interests, identified throughout the process, in a co-operative way. True public involvement

cannot mean just one scale of involvement, or the expectation of constructive (as distinct from blocking) participation, if the involved actors are not knowledgeable about the issues and the alternative solutions.

Multi-level governance is also a requirement for sound co-ordinated development. Without such constructive co-operation between tiers of government, effective governance is hardly possible. In practice, efforts of one layer can be frustrated by actions of another layer. Multi-level governance also allows subsidiarity within the existing division of powers.

The limits to rationality and the multi-cultural richness of the new 'global' cultures should be borne in mind in the construction of spaces for shared beliefs, and in the recognition of the rights to difference, though being wary of fundamentalism and exacerbated regionalism. It should also be noted that the time-scales for decision-making and for public involvement are not always the same and often affect each other in a negative way. Spatial planning practice, including consensus-building towards common agreed visions, is a most appropriate field carried out by numerous regions and municipalities which requires integrative solutions and cross-level co-operation. Preparing plans for future territorial developments by designing scenarios aimed at mutual gains for stakeholders is increasingly practised.

A proper planning process is one that seeks long-term solutions, wide participation and accurate information. No matter at what scale the planner is asked to intervene, what remains fundamental is the ability to identify the strengths and opportunities of a particular territory. Besides balancing the interests of all relevant actors and selecting the best scenarios for development, every proposed spatial intervention should always fit in the wider context and should offer possibilities for elaboration into concrete projects (ECTP, 2003). Multi-level governance is therefore one of the crucial components of spatial planning practice, and governance cannot really be taught, but has to be achieved through improved citizenship.

Cities have always been cradles of civilisation. In the making of civilisation there is a permanent confrontation between private and public interests and a balance between private and collective capital is sought. Under a capitalist system, the points of view of city-users (not just of city-dwellers) are essential to planning knowledge in order to make plans which meet people's needs and aspirations.

Henri Lefebvre (1991) states that 'space is a social product' and thus cannot be seen solely as a reflection of knowledge and experience. On the contrary, it superimposes three different and interrelated dimensions: 'perceived space', 'conceived space' and 'lived space'.

According to Lefebvre, the physical space and the way in which it is organised is perceived space. The functional uses of space, including the built environment and the infrastructures that model our spatial experiences, are conceived space. It is related to the way planners and other professionals represent this space. Conceptualised space is the result of processes and developments which cannot be seen as separate from the social and political context in which they are produced. And lived space embodies symbols, images, and associative ideas of the 'users' which give meaning to space. This approach shows whose knowledge is relevant to plan-making, looking in particular at power relations between various actors concerned, while politicising their nature and the process of their formation (Fenster and Yacobi, 2005). Ignoring this generally leads to planning mistrust and ultimately to legitimacy issues. The planning process should therefore promote 'urbanites' rather than planners and stakeholders playing the role of 'urbicides'.

The New Charter of Athens (ECTP, 2003) included a tentative definition of the new roles of planners bearing in mind these concerns and the corresponding professional commitments.

A planner must be a scientist in analysing wider physical scope and long-term needs to provide full, clear and accurate information to decision-makers, stakeholders and the public, using available data, adopting interactive means of representation to facilitate public debate and the common understanding of proposed solutions and of the decision-making processes, maintaining an appropriate knowledge which includes continuous professional development, contributing to training and education, and encouraging healthy and constructive criticism about the theory and practice of planning.

A planner must also be a designer and a visionary, thinking in all dimensions, balancing local and regional strategies within global trends, expanding choice and opportunity for all, striving to protect the integrity of the natural environment, the excellence of urban design and endeavouring to conserve the heritage of the built environment for future generations, elaborating alternative potential solutions for specific problems and challenges, as well as spatial development visions, identifying the optimal positioning of a spatial plan or scheme within the relevant (inter)national networks of cities and regions, and convincing all involved parties to share a common and long-term vision for their city or region beyond their individual interests and objectives.

A planner must also be a political advisor and a mediator, respecting the principles of solidarity, subsidiarity and equity in decision-making, in planned solutions and in their implementation, supporting civic authorities, suggesting and elaborating operational legislative tools to ensure efficiency and social justice in spatial policies, facilitating true public participation and involvement between local authorities, decision-makers, economic

stakeholders and individual citizens, collaborating with and co-ordinating all involved parties in order to find consensus or solve conflicts, and striving for a high level of communication to ensure knowledge and understanding among the future users.

Last but not least, as an urban manager, a planner must adopt strategic management approaches to spatial development processes rather than just plan-making to serve bureaucratic administrative requirements, achieving efficiency and effectiveness of adopted proposals taking into account economic feasibility and the environmental and social aspects of sustainability, co-ordinating different territorial levels and different sectors to ensure collaboration, involvement and support of all administrative bodies and territorial authorities, stimulating partnerships between public and private sectors in order to enhance investment, to create employment and to achieve social cohesion, monitoring plans in order to adjust unforeseen outcomes, proposing solutions or actions and ensuring a continuous feedback linkage between planning policy and implementation.

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MANUEL DA COSTA LOBO: PLANNING THE HUMANIZED SPACE IN EUROPE: FROM IDEALISM TO SECTORIAL COMPETITION

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A Quick Look Back

Celtic tribes encountered a huge space in Europe with very few human occupants.

They learned to live among the animals – taming them, eating them, observing them and learning with them how to live in Nature: how to survive!

To protect themselves they learned to build shelters, usually at the top of a hill, the “castrum”, not too far from springs or rivers. Nearby they would also find woods for hunting.

Because there was plenty of space they could choose the best places and they learned how to do it.

Then they started to think about what they could learn - and what they couldn't.

They looked to Nature to try to understand its origin and the source of its energy. They saw old people dying and tried to understand why this happened.

Affection and memory push Celts to create a logical explanation for many things they couldn't completely understand.

When the Romans spread out across Europe they found some previous occupants, most descended from Celtic tribes. But the Romans brought a much more sophisticated way of life. Being the conquerors they also could choose the best places to put their cities. And they learned how to build cities using plans and projects. If the place did not fit the project they tried to change the morphology of the site. For instance they would build a 'cryptoportico' to create a level horizontal platform for the 'Forum'.

From ancient times to the 20th century we see the great evolution of the peoples of the Mediterranean: the culture of Mesopotamia, the Jews, Persians, Hittites, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Christians, Greeks/Byzantines, Romans and Portuguese. Later on they brought their messages to other places in the world.

We can also consider the peoples of the north of Europe: theirs was a more recent and practical culture, less sophisticated.

The cross-fertilisation between the two allowed an important culture to be settled across Europe in the Middle Ages.

The Romans were defeated by Northern tribes in the fifth century AD; to the east the Empire endured with Byzantium as the capital, later changing its name to Constantinople. This Empire lasted for 1000 years and was defeated on the 15th century by the Ottomans. The capital changed its name again, becoming Istanbul.

From the seventh century onwards a major conflict between Christians and Islam began. Islam took Lisbon as early as 711, then most of the Iberian Peninsula via expansion of the

Ottoman Empire; Islam came to Constantinople in 1453. The advantage to the Ottomans (Islam) was that by acquiring the Anatolian Peninsula (Asia Minor) and Istanbul they could control Asian treasures: spices, jewels, rare wood, ivory, silk, technology, science, etc. As Western Europe became poorer and poorer, the Ottoman lands became richer and richer.

From 1500 onwards, after Portuguese maritime exploration around the world, globalisation was launched and global political strategies changed.

From the 12th century onwards, the Portuguese successfully:

- Established a kingdom on the western limit of Europe on the Atlantic Ocean, converting this territory from Islam to Christianity.
- Developed a strategy of sea mastery, through the study of mathematics, astronomy, geography, cartography, natural sciences, languages and international public relations, naval architecture, ocean navigation, urban and military engineering (stability, stone-masonry, drainage, retaining walls, hydraulics, etc.).
- 15th century: Discovered and established bases in North Africa, Madeira, Azores, Cape Verde, St. John the Baptist of Ouidah, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Luanda.
- 1488 (Bartolomeu Dias): Sailed from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean.
- 1498 (Vasco da Gama): Arrived in India.
- 1500 (Pedro Álvares Cabral): Arrived in Brazil, crossing the Atlantic Ocean and the equator from east to west, from the northern to the southern hemisphere.
- Organised the trade between India and Portugal, defeating the Ottomans in the Indian Ocean.

The 500 years from the globalisation started by Portuguese and the beginning of the 20th Century offers Europe the opportunity to become the greatest power in the world, going everywhere, organising colonies, dominating world trade and world finance, interfering in alliances between other countries, while inside Europe there were great tensions. From 1580 to 1640 Spain and Portugal became a double kingdom with a Spanish King for both Spain and Portugal; Napoleon tried to invade and dominate all Europe and even Russia, invading Portugal in 1806, 1808 (when the Portuguese capital moved to Brazil) and 1812; in 1870 there was war between France

and Germany; the Ottoman Empire lost territories and power; Balkan countries found it hard to create peace dominated by Russians and Turks; Poland, Prussia, Austria and Hungary were unstable, looking for a stable network; the period of Industrial Revolution and technological invention offered many new possibilities, but workers lived in miserable housing and unhealthy neighbourhoods.

We were coming to the 20th Century!

Introduction

ECTP-CEU asked me to write my thoughts on the subject.

I am a town and regional planner, an “urbanist”, not a historian. Don’t expect this to be a text referring to the history of City and Regional Planning.

The text that follows is my personal point of view, with all its limitations. I tried to contact the profession and the professionals through the International Federation for Housing and Planning (of which I was a Bureau Member for 28 years) and the International Society of City & Regional Planners (of which I was a founder and active member, serving too as President). I dug deep into the knowledge of planners when I studied in London: I recall my professors at University College London, my contacts with Sir George Pepler and Lady Pepler, Frederick J. Osborn, Jim Amos and many others. In professional practice I worked for some years with Prof. Percy Johnson Marshall, and with Javier de Mesones and Adriana Dal Cin. My contacts with Luigi Piccinato, Giovanni Astengo, Robert Auzelle, Lúcio Costa, Ioannis Despotopoulos, Sam van Embden and others brought me into contact with the professional life of planning in the first half of the 20th century.

From them I received a message of idealism.

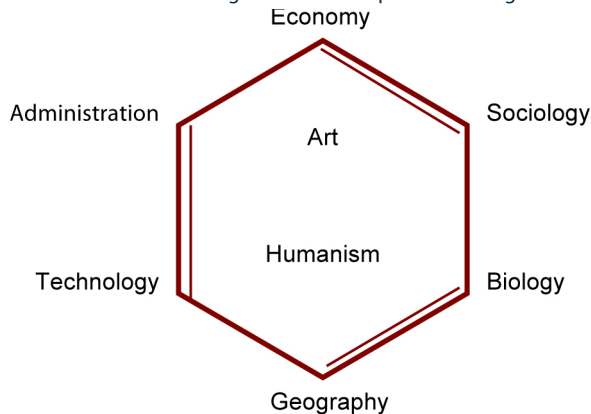
My text is not a piece of research: far from it. It is just a modest contribution of my long experience. Maybe it can do justice to some idealists and professionals, bringing their memory to the attention of new generations.

My conclusion is that only through idealism and humanism can we allow cities and regional planning to achieve their objectives. This text is not more than personal memories and comments on my professional experience.

I. Teaching and Learning/Researching

As a professor I teach my students that our profession deals with the capacity to observe and feel human life – using our reasoning, our perception, our intuition and our human sentiments – within the humanised space; it sets out to find out how – through space design and management – we can solve the major problems we face there and, as far as possible, to anticipate them.

Then I show them this diagram of the disciplines we bring to bear in planning studies:



Our task cannot follow just one or other discipline or even all of them, it has to understand inter-disciplinarity and grasp trans- disciplinarity; it must SYNTHESISE, design creative proposals and follow the process.

Each place we study is different; each moment has its specific circumstances. There is no single standard way to solve all the problems. This is why I see in each planner an important researcher, needing to (having the duty to) share knowledge and experience among colleagues and scientists of city planning.

II. Experience and Messages Received

I started studying town planning at 1952, 58 years ago, in Porto University, Engineering Faculty, with Prof. Antão de Almeida Garrett.

Looking back I remember learning about dramatic issues and hopeful developments in our profession:

- The Industrial Revolution brought workers to cities, but they then lived in slums
- Third World people were starving by the million
- Cities were destroyed by wars, but were being reconstructed
- People eager for peace and a better life
- Education was at its peak but problems beset civic life
- The Charter of Athens was published and distributed in 1933; and Modern Art developed
- Ebenezer Howard and the Garden Cities were referenced and remembered
- Socialists tried to bring in huge programmes of basic housing for all
- Everyone expected a new and better world to emerge:
 - Some preferring socialist planned development
 - Others wanted a liberal way for greater individual freedom

Then I went to study in London. I attended lectures by Prof. William Holford at University College London and by Bruno Schaffenberg, Lewis Keeble and Nathaniel Lichfield, among others.

I often went to the Town and Country Planning Association to talk to Frederick Osborn: such a special, good man, an idealist professional, looking for involvement in cities, confident about the New Towns.

This was the time of idealism after the war. We read and studied the Greater London Plan of Patrick Abercrombie with enthusiasm.

We can say that the New Towns were not particularly democratic, as central government took away the power of local authorities! But at the time the New Town was the answer to human problems such as poor housing, employment prospects and social infrastructures, etc.

The aim was to solve urban issues and the problems of city dwellers: human problems. There should be no more wars! Land ownership was not the main problem. There should not be any land speculation following the Town and Country Planning Act under Prime Minister Attlee.

Money was scarce, but everyone was working for a better world in the future. Urban crime was being reduced. People believed that we were building better cities, safety places, educated people, and an atmosphere of solidarity.

Urban design was mostly minimalist ... but for all! No luxury. No economic speculation that would marginalise families with low revenues.

Everyone would have the right to a decent house ... at least in countries considered civilised.

Dreams? Illusions?

Countries were preparing themselves for a great job – building healthy, functional and human cities!

Legislation for the purpose was written.

III. Regional Planning

As professionals went deeper into this work of city planning they found that a regional framework was needed for those plans and to coordinate cities within the region.

However, some politicians feared Regional Planning; they said it was a communist invention, reducing democratic powers. Better to forget about it! But the London County Council was there, and I worked there for a while in the General and Policy Group Department. I had the privilege of working with Geraldine Amos – a great lady, a calm and gracious person. I knew her husband Francis (Jim) Amos, too, a city and regional planner who also understood my interest on Regional Planning.

Some politicians went further, being proud to assert “I am against planning”. They expected too much from liberal economy. They forgot that all systems have limitations and the key to wise policy is to use all the systems, according to the circumstances, available resources and time. But they want citizens to vote either for liberalism/freedom or central planning/control – as if there were no alternatives!

They forgot that both systems have their good and bad aspects. To solve human and social problems neither would be a complete response. Better to be wise and use the best of each one – the third way.

There had once been an idea that a good centralised government could offer everyone the best possible life – but the price would have been for citizens to lose their freedom. I always defended the idea that good planning should be based on offering everyone the maximum freedom possible without depriving others of their freedom!

Cities gain from having personality and identity. We need to find common solutions but also to accept local differences which humanise space so that we can recognise our home.

Levels of planning include local detailing, community planning, municipal planning, sub-regional planning, regional planning, national planning and international planning.

IV. Bureaucracy

Planning began to lose its naïve idealism; bit by bit, it became a burdensome bureaucratic system. As planning services became more powerful, the risk of corruption increased and there was a danger of it becoming too powerful. Lobbies and special interests were also developing; the machinery of planning became a burden that society could neither stop nor make more efficient. There was no way back.

In countries where the industrial revolution came late, particularly in southern Europe, people arriving in towns and cities in search of jobs were unable to find housing. But most, coming as they did from rural areas, could build their own houses – though that created slums and even illegal dwellings.

Having become bureaucratic, the planning system could not tolerate this informal development: the planning laws existed, copied from other countries that could enforce them. The result was a huge development of illegal housing that politicians could not avoid and could not manage.

They would not admit that most of the problem was their own inability to find a strategy for dealing with it! Instead, they tolerated parasitism within the system. Over-concentration of employment created land speculation, exacerbating the problem of lack of access to decent housing.

V. Professionals Competing

Idealism lost favour among some professionals, and businesses – legal and illegal developed. The system was now bringing economic fruits and political opportunities for lobbying, political influence and personal advancement in political life. Other professions and disciplines came to the market seeking political influence and increased capacity for competing with other professionals. Architects, engineers, environmentalists, administrators, surveyors, lawyers, ecologists, geographers, landscape architects, economists: all seek power over planning. Others sought obligatory professional involvement in formal plans including archaeologists, geologists, transport engineers, GIS, climatologists, analysts, Informational technologists, graphic designers, civil protection experts, and journalists.

The planning process became so burdensome that it lost its focus on art, on considerations of human need, and design, for example:

SYNTHESIS!

Planning became dispersed in a “forest” of sectoral approaches. It is no longer planning; it is just an accretion of points of view without integration or comprehensive meaning.

Most of these processes brought professional conflict and ended up in court or in the media, discussions and court debates, unable to find an easy or final conclusion, taking years to get a ‘solution’.

Some lawyers insist however that planning regulations must contain sufficient detail to tackle problems: any problem is then just a question to be decided by lawyers and judges. Result: bureaucracy increases again and again; the specificity of each set of circumstances is forgotten.

They lost sight of the system of discretionary decisions and of eventual appeals, better, quicker and always more specific.

Nor do they know about the system of active mediation, a way to find an alternative solution.

These are the tools of professional planners but today's society directs their efforts towards increased competition. And sometimes people forget about the difference between wild and civilised competition. Others insist on overcoming the problems through writing more law with a view to covering all eventualities.

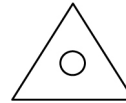
VI. The Great International NGO (Non Governmental Organisation)

Ebenezer Howard's impulse and also Frederick Osborn's idealism came together to form an association that became world-renowned as a forum for debate on issues of housing and spatial planning. It is still fighting today for a better more humanised space – the International Federation for Housing and Planning.

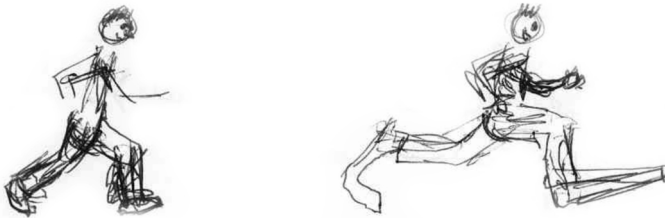
Conflict between  and  cannot be solved by choosing one of them.

And it cannot be solved by compromise. 

The Town Planner's way is active mediation, very creative, to find an alternative solution:



Instead of competition, planning should be seeking dialogue with the design professionals, aiming for collaboration – in just the way that Urbanist passing a message to a designer Lúcio Costa worked with Oscar Niemeyer (the town planner and the architect).



Within IFHP a group of planners set about developing the profession in the Professional Planners Committee, chaired by **Sam Van Embden**, based on great idealism and a belief that they could make better cities through study, cultivating ourselves, working with other professionals and combating poor quality planning.

IFHP opposed an increase of autonomy of the Committee, which led to the idea of forming our own association of planners which came about in 1965 in Amsterdam. It was ISOCARP – the International Society of City and Regional Planners.

In a culture where unethical town planning businesses were prevalent, ISOCARP adopted an ethical rule for our activity as professional planners and we began to organise a Congress every year to discuss town planning improvement and to debate ethical issues.

ISOCARP enjoyed an atmosphere of mission. It brought together many friends from Sweden, from Denmark, from Norway, from Scotland including **Percy Johnson-Marshall** – who tried to develop a Town and Country Planning Course at Edinburgh University at which students from all over the world could get to know each other like a micro United Nations, from Portugal to Nepal, from Australia to Brazil, from India to Canada, from Turkey to South Africa, from Mexico to Nigeria, from Egypt to Russia, etc.), **Robert Grieve**, the wisest and nicest person I ever knew, **Roger Lamoise**, **Gianfranco Virgili**, **Charles Delfante**, **Dorothee Vauzelles**, **Luigi Piccinato**, **Giovanni Astengo**, **Federico Malusardi**, **Jerzy Regulski**, **Frans de Groodt**, **Edgard Klutz**, **Jakob Maurer**, **Karl Otto Schmid**, **Adriana Dal Cin** (the professional planner star for all of us), **Gerd Albers**, **Ulla Hoyer**, **Athanassios Aravantinos**, **Halûk Alatan**, **Derek Lyddon**, **Edgar Ribeiro**, **Hanns-Ulrich Lamey**, **Serge Domicelj**, **Roberto Eibenschutz**, **Xavier Cortés Rocha**, **Falcón Vega**, **Erwig**, **Jan De Ranitz**, **Ashok Balotra**, etc.

I write here of some that I have known well; they have not participated in ISOCARP congresses for many years, and many of them have passed away.

Later many other NGOs appeared, offering meeting places for city and regional planners, including the International Urban Development Association (INTA), and AESOP, the Association of European Schools of Planning.

VII. Humanistic Manifestations

Having mentioned it earlier it is time see where one should base a humanistic approach to planning.

I believe that humanised space is the pinnacle of humanistic manifestations but not yet fulfilled by planning practice. Dancing could be the first humanistic manifestation and other steps followed, as culture developed:

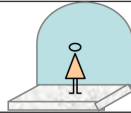
1 – Dancing or gestual language



2 – Singing or spoken language



3 – Theatre Playing



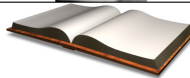
4 – Fine Arts



5 – Symbolism Writing



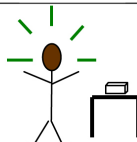
6 – Literature and Poetry



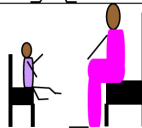
7 – Science and Research



8 – Spiritual Activities



9 – History, the memory of our culture



10 – Human City, still to be developed



The first step of humanistic manifestations was a gestural language; singing and speaking are the second manifestation. From dancing and speaking, mankind developed capacities and went through theatre, writing, literature, science, spiritual activity, history and the city (the Humanised Space). The City, as a comprehensive humanistic manifestation, would correspond to the maximum level of development, having the following objectives:

- City for all
- Civic behaviour and social cohesion
- Great Space of: Peace, Culture, Education.
- Integration of the city within a balanced environment · Humanised space qualifications

A city for all, civic behaviour, lively communities with a sense of solidarity and respect, and at the background a great space of PEACE, culture and education.

To answer to all this it is necessary to consider all the human dimensions, respecting life within human solidarity.

VIII. A Point of View to arrive at the Synthesis

My comments and memories show that the 20th century was a difficult period for planners, with some heroes, some frustrated professionals, some comprehensive practice but a huge increase of competition among professional planners and also sectoral experts and services involved in the process. Sectoral experts tend to acquire power and attempt to impose a multi-disciplinary additive process instead of working towards planning synthesis. This is a mistake. Planning cannot synthesise from fragments that don't fit together - it is not like a puzzle - because the pieces are not designed from the same point of view.

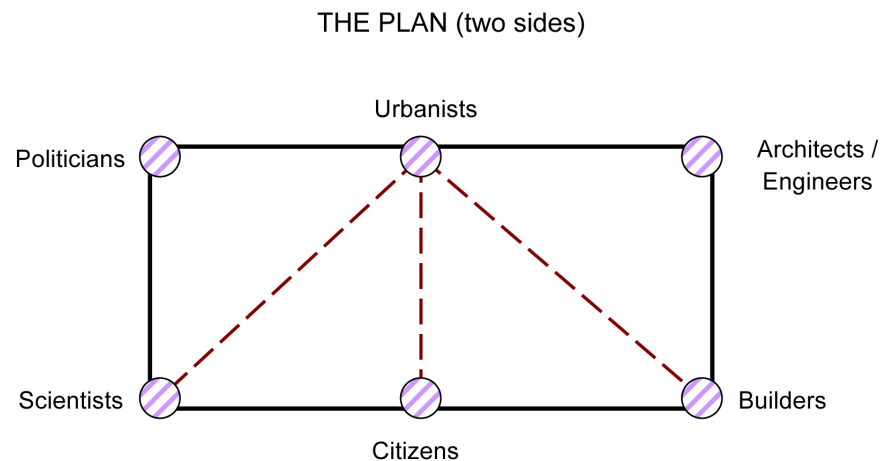
Looking through expert reports is also like looking through

a prism that splits the light into a colourful spectrum rather than a single light where all the colours fuse to give the right, perfectly clear view: the SYNTHESIS.

Excessive regulation, legislation, sectoral points of view, economic reasoning, political lobbies favouring clients, etc. were the negative aspects of 20th century planning.

Spatial Planners must strengthen their associations, their professional education, their culture, their ethical behaviour and they must get the support of professional associations and of citizens by public information through wide publicity sent to all citizens and schools. They must get back visibility. With continuing education, intuition and wide experience, planners can become highly educated professionals. The future needs them and they must learn how to converse with sectoral experts to overcome doubts and confusion, rely on their own capacities and mediate between politicians and designers:

THE PLAN (two sides)



From this one can find a system of understanding that will allow the resolution of conflict by looking for alternative solutions and peaceful agreement. The 21st century is waiting for us to perform as wise professionals with ethics, learning from 20th century experience:

The two great civic principles for planning

- **Respecting nature**
- **Looking for human solidarity**

And we must not forget that plans are there between politicians and planners, where double visibility is essential for democratic planning.

It is clear that successful city plans were those that designed an urban fabric that people could **understand** easily and where the past memories were respected: returning to the city after some years one should still be able to **recognise** it and feel at home, based on urban character, symbolic images and other key features of city identity.

For efficiency and human quality in our cities one must organise a permanent and highly educated system of professionals at each sectoral service and at each spatial level, the BRIDGEP (the Bridge Persons) and the PII (the Permanent Inter-level Interlocutors), professionals with a very wide culture, being able to integrate team-work and brain-storming on a trans-disciplinary process.

Perm. Inter-Level		Bridges Persons at S _i Sectors				
Interlocutors at L _i levels:		S ₁	S ₂	S ₃	S ₄	S ₅
Level 1	A	a ₁	a ₂	a ₃	a ₄	a ₅
Level 2	B	b ₁	b ₂	b ₃	b ₄	b ₅
Level 3	C	c ₁	c ₂	c ₃	c ₄	c ₅
Level 4	D	d ₁	d ₂	d ₃	d ₄	d ₅
Level 5	E	e ₁	e ₂	e ₃	e ₄	e ₅

Beyond this system, planning must look for and respect organic units, the best plan-spaces to integrate all the different groups of people of the mosaic city and to integrate urban components with ecological corridors and green spaces.

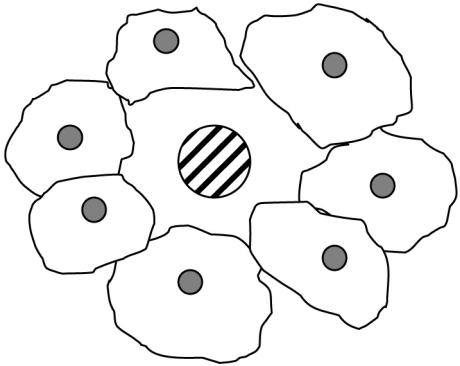
As a last message to the 21st century I would like to stress the need for a stronger organic mind for planning cities and regions.

Nature is a precious example of balancing the various components of territory to keep life going, producing crops, recycling waste.

Organic Units must be reinforced and coordinated for sustainable development.

A complete city based on Organic Units must consider in its space a well- balanced coordination of:

- Urban fabric and its ecological framework
- The ecological frame itself, within a sustainable environment, that is biologically rich
- Social communities representing the whole of society, with all their components and complementarities, the mosaic cities.
- Social infrastructure
- Autonomy



The drawing shows an urban constellation. If each agglomeration has a balanced social context with corresponding interests, we can say that each one of them would represent an Organic Unit.

The total constellation would then represent an Aggregated Organic Unit: an example would be a group of small cities around a bigger one.

If the agglomerations around the main urban centre do not include a sub-centre (a central area where people gather, with commercial, supply, cultural and other social infrastructure), we would consider them as dispersed fragments of the city fabric, a segregated and non-autonomous part of the city, with all its negative connotations.

Fragmented cities with segregated housing areas (in socio-economic terms) with remote employment, other fragments with shopping malls, others with recreation or cultural places (e.g. universities) represent a major loss for humanised city space. A city where organic units are walkable spaces could be one answer for the future.

Big cities could then be the result of a multiple combination or a constellation of cities, but each one with its own astronomy and identity.

Prof. Manuel da Costa Lobo Lisbon, June 2010

PHILIPPE DOUCET: HISTORY RESHAPING GEOGRAPHY: TOWARDS BORDERLESS TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES?

Are we celebrating hundred years of spatial planning? Not quite. As a matter of fact, this book commemorates the recognition of planning as an organised profession. This dates back about a century, indeed. In May 1909, the First National Conference on City Planning was held in Washington DC. One year later, in October 1910, the first international Town Planning Conference took place in London, a landmark event for European planners, convened by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). At the turn of the 20th century, the 'long depression', which had so severely hit the United Kingdom between 1873 and 1896, gave way to economic recovery. This triggered a new wave of dramatic urban growth and justified the adoption in 1909 of the first Town Planning Act, which the RIBA conference could not ignore. At the time however, the very notion of city planning was not that new. In the course of the 19th century, several early experiments (epitomised by Cerdà's extension plan for Barcelona, dated 1858) aspired to take up the challenge of massive urban population growth and social crisis brought about by the industrial revolution.

Planning itself is thus a bit more than hundred years old. Does this mean that pre-industrial societies did not care about their built environment? Surely not, but their approach to the issue was appreciably different. Arguably what we nowadays name 'territorial (or spatial) development', a recently-coined phrase, may appear as old as humankind. According to the Council of Europe, territorial development is 'the process through which the geography of territories inhabited by human societies is progressively transformed. It involves physical components (infrastructure, landscapes and townscapes, etc.), but also the territorial structure or settlement pattern, i.e. the geographic distribution of population and human activities, in particular the size of and relationships between cities. Territorial development is a comprehensive concept also used as an objective of public policies ('territorial development policy'). (CEMAT, 2007, p. 24).

In this sense, territorial development practices are deeply rooted in human culture. At the very least they date back to the Neolithic revolution, possibly even to older times. Their forms and methods have always varied depending on place, time and civilisation. In a nutshell, territorial development may be regarded, as it were, as 'history reshaping geography'.

A very important dimension of this process, often neglected by contemporary planners as it is generally kept outside their professional remit, has always been, and remains, geo- strategy. The issue was most probably less crucial in very ancient times of the Palaeolithic age, when hunter-gatherer cultures were characterised by an exceptionally low population density. Competition for control over natural resources was probably pointless, owing to their high availability per capita. Things were very different after the Neolithic and the Urban Revolutions¹. Demographic growth, higher population densities, resulting competition for natural and other economic resources, and – more specifically in urbanised civilisations – centralised states or empires, introduced geo- strategic considerations in the design of human settlements. There were countless fortified villages, walled cities, or even walled empires, to which the Great Wall of China and Hadrian's Wall bear witness. Such defensive measures did not suffice. Other steps were often taken to make the urban or state territory less easily penetrable by potential invaders or to secure sufficient supply of vital resources, including irrigation and water adduction systems, large tracts of non-built urban arable land to last out a siege (e.g. the area surrounded by the 'Hunger Wall' in Prague). Strategic considerations also influenced the type of territorial development adopted in colonised areas (including colonial villages and cities) or national planning (e.g. the risk of bomb attacks on large cities which partially motivated the decentralisation of industry advocated by the Barlow Report in 1940). Until recently garrisons tended to concentrate in border areas of European countries, and not only along the Iron Curtain. To some extent the collapse of the Berlin Wall has changed this state of affairs, but more at the internal than the external borders of the European Union. Control over water resources in transnational river basins remains a strategic edge held by states located upstream over those located downstream. This is especially the case in regions facing conflicts (e.g. the Middle East), but even in time of peace, co-operation on water resource management remains very difficult, despite efforts made to promote co-operation in the framework of the 1997 United Nations Convention on Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses.

Territorial development steps taken by Neolithic societies and the first urban civilisations were of course not exclusively inspired by geo-strategic considerations. Other human needs of an economic, social, cultural or symbolic nature had also to be met. Some sort of 'rural development' was already practised in very ancient times. It often involved sophisticated agricultural techniques (irrigation, etc.) allowing village communities to shift

from a mere exploitation of existing natural resources to yield increase through deliberate reshaping of the environment. The design of villages and fields also reflected the social structure and religious beliefs of their communities. The same comment applies to countless pre-industrial towns and cities of various urban civilisations, but the degree of complexity, diversification and centralisation of their social structure was generally much higher, which deeply impacted on the city shape. The legacy of pre-industrial urban development is immense. Its achievements fascinate historians, tourists and planners alike.

Is modern urban planning fundamentally different? Did the art of making cities experience some sort of quantum leap at the turn of the 20th century? Impertinent commentators would probably reply: 'Yes indeed, major progress was made towards widespread urban ugliness and gigantism!' Well, which came first: planning or steadily more unmanageable industrial cities? This question is redolent of the chicken-and-egg dilemma.

One thing is sure: the intricacy and complexity of territorial development issues have never ceased to intensify.

However, the emergence of urban planning does represent to some extent a real historic turning point, but more closely connected with the specific intellectual approach and ambitions of the first planners than their achievements. This was remarkably analysed by Françoise Choay in a celebrated essay (Choay, 1965). She posited that urban planning², compared with earlier types of urban development practice, was created as a new autonomous discipline characterised

by reflective and critical thought and claiming scientific universality. This particularly applies to the modernist planning school (e.g. Le Corbusier and other members of CIAM³). Interestingly, Choay traced the formation of this new planning paradigm back to the Renaissance. In a later seminal publication (Choay, 1980) she explored Western society's tradition of theorising the production of the built environment.

This tradition actually revolves around two distinct lines of thought: the 'generative rule' inaugurated by Leon Battista Alberti in his *De re aedificatoria* (1452) and the 'spatial model' founded by Thomas More in his *Utopia* (1516). Alberti's 'rule'

is fundamentally receptive to the user's demand and desire; in contrast, More's 'model' imposes a predetermined ideal

but totalitarian order. Paradoxically, these two opposite lines share a common belief: the generation and organisation of human settlements can be entirely mastered by the theoretical discourse of an autonomous discipline. Consciously or not, Alberti's followers in the industrial age will be planners such as Camillo Sitte, Ebenezer Howard or Raymond Unwin, dubbed 'culturalists' by Choay, whereas modernist planning will be profoundly influenced by More's *Utopia*.

In the history of territorial development, planning was thus a very specific step, deeply influenced by Western individualism and rationalist/humanist thought. Its Promethean ambitions and projects could arguably be regarded as a pseudo-scientific sorcerer's apprentice game, and were retrospectively portrayed as such by excellent essayists, but the fact remains that urban planning asserted itself in the aftermath of the industrial revolution. During the post-war Fordist era it was even supplemented in most industrialised countries by regional planning. Planning at a wider geographic scale was already felt necessary in the first half of the 20th century by some visionary thinkers such as Ebenezer Howard or Patrick Geddes, but the generalisation of regional planning practice is generally associated with the triumph of the Keynesian welfare state of the golden Sixties. Noteworthy is the fact that urban and regional planning practices alike were each confronted with the challenge triggered by a new mode of transport, respectively railways, and private cars/motorways.

In the early Seventies, events such as the breakdown of the Bretton Woods agreement and the first oil crisis heralded a major societal change. Self-confident modernist and rationalist ideologies were radically questioned by the post-modernist and green waves. The word 'ecology', unknown to the layman until the early seventies, invited itself in our daily vocabulary after the publication of the Meadows Report on the 'limits to growth' (Meadows & al., 1972). Modernism in general, but also modernist planning or even the very notion of planning were strongly criticised, often equated with technocracy. In St. Louis, Missouri, the demolition of the Pruitt-Igoe housing buildings, the first in a long series, was emblematic of this new state of mind.

Ecology, as both a scientific discipline and a political ideology, came to the fore. Public environmental policies were initiated, then gained ground and popularity. Awareness was raised of the limitation of natural resources whose conservation became a priority topic on the policy agenda. Protection was the main concern of environmental policies as much as urban and regional development was pursued by planning policies. Both policies were supposed to design and implement integrated⁴ strategies, but the reality often turned out to be different: first, such strategies proved rather unpopular among sector lobbies and the sector administrations they besiege; second, the departments responsible for planning and for environmental policies were each assigned a distinct realm: land-use plans and planning permission to the former, environmental protection to the latter. In such circumstances, planning ended up being suspected of leniency towards private and public developers. This is one of the reasons why it was deemed necessary to establish formal supervisory procedures, known as 'environmental impact assessment' (EIA).

Yet not every planning tradition adopted the modernist line, let alone the views expressed by its dogmatic proponents. One of the most illustrious planning theorists, Patrick Geddes, was a biologist deeply aware of the critical importance of environmental issues. Far from advocating a radical

reshaping of the existing world, he asserted that the relationship between humankind and the environment was essentially bidirectional. Geddes based his 'Notation of Life' diagram (Geddes, 1949, p 195-213) on the principle: 'the Environment (E) acts, through Function (F), upon the Organism (O) // the Organism (O) acts, through Function (F), upon the Environment (E), or

E	F	O	O	F	E
PLACE	WORK	FOLK	FOLK	WORK	PLACE
Holland	makes	the Dutch	the Dutch	make	Holland

There is a striking similarity between this place-work-folk trilogy and the classic environment-economy-society triangle of the sustainable development paradigm. As a matter of fact, planning as theorised and practised by Geddes and his followers anticipates contemporary ideas about sustainability. Planning has sometimes been equated with its dogmatic modernist wing to better present it as the antithesis of present- day ecological consciousness but this is an unfair and dishonest presentation of the reality. In fact, planning and sustainable development have much in common. This is all the more true as the latter cannot be equated either with the Malthusian views of the Meadows Report or the recent 'de-growth' activists. Planning itself, confronted with strong criticisms and alternative practices (advocacy planning, incrementalism, etc.), has turned its back on technocratic approaches that were still commonplace in the Sixties. The progressive terminological shift from 'planning' to 'territorial development policy' also reflects this evolution. It could also be argued that the sustainable development ideal, without always using the jargon of various planning theories, tends to perpetuate the initial planning approach in many respects, in particular the emphasis placed on integrated long-term strategies.

Foresight studies are an important tool of contemporary strategic territorial development policy. Far from replicating technocratic forms of master planning based on the definition of a single optimal future, they focus on the elaboration of various possible policy scenarios, since their main purpose is to promote critical thinking and democratic debate. A more widespread use of such studies should be encouraged among some environmentalists, who tend, as planners formerly did, to privilege allegedly predictive scenarios.

Despite the convergence between planning and sustainable development theories elaborated by eminent scholars, professional field practitioners do not always seem to speak the same language, nor to share a common mind-set. This particularly applies to the administrations responsible for planning and environmental policy, especially where they do not belong to the same ministerial department. Environmentalists do not trust planning officials, as evidenced by EIA procedures which apply to many territorial development decisions. As if environmental issues were outside the remit of planning offices ... Should environmental and territorial development policies truly involve the integrated multi-sector approach they claim to pursue, such procedures would be regarded as pointless, the two relevant administrations would be merged, and 'sustainable territorial development decisions' would be subject to prior careful consideration of the social, economic and environmental dimensions. In the real life however, our depoliticised societies do not like policy integration: their conception, if any, of the common good is more akin to a mere aggregation of views individually expressed by various interest groups than a synthetic definition of the public interest. Generous pleas for integrated strategies are commonplace in the specialised planning literature, but the present-day style of policy decision making generates more compartmentalisation and competition than real co-operation between the various departments of public administrations.

Recently, some planners have also made a strong case for another type of collaborative and integrated approach, namely territorial integration. The aim is to overcome other barriers, but of a geographic rather than thematic nature, which also impede policy integration. These barriers are of course administrative boundaries, especially the national borders.

Our post-Fordist societies face unprecedented challenges, including the development of new technologies, the knowledge economy, globalisation, climate change, etc.

This has a considerable impact on territorial development practice, to an extent that remains difficult to gauge. However, excellent publications (Castells, 1996; Sassen, 2000; Allen, 2008) have drawn our attention to new undeniable trends: an unprecedented global system of cities has emerged, we live in a steadily more networked 'space of flows', in which cities and regions of the world increasingly depend on one another.

In this new context, designing and implementing territorial development policies within the confines of national borders no longer makes sense. Territorial integration needs to be promoted through cross-border and transnational co- operation and the elaboration of joint territorial development strategies. In this respect, the European Union proved to be particularly fertile ground. Countless territorial co-operation programmes and operations were carried out, many of which benefited from INTERREG subsidies. In this framework, various joint strategies or 'spatial visions' were elaborated. At the continental level, a 'European Spatial Development Perspective – ESDP' (European Commission, 1999) and a 'Territorial Agenda of the European Union – TAEU' (Informal Ministerial Meeting, 2007) were approved⁵. Other interesting territorial integration experiments are being attempted elsewhere in the world (e.g. between Canada, the USA and Mexico along the Pacific coast, in the Greater Mekong Region and the Yellow Sea Sub-

region), generally with lesser involvement of public bodies than in the EU. 'Spatial Development Initiatives' such as the Johannesburg-Maputo Development Corridor have been promoted by the African Union in the framework of its NEPAD6 Spatial Development Programme. In 2003, WAEMU7 adopted a framework document defining its community spatial planning guidelines (UEMOA, 2003).

There remains much room for improvement of these territorial integration initiatives, especially to make them deliver more tangible results. Yet these first steps are promising and conducive to a real internationalisation of territorial development policies. Perhaps the visionary prediction made by C. A. Doxiadis more than four decades ago is becoming a reality: most cities of the planet are going to be interconnected into a world-wide network, 'Ecumenopolis', and new policy responses (such as the development of 'Dynapolises' along axes of growth) will need to be agreed upon (Doxiadis, 1967, pp. 349-350).

Time will show, but the history of territorial development seems to have steadily gathered pace: millennia ago, the Neolithic and urban revolutions gave birth to rural and urban development; a bit more than a century ago, city planning emerged in the aftermath of the industrial revolution; then came regional planning, associated with the welfare state of the Fordist post-war era; nowadays, the time is ripe for sustainable international territorial development. History reshapes geography.

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Footnotes

1 The 'Urban Revolution' phrase was coined by Gordon Childe (1936).

2 In French, the equivalent of urban / city planning is 'urbanisme' [deceptive cognate of 'urbanism' in English]. According to Gaston Bardet (1967, p.19), 'urban-isme' was coined in 1910 by Paul Clerget in *Bulletin de la Société géographique de Neuchâtel*.

3 CIAM = French acronym (generally not translated) of the International Congress for Modern Architecture.

4 Or 'holistic', as environmentalists often put it.

5 An update of the TAEU ('TA2020') was adopted on 19th May 2011 in Budapest. Cf. <http://www.eu2011.hu/files/bveu/documents/TA2020.pdf>.

6 NEPAD = New Partnership for Africa's Development adopted by the African Union.

7 WAEMU = (West African Economic and Monetary Union, better known by its French acronym UEMOA).

ANDREAS FALUDI: TWENTIETH CENTURY FOUNDATIONS OF EUROPEAN PLANNING

Based on parts of a paper on 'Territorial Cohesion at the Crossroads' written for the seminar 'Gouverner les territoires : antagonismes et partenariats entre acteurs publics' held on 7 May 2010 at the French Institute of Public Policy in Paris and eventually due to be published in French and Italian.

European spatial planning is metamorphosing into territorial cohesion policy for which the Lisbon Treaty gives the European Union a shared competence. My book on 'Cohesion, Coherence, Cooperation: European Spatial Planning Coming of Age' (Faludi 2010) gives the full story. This paper reconstructs a European planning programme representing the twentieth-century roots of territorial cohesion policy.

Meanings of words in a context as dynamic as European integration are often opaque. This is true for planning, but also for space, as in spatial planning. In the English language in any case spatial planning is a newcomer. The point here is not, however, to discuss the genealogy the term. I just point out that the term used for what we now describe as spatial planning was regional planning. This can easily be seen as the planning of – and by – some administrative region. However, 'region' often refers to area or indeed space, which is why past discussions in terms of regional planning are relevant for any appreciation of the twentieth-century roots of European planning.

Replacing spatial planning with territorial cohesion may seem to add to the confusion. The concept should, however, be familiar to French speakers, says the rapporteur for the own-initiative report of the European Parliament on territorial cohesion, Ambroise Guellec (2009). It is the same as *aménagement du territoire* which, according to Jean-François Drevet (2008), stands for regional development policy conducted in a spatial framework. Note that this policy was conceived before there were regions in France, thus proving that region may mean any division of the country. After all, at the time when *aménagement du territoire* was introduced no administrative regions existed in France.

French sources often translate *aménagement du territoire* as spatial planning. This is adequate as far as it goes but we should note that spatial planning can also mean regulatory land-use planning. This is at the root of much incomprehension.

At the European level spatial planning was mooted from the very beginning, in particular by planners from north-western Europe, with the Dutch at the forefront of the movement. Thus, with agglomeration diseconomies including the loss of open space in mind, spatial planners sought to direct overall urban growth in desirable directions. Governments had also started supporting development in depressed regions after World War II, but with little regard for planning considerations. So planners hoped for support from the new European institutions, but they lacked international networks. To make up for this, they organised conferences and working parties.

Regional policy-makers, too, eyed the Common Market and its institutions. The removal of customs barriers was expected to favour some regions and disadvantage others. The first step in formulating a common policy was the 'Spaak Report'. The report will be discussed here as the earliest response to the perceived need for the European Economic Community (EEC) to engage in a joint regional policy. This will be followed by the efforts, stretching over fifteen years, of the Council of Europe to articulate the European programme, culminating in the 'Torremolinos Charter', prepared with participation of spatial planners. Then I discuss the 'Gendebien Report' of the European Parliament which among other things draws on the Torremolinos Charter, to be followed by a short presentation of the ESDP being promulgated just before the twentieth century came to a close.

The Early Days

Named after the Belgian foreign minister Paul-Henri Spaak chairing the group entrusted with preparing the Treaty of Rome, the Spaak Report (1956) proposed a regional fund. Interestingly, this was to be primarily for joint European projects, perhaps something like the Trans-European Networks, and only in the second instance for compensating regions for any disadvantages suffered, the policy which is at the core of present EU regional or, as it is now called, cohesion policy. To ensure coherence between the policies of the Member States and of the EEC, Spaak proposed formulating a common framework.

Member States paid no more than lip service to what since then is described as the harmonious development of the Community territory. The benefits of the Common Market were expected to trickle down to all regions. There was only one seriously disadvantaged region in the 'Europe of six', the

Mezzogiorno, but Italy was unsuccessful in obtaining the active support of the other Member States. The latter did not savour the idea of a common framework for ensuring the coherence of all national policies either.

The Parliamentary Assembly, forerunner of the European Parliament, passed a resolution stipulating the need to help less developed regions, arrive at a reasonable division of labour between the territories of the Community, and deal with over-concentration in almost all Member States. So the European Commission held a 'Conference on the Regional Economies' in 1963. Its First Vice-President, Robert Marjolin, a keen student of the New Deal, chaired it. He pointed out once more that the core was benefiting more from the Common Market than peripheral regions. The Commission made far-reaching proposals (Pierret 1984, 36; see also Vanhove, Klaassen 1980). There was even talk of *aménagement du territoire européen* (Husson 2002; see also Drevet 2008, 47) which in retrospect – English was not an official language at the time – we can indeed translate as European spatial planning. Under its first President, Walther Hallstein, the Commission was proactive. It was not for want of any belief in planning that President Charles de Gaulle was opposed. Under him in 1963, the *Délégation à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'action régionale* (DATAR) had come into existence. However de Gaulle was opposed to the Commission pushing for more integration. European spatial planning did not conform to his idea of Europe as a confederation of sovereign states.

For this and other reasons, the defence of the French share of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), de Gaulle instigated the 'policy of the empty chair', stymieing the work of the Commission. Since the resulting 'Luxembourg Compromise', even if accepted under Qualified Majority Voting, individual Member States can veto Commission initiatives.

Whilst this was going on, spatial planners were building their international networks, discovering quickly in the process that planning meant different things in different countries. The Dutch and the Germans came from a land-use planning tradition which in the Dutch case evolved towards formulating strategic national documents rather than regulatory plans as vehicles for squaring the imperatives of development with quality of life issues. France pursued top-down regional economic development, as indicated within a spatial framework based on an appreciation of national space, its shape and character. Rather than a statutory plan, the state formulated projects designed to smooth out spatial imbalances. At the EU the French view would prevail.

The Council of Europe

Having been rebuffed by the EEC, planners shifted their attention to the Council of Europe. It produced a report entitled 'Regional Planning – A European Problem' (Council of Europe 1968). In it, region was a generic term, so it was in fact about European spatial planning. The research and discussions which followed culminated fifteen years later in the 'European Regional/Spatial Planning Charter' (CEMAT 1983), in French simply '*Charte européenne de l'aménagement du territoire*', more commonly known as the Torremolinos Charter, adopted by the *Conférence Européenne des Ministres responsable à l'Aménagement du Territoire* (CEMAT) operating under the Council of Europe.

The Charter presented spatial planning as important for the evolution of European society and as contributing to the formation of a stronger European identity. This called for an analysis of development concepts with a view to formulating common principles giving expression to the economic, social, cultural and ecological policies of society. So planning was a scientific discipline, an administrative technique and a policy '[...] directed towards balanced regional development and the physical organisation of space according to an overall strategy'. In this way it would contribute '[...] to a better spatial organisation in Europe and to the finding of solutions for problems that go beyond the national framework and thus aims to create a feeling of common identity [...]'. Such planning was democratic, comprehensive, functional and long term.

The Charter specified balanced socio-economic development, quality of life, responsible management of nature and the environment and the rational use of land as objectives, not much different from what the ESDP would do. It emphasised the right of citizens to participate and asked for horizontal and vertical co-ordination.

The European Parliament

Concurrently with the Charter being adopted, the European Parliament made another attempt to coax what had become the European Community (EC) to pursue a regional planning policy. This was the so Gendebien Report called after the Belgian rapporteur, Paul-Henri Gendebien representing a fully-fledged European planning programme.

Before discussing Gendebien, it is apposite to look at what the Commission had been doing since the empty chair crisis. It had continued to study regional issues, forming a directorate-general for this purpose, DG XVI, now DG REGIO. It reiterated that, with integration implying a re-composition of Europe's territory, any regional policy should be conceived, not only from a national, but also from a European perspective.

Funding for regional policy had become available after de Gaulle, opposed to UK membership, had left the scene, opening the way for it, together with Denmark and Ireland, to join. The UK could not profit from the CAP but needed assistance for declining industrial areas. So a regional policy of sorts

had started in the late-1970s. Political logic had dictated that all Member States should benefit. Jean-François Drevet (2008, 51–84) criticises this policy as hardly communitarian and not very regional. The funds were given to the governments. He describes the subsequent efforts by the Commission to obtain 'Community Added Value' from regional policy, only to be frustrated by Member States. This restricted role of regional policy would only change with Jacques Delors introducing a programmatic approach.

Against this backdrop, the Gendebien Report (European Commission – European Parliament 1983) invited the Commission '[...] to implement an overall European regional planning policy which will give expression to the political determination to effectively administer and to preserve the territory of Europe as a common domain'. Note that the talk was not of 'regional policy' but of 'regional planning policy', thus signalling that there was more to it than just giving grants. In fact, the French version talked about *aménagement du territoire*: as the reader knows, regional policy conducted within a spatial framework. In any case, the report argued that industrial decline, rural depopulation, the de-localisation of certain activities, the interpenetration of economies and population, cultural changes, shifting patterns of tourism, ecological disasters and the loss of natural heritage demanded joint action. In addition, the administration of the European territory had to take account of the quality of life of present as well as future generations, a reference to the emergent sustainability agenda.

So conceived, European regional planning policy – European spatial planning – should pursue three objectives: co-ordination of existing Community measures and policies '[...] to ensure that, from the spatial point of view, no decision will stand in contradiction to any other'; the promotion of balanced and integrated regional development; the assumption of a forward-looking role concerning the European heritage. Pursuing these objectives, the European regional planning scheme should determine the location of '[...] certain infrastructures and activities, projects, or zones of European interest' for which there should be specific regulations and financial backing. The scheme should be based on an inventory of problems, from balanced development to tourism. It should be subject to consultation in accordance with 'grass-roots' democratic procedures. The work should begin with surveys, proceed to the preparation of a Commission document setting out priorities and alternative choices, involve consultations with the regions and result in proposals to the Council, with the European Parliament giving an opinion. Gendebien also called for an operational unit under a Commissioner responsible for regional planning – not regional policy – and for spatial co-ordination of various Community instruments and measures.

Claude Husson (2002, 42–45) reports on what must have been a lively debate in the plenary where a UK member claimed that the very talk of a European space suggested that Europe was a state with a government responsible. This did not seem to have been meant as a compliment. Eventually, a shorter resolution than the one proposed was adopted. It retained the point about inviting the Community to manage European space as a common domain, amplifying this by saying that the intended European planning scheme should be an instrument of co-ordination prepared according to a bottom-up democratic procedure based on needs and aspirations expressed by the regions themselves and by the proponents of local initiatives. The last point concerned the establishment of an operational unit under the responsibility of a Commissioner charged with spatial planning and the co-ordination of various Community instruments.

The Commission needed no encouragement. The real addressee was the Council of Ministers. It is usual for the European Parliament and the Commission to be more proactive than the Council representing Member State governments. The European Parliament did not, however, have much leverage at the time, though since then its influence has increased.

Lobbies like the Council of Peripheral and Maritime Regions and the Association of European Regions see the Community as a partner in affirming the position of regions. European regional policy and planning are elements in this equation. This explains why they, much as the Committee of the Regions since the 1990s, support the Commission and/or the European Parliament in promoting European planning. The influence of regions increased under Jacques Delors.

Jacques Delors and the European Spatial Development Perspective

We have seen that the period after the empty chair crisis saw the articulation of the rationale of European planning addressing spatial issues inherent to European integration. The Commission, with the European Parliament and the Council of Europe in the wings, took initiatives which Member States either ignored or bought back into the national fold, as for example when monies from Community coffers were used to subsidise state budgets. Ambivalence – Member States agreeing to give Community institutions a role, only to sabotage the pursuit of common objectives afterwards – is only too apparent. In any case, it is clear that a European planning programme – what it should be about and how it should proceed – took shape decades ago. In the late 1980s and early 1990s planners seized the opportunity to take further steps to render it more concrete. This was under Jacques Delors' two successive Presidencies of the European Commission. One of the cornerstones of his attempt to energise the Community was cohesion policy, reflecting his belief in a 'European model of society' with two elements to it: redistribution softening the effects of market liberalisation and globalisation, and inclusive governance.

So cohesion policy became serious business. Reiterating that the core stood to draw disproportionate benefit from it, countries negatively affected made acceptance of the Single Market and the Euro contingent upon a doubling of funds. This addressed the distributive aspect of cohesion policy. Under its governance aspect, the Commission took a leaf out of the book of *aménagement du territoire* and the Integrated Mediterranean Programmes. Cohesion policy became the arena for discussing European spatial planning.

This forms the backdrop of the making of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). French and Dutch planners shared a common purpose of giving cohesion policy the spatial dimension already present in *aménagement du territoire*. However, it is important to realise that where a land-use planning tradition prevailed the question of who could adopt plans was important. Where stimulating regional economic development was central, the issue was rather one of controlling the budget. Since the Commission had a budget, albeit a relatively small one, for this purpose, it seemed natural for it to emulate *aménagement du territoire* and to seek to formulate a spatial framework, but clearly not a land-use plan, for cohesion policy. Still, any spatial framework formulated by the Community was anathema, especially to the Germans. So agreeing, as the Commission argued, that the need for such a framework was implied in the powers that the Community already possessed was out of the question for the Member States. As it had been agreed that European planning was 'intergovernmental' and not a matter for the Community, the Germans became consistent contributors, bringing the ESDP into port.

With Bas Waterhout, I have written a book on the ESDP process mired in this so-called competence issue (Faludi, Waterhout 2002), so I do not propose to discuss it at length, but there are points worth making because the ESDP set the tone for the future. It came in two parts: Part A on policy and Part B on analysis, the latter now largely outdated. Part A was less than fifty pages long in English: quite an achievement given its long gestation period. Its title 'Achieving the Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the EU: The Contribution of the Spatial Development Policy' witnessed to the debt owed to the European planning programme formulated by the Council of Europe and Gendebien. It dealt with the Community policies with a spatial impact, making the case for improving their 'spatial coherence'. The document identified sixty policy aims and options grouped under 'Polycentric spatial development and a new urban-rural partnership'; 'Parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge'; 'Wise management of the natural and cultural heritage'.

There have been various follow-ups and, for all its shortcomings, the ESDP triggered a learning process. This seems more significant than whether spatial planning is a Community competence. An important arena for learning was, and still is, INTERREG. Its transnational strand started even before the ESDP process came to an end and has continued ever since. So the ESDP process did not end with publication of the document, and learning was, and still is, an integral part of its application. Importantly, some INTERREG projects trod on territory where the ESDP had not dared to go. Thus, in each of the co-operation areas in North-West Europe under INTERREG IIC, but apparently not all the others, a spatial vision has been prepared, with at least one more for the Atlantic Arc.

Interestingly, despite its disappointments, the Commission keeps invoking the ESDP. A gratifying mention was in the Commission's White Paper on European Governance where it held up the spatial approach in the ESDP as an example of good governance. The Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion, too, recounts the main ESDP guidelines. The ESDP thus belongs to the Commission's repertoire where matters of spatial planning/ territorial cohesion policy are concerned.

Conclusions

At the turn of the century a firm European planning programme existed, with three chief elements: harmonious development; coherence of policies as they affect space; and territorial governance being conducted, not from the top down but in co-operation with stakeholders. With essentially the same elements territorial cohesion policy could become the vehicle for pursuing it. How this will play out in relation to 'Europe 2020', successor to the Lisbon Strategy and the negotiations leading to the post-2013 Financial Framework and cohesion policy, remains to be seen.

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PAOLO LA GRECA: NEW TOPICS AND PLAYERS FOR RESEARCH IN PLANNING

ABSTRACT

The paper begins by considering what I call 'Parallel Divergences' between 1909 and 2009 – the centenary of the Housing and Town Planning Act' 1909, the first British town planning legislation – as a reflection on topical research in planning today.

The main current issue is awareness of the role that town and regional planning can play in improving social conditions and confronting the great new challenges of the present day.

We are still dealing with unsolved problems of metropolitan areas and city-regions; we are trying to understand 'world cities' and 'global cities'; we must cope with 'the endless city' at world-wide level as a result of a fundamental shift in the world's population towards cities. One basic question is whether planners are really equipped to face this challenge. They must be equal to it: the survival of mankind is at stake.

We need to co-operate to manage increasing demand for infrastructure and sustainable development for contemporary global society. The ever-present question of how to foster a better social and economic life for all must be answered by planners and architects along with other relevant players such as policy-makers, politicians and various economic stakeholders. The discipline of planning is facing radical change. Planning is turning from its almost exclusive pre-occupation with producing plans towards urban and regional science and techniques aimed at promoting the growth of fundamental territorial values. Sound territorial policies require deep knowledge of places and their differences.

Taking on this challenge, the paper tackles a series of relevant topical issues for new research in planning such as:

- Redefining the approach of the discipline to cope with the unexpected.
- Social and environmental threats in the face of the emerging humanitarian challenge presented by climate change.
- Integration of urban and mobility planning in European practice: the Transport-Oriented Development approach
- Strategic Environmental Assessment for sustainable planning.

1909-2009: The 'Parallel Divergences'

We have recently celebrated the centenary of the 'Housing and Town Planning Act' 1909, the first British town planning legislation. It was the direct result of a series of radical reformist ideas about changing and improving the city at the turn of the century. Welcoming the Act, John Burns, president of the British Local Government Board, pointed out that it would 'provide a domestic condition for the people in which their physical health, their morals, their character, and their whole social condition can be improved'. However, the relevance of the Act was not just the fact that it moved town planning from the charitable sector into local government operation and marked the official endorsement of town extension planning; it also moved town planning more decisively into the purview of the professional expert. In the same year, planning education as an independent discipline began with the establishment of the Department of Civic Design at Liverpool University. Both the school and its journal the Town Planning Review fostered a new sense of planning as a professional activity in its own right. The profession was born with the critical and comprehensive know-how and methods of different disciplines. The Town Planning Institute, established in 1914, was a compromise between architects, engineers, surveyors and lawyers, being a body of professionals from different backgrounds. Reformers and propagandists could be associated with it, but only professionals could be full members.

Between 1909 and 2009, between that glorious start-up of our discipline and the present, I perceive what I call 'parallel divergences' that I want to point out to start a reflection on key subjects that I consider relevant in current planning research.

Planners should be quite used to thinking about the future, for town planning by its nature is essentially concerned with shaping the future. If, in general terms, the best way to envisage the future is to look backwards to the past, this should be particularly true of town and regional planning, since

planners are always confronted with physical structures inherited from the past. The main issue is awareness of the role of town and regional planning in improving social conditions and facing the great new challenge of the present day.

Until the end of the eighteenth century, the city was the exception, not the rule.

In Europe the 'rate of urbanisation' (the ratio of the urban population to total population) was less than 10 per cent. It is regarded as a turning point when that rate passes 50 per cent. In the UK, this point was reached very early: in 1850; by 1900 it reached 77 per cent. In France, the 50 per cent rate was reached in 1929, during the first global financial crisis.

The 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act and the birth of town planning as an autonomous discipline were the direct consequences of the first and second industrial revolutions, when Britain became an overwhelmingly urban society. As Ward (2004) has emphasised: 'before it was anything else, town planning was a series of radical reformist ideas about changing and improving the city with important dimensions in the enhancement of community and protection of amenity'.

It was a matter of social justice.

A century later, the turning point in the rate of urbanisation was reached for the whole planet and it has attained a global dimension. We have also experienced the global revolution of transport and we live in the ICT age of the 'network society'. We are also facing a very severe world-wide financial crisis. By the same token, problems inherited by 'the short twentieth century' (1914-91, so defined by Eric Hobsbawm) such as the defence of the environment or the ever-increasing rate of migration once more create an urgent demand for social justice.

Despite these parallel correspondences, nowadays the 'moral fibre' evoked by Burns clearly diverges and is now left to those outside the planning system.

'How to explain the paradox that urbanism, as profession, has disappeared at the moment when urbanisation everywhere – after decades of constant acceleration – is on its way to establishing a definitive, global triumph of the urban condition?'

This question asked by Koolhaas (1995) deserves an answer because the world is faced with unprecedented challenges at the turn of the new century.

Meanwhile we are still dealing with the unsolved problems of metropolitan areas and city-regions; we are trying to understand 'world' and 'global cities', we have to cope with 'the endless city', at worldwide level, as the result of a fundamental shift in the world's population towards cities caused by world-wide rapid urban change, an irreversible global process, leading to new and highly integrated forms of large urban, metropolitan and regional networks and agglomerations (Burdett, Sudjic, 2007).

I doubt we are really equipped to face this challenge but I am convinced that we cannot afford to shirk it: the survival of mankind is at stake.

On the one hand, some planners seem to be suffering from the 'original sin' of town planning: that society could be improved by the widespread application of their principles. The utopian background of the discipline is still there and it risks jeopardising the search for the right solutions. The concerns and ideologies of these town planners are also a product of the past. *'Redefined, urbanism will not only, or mostly be a profession, but a way of thinking, an ideology: to accept what exists. We were making sand castles. Now we swim in the sea that swept them away'* (Koolhaas, 1995).

On the other hand, many capable, informed and careful planners are perfectly aware that in fact town planning has never had complete control over other aspects of government intervention in relation to urban change. We need shared efforts to cope properly with the increasing demand for infrastructure and sustainable development for a contemporary global society.

The ever-present question of how to promote a better social and economic life for all citizens must be answered by town planners and architects along with other relevant players such as policy-makers, politicians, and various economic stakeholders. Furthermore, politics and national institutions are no longer the main actors of social changes vis-à-vis the effects of global science, technology, communication and culture. At the same time, the experience of past decades has once more confirmed that the challenges and problems of rapid urban change cannot be resolved with the methods and know-how of stand-alone disciplines.

The new features of 21st century urbanisation demand radically new and integrated approaches and solutions that extend beyond the restrictive boundaries of separate technical fields.

The discipline of planning is facing radical change.

Planning is turning from an almost exclusive production of physical plans towards urban and regional science and techniques aimed at promoting the growth of sound territorial values.

I would like to stress this point particularly: if the challenge is global, the answer cannot be found by using a globalised approach oriented to market practices. It seems that globalisation pushes toward strengthening regional and local identities.

That is confirmed by changing attitudes in European Union urban and territorial policies. They are re-focusing from an initial idea of a homogenous development toward increasing emphasis on well-rooted specificities and differences of development at regional and metropolitan level to promote local development practices (La Greca, 2005).

Sound territorial policies require deep knowledge of places and their differences. According to the vision proposed by Magnaghi (2005), 'territory' is an entity of localities and inhabitants shaped by generations of human beings; they should place a value on local resources and regard their cultural, social and physical heritage as a key asset. Along with the understatement of the competitive dimension of cities, there is also a tendency to look at global models that risk overwhelming and homogenising local identities.

Competitiveness can be a dangerous obsession if applied without distinguishing the role of different places and actors. Cities and regions are not enterprises. Despite the worldwide financial crisis, countries cannot go bankrupt because – to quote Friedmann – they are places of social relationships embedded in territorial dimensions.

Koolhaas (1995) asserts that a 'new urbanism' will no longer be concerned with the arrangement of more or less permanent objects but with the fostering of territories with potential; it will no longer aim for stable configurations but for the creation of enabling fields that accommodate processes that refuse to be crystallised into definitive form. New urbanism will be the staging of uncertainty.

New topics and players for research in planning

Taking this challenge we can list a series of relevant topical issues for new research in planning.

Redefine the Discipline Approach to Cope with the Unexpected

The crisis of modernity has brought about the collapse of the certitude of controlling development traditionally pursued by planning. In this new scenario, planning has lost its relevance, both from the theoretical and the practical point of view. The contemporary town appears increasingly to be an archipelago of fragments. The conditions of uncertainty within these actions need to be duly investigated.

Traditional town planning paves the way for a process of decision-making aimed at reaching possible development objectives as a way of pursuing territorial excellence and quality, instead of probable uncontrolled growth.

In planning, we face a moment at the end of a period of 'normal science' when scholars recognise the unreliability of their theories but the new paradigm has not yet emerged clearly (Kuhn, 1962-70). The unexpected is always ready to happen and we cannot foresee how it is going to appear. As soon as it does appear, we must be ready to welcome it, revising our theories and ideas instead of forcing it to fit in with the old theories and ideas.

A solution for coping with uncertainty could be to make use of the strategic approach. As it is quite impossible to define a programme, a strategy is needed.

A programme sets up a series of actions to be pursued sequentially in a stable environment to develop from the current state to a future one. The programme is irremediably blocked if an unexpected element intervenes, altering the process.

By contrast the strategic approach copes with uncertainty by elaborating a scenario for action, evaluating strengths, weaknesses, uncertainties, opportunities, probabilities and threats. It means looking for global guidance for urban transformations within a shared framework, guiding private and public actors' choices. A fundamental element must be the reversibility of action. In a context where there are no clear-cut outlines the only acceptable conclusion is the proposal of reversible solutions.

More than any other, the strategic approach can journey through the adventures of uncertain knowledge: it is navigation in an ocean of uncertainties through archipelagos of certainties (Morin, 1999).

The Social and Environmental Threats in the face of the Humanitarian Challenges posed by Climate Change

Climate change is the greatest emerging humanitarian challenge of our time. According to the new report *The Anatomy of a Silent Crisis* produced by the Global Humanitarian Forum, the think-tank of former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, climate change already affects the lives of 325 million people (Henderson, 2009).

After a century we have another important Act that which will have a relevant influence in planning in the UK and in the world: the Climate Change Act 2008.

In enacting this legislation the UK became the first country in the world to have a legally binding long-term framework for cutting greenhouse gas emissions and providing solutions to reduce the risk. The Act creates a framework for building the UK's ability to adapt to climate change.

In the 1990s Anthony Giddens, one of the leading scholars of contemporary society, dealt with risk, uncertainty, danger and trust in his seminal book *The Consequence of Modernity*. Today he has just published *The Politics of Climate Change*, highlighting how problems related to individuals' and governments' immediate experience of the impact of climate change will be taken seriously and attract active policy interest (Henderson, 2009).

Concerns about climate change oblige planners to ask what the role of regional and local spatial planning and urban design is in tackling this growing threat to the future of our planet. There is a general scientific consensus about the central responsibility of mankind's activities in the 250 years since the Industrial Revolution for the rise of atmospheric temperatures that we are experiencing now. Its effects are already clear as is evident from the massive shrinkage of polar sea-ice, rising sea levels that threaten many of the world's largest cities and the droughts and other extreme weather events that have devastated numerous countries.

Unfortunately, the world intergovernmental climate summit in Copenhagen in 2009 failed to adopt an agreement to succeed the Kyoto Protocol which, in 1997, initiated the faltering attempts to limit greenhouse gas emissions.

In the same year, at the 45th Congress of ISOCaRP (the International Society of City & Regional Planners) when planners from 57 countries met in Porto, Portugal it was reaffirmed that many necessary actions will take place at the level of the cities where over half the world's population now lives. Because they concentrate people and activities, our cities place a particular burden on resources and they are also the places where action must be concentrated if we are to deal effectively with the climate change humanitarian emergency.

One of the most relevant questions and one that deserves a comprehensive answer is about the road that individual cities should take: should they adapt to observed and anticipated changes in the climate, or should they put their emphasis on mitigation, tackling the causes of climate change as part of the collective effort to reduce the build-up of greenhouse gases?

And how – in detail - should cities be shaped and designed to become more carbon-efficient? What can planners do to enhance strategies for mitigation and adaptation for climate change? (Davoudi et al., 2009)

Among others, the following actions can play a major role in fostering the low-carbon cities of tomorrow.

A new vision and new leadership are urgently needed to move rapidly towards a low-carbon future by turning the approaches used in the successful low-carbon schemes of today into the mainstream of tomorrow. Politicians, city managers and planners must identify and share best practice in low-carbon approaches and adopting long-term visions and trajectories for spatial planning of cities and regions to secure progressively lower-carbon futures.

The global dimension of the issue is clearly emphasised by examining the diverse problems of the developed and developing worlds. The approaches are different even if it is necessary to avoid carbon-intensive developments everywhere on Earth. On the one hand, for developed nations the urgent need is for a commitment to secure at least an 80 per cent reduction in carbon emissions by 2050. On the other hand, the fast-industrialising developing countries should move towards low-carbon developments. In poorer developing countries, we should emphasise new planning approaches, including adaptation, to protect their vulnerable land.

These issues should be tackled by using three different approaches: enhancing adequate public policies, fostering the awareness of the problem in communities and stimulating lifestyle changes based on technological innovation.

Integrated and inclusive planning policies should aim to embrace all aspects of the green and blue environment and at securing genuine greenhouse gas savings. They must focus on integrating land-use, transport, energy and waste planning and on stressing the positive consequences of the compact city. Places that are well connected and based on a sound public transport system can significantly reduce car dependence.

Best practice such as new developments or renewal urban programmes in Malmö, Freiburg im Breisgau, Sutton (London) have definitively proved the importance of high-quality conscious design to gain energy efficiency and resource consciousness at city, neighbourhood and building level. They have also demonstrated the leading role of sound urban design in creating networks of open spaces fully integrated with the built environment.

Integration of Urban and Mobility Planning in European Practice – The Transport Oriented Development Approach

Town and regional planners have long worked to create good places to live that work well and are sustainable. This work now includes strategies and techniques to cope with climate change at all levels.

Mitigation and adaptation create sustainable regions and above all compact, equitable and transport-efficient cities which avoid the risk of creating heat islands and foster design of inclusive, energy-efficient, liveable neighbourhoods.

Since the 1990s many experiments have been carried out in Europe focused on integration between land-use governance and mobility management and intended to achieve sustainability. In such experiments, integration between these elements has been tested at different scales and with different approaches.

In detail, such integration is pursued both through the definition of new settlements and via rehabilitation of existing ones, improving transport infrastructures, design of public space, location of activities connected to public transport network and control of traffic flows.

Around the world, many case studies can be quoted as relevant examples of integrated policies. The past and present best practice of Danish and Scandinavian urban development (e.g. Stockholm and Oslo transit-oriented developments) show clearly the potential of metro and bus rapid transit systems in tackling many urban transport problems.

Looking at these influential experiments, the most significant weaknesses and the more innovative aspects can be highlighted both for new settlements and for existing ones. This overview confirms that it is necessary to achieve integration of sectoral policies towards a comprehensive approach to territorial transformation.

This approach must be rooted in a broad-based vision of the government of urban transformation; including not only methods and tools capable of analysing and foreseeing the wide consequences of transformation but also new technical and administrative procedures and different roles for the actors involved in the process of transformation.

Strategic Environmental Assessment for Sustainable Planning

Over the last ten years, after a lengthy phase of establishing procedures, the evaluation of sustainability of projects, programmes and policies has become increasingly important in all EU Member States. The European Commission and many governments have adopted regulatory impact assessment procedures as part of their own policy-making. Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA), sustainability appraisal and other forms of evaluation are used to assess interventions in areas such as development assistance, infrastructure development, energy and EU agricultural and structural funds. Increasingly these assessments have become a key tool in the transition to sustainability.

Research in science and technology is of the utmost importance in achieving protection of the environment and sustainable use of natural resources. This research should focus mainly on land protection and preservation with particular emphasis on mountain regions, water resources, river and estuary dynamics, analysis of the environmental impact of infrastructure, urban settlements, design of ecological and energy-saving buildings, interaction between energy and the environment, as well as surveying and remote sensing.

This new integrated approach encompasses all issues of sustainability and requires interdisciplinary and internationally- oriented research activities. Research centres and academic schools of architecture, civil engineering, urban, rural, regional, landscape and environmental planning, geoinformatics and all the other planning-related disciplines in every country together with international partner institutions must raise the level of knowledge of urban, regional and landscape planning, transport and mobility as well as GIS, data analysis, social and cultural implications. This should pass from expert knowledge to everyday tools for sound spatial planning and effective city and region management.

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CLIFF HAGUE: CAN PLANNERS ASSESS TERRITORIAL IMPACTS?

This chapter focuses on the idea of Territorial Impact Assessment (TIA) as a way of applying to European policy-making a long-standing (though challenged) planning belief in spatial integration of sectoral investments. It looks at TIA work within the ESPON programmes (2006 and 2013). It then draws on research through telephone interviews with experts in over 10 EU countries, undertaken in 2010, to explore where the idea and practice of TIA stood at that time. A key finding is that the advent of other impact assessment regimes (notably those concerned with environmental impact), combined with the strongly sectoral nature of the EU, means that the integrative approach is weakly developed. Finally the chapter asks what might be done.

What do Planners do?

The spatial planning idea involves two basic assumptions. Firstly, there is the belief that the location of activities and connections between activities matters. The spatial dimension is seen as important in a way that other disciplines, professionals and bureaucracies struggle to understand. Secondly, manipulation – planning – of the spatial dimension of development enables integration of otherwise diverse sectoral initiatives in a way that adds efficiency, and also (potentially) equity between people, generations and places.

Thus the New Charter of Athens of ECTP-CEU (the European Council of Spatial Planners) notes that “spatial planners must focus primarily on the interests of society as a whole, the settlement or the region as an entity, and the longer term future” and lists the following amongst the commitments of spatial planners:

- Convince all involved parties to share a common and long term vision for their city or region, beyond their individual interests and objectives;
- Suggest and elaborate operational legislative tools to ensure efficiency and social justice in spatial policies;
- Achieve efficiency and effectiveness of adopted proposals, taking into account economic feasibility and the environmental and social aspects of sustainability.

How Credible is the Claim to Integrate?

Of course the New Charter of Athens only dates from 2003, and was a conscious attempt to restate the concerns and skills of planners in the specific context of a new Europe and a globalising economy of networks and flows. However, as the titular homage to the original Charter of Athens implied, it was also an attempt to reassert some continuities with inherited outlooks, practices and professional claims. Similarly, the New Charter is a normative document. In setting out what spatial planners can – or would like to – do, it implicitly opens once more debates that developed amongst planning academics, economists and public policy analysts in the USA in the 1950s and 1960s. Authors such as Chadwick (1971) and Faludi (1973a, 1973b) brought these into western and northern European discourses.

In essence the issues revolved around the need for – and challenges to – normative theories of planning as a process and the methods that could be used to model, predict, evaluate and optimise the spatial patterns of development. Critics argued that the claims that underpinned this “rational comprehensive” view of planning were unrealistic and contradicted by practice (Lindblom, 1959), and that the responsibility that specialist sectors have for operating decisions is a better assurance of the efficiency and effectiveness than the aspirations of planners to co-ordinate while being free from operational responsibility (Altshuler, 1965). These arguments did not deter the development of evaluation methods such as cost-benefit analysis, but nor did practising planners make much use of such methods in plan preparation or in judging proposals for development. Legal codes and ownership rights in land typically shaped the actual regulatory practice much more than idealism of an integrated and rational process.

Meanwhile, in the centrally planned economies of central and eastern Europe during most of the second half of the twentieth century, the issues were both similar but also significantly different. Private property law was not the barrier to planning. There was no room for arcane deliberations about the nature of the long-term public interest: the connected parallel systems of state and party defined progress, just as surely as “objective laws” explained industrial location and spatial efficiency, for example (see, for example, Pallot and Shaw, 1981). In these circumstances, and with costs of much infrastructure defined by the state, it was possible to develop methods for multi-criteria evaluation and even a planning theory of optimisation (see, for example, Bernat, 1978). However, despite such methods, the reality was that the sector ministries (especially those linked to industry) determined the patterns of spatial development to a significant extent. Furthermore, since opposition to the idea of integration was not politically possible (as a

direct challenge to the state itself), it was sectoral and “technical” concern with environment (such as issues of air quality) that made possible legitimate challenges to planned urban and regional development.

In Austria (Raumverträglichkeitsprüfung) and Germany (Raumordnungsverfahren) legislative procedures did exist to undertake a form of regional scale impact assessment of major projects. The European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) was completed under the German EU Presidency in 1999. It included the recommendation that “the European Commission examine periodically and systematically the spatial effects of policies – such as the Common Agricultural Policy, Transport Policy and ‘Trans-European Networks’, Structural Policy, Environmental Policy, Competition Policy and Research and Technology Policy – at European level” (paragraph 37). Faludi and Waterhout (2002, p.149), in their definitive history of the making of the ESDP noted that “This is a German wish that has found its way into the ESDP”. The national focus of TIA on projects had been switched to a European-scale focus on policies (Böhme and Eser, 2008, p.44).

What is Territorial Impact Assessment?

The way the “German wish” was developed in the ESDP was in the call for TIA to be done for large infrastructure projects (Option 29) or for water management projects (Option 52) or in trans-border situations (recommendation after paragraph 178). It saw TIA as a procedure for assessing the impacts of policies and proposed developments against spatial policy objectives. However, it gave little or no guidance on how a TIA might be done, and tended to link TIA with environmental assessment.

The European Council of Town Planners held a conference in 2001 to probe the TIA concept. The conference revealed the strength and diversity of national legislation and approaches. There was no enthusiasm for a TIA Directive. It showed that Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) was established and comprehensible within national policy communities, and Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) was emerging, and that these were seen as possible vehicles to address territorial impacts.

The ESPON programme became the main vehicle to undertake TIAs on EU policies and to develop TIA methodology. Böhme and Eser (2008) provided a good, concise review of this quite extensive work in the 2006 programme. In general the approach was ex-post, looking at where spending had gone on agriculture or through Structural Funds, for example. There was some attempt in ESPON 2006 to have the different policy impact studies follow a common TIA methodology. However, this did not happen: different projects approached their task in different ways, reflecting disciplinary traditions and interpretations of policy analysis. Perhaps the nearest ESPON came to a “definitive” TIA approach was in the major integrative study on Spatial Scenarios. There the TIA was applied ex-ante to try to assess the future territorial impacts of different policy orientations. This work was led by Roberto Camagni and based on a multi-criteria evaluation model that he developed called TEQUILA. It has been carried forward into the ESPON 2013 programme, most notably in a project called TIPTAP.

The (multiple) criteria that Camagni used were Territorial Efficiency, Territorial Quality and Territorial Identity. He suggested that these can be disaggregated as follows:

Territorial efficiency:

- Efficient and polycentric urban system (*)
- Inter-regional integration (*)
- Resource efficiency: consumption of energy, land, water ...
- General accessibility, infrastructure endowment
- Competitiveness of production system
- Sustainable transport: share of public transport and absence of congestion
- Development of city-networks and medium size cities
- Compact city form, reduction of sprawl
- Reduction of technological and environmental risk.

Territorial quality:

- Reduction of interregional income disparities (*)
- Conservation and creative management of natural resources
- Access to services of general interest
- Quality of life and working conditions
- Quality of transport and communication services, safety • Reduction of emissions

- Attractiveness for external firms
- Reduction of poverty and exclusion
- Multi-ethnic solidarity and integration
- Employment performance.

Territorial identity:

- Conservation and creative management of cultural heritage
- Quality of urban and rural landscapes
- Cooperation between city and countryside
- Development of region-specific know-how and knowledge
- Accessibility to global knowledge and creative 'blending' with local knowledge
- Development of territorial 'vocations' and 'visions'
- Development of social capital; shared behavioural rules.

The criteria marked with a * can only be measured at EU level (Camagni's "the general Assessment") as they are about relations between regions, and not within regions.

So basically the model seeks to predict the impact of a policy such as Cohesion Policy on these criteria at EU level and at NUTS 3 level. Weights have to be given to the criteria – e.g. we can say that efficiency, quality and identity are equally important and weight each at 0.33. You can vary the weights to see what difference it makes to the final results.

Then you need a way of judging how a particular policy will impact on these criteria. This can be done in various ways, e.g. use of expert judgments, attention to causes and effects, use of data if available. Qualitative impacts are rated on a scale from +5 (very high advantage to all) to -5 (very high disadvantage to all).

The potential impact per region and criterion is derived from specific studies or calculated according to "policy intensity" in each region. Policy intensity means that for example, some policies may only apply to certain regions (e.g. pre-accession aid). There is a measure of "policy applicability" (scored as either a 0 or as 1). Similarly, the regional impact of policies will depend on the characteristics of the region, e.g. a region with a lot of high quality urban and rural landscapes will be more affected by a policy promoting landscape conservation than a region with few quality landscapes. In the same way a region with high urban and landscape quality may be less affected, but also more at risk, if policies promote industrial growth, when compared with an old industrial area. Thus the model combines a measure of potential impact and a measure of regional sensitivity, with sensitivity being a mix of geographical characteristics for the region and the desirability of the impact.

So by assigning weightings it becomes possible to do the calculations and produce "scores" for each region. These scores can then be mapped. Nevertheless, TEQUILA, like all TIA exercises will continue to face problems in getting regional data of sufficient quality. As we shall see in the next section, these, together with a preference from practitioners for a method that is simple and quick to operate, mean that there are barriers to extensive use of the TEQUILA approach.

Böhme and Eser (2008, p.64) concluded their review of TIA in the ESPON 2006 programme by saying "although it is difficult, TIA is possible and potentially very useful for increasing the territorial awareness and coordination of policies. As for the last point, the close link of TIA and policy development is a key issue. However, the demands on TIA have to be deduced from the policy process. Where and how should it be accommodated? After this question it is advisable to address the issue of the appropriate methodology, and finally to ask for conclusions on the TIA work of ESPON."

European opinions on TIA

These sentiments from Böhme and Eser have been reflected in a paper by Zonneveld and Waterhout (2009). It took a pragmatic line. They judged the prospects of introducing a new TIA instrument at EU level as "slim", and instead argued for introducing a territorial dimension to existing EU Impact Assessment procedures. Also in the Netherlands, Evers et.al (2009) did an assessment of the territorial impacts within the Netherlands of different interpretations of territorial cohesion, in the context of the Green Paper on that topic. This took a broad-brush, essentially qualitative approach.

So how do European planners now view TIA? In 2008 telephone interviews were done with nine experts – all but one of them practitioners - from across the four national planning administrations within the UK (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland). This was followed up in 2010 with a similar study to gain insights into understanding of the concept of TIA in a number of Member States and amongst ESPON Contact Points, other researchers who are expert in European policy and spatial planning and also practising planners. In all 10 telephone interviews were conducted between February

and April 2010: four with ECPs, three with other researchers, and three with practitioners. Between them these people have in depth experience of the following countries: Belgium, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia and Sweden, and familiarity with some others. Thus, although the number of interviews is small, the interviewees between them have extensive and in-depth experience which they shared willingly in the course of the interviews.

In many ways the findings from the UK in 2008 anticipated similar responses from other countries in the 2010 survey.

TIA is not a term that UK practitioners are familiar with, even though the spatial planners interviewed were very aware that sectoral policies have territorial impacts. Furthermore, the fact that so many other forms of impact assessment already exist, especially SEA and EIA, makes practitioners uneasy about any requirement for TIA to become a required practice.

The interviews confirmed the point made by Böhme and Eser (2008) that TIA-type procedures do operate in some EU countries. For example in Portugal there are procedures linked to the National Spatial Development Policy Programme, which involves sector ministries in consultation on the Programme, but then all the plans and sector policies have to conform with that document. A new regulatory impact procedure was being prepared in Slovenia. The new rules will mean that government measures have to be assessed in terms of their environmental, economic and social impacts. Significantly, it was expected to be similar to the Impact Assessment approach of the Commission. As at April 2010, it was expected that guidance about the territorial dimension would be included as part of the environmental impacts.

However, there were some important difference between national procedures and ESPON's development of TEQUILA. As one expert commented: "Now when TIA is discussed, the stress is on quantitative measurements of the impacts on space or territory of sector policies. In contrast, the German procedure means comparing the impacts of new projects for conformity with existing plans, though of course this does not necessarily mean that the project has to be dropped if it does not conform. I have always thought that TIA in this sense would be very useful approach, as it would immediately highlight conflicts between spatial and sectoral plans."

The overall findings from the interviews are summarised:

Findings from Expert Interviews

- 1: The term TIA is not in common use.*
- 2: There are some TIA-style procedures in some countries*
- 3: EU Directives and Policy do have territorial impacts*
- 4: Environmental assessments are the main form of impact assessment, but have limits*
- 5: TIA needs to be easy to understand and manageable in terms of resources and data*
- 6: There is value in ESPON's TIA work, but it is too sophisticated to be transferred to practice*
- 7: TIA would be most useful if done ex-ante*
- 8: Plans are key to the TIA process*

A Way Forward?

The Territorial Agenda of the EU, adopted at Leipzig in 2007 referred to the need for integrated policy, and set up an Action Programme which included a Task Force on TIA. Linked to its role in this, and reflecting concern at unintended territorial impacts of EU Directives, the UK's Department of Communities and Local Government has commissioned research on "Tools to assess the impact of EU Directives on UK sub-national planning policies". In addition, the UK, along with Slovenia and Portugal successfully proposed a project to ESPON: the EATIA project explored how practitioners can handle the challenge of ex-ante assessment of proposals and policies. Another ESPON 2013 project, ARTS, also developed and applied a TIA methodology to a number of EU Directives.

In summary, the idea of TIA has been around in EU spatial planning since the ESDP. EU Directives and policies have territorial impacts, which can be unintended and not anticipated. The notion that territorial impacts can be predicted ex ante could be seen as fundamental to the very idea of spatial planning. However, planners across Europe have no agreed TIA methodology, a gap ESPON 2013 has sought to fill. Furthermore, as a form of multi-criteria evaluation, TIA has to overcome the familiar problems of the genre: how can we predict the future from data about the past, how do we weight criteria, how do we test sensitivity to changes in different variables, can we get the right data, and how do we define the spatial boundaries (to list the main ones)? While EIA and increasingly SEA have become established procedures, TIA has not. Indeed as the influence of the European Commission with its many sectoral Directorates has extended across European territories, single-focus legislation has been strengthened and the voice of planners as would-be integrators has been weakened. Better analytical skills and tools are needed and spatial plans robust enough to provide a reference point in more generalized impact assessment regimes. With austerity and economic crisis, for the 2014-2020 Structural Funds the EU is seeking to make every Euro spent achieve multiple outcomes. Effective ex ante use of a form of TIA could help to achieve this aim.

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PATSY HEALEY: THE PLANNING ENDEAVOUR IN THE 21ST CENTURY

This chapter is based on a talk given at Zongshan University in March 2010, and is developed from my argument in Healey (2010).

ABSTRACT

Planning as a field of policies, practices and scholarship has developed in Europe in the past century to address the challenges of living in an increasingly urbanised world, in which governance activity is by now expected to be centred on citizens' diverse aspirations and concerns as experienced in the flow of our lives. In our contemporary European world, we live these days in complex interactions in space and time, where our interactions have effects not just in a single place, but in many different places. The 'project' or 'endeavour' of planning has evolved, in Europe, to help manage the spatial and temporal complexity of our interactions and how these affect the qualities of places as experienced by people with a stake in them. In this way, it has contributed to the 'public realm' of our experience of places. At the same time, how planning activity has been performed has had an impact on our governance processes and cultures, the 'public realm' of our polities. In our European experience, the contribution of the planning endeavour to people's well-being and sustainable environments has been celebrated, challenged and ignored. Those involved in the field have had to struggle to make those in other areas of governance work recognise its significance. In this chapter, I provide three arguments underlining why, in the 21st century, it is important to continue the struggle to make sure that the planning endeavour is not neglected, but instead is developed and honed to the evolving realities of urbanised living. I conclude by summarising the key attributes for a 'planning endeavour' relevant to our challenges in 21st century Europe.

Spatial Planning and the Public Realm

Those of us who have been involved in the planning field are continually challenged to explain why planning is an important activity in our societies. Some critics imagine planning as the promotion of big projects by powerful political and economic interests, which tend to overwhelm and displace the rest of us. Other critics see planning in its regulatory apparel, as restricting initiative and innovation. Some tell us that planning is a hangover from the over-controlling bureaucratic states of the 20th century, and that what we need these days is less 'government' and more space for economic and civil society initiative. Yet at the same time, citizens and businesses complain that not enough attention is being given to looking after the places where we live and conduct our activities, or to how we get about in the complex urbanised worlds of our contemporary existence. Across the world, we are increasingly anxious about the adverse impacts of the way we live have on the future sustainability of our lives and our planet. All kinds of people are concerned about place qualities, at all kinds of scales. This suggests that, whatever our image of 'planning', there is a place in our governance arrangements for giving attention to how we create and sustain place qualities and address spatial impacts.

If we look carefully at the planning tradition, especially that associated with 'spatial planning'¹, such a concern is deeply embedded in the idea of 'planning' cities and regions. Those promoting the idea of spatial planning as an activity for complex urbanised societies have regularly re-iterated its justification as an enterprise about imagining futures and working to bringing aspects of such dreams into being (Bertolini 2009). I have recently attempted to provide my own account of why such a project is important for us in the 21st Century (Healey 2010). In this chapter, I draw on my arguments to identify some key dimensions of the 'planning project' as I think it should be understood in our present times. I underline its contribution to the 'public realm' of urban life in a double way. In one way, the focus of attention of the project is on the material quality of the 'public realm', the parts of the city we, as urban dwellers and visitors, share with each other, with neighbours and strangers², as we go about our lives. In another way, the idea of planning draws on, interweaves with and helps to create the 'public life' we share as a political community – of citizens, all kinds of other

stakeholders and those charged with formal government roles. As planning theory teaches us, the planning project involves continual attention to both the substance of planning work involves and how it is done, its 'content' and its 'process' dimensions.

It is sometimes argued that, at the present moment in the evolution of economic, social and cultural dynamics across the world, there should be less government, not more, and less reliance on bureaucratic and legalised forms of collective action, not an increase. The justification for this, it is claimed, is that social evolution is better served by encouraging innovation and enterprise, and the capacity for 'self-regulation'. This argument is sometimes coupled with a claim that we live these days in a 'space of flows', in contrast to a 'space of places'³. This argument can lead to a conclusion that governance attention, such as it is, should focus on facilitating flows, rather than paying attention to place qualities, which can be left to self-regulation processes. These could either be those of the 'market' or of voluntary civil society initiative, that is, regulation 'beyond formal government'.

In my view, these arguments are far too general and abstract. They portray as crude oppositions and choices what, from our experience we know as complex combinations. Self-regulation without some form of legal basis and government action easily lead to collective costs which affect the sustainability of social and environmental conditions. We can readily appreciate this through the experience of the recent global financial crisis.

We are also aware of the environmental and climatic hazards we face as a result of short term over-exploitation of planetary resources. Spaces of flows and spaces of places co-constitute each other, if we think of social organisation in terms of systems of networks and nodes. Markets and civil society initiatives are shaped by and interact with government processes.

In my discussion, I present an argument for developing an effective capacity for spatial planning in a society and a city which takes account of these interactions. I argue that the complexity of living in an urbanised world demands some capacity for deliberate spatial organization, or 'place governance'. Such a capacity could take many forms, not all of them benign or progressive. I claim that the capacity associated with the idea of spatial planning, as it has evolved from the 20th Century through into our present era, promotes a particular set of values which provide an orientation about what agenda to strive for and how to strive for it. I underline that such a governance capacity with a 'planning orientation' needs to be 'locally grown', while also open to the scientific, technical and experiential knowledge available from other places and other times. I develop the argument in terms of three 'assertions' or claims.

Assertion 1: Complex urban societies need some form of deliberate 'place governance'

In Western Europe, with a long tradition of managing life in cities, the informing ideas of the planning tradition are sometimes forgotten. 'Planning', in everyday language, becomes associated with the particular practices of detailed 'land use regulation'. It is experienced as a bureaucratic hurdle, a tiresome restraint on individual initiative. Yet, when someone else's initiative gets in our way, we leap up to ask 'government' to intervene to stop it, or at least give us a voice in what happens. Those who do planning work often find themselves 'in between' these apparently contradictory pressures and demands. Yet these everyday occurrences also underline that people, even in societies which foster 'individualism', care about the qualities of the places which surround their own immediate dwelling and which affect their daily life movements. Those who do planning work often find themselves 'in between' these paradoxical complaints and demands.

'Planning' also gets associated with major transformations to the urban fabric. A century ago, 'city planning' centred on such projects, influenced by ideals of what a 'modern' city should be like. The field of planning theory was at one time a terrain of debate between competing images of urban futures. Politicians and new political regimes promoting a national modernisation project often took up the city planning idea, seeking to equip their countries and cities with the 'look' of a modern place⁴.

Shanghai (Pudong), Dubai and even Canary Wharf in London are maybe contemporary expressions of such a momentum.

In retrospect, such major projects often neglected the wider economic, social and environmental costs of the place transformations they achieved. They could lead to social and economic displacements which caused later political upheavals. They often neglected the need to provide supportive infrastructures and connections to other places. They frequently left governments with 'debt mountains' which future generations have been keen to avoid. Out of this experience has come the recognition that the pursuit of major projects in isolation may bring substantial profits to a few key actors (and maybe also big losses!). But such projects do not necessarily lead to more sustainable urban conditions or to increasing the chances of the flourishing of the many and not just the few. Instead, what needs to be 'in place' is a governance capacity to address issues of the extent and distribution of externality costs of place transformation projects, in the short and long term. This involves on the one hand a technical capacity to undertake appropriate 'impact assessments'. On the other hand, it requires a conceptual and managerial capability to think 'comprehensively' about the webs of relations through which the impacts of a major project may be experienced by diverse groups, and environmental relations, near and far⁵. In such a 'comprehensive' or 'holistic' imagination, flows and places need to be imagined conjointly, and as dynamic systems with multiple nodes and

linkages (Graham and Healey 1999, Healey 2007). This in turn needs a capacity to grasp the complexity of the way people experience and come to value the qualities of places.

A century ago, planners tended to assume that we all shared the same values and experiences, so there was no need to find out and give voice to the concerns of residents, businesses, landowners, infrastructure providers, etc. Now it is difficult not to be aware of the diversity of all those who have a 'stake' of one kind or another in a place and its qualities. Such stakes are not just linked to demands for meeting 'basic needs', such as food, clean water and shelter, or providing means of mobility and finance so that goods can be produced and moved around easily. They are about what a place is like to live in and do business in, and about the cultural values, both of past heritage and future hopes, which a place expresses. Development activity, small and large, prompts people to remember these needs and values. It is for this reason that such activity generates all kinds of conflicts between all kinds of groups, as they argue about how and why the 'public realm' of a place matters to them and the other people and values they care about. It is all too easy, in the midst of such conflicts, for some people to get ignored and overwhelmed by the loudest voices, and their concerns neglected. What might make the qualities of urban places more liveable and sustainable for the many and not just the loud and powerful few is thus not easy to establish, without some capacity to get the variety of stakes, needs and values out into the open, into debates about place futures which are fed by the plurality of ideas and experiences of the 'many', in diverse situations. If the capacity for such discussion and debate is neglected, resentment can build up which makes later projects and programmes much more difficult to pursue.

Following this part of the argument thus underlines not only the substantive ways in which the qualities of places get to matter and why deliberate interventions are 'in demand' to identify, promote and protect the public realm qualities of places. It also emphasises the value of a governance capacity which is able to involve the plurality of people in a political community with stakes in a place and its future in thinking about what is happening, might happen and could happen there, in the 'dreaming' of place futures. Such governance capacity is not necessarily situated in the institutions of formal government. There are many examples where planning activity has been initiated by business groups or civil society activity (see, for example, Briggs 2008).

Assertion 2: Place governance with a planning orientation promotes the values of social and environmental sustainability.

Place governance can take many forms and is not always benign. Some of these are antithetic to the ideas of the planning project as we now understand it. In some situations, such governance focuses on protecting the values of existing residents and keeping others out⁶. In others, it centres on the paternalist ambitions of a single landowner or city mayor, keen to demonstrate their power. In some instances, a local municipality will merely be concerned to maximise short term returns from exploiting natural resources or rising land values⁷. Or local leaders may operate in a clientelistic way, handing out access to property and to public realm assets as a benefit in return for votes or other kinds of support, with little concern for impacts on local quality of life⁸. Those promoting a planning orientation in place governance continually struggle against such practices. In contrast, the 'planning project' emphasises attention to interdependences and the way what happens on one site, in one time and place, connects to and impacts on both neighbours and more distant places, and on the long-term as well as the short term. It focuses on interactions and connections, on how a particular action connects to a wider sphere of activity. It demands attention to the dynamic relations between 'parts' and 'wholes', both now and as these evolve into the future.

In the mid-twentieth century, in the heyday of 'modernist' ideas, these relations were imagined through a few simple concepts. Parts were linked to wholes in a hierarchical way, to construct both a city-as-a-system, and its governance- as-a-system. Place development, in turn, was imagined in a linear way, with every place located on a trajectory towards an idealised conception of a 'modern city'. Such thinking influenced post-colonial regimes such as that in India, where President Nehru in the 1950s advocated building cities with urban designs taken from the lexicon of good European and American city planning (Vidyarathi 2010).

But now, thanks to developments in understanding urban dynamics and much greater knowledge of urban experiences in different parts of the world, such a conception has been displaced by another. This emphasises that urban life is structured and patterned by multiple forces and systems. This creates urban societies with many diverse social groups and individuals with multiple identities and allegiances. People and groups, and the systems they identify with interact in the urban realm in complex and unpredictable ways and can never be fully understood, with new or unexpected phenomena continually appearing. Place governance with a planning orientation may sometimes be called into being to release the capacity to make the most of new opportunities, but may also be demanded to stabilise conditions which have become so volatile that people, businesses and environmental qualities are being harmfully destroyed and displaced. Thus, by sustained collective effort, future potentials can be 'willed' into being.

So in our contemporary era, the idea of spatial planning has become associated with a focus on maintaining and creating place qualities which are likely to endure into the future. Such a focus is linked to the effort to create a governance capacity to address the challenges that the future will throw at us, futures we can think about and imagine, but which we cannot know or precisely shape and control. Part of this capacity involves recognising key interactions in time and place, and the complexity of the social and environmental forces which are manifest in particular interactions. Social complexity demands recognition of the multiplicity of identities and social groups which co-exist in an urban context, while environmental complexity demands attention to the multiple natural forces which interact with each other and with human activity in all kinds of ways. Those involved in place governance these days are encouraged to work with a 'pluralistic' imagination, as a way to grasp and keep in sight these multiple systems and forces, as manifest in particular encounters and struggles over place qualities. They are also expected to keep in mind the range of relationships through which what happens in one place affects other places and a wider sphere (or scale) of systemic relations. They need to acquire a capacity to think in a holistic, integrated way about the issues and interdependences involved in a particular situation while also considering selectively what specific action to take now to address particular problems. Working with such complexity and uncertainty does not mean that the planning project is 'impossible', nothing more than an idealist's dream. Instead, it means maintaining an experimental attitude, recognising that actions have to be taken now but that such interventions are provisional, to be observed, learned about and revised as the future unfolds⁹.

Place governance with a planning orientation is thus not just about maintaining an orientation to the future, with a belief that action now can shape future potentialities. It is about social learning and expanding the knowledgeability of those taking actions with the intent of shaping place futures. It involves attention to the pluralistic 'many' and the imaginations and experience they bring to bear when they interact in the public realms of urban life. It requires efforts to understand how these interactions affect the liveability and sustainability of the social and environmental conditions which sustain human and planetary existence, both in general and for everyone. It demands continual attention to the interactions between 'parts' and 'wholes', and between individuals and the various wider systems of which we each, in different ways, are a part. It benefits from careful probing of the arguments and claims made about problems, issues, impacts and possibilities.

Assertion 3: Place governance with a planning orientation needs to be 'locally grown', yet open to knowledge from other times and places

The first two assertions present the planning project as some kind of 'universal' idea, from which all urban communities can benefit. At a very general level, I think such a claim can be substantiated. We can claim generally that an urban context with supportive infrastructure, accessible public spaces and facilities, and clean air benefits all urban dwellers. But the planning field is not just an abstract debate about what cities and urban life could be like. It is a field of activity, of practical action. Such action is situated in physical spaces and institutional locales with very particular histories and geographies. One of the major mistakes planners made in the mid-twentieth century, armed with a 'modernist' belief in a linear path to how societies developed and what 'future' cities could be like, was to travel the world with a 'pattern book' of urban designs and regional development formulae. Such tendencies still abound, as in the encouragement to search out 'best practices' from here and there.

But people's concerns about the qualities and sustainability of their living spaces and the wider planetary environment are only in part general and abstract. They are also very firmly rooted in what has happened before, in their daily experiences now and in the past, in their specific hopes and fears for the future and in their knowledge of, and attitudes to, the double public realm of urban life and its governance. They are concretely located in a specific material and mental world. It is in these particularities that struggles over whose views get to count and what values get privileged are fought out. The general ideas associated with the planning project provide norms through which to contribute to such struggles and to help articulate progressive ways forward. Beyond this, the agenda of actions and values 'in debate' about place qualities in an urban political community need to have local meaning and engender local support if they are to have any significant leverage on emerging futures.

This does not mean that knowledge from elsewhere does not have value. Such knowledge enriches the resources available to a political community in developing its own agendas, strategies and ways of doing governance work. But planning experiences from elsewhere need to be treated with a critical eye, to identify the conditions which led to their growth and the values which they express. The 'neighbourhood unit' which mid-twentieth century planners in India took to be the goal of modern residential design was in practice the expression of a very American dream of the 'good life'. The idea of 'participatory budgeting' which now attracts global attention arose from a very specific struggle between social groups in Brazil, and reflects a very particular moment in the country's development as a democratic polity¹⁰. When transferred to other contexts and other times without careful attention to institutional context and local dynamics, such ideas may not only fail to work. They may be subverted to other purposes and values than those which I have associated with the planning project.

My emphasis on local specificities - on the significance of growing futures from local histories and geographies - does not imply that the future is 'path dependent' in a deterministic way. The future is not just made by our history. It is made by how we interact with our history in the present circumstances in which we find ourselves, and through the resultant initiatives, experiments and struggles that create the opportunities and constraints in the next stages in our development pathway. Those involved in place governance work who seek to promote a planning orientation therefore need to be continuously alert to the 'struggle' they are involved in, not just to help create liveable and sustainable places which will provide an enduring future inheritance for the many, and not just the few, but also to create a governance capacity which can combine sensitivity and understanding of local dynamics with knowledge about experiences and situations elsewhere. Such a capacity is not just to be found among formal government actors, although these often play a very important part in mobilising resources and technical knowledge to bring to bear on urban challenges. It includes the knowledge that all urban dwellers have, each with their own experiences and networks. It draws on the ways citizens and businesses organise and undertake collective activities to improve the public realm of urban areas. Their activities have been evident in both the previous examples.

Reprise: The Planning Project and the Public Realm

I will now summarise what I have presented as the key attributes of a 'planning orientation' to place governance, and then comment on the implications of the three 'assertions' I have made. Although every place where planning work is done has its own specificity, and so any planning work needs to be done in ways which have resonance with these specificities, we can perhaps claim, as a community of people knowledgeable about cities and their planning, that, at the start of the 21st Century, there are some general statements we can make about the 'planning endeavour'. I list these below.

Attributes of a 21st Century 'Planning Endeavour'¹¹

- An orientation to the future and a belief that action now can shape future potentialities
- An emphasis on liveability and sustainability for the many, not just the few
- An emphasis on the relations and interdependences between one phenomenon and another, across time and space
- An emphasis on expanding the knowledgeability of public action and the 'intelligence' of a polity
- A commitment to building the capacity for open, widespread and wide-ranging discussion about place qualities and futures.

Such a project contributes to the public realm in a double way. It encourages the production and maintenance not just of space to accommodate everyone but the physical public spaces of urban areas, from the areas around the dwelling or the workplace, to the nodal parts of urban areas, where many people encounter each other in transport hubs, major streets and squares. It fosters the creation of these material assets in ways which have the quality to endure into the future as valued parts of the urban fabric, sustaining, without over-exploiting, environmental systems. But it also both requires and may help to construct the social spaces of public debate and discussion about place qualities and urban futures which can help to focus and legitimate governance action. Neither part of this double contribution to the public realm of cities is easy to achieve. Sometimes the demands of 'quantity' - of providing as many dwellings, factory space, transport capacity, water and telecommunications networks as possible, seem to overwhelm considerations of the 'quality' of what is produced and of governance processes. But sooner or later, quantity-without-quality - and the governance processes which allowed this - is criticised, leading to political consequences which affect trust in, and the legitimacy of, government systems. This in turn undermines the capacity for future governance action.

What then do the three 'assertions' I have made in this chapter imply for the focus of planning activity in urbanised contexts in the 21st century?
I summarise these under three 'aphorisms'.

1. *Know your place!* This means a sensibility to the tensions and challenges that people experience as they 'co-exist' in an urban area. This is not just a technical and managerial matter, but involves a grasp of how diverse people, in multiple ways, experience an urban area through their daily lives and in their histories and memories.

2. *Foster active and inclusive debate!* This involves creating and using discussion arenas where different 'imaginings' about places can come forward, and arguments about how particular projects and proposals can be explored and their implications drawn into view. Such discussion draws more knowledge into the discussion of strategies and actions, helps people see how one issue connects to another and brings hidden 'voices' into the public realm, limiting the potential for governance action to cause harm to the 'silent'.

3. *Know your institutional context!* Every place has its own institutional history and geography, its own 'characteristics'. To do planning work, we need to cultivate the capacity to 'read' these specificities, in order to identify moments of opportunity when new ideas and ways of doing things can be pursued, and also to recognise limitations - when the institutional time for an idea or a practice has not yet arrived. Through these institutional recognitions, we get to have better ideas about how, when, and where actions to shape urban futures might be taken, and in what way these could be undertaken.

Thus the planning project, as I have presented it, is not just a set of formal procedures and organisational responsibilities set out in law and government statements. Instead, its contribution to our urban futures lies in helping to create the physical and social fabric in and through which our future lives will be lived, and in helping to grow the governance capacity to form a socio-political 'public realm' capable of addressing the complex issues of 'living together while living differently'¹² in the everyday flow of urban life.

Footnotes

¹ In Europe, the planning field is these days strongly associated with urban and regional, or 'spatial' planning and development. In the US, the understanding of planning may encompass any policy field. See Hillier and Healey 2008.

² I refer here to Sandercock's metaphor ('when strangers become neighbours') (Sandercock 2000).

³ See Castells 1996, Jensen and Richardson 2004.

⁴ See Nasr and Volait 2003 for several examples; see also Vidyarthi 2010 for a discussion of President Nehru's interest in urban planning principles in post-independence India. See also the famous examples of the Chicago Plan, by Daniel Burnham a century ago, and the re-development of Paris in the mid-nineteenth century.

⁵ See Hoch 2007 for this notion of 'comprehensiveness'.

⁶ In the US, this practice is known as 'exclusionary zoning'.

⁷ Florida, US, provides many examples of this practice (Rubino and Starnes, 2008)

⁸ Such practices have been common in the south of Italy.

⁹ I develop this argument further in Healey 2007, 2009. See also Hillier; Innes and Booher 2010.

¹⁰ See Briggs 2008, Baiocchi 2003.

¹¹ This is adapted from Healey 2010, Chapter 1.

¹² I have borrowed this phrase from planning theorist John Forester (1989).

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JIRÍ HRŮZA: IN SEARCH OF THE CITY

At the beginning of the 21st century we are trying – both as citizens and as urban planners – to find out what our future settlements should look like. We are wondering about Mankind's ability to cultivate the urban environment and our qualification to define the necessary measures and steps towards it. These efforts – including inevitable errors and their correction – are not new. They have been looked for since the beginning of permanent human settlements.

Critique of Functionalism

In the 1920s and 1930s the partisans of modern functionalist architecture and urban planning believed in the ability of their brand new doctrine. They believed in the ability to find answers on every question that arose, drawing on 'scientific' methods and mastering the problems of contemporary cities, maybe even with enduring validity. As always in the past, in the very same 20th century the next generation disproved or at least called into question the validity and importance of recently formed, simple and seemingly unshakable rules of the functionalist approach.

The principles of the functionalist town were conceived at the beginning of the thirties, before the start of the period of economic and political crisis. Only the changes in the European power situation following World War II made it possible to apply the Charter of Athens on a broader scale - but at about the same time, it met with opposition by some urban planners.

Under the given economic and social conditions (and in fact under any other conditions) it was quite impossible to take seriously the suggestion to demolish and then completely rebuild the whole of Moscow according to Le Corbusier's Radiant City or Ladovsky's Rocket City designs. Just as unrealistic was the provocative idea of replacing the Le Marais district of Paris by the Vertical Garden City skyscrapers according to Corbusier's Plan Voisin de Paris. Ideas of the German and later Scandinavian avant-gardes suggesting how to remake entire cities into the system of satellite towns had to remain as utopias; they would require regional transport and in general infrastructure networks that were scarcely attainable in the present conditions.

It was therefore only possible to reuse proven historical patterns which suited the intentions of many regimes at that time. That suited older generations of academic city building too, mindful of their professions and respecting local conditions including the choice of building constructions and materials. They were also using eclectic decoration symbolising social elevation for most ordinary people.

The principles of functionalistic urban design were first criticised after World War II when large housing estates were built. Inhabitants of these new settlements realised that they did not like living there. That caused anxiety on the part of politicians, sociologists, journalists and mainly architects and urban planners. They were disappointed because their applied and enforced ideas, so attractive in their simplicity, did not work. So it came about that functionalist ideals could not satisfy the very people whose lives they were supposed to improve.

Rejection of modern architecture and urban planning became more commonplace. The critique was based mostly on sociological phenomena - in fact originally the starting point of modern architecture and urban planning. The findings of a meeting organised by the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1948 ended up as a critique of functionalism. The book *The Death And Life of Great American Cities* by an American writer Jane Jacobs (1916-2006) was published in 1961 to great acclaim with the wider public and not only in the US.

The author criticised the basic principles of modern urban planning leading to anonymity and a depersonalisation of the urban environment. She contrasted that with the aesthetics of a traditional town, its lively streets with little corner shops and communication between people. During her first trip to London she rightly stressed: *'the planners' greatest shortcoming, I think, is lack of intellectual curiosity about how cities work. They are taught to see the intricacy of cities as a mere disorder'*.

Jane Jacobs favoured the rather utopian consideration of philosophising author of science-fiction tales Ray Bradbury (1920) from the discussion on the cities of future: *'When I look at the future through the eyes of some film-makers today, I become irritated because they're all so busy being negative. Some of their cities of the future are devastations of smog, bad architecture, and bad people. And that's not the way it's going to be. The cities of the future can be walking cities. People don't mind walking in a good place. When I am in Paris, I walk 10 or 12 miles in an evening because it's so fascinating. If we build places with texture and light them, keep them open until midnight, people will go out and walk. Now we lack texture, what with banks shutting down at 5 and the like, leaving nothing on the street to see. If you have 20 thousand restaurants as Paris does, people will stay even in bad weather, watching people, socialising until late at night. The more of that we can build – complexes of restaurants, bookstores, et cetera – the more people will walk, stop, look and enjoy. People need more options than just staying at home looking at the idiot box every night.'*

(David Clow, Understanding Cities, Washington 1982, s. 53.)

Jane Jacobs' opinions provoked great interest but also critical voices unhappy that implementation strategies were considered only in passing, there was no attempt to identify interest groups that might support her position, and no consideration of the benefits that variety might bring to cities.

At the same time as Jane Jacobs, an American architect Robert Charles Venturi (1925) brought out new demands on architecture, not so readable but professionally even more persuasive. In Rome in 1962 he wrote lectures for the Museum of Modern Art in New York published in 1966 as *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*. This small publication is justly considered a basic work of post-modern architecture. It set in train the creative career of its author and his wife Denise Scott Brown (born 1931). Their seminar at Yale in 1968 became the basis of the book *Learning from Las Vegas*, published in 1972. The newest book in 2004, called *Architecture as Signs and Systems*, where the first part bears the name of the programme 'Architecture as Sign rather than Space – New Mannerism rather than old Expressionism'. A new sense of architecture is expressed in Venturi's statement that he is for 'richness of meaning rather than clarity of meaning: for the implicit function as well as the explicit function. I prefer 'both- and' to 'either-or', black and white, and sometimes gray, to black or white. A valid architecture evokes many levels of meaning and combinations of focus: its space and its elements become readable and workable in several ways at once.'

(Robert Venturi, Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture, Harvard 2004, s. 16.)

A similar orientation was applied by the German psychologist Alexander Mitscherlich (1908-1982) in his book *Unfriendliness of our towns*, published in 1965 and still provocative today.

A follow-up to the Mitscherlich book on the unfriendliness of towns – not only by reference to the name – and his *Propositions on the City of the future* from 1972 was published twenty five years later by Klaus R. Scherpe in the almanac *Unreality of Cities – City Design between modernism and postmodernism*.

In contrast to modern housing estates it has been proved that urban populations prefer to live in rebuilt older housing stock within the historical core of cities, or in traditionally designed neighbourhoods and 19th century garden suburbs. Such tendencies were the subject of many philosophical and sociological studies proving that people feel better in environments with clearly defined borders between the private and public spheres. They give priority to staying in distinctly demarcated city space, streets and squares with a lively parterre.

Many traditional components of towns and cities started to receive new interpretation and sense. Closed housing blocks, firmly rejected by functionalists, turned out in many respects to be an acceptable layout. Interior areas of blocks providing protection against traffic emissions, noise and dust can be used - when large enough - for recreation. Semi-private interior spaces are especially suitable for children and senior citizens. By contrast it is not easy to attain such qualities with rational layouts of parallel lines of prefabricated houses.

Corridor streets were criticised because of the inherent conflict between the needs of transport and social space. That cannot be avoided under conditions of heavy traffic, where strict segregation is inevitable. But the majority of city streets are alive and rather attractive, a quality scarcely attainable by functionalistic communications. On streets with lower traffic burden can the social space prevail and the traffic could be restricted by regulations.

The third quality of a traditional 19th century city rejected by functionalist teaching is a mixture of different functions, especially housing and work places. This principle is based on the conditions of old 19th industrial cities in which defective factories endanger the environment as well as the health of people.

Consistent functional segregation especially in big cities and agglomerations leads to commuting not only to work but also to services, shops, public facilities, recreation and even to schools and health care institution. A reasonable mix of functional zones and even individual objects combined with adequate zoning ordinances can shorten commuting distances and keep the urban environment lively. On the other hand, segregated mono-functional urban zones may be all but deserted at certain times of the day or night.

Revival of Tradition

The assessment of traditional urban structures renewed interest in their spatial arrangement which had been largely neglected by modern architects. Again the most effective proportions and measures of streets and squares, relations between buildings and spaces, the locations and role of landmarks and the relationship of towns with the countryside and its elements are the subject of study.

A work that has already become a classic is *The Image of the City* (1960), which deals with the theoretical levels of urban space and its components. Its author, Kevin Lynch (1918- 1984), a student of F. L. Wright and G. Kepes, engaged with the composition aspects of cities, agglomerations and landscape all his life. Lynch himself characterised the preoccupation of his first book and his life-long interest as 'the look of cities, and whether it can be changed. The urban landscape, among its many roles, is also something to be seen, to be remembered, and to delight in. Giving visual form to the city is a special

kind of design problem, and a rather new one at that'. At present, urban space analyses use Lynch's urban components: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks.

The importance of traditional urban components and composition were stressed by Rationalists or Neo-Rationalists initiated by Aldo Rossi (1931-1997) and his book *L'architettura della città* (1966). The group was presented at the 15th Triennale in Milan in 1973 when they published the exhibition catalogue *Rational Architecture*.

Historic towns and traditional urban dispositions are the inspiration for the theory and projects of the brothers Krier, Robert (born 1938) and Léon (born 1946). They resolutely rejected modern urban planning and architecture; Léon characterised modern architecture as 'a cultural tragedy to which there is no precedent in history'. 'Modern cities' have been more devastated 'both physically and socially than in any other period of their history, including the two world wars'.

Similarly, the Prince of Wales expressed the same rejection in his book. The brothers Krier were returning to the traditional town with its compact structure, clearly delimited streets and squares, closed blocks and composition patterns in classicist style. Especially they overestimated the urban block as a 'complex typological unit' which is the 'basic element of urban composition and urban tissue' as Léon said at a 1975 London exhibition of *Rational Architecture*.

The basic theoretical work expressing 'post-modern' views on the renewal of historical qualities of towns is a publication *Urban space in theory and practice* (1975). Robert Krier wrote it for students of architecture and devoted it to the memory of Camillo Sitte. He supported the latter's legacy even if he did not achieve the integrity so typical of Sitte's work. He collected examples of traditional special solutions and was concerned mainly with their formal features similarly as Sitte worked more than a century ago. He nearly repeated Sitte's words from the introduction to the first chapter: 'The basic premise underlying this chapter is my conviction that in our modern cities we have lost sight of the traditional understanding of urban space'.

In the book by Robert's brother Léon *Architecture - Choice or Fate* (1977) two of eight chapters are devoted to city and urban planning 'in the period after modernism'. Léon demonstrates his ideas on conversion of the Fiat company area in Florence to a residential quarter or on conversion of former industrial site to an area of EU institutions in Luxemburg. The project 'completion of Washington, D.C.' was a kind of continuation of the Burnham concept of the rehabilitation of the original L'Enfant plan dating from the end of the 18th century.

The dedication 'To my Prince' in Léon Krier's book showed his loyalty to Prince Charles, the advocate of traditional architecture and the protector of historical monuments. Perhaps in a spirit of reciprocation, Prince Charles supported the realisation of Léon's project of a small housing estate, Poundbury, started after 1993 as an extension of Dorchester and first of all as an application of Prince Charles' ideas.

In 1990 Charles himself published his views on the proper aims of contemporary architecture the film and book mentioned above, *A Vision of Britain*. As visual documentation he used the works of his protégés. They include a representative of 'radical retrospectivism' Quinlan Terry (born 1937), the architect of terraced houses at Richmond Riverside Development (1986- 1988). There the eclectic 'classicist' frontages hide conventional bare offices.

Charles' book focuses on 'ten principles you can build on': the characteristics of the place, expression of importance ranking, human measure, mutual harmony, closing of spaces, use of local traditional materials, interesting décor, cooperation with art, application of small architecture and lighting, and finally, the expression of co-existence. We can support the principles but they are not obligatory.

Charles' critique of the newest interventions in cities was confirmed by the haphazard placement of very differently shaped skyscrapers in central London. British architects with a modern orientation, as politely noted in the polemic by Richard Rogers and Maxwell Hutchinson (then president of the Royal Institute of British Architects), criticised Charles for abusing his status to assert personal taste, his intervention in architectural competitions and to exert influence on important construction projects particularly in London.

By contrast the book was positively received by Charles Alexander, a theoretician working in the US and Charles' confidant, who may have exaggerated somewhat in calling it 'a landmark in the history of architecture'.

A talented supporter of the application of historicised buildings and urban complexes is a French architect, Ricardo Bofill (born 1939 in Spain). He is active mainly in France, perhaps because there, with strong traditions of Baroque Classicism, he found better understanding. He established the Architecture Workshop and is the author of projects in dozens of countries and cities: among them the Corso complex, created by 'recycling' an industrial site in the Karlín quarter of Prague. In connection with this project he expressed his admiration for historic Prague.

Among Bofill's best-known works is a housing estate called Les Arcades du Lac in the Paris quarter of St. Quentin-en-Yvelines commonly called the Versailles of the Poor. The author applied mirror reflections to the frontage on an artificial lake with a high pillar array, behind which are jammed small social- housing flats.

The centre of 'post-modern' architecture and urban planning is the oldest French university city, Montpellier. At present this offers creative opportunities to such architects as Ricardo Bofill, Richard Meier, Christian de Portzamparc and Adrien Fainsilber. The new quarter Antigona designed by Bofill competes in size and spatial impressions with Baroque and Classicist residencies of nobility and rulers of the 17th and 18th centuries. We must ask whether this is the right way for architecture in the 21st century to fulfil its mission.

A return to historical inspiration is characteristic in Russia where the impulses of Neo-Classicism never came to an end and included the so-called Socialist Realism of the 1930s to 1950s. At present, the newest constructions - government buildings, hotels, tourist centres and offices - derive from Americanised Neo-Constructivism or sometimes historicism, though not formally managed. This is most apparent in rapidly-growing Moscow where the intensity of new construction suppresses not just very old buildings but sometimes also an interesting *genius loci*.

The same is true for the US where the long-cultivated historicised 'federal style' is still applied, not just in representative government buildings in Washington. In certain forms - using wood or plastic materials - it is also popular for one-family houses, giving their owners the illusion of prestige of those who have lived there for ages.

It is not an accident that the Museum of Modern Art in New York organised the exhibition Architecture of (Parisian) School des Beaux-Arts at the end of 1975. The exhibition took place about forty years after the International Style exhibition and ten years before the Deconstructivism exhibition. The exhibition in 1975 was well received and two years later it transferred to Québec and Montréal.

A different face of the exaggerated refusal of modern urban planning and architecture is shown in the Italian Square in New Orleans, built in 1974-1978, based on a project of Charles W. Moore and full of 'quotations' from Renaissance Mannerism.

'A grand monument of post-modernism' - the ATT skyscraper, now known as the Sony Building - was erected only a little later. The author of the project is Philip C. Johnson (1906-2005) who started his career by preparing the International Style exhibition, bringing knowledge of European functionalism to the US.

New Urbanism

Recently in the US we see an effort to react to residents' dissatisfaction with the conventional schematic appearance of dense housing suburbs. Improvement is sought by the New Urbanism movement, also called Neo-Traditionalism or sometimes Post-modern Nostalgia. Its followers, while fulfilling their 'American dream', use the word 'new' - so popular in the US - and paradoxically turn back to hundred-year-old patterns, to romantic dispositions of the first European villa-suburbs and garden cities. Inspiration for architectural expression can be found in eclectics of Daniel Burnham and the City Beautiful movement.

A small spa-town called Seaside, built on a Florida beach in the 1980s is the first memorable example of applying the principles of New Urbanism. Its designers - Andrés Duany and his wife Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk - have been considered apostles and idols of this movement. Seaside itself is not a standard residential district with family houses. It is an area of bungalows aspiring to a romantic and neo-historical appearance; they are intended for rent to people who can afford it, and as film scenery.

Another, even more eloquent, example we can name is Celebration near Orlando, a settlement unit built by the Disney Company near the entrance to Walt Disney World. The promoter was given an opportunity to choose between five styles from a catalogue: Victorian, Colonial, Coastal, French or Mediterranean. The choice of colour scheme and flowers were also in the offer for selection. Well known authorities on the architectural scene - Michael Graves, Robert Venturi and Philip C. Johnson - were invited to design the public buildings.

A very successful and profitable but sometimes misleading advertising campaign in American style was developed around the New Urbanism movement. The propagandists paid special attention to a fancy, romantic graphic presentation, sometimes bordering on kitsch. As a quaint consequence of this development American architects were invited to Europe to teach Europeans how to imitate European garden cities.

In the United States the Congress for a New Urbanism (CNU) was established in 1993 and the Charter of New Urbanism ratified three years later. It is full of noble-minded, not very original, sometimes contradictory ideas, coming to the statement that 'creating the material environment can become a grounding of new ethical and aesthetic rules'. It claims (influenced by the time): 'We advocate the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighbourhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice... We are committed to re-establishing a relationship between the art of building and the making of community, through citizen-based participatory planning and design'.

According to Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk: 'Simply put, we wish to improve the world with design, plain old good design, that is. We believe that the physical structure of our environment can be managed and that controlling it is the key to solving numerous problems confronting government today - traffic congestion, pollution, financial depletion, social isolation, and, yes, even crime. We believe that design can solve a host of problems and that the design of the physical environment does influence behaviour.'

Léon Krier, called 'the father of the New Urbanism ...who represents an inspiration for many new town-planners' expressed his admiration for the new movement in an interview with Nikos A. Salingaros. Following this honour Léon reciprocated to the followers of the New Urbanism with a little bit of exaggerated praise: 'There already exist excellent New Urbanist models for living in small and medium size towns; Higher density projects are only recently being completed, but they don't get the media attention they deserve, so the learning process is slower than it could be? New Urbanism is not utopian and does not impose social master plans. Instead, it allows the infinite variety of human talent to build harmonious and pleasing environments.'

Prince Charles supported New Urbanism in his introduction to the book *The Theory of Architecture* by Nikos A. Salingaros, a well-known mathematician and a promoter of the New Urbanism, by saying: 'There, surely, is nothing more intellectually inspiring and maybe even more important in the development process than the voice of this new thinker.' In England Prince Charles supports the Urban Villages Group which tries to overcome a conflict between local cultures and modern times, accepting only three styles for new homes: Victorian, Georgian and Colonial American.

Critics of New Urbanism rightly remind that it can be applied in small areas of residential buildings or when going back to traditional blocks of homes in small towns. Proponents of New Urbanism on the other hand generously assert that it can solve current global problems around settlements, traffic and environment, and that it can also be applied at the larger scale of city agglomerations and regions. However, the Regional Planning Association of America, founded in 1923 with support from Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein and Clarence Perry, and whose first guest was Patrick Geddes, seemed to get closer to this aim.

Horizon

Just as it was significant for functionalists to reject all the signs and characteristics of a traditional town, the new conservatives display the opposite extreme with their current comeback, leading them towards superficial imitation of the historical world. This tendency in its extreme form gives us ornate, hyped-up historical buildings and urbanity of cities. The expectation was that it would give cities and their promoters respectability and the appearance of old traditions; in reality it threatens the authenticity of what remains from the past and what has retained its aesthetic and ethical meaning.

The return to historical inspiration is just one manifestation of a much wider tendency recognised – not only in architecture and town building – as post-modernism. This term primarily referred to creativity following modern art, consciously distanced from it, abandoning its dogmas, searching for its own individual expression. Post-modernism now has its own broad theory, rich literature, proponents and of course critics, too, who assert that no post-modernism exists or that it is an inexplicit or insignificant movement whose time has passed.

Post-modernism is the name of a trend that followed modern architecture, deliberately departing from its paradigm in an attempt to overcome the apparent inadequacy and simplistic solutions of this route. The name itself expresses the tendency to distance itself from the old but without expressing any new programme target, a reluctance to replace the old dogma with new dogma. On the other hand it raises the question: what should come next?

In the field of architecture and urbanism this cannot be a rhetorical question as new buildings are constructed every day, forming or deforming homes, villages, town districts, all cities and ultimately multi-million-dwelling metropolitan regions and the landscape as a complex – not just today but for the future, too. Nevertheless, every architect and planner must now answer the question put to the conference of architects and engineers in Prague: 'What style should be used?' as early as in the middle of 19th century – in August 1844.

A wide range of trends, some of them contradictory, can be found under the name of post-modernism. There is extreme historic revival, neo-functionalism and, marginally, deconstructivism. All these styles declare support for their avant-garde predecessors dating back to the beginning of the 20th century. They endeavour to surpass their forerunners by the virtuosity of the forms – however, free of the original social motives in some cases. It can be called functionalist mannerism – as the analogy for the relationship between the early and classical renaissance of Brunelleschi and Alberti and the brilliant renaissance mannerisms of Michelangelo or Palladio.

Cities have passed through a large development portal from the still surviving historicism across the scientific pose of functionalism, rejecting all tradition, to the current style reverting to appreciation and occasionally over-valuation of the traditional town. The rapid growth of cities was considered a sign of progress for a long time but now it is understood more as a signal of uncontrollable demographic and migration processes.

Cities experienced periods when everything was adapted to car traffic but it was recognised as not being possible or even desirable. That was the time when people believed in garden cities, then in skyscrapers and then in new large settlements on the outskirts of the city. Urban theory suggested technical and engineering solutions first but on the other hand there was the decisive influence of sociological insights or political power. Once it was considered necessary to design the urban plan in detail, then only a general formulation of the developmental intention sufficed. Salvation was sought in long prognostic speculations, later denied and replaced with pragmatic current action planning.

Skyscrapers are temporarily fashionable in construction in cities. However, these are not the 20-storey buildings of the Chicago School built more than a hundred years ago. The dominant skyscrapers and their clusters, sometimes called 'Manhattans', express by their height – sometimes hundreds of metres – and decorative shapes the reputation of the continents, states, cities and their centres, the owners and inhabitants. Not so long ago the list of the world's highest buildings would include sites in North American cities such as New York and Chicago, or in Europe, London, Paris, Frankfurt-am-Main or more recently Potsdamer Platz in Berlin. At the present time, comparable development in terms of number and height of skyscrapers is taking place in South-East and East Asian cities such as Shanghai, Hong Kong, Kuala Lumpur and Taipei.

There is a paradoxical analogy with the situation in the 19th century. Then the representation of success and prestige of cities was expressed in the number and height of factory chimneys. Today the same chimneys emitting thick, dark smoke are more a symbol of backwardness; their smoke is testimony to primitive industrial technologies neglecting the values of environment.

The assumption of the same fate of skyscrapers losing their significance in the coming decades could perhaps be thought too daring – today.

One could find analogies between historic landmarks – pyramids, ziggurats, pagodas, cathedral spires, town halls, castles and palaces – and skyscrapers as their contemporary successors. It is not so much a question of differing building technologies but more their social signification, so important for the buildings of the past and so questionable for skyscrapers of today. Skyscrapers – unlike the dominant constructions of the past – are the expression of rather questionable social priorities nowadays. Their hi-tech solutions are admired but they can also be understood as the representation of modern incivility when a society cannot successfully function in all its aspects without thousands and thousands of clerks sitting in fashionable offices.

Spontaneous urban development, which all too easily spirals out of control, spells doom both for cities and their centres and for the natural environment surrounding them.

The key word for maintenance of life on Earth is the ecology of human habitation affecting every characteristic and component of the city. Cities and especially their agglomerations are the deepest, ineradicable threat to the ecological footprint of the people on the ground, in the water and in the wind. More than seventy years ago the Czech writer Karel Čapek held up a mirror to modern violent society by introducing his Salamanders (newts) unscrupulously capturing more and more land from trusting people and richly endowed Nature.

We have finally recognised that cities are among the global and decisive factors of nature preservation and the maintenance of the terrestrial biosphere. The phrase 'sustainability of cities' (referring to cities today) is unfortunately quite often understood as a formula for a solution. It ignores the fact that we can only attain such 'sustainability' by ever more aggressive exploitation and pollution of all of the renewable and non-renewable resources of the Earth. Our current cities are endangering themselves and their regeneration; this is one of the urgent preconditions for making them truly sustainable and maintaining life on the Earth. We are not fully aware of this problem and – in contrast to the past – our behaviour does not reflect it.

A common reaction to this changed situation is the tendency to adapt cities to the pace and feverishness of on-going change. Cities become the focus of the world ruled by the mass media – different kinds of information and pictures, advertising, deliberate and unintended happenings and social events. Such a city could be an undetermined social and spatial structure accommodated like a collage to the needs of the place and to the time of the current rulers with the help of the instant and flexible scene.

Since ancient times urban environments have often been the scene of religious and civil celebrations, processions and fairs, stately funerals and diplomatic weddings. Nowadays, cities take advantage of tourism, disguising themselves in the season – that is, all year round now – to provide romantic and above all profitable attractions. Cosy picturesque corners, pubs, urban folklore and the quasi-historical parts of towns are built for the stage and there is a distinct intention to provide unusual – if kitsch – adventure. The beauty of Nature in winter in the mountains is staged for those who are keen on winter sports; lovely beaches are groomed for prestigious summer vacation.

Cities are decorated and prepared for hordes of visitors and adapted for sweet social meetings of beautiful people in special places. Ever larger areas are constructed for such varied events as world exhibitions, fairs, summer and winter Olympic Games, world championships, art Biennales and Triennales, film festivals and concerts given by show business stars. Current highlights of architecture and some selected ateliers can be added to this tally, too.

However, the city can reflect all these world changes and the relativity of their values. At the same time it still can remain a steady, familiar harbour, well-known and close, where a person can feel validated. The quest for such a place favours historical and traditional cities, cultural monuments, sights and pristine landscape.

The art historian Jindřich Chalupický, with his perennial interest in cities as a source of spiritual value, expressed this idea clearly in his last essay *The Way of Art*: 'A long time ago, the fact itself of a town founding was both a practical and a religious project. (...) It was not just a settlement, the living place but also a spiritual space.' On one of his lectures three years before this he said about block of houses: '... they are not human not because the particular houses are so dry but they are inhuman for the lack of the spiritual message. There is no sacred place there. Although, what can be called a sacred place in the modern town? It seems to me that the only solution is to create space for art'.

In order for a city to become of permanent value its characteristics must be tried and tested over time. It includes sensitivity to relationships between the city and the landscape and locating new buildings in harmony with the existing environment. For the awareness of this kind of interconnection, the preservation and usage of city prototypes is very important as it makes the city comprehensible to people and creates the basic points and space for them to find their orientation there. The city loses its own face at the moment when it loses its sacred road, acropolis, and other landmarks, its centre, gates, landscape and nature, its river coast, its natural colour.

By contrast to modern architecture aspires to create general building types that can be applied everywhere without considering the latitude or cultural tradition, there is now once again sensitivity to local Nature, historical and cultural conditions, customs and differences which are important and increasingly prominent. This used to apply to the choice of local building materials and construction types, ground plans and particular buildings, methods of construction, shape of the roofs, surface, colours, and, last but not least, growth. Truly ecological ways of heating, air conditioning, ventilation and water supply are considered. All these seemingly practical and simple things serve to increase the *genius loci*.

We are still living in cities that were founded centuries ago, walking on roads that our ancient predecessors or other nations used. Each epoch, whether long or short, tried to adapt inherited cities to its needs, though the era had passed before the change actually took place. Cities were then left to their descendants as a scene to be accommodated once again to new conditions and new needs – as yet unknown and unimagined.

At every moment we humans should keep our ecological 'niche' in good shape and never forget that we can live only on condition that the 'niches' of all other creatures are in good shape, too, and we can share the Earth with them.

Jiří Hrůza, Prague

Jiří Hrůza died on 10th May 2012; we include his article in gratitude for his significant contribution to the planning of the city of Prague in the 20th century.

CHARLES LAMBERT: PLANNING HAS BECOME STRATEGIC FOR THE HUMAN RACE

The “Century of Spatial Planning” was a period when the civilisation founded on traditional values of rural life gave way to urban civilisation, now the dominant world model. It was a peculiar time when ideological prejudice decreed that the “common good” was best served by the public sector conserving the values of past civilisation; consequently planning was set up primarily as a discipline of constraint rather than one of development and balance. It seems incomprehensible today that the elites could have regarded the contribution of planning as being a constraint on the individual imagination. That is an over-simplification, but for centuries the city was seen as evidence of civilisation and is now understood as being the centre of civilisation (cf. UN HABITAT II Conference Istanbul 1996).

The century of spatial planning that we are considering today was a historical period of rapid increase in the number of people living in an urban environment all over the world. This was true for Europe as elsewhere. But in Europe, 20th-century wars and the compelling need to put that era behind us by accumulating goods and wealth, followed by the harsh repatriation of former inhabitants of colonies and major immigration by peoples of the South, multiplied urban problems without anyone paying much attention to the need to welcome or integrate. Increased urban affordable social needs became a crucial new issue. At the same time, politicians and the traditional built environment professions – architecture, construction and public works – completely under-estimated those needs or even denied or forgot them.

There was a series of major upheavals in people’s lives: the phenomenal expansion in private car ownership, the discovery of “leisure”, the huge increase in life expectancy leading to generations which once lived together forming separate households, the professionalisation of the property market in pursuit of output and sharp practice. It was also a time of continued interchange of ideas and popularisation of new technologies. But the prevailing culture lacked the subtlety and the humanistic élan of the 19th century. In the name of efficiency, everyone worked to simplify, codify and generalise. The individual, the person and the social group, and their place in nature were side-lined.

Finally, the last 20 years of the “Century of Planning” and the consolidation of the European Union meant that a series of spatial planning challenges was created – but then they were ducked; it was easier to write them off as casualties of globalisation – just “collateral damage”. For some reason the authorities failed to predict that allowing – in one fell swoop – freedom of movement of people, freedom of establishment of companies, migration, mutual recognition of diplomas and free movement of students would create new situations to anticipate and exploit. Instead they encouraged even more brutal competition between European regions, exacerbating a situation created by globalisation with the explosion of some former border regions and the largest cities, and eventually the violent decline of almost a hundred others.

Where were we in the First Half of the 20th Century? Where have we come from?

Functionalism, elitism and “common sense” universally dominated thought.

Formalism blinded us, or perhaps led us to believe there was no need to consider the identity of the individual. It was viewed as negligible compared with a supposed “common interest”. Speed was considered a prime virtue. But at the same time, the long-lasting nature of urban phenomena and the slow operation of systems to monitor them meant that they were missed by the brightest and the best, anxious to show their capacity for effective action when the right time to take action had passed, squandered by their inability to make timely decisions.

When Le Corbusier single-handedly re-wrote the Charter of Athens and imposed his Modulor scale of proportions, he swept away the extraordinary contribution of 19th-century thinkers and the humane social sensitivity of the Garden City ideals of Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes as well as experimental approaches being tried on a large scale in Berlin and Vienna. Instead, the complex idea of planning was dismembered into ten or so professional preserves which masked the discipline behind them: transport, urban design, habitat, urban geography, governance and so on.

And there was a trap: the treacherous notion of “common sense”. This idea – carried over from rural society – meant that our ability to act, to take necessary initiatives, foundered on the experience and collective accumulated values of the past. However, the blossoming of an overwhelmingly urban civilization, hitherto unknown in the history of the human race, should have helped us understand sooner the need to strike out in a new direction. The success of the influence of European ideas on the shape of world cities from the 18th and 19th centuries onwards should have shown us that we were in it for the long haul. Right up until the present time, cultivated European elites still believed that yesterday’s towns and cities were “the real thing”; those of today, apart from historic centres renovated at vast expense, were unappreciated, lost for ever but in any case, rather vulgar.

What has happened in Europe since then?

Great movements, introduction of a wide range of new urban practices, a series of setbacks to overcome:

Great movements: in no particular order, as the present exercise does not aspire to summarise the whole of 20th century urban thought, but rather to shed some light on the centenary of planning in Europe.

So many things have happened: first, a massive change in prevailing values: from the Modern Movement in the arts and its effects on architecture which so worried European societies, via the "Right to the City" of Henri Lefebvre heralding the philosophical and political content of so-called urban sociology, through to recent globalisation of the markets and the emergence of the Networked Society documented by Saskia Sassen, Manuel Castells and (in his own way) Jürgen Habermas.

At the same time there was a significant increase in average living standards and concomitant lifestyles: the emergence of "leisure" as a dominant aspiration of the individual, ever-smaller households and divided families, the increase in the number of individual heads of households with their needs and demands, the massive admission of immigrants often perceived as an invasion to be set apart; mass production, particularly of private cars, telecommunications, information technology and domestic appliances. Social science induction and the new techniques of investigation developed, based on algorithmic calculus and new information and communication technologies.

Four developments characterise planning in Europe in the last quarter of the 20th century:

- In 1977, encouraged by the International Society of City & Regional Planners (ISoCaRP), the Société Française des Urbanistes (SFU) entered into dialogue with the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI), persuading it of the profound social dimension of modern planning and suggesting an alliance which was the precursor of the European Council of Town Planners (ECTP-CEU), founded in 1985 to promote the distinctive discipline of the planning profession and its contribution to improving the lives of people and strategic input of land-use management.
- In 1987, the Report "Our Common Future", from the One World Commission chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland, highlighted what was at stake in sustainable development.
- From 1995 to 2002, the professional organisations of planners in the countries of Europe undertook the immense work of revising the Charter of Athens under the aegis of European Council of Town Planners (meantime renamed the European Council of Spatial Planners).
- But during the Nineties, following the example of the European Commission which tried to get approval for the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) to apply across the European Union, a breakaway movement developed in opposition to the notion of planning as primarily a regulatory process; it highlighted the potential benefits of a more strategic approach to planning. Examples were the TAN movement in the Netherlands ("Planning has disappeared and we feel fine!"); ISoCaRP, which made it the topic of its World Congress in 2001 in Utrecht; the "Projet Urbain" group and the "Schemas de Cohérence Territoriale" in France and the major reform of local planning in the United Kingdom.

Development of urban practice:

In the 40 last years of the 20th century and across most of Europe, but at various times according to the rate of progress in decentralisation, and the late joining of countries coming from the former Soviet bloc, the effectiveness of planning grew. Yet it still dared not assert its distinctiveness or its rightful place at the heart of human sciences.

The discipline of Urban Studies became more widespread and more refined, and was taught more effectively; knowledge exchange between cities and countries was encouraged. Monitoring urban phenomena in progress became more commonplace; urban indicators too were refined. These developments led to some progress in urban research but it was still not available sufficiently quickly or in the requisite depth - even among a few expert professional planners.

The rising wealth of European nations in this period allowed major investment in vital fields, contributing significantly to the attractiveness of European places: improvements in the public realm in historic city centres; construction of high-performance public transport networks adapted to the needs of the people and places they served; designation of large areas of nature conservation to protect the environment long-term while keeping it accessible to the public; participation of local people in decision-making on planning matters, leading to a greater emphasis on environmental issues reflecting raised awareness of the environment among the middle classes. Similarly public safety, community relations, energy consumption and more recently carbon emissions and noise pollution were all added to the list of obligatory concerns of planners, as air and water quality had been added to the list a little earlier.

Methods and tools for the study and control of activity affecting the urban environment have improved, but evidence

for the distinctive contribution of the professional planner has not been forthcoming so far. As a consequence, professionally qualified staff in planning remain overall in a very weak position, and, except in the United Kingdom, the Irish Republic and the three Scandinavian members of the European Union, it has remained hard to capitalise on the undeniable benefits of planning for quality of life and spatial competitiveness.

There have been setbacks, and we need to recover from them: There is little awareness among politicians and the media of the planner's capacity to think and act spatially in such a way as to influence the course of civilisation and the social and economic performance of our society, lifestyles and urban organisation. We are constrained by economical horizons and electoral cycles to look at most five years ahead, yet more than sixty years of the study of urban phenomena all over the world has taught us that these interventions produce their effects over a period of 20 or 30 years.

We have failed to reconcile the varying perceptions among our contemporaries on what exactly the City is, or what its limits are. True, we reached agreement on the notion of centrality or central places. But we have made no progress in convincing individual countries (including France in particular) that at this time of a marked universal trend towards concentration in mega-cities, Europe could derive positive benefit from its urban structure, made up as it is of pleasant small towns in close proximity to each other, by opting for polycentric spatial organisation. Instead, we have settled once again for the trendy single issue (CO₂), leading most active professionals to preach over-densification of existing cities, though we know that the high price of land forces vulnerable populations out, leading to further social segregation - the root of all evil.

Nor have we managed to establish a genuine public process of permanent and transparent evaluation of planning policies, making up for their effect being so slow to show up, and the major problem that any attempt to adjust policy will always come too late. True, we have set in train modest preliminary evaluations of risk and foreseeable impacts of proposed projects, often financed by the investors themselves! For example, take the vital and familiar subject of urban form. In many countries of continental Europe, the tradition and culture of social integration, particularly in the 19th century, made it usual for the urban fabric to be made up of multi-storey apartment buildings lining the streets. Some advantages of integration accrued from having different social classes on various floors of the same buildings, but the attendant disadvantages came from high density, over-crowding, overlooking and so on. In the 1960s and 70s, encouraged by public health specialists and architects influenced by Modern Movement, new contemporary developments were built to a very different pattern, yet no social or qualitative evaluation of lifestyles was attempted, and particularly not the careful, regular step-by-step approach from the start. It was not until twenty years later that people realized that established social groupings - people who had the luxury of choice - did not want these "de-structured layout plans" for their own personal urban environment. Hundreds of kilometres of such development had been developed in the meantime. The result? Today, grotesquely, the very urban form which could have brought people together, instead sets apart - we could even say segregates - hundreds of thousands of European citizens, especially in France, all because no process of assessment was agreed at the time of development. The same was true for traffic noise on main roads, retained in congested urban centres for much too long, giving in to pressure from commercial and sectoral interests. Without regular and credible evaluation, no one had a basis for opposing this.

Moreover, responsibility for housing was taken out of the hands of the planner. It was and still is all too often regarded as a vulgar subject which does not feature as worthy of study at European seminars and conferences. The managers of social public housing were expected to deal with their part of the matter, the rest being bravely entrusted to the deified special expertise of the "market" as regards social balance and development of the individual!

The same happened in transport, land administration, financial and tax matters. All these vital matters of urban concern were entrusted to serious people, not to the bearded planners nor to the innumerable municipal planning committees, which nonetheless devote themselves to improvement of the lives of others.

These examples show that one does not have to look far to find out why urban questions remain contentious, or poorly understood by citizens; as a result in Europe today, they distance themselves more and more from public life and its representatives.

Instead of making planning a specific discipline even within social and human sciences in university, other than in Anglo-Saxon countries and a few (rare) Italian universities, planning in European countries is mostly taught in places subject to influences remote from its leading role in setting civilisation. To this day, planning is often taught only in short specialised modules as part of basic technical training in schools of architecture, colleges of law and administration, institutes of technology, politics or economics, or in engineering schools. So it is not surprising that when striving to suggest to decision-makers sensitive choices appropriate to the complexity of urban civilisation, it is so difficult to set out the subject matter of planning in a correct and coherent way.

In most EU countries, even after a century of planning, matters affecting the lives of city-dwellers and influencing spatial competitiveness in terms of business and the best human resources are fragmented in jealously guarded reserves:

- strategy – when it is not just left out of the picture completely on the pretext that it is “political” and therefore cannot be understood by ordinary people - economics – because “it is complicated” and no-one can explain it - policy – because it is “important” and sensitive - rural matters - for political reasons, often the preserve of a specific government department -
- architecture – because it is said to be necessary to be an architect to understand it – highway and transport departments - because managers of transportation networks have perfidiously convinced most of us that it is necessary to be part of their specialised circle, instead of being experienced in sharing experience and standards in planning matters.

Apart from these interests we could also mention landscape and environment matters which are often assigned to obstructive or over-protective groupings, preventing them from having any worthwhile impact on the dispersed centres where spatial planning is designed and managed.

What is today's theme in Europe?

The fact that competence has not been transferred from Member States to the European level does not mean that the particular topic has no relevance at that level. That is incontestably the case in what is at stake in strategic planning in European countries. The work of the ECTP-CEU and the exchange of knowledge and experience that the ECTP-CEU has facilitated for 25 years are proof of that. We could mention for example the work of successive juries in the biennial European Urban & Regional Planning Awards, hundreds of working meetings to revise the Charter of Athens and the work carried out with and for the European Commission on the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) and the Environment Directive. The European Commission undeniably made a big strategic mistake when it called a halt to years of work on the ESDP.

How could a well-organised and valued collective review of European spatial planning be abandoned at the exact moment when the Treaties had brought some unity to the forward momentum of European spatial development and struck a blow for freedom of movement of the people, free establishment of businesses and the mutual recognition of diplomas? Under cover of the “Principe de Subsidiarité”, a convenient but inappropriate subsidy to big stake-holders, there was an irresponsible strategic caving-in to simple-minded “market” forces, which have no role in achieving higher-level equilibrium and people's interests. Indeed, by definition, market forces do not engage with such matters. What was worse, a few months after this dereliction, in 2000, the Commissioner responsible for it came to his own country – to Creteil near Paris – to present the results of an excellent Urban Audit revealing that 74 out of 255 large European cities were in decline – without batting an eyelid; without stopping to wonder who might review and then reverse this alarming process.

It is essential to campaign and to take firm action to restart this technical and political activity, before peripheral areas of the EU become an irremediable burden borne by others, and before more central areas are ground down by needing to absorb millions of “European emigrants”, suffering as a result, and being subject to greatly increased and ultimately unaffordable costs.

Just one example: it is neither conceivable nor reasonable that a democratic unit of 500 million inhabitants such as the European Union in the 21st century could aspire to concentrate all its “ministries” in a single city-capital with all its political and technical “agencies” and the forces of representation and lobbying. The history of the last two hundred years has demonstrated in a country like France that such centralisation was an unprecedented waste of knowledge and leverage, and that it was inordinately expensive. The United Kingdom could be adduced here as another example. Instead we should be aiming for gradual decentralisation of functions across European territory, for example, towards Warsaw to take account of Eastern European interests, to Vienna-Bratislava at the heart of the Danube plain, to Marseilles-Camargue-Toulon for the Mediterranean arc across to Africa and the Middle East! These are strategic planning issues, are they not?

As a conclusion, a sense of hope for our common future: Seven additional recommendations for European cities and towns as centres of civilisation

In line with this analysis and beyond the suggestions already made above, if we are to develop a policy of urban civilisation for Europe, from now on we should rapidly develop our practice of local and regional spatial planning, concentrating on new obligations.

To keep it brief, I restrict myself to just seven suggestions:

Develop the current definition of the city:

The definition of the city is undoubtedly changing. It is no longer a question of merely sticking buildings together. It is a question of federating neighbouring territories and cities to prepare a good quality of life for their inhabitants alongside sustainable development on a broad economic and cultural scale. "The shape of a city changes faster, alas, than the heart of a mortal" wrote Baudelaire. From now on, the city of which we shall speak will be a broad territory of "full" and "empty" spaces - where "full" and "empty" refer not to the presence or absence of buildings or people, but to delivery of benefits in terms of greater overall efficiency and a better quality of life. Such a city may incorporate several traditional cities which explicitly and methodically work together to offer complementary goods and services, making the most of their human and land resources, enhancing their image and minimising public costs which lead to segregation and unproductiveness. Together they create a vision of the future in which they make up a larger, more effective unit, but still on a human scale because it is based on a coordinated, specialised network of multiple city-centres - generally pre-existing ones. The result is a more efficient and enticing city in terms of competitiveness, image, cultural synergy and spirit alongside intensity in community life, energy used and carbon dioxide emitted.

Care for the City:

"The city is a very efficient way of living. It came about because proximity is embedded in human nature, but also because it is easier to pool resources. If we do not act to save our cities from themselves, there will be no future, and what would be the cost of that!" wrote Edwin Heathcote, journalist, in a September 2010 issue of the prestigious Financial Times. At the same time, "Better cities for better life" was selected as the motto of the Shanghai Expo 2010. We should not beat about the bush any more: we really need to deal with cities. Cities are one of the key issues of the 21st century. We need to make each a crucible of innovation in some field or other; tapping into the energy of its inhabitants, supporting excellence through the application of human resources attracted to the city by its distinctive image, its quality of life and forms of urban organisation, facilitating synergy and human integration, becoming once again a shared platform, stimulating activity as well as relations at the local level.

Accept the logic of competition between cities and territories:

From now on, cities and higher-order territories will be characterised by their capacity to upset established ways of thinking. Real competition will relate to their capacity to educate, to stimulate people to adopt a vocation, and to convince the most creative people within their ranks. Each city, each territory, will have to identify the transformations it needs to catalyse or facilitate to give businesses and individuals the best conditions for competitiveness and success in comparison with those offered elsewhere.

Think "complex":

So-called cultivated thinkers once wrote that "The city is dying; the traditional values of the European city are disappearing". In

fact the opposite is true. It is a fact that the human condition has changed over the past 50 years (Michel Serres). But the European city and particularly the phalanx of medium-sized cities quite close together (say 60-80 km apart) - so typical of European spatial development - is still a great asset worth working with to achieve new urban civilisation. On the other hand, to achieve this we will have to stop treating problems as isolated functions or viewing them purely in terms of what we can measure, creating the appearance of simplicity in the search for a solution. That which is calculable does not define the totality of human problems (Edgar Morin). We need to learn today how to manage complex thought. We shall see whether that gives rise to virtues which are absent from urban thought today.

Simplify the city: it has become too sophisticated and too harsh - even cruel:

Urban life is too complicated, and it excludes the weakest.

That cannot go on. To compensate for inability to use holistic reasoning or think ahead, and for failing to evaluate at a sufficiently early stage, it became commonplace to correct deficiencies of cities with the brutal application of technical remedies, resulting inevitably in raised operating costs, dissipation of energy and failure to educate people in new ways of using their city. If we continued in this way for another fifty years, the only people who would be left to manage urban life would be overqualified young and wealthy people - and swindlers. Where would everyone else be? We need to

bring about some "détente", viewing our environment as a collection of islands – an archipelago - allowing everyone to live without being continuously confronted with the whole.

Be carbon-efficient!

The relationship between the individual and nature must be regarded as a fundamental demand in founding urban civilisation anew. Giving absolute priority to reduction of carbon dioxide emissions and thus concluding that excessive densification is the only way to make better use of existing urbanised space would be both a diversion from the main requirement and a complete negation of everything we have learned about making the city livable.

Overcome the obstacles of organised ignorance and adopt the creative value of mediation:

Beyond the political legitimacy of citizen participation in contributing to the factors shaping their civilisation, from now on there is no valid excuse for failing to open up planning to the experience of mediation. Mediation has proved a reliable tool leading to collective solutions which may differ from the ideas of the individual; it is creative; it leads to closer association; I can attest to this myself. Mediation can rekindle citizens' interest in political life.

I would like to thank Judith Eversley who helped me overcome the inevitable cultural differences between French and English usage.

FERGAL MACCABE: SPATIAL PLANNING IN IRELAND 1910-2010

CHAPTER 1

The Wild West

Unlike its European neighbours, Ireland historically has had a very low population density and little urbanisation. It was never part of the Roman Empire and was therefore excluded from the chief benefits of Roman civilisation: towns and cities. The first identifiable urban settlements in Ireland had their origins in Celtic society and largely centred on large monasteries such as Clonmacnoise in County Offaly or Nendrum in County Down where huts and workshops clustered within circular enclosures around Churches and Round Towers formed the elements of an ecclesiastical city. The Vikings in the 9th and 10th Centuries created recognisable European towns with streets and walls and timber houses, as are still evident in Wexford, Waterford and Limerick; whilst the Norman colonists in the 12th Century built Kilkenny with its disciplined rectangle of streets within a ring of stone walls, towers and gates.

Whilst the Industrial Revolution never took hold in Ireland to the degree it did in Britain, the 18th and early 19th Century witnessed one particular and significant town planning achievement. Under the direction of the Wide Streets Commission, Dublin became one of Europe's most beautiful capital cities laid out with well-appointed streets and squares such as Merrion and Fitzwilliam with redbrick town houses in the Georgian style, embellished by magnificent public buildings. The Commissioners (established 1757) who were responsible for the layout of these great ensembles were Europe's first official Town Planning Authority with a remit to make wide and convenient streets through congested parts of the city by the rational application of scientific and aesthetic principles. Sadly, no further attempts at large-scale rational town planning were to occur until the early 20th Century. The famine of the mid-19th Century and the subsequent land wars and (until recently) an essentially rural society, produced a deep respect for the unfettered ownership of land and a distrust of the compromises of urban living which informs public attitudes to planning to this day.

CHAPTER 2

Little Britain (1910-1924)

At the turn of the 19th Century Dublin, along with London and Edinburgh, was regarded as one of the principal cities of the British Empire. This status however was blighted by the appalling standards of the housing of the urban poor which had reached scandalous levels. Enlightened employers such as the Guinness family renewed parts of the city by providing housing and social facilities for the workers in their brewery. However, the real impetus and interest in town planning as a science which could bring economic, social and civic benefits was pioneered by the very energetic Lady Aberdeen. As the wife of the then Viceroy, she was in a position to promote her views and as she was aware of the work of Patrick Geddes, she encouraged him to come to Dublin to promote the benefits which rational town planning could bring. This led to the Civic Exhibition of 1914 and a planning competition for Dublin – the first attempt at seeing the city as a whole. The competition was won by the up-and-coming town planner Patrick Abercrombie – later to plan London and Hong Kong. Whilst having an underlying rational public transport coherence, Abercrombie's Plan took a Haussmann-like approach to the city proposing dramatic new boulevards (often cutting through the historical core of the city) with dramatic new public buildings and squares.

Abercrombie's Plan was eventually published in 1924 as 'Dublin of the Future' but by then, its implementation was well beyond the resources of the infant, and now virtually bankrupt, State. Its main elements however were to re-emerge in his Dublin Sketch Development Plan in 1941 and its proposals for the outer suburbs at last eventually realised.

CHAPTER 3

A Nation Once Again? (1925-1934)

Following the War of Independence and the subsequent year-long Civil War, the new Republic found itself economically and physically exhausted. Apart from repairing the essential elements of its damaged infrastructure (particularly the centre of Dublin which was in ruins) there was little appetite or ability to pursue any spatial initiatives. The most significant national project of the 1920's was the introduction of electrification, particularly to the rural areas. The Government founding of the Electricity Supply Board in 1927 and the development of the Shannon Hydro-electric Scheme (a national undertaking of massive scale and consequences) marked an important stage in the country's economic progress with immense consequences for the transformation of a largely rural economy. However, the coming to power in 1933 of a new Government committed

to policies of self-sufficiency led to a dispute over land payments to the British Government and resulted in the Economic War of 1932-38. Trade with Britain was restricted and even worse hardship and stagnation resulted.

Nevertheless, the success of the Shannon Scheme was noted and the concept of state-directed economic and physical planning began to emerge in a tentative way, driven as much by the need to renew significant areas of poor inner-city housing as promoting economic development. The first Act to regulate the growth of Towns and Cities was made in 1934. The preparation of a Plan was not mandatory and whilst many Planning Authorities prepared surveys and made proposals, none resulted in adopted plans as the financial compensation which would have resulted, was beyond their capacity. Nevertheless these first tentative steps towards plan-making encouraged the provincial cities and towns in particular to consider their future development and to set out future tentative objectives, many of which began to arrive in the 1950s.

CHAPTER 4

Isolation and Failure (1935-1963)

The protectionist policies of the 1930's led to stagnation and unemployment, whilst the onset of the Second World War (in which the Irish Free State remained neutral) accelerated economic decline and exacerbated emigration further as many left the land to work in wartime industries of the UK. In this rapidly decaying economic context, no physical planning initiatives could be promoted, though an intensive debate about planning the future, albeit mostly devoid of any economic reality, began to emerge. Many of these arguments mirrored the frustration and isolation of younger planners and architects who sought radical alternatives, some of an irrational nature. In particular, various grandiose and visionary plans were produced promoting a new capital city for the Island uniting the then Irish Free State and Northern Ireland. Such fanciful Gaelic Brasílas were to be built either in isolated areas of the Midlands or associated with historic sites such as Tara. Their common genesis was the distaste of cultural nationalists for the ancient capital of Dublin which was seen as the outpost of the former Colonial power and also inappropriately located on the more cosmopolitan edge of the island remote from the more Gaelic western seaboard. None of these chimeras received any serious support.

More realistic initiatives began to emerge from the National Civic Institute which encouraged the making of plans for the post-war era. National Planning Conferences were held in 1943 and 1944 and the first association of town planners, the Southern Irish Branch of the Royal Town Planning Institute was formed in 1941.

In the post-war period a more determined approach to economic renewal began and the Government embarked on an intensive campaign of utilising the central peat bogs to provide fuel for energy generation. This relatively mechanised industry required skilled operatives who would expect a higher standard of housing than that generally available in the rural areas where the raw material was to be won and processed. Seven new villages were built to the designs of the architect and town planner Frank Gibney. Based on a combination of the ideas of the Garden City Movement and Dutch housing of the 1930s, these settlements by virtue of their coherence and sophisticated spatial characteristics remain one of the few examples of good planning in this period. Gibney was also involved in the early stages of the first Irish 'New Town' at Shannon Airport in 1960. His subsequent well-mannered public housing schemes are ubiquitous in Irish provincial Towns.

CHAPTER 5

Beginning to Plan (1964-1990)

Protectionism was abandoned after 1960 resulting eventually in membership of the Common Market in 1973. It was recognised that economic and spatial planning went hand-in-hand and advice was sought from the United Nations as to the creation of a national planning system. Arising from this a Land Use Planning Research Institute was established (An Foras Forbartha) and the first mandatory Planning Act came into force in 1963. The Act required all Planning Authorities to make plans, set out strategies and identify objectives which would be achieved within the five-year lifetime of each Plan. This was an essentially physical Planning Act in the early days and due to the scarcity of professional planners, was mainly administered by engineers or architects. Accordingly a degree course in town planning was established in the National University of Ireland in 1967.

With new cohorts of trained planners emerging from the Universities in both North and South, the Irish Planning Institute was established in 1975 as a national body representing planners on the island. IPI immediately joined the European Council of Town Planners, supplying Ms Joan Caffrey as its President in 1983.

From the outset it was evident that there was no regional context in which the Development Plans of the 87 individual Planning Authorities could be co-ordinated or gauged. The first attempt at setting a regional policy was the 1968 Report of Colin Buchanan & Partners which investigated the social and economic sustainability of industry in the Regions and recommended a limited number of development centres throughout the Country which would have a minimum self-sustaining size. Fewer than a dozen such places were recommended but in a society that was still rural, local politics and patronage won out and the recommendations were not adopted; industry was ineffectively dispersed as local needs arose.

Inevitably the main planning debate centred about the future of Dublin which, in the absence of credible regional planning, was experiencing most of the growth. An advisory plan by Professor Myles Wright suggested an organic westward expansion in four fingers (similar to the Copenhagen City Plan) reaching out to an outer Bypass. After some discussion this evolved into three large settlements separated from the city by a regional Motorway (funded by the EU as part of the E1 from Belfast to France, via Rosslare). These “New Towns” constituted the main expansion areas of the city. This strategy was reflected in the first City and County Plan of 1967 which effectively determined the shape of Dublin for the next 30 years. Whether these were stand-alone communities or organic expansions of the city was not resolved until the early 21st Century when proper transport links were proposed or provided.

The first serious attempt at placing Dublin into a regional context was the Eastern Regional Development Organisation Strategy of 1985 which identified new expansion areas for commuter or suburban growth, but did not envisage the city centre as providing any useful potential for future housing because of perceived high land costs. Instead it decided that expansion would occur on the edge where land (at that time at least) was cheap, thereby deferring the case for fixed rail public transport until the end of the century.

During this period, the first initiatives for large scale, inner-city comprehensive renewal began to emerge, the most significant being the Docklands Act of 1986 which sought to renew the derelict docks immediately to the East of Dublin city centre. This delivered the successful International Financial Services Centre and subsequently extended to both sides of the River Liffey in new developments to high architectural and civic design standards. To this day, this district is regarded as one of the great successes of national, economic and social renewal of the period.

1986 also saw the initiation of ‘The Metropolitan Streets Commission’ (a special purpose Authority) to upgrade the increasingly tawdry business district which succeeded in pedestrianising and upgrading its principal streets.

The Temple Bar Scheme began in 1991 with the revival of this defunct city centre quarter under the aegis of a special Authority. The vision was initially for a livable quarter with an Arts base but rapidly the area evolved into a late-night tourist destination. However, the quality of much of the architecture and civic design has withstood the test of time and in particular, its introduction of new smaller streets and spaces has been particularly successful.

In 1989, the Government produced its first National Development Plan which (though it had few spatial objectives) began to set the scene for an investment programme which would determine the next phase of national growth.

Despite an uneven economy, the period was one of increasing realism as to how a planning system could deliver success. A firmer economic base was created which led to economic success from the 1990s onwards and the gradual integration of physical and economic planning was to bring even greater rewards in the years ahead.

CHAPTER 6

The Good Years (1991-2004)

In the last decade of the century, the Irish economy, with its increasing emphasis on services and high-tech industry, began to grow at spectacular rates. Healthy revenues and funds from Europe for new infrastructure projects allowed Government to set out a programme of integrated investment in the first National Development Plan, which, allied to a National Spatial Strategy, gave a policy context for national, social and economic objectives which could then be implemented through Regional, County and Local Plans. As the decade went on and incomes and prices rose, unforeseen problems arose and were addressed through Government Guidelines on issues such as residential density, retail distribution, one-off rural housing and wind-farms.

As development pressures increased, both the public and the Government began to realise that the pristine natural environment (which was a key component of a booming tourist industry) was under pressure from increasing affluence and this concern led to the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1993 and the publication of “Sustainable Development – A Strategy for Ireland” by Government in 1997.

Three major projects in this period stand out as examples of successful planning led initiatives:

§ The re-development of the expanded Dublin Docklands area in the context of a mandatory Planning Scheme.

§ The re-development of the Ballymun flats built in 1965- 69 to re-house inner city tenants which had become a symbol for alienation from the state and social problems by a special Regeneration Agency.

§ The creation of the Adamstown district to the west of Dublin - Ireland's first 21st Century town - an integrated settlement on a high-capacity rail link to Dublin city centre delivered under the new Strategic Development Zone legislation.

However the boom lead to increasing political interference in planning decisions at local level, particularly in the earlier years of the 1980s and 1990s saw the initiation of Tribunals to examine corruption in the planning process (largely relating to dubious land re-zonings) in the Dublin area.

CHAPTER 7

Building a National Planning Strategy and the European Dimension

In 2002 the Irish Government published its National Spatial Strategy setting out a framework to 2020 with the aim of balancing social, economic and physical development. The Strategy sought to identify the potential of each region, the development of critical mass, enabling a range of services and facilities to be supported, the development of strategic gateways and supporting hub towns and the identification of complementary roles for other towns and villages, together with the provision of good transport connections and energy linkages to enable places and areas to play to their strengths.

For a projected national population of 4.4 million by 2020, the Strategy proposed locating around 1.9 million persons in the Greater Dublin Area, 0.6 million in the South West Region with the remainder distributed almost equally amongst the Border, West, South East, Mid West and Midlands regions. The Strategy sought to integrate with the Regional Development Strategy for Northern Ireland and to collaborate on projects of mutual benefit. The broad strategies for the seven regions were fleshed out in more detailed Regional Strategies which then gave a context for the preparation of the local County and Urban Plans.

The adoption of the Strategy and the National Development Plan gave a sound basis for infrastructural investment whose most evident successes were the completion of an entirely new high-capacity national roads system linking Dublin, Cork, Galway and Belfast, the improvement of the national rail network (including the re-opening of redundant lines) and on-going improvement of waste water facilities. A significant setback however was the (thankfully now abandoned) programme of decentralisation of Government Departments from Dublin to areas outside of the hubs or gateways identified in the NSS.

However in February 2013, the Government suspended the National Spatial Strategy on the grounds that insufficient resources were available to create the planned 'Gateways' and 'Hubs' and committed itself to the circulation for consultation of a new National Strategy to replace it within the year.

The principal impact of European legislation is of course the Strategic Environmental Assessment Directive 2001 which is still being absorbed by the Irish planning system. Its evidence based approach and integration of environmental considerations frequently runs counter to the desire of many local Councils to designate additional lands for development (either to stimulate the property market or raise commercial rates) without due consideration for the environmental implications of such decisions. It may be said that the concept of the SEA process as the "mother-ship" of the planning system is yet to achieve full public approval in Ireland but it has now been fully incorporated into the plan-making process. Compliance with other environmental Directives (habitats, ground water, waste, surface water, nitrates, dangerous substances etc.) is also being achieved (occasionally with difficulty), as there is a popular conception that Ireland has a relatively unspoilt natural environment with unlimited absorption capacity. The recent decision of the European Court, finding Ireland to be in breach of the Waste Water and Dangerous Substances Directive may have created a sense of urgency and the accompanying fines will bring the message home more forcefully.

The Waste Water Directive in particular poses problems for the Irish phenomenon of the one-off rural dwelling. This development form, common to a rural economy, is today effectively an urban-generated phenomenon and in a country noted for its rainfall, which also has a high water table, the circa 448,000 septic tanks (many of which were poorly constructed in the first instance) pose a constant threat to clean water. On the other hand, the Dangerous Substances Directive 1975 and its implications for the ultimate capacity of treatment plants gives problems for planned urban expansion and Ireland has been found wanting by the European Court in this regard too.

I suspect that Ireland is not the only EU Member State in which traditional occupations are challenged by new European environmental legislation and at the time of writing, a ban by the Minister for the Environment on the cutting of peat in the few remaining unspoilt raised bogs of the country is the subject of political debate.

CHAPTER 8

Hubris and Nemesis (2005-2010)

The early years of the 21st Century were dominated by a booming economy creating unparalleled land-use demands in every area. This rapid expansion found itself at loggerheads with a planning system seeking to introduce the principles of sustainability. Urban growth caused by in-migration and cheap credit led to a housing bubble and a flight to ever more remote commuting areas. The collapse of farm prices and local pressures in the poorer counties assisted an explosion of urban generated rural housing which now constitutes 40% of total stock. The Government responded with a series of policies seeking to provide more serviced land by increasing residential densities, particularly along public transport routes. Such initiatives were initially resisted by local communities but as house prices rose even more dramatically, the housing industry went into overdrive and by 2006, an incredible 93,000 units per annum were built (20% of dwellings per 1,000 population, contrasted with 3.5% in the UK) resulting in a massive over-supply whose consequences are now becoming evident in large 'zombie' housing estates, remote from the areas of demand and with no public transport links.

Over-supply became manifest in the area of retail shopping too. Government Guidelines sought to direct retail uses to town centres or their immediate edges but much of the new floor-space arrived in the suburban areas, particularly on the new national route Bypasses, whilst dereliction and vacancy became ever more evident in the centres of the provincial towns.

In Dublin increasing density and in particular building height became a heated public issue; in the absence of a clear policy, a proposal for a 37-storey building in the inner suburbs created mainly by the need to justify the exorbitant site costs at the height of the boom became a cause célèbre before its eventual rejection in 2009 and the adoption of a more coherent Height Strategy.

CHAPTER 9

Berlin or Boston?

Increasingly the planning of the island of Ireland is being set within a wider context whether by reference to the European Spatial Development Perspective or by Kyoto. This has created tensions not just in the area of the environment but also socially and politically as Irish society moves rapidly through the transition from post-colonialism to independence and lastly adapting to being an integral part of a larger political unit.

Some years ago, our then Tanaiste (Deputy Prime Minister) Mary Harney, posed the question whether Irish society wished to emulate 'Boston or Berlin'. Her question is as yet unanswered. The debate still continues between those who seek to pursue a relatively unregulated market with its implications for land-use planning, urban sprawl, high car-ownership, low levels of public transport and a relaxed view towards environmental protection and those who wish a policy dominated by the sustainability agenda and environmental concerns which have their own social and financial costs. The present downturn has re-ignited that argument and many believe, for example, that the short-term stimulation of the building industry should take precedence over longer-term planning.

Conformity with EU Directives and the threat of consequent fines forces compliance with the principles of sustainability but one would have to admit that the statutory planning system is experienced essentially as an encumbrance laid upon the Irish people and not one to which they wholeheartedly and willingly subscribe – at least not at a national or regional level. The successes of the system are little celebrated whilst its failures (particularly in the area of corruption) are well known. At a local level, land-use planning based on sound consultation is accepted as a useful community tool for the protection of the environment whether physical or natural, but at a national or policy level, it is the view of this writer that little progress would be achieved were there not to be a threat of fines or funding withdrawal from the EU.

The challenge of the next twenty years will be the securing of the intellectual and emotional support of the Irish people for a rational planning system.

TOMASZ OSSOWICZ: HIERARCHICAL VS. NETWORK CITY STRUCTURE IN PLANNING

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ABSTRACT

The idea of the creation of city structure as a hierarchically arranged constellation of clearly distinguished specialized entities has been considered as an important principle in European urban planning for many years. Some growing forces have eroded this principle over the past few decades. Increasing mobility, neo-liberal free-market economy, globalisation, metropolisation, the increasing availability of information, wider opportunities for remote electronic communication and the paradoxical increase of the need for face-to-face contact, the demand for extraordinary sensations and other phenomena call for a different pattern of city structure as a network of freely arranged but well-connected units.

Hierarchical and network structures co-exist and create a pattern for the contemporary city. The question is whether they conflict with or complement each other. In the context of this hypothesis, matters of fragmentation, polycentrism and public spaces are deliberated.

1. Hierarchical City Structure

One of the most powerful ideas developed in European planning over the last 100 years is the hierarchical organisation of city structure which evolved gradually. The most important fundamentals for planning the hierarchical city structure (fig. 1-1) are as follows.

1. Urban entities. City structure is planned as a constellation of clearly distinguished urban entities. Some of them have a predominant function: housing, production, offices, recreation, entertainment. Some are multi-functional. These urban entities were planned in various shapes, e.g. as concentric areas, as 'beads' threaded on transportation lines as on a necklace, stripes or bands with nodes as centres
2. Hierarchy of urban entities. Group of smaller entities create a bigger entity. A city consists of districts, districts consist of sub-districts, sub-districts are made up of quarters, neighbourhoods, building complexes, housing estates, industrial zones, recreational areas etc. Even the smallest has its own inner hierarchical structure.
3. Self-sufficiency of urban entities. Each entity is self-sufficient on a defined level of need; for example a kindergarten, primary school, a park, sport facilities, and basic retail facilities are offered on a housing estate. Higher-level need will be satisfied at the next level up.
4. Territorial, multi-functional centres. Each urban entity has its own multi-functional centre, where opportunities to satisfy some needs are offered. Each centre has its area of service. All activities requiring a central location to function create a mixture' the city centre is also multifunctional.
5. Hierarchy of centres. The hierarchy of centres is a consequence of the hierarchy of entities, for example local centres, sub-district centres, district centres, city centre.
6. Hierarchy of continuous public spaces. Each urban entity and centre has its own public spaces frequently used by pedestrians¹: squares, streets etc. These spaces, like entities and centres, are arranged hierarchically, for example the main square or main street of the city, main squares or streets of districts, and so on. Principal public spaces should be connected to secondary ones to make a continuous network with lines and nodes. *(Public space" is understood here narrowly, as a place open at all times to all and intended particularly for pedestrians.)*
7. From functional segregation to multi-functional entities. Modernism at first tended to favour functional segregation as a way to avoid spatial conflict. Later, following criticism, the rules were changed to create mixed use for activities that did not conflict.
8. Hierarchical transportation system. An appropriate level and standard of transportation links is related to each hierarchical level of urban entities.

9. High penetrability. The majority of city space is accessible without restriction.

10. High quality architecture. Good architectural form must be an important factor in attracting people and businesses to space.

How should the proposed hierarchical city structure work?

The fundamentals listed are based on observation and expectation of spatial behaviour of inhabitants and businesses.

Inhabitants have a set of needs to satisfy, briefly characterised as shopping, education, healthcare, recreation, child-care, cultural events and religion. It is assumed that the cost of travel (money, time, effort) to places where these needs are met is very important and may even be crucial. People are sensitive to spatial distance, trying to meet their needs as close to home as possible.

Now let us take the perspective of a business offering something to satisfy need. They locate their activity on a site where the number of potential customers in the catchment area is high enough to give sufficient profit. Public amenities should also be offered to a large enough number of people in the catchment areas to be economically justified.

Facilities meeting basic or everyday needs can be based on a smaller catchment area. People can satisfy these needs relatively close to home; in the hierarchical structure within the basic housing entity such as a housing estate. For activities meeting less frequent needs require a larger catchment area with more potential customers. People travel longer distances to satisfy those needs; they can be satisfied in a larger entity such as a sub-district or district. The most sophisticated needs, appearing least often, are satisfied at the level of the whole city; the entire population must be considered as potential customers for economic effectiveness. People try at first to satisfy their needs at the elementary entity (fundamental 3). If that fails they try the higher level entity; ultimately they try the city (fundamental 2).

Some activities benefit from concentration. In hierarchical structure they are located in centres of entities (fundamental 4). The hierarchy of entities creates a hierarchy of centres (fundamental 5). Many planners define levels of centres. Some researches show evidence that there are many levels (5-7) and perhaps there are no two similar centres within one city structure [Palomäki, 1964; Zipser T., 1988, Pustelnik, 1990]. Activities which differ but which require similar catchment areas will be located in centres at the same level and benefit from the bigger flow of customers. Multi-functional centres allow inhabitants to satisfy many needs on one site (fundamental 6).

The 'glue' connecting different activities is comfortable, safe public space made attractive by architectural qualities (fundamental 6 and 10). These are also spaces for personal interaction (haphazard or intentional) conducive to social life [Gehl, 1971; Alexander, 1977]. The continuity of public space increases the number of people in them as well as the variety of individual activities coinciding with one another. The resulting synergy makes such spaces much more attractive to others.

When spatial conflicts grew during the period of industrialisation, the planning response was the concept of radical functional segregation by land-use planning (fundamental 7). It was sometimes implemented to an extreme degree and land-uses that did not in fact conflict were spatially segregated, explained as the pursuit of spatial functional order. Later, in the Seventies of the 20th century, there was a realisation that a functional mix is the essence of the city [Machu Picchu Charter, 1977]. Restrictive segregation policies declined except where there was real conflict, and planning favoured mixed-use entities such as Kista in Stockholm, a Seventies residential complex connected with a science park. Mixed-use areas were thought to be more alive, more attractive to business. The city as a system of multi-functional entities allows the transport system to work better, too. In the rush- hour, traffic lanes and public transport in both directions are more evenly loaded.

Each city transportation system has to be hierarchical: that is a planning principle. But this system integrated with a hierarchical city structure must be more hierarchical (fundamental 8). Within an entity at each level all structural elements must be connected by links of an appropriate standard. Internal links in an entity of any given level are transit links for entities of a lower level. Consequently the minimum number of hierarchical levels of transportation links is expected to equal the number of urban entity levels plus outside links.

What must one distinguish for urban entities in accordance with fundamental 1? Why should the city structure be granular?

It is something completely different from the 19th century vision of continuous city fabric with its carved-out open spaces (streets, promenades, squares, parks). The reason for this relates to the process of city perception. Each planner dreams of making the city's structure clear and easy to understand for everyone: inhabitants, visitors and also government. This is a concept for spatial order for the city which consists of more than one 'nucleus'. Clear division of space makes city management simpler and easier. Making the boundaries of the entity, its core, specific pattern and characteristic architectural forms perceptible strengthens spatial identification of inhabitants and users.

2. Factors Eroding Hierarchical City Structure

Hierarchical structure, although often taken as natural and evident, was being eroded by some processes over the past few decades in Europe. Some phenomena influenced the behaviour of inhabitants and businesses. The most important ones are as follows.

1. Decrease of influence from distance. Increased mobility reduces the importance of travel costs, crucial for hierarchical structures. Inhabitants and businesses are much less susceptible to distance. Systems of connection between people and activities can be characterised as small world scale-free networks [Batty, 2008].
2. Neo-liberal free-market economy. There are far fewer restrictions for capital allocation and new kinds of enterprises. Big supranational economic organisations are active in many of spheres of life.
3. Electronic remote communication development. Internet, mobile phones and other similar devices create hitherto unknown opportunities for immediate communication. Extraordinary progress in this area has substantially changed social life [Castells, 2000]
4. Increase of information availability. An information tsunami makes it ever easier to get the information we need, and we are assailed by information flows which are difficult to avoid. Everyone can participate virtually in special events, spectacles and presentations. Some unusual phenomena become less exciting than before so people now seek out truly extraordinary experiences, sensations and impressions.

Let us consider how these factors change the spatial behaviours of individuals and businesses.

Meeting need when distance is less important

People now have more information about businesses which may satisfy their needs. If the impact of distance is diminished, other customer requirements are taken into account more than before: the price, the range of goods on offer, individual requirements, and - more than ever before - mere whim. As a consequence, many needs including everyday needs are no longer met as close to home as possible but rather where the offer is the most attractive as measured by other criteria. When inhabitants' entity of choice is no longer local, they may look for in a larger area, perhaps a whole city or system of cities nearby. Businesses have understood this new behaviour of their potential customers. They have created new forms of their activities, e.g.: great retail malls, cinema multiplexes, great aqua-parks, sport or specialised entertainment complexes. The large scale of these activities permits them to meet additional customer requirements: lower prices, wider range of goods, variety of offers, extraordinary service. Businesses attract more customers and actively pursue them. They overwhelm potential customers with information in advertisements, posters and leaflets through the door, mailings, SMS messages, websites, broadcasting. They deliver to customers using special transport lines. W. Zipser [2004], exploring intervening opportunities model, has found mathematical evidence that traditional shops are chosen by customers while big retail complexes of a certain capacity choose customers themselves.

More and more people satisfy their day-to-day needs independent of distance from their home. Even a primary school or kindergarten must meet certain standards or specialise in order to be chosen, but nearness is less decisive. People looking for a family doctor set more store by good personal contact and professional skills than by proximity to the surgery. Greater specialisation in types of sport and recreation makes people seek them out, often at some distance from their homes.

Less self-efficiency of urban entities, more specialized centres

These changes undermine the hierarchy of self-sufficient entities and the hierarchy of territorial centres (fundamental 2, 3, 4 and, 5). Businesses wishing to satisfy higher customer requirements and needs for extraordinary sensations locate their activities in more specialised centres or create such centres themselves.

When the city centre needs to offer opportunities to satisfy more sophisticated needs, it must transform into specialised centres: a separate business district, an entertainment zone with clubs, discotheques and musical theatres, and shopping districts. The oldest part of the inner city is changing to offer cultural and tourist attractions, with restaurants and other places to have a good time. [Sieverts, 2003]. There was always functional specialisation within city centres, but in the past decades the level of mixed use has fallen and specialised areas became more independent.

Disruption of public space continuity

Changes described earlier make each urban entity more independent of its location in city structure. Entities being elements of one level higher entity are not so dependent on it because many of their users satisfy their needs outside its boundaries; for example neighbourhoods being elements of a district are not so dependent on that district, because many of their inhabitants shop in retail centres outside the district while children are educated in schools located outside the district. Specialised centres can be completely independent of surrounding entities: they seek customers across the whole city and beyond its borders. All they need is a connection via an efficient transportation system.

Within a hierarchical city structure strong connections between surrounding urban entities join up their public spaces. In the system of relatively independent urban entities, more detached from outside areas, there is less demand to connect public spaces from entities located near to one another. Public spaces are needed more for the inner functions of an entity appropriate to its specialisation, for example a retail centre demands internal routes for customers rather than paths connecting it with its surroundings. And the inhabitants of a housing estate who mostly use cars or public transport require fewer paths connecting them with other entities in the vicinity. Structural demand for public spaces is thereby diminished. They can be smaller, less connected with other public spaces and, because of specialisation of entities, more specialised. This runs counter to fundamental 6. Specialisation causes access to these spaces to be limited or restricted. Such a limitation on multi-functional public spaces would be impossible or difficult, so many public spaces with a high level of specialisation can be easily privatised, for example the internal streets in shopping malls, pedestrian pathways in gated communities or office 'citadels' [Marcuse, 2008]. These spaces are sometimes very usable, attractive and convenient, well accepted by the public, but they are not true public space. An additional result of public space privatisation is the 'sucking out' the public from true public space and consequently decreased demand for them.

Many city activities seek spaces with a large flow of pedestrians to be their customers, so one consequence of a fall in the number of pedestrians in public spaces is reduced attractiveness of adjoining areas for such activities. This explains why the variety of activities on offer in gated areas, the land-use mixture, its value in terms of synergy and the essence of the city are so poor. The dramatic effect of these processes is the atrophy of public space in many parts of the city (fig. 2).

The matter of public spaces is especially important nowadays while developed devices for remote communication are in common use. In the Seventies and Eighties [McLuhan, Alvin Toffler] there were forecasts that the development of computers and remote communication systems would reduce the demand for face-to-face contacts; virtual communication would replace real contact. There is clear evidence now that these forecasts were wrong [Castells, 2000]. Paradoxically, an increase in remote communication makes people need more face-to-face contact. It causes significant demand for public space as an important location for such contact. In addition, more information about any place makes people more interested in visiting it.

'New' segregation

The result of entity and centre specialisation is functional segregation. This 'new' segregation is spontaneous: in early modernism it was regulated. It is caused by economic relations whereas the earlier manifestation sought to avoid conflict; these are now significantly less destructive. Specialised entities with a mixture of facilities and multi-functional centres (fundamental 9) and 'new' segregation bring about specialised entities and specialised centres. Paradoxically this segregation is an effect of liberal economy which can be expected as achieving economic benefits from the city functional mixture. If this expectation is right, it is perhaps also right that liberal economy 'unintentionally' destroys something which contributes to its success.

Transportation

The presence of specialised urban entities has an impact on structure of the transportation system. In the extreme case, where all entities are specialised and not connected by any hierarchical dependences, transportation system would be entirely made up of same-level elements. In such a situation there is no local or sub-local travel; each journey is in the same category. Each entity demands a link of the same standard with every other entity. The structure of transportation system can only be hierarchical based on its inner requirements, not as a consequence of city structure. This does not match with fundamental 8.

3. Network City Structure

All the trends described as eroding hierarchical pattern produce characteristics of different city composition, which we can call network city structure. Let us summarise what could be in extreme case if these tendencies prevail:

1. Specialised urban entities. City structure is a constellation of clearly distinguished specialised entities.
2. Free location of urban entities. No entity is a part of another bigger entity and no entity consists of smaller ones. All entities are the same level and have the same standard of connection with all the others.
3. High entity functional dependence on many other specialised ones. Most needs of the inhabitants including everyday needs are satisfied outside the housing entity.
4. Non-territorial specialised centres. Most centres are intended to serve the entire city area and its surroundings. All centres specialise in one or just a few functions. The city centre consists of a number of specialised centres. The historical 'nucleus' becomes a centre specialising in tourism, entertainment, culture and gastronomy.

5. No hierarchy of centres. As a consequence of free location of entities, most centres are the same structural level.
6. Isolated, non-hierarchical, specialised public spaces. Each entity has its own modest public spaces, not connected spatially with spaces in other entities. A significant part of public spaces is privatised, sometimes with limited access. Most public spaces are specialised.
7. Functional segregation. Few entities are multi-functional, but many are very specialised and lack multi-functional infrastructure.
8. Non-hierarchical transportation system. As a consequence of free location of entities, most transportation links are of the same functional level.
9. Isolated and gated areas. Free allocation of specialised entities and centres gives more scope for city space fragmentation.
10. 'Festivalisation', spectacular architecture, theming spatial arrangement. To satisfy demand for extraordinary sensations and to attract users, managers of true and private public spaces organise an endless series of large and small street spectacles, shows and entertainments [Sieverts, 2003]. The same objective is realised by spectacular, eye-catching architecture or when serendipitous invention repeats historical, ethnic or thematic forms or ornaments [Lorens, 2006].

These characteristics create a terrifying vision of an extreme network city structure. It consists of freely located urban entities. They are highly specialised housing, office or industrial complexes, centres for retail, recreation, healthcare and so on. There is no one multi-functional city centre. All entities are connected by efficient transportation lines. Most entities are gated or not fully accessible. City space is fragmented. Public spaces are poor and empty. Privatised public spaces are more successful, full of people.

In this strange city of the future, the individual lives in a gated community, works in a gated office 'citadel' [Marcuse, 2008], shops in a retail centre, plays football in a special closed recreational complex, meets friends to watch spectacles in the oldest part of the city, his or her children are delivered to gated school complexes and students live on academic campuses. Optimal high-level offers are everywhere (fig. 1-2).

Is this still the city? This system of granules connected by pipes may be convenient but it does not produce additional value from a mixture of activity. We conclude that the vision of the city thus described cannot be accepted as a planning goal. It is not acceptable to consider these characteristics as planning fundamentals.

An important reason for our unwillingness to accept this is that the hierarchical city structure and corresponding spatial behaviour of people and businesses are still prevalent and will probably never disappear. The everyday life of many people still mostly connects with their entities, among them children, the elderly, people working at home, home-makers and simply people who prefer to stay local or do not like long daily travel. Then both structures described here co-exist within the city: one a weakening hierarchical structure, the other a strengthening network structure.

Let us discuss some advantages and faults of network city structure.

Scale vs. synergy. Specialisation of centres and some entities brings economic benefits from scale effects. The concentration of shopping or entertainment activities in special complexes allows prices to be cut to attract more customers. But spatial specialisation reduces the synergies of multi-functional city space as the best environment for flourishing businesses of many kinds.

Range vs. mixture. Centre specialisation allows the customer to be offered a wider range in any given sector, but it reduces the opportunity to satisfy varied needs in a relatively small area. Safety vs. local life. One-use, isolated, gated areas give a sense of security and reduce the fear of strangers. But isolation significantly lowers the economic justification for the location of many facilities, both public and commercial, in an area. This and the lack of outside connections mean that public spaces in such locations are poor or completely absent. This results in inconvenience or even exclusion from day-to-day life for people with a local orientation. Moreover the sense of safety is misleading. External space is perceived as presenting more danger, and the overall sense of security is radically diminished. People in cities with many gated communities feel they are less safe than in cities with many accessible spaces.

Disconnected vs. continuous public spaces. It is difficult to see any advantage in weak connectivity of public spaces. The effect is a shortage of public spaces, reduced attractiveness, declining numbers of users and falling numbers of businesses gaining benefits from the flow of pedestrians (fig. 2).

Dispersion vs. concentration. Network structure as a system of independent granules does not require spatial compactness. One result is uncoordinated suburbanisation. A more dispersed city means higher costs of infrastructure and inconvenience for its users.

Super-shows vs. city life spectacle. The attractiveness of day-to-day scenes of life in multi-functional centres is intensified by endless shows, meetings and arranged events. It seems that is an advantage in real public space. Nowadays it is not enough to create a beautiful space, not enough to create an attractive functional mixture. To be successful, one must treat public space as a city stage. But in specialised areas such as shopping malls these spectacles are gimmicky while architecture not based on the vernacular, but drawing on exotic themes, ends up being trashy [Lorens, 2006; Sieverts, 2003].

To summarise it is clear that the network city structure is hindered by a series of faults. It is likely that in many European cities the processes of change in city structure discussed above will be difficult to avoid. Confronted with this situation, it seems useful to construct planning fundamentals respecting inevitable changes but minimising their negative effects as far as possible faults. This is a challenge for planning in Europe.

4. Hierarchy-Network City Structure

City structure should be harmonious incorporating both structures: hierarchical and network (fig. 1-3). Let us try to define its fundamentals.

1. Urban entities. City structure is planned as a constellation of clearly distinguished entities.
2. Some urban entities based on hierarchy, some freely located. A substantial number of urban entities, and particularly all or most housing, belong to hierarchical structures such as districts or sub-districts. Some specialised ones are located independently of these structures for example retail centres, recreational complexes, university campuses, business parks.
3. Partial self-efficiency within the urban entity and partial dependence on specialised urban entities. Each entity offers opportunities to satisfy the inhabitants' or other users' needs on a defined level. However it is assumed that many of them are satisfied in other entities, particularly in specialised entities.
4. Territorial multi-functional, non-territorial semi-specialised and combined centres. Each entity being an element of a hierarchical structure has its own multi-functional centre. Each centre has a service area. There are some semi-specialised centres, independently located. Each should specialise in a certain number of functions, not just one.
A better solution is to overlay a non-territorial specialised centre on a territorial multi-functional centre of a district or sub-district, or to locate them close to one another. The city centre consists of several semi-specialised centres.
5. Hierarchy of territorial centres. This is a consequence of the hierarchy of entities.
6. Continuity, partial hierarchy and partial specialisation of public spaces. The hierarchy of public spaces in a hierarchically constructed part of the city is obvious. All public spaces, in both hierarchical entities and independent ones, must be connected to form a continuous system. Some public spaces are highly specialised.
7. Multi-functional entities. A mixture of many non-conflicting functions is preferable.
8. Hierarchical transportation system.
9. High penetrability. Most city space should be open to all. To avoid large impassable spatial barriers only relatively small areas should be gated or isolated.
10. City stage, 'festivalisation', spectacular architecture. These actions and effects must induce spontaneous, natural city life but should not be limited to external artificial creation.

Comparison of the proposed concept of city structure with hierarchical and network structures is presented in the table below.

Implementation of some proposed fundamentals is a serious challenge for planners and city managers. The hardest seems to be connecting specialised or semi-specialised centres with other elements of the city by continuous public spaces according to fundamental 7. In 2004 the Municipality of the city of Karlsruhe approached seven 7 European cities* with a proposal for joint research into the impact of location of big attractions (retail centres, entertainment complexes etc.) on pedestrian flows. The answer to this question would show how flows of people within planned public spaces could be induced and thus attract businesses to locate along these spaces. Experience in Wrocław has shown that the most effective strategy is to locate the big attractions 700-1200 metres apart. Such a location generates pedestrian flows between the big attractions, sufficient to make the area linked by public space connections very liveable and economically valuable.

In some countries it is difficult to limit the tendency to put a fence around housing estates. City structures with shopping centres intended only for car owners are also problematic. And there is a question of how to guarantee everyday facilities in new housing zones.

We need to consider whether to try to defend the classic hierarchical city structure against new processes of erosion, or use them as a new engine of city development and incorporate the results into the fabric of the city. Personally I prefer the second option.

* Dresden (Germany), Budapest (Hungary), Linz (Austria), Lvov (Ukraine), Maribor (Slovenia), Ostrava (Czech Republic), Wrocław (Poland), and Land Baden-Württemberg (Germany) in EU Interreg Programme CADSES. Unfortunately the proposed research has not been realised.

Comparison of city structures: hierarchical, network, hierarchy-network.

	Hierarchical city structure fundamentals	Network city structure characteristics	Hierarchy-network city structure fundamentals
1. City space division	Distinct urban entities with predominant function and multi-functional	Distinct specialised urban entities	Distinct urban entities with predominant function, specialised and multi- functional
2. Structural relations between urban entities	Hierarchy of urban entities	Free location of urban entities	Some urban entities in hierarchy, some free located
3. Functional relations	Self-sufficiency within urban entity	Dependence on other specialised urban entities	Partial self-efficiency within urban entity and partial dependence on other specialised ones
4. Centres	Territorial multifunctional, city centre multifunctional	Non territorial, specialised, city centre consists of specialised centres	Territorial multifunctional, non territorial semi-specialised, combined, city centre consists of semi-specialised centres
5. Structural relations between centres	Hierarchy of centres	No hierarchy of centres	Hierarchy of territorial centres
6. Public spaces	Hierarchical, multifunctional, continuous	Non-hierarchical, specialised, isolated	Part hierarchical, part specialised, part multifunctional, all continuous
7. Functional segregation	From functional segregation to multifunctional mixture without conflicts	Functional segregation	Multifunctional mixture without conflicts
8. Structure of transportation system	Hierarchical	Non-hierarchical	Hierarchical
9. Space penetrability	High	Isolated and gated areas	High
10. Additional factors of attractiveness	High quality architecture	Festivalisation, spectacular architectural geysers, theming	City stage, festivalisation, spectacular architecture inducing city life

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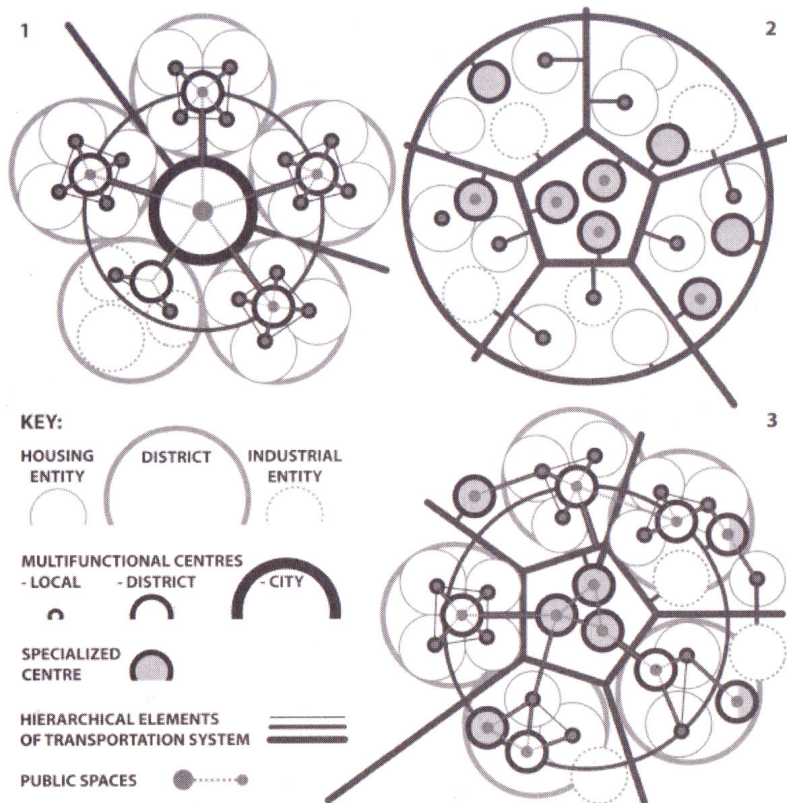


Fig. 1. City structures: hierarchical one - 1, network one - 2 and, hierarchy-network one - 3.

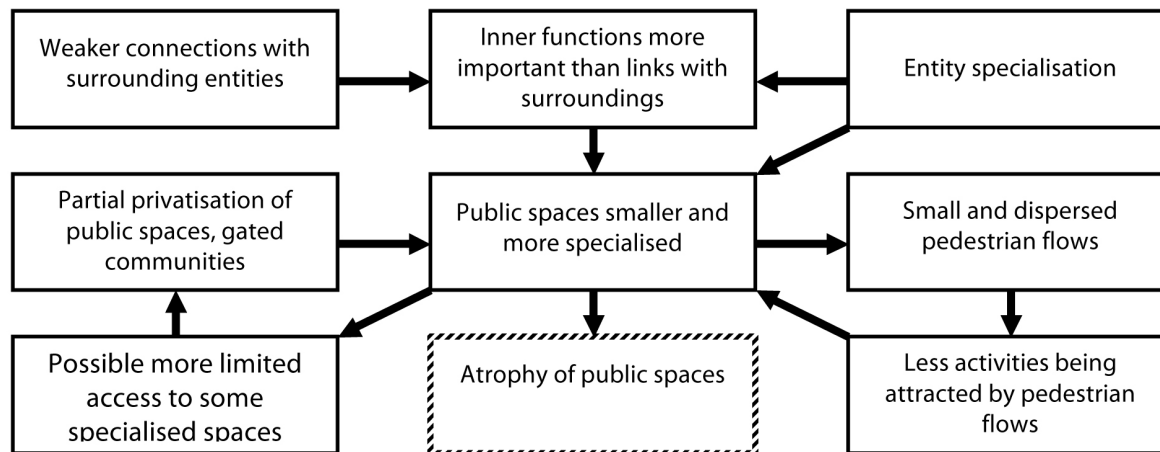


Fig. 2. Process of atrophy of public spaces in network city structure.

GEORGES PHEDONOS: EUROPEAN SPATIAL PLANNING AND CYPRUS

Spatial Planning in Cyprus, in its contemporary context, has been a comparatively recent activity. The first graduate spatial planner in Cyprus appeared in the early Forties of the 20th Century, whilst graduate architects or civil engineers appeared about two decades earlier and graduate doctors and lawyers many decades earlier.

Cyprus has always been a few decades behind the leading centres of Europe but nevertheless following closely and trying to catch up. This is an old and universal phenomenon.

When in 1952 the then British administration established the Department of Town Planning and Housing, in an effort to introduce planning and development control to the island, four planners were appointed to carry out the task: three British and one Cypriot.

When Cyprus gained its independence in 1960 there were only three planners, all Cypriots, the founders of the profession in Cyprus, all working for the Department of Town Planning and Housing. Fifty years later there are more than 75 qualified planners on the island.

Since Cyprus has never had a University providing a spatial planning course, all spatial planners on the island are graduates of overseas universities. Most graduate spatial planners have completed their courses in the UK, though there are several who graduated in the USA, France, Italy, Germany, Greece, Turkey and other countries.

The fact that spatial planners on the island had their university training in various European countries makes Cyprus a European melting pot of spatial planning ideas, techniques and philosophies; after 'fermenting', these become the Cypriot way of spatial planning and development control.

A characteristic of this Cypriot spatial planning way is the fact that the Planning Law in Cyprus took three years to be enacted in 1970 and was implemented in 1990 following stubborn objections by developers who wanted loose 'laissez-faire' conditions to prevail. The prime motive power for rapid development in Cyprus was - and still is - tourism. The case of other Mediterranean countries which have ruined their coastline by excessive development was of primary influence in the right direction for Cyprus. Cyprus learned from the progress but also from the mistakes of other European countries and it is thankful for that! Cypriots, in general, study carefully and selectively adopt what happens in the field of planning in other European countries, especially the Mediterranean countries and those of Central and Western Europe.

Cyprus has very close links with various European universities, British, French, German, Greek and others in matters related to spatial planning. In fact in 1970 with the assistance of Nottingham University and Queens University Belfast, the first urban plans and the Planning Law were prepared. That assistance was of immense value and it opened the way.

Because of lack of a Spatial Planning School on the island and very limited local planning research, the results of planning research in other European countries are valuable guidance and a source of ideas for innovative solutions to planning problems.

Most of the spatial planners today are employed by the state or local administrations; only about 15% are in private practice working as consultants. Regardless of the type of employment planners are assisted or encouraged to participate in overseas planning meetings, seminars or conferences, especially in those held in Europe where planning conditions/problems have many similarities to those prevailing in Cyprus.

Spatial planning contacts between Cyprus and the rest of Europe officially started in 1961 when Cyprus joined the Council of Europe and have very much increased since Cyprus joined the EU in 2004. Since then Cyprus planners have made great efforts to comply with EU Directives and new relevant legislation.

Through these European and other international contacts spatial planners in Cyprus do not feel 'cut-off' from the main European stream of planning. On the contrary, they feel so close and confident that they organise International Meetings in Cyprus on various spatial planning matters and try to disseminate to others their ideas and experiences, especially those arising from rapid urbanisation due to tourist development.

Planners have been practising their profession in Cyprus for half a century and they have much to tell about planning in small island states. Of course, they have a lot to learn, especially from countries where research on spatial planning is carried out and results published.

Cyprus is happy to offer and equally happy to receive new ideas on planning matters, and believes that organisations like ECTP-CEU offer excellent opportunities for planning contacts, exchange of ideas and experiences and especially for exchanging views in resolving various professional problems that appear to be common in several European countries.

Cypriot planners in their small island state feel more confident when they discover that many of the issues that plague them or that many of the problems that affect their profession are common to other European countries and that a joint effort and approach to solve them could be made to benefit all and increase the solidarity amongst European spatial planners.

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Nicosia 30th May 2010

RICARD PIÉ, JOSEP MARIA VILANOVA: TOWN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE SPACES FOR TOURISM

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The Grand Tour, the Origin of Tourism

Tourism was one of the most significant economic, urban, spatial and architectonic phenomena in twentieth century Europe. The transition from the aristocratic tourism of the Grand Tour to mass tourism around the middle of the twentieth century brought quantitative change, as the working classes began to benefit from paid holiday, and qualitative change, influencing land-use and urban form.

Various disciplines have analysed tourism, among them geography, sociology and economics. Yet architecture and town planning have paid it less attention. Despite its spatial impact, it seems to have been regarded as a minor matter: a lucrative activity, but hardly instructive from a town-planning perspective.

According to the UN World Tourism Organisation, the top five destinations in terms of international arrivals are the USA, France, Spain, China and Italy. Each receives a different type of visitor: the USA relies on domestic tourism, France offers a wide range of cultural activities, Spain ranks first in sun and sand tourism, China combines both domestic and exotic tourism, and Italy attracts urban tourists. The three European countries together have the most important international impact. Tourism in France and Italy is a legacy of the Grand Tour: the journeys undertaken from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries by young British aristocrats through continental Europe to complete their education.

The Grand Tour moves according to the canons of the moment and determines the most influential cities in terms of culture: Paris, Venice or Rome. We owe to the Grand Tour an interest in architectural heritage as well as in the progress and evolution of urban mapping. This concern for heritage was evident when modernising the city with great schemes for the existing urban fabric; that is when the first voices in favour of heritage protection were heard. Urban mapping was a tourist guide to visitors, before becoming a technical tool for modern development. Bufalini's 1551 and Nolli's 1748 maps of Rome are two examples of the value of maps as a guide to visitors, in which the relationship between new and old is highlighted as well as the relation between the real city and archaeological remains or the space left by monumental buildings.

Nowadays tourism in France and Italy follows that tradition at least in part. Spain represents the social change caused by the emergence of mass tourism. In less than fifty years this phenomenon has turned the Mediterranean coast into a huge tourist area. The space of sun and sand tourism is built on nothing, and in three waves (the Sixties, Seventies and Eighties) it has led to almost complete occupation of the Mediterranean coastline.

Spas, Promenades and Baths

Modern tourism started with the discovery of Nature — the mountains and the sea, two areas uniquely beyond the control of mankind — and body-care. The industrial city had moved people out of the countryside while the pollution and "ill humours" of the city put their health at risk. Confronted with these dangers, a new culture of health and a return to natural locations encouraged anew the tradition of "taking the waters". Ancient spas became leisure and entertainment meeting places for the wealthy strata of society. Many destinations on the map of Europe became places for relaxation and social interaction: Bath, in England; Spa in Belgium; Baden-Baden in Germany; Vichy in France; Davos in Switzerland, Montecatini in Italy and Yalta in Russia are good examples. The spa is an urban building located in the countryside to which services and attractions such as theatres, casinos and clinics are gradually added, leading to the development of the spa town.

Bath is a school of good manners for English aristocratic society, in which Richard Nash becomes the teacher. The Woods, father and son, work as architects during this period, inventing the first space for leisure, the Royal Crescent. The spa is placed in the interior of the country, in the mountains, and it expands from being limited to those who can afford it. The first main change arises from medicine, which determines that cool sea-water is a salutary shock therapy. The spa moves from the mountains to the coast: the cold coast of the North Sea, the Baltic and the English Channel. The aristocracy moves from Bath to Brighton led by the Prince of Wales, as Scheveningen (Holland) competes with Spa (Belgium). In the Baltic, Heiligendamm (Germany), Jūrmala (Latvia) or Sopot (Poland) join the list.

The warm-water spa, the Mediterranean Sea, is not discovered until the early twentieth century, when monarchs and ex-monarchs seek out a milder climate. Tobias Smollett, the Scottish doctor and writer, the true inventor of Nice (Travels through France and Italy, 1766) will claim this land as a country where winter is like the English summer. The new spas on the coast will be promoted by the aristocracy: Biarritz by Napoleon III encouraged by Empress Eugénie, Brighton by the Prince of Wales, Corfu Island, Madeira and Cap Martin by Empress Sisi; Queen Victoria will show her interest in the Isle of Wight.

Aristocratic tourism will mark the territory of tourism in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth, though architectural and urban contributions of this period are scarce. Meanwhile, the industrial city invents the architecture of services and facilities for the modern city, first from the rationality of neo-classicism and later from historicist thought: government buildings, markets, department stores, theatres and opera houses, hospitals, prisons and railway stations. Architecture and town planning of tourist areas are translations from those representative buildings of the city and replicas of buildings originally designed for the compact city. Urban extensions are developed according to geometric low-density patterns: palaces, cottages, houses with gardens; these are ahead of the Garden City debate at the turn of the twentieth century; for many experts this is the alternative to the chaotic and unhealthy city of the first phase of the industrial revolution.

The main new development in this period will be the waterfront: the urban balcony facing the sea. In the historic cities where tourism starts, the promenade often replaces the old city wall demolished in the early nineteenth century, when new military technology renders it superfluous and the tumult of the crowd inside is a greater risk than attacks from the outside. In the open coast to the beach, as in the district of Croix de la Marbre of Nice, the growth of the city next to the historic city – on the shore – revolves around the promenade, which becomes both the mechanism for privatising the dunes and salt marshes and the central element of the city.

From Aristocratic Tourism to Mass Tourism

Whilst the spa town expands, some leisure services are established in the industrial city. The bourgeoisie develop their own spaces, some of them taken from the aristocracy, such as opera, lounges and cafés. The new working classes require more intense attractions, a source of fun at the end of a stressful working day. In Europe, the most popular amusements are the Champs-Élysées in Paris, the Tivoli in Copenhagen or the Prater in Vienna.

The transition from aristocratic tourism to mass tourism does not occur until the inter-war period, when workers from the most industrially advanced countries gain the right to paid holiday. The acquisition of this right is the result of a slow process beginning in the late nineteenth century, although it did not become widespread until after the First World War, in response to the demands of the working classes and as part of a strategy to contain the spread of Communism.

The debate on this subject is harsh, and characterised by prejudice. Some leaders, and some sections of society, are exercised about the way the working classes will use their spare time. As a result, various social movements materialise to teach people how to use their leisure time.

All sorts of movements contributed to the first social tourism focused on the lower classes. In 1873, Paul Lafargue, Karl Marx's son-in-law, publishes a pamphlet entitled *Le droit à la paresse*. Pastor Wilhelm Blon organises the first educational summer camps for children in Zurich. Baden-Powell published *Scouting for Boys* in 1908. Politicians decide to intervene and totalitarian governments promote specific policies to regulate the use of leisure time, especially for young people. In 1933 the Nazi regime launches *Kraft durch Freude* (KdF) while Mussolini develops the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* (OND).

Ways of enjoying leisure derive mainly from modern military training: outdoor camps, exercise and discipline; activities fostering sport and health. Holidays – as was once true of Sundays – become an opportunity to re-charge one's batteries for work, turning to Nature to combat the stress of the city. Healthy holidays are viewed as the reward and remedy for the effort of working, while encounters with Nature embody healthy values.

The Urban Leisure Project

This period includes the great debate over the functional city and in some cases the needs of the leisure city. In 1902 Ebenezer Howard published *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, which defends the extensive city as the point where the benefits of the city met those of the countryside. Thirty years later, a group of Russian constructivists, following the de-urbanisation ideas of Frank Lloyd Wright, promoted the "Green City" as an alternative to the horrors of the capitalist city. In 1929, Zhironov's design for the "Park of Culture and Rest" in Moscow is published in the journal *Das Neue Frankfurt*, published by Ernst May.

In Spain, those who followed Modern Architecture gathered around the GATEPAC (Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles para la Arquitectura Contemporánea) – among them the young Josep Lluís Sert – who wanted to include some reflections on leisure and holidays of the working classes

within their work for the fourth Congrès international d'architecture moderne, CIAM IV. To that end they designed a major project of restoration and development of the beaches in the Llobregat Delta on an agricultural plain near Barcelona. Barcelona City Council designated the beaches as "spa-beaches" for the 1929 Universal Exposition. The specifications and panels for the so-called "Ciutat de repòs i de vacances" project explicitly warn of the risk of transforming these beaches into an exclusive area for the upper classes in imitation of the models of the French Riviera – Juan-les-Pins and Cannes – and the need to avoid the creation of a waterfront-land divide. To that end they proposed strips parallel to the sea, traffic segregation, transformation of the waterfront into a pedestrian area, the creation of a wide green belt, open ground floors and blocks supported on pilotis to eliminate any obstacle to an open green area directly connected to the sea.

Modern architecture does not have a clear thesis on the leisure city, but it opposes the spa town of the time. In these early trials, the preferred solution is more about adding a new zone to the functional city than allowing the tourist city to spread along the coast. In the "Ciutat de repòs i de vacances" reference is made to Long Beach in New York; Ocean Park and Venice in Los Angeles; Ostia Mare in Rome, and the Wannsee in Berlin, the Tivoli, the Prater or the Champs Élysées. In short, they focus on land uses in the modern city rather than the functional needs of the future city of leisure and tourism.

Meanwhile other European countries promote a range of facilities for leisure. In an access of paternalism, the question of leisure for the lower classes – especially young people and children – will be an opportunity to indoctrinate these groups. Totalitarian governments turn leisure enjoyment into a social strategy. Probably the most important action is carried out by the German government under the Kraft durch Freude programme: the construction of a residential spa called Prora on the island of Rügen, in the Baltic Sea, capable of accommodating 20,000 people. The project designed by Clemens Klotz is a set of eight blocks 550 metres long, lined up facing the sea, containing 10,000 rooms. In this project the linear block becomes the basis of the plan; the project as a whole comes to nothing.

In Italy however the "NAD" policy leads to a set of more than 300 projects in 1934: colony-type buildings along the Italian coast, colonising landscapes that will become tourist destinations later on. Among them are many modern-style buildings. The two paradigmatic examples are the Colony Marina XXVIII Ottobre, built in Riccione in 1934 by the architect Busini Vici Clemente, and the Colony Maria Sandro Mussolini built in Cesenatico in 1938 by V. G. Vaccaro.

A certain urban discourse on the tourist town begins in the inter-war period. The coastal spa town as described by modern architects is a city divided up into an exclusive garden city with a waterfront promenade and the city hall where you can walk, show off and socialise. The construction of collective accommodation, hotels, hostels or colonies is a copy of the building in the compact city or the modern linear block facing the sea.

The appearance of the panoramic hotel with terrace and sea views will not occur until the mid-twentieth century. Medical architecture changes the model in the mountain spas: sanatoria patronised by aristocratic tourists seeking healing waters and clean air. As the sun becomes a medicine, doctors suggest orientating the rooms to the South and adding large terraces. Paimio tuberculosis sanatorium (1928-1933) by Alvar Aalto is one of the first modern examples of the translation of new medical types into spa towns; Davos is another example.

World War II puts an end to the various attempts that had been taking place since the late nineteenth century. During the post-war period, development of the welfare state in Western Europe and true socialism in the Eastern bloc help the phenomenon of tourism to exploit mass tourism.

Transport as the Engine of Mass Tourism

The tourism boom was brought about not only by the spread of the benefits of the new economic situation and paid holiday, but also by a revolution in the modes of transport and accessibility. The railway, the car, communication routes and air travel were key elements in the development of mass tourism.

The first tourists travel by stagecoach and ship. Ships carry goods, and in transatlantic travel, immigrants. As techniques improve and ships progress from sail to steam, from wooden hull to iron, efficiency and security of trips increase, ships become mixed transport, cargo and immigrants or travellers. During the nineteenth century, the American upper classes make their Grand Tour through Europe, before visiting the beaches of California and the Caribbean. Ship-building exclusively dedicated to leisure passengers is the outcome of a contradictory process.

From the point of view of tourism, cruise ships – real floating palaces – were needed to bring certain coastal destinations into fashion, especially cities of the British Empire. The golden period of the great cruises begins in 1880 and ends with the First World War with vessels such as the *Mauretania*, the *Titanic*, the *Normandie* and the *Queen Mary*, some becoming icons for young architects of Modern Architecture because of their functionality. Marine transport does not have a major impact on territory but shapes the future of tourism in some ports.

The railway is the mode of transport that will lay the territorial foundations of mass tourism. The European railway network develops in the second half of the nineteenth century over a short period of time and following criteria of short-term profitability. At first nation states agree construction of the earliest lines with private companies seeking higher returns by connecting cities and areas of high demand. States will not intervene until the last quarter of the century to complete the network, rescue bankrupt companies and turn the railway into a public service. No country designs a global strategy to ensure a tourist exploitation of particular territories.

Thanks to Thomas Cook – founder of the first travel agency – the railway becomes the transport of choice for long-haul destinations with the Trans-Siberian Railway (1904) and companies such as the Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits. The railway is required for the development of mass tourism. On the one hand, it becomes the promoter of destinations connected with the great industrial regions. On the other hand, by passing through them, it opens up other territories which have missed out on industrial development.

The technical requirements for a railway line are particularly restrictive in terms of gradient: the beaches and wetlands – the coast in general – naturally suit the line of the railway. In many cases, railway construction creates the conditions for future development of a coastal resort in a previously abandoned area. In some cases the route of the railway line must run inland; in addition some narrow-gauge railways – built to bring the products of mining or agriculture to the coast – perform the same function of linking the interior to the coast. In short, the railway allows people to reach the coast and spa towns, and thus lays down the conditions for the creation of a network of coastal resorts. In the early twentieth century some lines are built to take advantage of tourist development, and the first ski lifts in the mountains open to serve the new leisure pastime of ski-ing.

The car helps to increase mobility and develop tourist areas. This means of transport becomes the mechanism that changes the shape and use of the city and territories, first thanks to the Model T Ford, then – after World War II – each country has its own popular car: Volkswagen in Germany, the Topolino and later the Fiat 500 in Italy, the Citroën 2CV in France, the Seat 600 in Spain and the Morris Minor in Great Britain. The bicycle, on a minor scale, and motorbikes – especially scooters – complement this.

More than the car itself, motorways are the key element that will redraw the map of tourism at regional level. The railway shapes coastal area with its stations and their status as a physical barrier. The car rescues the road network and blurs the hierarchy imposed by the railway. Motorways with their exits and entrances re-establish differential accessibility and shape the territory as a set of nodes. The distance between airports means that air travel reinforces this.

The aeroplane becomes the most significant means of transport. After World War II the aviation industry increases production capacity and expertise. At the end of the military confrontation these companies appear and develop throughout the world as flag-carriers. Nation states regard aviation as a strategic means of transport. The great revolution occurs fifteen years later when the propeller is replaced by propulsion turbines and state companies sell their old fleet to charter airlines.

For the first time tourism has its own means of transport; as travel costs fall tourism becomes the first global market. Control of the tourist market depends on control of the means of transport. Travel agencies become tour operators, winning customers in their country of origin, organising their trips and opening up markets for suppliers. Customers make their choices based on the final price rather than the characteristics of a place. The island of Majorca is the main laboratory for experiments in controlling the market and managing the benefits of the supply of Fordist Nature.

Modes of transport evolve: vehicles become more comfortable, communication infrastructure is modernised. The last two key transformations will be the reinvention of the railway as metropolitan and high-speed transport, and the creation of the budget airlines. These favour second-tier airports and lead to new options such as residential tourism and backpacking.

The Spread of Mass Tourism

After World War II, and thanks to the “Marshall Plan”, mass tourism consolidates in the two blocs into which the continent is divided, but following different patterns. In the Eastern Bloc, the social formulae that started in the inter-war period are still working: colonies, social spas or camps. Obviously, almost no countries in this Bloc had warm seas, and due to the type of economy they did not have the need or the opportunity to undertake the type of development that occurs in the western Mediterranean. Social tourism in these countries is thus a continuation of paternalistic policies of totalitarian governments using the same urban forms, allowing the middle classes access to the aristocratic spas of the early twentieth century.

In the Western Bloc the process is different, divided into two periods: the first lasting until the mid-Seventies; the second being the explosion and exploitation of the coastal area, which will ultimately put at risk the tourist vocation of some locations and their ability to regenerate.

France and Spain clearly illustrate these processes in which town planning and governments play different roles. In 1947, the French geographer J. F. Gravier publishes *Paris et le désert français*, where he rails against the huge imbalance in France between the capital and the periphery. In Spain, it is a

period of intrusion: the Franco dictatorship had bet on the losing side, and people were afraid of an international political vacuum. In 1976 the United States ratifies a treaty with Spain, the “Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation” which is a breath of fresh air, and in 1979 the approval of the “National Stabilisation Plan” (Plan for Economic Stability) enables Spain to prosper: it is no longer one of the poorest countries in Europe.

France looks to tourism to develop the Languedoc-Roussillon, while in Spain the target is the Mediterranean coast and the islands. Immediately after World War II, the French government focuses on rebuilding historic town centres and developing the grands ensembles, according to Modern Architecture, embodied by Team X (1960-1981). Georges Candilis is the most distinctive architect of the French group. When the government undertakes “Operation Racine” – named after the government employee who led the process of construction of 16 tourist resorts on the Mediterranean coast – Candilis becomes the director of the project; he decides the role of architecture and urban planning in this territory. Candilis theorises about this in articles on leisure architecture: it should be the genuine expression of mankind’s choices of time, activity and status. Joffre Dumazedier defined three states in his text *Vers une civilisation du loisir ?* (1962): “relaxation, fun and development”. According to Candilis, a fourth state concerning leisure for the masses should be added to the three established by Le Corbusier.

The projects being undertaken in Languedoc-Roussillon for 2 million tourists will be a good test of the way Team X takes on the city of tourism: traffic separation, the marine centre becoming the heart of the city, and no change to zoning, because there is no land left for an industrial use according to densities and typologies. Other characteristics are the elimination of the seafront promenade, constructing triangular buildings to make sea-views possible, pedestrian promenades, sculptures in the public realm and leisure activities around the port. There will never again be such a huge development in this area.

In Spain, the starting point is the National Stabilisation Plan. From the early twentieth century until the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) the Spanish government attempts to attract international tourism by promoting luxury hotels – the Paradores Nacionales – located in palaces, castles and monasteries rehabilitated with just this intent. When the Spanish economy declines as a consequence of the Civil War, it becomes necessary to promote tourism, though they have to sell it to foreign investment. The National Stabilisation Plan opens up Spain to European capital: investment in land takes priority over the first attempts to manage urban and regional planning.

Spanish coastal tourist development is based on old-fashioned spa town patterns and a garden city approach, progressively replacing single-family dwellings with blocks of flats. However in the early Sixties many public and private promoters submit international tenders seeking ideas or a global impact to facilitate tourist promotion of certain areas. Among them, the most interesting tender is the one for the Maspalomas dunes on the Southern side of the island of Gran Canaria, won by the SETAP Group for its organic proposal which anticipates later offerings from Team X. Unfortunately the result of that tender has almost no impact on the eventual work in that area.

A boom in mass tourism occurs in the Fifties and Sixties in the context of urban and architectonic ideas sustained by Modern Architecture, documented in the best European architecture reviews. However, this discourse is soon subject to criticism: architects become detached from it, unable to play any role in an economic process supported by governments and private builders over which the architects have no control.

In other European Mediterranean countries such as Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece, the strategies differ. In Italy, the spa- tourism of the past left useful traces for later development. There are no virgin beaches as in Algarve (Portugal), on the Costa del Sol (Spain) or in Languedoc-Roussillon (France). Rural plots determine the rules of game in Rimini (Adriatic coast) and on the lidos of the Po Delta. On the Adriatic coast, Tito’s government seeks tourist development closer to the Modern Architecture ideal conceived twenty-five years earlier. In Greece, the tourism is inextricably linked with archaeological heritage: when Santorini is struck by a devastating earthquake in 1956 and the capital Fira rebuilt, popular architecture becomes an alternative attraction to cultural tourism.

Throughout this time, various facilities directly related to tourism are built. In the past, the only tourist facilities in the spa town are the sanatorium-spa and the casino. In the second half of the twentieth century, it is the marina and the golf-course. The marina is imported from North America, where it is the only way to develop the Caribbean mangrove swamps; the resulting scenery reminds us of Venice. On the Mediterranean coast there are no mangrove swamps and the marshlands have already long been colonised by agriculture. Nowadays there are 400 ports and marinas in the Western Mediterranean area, though only a few are purely marinas. The rest have been designed as outer ports, as an additional part of the coast, a revitalising element of a mature tourist area.

One of the most successful marinas in Europe is Port Grimaud (1966), where the architect François Spoerry successfully attempts the recovery and re-invention of popular architecture. This example, as many others along history of tourism, reopens discussion about style. In the spa towns of the nineteenth century this topic was already debated. The spatial and compositional formalisation of Modern Architecture seems unsatisfactory and insensitive to the demands of tourists. Modern Architecture had claimed popular architecture as an example to follow for functional and constructive reasons. Some tourist projects try to preserve these values; others choose a set of elements from popular historical construction, as Candilis did.

Golf - originally a game played by shepherds in the dunes - turns into an aristocratic game that consolidates and spreads as tourism evolves. Marinas and port are hard infrastructure needing major investment. On the other hand, the game of golf becomes an opportunity to favour marginal areas and help them to look more attractive to tourists; later on it becomes a stereotype. When golf courses are moved to Mediterranean countries they are unable to adapt to the climatic conditions of the South: they become great consumers of water.

Since the Seventies it has been obvious that functional rationality is not enough to meet the demands of tourism. Since its origin, tourism has sometimes imitated the Spanish- Venetian style, the Mexican model or others. From this decade on, Architecture had something to say. The architecture of tourism begins a process of theme-setting. Pastiche becomes the spatial shape of holiday tourism. This way of developing will be legitimised by post-modernism and the transformation of tourism in consumer goods. Until the Seventies, tourism in Europe was a right gained after much effort. As this right becomes a consumer good, every way of activating demand is deemed acceptable.

The Definitive Globalisation of Tourism

The 1973 oil crisis tests the tourist sector. When it seems as if it will fail – as a superfluous activity – it resists. Other sectors - industries that had helped to build the industrial society such as metal-working or shipbuilding – collapse. The crisis adjusted some settings and changed expectations. The lack of political stability in countries that could compete with European holiday tourism, the fragmentation of holidays and the failure of commercial supersonic flight meant that tourist attractions in Southern Europe remain the preferred destination for Northern countries. However, the single European currency raises costs and consequently improves the competitiveness of less developed countries.

European tourism has been thrown into confusion since the Eighties. Competitiveness is one factor; other factors are the obsolescence of mature tourist destinations, the search for alternatives such as rural tourism, new urban tourism and industrial cities under renovation. Tourism is no longer an exclusive opportunity; historic cities and wonderful landscape – mainly beaches, until now – must now incorporate everything for the enjoyment of free time. Cities are now the first tourist destination for their own inhabitants, and any activity – economic, social, cultural or religious etc. – can become a tourist attraction.

Since the Eighties, the role of town planning within the tourist sector has taken place in two different ways: creating new attractions – for a less creative type of leisure – and renovating spaces inherited from mass tourism.

We live in a time when the industrial city is being regenerated, historical districts restored, old industries reorganised, urban life revitalised by regaining public space, obsolete industrial buildings become cultural facilities or the organisation of great events put the city on the world map. On the one hand, tourism follows different patterns, and on the other hand, town planning deals with a topic that is not restricted to certain areas after a period in which it showed no interest in tourism. In the urban society of the twentieth century the dichotomy of the city vs. the countryside has disappeared, as has the distinction between the industrial city and the tourist area.

One hundred years ago, when town planning emerged in Europe, the project confronting the discipline was the creation of the modern city following rehabilitation standards inherited from industrial revolution; nowadays something similar is happening with the tourist project. At the beginning of the century it seems improbable that anyone could imagine how significant and widespread tourism would become. In the Sixties it was still possible to claim that the leisure city was a new project. In the early twenty-first century, there are two new challenges: to turn the tourist conglomeration on the coasts of Southern European into a city and to include leisure in the post-industrial city debate.

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ANDREJ POGAČNIK: 100 YEARS OF SPATIAL PLANNING IN SLOVENIA

ABSTRACT:

In the paper a brief history of urban and spatial planning in Slovenia since the 19th century is described. It is analysed with regard to the European context over a comparable time period. It underlines the specific achievements of Slovenia as a small country (in terms of space and cities) which in recent decades has shared its position between transitional countries among East and West.

Slovenia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire a hundred years ago. The same was true of Croatia and north-eastern parts of Italy which later became part of Yugoslavia. At the time the Habsburg Empire was one of the leading multinational states in Europe. Vienna's Secessionist movement in architecture and urbanism created many noble and inspiring buildings, parks, and squares not only in its capital city Vienna but also in provincial capitals such as Zagreb, Trieste, Graz, and Ljubljana. The architect Camillo Sitte was an influential theoretician and practitioner. His ideas inspired by romanticism and picturesque mediaeval towns. He drafted one of the first urban plans for Slovenia's capital city Ljubljana after the city was destroyed by an earthquake in 1895. In general in the 19th century urban plans were focused on the urban design of regulation lines, public buildings, and monumental compositions which included railway stations, public parks, promenades, operas, theatres, army headquarters and hospitals etc. The imperial regime impressed people with urbanism as artistic work. Many traces of Austro-Hungarian urbanism are preserved in Ljubljana and provincial Slovenian towns such as Maribor and Celje even today.

After the First World War Slovenia became part of the new Serbian kingdom of Yugoslavia and thus part of the Balkans. It resulted in a certain setback in the fields of economic, social, and spatial development in Slovenia. In this period one must mention the leading Slovenian urbanist Max Fabiani. He was a prophet of large-scale regional development, and one of the pioneers of modern regional planning in this part of the world, like Geddes or Garnier. His visionary plans for Metropolitana del mare between Trieste and the industrial harbour of Monfalcone and his projects for navigable canals between the Adriatic and the Danube were far ahead of the usual thinking of these times. The First World War caused catastrophic devastation in border areas along the front-lines in the eastern Alps. Fabiani systematically designed the reconstruction of rural towns – their enlargement, new road patterns, public services, utility lines, and land parcelisation. He was the pioneer of large-scale planning in South-Eastern Europe. Moreover, his work is recognised as one of the first successful achievements in the field of 'disaster planning.'

Between the two world wars another famous urban designer was active in Slovenia: the architect Jože Plečnik. His artistic philosophy was restoration of neo-classical urban compositions. In these works he interpreted Renaissance ideals and added new original forms. The ideas of modernism were quite influential in Slovenia at this time and for many years Plečnik was regarded as a conservative architect, behind the mainstream and modern needs. Nowadays his art is recognised as a timeless achievement in the field of small-scale urban design. Without a doubt, he is a predecessor of post-modernism.

After the Second World War, Yugoslavia became a socialist state. The Communist Party was the leading power. The goal of planning was the enforcement of industrial development. The working classes lived in multi-storey apartment houses, and towers prevailed over capitalistic symbols of the past. New industrial sites and workers' housing were built in the cities of Slovenia. Old town cores gradually became obsolete. Though art historians and politicians now criticise these periods of Communist domination, it is true that never before was so much done in the fields of education, public health, and social care. New public centres were built following the ideas of a housing community, with its origins in the United States and England in the Thirties.

In Slovenia two new towns were built: the miners' town of Velenje and the city of Nova Gorica, the latter as a substitute for the old provincial town of Gorizia which had become part of Italy since the war. Both were designed around the ideas of Le Corbusier's Ville radieuse. The architects Ravnikar, Strmečki, Trenz and Novak led the project.

In the 1960s Yugoslavia tried to find his own way towards a communist future. Strong ties with the Eastern bloc were broken. Urban planners were allowed to introduce Western ideas and copy best practice. Urban and regional planning were decentralised to the level of federative units.

Since then Slovenia has been relatively independent in its spatial policy. One remarkable achievement was a new Spatial Law adopted in 1967, which included the entire Slovenian territory: towns and rural areas. Urban, local, and regional planning levels were introduced. Slovenia's main spatial concept became a polycentric one following successful models developed in Switzerland and Sweden. Polycentrism became a goal in planning for many socialist countries in an attempt to make centralised planning more effective and apparently more democratic. In Slovenia it meant the urban system of twelve provincial 'regional' centres (with 10,000 to 30,000 inhabitants) and the capital of Ljubljana with a population of 250,000. Polycentric urban systems have not been achieved in other parts of Yugoslavia: Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Skopje, Priština and Split grew very quickly and attracted a rural population from the provinces. Slovenia's model of balanced growth has been relatively unique in socialist industrial societies. Gradually companies, banks and other institutions have been allowed to give convenient loans for single-family housing. Suburbanisation processes have become very significant in Slovenia. Moreover many people remained in their home villages and built a new family house there. Traditional landscapes went into the minority while the majority of villages were urbanised.

Generally speaking in Eastern European countries urban planning in the 1960s followed socialist goals: more housing, more industry, more roads, more cars, enlarged production of energy and so on. Demographic forecasts and ecological problems were not the main concern. Societies were required to compete successfully with the capitalist West.

The change came rapidly. In the early 1970s the first ecological crisis together with student movements influenced Eastern Europe, too. Yugoslavia had been relatively open to Western ideas by that time, and changes were visible in many fields. Ecological viewpoints became very powerful and ground-breaking laws in the fields of protection of nature, water and air were implemented. Cultural heritage and natural identity became more respected. There were some modest achievements in urban renewal in the mediaeval cores of Ljubljana, Maribor, Piran, Škofja Loka and other smaller towns. The forecasts for population, employment and traffic became more realistic and sustainable. Planners argued for limits to the growth of car traffic and consumption of energy. The loss of farmland due to single-family housing was widely criticised. The ideas of modernism were gradually abandoned and changed by more sustainable and 'green' doctrines.

Relatively prosperous economic growth in Europe – as well as on a global scale – in the late 1970s and 1980s enabled the country to enjoy rising consumption in all fields – land, energy, food, and industrial goods. The idea of more sustainable development could not compete with the consumer lifestyle. Urban and regional planning gradually became recognised as a distinct profession, relatively independent of architecture, surveying or geography. This was also true in terms of teamwork together with experts from the fields of economy, sociology, ecology, political science and many others. A successful interdisciplinary planning school at Masters level was created in Slovenia, inspired by similar programmes in the West such as Nordplan and Masters courses in Amsterdam, Bonn and Karlsruhe.

After the collapse of Socialism in the last decade of the 20th century a new situation emerged. Yugoslavia broke apart into small national states, Slovenia being one of them. In Eastern Europe generally, the collapse of Socialism caused dramatic changes. Many large industries were closed and large industrial and army sites were abandoned. In rural areas the same happened at the sites of collective farming. Multi-family housing blocks became obsolete, and are now housing for the poor. A new middle class moved into individual houses in the suburbs. Central area of towns lost their population.

Individual car traffic grew rapidly, causing a decline in public transport. New Western investors developed new tourist sites, shopping centres and business districts. The urban pattern changed along American lines. Capital cities grew much faster than other towns. Many Eastern metropolises became 'Manhattanised.'

On the other hand, urban poverty afflicted a large part of the population. The exodus from the periphery to urban regions continues, though the demographic curves show a decline of population. In some countries of the East these processes are quite dramatic: Russia, Ukraine, Hungary and Poland are typical. In many ways urban planners serve the needs of large investors, mostly Western ones. The ideal of a 'compact city' became a convenient excuse for high-density housing, new office towers and shopping centres. The idea of sustainability seems to be more an ornament in urban plans, which followed the mainstream of profit. After Slovenia's independence the country followed the general trends described previously. Yet there are some significant differences due to its small spatial size (20,000 km²) and population (two million).

Slovenians are bound to and emotional about their natural landscape because of the rural origin of the population. Green movements are therefore very strong and influential. In the last few decades, protective planning prevailed over development planning. Once Slovenia became a member of the European Union the trend of nature and environmental protection was reinforced and legally supported by EU Directives. Slovenia declared over 35 per cent of its national territory as part of Natura 2000 – a much higher proportion than any other Member State, or indeed any state in the world. Moreover other protection covers even more spaces such as sites of ecological importance, water protection areas, protected cultural heritage and so on. Spatial planning in Slovenia faces many limitations and advocates of protection who have been a serious obstacle to economic growth.

Slovenian building sites for investors are too expensive and procedures for obtaining a building permit are far too complicated. Slovenian planning must redefine sustainability to include economic and social sustainability. Human ecology must be regarded as a part of overall ecological concern.

As elsewhere in the globalised world the 'Americanisation' of Slovenian cities and landscape continues: a new highway, new shopping centres, new office towers emerge and urban sprawl continues. One hundred years on, urban design is once again regarded as architecture writ large. New artistic, surprising, high-tech buildings have sprouted everywhere. Re-affirmation of the artistic role of urban planning is supported by the mass media which also helps to establish the importance of planning. It is somewhat ironic that many years of interdisciplinary effort in planning have not yielded such a result in the field of urbanism as the recent architectural revival. New architectural and artistic installations of all kinds seem to be more powerful than 'abstract' land-use planning.

In recent decades the role of public participation in Slovenian urban planning has grown. After the introduction of capitalism people recognised the power of land ownership. Local profit interests find allies among the Greens and other non-governmental civic initiatives. They often block important tasks of public importance such as new roads, new waste disposal sites, new electric power lines, new purification plants, new hydro-electric plants and others. Spatial planning can often not find the path to an acceptable solution. Recently a new law was launched to reinforce the predominant importance of public interest over private, local or sectoral interests.

What is the message Slovenia – situated in the south-east part of European Union, close to the Balkans – wants to send out? What are the advantages and disadvantages of its one hundred years of urban and regional planning? What are the lessons from Slovenia from its mediaeval, early capitalist, socialist, transitional, and modern times? The answers are complex and often controversial. The most important achievements of Slovenian urban and regional planning in the last hundred years can be listed in the following syntagms.

Slovenia followed the mainstream of western planning with a lag of about ten years. With the works of Plečnik, Fabiani, Ravnikar and other modernists it avoided the provincialism which could easily have prevailed. It also avoided the brutalism and uniformity of the Socialist era. The small population of Slovenian towns meant that high concentrations of housing and industrial development have never been a reality or seen as a necessity. New neighbourhoods built in a functionalist style have reached high standards of social services, green areas and public utilities. New towns were built on a human scale as 'green' towns though mainly based on apartment blocks and towers. Urban renewal has been modest with a few exceptions. Though historic centres have avoided destruction their scale has been often degraded by high office towers which have taken on the symbolic meaning of church towers.

In times of post-modern movements and of new high-tech architecture Slovenian urban designers and architects followed the current trends at a critical distance. They always tried to plan on a human scale taking into account the historical context and the vicinity of the old city centres. Some attempts have been made to develop specific a national style which would follow the forms of old rural houses and villages.

When the ideologies of sustainable planning and the protection of nature and ecology prevailed, in the world's eyes the 'soul' of the Slovenian population followed them to the fullest extent. Many natural parks and reserves have been established in the last 20 years. The Škocjan caves are protected by UNESCO and many others are listed as part of European heritage. As described, Slovenians show their full commitment to sustainability and the planet's survival.

Slovenia's way in the processes of urbanisation is not unique or isolated, yet it has added new value to the richness of European and world built environment in terms of variety, human scale, polycentric development, commitment to nature and landscape protection. Despite the country's small economic, population and spatial resources, Slovenians are more in favour of protective planning than in economic efficiency. The 'best of Slovenian spatial planning' is the development of small rural towns, the important role of sustainable farming, green tourism and the protection of nature. In this way it shows the right future for Europe and the world.

PIERRE PUTTEMANS: TOWN PLANNING IN BELGIUM

According to many historians, modern thought concerning urbanism, architecture and town planning emerged with the construction in 1775 of Les Salines Royales at Arc-et-Senans and specifically with the projects of Claude-Nicolas Ledoux for a dream-town around the Saltworks; it also emerged with the writings of Charles-Louis Fourier on a new way of life. From 1822 workers' towns were built near industrial installations, clearly inspired by Les Salines and perhaps by New Lanark in Scotland: one such was Le Grand Hornu near Mons, with more than 400 houses, an 'industrial abbey' including facilities which were regarded as scarcely believable at the time, such as a small dispensary, shops and a recreation hall; one could also mention the towns of Bois du Luc, near La Louvière, Bouvi, L'Olive near Mariemont, and many others.

At the beginning of 19th century, the French government divided the future territory of Belgium into nine departments, which would later become the nine provinces of the independent country. These provinces still exist, though with restricted powers. Napoleon also provided the country with common law (Code Civil), which may be considered as a hymn to private property. Many of the ramparts were dismantled and replaced by wide avenues.

After the Battle of Waterloo, the Belgian territory became part of the Netherlands until the revolution of 1830, which gave independence to Belgium though the French legal and provincial structures remained as they were. The Orangist government decided to organise major works for road and water traffic. In the very south east of Belgium, one can still admire the solitary and uncompleted canal of Bernistap, partly underground.

In 1836, the first railway on the European continent was built linking Brussels to Mechelen. The network, one of the most important in the world, was completed quite quickly. It gave shape to the entire territory of the new monarchy. One should add that a good part of Belgium was the result of the fusion of many small states (counties, baronies, principalities), each with a capital; one finds a small or medium-sized town every 40 km., each eventually linked to others by roads, railways and canals. These networks had also to be completed with the location of industry, bringing about a completely different way of structuring the country; conurbations developed during the whole of the 19th century, principally where mining, steel or textile industries were to be found. It explains also why, after World War II, Belgium did not need to build satellite towns, but only to expand the existing ones.

In 1860, city tolls were abolished and gave way to better connections between towns and suburbs.

One of the main figures to inspire town planning in Belgium was certainly King Leopold II, frequently called 'le roi urbaniste'; assisted by several architects, landscape architects and highway engineers, he made an outstanding but authoritarian contribution to changing the appearance of the main towns (including their old centres), seaside resorts, the creation of wide avenues, public gardens and parks, frequently using the fearsome weapon of compulsory purchase, and skilfully mixing public welfare with considerable personal benefit. The plans conceived for Brussels at the time by the road inspector Victor Besme, who was, in a way, Leopold's pencil, were a very clever mixture of liberalism and authoritarianism. They defined precisely the main structures of the capital, still in use today. Leopold II died in 1909.

World War I brought massive destruction. After the Battle of the Yser, nearly all the towns and villages of West Flanders were totally demolished. After the War, reconstruction focused on restoring the shapes and structures of the ancient towns. It seemed that public authorities voluntarily ignored the new theories that emerged from the end of the 19th century, such as the English theories of the Garden City, the 'Cité Industrielle' of Tony Garnier or the influential book published in The Hague in 1916 by the Belgian landscape architect Louis Van der Swaelmen, called 'Préliminaires d'Art Civique', that is certainly prophetic of the Charter of Athens. Only the treatises of Stubben and Camillo Sitte seem to have been seriously considered at the time. It seems interesting to point out that those texts are more or less linked with the notion of zoning and with the picturesque qualities of towns and landscapes; the latter were praised by Charles Buls, Mayor of Brussels at the very end of 19th Century. Ebenezer Howard's book ('Garden Cities of Tomorrow') was influential and realisations emerged after World War I; the cooperative movement inside the Parti Ouvrier Belge (which later became the Parti Socialiste) sustained the creation of many tenant cooperatives. In the suburbs of Brussels for example nearly 25 Garden Cities were built at the beginning of the Twenties. Some of them are clearly conceived under British influence, others (such as the world-renowned Cité Moderne built in 1922) have a clearly Modernist look. However, they were alien creations; what Victor Bourgeois called 'la chaîne courtoise des cités-jardins' was built at a 'reasonable' distance from the urban core (that is approximately 12 km.), until the town limits came to their doors, and beyond.

Louis Van der Swaelmen created the 'Société Belge des Urbanistes' in 1919 which later became the 'Société Belge des Urbanistes et Architectes Modernistes' (SBUAM). Some of his members took part in the creation of the CIAM in 1928. The third congress of CIAM took place in Brussels; it concerned the 'rational estate' and roundly condemned the practice of garden cities as too space-consuming. In 1933, the Charter of Athens would reinforce this new conception of town planning.

As is generally known, one of the main characteristics of the Charter lies in the concept of zoning of the four main urban functions, i.e. living, working, recreation and transport. This restricted listing was extended when first enunciated by theoreticians such as Sitte or Van der Swaelmen – the latter listing nearly thirty different functions.

In Belgium just before World War II a team of students in architecture in Liège (the group L'Esquerre) launched the concept of regional planning and surveys. Regions did not exist at the time in the monarchy: the Napoleonic provincial structure coexisted peacefully with municipal structures. So the concept of regional planning was quite new. Moreover, it prepared the field for a mixture of spatial, social and economic planning.

The disruption that followed the end of World War II in Belgium was less due to the needs of reconstruction than the needs created by the baby-boom and the shift and spread of economic activities. The old Walloon factories tried to reconstruct themselves, while Flanders created new and diversified sectors, both in the field of industry and in services. The principles of the Charter of Athens were more or less respected in some 'Grands Ensembles' conceived by modernist town planners as well as in numerous mediocre realisations of private promoters. Otherwise, modernism as it was during the twenties and the thirties faded slowly, giving place to its commercial implementations.

After the vote of a limited law concerning town planning in 1948 (the 'Arrêtés du Régent'), a general law was finally adopted in March 1962. In accordance with the precepts of the Athens Charter, every square metre of the country had to be assigned to precise functions, which were much more detailed in the country than in the towns. The plans were to be divided up between a national plan (never designed), regional ones (also never designed), sub-regional ones (of which 48 were to cover the extent of the whole country and were defined by dividing the area of the nine provinces), general communal ones (very rarely designed) and particular communal ones (of which many were designed and voted on).

The last of the 'plans de secteurs' (i.e. the sub-regional ones) was the plan of the Brussels area which was voted on in 1979. Despite the economic shocks of 1972 and 1973, each plan seemed to be the result of the euphoria of the so called Golden Sixties: each little town was to be provided with sport and cultural facilities, industrial zones and housing districts large enough to receive more than twice the population of the country.

Moreover, the 'peaceful battles that were the results of citizen movements from the end of the Sixties had lasting consequences in the conception of planning. 'Participation' became the key word, even when it was reduced to a masquerade. 'Commissions de Concertation' were created, assembling delegates from the main administrations for organised citizens' hearings; but final decisions were taken by the Ministries and the communes.

The only so-called new town that was built up in Belgium during the 19th and 20th centuries was Louvain-la-Neuve, a consequence of the splitting up of the ancient University of Louvain in 1967, for linguistic reasons or, as one would say in Belgium, community reasons. Designed by Jean-Pierre Blondel, Raymond Lemaire and Pierre Laconte the planning and the formal expression of this huge university 'town' demonstrate nostalgia for old mediaeval Louvain as much as the desire to create an urban atmosphere that would differ sharply from post-war campuses round the world, mixing student and citizen housing with auditoria, research centres with laboratories, commercial infrastructure with cultural facilities and so on. Some principles of the Charter of Athens were kept such as strict separation between motorised traffic and pedestrian routes. But the whole gives an impression of being incomplete.

SBUAM disappeared at the end of the Sixties, at about the same time as CIAM and for the same ideological reasons: the battle for political and social modernity had been gently brought to a halt. The main union of town planners was created during the Fifties: the 'Chambre des Urbanistes-Conseils de Belgique' (CUCB), later the 'Chambre des Urbanistes de Belgique' (CUB), whose aims were strictly those of corporate bodies. After some years, CUB was divided into two independent linguistic unions. CUB was among the founders of the European Council of Town Planners (now ECTP-CEU).

At the beginning of the Seventies, Belgian political structures began to change. Each commune was merged with others, reducing the number of communes from 2,600 to 600. Belgium was divided into three regions (Flemish, Brussels and Walloon) and the 1962 had to be replaced with regional rules. The novelty of these rules lies in the fact that, according to the wishes of many town planners at the time (as well as the ideas of many politicians), planning was to be divided up into indicative (or thematic) plans, and statutory plans. Indicative planning may change in tune with the political orientation of regional governments, while statutory plans are considered as definitively adopted in order to provide legal security. The differences between the three current regional rules still call for some adjustments, as each region has tried to mark its own specificities; the necessary agreements between different regions are sometimes difficult to obtain. But it does function at last, more or less, although the implementation of the new rules is becoming more and more complicated. The 'Codes' change about every six months for 'good reasons'.

It seems too early to judge the consequences of regionalisation in town planning. In Flanders, regional planning tries to protect what remains of the countryside. In Brussels, the alternative politics of 'planning for decline' and 'planning for progress' often serves to block the best intentions and confine them into complicated rules. The recent nomination of 'master architects' in Flanders and in Brussels gives some hope for the future, but who knows? In the Walloon region, general economic decline tends to lead to many small improvisations and it is often very difficult to understand where they are heading.

The high density of the country does not simplify the work of the town planners - but it is clear that it is a very exciting challenge.

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THOMAS SEVCIK: THE ROLE OF THE NARRATIVE IN URBAN PLANNING AND IDENTITY

In many cities and metropolitan areas as well as regions, spatial and urban planning is not coordinated with economic strategies or tourism branding/marketing efforts. A strategic narrative ('what story do we want to tell?') can help to improve cooperation and coordination between these diverse areas. The objective is to create a clearer understanding about the general identity of a particular city or region and to enable the various stakeholders to work together on a comprehensive approach.

1. Competition among Cities

We are truly entering an age of cities. As we all know, more than 50% of the world's population now lives in cities and urban areas. This number will increase in the coming years. Cities also increasingly compete with each other for investment, highly-qualified talent and visitors and tourism. This has led to renewed interest in creating competitive cities in terms of planning, economic development and general issues of the 'quality of life'. This has nothing to do with branding or marketing a city but with strategies and ideas about how to make a city more attractive and hence more successful. Success is defined as more jobs, better quality of life, greater safety, and more sustainability: in general, a better city for everyone. This competition among cities therefore has positive side effects at the local level.

2. A Comprehensive Approach is Needed

One of the bigger challenges in such undertakings is the fact that projects such as urban planning, economic development and other strategies ranging from visitor/tourism to marketing are often not sufficiently coordinated. In general each task

is carried out by a dedicated separate organisation; each normally representing different stakeholders. Each stakeholder then has its own interest. This often leads to diverging strategies and therefore to mixed and suboptimal results in city 'betterment'.

What is needed is a much more coordinated and comprehensive approach. But this is not easy to achieve and in fact it often fails to materialise. There are several reasons for this:

- the interests of stakeholders cannot be brought under one umbrella
- different objectives, different time horizons, different starting points
- the individual processes are difficult to combine.

But only a comprehensive approach ensures an overall strategy and overall success. In the past some cities have tried to put all 'city betterment' functions under one umbrella or under one roof. A kind of 'City, Inc.' was established in many cities, a super-agency controlling everything from urban planning to city branding. The results were often mixed. The reason for this was mostly due to the fact that these super-agencies were too big, too self-absorbed, lacked clear objectives and/or failed to define key areas for the most urgent focus. So what is needed is a comprehensive structure without burdensome legal or functional characteristics.

The key idea here is to develop a 'strategic narrative' which will act as an overarching idea for all stakeholders involved in planning and strategies for a particular city.

3. What is a 'Narrative'?

A narrative can be defined as an architecture of inter-connected content in a new state of matter pointing towards a willingly anticipated conclusion. It is a description of a kind of reality that some entity (a city, a region; but also a big company or organisation) wants to attain in the future. 'What's the story we want to tell?' could be the key question. A narrative can be a text or a combination of text and visualisation, among other things.

This means that a narrative defines strategic content in a new way that can be interpreted, adapted and used by various participants at the same time. It is open for co-authorship and evolutionary refinement.

4. Why a Narrative is Important

We human beings communicate and remember things via stories. From fairy-tales to movies, narratives are an ideal carrier of content, ideas and even strategies. So it is no surprise that a city, too, can have a narrative. It is a complex system but it has meaning and a purpose. Defining such a narrative can help to gather many or all relevant stakeholders behind one idea, one strategy. So urban planners, business development agencies and other bodies can use the same narrative (or: idea about the city), but interpret it in its own way. The goal is to have a working framework for various participants without forcing them and without trying to overpower them. If everyone works with the same narrative the result can be a more comprehensive approach towards the future of a city.

5. Lessons from Case Studies

The 'strategic narrative' approach has been used in several projects in which a city (or urban area) wanted to create a strategic framework defining the city's identity, positioning and future. Here are some examples:

Greater Zurich Area

Zurich and its environs is a politically and structurally fragmented but economically powerful urban area. In 2003 Zurich agreed to define a narrative consisting of four different so-called 'themes'. These themes were machine in the garden, knowledge eccentrics, corporate utopia, and cultural innovation. None of these themes are claims or tag-lines or branding elements but chapters of a story that Zurich wants to tell itself and the world. They function as a thinking and working environment and are all stakeholders are free to develop and enrich them further. A dedicated implementation strategy ensured that these themes influenced existing and new projects in areas such as regional planning, economic development, inward investment, regional policy and much more. One result after several years of operation is that many organisations and individuals involved in the future of Zurich now act in accordance with the narrative and its themes. The future positioning and meaning of Zurich is now incorporated in many aspects of the Zurich urban area.

Perm/Russia

In 2008 the city and administrative region of Perm began to develop a new city strategy for 2030. A comprehensive urban planning strategy was at its heart. But over time the administration of the city and the region agreed to define a 'Perm DNA' leading to a 'Perm 2030 Narrative' which would define what Perm is and what the future role and positioning of Perm should be. In various workshops and conversations with many stakeholders including critical/progressive youth organisations, non-conformist arts & culture protagonists and bankers and planners the narrative of Perm emerged as the first truly Russian entrepreneur city (where entrepreneurship ranges from technology start-up to cultural initiatives). This narrative was then incorporated in Perm's official 2030 strategy acting as an overall anchor point for all related undertakings.

6. Link to Spatial Planning?

It might not be clear how narrative and spatial planning are interconnected. One area where both meet is the question of meaning and overall goals of a city's future. One central question remains: isn't space also a representation of a narrative? How do we experience stories in reality? Can a narrative be part of a planning strategy at the same time? These and other questions need to be further investigated.

7. Conclusion

In a world where simple models become less and less useful (as seen in the economists' failure to anticipate the financial crisis

2008-09) narratives will have a renaissance. Nothing is more powerful than a story. Linking narratives with strategies and planning is an interesting area in contemporary urban planning and is worth being investigated further as some early case studies from around the world show.

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ŠTEFAN ŠLACHTA & JURAJ SILVAN: BRATISLAVA, SLOVAKIA: CITY ON THE BORDERS (THE OLD, YOUNG CITY OR THE SMALL, BIG CITY)

Introduction

Bratislava, the capital of Slovak Republic, is one of the youngest capitals of Europe and one of the most picturesque cities in Central Europe. It would be difficult to find another similar place in Europe whose history has involved such frequent changes of its political, ethnic, social and urban design system as Bratislava. Throughout its history, the city was always viewed as a tolerant, multi-cultural entity with three dominant languages: German, Hungarian and Slovak. More recently, over the 40-years to 1989, the city - less than 60 km from the Austrian capital Vienna - was artificially and forcibly severed from European evolution, progress and general development, which it had naturally contributed to and drawn from for centuries. Old Bratislava's citizens well remember the 'good' times of a mutual Bratislava-Vienna relationship, when one could go direct by tram from Bratislava city centre to Vienna the centre of Vienna. Only after 1989 did the former historical-spatial relationships begin to revitalize. Today Bratislava offers - from the viewpoint of investors - attractive conditions for transport and technical infrastructure; its socio-economic and demographic potential incl. the outsourcing of its payroll functions, are also attractive. At the end of this article, we list some of the milestones in Bratislava's rich history.

Some Geographical Data Characteristic for the City

Population: 462, 603 (in 2012); area 367.9 km² of which built-up area and yards account for 7.350 ha; density 1,260.5 inhabitants per km²; altitude 152 metres above sea level. The city lies on the Austrian and Hungarian borders, on both banks of the Danube, surrounded by the Little Carpathian hills with their many vineyards and on the edge of the Danubian Lowland. In terms of the natural environment Bratislava lies on the border of two significant mountain ranges: the Alps and the Carpathians. The city is the most important cultural and university centre of Slovakia with 11 higher education institutions with 39 faculties and 45,000 full-time students and a further 25,500 part-time students. The Bratislava Region (Bratislavský kraj) is the only region in Slovakia on the EU NUTS II level in which GDP (PPS per capita) in 2007 exceeded the EU-27 average at 160.3 per cent. The unemployment rate is 3.4 per cent. The city is divided into 17 local self-governing urban parts, that is, apart from the Lord Mayor of Bratislava (with an office - City Hall) there are 17 mayors with their town halls and infrastructure.

History of the Bratislava's Master Plans

- Several Bratislava plans of varying quality and content have been preserved from the first half of the 18th century. During the second half of that century, the Austro-Hungarian authorities ordained the mapping of the terrain in various decrees, for economic, taxation and military purposes (orders of the Austro-Hungarian Empress, Maria Theresa). Michael Marquart drew the first synoptical plan of Bratislava in 1765, known as 'Stadtplan (City Plan) 1765'. For the first time we see numerical marking of house plots in inner city, along with the names of the owners, corresponding to the taxpayers list of the period. The city was shown with its medieval walls surrounding its core and the four city gates. Marquart used the map 'Vestigium Posonii' made up before 1735 as a model for the representation of city inner area.
- 1907 – First city plan designed by Antal Palóczy, professor at the Technical School in Budapest.
- 1914 – Second city plan designed again by Prof. Antal Palóczy. In his plan Petržalka, the municipality on the right bank of the Danube was included in the Bratislava plan for the first time. It expressed the concept of the Danube as the city main composition axis. He already considered Petržalka as a possible development reserve for Bratislava (D. Kedro, 1988). By the end of the First World War, Bratislava had about 70,000 inhabitants. A communication system, principally railway lines, was the main concern of both Palóczy's plans.
- 1954 – New Master Plan designed by Milan Hladký: New residential extensions in the shape of high-rise prefabricated settlements were proposed for Karlova Ves, Ružinov and Petržalka. Rapid growth of industry and population.

- 1974 - New Master plan designed by Milan Benuska: First considerations of a Metro (stretching under the Danube) were presented. Development in the direction of the borders with Austria or Hungary was strictly forbidden.
- 1976 – The Project of Urbanization of Slovakia specified Bratislava as the nucleus of a metropolitan region (author: URBION). Relationships between the city and its region are very intensive. The city started to be defined through its region, and the region defined as part of the city.
- The most up-to date Master Plan of Bratislava was approved in 2007. This plan was laid out on a scale of 1:10,000 (the previous plans were on the scale of 1:25,000). The city is considered not only as the capital of Slovakia and a regional centre but as an important part of the Central European space with close links to agglomerations of Vienna, St. Pölten and Eisenstadt (Austria), Brno (Czech Republic), Győr and Sopron (both in Hungary) – together constituting the CENTROPE project. In 1994 during the urban planning symposium 'Berlin-Bratislava: Two Former Divided Cities' the well-known architect Daniel Liebeskind compared the two capitals with the words: 'The iron curtain was for Bratislava-Vienna agglomeration the same unhappiness as the wall has been for Berlin'. Today there is a huge potential to connect the whole Slovakia to the European flow of capital, goods, services, R&D, cultural and social cooperation.
- 2011 – City Government of Bratislava announced processing of a New Master Plan of Bratislava.

The valid Master Plan respects renewed private ownership of land (as was not the case for the Master Plans of 1954 and 1974), as well as environmental values of European importance, mainly protected areas, bio-corridors, localities registered with NATURA 2000 and the Ramsar Convention. It was predominantly residential and green areas of the city that were to be substantially extended. Regulations and strictly formulated criteria for construction of high-rise buildings were set out. The public interest was clearly defined; developers must now take it into account. Cases of 100 per cent built-up areas without public spaces should not be repeated.

New master plans of urban zones were proposed, e.g. for the new multi-functional zone 'The Port' with a shopping centre on the north-west development axis or the Project of R&D park 'CEPIT' accommodating education, science, research, culture and housing at Vajnory-Rača on the north-east development axis. The new transport node East Town was proposed to support the TEN-T project with the new railway connection with Paris via Vienna. The new urban transport circuit was to open reveal the city to regional as well as international transit. Petržalka on the right bank of the Danube would be extended southwards.

Of course more effective co-operation of developers with local governments is required, and the general public should be more active in this sphere. Competition will increase, so it is already very important to invest substantially more in the future quality of the city. The brand-new Eurovea development project on the left bank of the Danube is a positive example of new development and an example of change of use (functions) from brownfield to high-quality city space.

Around Bratislava it is possible to witness a dramatic increase of suburban processes that have also contributed to the spatial extension and size of the city. Many functions and many people leave the city core. Urban belts have developed towards the north-west (the Záhorie suburban belt), the north-east (the Sub-Carpathian suburban belt in the direction of the Pezinok-district), and the south-east (two suburban belts: one towards Senec-district and one in the direction of Žitný island). Cross-border suburban belts in the direction of Austria are also under development (Kittsee and its environment) and towards Hungary (Rajka). This trend is a component of globalization processes and has a direct influence on the city's growth as well as changes in its urban structure and functions. Inhabitants who shift their dwelling and free time activities to the newly-developed suburban belts (so far still attached to their original countryside communes) remain citizens of Bratislava: they keep their car number plates, work in Bratislava, their children attend schools in the city and they shop in Bratislava. This phenomenon can also be seen in other large centres.

So far the new Master Plan of Bratislava does not tackle any areas on Austrian territory but there are many examples of useful joint and cross-border cooperation. The communes in Austria – formerly regarded as being at the end of the world (in the era of the Iron Curtain) – are experiencing massive development activities today.

It is possible to conclude that the new Master Plan (2007) offered the city exceptional potential for development ideas, though at the same time its transport system is on the verge of real collapse. There is pressure for extensive development in all parts of the city, but equally there are problems in shaping the city which one could regard as a 'toothless beauty'. So from 1 July 2010 the plan will be amended to take account of the current needs of the city – and one that is not just near the Danube but on the Danube. In this connection the new Danube River canal is significant, involving renewal of the inland river delta, return to the original water landscape and protection of the city against Danube floods. From a practical point of view it is a network of water canals south from Petržalka which is partially also located in Austria and has could become a development area for housing and leisure activities in future.

Bratislava a City of Residential Estates

In the development of Bratislava, residential estates were a typical design feature until 1990. Previously new housing colonies or new urban quarters, housing groups or satellites could be built, after from 1950 only one model was allowed: collective or mass housing construction in the form of several thousand mono-cultural large-scale residential estates.

In 1954 the first prefabricated (panel) house was built – the basic building block of future industrialised housing construction. At first different construction technologies were, later only one technology was used: the large block (wall) prefabrication. In the second half of the 1950s and 1960s, more moderate residential estates were built: Februárka, Hostinského, Miletičova, Biely Kríž and Vistra (the last two designed by Prof. Vladimír Karfík, the well-known Bata-architect). Then came really large-scale residential estates such as Ružinov (the second largest city district in 2005, housing 16.4 per cent of the inhabitants of the whole city), Karlova Ves and finally Petržalka accommodating almost 150,000 people, followed by Devínska Nová Ves, Podunajské Biskupice and Dúbravka. And on the architects' drawing boards, further projects were prepared: Jarovce, the Sub-Carpathian settlement belt and the Záhorie settlement belt, both intended for 200,000 newly migrating citizens...

But November 1989 brought the Velvet Revolution and the end of prefabricated panel high-rise mass house construction. After construction, it was expected that they would be humanised, but that never happened. Architects tried to solve this thorny inter-disciplinary problem but laboured alone: there was no co-operation with the specialists in sociology, ecology, economics, demography and forecasting. It led to the unchecked growth of new buildings in most of the new residential complexes. Instead of comprehensive social infrastructure, work began on building large shopping centres. Some tragic examples of the over-densification of original residential estates appeared.

One typical example is the AUPARK shopping centre at Petržalka close to Janko Kráľ green park, an old and rare example of a central European municipal park. The shopping centre faces the highway and deliveries come in from the park side: it is a question of how long the park can survive. Another fatal attitude is to allow new development or car-parks to encroach on open, mainly green areas. In Petržalka it is estimated that 40,000 more parking spaces are needed.

The most important change which we can feel is the new generation of young people who were born and raised in these residential estates. The estate was their real home, creating a different and more positive relationship with their homes than was the case for their parents. In the meantime, the planting matured and made the estates greener and more attractive. It would be up to those young people to determine what kind of financial resources and urban planning tools would be needed to work on their homes in a positive way. Only then would the residential estates truly become the valuable part of the city.

Two Models of Development

Two characteristic models of Bratislava development can be observed: transformation of built-up areas (including change of use and conversion of functions), or development in new areas. The first is very important today. Change of use is implemented mainly for former industrial buildings and for larger estates of former chemical plants; though areas with other functions are frequently the subject of transformation.

Since the beginning of the 20th century new areas have been found at first mainly to the north-east and the south-east; then in the second half of 20th century the western part of the city was also built up (Karlova Ves and Dúbravka), then later the southern part (Petržalka, the biggest residential estate in Slovakia on the right bank of the Danube) came into use as a built-up area extension. But for political reasons - as well as the Iron Curtain - development in this direction in 1980s and 1990s was stopped. The largest undeveloped areas are in this (southward) direction towards the Austrian border. The Lamač Gate space and areas northwards from the Slovnaft petro-chemical plant (connected to the transport functions of the newly planned Danube ports, railway lines and the airport) have further strong potential. However the most attractive and the most topical development areas are the territories in direct contact with the Danube, on both its left and right banks.

Key development projects are in the area below Bratislava castle (a zone in the new Master Plan), the New Petržalka centre and the new Lido, both on the right bank of the Danube river. Recently the right bank of the river has become valuable central urban real estate as an extension of the traditional CBD. It is the only area where green areas – strictly protected riverside forest and parks – can be directly included in the urban built-up territories to give the best conditions for living, working and relaxation. Development areas in the so-called 'Fourth Quadrant' – the area closest to Austria, also in contact with the Danube and its tributaries (ripe for restoration) also belong to this interesting vision. Plans for this area could be developed in a joint project with Austrian and Slovak participation.

The transport system needs (in response to social and economic changes) - are one of the most problematic fields of city development. It is an urgent necessity to construct the so-called Zero Circle around the whole city (the D4 highway). New employment opportunities are needed particularly out to

the north-west and Petržalka so that the labour force would be more evenly distributed and to counter the trend to uni-directional commuter transport streams.

The other weak point in city development is the siting of the tallest buildings, the so-called Bratislava skyscrapers. The city needs such type of buildings for more effective land use. Until the 2007 Master Plan was issued, there was no concept of encouraging such buildings. There is still an unsolved question: Would be better for the city to have just one homogenous centre (one downtown), or would Bratislava benefit from the concept of more local urban centres?

Bratislava – an Integral Part of the ‘Europe of Cities and Regions’

The role of international cooperation among cities and regions in the expanded Europe is more and more indispensable. Foreign policy in Bratislava is formulated with this in mind. The city’s economic potential, geographical location and openness promise further intensive development with the natural consequence of an intensification of its activities in international networks through inter-city and regional co-operation both bilateral and multilateral.

The strategic partnership is in the agglomeration/region Bratislava-Vienna. The cooperation culminated in 2008, the Year of the Bratislava-Vienna Twin City. It is a clear example of present trends and their positive impacts in unifying Europe. As national borders gradually cease to exist, the integration of local economies underlines the importance of the real everyday cross-border cooperation between Bratislava and its environment and the Federal Land of Lower Austria in the framework of the UN programming period 2014-2020, including the Bratislava-Rajka (Hungary) projects.

Potentials for closer co-operation:

- territorial: the two closest capitals of the EU (only 60 km apart) being on the interface of two EU accession groups
- development: per capita GDP in both cities is significantly higher than the average of the two countries; the educational base and state-of-art of the R&D; concentration of universities, academies of sciences, other institutions; multi-functional logistics centres, five of the main communication corridors of the Trans-European Transport Network, the Danube waterway, two international gateway airports. The logistic centre in the area of the Twin City endows the region with a unique position in international competition, encouraging companies to site their company headquarters there – potential benefits are higher quality, better technology and lower costs
- another level in the building of bilateral relations is co-operation with metropolises of the Central European region: mainly Prague, Budapest and Warsaw which share historical and social experience and common interests with Bratislava. Partnership with these cities is a priority not only with respect to the geographical nearness but particularly based on shared values and objectives
- CENTROPE is a cross-border initiative of four countries: Austria (Federal Lands of Burgenland, Lower Austria and Vienna), Slovakia (Bratislava and Trnava self-governing regions), Hungary (Győr-Moson-Sopron County) and the Czech Republic (South Moravian self-governing region) plus the cities of Vienna, Bratislava, Trnava, Brno, St. Pölten, Eisenstadt, Győr and Sopron, which was established by a political memorandum already in 2003.

Conclusion

Bratislava has made huge progress in improving particularly the quality of the inner environment of the city. Unfortunately this is limited at present to activity in the historic centre. A programme to extend this improvement to other inner urban spaces is still lacking. Of course there are exceptions such as the EUROVEA project mentioned above. Green areas are under pressure from development. The slogan ‘construct a house – plant a tree’ is still nowhere near a reality. Huge supermarkets with no greenery on their roofs but with parking areas round them contribute to the worsening of urban micro-climate and the difficulties of retaining water in the landscape.

In the sphere of physical planning it is necessary to devote more attention to implementation of effective regulatory tools. Master plans of zones should have two functions: as opportunity for land use and protection against inappropriate development; both functions should underpin the construction order of the city. Developing brownfield sites connected to the centre and using selected industrial buildings and objects as bearers of the genius loci (conversion of functions) offer a tremendous opportunity for the city. The city should make better and more frequent use of design competitions for new development projects. Humanisation of the ‘pre-fab panel’ residential estates has still not happened: the urgent need now is to create a new quality of social relationships to these areas, to bring new aesthetic values and better security of the whole environment. The city is a concept but also the sum of details.

Bratislava aspires to become a capital which can stand comparison with other European metropolises, not by size or extent but with its level of cultural, educational and high-tech attainment. It must support everything specific to a city and its own character. Physical/territorial planning, urban planners and architects have much to contribute to this effort. Bratislava and its broader environment is worthy of study and use – both as a unique physical laboratory for its urban and regional planning history as well as future development of its space.

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Historical Background

Bratislava has an extraordinarily interesting and rich history. Throughout its history its geographical situation – particularly its various borders - played a significant role:

- In 907: The first written evidence of the city, established at the junction of two mediaeval roads on the banks of the Danube: the Amber road (North-South) and the East-West Trade route.
- 1st century CE: The Roman Period in Bratislava begins as it did in Vienna and Budapest. The Romans captured the territory by military means, it was known as Pannonia. The Danube was used as a natural border and a sophisticated system of fortifications – the Limes Romanus – was built along it. Roman limes, today a Trans-European monument existed all along the northern borders of the Roman Empire for over 400 years. In Rusovce – a local part of Bratislava today – was a small military camp belonging to the frontier castle Gerulata (14 km south-west of Carnuntum, today in Austria). At present there is a national project to prepare the entire area for registration on the UNESCO List of European Cultural Heritage by the Commission for Cultural Heritage in Paris.
- 5th century CE: First Slavs settled the territory.
- 833-907: Era of the Great Moravian Empire. The Empire was founded by Prince Mojmir the First, joining the Moravian and Nitra Principality. Bratislava with its two castles played a significant role:
Devín Castle: over centuries the castle witnessed Celts and Romans, thanks to its exceptional strategic location on a rocky mound above the confluence of the Danube and Morava rivers and on the crossroad of the Danube and Amber Roads. During the Great Moravian Empire it was the most important castle on the border.

Bratislava Castle: a symbol and dominant feature of Bratislava. It stands at a strategic site above the Danube. The site was inhabited as far back as Celtic and Great Moravian times. The castle underwent large-scale reconstruction during the Gothic and Renaissance period and during the reign of Maria Theresa (and of course, more recently).

- 1238: Municipal privileges of a free royal town granted to Bratislava and other towns in Slovakia.
- 1465: Academia Istropolitana – the first university on the territory of Slovakia is founded in Bratislava by King Matthias Corvinus.
- 1526: Turkish armies defeat Hungarian armies. Territories of Slavs resist the Turkish occupation and become a part of the Habsburg monarchy.
- 1536: Bratislava becomes the capital and coronation city of the Hungarian Kingdom, seat of central authorities and seasonal destination for Hungarian estates.
- 1563-1830: Ten kings, one queen (well-known Maria Theresa 1740-1780 who played a positive role in Bratislava's development), and eight consorts were crowned at St. Martin's Coronation Cathedral (the 15th century Gothic church).

Before World War I:

- Multi-ethnic and multi-faith, city of tolerance, known for its three languages: German, Hungarian, and Slovak: In the morning Slovak dominated (in the market), in the afternoon, Hungarian and in the evening, German dominated (in the wine cellars).
- If we take the city history from the beginning of the 20th century, borders were always the dominant feature – both natural and political.
- It was the City with at least Three Names: Poszony, Pressburg, Prešporok.

After World War I:

- Result of the Trianon Treaty: City surrounded by the borders with Austria and Hungary; 1918: The first Czechoslovak Republic, of which Slovakia is a part, was formed.
- A new name and a new status for Bratislava was proposed at the Paris Conference in 1918: Wilsonstadt (after the 28th US president Thomas Woodrow Wilson, a great supporter of post-war arrangements for Central European countries), as a neutral city. The proposal did not come to pass; Bratislava became a part of newly established Czechoslovakia.

Early 1919: The name of the City is definitively Bratislava. Geographically, its location on the extreme western edge in relation to other parts of Slovakia is considered extremely eccentric (some similarity with the position of Vienna vis-à-vis other parts of Austria). The concept of agglomeration/region Bratislava-Vienna started from this geographical basis

Development connected with World War II:

- 1939 – creation of the Slovak State.
- Borders again: The right bank of the Danube belongs to Hungary and after the Anschluss, to Germany.
- Petržalka, renamed Ergenau on the right bank, belongs to Germany. Die Katze muss weg! ('Away with the cat!') as Hitler ordered noticing the Czech lion on a statue looking across the Danube to Germany (directed to the right bank); Hitler never visited Bratislava).

Development after World War II:

- 1945 – Renewal of the Czechoslovak Republic (April 4, 1945: Liberation of Bratislava by the Red Army).
- 1946-1947: Three former Hungarian small municipalities (Rusovce, Jarovce and Čunovo, together 65 km²) according conclusions of the Paris Peace Conference were given to former Czechoslovakia as a part of so called Bratislavaer Brückenkopf. Later they became a part of Bratislava.
- 1948 – Slovakia falls under the control of the communists and the Soviet Union. Creation of the 'Iron Curtain' on the border with Austria (world division): Borders, again.
- 1989 – as the consequence of Velvet Revolution (which brings essential political changes, depriving communists of power and opening the country to democracy); end of central planning system and creation of private land ownership: Previous Master Plans of the city and its zones no longer accepted.

- 1992 – Europe’s most important water system, the Rhine-Danube canal is opened. Previous attempts to link the rivers had not been successful: The construction of Fossa Carolina – Charlemagne’s great ditch - began in 793 with primitive technology; this medieval project ended as an unrealised dream of Charlemagne. The second attempt to join the rivers was not fully successful either though the first ships sailed through the Canal of Louis the Pious (the Ludwig-Kanal) in 1846. However, the capacity of the canal was too small, as was the size of vessels navigating it, and there were too many locks (69 on the Rhine side and 24 on the Danube side). The shortcomings of the Louis Canal (e.g. depth of only 1.46 metres) contributed to a decision to build a work worthy of the 20th century – the new Rhine-Mohan-Danube canal, the most significant European rivers now permanently connected in a continuous network of waterways. Ships from France, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Belgium have been steady visitors to the Danube ports. The message conveyed by the connection of two rivers may be just as valuable as, or even more important than the canal itself...
- 1993 – The Slovak Republic becomes an independent and sovereign state after peaceful division of the Czecho-Slovak Federal Republic. For the first time in its history, Bratislava is the real capital of the newly established country.
- 2004 – Slovakia becomes a member of the European Union and NATO.
- 2004 – Inception of the Twin-City Vienna-Bratislava idea. Many ‘WI:BRA’ projects are launched with true and close co-operation of both cities such as the New Danube River Port in Vienna opening in 2010. The same project will be used for the new Danube River Port in Bratislava. Infrastructure for the Twin-City Danube Liners improves each year.
- 2008 – Slovak Republic accession to the Schengen Zone brings a change of attitude to borders. The borders with Austria and Hungary became practically free for EU citizens and goods because of their special status as EU internal borders. Traditional relationships are renewed. As a consequence of this treaty it is possible to expect new residential development of Slovak citizens in small municipalities in Austrian space, adjacent to the border with Slovakia, mainly at Kittsee, Berg and Wolfstahl. This is regarded as part of the development of Bratislava’s Fourth Quadrant, one of the most attractive areas for development. These municipalities regard Bratislava as part of their background (Vienna is too far away); the distance from Lamač or Rača, on the northern and eastern edges of Bratislava is shorter. There is a regular bus service from Bratislava to Vienna; the Bratislava City Bus system runs a service to Hainburg. Cycle paths are being developed e.g. a recently opened cycle bridge (also usable by emergency vehicles) from Schlosshof (Austria) to Devínska Nová Ves (Slovakia) over the Morava river, which brings employment benefits to both sides.
- 2009 - Slovakia adopts the Euro as its currency.

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BORISLAV STOJKOV, TIJANA ZIVANOVIC: SPATIAL PLANNING IN THE WEST BALKANS: FROM A RAW SOCIALIST MODEL AND SELF-GOVERNANCE TO THE PERIOD OF PLURALISM AND TRANSITION

ABSTRACT

This paper outlines and compares spatial planning systems and spatial planning documents in place since World War II in countries which once belonged to a single state – the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It aims to identify the place, significance and efficiency of spatial planning in a changing political atmosphere followed by territorial as well as economic and social disintegration. The connection between spatial planning on the one hand and the political system, economy and social component of the state on the other is the paper's principal focus. A relation to Western European planning systems is also drawn.

Spatial planning in the West Balkans is an activity closely connected, as anywhere else, to the political system and its orientation. The basic problem in this part of Europe is the fact that the political system and consequently territorial borders and spatial organisation have been changed many times. As an illustration, an inhabitant remaining permanently in one place in Serbia from 1941 until the present day has lived in 8 (eight!!) countries with different territories or names, with all that implies in terms of change in politics, economic and social systems. Spatial planning appeared in this area in the 1950s more as an idea than in practice. The idea was presented by a famous Serbian architect and expert during the conference on spatial development of former Yugoslavia in 1954, where he took over and elaborated the Soviet model of regional planning and its power to enhance economy and construction of the post-war state. But the character and administrative structure of former Yugoslavia with all its dynamic and even turbulent changes and idiosyncrasies did not allow the idea to be further implemented as it had been conceived. Some historic reasons should therefore be mentioned for better comprehension of the destiny of spatial planning in the West Balkans.

Evolution of Planning Legislation¹

The association of various dependent and independent states into the common Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918 opened up many questions and challenges. Various historic heritage and influences were also reflected in different degrees of development of legislative matters in the field of urban and regional/spatial planning. While in Slovenia, Croatia, Slavonia and Vojvodina building regulations had already existed, that was not the case – except in Belgrade and Sarajevo – for Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. The first common law, the so-called Civil Code, was enacted in 1931 after the country had changed its name to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Code standardised the production of regulatory plans and building regulations and was primarily related to cities and municipalities. Planning was seen as chiefly an engineering task and plans were mainly prepared for big cities. Even though the Code was a very advanced legal instrument² it was hard to implement it because of the economic and political circumstances as well as the low level of industrialisation and urbanisation, and land ownership issues.

Another common legal framework was developed only after the World War II when the economic and social context switched from the early capitalist model to socialism. The period immediately following the War was marked by the reconstruction of the country, establishment of institutions and the creation of the first guidelines for the planning of villages and towns. The Basic Regulation on the City Development Plan was brought in at federal level in 1949. Planning was based on the model of the USSR (abandoned soon after) and previous practice and experience brought from France, England, Germany and Czechoslovakia: countries where architects had been educated before World War II.

¹ There are several historic overviews on the development of planning legislation in former Yugoslavia, composed of seven republics, depending on different authors and their professional background. Here the analyses of Prof. Branislav Piha have been taken as relevant for the article.

² The 1931 Building Code was a starting point for preparing the new Planning and Building Act for Serbia in 2003 but was evaluated as in appropriate for the new era.

Existence of a City Development Plan or Master Plan was however not a precondition for building except in the case of capital technical and social infrastructure. The period in question (1949-1960) was also marked by a gradual transfer of responsibilities to municipalities, inclusion of other professionals beside architects into the planning process, introduction of scientific methods designated to foster implementation, and the initialisation of regional planning. An important aspect of planning practice was active and fruitful public and professional discussions of plans. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia and Macedonia and other republics contributed their planning laws, the pioneers of a new approach to territorial developments in former Yugoslavia. It should also be noted that the Federal Law on Nationalisation of Leased Buildings and Construction Land was passed in this period (1958), transforming rights to real estate towards state ownership in place of private ownership, and consequently reducing the conflict of private interests in urban areas.

The period from 1960 to 1966 was characterised by a dynamic development of the planning system: the six republics began to make their own planning laws and planning became a subject of interest and indirect participation in decision-making process of citizens; plans seemed to be effective development instruments. Diversification of funding sources (budget, special budget funds, fees for the use of construction land, labour organisations, business and investors etc.) was under State or - more accurately - Communist party control, with plans becoming binding for site selection, change of land parcelisation and issuing building permits. Development of municipal spatial plans was obligatory whereas regional and republic spatial plans were to be prepared as needed. Laws prescribed the minimum content of a plan, the process of drafting and adoption as well as criteria for planning agencies. Spatial plans were tied to so-called social plans, i.e. long-term development goals approved by the Party. At the same time, the system and the relationship between plans were designated, the economic and social component set out and each area, i.e. republic or smaller districts were given the opportunity to have a spatial plan. Democratic principles and decentralisation in the planning process were also introduced but Party control was inevitable. However the application of the law was difficult because there was no planning culture and no awareness of the importance of spatial plans, and because of conflicts of interest or vague definition.

In the period 1965-1974 planning increasingly approximated to the concept of self-management. It became more elastic, reinforcing at the same time the principle of economic rationality. Spatial plans became the most effective development instrument for municipalities as a result of the independence of municipal structures. A special law that stipulated mandatory development of regional spatial plans and the spatial plan at the level of the republic was adopted in Slovenia. The constitution of 1974 introduced radical decentralisation of power in Yugoslavia and proclaimed self-management as a unique concept. That same year, new constitutions were adopted by all the republics and two autonomous provinces in Serbia (the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija) were given wide powers. Planning received recognition in the new constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as in the constitutions of its six republics. Spatial planning had also to become a self-management activity with a number of examples to follow. The self-management planning concept was based on the practice where the planning process begins with the so-called social agreement ('društveni dogovor'), setting out common interests and development goals, while the implementation of plans took place on the basis of self-management treaties ('samoupravni sporazum') and regulations prescribed by the so-called social and political organisations ('društveno-političke zajednice') or simply recognised territorial units (state, republics, autonomous provinces and municipalities).

Spatial Planning Practice in Former Yugoslavia after 1974

Given the complexity of a political settlement in ex-Yugoslavia and on-going transformation in terms of the distribution of responsibilities, a system of spatial plans can also be characterised as complex. Because of a pronounced decentralisation (as distinct from the Soviet model), there was no federal plan as such though there were some individual attempts. National spatial plans were in fact plans produced by and for the republics and autonomous provinces. Plans at lower hierarchical levels included regional (district) spatial plans, municipal spatial plans, various town/master plans, as well as spatial plans for special-purpose areas as a specific planning instrument that is still current in all the newly independent states with the exception of Slovenia. The main characteristics of the spatial planning process in the period prior to the break-up of Yugoslavia can be summarised in two basic observations: a meticulous approach and broad participation of all relevant actors, the formula deriving from the socialist/communist doctrine of the time aimed at giving decision-making power to each and every citizen though under the single-party political system.

Development of the planning system was accompanied by the development of a serious methodological basis. In this sense, it would be fair to say that spatial plans produced in the SFR Yugoslavia had been high-quality documents both in terms of their methodology and content and in terms of presentation (graphs and maps), despite limited technological capacities. Progress in methodology was based on a thorough approach to all aspects of the spatial plan as well as on ample opportunities for discussion through regular gatherings of experts and citizens, the role of the traditional spatial planners' gathering in Dubrovnik being among the most important. The connections of planners with high-level and well-educated politicians were commonplace in that period as were professional meetings. A key development was the founding by eminent scholars of the study group for spatial planning at the University of Belgrade in 1977, where planners are still being educated. By the establishment of a four-year study programme in the

Department of Geography (today the Faculty of Geography-Department for Spatial Planning), planners were not only given the opportunity to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills, but also to obtain a university degree in spatial planning as a distinct graduate profession. Post-graduate curricula in spatial planning were also developed at the University of Zagreb, Sarajevo and Ljubljana.

The 'Last' Yugoslavia

With the withdrawal of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia in 1991, and Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ceased to exist. It last relic was the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (SRY) formed by the two remaining republics, Serbia and Montenegro, created on April 27th, 1992. Though still declaratively committed to the socialist/communist concept, the two republics harked back many decades by developing a major re-centralisation of power and responsibilities. Once a powerful decision level, municipalities lost their role in decision-making processes including spatial planning. Involvement in nearby wars, waves of refugees, the collapse of the economic base and social values, international economic sanctions and other important events and aspects of the 1990s made it pointless to define a political and social system in FRY and it was often labelled simply as dictatorship. As with many other activities of public relevance, spatial planning lost its significance; it gave way to short-term decisions and actions that led mainly to achieving the objectives of the political elite in newly created (and semi- legal) market conditions.

A national plan that had been delayed for a long time was however eventually completed and adopted: the Spatial Plan of Serbia approved in 1996 was a complex and thorough spatial planning document, defining major infrastructure and other issues that still have some relevance today. The plan was supported by the Act, the first of its kind though lacking the requisite implementation instruments, priorities, programming and institutional responsibilities. The endeavour was therefore stuck at the level of well-conceived but financially barely feasible policies with too many over-optimistic planning ideas. As far as Montenegro is concerned, amendments to the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Montenegro adopted in 1986 were approved in 1991 and 1997. The plan itself was more or less a geographic-physical plan with no discernible spatial development strategy. It was, however, complemented and later reinforced by the Development Guidelines of the Ecological State of Montenegro and the Strategy of Marine Assets. Simultaneously the demanding attempts to prepare national spatial plans and strategies had been tackled in Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia.

Because of the financial, economic, social and political situation already described and the collapse of the hierarchical system of decision-making and implementation of plans, whereby municipalities lost jurisdiction over spatial planning while regional tiers and institutions had never had it, meant that national plans were poorly implemented. After significant political changes in 2000, planning has once again gained importance, but the two republics were progressively moving away from each other. In 2003, Yugoslavia changed its name to Serbia and Montenegro, while in 2006 the union of the last two Yugoslav republics ceased to exist.

Economic Transition and European Context

The transition process in former Yugoslav republics (West Balkans) had different dynamics depending on the political situation and initial economic base. In this sense, all the republics share a commitment to economic reform and establishment of market mechanisms, as well as a commitment to join the European Union.

The greatest progress has been achieved by Slovenia, which even before the break-up of Yugoslavia had the best economic capability. The same goes for the Slovenian planning system: already in the former Yugoslavia, it enjoyed a high level of organisation, detailed regulations and an established polycentric system of settlements followed by economic specialisation. Slovenia was the first to enter the Council of Europe and is so far the only one to join the European Union. Slovenia is also a full member of the ESPON community. But with the exception of the Spatial Development Strategy, Slovenia has been unable to prepare a national spatial plan in spite of several attempts.

Because of wars and/or their lower economic base, the other republics are still catching up with Croatia which leads this process. Planning legislation and planning practice are gradually being tailored to include new European dimensions and methodological approaches as well as new technologies in developing spatial plans (GIS in particular). However, there are still many obstacles such as lack of relevant data or their methodological incompatibility with European standards (chiefly with EUROSTAT requirements), dilemmas when selecting priorities due to the necessity of reconstructing infrastructure and other systems that failed during the 1990s, lack of funds, etc. It can be observed, at least from the Serbian perspective, that the transition also brought a new dynamic in the elaboration of spatial plans. The urgency of covering national territory with new planning documents, short deadlines and competition between planning agencies (some of them privatised) contrast with former planning practice. The lack of implementation instruments and mechanisms is still being felt together with constant institutional and legislative changes with frequent elections that often lead to breaks in the chain of responsibility.

Two republics, Serbia and Montenegro, completed and adopted new national spatial plans in the period 2008-2010. The planning process in these countries, particularly in Serbia, introduced European planning methodology, principles and ideas (the Lisbon strategy / Europe 2020, Territorial Agenda etc.), opening up ways to integrate Serbia into its European surroundings, simultaneously harmonising many sectoral and territorial interests

in complicated political, economic and social situations. The tendency towards decentralisation in Serbia calls for careful, gradual process, leading this country to better territorial and social cohesion, at least from the standpoint of its national spatial plan, Slovenia and Croatia being already few steps ahead in this respect. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to implement the principle of subsidiarity, with very precise dissemination of rights, duties and jurisdictions among three basic tiers: state, regional and local level. The basic idea is that 'benefit should be on the side of citizens, as conscious and active stakeholders in the development of territory where they reside' (Spatial Plan of Serbia, 2010). Here the key principle is that citizens have the opportunity, right and duty to decide upon spatial development of their territory, as well as participate in decision-making concerning the spatial development of their region or state. Shifting responsibilities from central to regional and/or local level will bring the West Balkans closer to a decentralised system. Because of low capacity, the local level could pass part of its responsibilities to the newly-established regional level in some countries (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia).

The context of planning in the West Balkans presented here leads to the conclusion that this is not a typical experience of a post-communist country. While former Yugoslavia somehow developed a unique concept of spatial planning taking its inspiration both from the West and the East as well as from its own political system, other European countries followed their own course with a high degree of polarisation in their political and economic concepts. The World War II did not put an end to a tumultuous European history. It is, of course, reflected in the development of planning in the former Yugoslav republics that is now acquiring some new dimensions. All the new states emerging from former Yugoslavia tackle spatial planning on the national level, needing to solve enormous development problems. At the same time, aligning with the European Union system, they are introducing regionalisation and, consequently, regional planning intrinsic to the new model of development responsibilities. It would be a mistake, however, to give up the entire planning heritage of the past in the race to transition to new European trends. On the contrary, many new European methodological instruments had been practised in Yugoslavia as a planning pioneer in the 1970s, with many ideas and planning instruments being recognisably the same as in Europe to-day, but under different names.

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JOÃO TEIXEIRA: CELEBRATING THE PAST AND FACING THE FUTURE

Let us celebrate the centenary of spatial planning, mindful of significant problems in society, aware that solving them is the responsibility of every one of us in this historic territory of Europe, using the citizenship of the present to safeguard the future in terms of spatial planning, conscious that whenever there were great problems in cities and regions in the past, they were overcome by means of art, science and democratic participation of citizens.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Europe endured the First World War from 1914 to 1918. The influenza pandemics between 1919 and 1920 killed more people than the Great War – between twenty and forty million people – making this outbreak one of the worst epidemics in human history. The Depression which began in 1929 then affected the world economy for several years. Housing, sanitation and other aspects of urban life were sub-standard and in some cases chaotic.

Today the quality of life is incomparably better than in those times. Let us mobilise to solve our present problems taking the long view, using our knowledge to safeguard the future quality of life and improve the quality of the present on the way to the Ecological Age.

In this period, spatial planning developed new theories such as the Linear City, the Garden City and Modernism. These theories still influence spatial planning nowadays. Important books were published. New methodologies were created such as 'survey before plan' which is still the basis of several methodologies currently in use in planning. Regional studies were created and initiatives for new towns launched. The first regional planning institutions were founded. Green space was introduced into regional planning and the importance of continuous green elements in urban design was emphasised. The importance of urban plans was established and the obligation to develop plans for cities was enshrined in law. New housing and new urban standards became compulsory. Social housing was launched: institutions founded, new designs conceived, financing systems implemented, and urban design updated. Open competitions took place along with the first international congresses and exhibitions. The presentation of plans and contact between planners in Europe and the USA enriched knowledge and experience. Big cities began to annex nearby communities and villages. It became necessary to impose restrictions to protect the heritage of the built environment and the application of the plan. The first citizen movements began the first protests. The first spatial planning courses were established. The first specialised journals were published. The first professional associations were founded. The first local authority planning departments were created.

These changes in spatial planning came one after another, influencing each other and fostering the Arts and Sciences in an atmosphere of change, of acquisition of knowledge and of development of society.

The family was changing. Social relations were altered.

Women began to acquire the right to vote and to be elected to public office. The separation between Church and State was established in several countries. The League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation were founded.

Art Nouveau and Art Deco created new forms and used new materials offered by the development of technology.

Otto Wagner, Hector Guimard, Victor Horta, Gaudí, Migge, Hoppe and Mackintosh gave new architectural and garden perspectives to the world. Lalique, Daum, Gallé, Tiffany and Gruber created new decorative objects. Painting and sculpture presented the world with new movements such as Expressionism, Fauvism, Cubism, Orphism, Dada, Scottish Colourists, Surrealism, the Blue Rider Group, Futurism, Vorticism, De Stijl, Bauhaus, Abstractionism and Neo-plasticism. Picasso, Munch, Kandinsky, Chagall, Rouault, Macke, Braque, Vlaminck, Léger, Duchamp, Delaunay, Picabia, Brancusi, Tatlin, Gabo and Balla changed aesthetics and society. The Russian Ballet promoted ballet and music. Stravinsky composed The Firebird, Petrushka and The Rite of Spring. Schoenberg, Anton Webern and Alban Berg composed innovations in music.

Albert Einstein revolutionised science with his Theory of Relativity. Niels Bohr's contribution to the atomic model was fundamental to the future.

Sigmund Freud and the psychoanalytic school, and Carl Jung, with his analytical psychology, both influenced literature, poetry, music and painting.

Literature and poetry generated several movements: the Co-consciousness of Virginia Woolf and James Joyce; Modernism with Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot; the Lost Generation of Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, and F. Scott Fitzgerald; Dada with Guillaume Apollinaire and Kurt Schwitters, and the First World War Poets Rupert Brooke, Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon; Existentialism with Franz Kafka and Louis Aragon. Philosophy generated several movements: Logical Positivism; Analytical Philosophy; Phenomenology; Empiricism and Existentialism.

The development of technology was fundamental. Structural engineering was upgraded with steel frame and reinforced concrete, then later shell design. The behaviour of structures was tested in aerodynamic wind tunnels for the first time. Terzaghi developed soil mechanics and geotechnical engineering. Taylor published *The Principles of Scientific Management*. The Gantt Chart was created. Metropolitan water boards were founded. Water ionisation treatment was initiated and water quality standards were approved. Biological treatments became available. Traffic principles, signage and highway codes were implemented. The construction of concrete pavements was tested. Electric underground train systems with automatic signalling were built. Electric trams, buses and taxis were put into service. Private cars went into serial production, becoming cheaper and invading the cities. Commercial transatlantic radio was available 24 hours a day. Broadcasting stations were created. Airline companies were founded and regular commercial flights and airmail transport began.

The statistical discoveries of Pearson and Galton assisted the development of quantitative methods in various sciences: biology, genetics and medicine. Charles Darwin's *Evolutionary Biology* and Hugo Vries' rediscovery of Mendelian genetics and laws of heredity brought another revolution in science and society.

Public health was greatly advanced with the isolation of insulin; the invention of ultra-microscopy; the discovery of the composition of chlorophyll; the discovery of hormones; the classification of blood groups; the link between beriberi and vitamin B1; the methodology for the diagnosis of tuberculosis; and the test for immunity to diphtheria.

The city has always been, but is most especially now, the place where our way of life can be reinvented, a complex system that results from Culture, from Democracy and from the response to Challenges.

Let us Celebrate the Centenary of Spatial Planning and Acknowledge our Responsibility for the Contribution to the Future

This book is published in a transition of Ages, from the last Industrial Age to the Ecological Age.

The Industrial Age created new forms of spatial planning. The Ecological Age will redefine them.

Several periods characterised the Industrial Age. Each one created spatial planning models, theories and practices. Let us use the knowledge of the past and the present to face the future in a better way.

Now we are going through a transition process: transition to an uncertain future that will arrive very quickly; either we shall be prepared or not, and that prevents us from seeing the future clearly. A transition that may change very quickly, in its nature and in its consequences, where a variable that is not very important today can assume a primordial importance in a few months.

We live today in a world of political, economic and social crises and at the same time in the transition to the Ecological Age.

The political, economical and social crisis is one of the most dangerous of the last century, but it is a cyclical phenomenon. A transition of Ages is always a long and difficult period in which it is necessary to overcome difficult problems, solving short term problems within the scope of the long term transition.

This unprecedented moment is an opportunity to rethink politics, institutions, objectives, methodologies, models with a new focus and new everyday practices. A new focus is necessary. For example:

- Climate change should be faced not just as an environmental problem but also as a cultural one;
- The Ecological Footprint should be 1.40 hectares per capita in all countries by 2050;
- Valuing eco-system services;
- Providing more infrastructures, for example to support the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, the reduction of the Ecological Footprint, the recuperation of raw materials;
- More efficiency in food, water, energy and raw materials;
- We must redefine economic models so that marginal costs equal marginal benefits.

Fundamental, multi-faceted changes will occur throughout the fabric of society: bank systems, real estate, technology, governance of cities, the welfare state, transportation, family structure and behavior, housing, natural resources, competitiveness, innovation, cohesion, migration, climate, energy, food and agriculture, and culture. It is unavoidable that change will come to spatial planning.

The resolution of these problems will ask for changes in spatial planning.

The trends are not equal all over the world. But in Europe some common trends can be found, although in different phases, at different velocities and with different political solutions.

The long-term objective is to reach a sustainable way of life that uses renewable resources and energy from the sun. To accomplish these objectives, city, town and village communities must be more robust, more self-sufficient, have lower living costs, cleaner air, lower health-care costs, lower flood-risk, more efficient land-use, a smaller ecological footprint, greater supply-side efficiency, demand reduction, new low-energy processes, rapid transition to renewable energy, less water consumption, maximising the use of raw materials, better transportation for journeys ranging from walking and cycling distances to major journeys.

In future, spatial planning will be very different.

Good spatial planning is a key component for the Ecological Age and to overcome today's crises. For example urban regeneration can help economic, social and energy recovery, because it is a major contributor to urban sustainability and very important for local economy and tourism; because it will guarantee a better quality of life; because it uses local production and because it contributes to local recovery – and the accumulation of many local recoveries will help European recovery.

Europe is at the apex of spatial planning initiatives. EU work on spatial planning, environment, transportation and agriculture has created a new discipline: European Spatial Planning. This new discipline is the result of the work of EU Member States, EU institutions, public, private partners and NGOs. This discipline is taught in several universities

Good spatial planning is a key component for Ecological civilisation.

Changes at a time of economic crises should not detract attention from the main issues.

As in the past, new technologies will have a great impact in important components of planning: life expectancy, transportation, energy, climate change, to name just a few. Recent advances in pharmacology and, in its early days but showing great promise, nanotechnology, may for instance reduce the prevalence of Alzheimer's and other dementias and may improve regenerative medicine. Life expectancy is expected to increase accompanied by a fundamental improvement in the quality of life in old age. Nanotechnology can also introduce new construction materials that will reduce energy consumption. The development and application of low- carbon technologies is also very important.

Multilevel governance – a system of continuous dialogue and decision among governments (national, regional and local) and non-governmental stakeholders at different territorial levels and sectors – opens the way to more integrated decision-making. To do better in a more organised manner is to serve cities and communities better. Operating as it does at multiple scales in order to include different territories, multilevel governance is closely related to spatial planning with a territorial basis.

Social expenditure on the welfare state is growing and will grow beyond government's economic capabilities. Older people will need greater social investments. Higher taxes are already arriving and will be here to stay. Governments reduce their expenditure and look for new ways of spending less without reducing quality. State investment will be reduced. Government investment will be more carefully assessed on broader criteria: economic, financial, environmental and territorial. Public-private partnerships will try to extract the best from each partner. In parallel, there will be an increase in citizens' mobilisations for social and public causes.

Transportation is a big contributor to the greenhouse gas effect. The objective is to reduce 80 per cent of carbon dioxide emissions from all transport modes by 2050, compared with 1990 levels. Low-carbon transport systems becoming economically viable and challenging reductions in public transport growth are welcome developments. Transportation will consume less oil (thanks to vehicle efficiency standards) and will pay higher environmental taxes. The trend today is to diversify fuels. Electric and hydrogen power will be the fuels of the future. New hydrogen highways may be popular in a few years. New types of batteries such as nickel-metal hydride and lithium are non-toxic and recyclable. New private transport systems will appear. The demand side needs to be controlled. New transportation and communication models can change the location patterns of activities.

European families are getting older and having fewer children. All over Europe the percentage of older people is growing. Cities must be prepared for this impact: in economic and social terms and in terms of housing, social infrastructure and services, public space, transport and accessibility.

Families are face several trends: an initial reduction in the number of members; children leave the family home later; the age of mothers bearing their first child is rising; the percentage of one-person households is also growing; solidarity between family members is giving place to individuality.

The number of hours in the working day is tending to fall, but the age of retirement will be higher. Life expectancy is greater, and working life is getting longer, but there are more opportunities for leisure, recreation and cultural activities.

Housing will continue to be a preoccupation of government: providing houses for the poor; transforming houses to achieve sustainable energy consumption; adapting houses to new family structures; making houses more flexible and robust.

Major efforts are being made to reduce consumption of natural resources in Europe. But these efforts must be reinforced and copied all over the world. Some measures are already in place, but they are not enough. A great effort is also needed to consume less while sustaining current levels of profit.

Innovation and new technologies must present solutions for a transition from current dependency on oil to a sustainable focus on renewable and non-polluting energies. The forests must be better protected. Ecology must be protected in Europe, at different levels: trans-national, national, regional and local.

Competitiveness is increasing. It is necessary to make decisions in real time. New opportunities are welcome in all cities looking for investments. Achieving more with less will lead to greater competitiveness. It is necessary to mobilise more territorial cohesion to bring about balance.

Innovation - in materials, in processes, in methodologies, in governance and in politics - is the key to finding solutions and is surely a fundamental component of the future.

We are turning from forecast to uncertainty, from determinism to probabilism, from the status quo to strategic action, and patterns are changing.

Territorial cohesion is one of the pillars of the Lisbon Treaty. Alongside social and economic cohesion, it is the spatial dimension of sustainable development. Spatial planning does not have the status of an independent area of competence, because it was not delegated to EU by the Member States. Will the implementation of territorial cohesion turn spatial planning into a European competence?

Social and religious tensions are growing. Migration should be an opportunity, not a problem. Thus defined it can bring integration between different cultures and cooperation to achieve objectives.

The ageing of the population must not result in inter-generational tension. It is necessary to prepare cities for ageing citizens.

Climate change will have fundamental consequences in Europe: local regional, national and trans-national ones. North Africa will suffer from a reduction in agricultural output. This will encourage much more migration to Europe. This will cause shifts in agricultural markets and will change the nature of tourism. Greater vigilance against flooding will be needed.

It is essential to increase agriculture productivity and to maintain biodiversity and cultural landscapes without losses in ecosystems. Changing the trend in diet will take time but is vital, for example, in regard to meat consumption. Agriculture in the Mediterranean basin could experience renewal.

Global warming must be efficiently fought. Greenhouse gas effects must be reduced: carbon dioxide; methane; chlorofluorocarbons; hydro fluorocarbons; nitrous oxide; water vapour; are have high global warming potentials (GWP). We need to speed up development of low-carbon and adaptation technologies and to upgrade the carbon-trading market.

The culture of oil energy is changing but it must change faster. Initial steps have been taken to increase the production of renewable energy and energy saving, and to decrease carbon dioxide emissions. It is necessary to reduce the energy consumption of oil, substituting oil and looking for greater energy efficiency notably through the use of new materials (in roofs, glass and walls), through 'no-regret' technologies such as heat pumps, solar PV and wind power, through smart power grids and distributed systems, through the efficient application of bio-energy without calls on land resources, through new transportation systems – in this latter case, by maximising walking and cycling accessibility.

All these alterations will change spatial planning and will contribute to overcoming the problems.

Our culture is changing. More is no longer better. This tendency should be universal. The consumption model will change. Europe should look for better and not for more, for sustainable and durable, not for consumable. A more intelligent economic model incorporating scientific knowledge, ecological values, quality, cohesion, cultural values, social values and territorial values - that is, planning values.

We are at the turning point!

To overcome the crisis it is not only necessary to solve current financial and economic problems. It is also necessary to face up to medium- and long-term problems which take cities to enhanced performance, in a sustainable way, towards the Ecological Age.

Ethics can assume new forms, shaping social norms; in a global society, the concept can be changed and given a completely new and different application.

There is also a turning from specialised knowledge to global, interactive, specialised knowledge.

Spatial planners face new challenges in going beyond the study of the current situation, aiming to comprehend, and perhaps control, trends towards future scenarios, leading to a new vision of cities and regions and sustainable urban life for the 21st century.

The urban model for the future needs to be constructed beforehand, and be preventive.

All policies must consider territories and their inhabitants first and foremost.

This contribution is intended to promote reflection about this subject which is so crucial in a global system, changing and moving to the Ecological Age.

European spatial planners should look for values such as:

- The defence of territory;
- global and local sustainability in action;
- respect for uniqueness, identity and individuality;
- promotion of multi-cultural richness, exchanges and integration;
- integration and social solidarity among different races, age and religious groups, avoiding social tension;
- application of global perspectives, transcending partial analysis;
- the choice of strategic approaches to achieve objectives and visions;
- the search for resilient solutions (diversity, redundancy, flexibility and optimal network structure) in complex systems and for appropriate solutions when necessary;
- strengthening the role of EU in European Spatial Planning;
- the improvement of historical and heritage character;
- enhancing the attractiveness and competitiveness of European cities;
- avoiding climate change;
- ensuring a sustainable energy supply which sources and uses energy efficiently;
- keeping balance in the biosphere and preventing biodiversity losses;
- controlling the demand-side in transportation, food and urban land consumption;
- ensuring food and water security;
- drastically reducing the Ecological Footprint;
- not drawing down resources, using materials sparingly and using waste as a resource;
- promoting urban regeneration; applying ethics;
- defending of the principles of precaution, equity and cohesion;
- promoting public debate, participation and involvement of citizens and stakeholders.
- These are the main values that planners defend.

The model of the future should be built in such a way that it anticipates fundamental shifts in uncertain scenarios.

Let us work so that generations to come will want to live in the cities of Europe, in a world providing ecological, economical, territorial and social conditions for all without loss of diversity.

ROBIN THOMPSON: PLANNING AT THE SHARP END: A CASE STUDY IN LOCAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING REGULATION

This is a story about little things. Big planning events generate: 'grands projets', transnational plans, sites for the Olympic Games, major infrastructure schemes. But the accumulative effect of the little developments has a far more significant impact upon the environment and on people's lives. A modest, but controversial planning application can create far more public engagement than an entire development plan.

A current BBC series called 'The Planners' focuses entirely upon local conflicts over small scale proposals; it ignores the strategic level of planning. Producers know what viewers find interesting.

The planning profession in the UK (and, I would guess, across Europe) is judged by its performance as a regulator of day-to-day development. Planners are characterised as obstructive bureaucrats by the media, politicians and business. I recall one very senior European functionary describing planners as 'empêcheurs'. The role of development control is critical, but given insufficient attention in debates within the profession, including those at the European level.

The pocket-sized saga below uses one unremarkable proposal to illustrate the tensions between development pressures and environmental concerns, which are at the heart of most regulatory planning. It suggests that the most modest of developments can tell us a great deal about the implementation of planning policy and the role of the developer and the community.

Across the road from my house lay a run-down set of largely disused barns. In 2009, a planning application was made for the renovation and extension of these barns, more than trebling their footprint. This first application was refused by the local planning authority as being an excessive intrusion on the landscape and the amenities of local residents. A year and a half later, an almost identical application was approved by the same body. Why was the proposal found to be unacceptable and 18 months later found to be satisfactory? To answer this question, we need to look at the development and environmental context of the proposal and at the behaviours of the planning system, the developers and the local community.

Whitegate Farm Development Proposal

The development site lies on the boundaries of Sissinghurst Castle estate in south Kent in the south east of England (Figure 1). Originally a large manor house, it became a prison for captured French soldiers in the eighteenth century. It was then for many years a working farm. Vita Sackville-West and her husband Harold Nicolson bought the property and 400 acres of farmland in 1930. They created a garden, which was eventually bequeathed in 1967 to the National Trust to run on behalf of the nation. It is now the most popular garden in the country and receives 100,000 visitors every year, generating a turnover of over £500,000. To accommodate garden and visitor activities, the original farm buildings were gradually given over to uses such as restaurants, shops, and exhibition space. The farm continued to function in a low-key way.

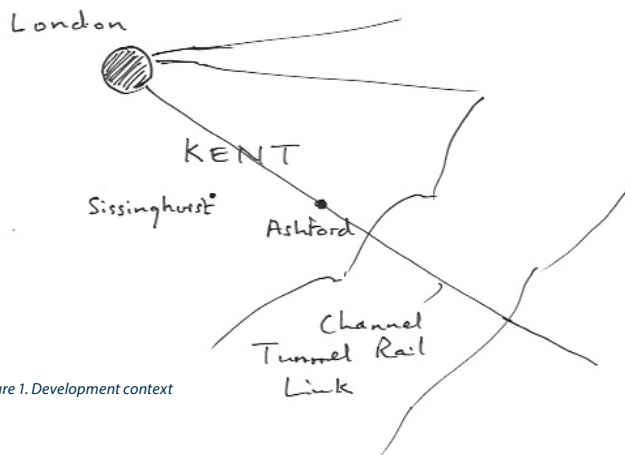


Figure 1. Development context

Quite recently, the idea of returning the estate to a more intensive form of 'traditional' farming was championed by Adam Nicolson, Vita's grandson. His efforts to persuade the National Trust and other of the virtues of re-introducing locally-grown produce, and of restoring a larger number of livestock, made for an entertaining TV series. Nicolson's romantic notion of a return to the old farming ways prevailed and the Trust set about finding a set of new farm buildings to accommodate over 300 livestock. It settled upon Whitegate Farm, a set of semi-derelict barns on the boundary of its estate and signed up a tenant farmer to revive the farm. The barns lie on the opposite side the road from a group of about a dozen houses.

In 2009, the Trust made a planning application to Tunbridge Wells Council, the local planning authority, to renovate the barns and add new ones, which would in total triple the size of the farm buildings to 1,500 square metres and accommodate 90 cattle and 220 sheep (Picture 1 and Fig 2). The development was recommended for approval by the planning officers, but after vigorous objections by the neighbours, was refused by the local Planning Committee on the grounds of its adverse impact on residents and the landscape and because of a lack of consideration of alternative locations.

A second application was made in May 2010. This was essentially the same as the first one (and in fact slightly larger) with some movement of the proposed new buildings around the same restricted site. The National Trust argued that it was not possible to find suitable and acceptable alternative sites. The residents believed showed that several other sites could meet the farming requirement whilst avoiding impacts on either residents or the environment. The Committee deferred a decision, asking for more information on its impacts. Finally, the application was approved in January 2011. The extended farm buildings have now been constructed, subject to conditions designed to reduce the impact on the landscape and minimise noise, smells and unsocial working hours.

Development Context

Whitegate Farm is on the outskirts of Sissinghurst, a small village in Kent in the south-eastern corner of England. It lies within the Greater South East, the 'mega-city region' comprising London and its extensive hinterland (Fig 1). For much of the past century, Kent was a peripheral area, cut off from the rest of the UK by the difficulties of travelling through London and from mainland Europe by the English Channel. The parts of Kent adjacent to the London boundary experienced higher growth pressures, as people began to move out of the capital and commute back in. However, much of the rest of the county suffered from poor communications and decline in agriculture, manufacturing, port and holiday activities.

Since the opening of the Channel Tunnel and the accompanying major improvements in communications, development pressures in Kent have increased. It is now fully integrated into the London and South East England mega-city region, in which the battle between development and growth on the one hand and community and environmental protectionism on the other has been waged for much of the past century. This region is growing in population and economy, fuelled in part by London's expansion. Two of the nationally designated growth areas lie in Kent: Ashford and the eastern part of the Thames Gateway.

As the County Planning Officer for Kent during the 1990s, I witnessed a rapid expansion of development and infrastructure, including the Rail Link, large-scale road improvement, the building of the then largest retail park in Europe at Bluewater, the expansion of Thames Gateway and Ashford and much besides. Tourism has been a growth industry in the area. It was the success of Sissinghurst Castle in attracting growing numbers of visitors that triggered the need for alternative farm buildings as the original barns were all converted to visitor facilities.

Environmental context

Potential constraints on development at Whitegate include the quality of the landscape; the noise, smell, dust and traffic associated with agricultural activities; and the climate change implications of expanded livestock farming. Ironically, it is inconceivable that the planning permission for the original barn buildings at Whitegate, which was granted by a government inspector on appeal about 25 years ago, would be given today. The site lies between two conservation areas. It sits on a prominent ridge in a Special Landscape Area, which is at the lower tier of the complex hierarchy of protection in the UK. The applicant placed great emphasis upon the existence of the original barns, though it can certainly be argued that trebling their size compounded a very poor decision to allow them in the first place.



Picture 1 Whitegate Farm: the original barns lie above the road with houses opposite.

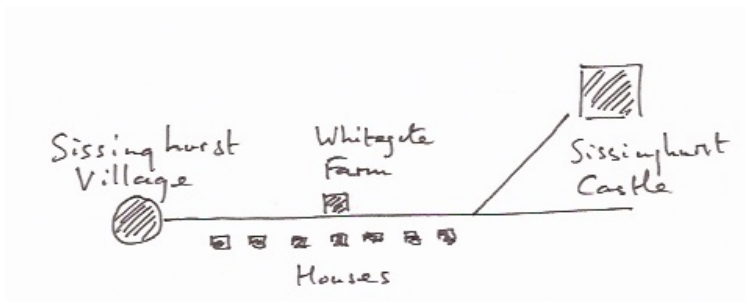


Fig 2 Local development context

There used to be several farms in and around the village of Sissinghurst. The health and environmental requirements related to agricultural activity (many of them from the EU), have drastically altered the perception of what levels of noise, smell, emissions and other forms of intrusion is now tolerable. A major plank in the local residents' case was that storing livestock immediately across the roads from their houses was quite inappropriate and that less intrusive locations could have been found within the National Trust substantial property holding at Sissinghurst.

There was a powerful argument that the introduction of cattle farming was inappropriate on the site because of the environmental impacts. 18 per cent of the UK's carbon footprint is from livestock and dairy production and consumption. Beef is one of the most polluting of all forms of meat production - even local organic beef.

The increasing global population and the growing demand for the 'western diet' raise concern that meat itself is part of the problem. Some studies show that organic farming that is dependent on integration with livestock may be the least able to feed the population of the UK in a world where reducing greenhouse gas emissions is a major economic driver. However, this important argument is not a 'material consideration' in determining a planning application.

The role of the planning system

Governmental policy

National planning policy statements provided Government guidance at the time of the first application. In the general election of 2010, held 4 days before the Committee consider the second application at Whitegate, the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition came to power. The presumption of its predecessor Labour Government had been in favour of the development plan. Applicants had to show that their proposals were consistent with the plan. The new Government changed this to a presumption in favour of development unless it could be shown to be harmful to 'sustainable development'. This has been accompanied by deregulatory measures and incentives for development. The new national planning policy framework provides a single relatively short statement of policy, which consolidates a significant shift in favour of development. The current Minister for Planning has gone so far as to suggest that the amount of land under development might be doubled. This change in national policy must have influenced the local planning authority.

Local Planning Authority

The tier of government responsible for determining non-strategic planning applications is Tunbridge Wells Council. More controversial decisions are taken by committees of elected representatives, who adjudicate between strategic policy and local circumstances. There is more discretion in the UK development control system than in most European systems allowing the circumstances of each individual application to be considered. However, the policy of the Local Development Framework (LDF) must be a key consideration. The Tunbridge Wells LDF provided inconclusive guidance on Whitegate Farm. It safeguards valued landscapes but favours developments that would support the local economy.

The strains on the public planning service in a period of public expenditure cuts can compromise the achievement of a sophisticated analysis of finely balanced applications. Professional planners are under severe time pressures and are expected to deliberate upon an extraordinarily wide and growing range of factors. For example, the emergence of climate change and biodiversity as major planning issues has demanded a substantial expansion in the knowledge and skills of the professional planner. Often these need re-inforcement by the expertise of other professionals, but this again may be in insufficient supply.

The planning officers advised that the first application be approved. However, the elected members in Committee voted unanimously to refuse the Whitegate application, accepting residents' arguments that the site was inappropriate for expansion of agricultural buildings so close to housing. This was not entirely surprising. A recent poll showed that three quarters of elected councillors believe that there is already sufficient development in their area. Conservative councils in largely rural areas, such as Tunbridge Wells, are notably resistant to development. The decision to defer the second application just 4 days after the General Election may have been to create an opportunity to sense the direction of the new Government's planning policy. The final decision to approve may have been an acknowledgement of a national change in policy, though local authorities remain far more cautious about development than the national Government. The local councillors must also have been apprehensive about an appeal by the developer if the application had again been refused. If the Council lost an appeal, it could be liable for substantial costs at a time when local authority revenue is shrinking fast.

The Developer

The development proposal came from the National Trust. This is a charitable body with 3.6 million members whose core purpose is to look after properties of historic, cultural and architectural value on behalf of the nation. The Trust is responsible for 350 historic houses, gardens and ancient monuments. Like many charitable foundations, the Trust is now developing a stronger corporate and commercial identity. It has recently launched a program designed to project a better image of its sensitivity to the communities around its holdings, some of whom have been alienated by problems, such as traffic generation created by growing visitor numbers. The Trust has increased its income generation, promoting its own retail brands, including

meat products, from its own properties. In a competitive world, the search for new forms of revenue has been added to the original mission of preservation of excellent environments.

The result can sometimes be compromising to that mission. The Whitegate proposal does rather smack of Disney: promoting the image of traditional farming, but pushing the dirty, noisy, smelly elements of that farming to the periphery of the estate, well away from the eyes, ears and noses of visitors. The proposal to extend the farm buildings at Whitegate suggests that, when its own interests are directly involved, the Trust takes a profit-oriented approach, despite the cosmetics of its publicity. For example, the Trust argued that it could not locate new farm buildings near Sissinghurst castle itself, because of risks to the health and safety to visitors yet made no mention of health and safety issues for residents.

The Trust was so confident of the success of its application that it did not attend the first Committee meeting. After the shock of that refusal, consultants were employed to improve the presentation and justification of the second proposal. It seems fair to assume that this powerful body may also have undertaken some vigorous lobbying behind the scenes.

The Local Community

There is a statutory duty to consult neighbours and interested parties on their views on applications. In this instance, the planning officers of the local authority notified only four neighbours of planning application to extend the built area of the barns, despite its size and sensitivity. This imprudence served to increase opposition to a measure that would clearly have impacts on a larger number of residents. Village opinion was divided between those who still believed farming to be at the heart of the community (and who lived some distance from Whitegate) and those who lived nearby and were passionately opposed.

The people of Sissinghurst are increasingly working in jobs not based on land, but on professions and businesses, often commuting into London. The closest residents include a lawyer, public relations consultant, tea importer...and semi-retired town planner! None of us work locally and several of us have international work connections. We all have experience and skills in argument and lobbying.

When the application was discussed at the parish council, the smallest tier of government in the UK, one councillor said 'we are a farming community'. This was indeed once true. The village was at the heart of a region of apple-growing, hop farms and a diverse agricultural economy. Kent after all has been called 'the garden of England'. Many of these agricultural industries are now in steep decline. The EU has paid for many apple orchards to be 'grubbed out' and hops have disappeared as competition from mainland Europe has made the business uncompetitive. Employment in agriculture is now a tiny proportion of the workforce and much of it takes the form of migrant workers brought in on a seasonal basis. However, the attachment to the idea of a farming community remains understandably strong.

After the initial application was refused, the Trust belatedly undertook some limited consultation with local people, but was unwilling to seriously consider alternative sites. Mediation by an impartial third party as a means of reconciling the concerns of developers and objectors might well have been helpful in the Whitegate situation. However, once an application is made, developer and objectors are placed in opposite camps and, at least in the case of Whitegate Farm, any interaction between them without the planners being present was discouraged by the local authority.

The Planning process

It is clear that a development proposal like our case study provides real difficulties for the regulatory planning system. Whitegate Farm raised complex developmental and environmental issues, many of which were in conflict with each other. The decision had to be made by balancing the economic benefit of development against the environmental and amenity disbenefits. However, these benefits and disbenefits are not absolute. The economic advantages of the proposal are limited: few if any jobs would be created. The environmental disbenefits are difficult to measure: how much noise would constitute an unacceptable nuisance? Just how important is it to protect a Special Landscape Area? In the end, regulation has to come to a 'yes or no' answer. Conditions attached to the grant of permission can play a big part in mitigating disbenefits, but ultimately the development either gets permission or it doesn't.

In theory of course, the analysis and policy direction made at strategic levels ought to filter down and inform decisions making in local regulation. Indeed this does happen to an important extent. The UK planning system has developed a great deal in response to social, economic and environmental change (quite a lot of it driven by European influences) and much of this has fed its way into the development control systems. European directives have to be taken into account. At the national level, government has produced a policy framework, which local planning authorities have to reflect in their decision-making. Local authorities have to produce Local Development Frameworks, which are the context for their regulatory function.

However, three problems often arise. First, the impact of European, national or regional policy and guidance is diffused as it goes down the hierarchy to the local level. Policies written with the flexibility and generalisation necessary at the more strategic levels do not offer the 'bite' or specificity often needed to guide local decisions or to take into account the particularities of individual situations. The new national planning policy framework is particularly broad brush. This is especially a problem where strategic policy is in conflict, as it is in Whitegate Farm: economic policy leads one to an approval and environmental policies lead one to a refusal: these have somehow to be negotiated.

Second, there has been a growing reluctance at the strategic level to provide robust guidance on where development should and should not take place. A few years ago, I was commissioned by the three regional planning bodies in the wider South East metropolitan region to look at the long-term impact of the Regional Spatial Strategies which each had prepared. The picture that emerged was one of incrementalism, especially outside London. Although the national government has promoted four Growth Areas in the wider South East, the financial and infrastructure mechanisms that might drive development within them have been relatively modest. There are no proposals for new or expanded settlements on the scale of the post-war New Towns. In general, the location of new development is being determined not by long-term strategic spatial planning, but by a series of incremental expansions, often on the periphery of existing cities and towns.

The result is that the strategic burden is thrown on to the local level and the regulators, who have to accommodate growth pressures through the slow, painful and costly exercise of a multitude of individual decisions on development proposals. In the UK, this situation has recently been re-inforced by the decision of the new coalition government to scrap the Regional Spatial Strategies, destroying the main strategic mechanism of spatial planning at a stroke. Indeed, the Government's declared intention is to shift power to the local level at a very dramatic rate as part of the new UK Government's agenda to encourage a more participatory society to which more responsibilities should be delegated. The real willingness of central government to relinquish control is a matter for serious doubt. However, it seems probable that local planning committees will have far more discretion, but also far greater responsibility.

Third, the hapless planners at the local level are increasingly swamped by information and guidance as the width of the planning task increases. The development control officer is faced with a mountain of policy on every subject from traffic to ecological impact, from geology to archaeology. Several officers have admitted to me that they simply cannot keep up with this rising tide of instruction. Local plans are now often so long and complex that control officers do not have the time to read them all. One of them at City Hall in London pleaded for a policy 'digest' to avoid the need to hunt through a 500 page Plan.

This is exacerbated by an effective bifurcation in the profession, in the UK at least. One group specialises in planning regulation and its attendant legal and procedural complexities. The others have moved into policy, research, project development and information. These activities have often taken them out of the traditional planning department. They are increasingly different kinds of people doing different kinds of jobs. The movement of planners between posts in policy and control, which was a common and encouraged process in my early career, is much less frequent.

So there is an embattled body of planners whose entire focus is upon control of development and who are increasingly unable, for reasons of time and perhaps inclination, to absorb the profusion of information, research, guidance and policy that descends from the different tiers of government and academia and from professional bodies such as the Royal Town Planning Institute.

Yet these are the professionals who run the regulatory system, which determines development decisions and, in doing so, shapes the public's impression of the planning system as a whole. Many aspects of the regulatory system, which planners administer, tend to be inherently complex, legalistic and difficult for lay people to understand. The processes are often slow and obscure, despite real efforts by many planning authorities to improve the accessibility and clarity of the system. These problems can exacerbate the pressures upon the regulatory process.

Many years ago, Brian McLoughlin wrote one of the few books on control of development. He observed that systems theory requires that control mechanisms are as sophisticated as the systems that they seek to control. The control mechanisms of spatial planning are clearly not able to match the complexity of the systems they are asked to manage.

Conclusion

Over the past century, a major role of spatial planning in Europe has been to mediate between the pressures for growth and development on the one hand and the interests of the environment and of local communities on the other. As communities have become more and more knowledgeable about the development process, and better equipped to engage with it, the regulatory system has found itself at the centre of the tensions between growth and protectionism. In most European countries, top-down development plans and grand projects have been gradually in decline, partly because the public is less willing to accept them and partly because governments are less willing to take responsibility for big decisions with profound spatial consequences. The environmental movement has been particularly active in resisting large-scale developments. In general, the language of larger-scale longer-term strategic planning has become soft and flexible, leaving the hard-edged interpretation of policy to those charged with making individual decisions at a relatively local level.

In many European countries, the relatively easy development options have already been taken up. Urban areas are fully developed and 'brownfield' land largely re-built. Future development proposals are increasingly likely to impact upon 'greenfield' land, which is of higher environmental value and which is close to existing communities. This is certainly true of the wider South East region of the UK. The impacts of the big underlying spatial forces, such as urbanisation, economic change, mobility and environmental protection, are being experienced and negotiated at quite local levels through the multitude of relatively smaller planning decisions like that at Whitegate Farm, where growth proposals run counter to quite powerful environmental and community objections.

In the UK, there is a profound shift away from the regional and strategic policy making. It is too early to know how effective this shift will be. There are potentially grave problems attached to the abandonment of a strategic context and the RTPi has warned the government of the dangers. Nonetheless, in the UK for the next few years, the planning decision-making system will focus almost exclusively upon the local level, placing ever - greater strains on the local regulatory system.

ECTP-CEU has done great service to the planning profession through, for example, the Charter of Athens, which provides an understanding of the big issues facing European space and which helps planners to address them in a coherent way. It could now make another valuable contribution by looking at how planners and the planning system can most effectively discharge its responsibilities at the local, regulatory level. This is in truth the real battlefield of current and future spatial planning.

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ARNOLD VAN DER VALK: THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE DUTCH TOWN PLANNING MOVEMENT (1850-1950)

Arnold van der Valk (1953) is currently Professor of land-use planning at Wageningen University in the Netherlands. He holds academic degrees in historical geography and planning. His PhD from Amsterdam University is in the domain of the history of urban and regional planning. His current research focuses on planning theory, planning history, food systems planning and landscape development.

'Town planning is coherence, coherence between town and country, culture and nature; it is the coherence between individual and community. Society provides building blocks for town planning, and so do generations to follow' (quote taken from the introduction by M.J. Granpré Molière, holder of the first chair in town planning at Delft University, to a special issue on town planning of the Dutch professional journal for Housing and Town Planning, vol. 2, 1921, p. 4).

Introduction

Spatial planning is planned government intervention in the use of private and public land. In the Netherlands this activity has a long history going back to the middle of the nineteenth century. The notion currently used for this practice i.e. spatial planning (in Dutch: ruimtelijke ordening), became common only after the Second World War. Before that time 'urban expansion' (in Dutch: stadsuitbreiding) and 'town planning' (in Dutch: stedenbouw) respectively were used. (Faludi & Van der Valk, 1994; Needham, 2007)



Image 1: map of the Netherlands showing major cities, regions and provinces.

In this paper a number of milestones in the history of government policy and the discipline will be considered. In addition, attention will be paid to the ideals of professionals and the development of a programme for proper town (and country) planning in practice. Planning is the work of mankind. Plans and projects reflect opinions and decisions of administrators, ordinary people and experts. The thoughts and deeds of Dirk Hudig, the pioneer of modern spatial planning in the Netherlands, are sketched out by way of illustration. Being a spider in a web of international experts he was the driving force behind the landmark 1924 international town planning conference in Amsterdam. (Dings, 2010, 32; De Ruijter, 1987, 152) In this paper Hudig is portrayed as an exponent of a movement that flew the flag for 'make-ability' of society.

The starting point for this treatise is the topical question of assessing the current and future role of spatial planning in large societal projects in the Netherlands, e.g. the management of urban growth and sustainable spatial adaptation strategies to climate change. The question implies contemporary dissatisfaction with and doubt about the possibilities of manageability of spatial developments in the country formerly known as 'Planner's Paradise'. (Faludi & Van der Valk, 1994, xiii) Part of the answer is rooted in the history of the profession.

History reveals clear examples of successful planned interventions by the public sector with or without collaboration with private initiatives. To mention only a few examples taken from the 19th century: the construction of a national network of waterways, the expansion of rail infrastructure, the construction of the ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the draining of Lake Haarlem, the laying out of urban sewerage systems and the construction of parks. Attempts to involve private sector initiatives in these projects usually ended in fiasco. The decline of liberal-conservative politics and the rise of the social democratic movement in the Netherlands triggered new and more intensive public sector involvement in the first half of the twentieth century. To mention only the highlights: the construction of new urban districts under the direction of the most populous municipalities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. Internationally famed examples are the expansion plan for the southern sector of Amsterdam conceived by architect-town planner H.P. Berlage (1917) and the 1934 General Town Extension Plan for Amsterdam by C. van Eesteren, L.S.P. Scheffer and Th.K. van Lohuizen.

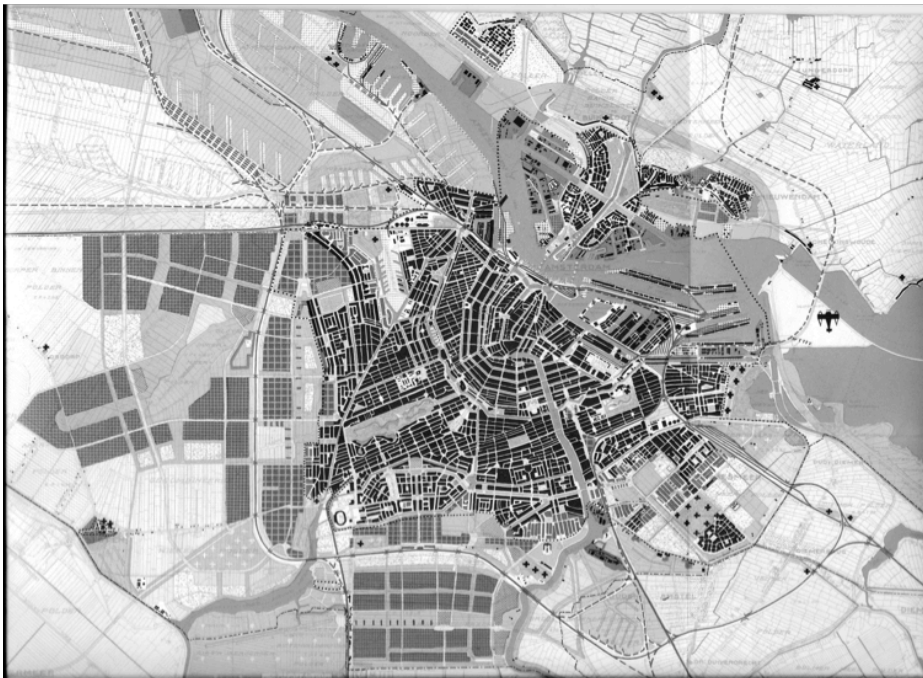


Image 2: 1934 General Town Extension Plan for Amsterdam.

Garden suburbs laid out in the period 1910-1940 which dominated the design of town and village expansions throughout the whole of the country also deserve special mention. Plans for draining and layout of huge polders in Lake Yssel after the construction of a dike closing a bay of the North Sea also belong in the same category. Less spectacular but in retrospect no less socially relevant were regional nature reserves laid out in the pre-War period. The best known example in this category is the project in the 1920 inter-municipal regional plan for the preservation of heath-land and woodlands in the Gooi area east of the city of Amsterdam.

Transformations

Dutch society underwent dramatic transformations in the period between 1850 and 1940, in which urbanisation accelerated. (Faludi & Van der Valk, 1994) The proportion of industry and services in employment grew rapidly at the expense of agriculture. The total number of transport journeys increased greatly. Some core statistics can be quoted here to illustrate the spatial consequences of these developments. Around 1860 15,000 dwellings were constructed each year across the Netherlands.



Image 3: standard middle class housing in Amsterdam built around the turn of the 19th and 20th century

In 1920 this figure had risen to 70,000. This peak was considerably exceeded after the Second World War. The growth of the housing stock at that time kept pace with the growth of the population from 3 million in 1850 to 9 million in 1940. It was mainly in the large and medium-sized municipalities in the western part of the country but also in the southern tip of the province of Limburg, in the Twente region in the East and finally in the central part of Brabant province, where population and urbanisation grew rapidly.

Population growth was caused by a growth in trade and the rise of industry and coal-mining. This growth was in no small measure due to the expansion of a national network of waterways, railways and motorways. The construction of new waterways started at the beginning of the 19th century with the excavation of the South Williams Canal (in Dutch: Zuidwillemsvaart) in the southern provinces and the North Holland Canal around 1825. The peak of water infrastructure improvement was the opening of the New Waterway and the digging of the North Sea Canal, the main gateways to the economic heartland in the 1870s. The realisation of a fine-meshed network of railways and tram-routes across the whole country was another impressive accomplishment. Between 1837 and 1859, 337 km of wide-gauge railway had been built in the Netherlands. By 1930 this network had quadrupled. From 1930 to the end of the twentieth century the network of railways shrank slowly. Much more abrupt was the rise (and demise) of the network of small-gauge regional tram-routes: from 42 km in 1880 to 2,400 km in 1900. In 1930 this had shrunk back to 1,340 km (excluding local passenger-only tram-routes in the cities). The loss of regional tram-routes was related to the expansion of the network of express roads for motor traffic. Finally the transformation of watercourses, heath-land and marshy land into cultivated land deserves mention. Between 1850 and 1940, 5,000 km² was added

to the sum total of 32,500 km² of land, i.e. a fifteen per cent growth. 3,500 of 5,000 km² were reclaimed from water. The total surface area of non-cultivated land i.e. dunes, heaths and moors estimated at 9,000 km² in 1833, over a quarter of the country's surface, had fallen to 4,000 km² in 1940. (Van der Valk, 2009)

Programme for proper town planning

The involvement of the public sector with these transformations has become more intense over the passage of time. (Van der Valk, 1989; Needham, 2007) Initially this involvement was in the sphere of framework regulations but direct intervention through investment in public works was not to be underestimated. This more direct form of public sector intervention in the provision of drinking water, road building, the construction of sewerage systems and affordable housing was the result of public recognition of the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the implementation of large projects under private management. Slowly but surely the realisation dawned that the public sector exists to correct imperfections in the market, i.e. the private sector. That role applied principally to transportation of goods and people, health-care and housing for low-income groups. Dutch pioneers were in agreement with their British, German and American counterparts in the emerging town planning movement. In the first decades of the twentieth century the frontrunners of this global movement exchanged ideas and experiences at international conferences such as the ones in Berlin (1910) and Amsterdam (1924). The Dutch branch of the international town planning movement was a varied collection of committed professionals trained in law, architecture, medicine, engineering and banking. Educated planners are absent from the list because Dutch universities and polytechnics did not offer courses in planning before 1920 and only incidentally in the next two decades. Dirk Hudig, the central character in this paper, was a banker's son trained in public law school who gained practice in consultative work for municipal and provincial government. (Van der Weijde, 1970; De Ruijter, 1987).

The town planning movement is a branch of a tree of progressive and technocratic social movements in the modern epoch. Before the establishment of a special department for town planning embedded in the Dutch Institute for Housing in 1921, town planners participated in the movement for improvement of housing conditions. The nucleus of this movement was a group of experts who lobbied for parliamentary approval and extension of the 1902 Housing Act. The bill was approved by Parliament in 1901 and came into force in 1902. The Housing Act encompassed paragraphs on town extension plans, expropriation of building land, building alignments and parks. Building on this rudimentary basis, the town planning movement lobbied for strict application of legal rules and dissemination of knowledge of the underlying principles. These principles were codified by Dirk Hudig and his close associates in a programme for proper town planning immediately after his appointment as director of the Dutch Institute of Housing in 1918. The programme and the constitutive principles have exerted a deep and wide-ranging influence on national legislation and municipal town planning practice. (De Ruijter, 1987; Faludi & Van der Valk, 1994, 46)

The programme comprises a reasoned list of problems, objectives, strategies, rules of thumb, concrete measures and best practice. Centred around a nucleus of enduring essential tasks, the programme also records a long list of matters subject to change or even disappearance into obscurity. According to the planning historian Peter de Ruijter, peripheral parts of the programme have changed over time with the views of the leadership of the movement. (De Ruijter, 1987, 25) Based on this programme a picture can be painted of continuity and hiatuses in the development of urban and regional planning in the Netherlands. The programme for proper town planning should be interpreted in the wider frame of the solution of the so-called 'social question' at the end of the nineteenth century.

A complex of problems such as structural poverty, unemployment, poor working conditions, unhealthy housing and lack of education fell under the umbrella of the social question. The question whether this complex of problems could be solved by private initiatives or whether this was a task of central government at all was central to the political debate between conservative-liberals, progressive-liberals, social democrats and Christian democrats in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The social question was viewed primarily as a problem of fast-growing cities where poverty, poor health and exploitation were most manifest. The seriousness of the situation came to light via medical descriptions of locations, parliamentary research into employment conditions and atmospheric portrayals in the literature. Charles Dickens often figured as a literary source of inspiration in the background.

The first contours of a Dutch programme for proper town planning can be found in the records of engineers and architects who were involved with large public works in the 1860s and 1870s. The nucleus of this programme was the view that newly-built urban districts had a chaotic structure, were all too often ugly, dysfunctional and unhealthy. In the eyes of experts such as engineers, architects and physicians the obvious lack of coherence and order was the result of the absence of a legal framework and unifying professional principles. Too much was left to the whims of private landowners. The professional ideal between 1850 and 1920 was 'regular urban expansion' (in Dutch: *regelmatige stadsuitbreiding*). In the following period between 1920 and 1940 the goal was phrased as 'proper town planning' (in Dutch: *goede stedenbouw*). Under these headings a plea was made for regulation by the public sector with respect to the preparation of construction sites in marshy areas, laying down minimum dimensions for roads, setting down

norms for buildings, keeping routes projected for streets free from building and the mandatory transfer of land for streets, canals and squares to the municipalities. (Van der Valk, 1989)

As the minimum requirements in the programme were translated into municipal regulations and informal plans for expansion, new items were added to the programme of the professionals. From 1870 onwards the importance of empirical research to underpin the norms in the fields of public hygiene and social need for housing, transport and recreation was emphasised in the literature. In practice little of this was accomplished. Much more effective was the plea by architects to devote attention to proper design and aesthetics of new districts. Attempts were made to create diversity in townscapes by means of curved streets, variations in building mass of the facades along the streets, ornamentation and height using references to mediaeval cities. Virtually all those who advocated orderly urban expansion were in favour of public sector intervention. Until 1890 intervention was thought to comprise municipal regulations for the prevention of unhealthy housing, building restrictions in designated areas and the conservation of ancient monuments. Starting in 1890 the improvement of housing conditions was related to the necessity for municipal authorities to set limits to land ownership rights. The 1902 Housing Act fulfilled the wishes of the movement for healthy and affordable housing, but the professional principles for proper town planning were largely ignored in the initial reading of the law, soon to be augmented by minor and major revisions and additions.

The 1902 Housing Act was a cornerstone of an ambitious complex of social legislation implemented by a progressive-liberal government (1897-1901). However the Housing Act was not a safe accomplishment for the housing reform movement. Opposition to the Act was well organised by those in favour of municipal autonomy, by property owners and by those opposed to public sector intervention. This explains a periodic repetition of the main points of the programme in records produced between 1902 and 1950. The programme has been amended with the help of new analyses of recognised planning problems and appropriate strategies such as urban containment, regional and national park systems and local regional and national land use allocation schemes.

The core of the programme of proper town planning from 1920 onward is the hypothesis that expansion of cities, towns and villages must be guided by the public sector. Spontaneous i.e. non-regulated market-driven urban development will produce damp dwellings, dark streets, lack of public open space and nuisance from factories in urban districts. These are lessons taught by professionals who participated in the process of town expansion in the nineteenth century.

Next, towns and villages are complex organisms that must be expanded and planned according to a series of principles laid down by the public sector. The basic structure of general town expansion plans must be the expression of coherence. Coherence and regularity is a necessary condition for beautification. Aesthetics is just as important as functionality in planning.

Plans for expansion and improvement of the built-up area must be based on scientific studies of historical developments and current needs. Town planning is a balancing act between diverse interests such as transportation, housing, recreation and cultural activities. Each of these activities has to be located appropriately.

The road transportation network is the backbone of the settlement pattern. Within this framework sufficient space must be reserved for each activity.

In the development and implementation of town expansion plans the attractiveness and identity of the existing built-up area and landscape must be respected as much as possible. Green space can be properly planned by allowing cities to grow in a radial fashion from the centre outwards.

Implementation of the above-mentioned principles depends on legislation for the protection of urban and rural beauty and binding land allocation for all conceivable uses. Regular urban expansion must take place within the framework of a regional land-use plan and, eventually, a national plan.

Urban and regional design and planning is a matter of co-operation on the basis of equality between various disciplines in the plan preparation phase. Urban design and planning is above all a question of functional land use. The economic structure of the city is the starting point. The requirements of good housing and proper transportation relate to this. The ground plan of the city (as a healthy organism) must provide sufficient and suitable space as a place to live in good health, to work and to relax in parks and nature areas. The processing of all relevant requirements into a functional and attractive spatial plan is ultimately the job of the architect-urban-designer. (De Ruijter, 1987)

These principles have left their mark on plans and projects particularly in large municipalities in the Netherlands in the 1920s and 1930s. The best known and internationally most successful specimen is the 1934 General Town Expansion Plan for Amsterdam. (Giedion, 2003)

Dirk Hudig - driving force in the town planning profession

Dirk Hudig (1872-1934) belonged to a generation that dismissed the unbridled individualism and wild capitalism of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The raw capitalist spirit of the upper classes can be illustrated by a quote from the memoirs of H.P.G. Quack, a leading banker and Christian socialist (!) intellectual. Quack promotes independence from nature with the aid of science and technology. In his own words: 'An indestructible feeling of superiority above her (Mother Nature) is planted in our hearts. If we consider it and dare, then nature gives way and adapts to our wishes and reforms itself. Everything around us, that weighs down on and oppresses us we have to revolutionise, turn around and improve. God's creation is intended to be destroyed by man and to be changed into man's own creation. Everything that surrounds us is material to our destiny. This is the way of the material world. Outside that there is nothing. Everything is mass to be organised by us. Human society also, in the beginning more nature than our own creation, must be recreated and turned round in the same way' (Quack, 1915, 451-52).

The Dutch town planning movement was a coalition of nature preservationists, heritage conservationists, social reformers and public health advocates who were alarmed by the consequences of the unbridled exploitation of the environment and the negation of the rights of the labouring class. Hudig was the fulcrum of the Dutch movement for proper town planning between 1914 and 1934. No one person has before or since exerted a comparable influence within the discipline. (Van der Weijde, 1970) That is why his ideas and deeds deserve our attention.



Image 4: Dirk Hudig (1872 - 1934)

He originated from a family of Rotterdam bankers. At home he was spoon-fed on classical liberalism. During his study of economics in Amsterdam around 1900 he became familiar with the progressive ideas of lecturer M.W.F. Treub, an alderman in the municipality of Amsterdam on behalf of the radical liberal party in the 1890s. Following leftist opinion leaders such as the journalist P.L.Tak and captain of industry F.M. Wibaut, Hudig made a switch from radical liberalism to social democracy in the first decade of the twentieth century.

After graduation he worked as assistant director at the Central Social Advice Office in Amsterdam established by the aforementioned M.W.F. Treub. This office had the task of providing information about social issues. In that context Hudig researched such issues as housing rent levels, housing associations and corporations, housing regulations and many technical issues and matters to do with public hygiene. Because of his influential writings and advice he was in demand for many public functions such as board member of housing corporations in Amsterdam and the health commission in his place of residence, Velsen. Hudig was the driving force behind the founding of a national federation of housing corporations in 1913, the National Housing Council. In addition to this type of organisation, which concerned itself mainly with practical technical and administrative matters, his objective was for a high-brow platform for scholarly research, consultancy, public relations, documentation and foreign contacts in the housing field in the broadest sense. He called this type of institution in a letter in 1914 the 'housing exchange' (in Dutch: woningcentrale). In February 1918 the

housing exchange was formally set up during a two-day conference of the National Housing Council in Amsterdam. Hudig was appointed chairman of the Dutch Housing Institute (in Dutch: Nederlands Instituut voor Volkshuisvesting). He also became the first editor-in-chief of the newly established Housing Magazine. In 1921 he was appointed full-time secretary-director of the Institute. His prolific interest in urban design and planning dates from that period.

Already in 1911 in his work for the Velsen municipal health committee Hudig revealed his interest in and knowledge of the field of town expansions in Germany and England. He was very critical of the general plan for the expansion of Velsen municipality drawn up by the Director of Public Works in collaboration with project developers. The plan was not based on carefully calculated forecasts of population, traffic, economic activity and the need for parks. The report that accompanied the plan ignored new ideas about attractiveness with respect to the composition of built-up areas and incorporation into landscape. He advised the municipal council of Velsen to seek the help of an experienced urban planning consultant. One of the best known experts in this new field of work was the architect H.P. Berlage.

Hudig had worked hard on developing a pool and a nursery of urban planning talent. Via his extended network in the large cities and in the professional housing world he gave talented young architects and engineers a chance to develop in the field of urban planning. His pool of talents encompassed architect-engineers S.J. Van Embden, L.S.P. Scheffer, A.S. Siebers, T.K. Van Lohuizen and C. Van Eesteren. All of them became internationally renowned architect-planners and/or survey experts. Van Eesteren is best known as chair of the International Conference on Modern Architecture (CIAM) during its glory day in the 1930s. Van Lohuizen is the founding father of planning survey in the Netherlands. Van Eesteren and Van Lohuizen held part-time chairs in urban planning at Delft University after the World War II, exerting a profound influence on a younger generation of well educated architect-engineers who graduated in the 1950s and 1960s. Hudig founded the urban planning courses at Delft Polytechnic at the beginning of the 1920s. In the pre-War period these courses were virtually the only possibility for architects and engineers within the Netherlands to acquire more than superficial knowledge of the emerging discipline of town planning.

For Hudig town planning was the point of crystallisation of the endeavour to create a better world along the path of economic and social reform. In his view town planning also fulfils an important cultural function. It serves as a means to communicate new concepts of beauty, faith in the future and community spirit to the people. Town planning has a broad connotation for Hudig and his small band of front-runners. In the first special issue on town planning of the Housing Magazine in 1921 he wrote: 'The term town planning covers not only building but also the design and layout of roads, ports and parks and not only refers to towns and cities but also, albeit to a lesser extent and in another way, to rural settlements' (Hudig, 1921, 2).

Hudig's finest hour was during the International Town Planning Conference in Amsterdam in 1924, which was organised under his auspices. The main theme was planning in the regional context and the planning of parks and nature reserves in and around cities. During this congress the programme for proper town planning was presented in speeches made by leading figures in Dutch urban planning. Pivotal papers on behalf of the Dutch were delivered by Hudig himself and by his close friends P. Bakker Schut, director of the town planning department of the city of The Hague, G.A. Van Poelje leading expert in the domain of municipal law, M.J. Granpré Molière professor in architecture and urban design at Delft Polytechnic and H. Cleyndert Azn a retired banker and full time lobbyist for town planning nature preservation and heritage conservation. An audience of VIPs and internationally renowned experts functioned as a sounding board and fertile breeding ground. The conference was the starting point of intensive lobbying directed at Dutch central government and the provinces with the aim of initiating regional planning. These efforts were supported by studies undertaken by the Town Planning Commission of the Institute in which Hudig himself played a key role. Hudig's first success in this field was the setting up of a Permanent Commission on Expansion Plans by the province of North Holland in 1926. This initiative was followed by most of the other eleven provinces in the period between 1926 and 1950. The seeds developed into full-blown provincial planning departments after the Second World War which constitute a core element of this intermediate tier of government at present.

Conclusion

In 1950 the built-up area of cities, towns and villages had doubled, tripled and then quadrupled the 1850 built-up area. Destruction during the World War II caused a setback but in retrospect it did not have a fatal impact. A national network of waterways, railways and roads had been laid down over the decades. The surface area of inland waters and wild areas had been significantly reduced. The empty country of 1850 had been transformed into a densely populated industrialising and highly urbanised country. Where growth between 1850 and 1900 was more or less the sum of actions undertaken by private actors, after 1900 central government and later the provinces began to set constraints. The most populous municipalities were way ahead of central government in this respect. But the 1902 Housing Act and the legal prescriptions revised in 1921 and 1931 also triggered medium sized and small municipalities to produce land-use plans, approve building codes and establish planning and housing departments. The initial call for public sector intervention came from the circle of medical experts, lawyers, architects, engineers, bankers and philanthropists. They were involved directly

in urban expansions and construction in the cities in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was in these circles that notions of a programme of proper housing and town planning were developed. The 1902 Housing Act had the unintended consequence that after 1900 a professional group of housing experts and urban planners emerged. This group united and established a platform from 1918 onward within the Dutch National Institute of Housing and Urban Planning. Principles of proper town planning were developed during reflective meetings of practitioners and academics. Foreign theories as well as best practice from Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States were a strong source of inspiration notwithstanding a repeatedly declared professional fixation on practical use. At the peak of the formative years during the 1920s, town planning was perceived by the vast majority of the polity and the professional community as an important tool for the creation of a better world in the future. It was the combination of technocratic idealism, public relations and accomplishments in practice which created a fertile ground for the growth of a solid system of spatial planning in the Netherlands. It has lasted uninterrupted for over a century into modern times. Hudig made a major contribution to this achievement.

The generation of planners working before the 1950s was driven by an aversion towards chaotic urban expansions as exemplified by the legacy of the nineteenth century. The response of the community of professionals crystallised in the ideology supporting the 1902 Housing Act and the subsequent revisions and additions. On the basis of a rapid scan of international conference papers and professional journals, the Netherlands technocratic ideology and the evolving system of government-led planning has been successful and influential in the European and global town planning movement in the first half of the twentieth century. (De Ruijter, 1987; Van der Valk, 1982)

Analysis of the process of implementation of the programme for proper town planning teaches us that in a democratic, multi-faceted society it is possible to achieve ambitious social ideals, albeit slowly.

The pioneering programme for proper town planning has now been forgotten. Practising planners and students of planning take pride in looking forward. The history of planning is considered to be a hobby of scholars destined to fill the introductory chapters of memorial books. Myths take the place of carefully researched historical narratives. Defective knowledge of the history of the profession and the planning system may partly explain for the almost uninterrupted series of professional crises and paradigmatic battles which have been occurring since the end of the 1970s in what used to be planning paradise.

Planning ideals have faded in the Netherlands since the 1920s. Therein lies a warning: spatial planning without ideals can easily be suffocated by bureaucratic routines, unfounded dogmas and empty rhetoric. Thus it may offer an easy target for opportunistic politicians. Spatial planning will never be a docile possession, it is a living social legacy which merits critical scrutiny and re-appreciation.

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ALFONSO VEGARA, JUDITH RYSER: LANDSCAPE INTELLIGENCE

Contribution by the Fundación Metrópoli to the ECTP-CEU book on 100 years of Spatial Planning in Europe.

Hundred years of formal planning in Europe have shifted from health and safety to safeguarding the public interest, and more recently to public-private partnerships with the focus on development and private property, within the context of environmental concerns. Territorios Inteligentes ('Creative Places') gives an account of this evolution on which the Fundación Metrópoli² builds its own philosophy of spatial development. This article outlines its approach towards a new model of urbanity³.

Investigation – Innovation – Incubation

Like many other European planning institutions, the Fundación Metrópoli aims to contribute to a sustainable future. Its holistic approach consists of combining research, innovation and incubation into an integrated and pro-active process, designed to make things happen, in cooperation with city leaders, in harmony with the real world, without adverse effects on future generations.

Speed, uncertainty, mass mobility and unpredictable change affect urban concentrations where wealth creation and innovation are increasingly shaping the world economy. Thus cities and city-regions are assuming a growing leadership role in responding to these challenges to secure their global competitiveness. As generators of knowledge and culture, cities also share responsibility in alleviating spatial and social segregation, economic inequality and damage to the environment. These urban aspirations and tasks find their expression in a sustainability agenda which requires new thinking about the relation between urban form and city life.

Interplay between spatial scales

The Fundación Metrópoli explores the viability of cities in their future by working simultaneously at a range of scales. It develops visions for mega-regions, strategies for metropolitan areas, urban regeneration concepts and designs for local economic development through a constant dialectic between these scales, without losing sight of the need to mobilise investment and ensure citizen participation throughout this process.

The European Diagonal

For example, 'Building the European Diagonal', which constitutes the Fundación Metrópoli's vision of a new innovative Mediterranean space, branches out to Latin America and North Africa as well as eastwards along the Po Valley to the historic Habsburg connections of Ljubljana, Vienna and beyond. Intended as a counterpoint to the EU Pentagon, the only recognised European mega-region deemed capable of global competitiveness, it is structured into 'diamonds': polycentric clusters of cities where innovative development through cooperation is sought at a smaller scale. At a smaller scale still, the 'Mediterranean_TECs' were conceived as 'eco-boulevards', designed to connect spaces with development potential to create ecological continuity between them and with surrounding landscapes.

Five cities were selected with the support of their mayors to illustrate how they used innovative development to regenerate themselves from within, while extending their networks of communication outwards, and to explore how they could yield greater benefits from cooperation on common projects throughout the Diagonal.

Besides the completion of the high speed rail network, the Diagonal space would benefit from pooling the knowledge base generated at its universities, or cooperating to enhance common assets, such as the Mediterranean climate and lifestyle, while seeking solutions to combat common threats, such as desertification, droughts, forest fires or floods. Pooling their R&D capacity could assist them in harnessing solar, wind and wave energy at large scales, and improve water management. They can also learn from their local interventions, including world exhibitions, bidding for international events such as Olympic Games, or ecological retrofitting of buildings and neighbourhoods.

Málaga ecosystem of innovation

Conversely, any project, no matter at what local scale is always set into its wider context, informed by its topography and landscapes, its regional economy and socio-cultural characteristics. For example, Málaga was conceived as an ecosystem of innovation in the pursuit of promising locations for projects with creative development potential. Seven nodes of transformation, each with its specific development profile were connected by eco-boulevards which constitute a green network of the metropolitan area and its links with the surrounding countryside. Based on current components of excellence discovered by the Urban Forum, these clusters of excellence justify urban interventions and expansion of dynamic local economic activities on brown-field sites, such as disused quarries as well as fringe land along motorways.

Innovation and spatial development in the Province of Alicante

A similar approach was taken for Alicante, at the provincial level. It incorporates rural areas in need of regeneration and transformation, which belong to a regional development strategy to give impetus to diverse economic potentials, ranging from sustainable tourism to ecological agro-industry, from regional cooperation between Alicante and Elche taking advantage of airport expansion to the revitalising of the seafront involving the restructuring of the port.

Aviles Innovation Island

Aviles, a city with a past similar to that of Bilbao albeit on a much smaller scale is banking on an innovation island to turn its industrial past into a future-oriented, knowledge-based economy. It too has been incorporated in a regional strategy, encompassing the Asturian capital Oviedo and the seaport of Gijón to conceive polycentric complementarity capable of accommodating its returning diaspora.

Dynamics of Bilbao and the Basque Country

What is known about Bilbao is the Guggenheim effect. Yet, Bilbao is undergoing its third knowledge revolution after industrialisation and urbanisation, demonstrated in the Bilbao Pavilion designed by the Fundación Metrópoli for the Shanghai World Exhibition 2010. It has worked with the Basque government and the city of Bilbao over decades on the continuous regeneration and restructuring of Bilbao, the other Basque cities and its rural region. This illustrates another characteristic of the design philosophy of the Fundación Metrópoli, which never aims at a definite end-state but consists of identifying strengths and weaknesses, places for positive intervention potential, response to feedback from implementation and awareness of contextual drivers which may require adjusting on-going development strategies.

Landscapes as inspiration

For its spatial interventions, the Fundación Metrópoli seeks its inspiration in existing natural and man-made landscapes while exploring the long-range archaeology of spatial memory. Nature and its processes of evolution have contributed to the conceptual frameworks of the Fundación Metrópoli conceived as 'urban ecosystems of innovation'.

Particular features of what the Fundación Metrópoli terms 'landscape intelligence' are developed in projects for particular sites. Eco-boulevards and eco-cities which incorporate climatic design aiming at low energy consumption make a particular contribution to a more sustainable 'urbanity'. They are pertinent in large cities like Casablanca, as well as in remote settlements in the countryside, such as ecoaldeas (rural eco-villages) in Spain, and buildings in harmony with their surroundings and responsive to climate, such as the Ecobox, the headquarters of the Fundación Metrópoli north of Madrid.

'Urban ecosystems of innovation' find their design expression in eco-cities like Sarriguren in Pamplona, Navarra, singled out in the European Urban & Regional Planning Awards in 2008 for its sustainability. The Fundación Metrópoli won the masterplan competition with its design for one of the first eco-cities in Spain, strongly supported by the local administration which managed to attract the National Centre for Renewable Energies to Sarriguren's technology park.

Networking and future oriented learning

The complexity of spatial development is beyond individual urban actors. For that reason, the Fundación Metrópoli has established strategic alliances with professionals from all the built-environment disciplines, universities, politicians and other urban actors to create and share knowledge, to network between them, to disseminate information, and to cooperate on progressive transformations of cities and regions.

Its ProyectoCities network has undertaken in-depth studies of over twenty cities worldwide with the support of Urban Fora to discover their clusters of excellence on which to build their sustainable future. Strands of knowledge and experience from diverse fields of innovation, sustainability principles, equitable governance and reciprocal interaction between cities and citizens are brought together in action-oriented visions, capable of constant adaptation to unforeseen influences with the aim to achieve creative transformations of existing landscapes and townscapes.

This same cross-fertilisation takes place between the three interdependent streams of activities within the Fundación Metrópoli. It consists of initiating promising projects, incorporating research results into such innovative projects, involving potential clients and creating new institutional forms to realise these projects. From there, it is providing feedback from experimentation and implementation processes into further research and exploration of innovative city and regional design. This approach assists in identifying the complex functions of places and contributes to building on their potential to achieve their true vocation.

By outlining the building blocks derived from the way the Fundación Metrópoli conceptualises its planning activities and by illustrating its approach with project examples, the paper aims to make a contribution to '100 years of spatial planning in Europe' with the intention of providing pointers to the way planning may develop progressively into the future.

Summary

The paper presents the proactive approach to planning of the Fundación Metrópoli, based on lessons learnt from planning and implementation over the last 100 years. It uses its intellectual capital to foster creative and sustainable transformations of cities and regions. Its method consists of three interdependent activities: investigation, innovation and incubation. It applies a dynamic between different scales to all its projects, ranging from mega-regions to urban blocks. It obtains its inspiration from natural and man-made landscapes which it enhances through strategies based on identified components of excellence of the spaces for which it proposes interventions.

Footnotes

1 Alfonso Vegara & Juan Luis de la Rivas. 2004. *Territorios Inteligentes*. Fundación Metrópoli

2 www.fmetropoli.org

3 'Landscape Intelligence' gives an overview of the approach of the Fundación Metrópoli to strategic spatial development, together with many experimental projects at regional, city and local levels.

4 Judith Ryser (ed). 2008 *Building the European Diagonal*. Fundación Metrópoli

5 Málaga, *Ecosistema de Innovación*. 2009. *Text on ecosystems of innovation by Judith Ryser*. Fundación Metrópoli

6 *Urban Forum: stakeholder advisory groups set up by city mayors*.

7 *Provincia de Alicante, Programa Innovación + Territorio*. 2009. *Text on ecosystems of innovation by Judith Ryser*. Fundación Metrópoli

8 *Government of Asturias*. 2008. *La Isla de la Innovación*, Aviles Asturias. Fundación Metrópoli

9 *Autonomous Government of the Basque Region and Fundación Metrópoli*. 2010. *Euskal Hiria NET. Regional Development Strategy for the Basque Country*. Fundación Metrópoli

10 Judith Ryser & Gabriel Escobar. *The Nature of Cities, Art, Technology, Economics and Climate Change*. In: *Climate Change and the Cities of the Future*, European Climate Forum, 2010.

11 Judith Ryser (ed). 2010. *Fundación Metrópoli, Landscape Intelligence, Visions and Projects of the Fundación Metrópoli*.

12 Fundación Metrópoli. 2009. *Ecoaldea Daroca, Ibi Alicante*. Fundación Metrópoli

13 *Gobierno de Navarra*. 2009. *Sarriguren Ecociudad Ecocity*. Fundación Metrópoli

14 see *Landscape Intelligence*, op. cit. Chapter 3

BO WIJKMARK: THE ROLE OF THE CAPITAL CITY AND REGION-BUILDING IN NORTH EUROPEAN COUNTRIES – THE CASE OF STOCKHOLM AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE FOUR OTHER NORDIC CAPITALS

Spatial planning is, as everybody knows, a matter of balancing interests: public versus individual interests, those of landowners versus tenants, and developers versus environmentalists. The public interest may also differ between sectors and tiers and over time. Political parties have their own views on whose interests are most legitimate and should be supported. Planning ideologies may shift from one period to the next, and may be different in different countries. In this complex area my observations on planning in the Nordic capitals should be taken for what they are: a personal reflection by a practitioner in the city and region of Stockholm from the early Sixties to the late Nineties, with some knowledge of the other Nordic capital regions.

I think the similarities are more striking than the differences. Still, one should not underestimate the effects of different natural endowments. Denmark is the smallest and most arable of the Nordic countries, while Norway is the most mountainous, with deep valleys and Europe's longest coastline. While the Norwegian part of the North Sea hosts rich reserves of oil and gas, most of Sweden and Finland is a forested area with substantial mineral deposits. Norway is by far the most decentralised Nordic country and Denmark is the opposite; Sweden and Finland are in between. Iceland is for the most part arid; two thirds of the population live in the capital region and the remainder live in small coastal towns and settlements.

After a short factual introduction, I will try to give the reader a picture of the present planning situation in the Nordic capital cities and regions – with Stockholm as the main focus – and at the end I will discuss the development of planning regimes until the present. What were the reasons for this development trajectory? Why did it happen?

Similar Background, Parallel Progress

The five Nordic countries – three western: Denmark, Iceland, Norway and two eastern: Finland and Sweden – have much in common: people, culture and a shared history. A thousand years ago most people spoke the same language – Old Norse - from which modern Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish evolved. The Finns and the Finnish language have other roots, but a quarter of a million of Finland's population speak Swedish as their mother tongue, and Swedish is an official language alongside Finnish.

The five countries gradually took shape during the Middle Ages. Their capitals were founded during that period as seaports and fortified towns; the present national borders were, however, only established two or three hundred years ago. For more than six centuries Finland was the eastern half of Sweden but in 1809 it was conquered by Russia and remained in the hands of the Czar until the Russian revolution in 1917. To compensate Sweden for its loss of Finland in 1809, the newly elected Crown Prince, Napoleon's former Marshal Jean Bernadotte, conquered Denmark to seize Norway in what was Sweden's last war. Norway had for centuries been a Danish province but in 1814 it finally became a separate country with its own constitution, government and capital, albeit headed by the king of Sweden until 1905.

Apart from Finland all Nordic countries remained neutral in the Great War of 1914 to 1918. Sweden even managed to stay out of World War II. Finland had to fight two wars in the early 1940s against the Soviet Union and heroically succeeded in keeping its freedom though it had to pay large war reparations and lost a substantial part of its territory. In 1940 Germany conquered Denmark and Norway, and later the Allied forces occupied Iceland which became a free republic in 1944 after half a millennium under Danish rule.

The joint roots, the common history – and the absence of Finland for more than a century – explains why the Scandinavian countries in the second half of the 19th century oriented themselves towards similar social and economic policies and began co-operating, going so far as to create a monetary union that lasted for almost 50 years. Then for another 50 years inter-Nordic and international trade grew rapidly and the countries were transformed

from rural to industrialised urbanised economies which eventually led the Nordic countries to achieve their present state as rich parliamentary democracies and welfare states with a high degree of mutual interdependence and multilateral co-operation.

During and after the Cold War period these bonds have been strengthened even further. In the Nordic Council the five countries and three autonomous regions (Åland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands) seek joint policies and agreements in most policy areas with the exception of defence.

The Nordic Capital Regions Today

As a whole, the Nordic countries are sparsely populated with a combined population of just 25 million – twice their population a century ago – on a land surface that is larger than the areas of France, Spain and Portugal taken together. Except for Reykjavík¹ in Iceland, the Nordic capital cities are neither very small nor sparsely populated, with between 600 and 800 thousand inhabitants each; the metropolitan areas of these capital regions² comprise almost one and a half million residents in Oslo and Helsinki and about two million residents in both Copenhagen and Stockholm. Each capital region dominates its nation's trade and knowledge industries, as well as its higher education and scientific research. Productivity, prices and incomes therefore reach their highest levels nationwide in each capital city region. A large share of the countries' population live in the capital regions: between 20 and 25 per cent in Helsinki, Oslo and Stockholm; almost one third in Copenhagen and, as mentioned earlier, two thirds in Reykjavík. The actual as well as the predicted rates of regional population growth are high in all these cities, and are in part due to immigration from non-western countries (except in Iceland). The population growth rate including the share due to immigrants is lowest in Copenhagen and highest in Stockholm. The city of Copenhagen has the highest population density and the oldest housing stock with the lowest average housing standards, while Stockholm has the newest housing stock with the highest average technological standards and the most space per person. But these differences are diminishing over time.

A problem in comparing these regions is that it is much easier to delimit the regions of Helsinki, Oslo and Stockholm than of Copenhagen. The population figure for the functional Copenhagen region³ is 1.7 million on the Danish side of Øresund, but since the opening of the Øresund Bridge in 2000 this is no longer a reasonable regional delimitation. The Danish capital region is becoming increasingly integrated with parts of southern Sweden including Sweden's third largest city, Malmö. Including them in the Copenhagen region would imply that it has become the largest metropolitan area in the Nordic countries with a population of 2.5 million.

In many countries you find tensions between central government and the large cities; the Nordic countries are no exception. During the expansionary years in the 1950s and 1960s the governments and parliaments favoured northern Finland, Norway and Sweden and western Denmark at the expense of the capitals, which were viewed as having caused the development lags in the remote regions. Although there still is and will remain a need for redistributing resources to the poorest areas, the capitals are nowadays seen in a much more positive light. This has prompted politicians to make statements such as 'the capital is the country's trump card in international competition'.

Spatial Planning in the Capital Cities and the Capital Regions

At present there is an almost complete set of current strategic and spatial plans for all of the Nordic capital regions. In 2007, the Danish Ministry of the Environment published a spatial Finger Plan for the capital region in the National Planning Report, and the municipality and region of Copenhagen formulated new city and regional development plans in accordance with these national guidelines in 2009. Oslo, which legally is both a region and a city, passed a new city plan in 2008. In 2010 the county and the city of Stockholm passed a new regional development plan and a comprehensive city plan.

Most Nordic planning and building Acts⁴ are relatively new and use similar formulations regarding basic planning principles and purposes. Strategic and comprehensive plans have to be updated after general elections, and regulatory plans are valid only for limited time periods; the planning process must be transparent and democratic. National plans tend to be more strategic and prescriptive; regional plans tend to be strategic and advisory; while there are two types of city and municipal spatial plans. Municipal plans are either comprehensive and strategic or detailed and regulatory. Although fundamental differences are few and far between, it is still the case that laws, procedures and instruments may vary in their details.

In short, the Danish system seems to provide the state with a firmer grip on planning than its counterparts in the other countries. The system is logical and hierarchical, reaching from national planning directives and reports (some dealing with principles such as rules on delimiting urban and rural areas, while others deal with explicit spatial provisions, such as the Finger Plan) given by the Ministry of the Environment, via compulsory regional development plans adopted by regional councils that are more strategic than physical, all the way to comprehensive spatial municipal, city, and local regulatory plans that are adopted by the corresponding council. On the whole the law texts are concise but nevertheless include a remarkable number

of detailed restrictions regarding planning in coastal zones and planning involving shops and market places. One chapter deals specifically with planning principles for the capital region; in no other Nordic planning law will you find an analogue except for a new Finnish stipulation (see below).

The structure of the Norwegian system is similar to the Danish one although the law deals more with matters of principle such as competence, procedures and participation than with concrete matters. At the regional level it recommends the creation of a planning forum where national, regional and municipal interests are represented and take part in the process. Regional planning strategies and regional plans are compulsory means for promoting national and regional interests, and may under certain conditions even prescribe building bans. Inter-municipal planning for a common purpose is a possibility which then amounts to an intermediate level between regional and municipal plans.

After an unsuccessful attempt in the 1960s to make spatial plans at the national level Sweden developed the most municipally orientated system in Scandinavia. The idea has been to endow municipalities with a 'municipal planning monopoly' with few national directives (except for national environmental regulations) and regional planning that is limited to voluntary and advisory roles. Stockholm is the sole Swedish region with such a spatial regional plan within the county's development plan. The municipal council adopts regulatory plans, normally without ratification by the central or provincial government, which if necessary may intervene to protect national and regional interests in areas such as health and security.

The planning and building acts of Finland and Iceland have one thing in common which separates them from the three Scandinavian countries; both have just two – not three – democratic elected tiers: the nation state and the municipality/ city. But as in the other countries there are three levels of planning: national, regional and local. Regional planning is compulsory in Finland and voluntary in Iceland and in both cases must be carried out by co-operating local authorities, in Finland by statutory regional councils⁵ with a number of duties and responsibilities, and in Iceland by one or more municipalities if they wish to set up a provisional joint planning committee for the purpose. In both countries, regional plans have to be approved by the Minister of the Environment to become legally binding. These plans show relevant national and regional provisions and guide local planning except for already ratified plans. In the Finnish system regional land-use plans are of three kinds: comprehensive plans for the whole area and a long period, phased plans for a part of the planning period and sub-regional plans for a geographical part of the region. Recently the land-use act has been changed to stipulate that Helsinki and three neighbouring cities must work out a common master plan.

Copenhagen – The Capital of Denmark and Øresund

The Finger Plan of 2007 was named after the original finger plan from 1947, which illustrated the physical shape of the Danish capital region with eye-opening clarity: like an open hand with the dense core as the palm and – existing or proposed – settlements along radial roads and railways as fingers, with green wedges in between and with some of the knuckles also containing ring roads, railways and green belts. The finger metaphor was so persuasive that it has been quite easy for the authors of subsequent regional development plans to argue in favour of keeping the wedges green, especially as compared with the situation of colleagues in other growing regions with difficulties in establishing similar planning norms.

As the 2007 plan has the status of a national report, it imposes important guiding principles for city, municipal and transport planning in the capital region. Many have been inherited from earlier regional plans and are very detailed, such as pronounced chronological order of building activities, principles on effective use of areas close to railway stations for new construction of offices and dwellings etc. The message is reinforced by presenting a number of good and bad examples from the past few decades.

The essence of the plan is to strengthen the capital region and to help it play its role as Denmark's most competitive region in the knowledge society, with qualities that will benefit the development of the whole country. Copenhagen and Øresund are important national and international hubs for air, land and sea transport, and should develop into an even more attractive capital city with pleasant surroundings which is at the forefront in the transition to a green and climate-smart society.

In 2009 the City of Copenhagen passed a new comprehensive plan for a 'thinking city' with four catch-words: dynamic (think new); sustainable (think green); open to everyone (think inclusively); sea contact (think blue). After years of experiencing a shrinking population in the core of the region there is now renewed growth. In order to house new residents while protecting the green areas the city must adopt new strategies such as investment in transit-oriented development, high-rise buildings and effective new uses of waterfront locations.

In the same year, the capital region passed a new regional development plan with three focal areas: infrastructure; education and nature/environment. The chapter on infrastructure contains a more in-depth discussion than the Finger Plan about the challenges for a region which is one of the major transport hubs for people and goods in northern Europe. The plan proposes close co-operation with neighbouring regions and cities – even those on the Swedish side of the border – and a balance between investments in strategic railway and motorway capacity within the finger structure, as well as a policy that aims to increase the use of public transport and restrict the use of private motor vehicles in various city districts.

The City of Malmö on the Swedish side of Øresund also has a current city plan of high quality that is being continually updated. For an outside observer the situation may seem satisfactory but while every local and regional decision-maker is fully aware of and supportive of the regional integration process, it is still the case that national planning and building laws have not taken cross-border development into consideration. There have as yet been few signs of central government interest from the Swedish side in supporting local and regional initiatives for joint planning in the Øresund region. The government in Stockholm seems to regard southern Sweden as a remote part of the country rather than as a vital actor in the creation of northern Europe's leading metropolitan region with benefits to be reaped by both Sweden and Denmark.

Helsinki – The Finnish Capital with Swedish and Russian Landmarks

During Finland's full century under Russian sovereignty the capital was moved from Turku to Helsinki, which was greatly expanded and provided with a magnificent neo-classical city plan with beautiful government and university quarters. Arriving in Helsinki from the sea in the morning sun still is a memorable experience of beauty.

By and large the first Czars treated Finland and its people benevolently, respecting its cultural and legal traditions. The country could, therefore, keep many of its cultural bonds with Sweden and Scandinavia, which no doubt helped re-establish Nordic co-operation after the birth of the free Republic of Finland, and to deepen it after World War II.

The Finnish administrative system at the regional level has changed more than once during the post-war period, and in 2010 a radical shift in the state's regional administration took place. The old Swedish-Finnish institution of provincial governments under a governor that had lasted for four hundred years was replaced (in Finland but not in Sweden) by a set of new regional state administration offices which are similar to other national authorities but with a geographically limited area of jurisdiction. These regional offices are however not responsible for spatial planning; below the national tier, this has been decentralised to regional and local self-government authorities.

Like the other 18 regional councils in Finland, the Helsinki-Uusimaa Regional Council has the authority to create a statutory regional plan: a broad-based plan intended to direct new investment in jobs, housing and public rail transport, but not specific in terms of detail of the area affected. In Helsinki, it is only the detailed planning level that has a legal jurisdiction. The Helsinki region has 2 constituent layers, consisting of first, authorities with selective statutory powers: the Uusimaa Regional Council; the Helsinki Region Environmental Services Authority (HSY) and the Helsinki Regional Transport Authority (HSL), both established in 2010. Second, there are non-statutory Assemblies such as the Greater Helsinki region and also for the metropolitan capital area, an Area Advisory Board. The establishment of HSL and HSY is important because they transfer some planning detail such as rail transport issues to these new agencies. They are joint co-operative bodies made up of representatives of the capital region's municipalities. They do not have direct control but aim for consensus to make decisions. At the metropolitan level, the statutory authorities of HSY and HSL, with their own administrations and budgets, work closely with the cities in particular to achieve a joint approach to solving problems. Public transport infrastructure works efficiently and is considered highly effective. Joint working translates into a seamless network for travel.⁶

The city of Helsinki and three neighbouring towns are by law responsible for planning and management of public transport for their area and are now obliged to work out a common master plan for land use, while as mentioned above strategic and spatial planning is a central task for the Helsinki-Uusimaa Regional Council with its 21 member municipalities. In 2011 the capital region was enlarged to encompass the entire area of the historic province.

In 2006, the current regional plan was approved by the Minister of the Environment. The vision is to make Helsinki the most competitive, the safest and the most attractive metropolitan region in northern Europe. These aims are then specified in more detail.

At the moment a new version of the regional plan is being elaborated which will focus on the regional structure in the coming 25 years. The present version has a finger-plan character, but there are of course other possible options. One of them is somewhat similar to the Stockholm plan structure with outer cores.

Comprehensive city planning in the capital city is continually revised and updated; the latest version covering the whole city area, the Master Plan, was ready in 2004 and the next one is expected to be published in ten years after that; in the meantime partial city plans for smaller areas are being worked out.

Oslo – Capital in a Land Bulging with Oil and Gas

The similarities between Norway's economic development and the other Nordic countries ended with the discovery of oil and gas in the North Sea in the 1970s. An economy that had been based on international shipping and geographically dispersed industrial production had to adapt to a new situation akin to a traditional oil economy. Sudden spikes in export incomes of limited duration would make the Norwegian economy vulnerable to local and temporary imbalances and tensions. In order to reduce this vulnerability and to avoid the temptations of over-consumption, the central government established an oil fund to save all extra-normal incomes for future generations who otherwise would have had to face a sudden drop in incomes after all of Norway's oil and gas reserves have been extracted.

The economy and finances of the country and the capital region are very good, and the region of Oslo has grown by 150,000 inhabitants in a decade and has strengthened its position in Norway's economy, culture, science and education. One third of the population increase in the period are immigrants; mostly non-Western or with a mixed background.

More than 40 per cent of the country's total expenditure on research and development, 12 out of 21 national centres for advanced research, a considerable number of university colleges and 57,000 students: all these put Oslo on a par with Copenhagen and Stockholm in the Knowledge Society. According to the City Council, Oslo is inferior in international marketing and in organised co-operation between society, academia and trade and industry and will learn from them. Building activity is high and the cultural sector expands with new institutions and recently the waterfront was enriched with a world-class opera house. The Oslofjord together with Marka, the very wide green district covering two thirds of Oslo's total area, constitute a large part of the city's well known beauty and leisure-time qualities.

I mentioned earlier that formally Oslo is both a city and an administrative region, but in population numbers the functional region is twice or three times as large as Oslo. Oslo's city plan of 2008, which according to the Minister of the Environment should be treated as both a city plan and a regional plan, also has twofold aims: a regional strategy followed by a comprehensive city plan with an unusually concise and schematic map called Areal strategy towards 2025. More details will be given in city district plans or regulatory plans to be worked out in conjunction with agreements with developers.

In 2006 the Norwegian government declared its intention of proposing a radical administrative reform for Oslo and the whole country so that by the year 2010 the number of municipalities and transform the present administrative regions would be reduced to a smaller number of more powerful directly elected regional assemblies which would be both functional and administrative. That is exactly the process completed in Denmark in 2007 but the Norwegian political climate is more strongly in favour of genuine local democracy, so the reform has had to be postponed. Oslo's city council has declared that it is ready to take the lead in the necessary

regional co-operation, given that its borders will not change (read: Oslo will not incorporate other municipalities).

Certainly, this declaration has helped create a widespread acceptance of Oslo's leadership by other actors in the region, and they have instituted a co-operation alliance, the Oslo Region, for joint activities such as regional development planning and international marketing.

The vision of the city plan is an open and including capital with room for multitude and life quality, a city where it is easy to succeed and difficult to go to the bottom. Oslo will be one of Europe's most innovative cities with room for creativity and value creation. It will provide residents and visitors good local qualities and a climate effective transport system, and be one of the most environment friendly cities in the world. The blue- green qualities of the Oslofjord and Marka will be preserved and strengthened. Oslo will be a city where residents are active and participate in the development of the city.

The catch-words of the city plan are very close to those of Copenhagen's regional development plan and city plan, and as we shall see it is also similar to those in the corresponding documents of the city and region of Stockholm.

A final remark: Many development plans keep away from the unavoidable darker sides of city life, but the city plan of Oslo does not. In my opinion it can only strengthen the plan's credibility.

Reykjavík – Capital in a Land of Ice and Fire

Iceland, a little larger than Portugal but with just three per cent of its population, was colonised by seafarers from Western Scandinavia in the 9th century; ever since then it has been under Danish or Norwegian kings except for short independent periods. It was only in 1944 that Iceland at last became a free republic.

Situated on the Mid-Atlantic ridge, traversed by a rift between the North American and Eurasian plates, a large part of the island is volcanic and geothermally active. Throughout history there have been a considerable number of volcanic eruptions, some followed by disasters such as famines. In 2010 Eyafjallajökull began to spew ash into the atmosphere, causing worrying – but evidently manageable – effects in Iceland and disruptions to European air traffic.

Most of the population live in urban settlements; 65 per cent live in the capital region of Reykjavík. The traditional industries of fishery and shipping are still important but today the capital region is almost as post-industrial and knowledge-oriented as the other Nordic capitals.

Although the Icelandic administrative system like the Finnish one has only two tiers – the national state and the municipalities – three planning levels are defined in the Planning and Building Act of 1997: the national, regional and municipal (local). There is no comprehensive land-use plan for the whole country except for a few binding sector plans such as the one for infrastructure.

Every municipality must have a comprehensive municipal plan covering its whole area for a period of at least 12 years, and after general elections every four years the municipal council must decide whether to renew it or not. Local regulatory plans have to be made in accordance with the municipal plan. To co-ordinate the policies of neighbouring municipalities they may together draw up a regional plan which becomes legally binding when all have adopted it and the Minister of the Environment has approved it.

For a country with so few genuinely regional development challenges as in Iceland this system might be natural, but for the capital region the situation is quite different. Over recent decades its growth has been rapid, dispersed and rather unstructured with new settlements having been established in small municipalities that lack the necessary resources for effective planning. Public transport has not been able to cope with growing commuting demands. The number of private cars per household is much greater than in any other Nordic capital region, and motorised transport has seen explosive growth. A strategic regional plan is urgently needed and perhaps also a competent regional planning organisation.

These needs have in no way been reduced by the recent financial crisis, which had a greater impact on Iceland and Reykjavík than on other parts of the Nordic region. Instead, there have been indications that young and mobile professionals, many with an educational background in Copenhagen, are leaving the uncertain Icelandic labour market for the more promising Danish market. Reykjavík's challenges seem to be more serious than those of the other Nordic capitals.

Stockholm – The Largest Capital of Scandinavia

Planning for Growth

Sweden is the largest Scandinavian country and Stockholm the largest Nordic capital city. The population of the region has grown steadily during recent decades and prognoses for 2030 point at 300,000-500,000 more residents in the region and close to 200,000 more inside the city limits.

The spatial distribution of workplaces among and within regions depends very much on the character of the labour market. No doubt a metropolitan region in a post-industrial knowledge society can usually house both a strong central business district and a number of new decentralised cores. Regional planning in Stockholm has always advocated multi-core development and a moderate size of the central business district.

Administratively the Stockholm region is defined as the County of Stockholm, but due to expanding commuting patterns the labour and housing markets have since long expanded into the neighbouring counties around Lake Mälaren. As a result the functional Stockholm region currently includes some 100,000 people from these counties. A reasonable hypothesis is that these markets will go on widening while commuting will continue to increase. Even a future merger of the present County of Stockholm and one or more Mälär counties to create a larger administrative capital region is possible.

Modern comprehensive city planning and regional planning in Stockholm began soon after World War II; in 1952 the first city plan was published and six years later the first regional plan. The sections of the city plan on infrastructure and renewal of the central business district were modernised during the 1960s but a more thorough revision did not occur until the 1990s, which was followed in 2010 with a complete and rather radical revision.

New regional plans or outline plans have been published once or twice a decade. Since 2001 the spatial plan has formally been

included in a regional development framework: the Regional Development Plan for the Stockholm Region. In every new edition the discussion dives deeper into the causes and effects of the enlargement of the functional region, but somewhat reluctantly since the formal limits of the plan coincide with the political boundaries of the County of Stockholm.

The newly revised planning and building law emphasises the need to update comprehensive plans after each general election, which is held every four years. Presumably this will lead to a more continuous planning process, with shorter intervals than hitherto between plan publication and a more thorough distinction between long-term structural and faster- changing elements of the various plans.

City Planning Today

The authors of the current comprehensive city plan of Stockholm stress the dynamics of big cities, and their ambition is a plan which is strategic, international in its orientation as well as feasible. They support the multi-core ambitions suggested at the regional planning level but also argue for expansion of the central business district and local centres within Stockholm City proper.

The city plan is linked to the City Council's document Vision 2030, formulating political aims for future development. Stockholm will not only be a unique city with multiple waterfronts and marvellous views, promenades along shores and quays, as well as fishing and swimming right in the city centre, but also versatile and exciting, innovative and growing – a city for all residents and visitors. The overall aims are social interaction and long-term sustainability, thereby creating a world-class city. In 2010, Stockholm was appointed to be EU's first Green Capital in recognition of its intention to be free from fossil fuels by 2050.

The strategies of the city plan are fourfold: strengthen central Stockholm; focus on strategic nodes; connect city districts; create a vibrant urban environment.

More specifically, the concrete objectives include the promotion of an expanded, denser and diversified city core as well as specific nodes outside the inner city; this strategy should support the competitiveness of Stockholm, link hitherto isolated areas and provide better conditions for public transport, cycling and walking; a catch-word is 'City for Promenades'.

Regional Development Planning Today

The aim of the current regional development plan is to make Stockholm 'the most attractive big city region in Europe'. According to the plan it follows that six challenges have to be addressed: both population growth and better quality of life; comparative smallness and international leadership; greater confidence and a more uncertain world; addressing climate change and economic growth; greater capacity and a growing population; openness and better integration.

To attain this, the plan formulates four objectives: openness and accessibility; leadership in research, industry and culture, innovation and entrepreneurship; good living conditions: clean air and water, security and confidence; resource effectiveness in building, transportation and structure.

These aims and goals are similar to those expressed in the Danish and Norwegian city and regional development plans. But however substantial the similarities are, one element has been stressed more in the regional development plans for Stockholm than in the other capital regions: the consistent advocacy for transforming the traditional monocentric structure towards a more polycentric region. This goal was articulated in the city and regional plans in the 1950s and reiterated in every regional plan revision, gradually achieving greater distinctiveness and development up to and including the present plan. This plan envisages eight outer regional urban cores, some having a long tradition as independent towns, others being created after World War II, but none of them being completely new greenfield developments. Each core has its own character, content and design, depending on history, local traditions and ideas. Thus there are science nodes, trading nodes and transport nodes.

The concept of spatial decentralisation is not unknown in Copenhagen or Oslo, but when Danish plans discuss the qualities of old commercial towns in peripheral parts of the capital region they see them not as alternatives to downtown Copenhagen, but rather as precious elements and parts of the national heritage that are to be protected as complements to the capital. And while decentralisation is an ideal that is shared by almost every Norwegian, it is still seen as a matter of Oslo versus the national periphery rather than as central Oslo versus sparsely populated areas within the capital region.

In the case of Stockholm the arguments for a polycentric structure are a bit different. The idea is to amalgamate local qualities with reasonable proximity to the historic city centre, the only core common to the whole region, which is therefore inevitably the most important, the largest and the strongest core.

The Roots of Strategic and Comprehensive Planning

I have tried to give you an impression of current Nordic planning legislation and practice in capital regions, perhaps over-emphasising similarities and undervaluing differences. What about the roots and the historic development? Here I will concentrate on the way strategic overall planning in the Swedish capital city and region evolved.

Nowadays Sweden has, as mentioned earlier, the most municipally orientated planning legislation among the three Scandinavian countries and the one with the weakest regional tier in what concerns planning. But it hasn't always been the case. In the early 1860s municipalities⁷ and counties were introduced, both with few powers but with a right to finance their activities by income taxes. The widest and costliest activities and the highest taxes were found in the municipalities, which were closest to the daily life of the residents. The counties were electoral constituencies and had some regional tasks, too, but gradually became specialised in healthcare.

Building and planning was in reality a matter of negotiation between landowners, building firms and government inspectors, while the municipality had very little influence. Of course, local politicians could not accept this state of affairs and in 1866 a comprehensive plan for organising streets and blocks in inner Stockholm was put forward as a proposal for street regulation.

Stockholm was on the verge of rapid population growth and dramatically rising housing shortage; the housing stock was old and small, often with bad sanitary conditions; streets were narrow, steep and crooked. The demand for new construction was enormous and a plan urgently needed, whether legal or not. The main inspiration came from Haussmann's boulevards and avenues in Paris and from the rapidly expanding German capital; large parts of it were realised and still constitute the basic framework of today's street plan and older building stock of inner Stockholm.

In 1907 the Swedish parliament instituted a planning act, which for the first time gave cities the right to adopt detailed town plans and regulate land use and design of buildings. To give it legal force, state confirmation was required. But seeds of municipal self-determination regarding town development had been sown. They took 40 years to germinate as far as legislation was concerned. But in the meantime the municipal sector became more influential in many fields, not least housing and building, so many local politicians opposed to the restricted legal competence. Around the turn of century the city of Stockholm had initiated a continuous policy of buying land for exploitation, inside and, later on, outside its borders.

During the interwar period Stockholm and some other cities made master plans and even regional plans, following Austrian, German and English examples, but they could never be confirmed by the state, as Swedish law did not recognise municipal comprehensive planning.

As late as in the 1947 Building Act master planning and regional planning were introduced as legal concepts, both being voluntary and receiving legal force only after approval by the state provincial board and the government respectively. From then on most cities devised master plans but few cared to seek confirmation, fearing consequential rights for landowners and costly duties for the municipality.

The city of Stockholm is one example; its master plan of 1952 was of high quality, renowned and awarded one of the finest prizes of the international architects union. It was neither adopted by the city council nor approved by the state.

However, it served the city well for guiding both building new suburbs and renewing the city core.

Few were interested in regional planning as even plans affirmed by government had little effect on steering land use. The city of Stockholm and its neighbours were among the first to make regional plans and alone in seeking governmental approval. Since 1971 a special law has made Stockholm county council responsible, and from 2001 onwards the plans have been integral parts of the regional development programs.

The fact that few cities and municipalities have sought state approval of master and regional plans, and that the plans have nonetheless functioned as guidelines for local planning, acted as a signal to Swedish governments. A new Planning and Building Act giving more power to the municipal sector seemed inevitable and was finally enacted in 1987. To get wide acceptance the new Act had to set aside the requirements for state approval of overall plans as well as of regulatory plans, as long as these were not in conflict with national, state and regional interests or of too low quality. On the other hand, it stipulated that every municipality should have an updated comprehensive land use plan for its whole area. It serves both as a guideline for detailed regulatory planning and as information to citizens and others interested in the municipal council's intentions about future development of areas for exploitation or reshaping and about protection of valuable built-up or green areas. For each term of office the plan should be updated and adopted by the city council.

However I don't see this as a proof of a successively stronger municipal sector and a weaker State. More significant are the constitutional right of counties and municipalities to levy income taxes and the ancient Nordic tradition of local self-determination, more so when the number of municipalities was reduced from over two thousand in 1950 to fewer than 300 in the 1970s: the larger, the stronger. The municipal sector has no doubt been strengthened in that time; while GNP from 1950 to 1970 doubled in real terms, municipal consumption trebled, growing from just over 12 to 18 per cent of GDP and has been growing ever since though not so rapidly.

Over the same period municipal consumption also grew in other Nordic countries, though less than in Sweden, and the process of amalgamating municipalities came later. Denmark's reduction in the number of municipalities from 270 to 98 came in to effect on 1st January 2007, though it was less radical in the capital region (reduction from 41 to 29). In Finland the process has been slow and careful but there might be some signs of a more thorough reform in the coming years; still there are more than 300 municipalities in the country. In Norway the number exceeds 400.

My impression is that today there is a tendency towards a stronger state, although Finnish and Swedish municipalities and Swedish county councils still have in principle unlimited rights to tax incomes from gainful employment. The states find ways to limit the municipal freedom of taxing their citizens and to redistribute tax incomes between municipalities and regions. The recent Danish administrative reform not only reduced the number of regions but also eliminated their rights to levy taxes. And in Norway the parliament decides maximum tax rates for municipalities and regions; their only freedom is to lower taxes.

In return the Nordic states have accepted more of local self-determination on land use, but even that might tend to be reduced in tandem with a growing awareness of climate challenges and needs for a genuine sustainable planning everywhere. The outcome is hard to guess.

A Nordic Canon – Or a Global One?

In many respects current regional development plans in the Nordic capital regions are interesting documents reflecting our age. As mentioned earlier, the similarities are more striking than the differences. Even the predicted future roles of the regions look almost the same: nodes in the knowledge society, prominence in the life sciences, information and communications technology, financial markets, culture and events, innovation and entrepreneurship; they will be major national and important international transport hubs and so on. Every region strives to be sustainable and climate-smart.

The city planners' recommendations for the three Scandinavian capitals look similar: build denser cities and accept high-rise buildings in the central districts, expand and modernise the public transport network and pursue transit-oriented development, reinforce and expand restrictions against private car use, construct lanes and paths for cyclists and pedestrians, make better use of waterfront sites for development and public use, and safeguard green and blue areas.

Expressions vary between documents just as national habits and traditions vary, but there are noticeable similarities in the wording as well: 'Europe's most attractive region,' 'the most attractive region of Northern Europe,' 'the Capital of Scandinavia,' 'the Human Capital of Scandinavia,' 'a safe and attractive physical environment for the citizens,' 'safety and confidence for citizens,' 'a city for everybody.'

Why is this so? Do all Nordic capitals look the same? Think the same?

Truly, big cities have much in common, not only in Northern Europe but everywhere.

Or could the reason be that their politicians and planners have all been reading and listening to the same international canon?

Footnotes

1 Almost two thirds of all 300,000 Icelanders live in the capital region.

2 Concepts, definitions and rankings vary, so these rankings should be taken with a pinch of salt: the Copenhagen metropolitan region ranks as the 25th largest, Stockholm 31st, Helsinki 33rd and Oslo 45th in Europe.

3 The Copenhagen municipality plus surrounding municipalities plus North Sealand; not to be confused with the administrative Region Hovedstaden (Capital). I am grateful to Flemming Thornæs for up-to-date statistics and definitions.

4 The planning and building Acts certainly deserve a more complete account than these short hints.

5 Compulsory associations of municipalities/cities in the region with about the same duties as Scandinavia's directly elected regional councils.

6 I am grateful to Douglas Gordon, International Co-ordinator for the City of Helsinki, for this assessment of recent changes.

7 Municipalities were of three kinds: cities, boroughs and rural municipalities; nowadays there is one uniform act and one uniform official term: municipality (in Swedish: kommun). However, Stockholm and some other call themselves cities.

ZYGMUNT ZIOBROWSKI: SPATIAL PLANNING IN POLAND

The history of urban design in Poland and the whole of Europe started when the first towns appeared. By the end of the 13th century, there were nearly 230 towns in Poland. However, towns based on plans and established planning principles appeared only in the Middle Ages. Such principles have survived until today despite the transformations of economic, social and technical systems, and they still constitute important inspirations for the future. Such patterns as a rectangular street network (blocks of streets), a compact city and others are still applied in their present-day forms.

The changes occurring in town planning and urban layouts were often implemented under the influence of crucial historical events and disasters, as well as technological changes such as those resulting from strict fire and health requirements, defence systems, railway projects, industrialisation and the development of motor transport. Those changes made it necessary to implement model solutions, for example solutions for the industrial city by Tony Garnier, garden cities by Ebenezer Howard, satellite towns by Patrick Abercrombie and the city structure made up of small towns (The New Charter of Athens). The ideas contained in such models were reflected in the plans of many Polish cities, including Warsaw and Kraków.

Poland's return to independence in 1918 provided the impetus to develop new plans. The Polish Urbanist Society was established in 1922 and it quickly became a platform for the development and dissemination of new solutions and conceptions. The most significant projects included planning and construction of the new port town of Gdynia (with the current population of 270,000) or the Central Industrial District (COP), associated mainly with modern metallurgical and defence industries. The development of about a dozen new urban and industrial centres resulted from new thinking about urban and regional planning. Unfortunately, World War II stopped the creative sequence of developing modern Polish territory.

Massive damage forced people to concentrate on post-war reconstruction and restoration of the magnificence of the historic centres of Warsaw, Gdańsk, Poznań, Toruń and Lublin.

The speed of post-war reconstruction was closely associated with industrialisation and consequential rapid urban development. From 1946 to 1990, the proportion of the urban population increased from 26 per cent to 61 per cent. Such a fast rate of urban growth presented a huge challenge to urban designers. For that reason, a central agency was established: the Committee of Building, Urban Planning and Architecture, together with regional and municipal Planning Departments in the Regional and Municipal Offices in large cities. In addition, the Institute of Urban Planning and Architecture was established. Such institutional support helped to generate new development plans and coordinate urban expansion and development processes. Despite the transformation of the economic system Polish urban designers preserved solid contacts with associations of architects and urban designers in Western Europe, which allowed them to stay in the mainstream of European urban planning ideas and urban development concepts. During that period, it was a requirement to prepare plans for the entire municipality (commune) so the whole of Poland was covered by Local Physical Plans.

The transformation of the economic system in 1990 also affected the attitude towards planning, especially at local level. The Polish Law of Spatial Planning in 1994 meant that all Local Physical Plans completed before that date should lose their validity for two years, during which period the municipalities were to prepare new plans for the most important areas and areas determined in other laws such as those relating to environmental protection or landmark protection. The validity of the old plans was extended several times, in fact, and eventually the old plans expired in 2003.

Until now, spatial planning had evoked negative associations with the planned economy of the Real Socialism era, in which a basic spatial planning tool was expropriation in return for token compensation. Citizens therefore viewed spatial planning as an instrument of oppression. Following the introduction of the market economy and the democratic system of managing the state, respect for property rights was guaranteed by the Polish Constitution. Legally speaking, expropriation was reduced to the minimum, and – where absolutely necessary – owners are offered market prices. Still owners of property continue to hark back to the past, unable to see the advantages of spatial planning as an instrument of protecting and equalising the property market, reducing spatial conflicts to the minimum, as well as protecting public interests and providing the best conditions for development. It was in such a social and political climate that the first legal regulations of the democratic state were established. No wonder that while the Law of Spatial Planning (which had been in preparation for several years and was finally adopted in July 1994) complied, in systemic terms, with Western European standards, the conditions for implementing the planning system offered few opportunities to attain the goals set by the Law. Thus the main barrier impeding implementation of universal goals of spatial policy is still a poor set of tools:

- The minimal size of areas available to communes, as compared to the actual development needs, which makes it impossible to react to investors' needs or protect natural and cultural landmark values,
- Unwillingness on the part of property owners to integrate and subdivide land plots, resulting in the unwillingness on the part of the authorities to become involved in those procedures,
- Poor legal culture which does not foster the development of public and private partnership,

- A poorly developed system of house building, especially that related to the housing market, also due to the foregoing factors,
- Lack of political will in favour of improving spatial order,
- Diffusion of competences, especially at central government level, fostering the growth of sectoral interests.

The subsequent Law of Spatial Planning and Management of March 2003 did not remove these barriers, nor has it yielded the expected results so far. Deeper system changes, ranging wider than all previous Laws, are still needed. The Polish system of planning needs institutional and instrumental support first of all: there is a fervent and continuing discussion of that. The needs which are most heavily emphasised in that discussion include, on the one hand, the need to reduce barriers to investment, and, on the other, the need for legal and institutional protection of public interests. Planning cannot consist merely of the formulation of commands and prohibitions, but must also provide conditions for the shaping of spatial order and sustainable development. From the formal point of view, there should appear an urban planning code bringing together all the detailed regulations, replacing many poorly-coordinated instruments including fragmented regulations relating to spatial planning. Implementing the idea of sustainable development requires consolidation of integrated planning, comprising spatial, social and economic planning. This applies, in particular, to national and regional planning. It is now increasingly obvious that we need to add to the spatial policy toolbox by:

- adopting a public and private partnership law to provide legal guarantees to underpin co-operation between the parties,
- increasing municipal land stock to make it possible to react flexibly to current investment needs,
- extending the range of public investment projects that stimulate local activity and encourage private sector investments,
- promoting the land integration procedure as a way of improving spatial order and increase municipal land stock,
- overcoming one of the main barriers to sustainable development: the sectoral approach to development problems facing the whole country, regions and communes.

One should also expect continuous evolution of the planning system in Poland towards the following objectives:

- Wider recognition of the growing variety and increasing power of private interests, and of the need to protecting public interests against these,
- More responsible consideration of citizens' rights and those of property owners,
- A bigger role for the law in resolving spatial conflicts,
- A bigger role for economic criteria in space management,
- Increased efficiency of land management instruments (land integration, or exercising pre-emptive rights to land),
- Differentiation of legal and economic instruments in relation to regional characteristics,
- Increase of the economic value of spatial order.

The approval of the Law of Professional Self-government of Architects, Building Engineers and Urban Planners by the Polish Parliament on 15 December 2000, under which the Chamber of Town Planners was established, created a great opportunity for our planners and the future of spatial planning in our country. That decision still presents a serious challenge for us today.

The influence of the EU on the economy and, consequently, on land management in Poland grew with the following developments:

- acceptance of the Accession Treaty obligations, regulations and directives (*acquis communautaire*), and adoption of the remaining EU Community achievements,
- supporting Poland under specific EU policies, programmes and funds,
- scope for absorbing and using the EU resources effectively,
- the initial condition of the country at the time of integration, in comparison to other EU countries,
- the phenomena occurring in the competitive economy and space of the EU and neighbouring non-EU countries, as well as in global processes,
- changing (improving) spatial management practice in Poland.

Poland's integration with the EU meant that our perception of environmental protection issues in spatial development had to change in response to new requirements established by law: primarily the Law of Environmental Protection, the Law of Water Management and the Law of Waste Management. Among the changes affecting planning instruments and procedures was the procedure for the evaluation of the influence of new projects on the environment and Natura 2000 areas. It was a novelty when the procedures for obtaining Decisions on Environmental Conditions were implemented; this significantly increased the time taken to issue Building Permits. Another change was the introduction of an option to establish areas of limited land use around certain facilities. Other changes concerned the solution of transport problems resulting from the rapid increase in number of travellers and quantities of goods. The solutions to transport problems were investments in infrastructure in ways that fostered territorial cohesion, control of transport services and steady and sustainable development.

Poland's EU membership imposes the obligation to observe the quality and formats of spatial data. The benefits of such geographic information systems (GIS) as EIONET, SABE, GISCO, LUCAS, IMAGE 2000 and CORINE Land Cover 2000, and Natura 2000 which can be used in spatial planning are indisputable. There are, however, some barriers to applying these systems in Poland. For a number of years, the digital data format has been applied; however, environmental and land development data must be collected in geographic information systems and presented on digital maps. There are many problems associated with the use of GIS in Poland, although ways of overcoming the problems are known. Some of the barriers of using electronic services can be greatly reduced after the approval by the Polish Parliament of the Law of IT Development in some Entities Performing Public Tasks.

Most countries undergoing transformation - including Poland - bring in a new spatial planning system. It consists of preparing spatial planning development policies or strategies at the national level for the country or regions, instead of the previous national spatial plans or a national model for spatial planning (see Fig. 1).

1. The Main Spatial Planning Tasks at the Local Level are as follows:

- To provide or facilitate the provision of infrastructure and transport,
- To create the conditions for sustainable development (taking into account environmental protection, the need for balanced property markets and minimisation of possible conflict) by determining the objectives of local spatial policy,
- To implement national and regional strategy elements,
- To determine methods of implementation of spatial policy by establishing land designation and the principles of land use and development.

2. The Scope of Local Spatial Planning comprises:

- Land use zoning for particular functions,
- Conservation and protection of the environment,
- Integration of planning and sustainable development of an area with the social, community and cultural requirements of the area and its population,
- Preservation of the character of landscape,
- Parameters and indicators of development and land management, including limits to investment, building dimensions and development intensity indicators,
- Protection of structures, or parts of structures, which are of special architectural, historical, archaeological, artistic, cultural, scientific, social or technical interest,
- Identification of areas for the location of public projects of local and supra-local importance,
- Identification of areas for the preservation, improvement and extension of social and recreational amenities.

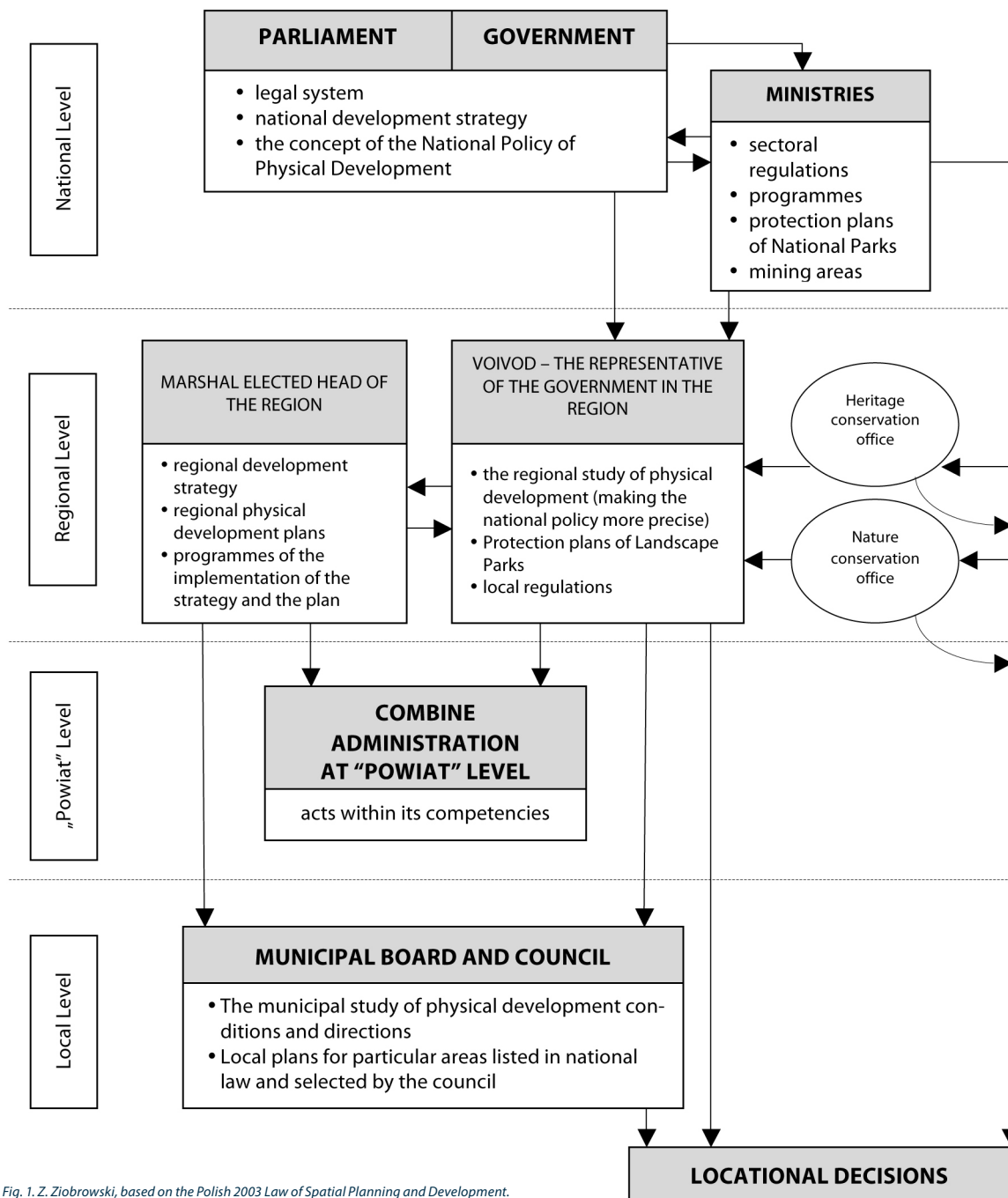


Fig. 1. Z. Ziobrowski, based on the Polish 2003 Law of Spatial Planning and Development.

3. Types of Planning Documents

- Local Spatial Development Policies determine the overall strategy for the proper planning and sustainable development of the area of the development plan, consisting of a written statement and maps/plans/graphs. Those plans are approved by local and/or regional authorities.
- Local Spatial Plan, or a Local Plan which determines land use and development methods, consisting of a written statement and maps/plans/graphs. Such plans are approved by the local authorities to constitute the local law.
- Decisions on establishing locations of projects or types of development (Special Land Use Plan, Building Permits). They either regulate specific investments financed from the budget or are prepared when a Local Plan is missing.

4. The intentions of the Regional Spatial Policies are as follows:

- To determine the spatial policy of the government taking into account economic, social, ecological and community development aspects,
- To determine a long-term national spatial policy to make best use of the country's potential,
- To determine priorities for social and economic cohesion in the country,
- To determine the development prospects of the country.

5. The essential Objectives of Regional Spatial Planning are as follows:

- To achieve more balanced regional development through better distribution of economic activity, employment and population growth,
- To activate the potential of rural and poorly-urbanised areas,
- To promote stronger, internationally competitive metropolitan areas through proper urban policies,
- To set a national context for regional and local planning policies.

6. The Basic Assumptions for Regional Development Strategies comprise the following:

- Determination of the goals and directions of sustainable development, taking into account the natural, cultural, social and economic conditions of such development,
- Determination of actions required for attaining development,
- Determination of principles/frameworks of long-term strategic planning of national development,
- Determination of land management principles.

7. Legal Framework

- The basic legislation on spatial planning at national, regional and local level in Poland has been implemented or amended in recent years (2003-2006), but new regulations are in preparation.
- Planning tasks at the local level are undertaken by public or private sector entities. The public sector covers planning offices; municipal planning departments, the planning sections of city and regional offices; public companies or enterprises; research and development institutes, colleges and universities.
- There is also statutory control of the qualifications of spatial planners who conduct planning activities.
- The law gives local communities and citizens the right to active participation in local spatial planning. Political lobbying is not regulated by law, though in many instances pressure exerted by investors or politicians is a crucial factor in adopting specific planning solutions or local authority decisions.

8. Instruments of Local Spatial Policy:

- Local taxes,
- Improvement taxes, related to technical improvement,
- Building permits,
- Improvement fees related to the adoption of a physical plan,
- Public investment,
- Construction/maintenance fees.

9. Dilemmas of Spatial Planning

- Providing the vital cohesion of systems, functions and tasks of spatial planning in united Europe, without losing local identity and originality of solutions.
- Reconciling the existing philosophy of sustainable development with the often aggressively promoted over-consumption of natural resources in particular, more marked in countries where the market economy is at an initial phase of development.
- Minimising increasing conflict in the use of space resulting from varying social needs and stimulating citizens to participate in public interest protection.
- Finding a balance between independence of governments at particular levels and inevitable hierarchical correlation of plans and policies.

10. Conclusions

- The Polish system of planning, its subject matter and objectives are very similar to those of other European Countries.
- The majority of countries formulate goals, principles, priorities and frameworks for long-term spatial planning policies.
- There is a hierarchy of decision-making in existing spatial planning models which in some cases is obvious and may be inevitable.
- Planning documents at the local level primarily express and determine the objectives, priorities and tasks of independent spatial policies of local authorities; however, they constitute important instruments of territorial development policies of the country or region.
- The availability of information required for spatial planning is rather poor.
- Most European countries are characterised by the lack of programmes implementing strategic goals.
- There is no coordination of planning activities at different levels of administration and decision-making.
- The source of finance for implementation programmes is not clearly defined.
- There are visible differences, especially in relation to national and regional planning systems, between federal countries and unitary ones; among unitary countries, there are differences between those which are more centralised and those with regional governance systems.

11. Proposals

- Build an institutionalised dialogue on spatial development between national, regional and local levels.
- Simplify procedures related to the preparation and approval of local plans.
- Improve the scope of instruments in current use.
- Improve legal regulation of public finance.
- Maximise use of planning as a tool of development control.
- Strengthen the instruments use to implement spatial policies and plans.
- Integrate planning terminology, developing unambiguous terms.

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Footnotes

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This edition marks the connection between land-use, urban planning and geopolitics that ECTP-CEU wishes to pursue through the dissemination of its work.

Dominique Lancrenon ECTP-CEU President 2013

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