# *Regions*

## THE VOICE OF THE MEMBERSHIP

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## NEW THINKING ABOUT REGIONAL PLANNING



- Observing cultural tensions in border cities and regions
- The boundaries of cities, city regions and suburbanisation
- Social capital and cultural boundaries in economic geographies

# BETWEEN YOUTHFUL VIGOUR AND MATURE WISDOM?

**Guest editor Beatrix Haselsberger asks what it will take for today's young researchers to become tomorrow's professors**

This special issue of *Regions* is dedicated to 'New Thinking in Regional Planning' as a co-operation between the RSA and the AESOP Young Academics Network. The Young Academics Network is dedicated to providing a forum for young scholars to showcase their work. At the 2nd AESOP YA Meeting in St Petersburg, Russia, dedicated to the topic 'Looking beyond one's nose. Planning, policies and institutions for integration', 30 students presented their thinking and participated more widely in debating how this related to the development of the discipline.

PhD students face a continual dilemma of trying to both fit into their 'scientific community' but also to find exciting new ideas and use their determination and optimism to produce a substantial work which can help that scientific community to evolve. In short, the future of our 'scientific world' lies in the hands of young planning scholars of today – the professors and researchers of tomorrow!

Shouldn't it be true that all of us students have an interesting story to tell? Every story is unique, reflecting a knowledge ensemble, deriving from the lessons learnt at school and university, personal experiences, cultural background and personal interests. But often we do not appreciate which of the things we know and take for granted are of high interest and importance for a more widespread audience. I remember discussing my research with an editor of the EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies. His point was that it was actually very difficult for him to keep himself and his readership informed about contemporary planning issues in Austria, Italy and Slovenia because very little has been published in English.

During my research stay in Northern Italy, I learned clearly that a promising transnational co-operation between Austria and Italy is not achievable for as long as we do not understand our neighbours properly. I am not only referring to linguistic problems, although they create a border as well, but to divergent historical, social and cultural rooted understanding of planning. A simple example for this is the term *urbanistica* which within Italian society refers to spatial planning, although the constitution uses the term *governo del territorio*. The dictionary defines *urbanistica* as 'urban planning'. How can we understand our neighbours if we do not even interpret the basic vocabulary correctly?

These two examples highlight the pressing need to reflect on essential things in a clear and transparent way, to write them down and thus create an important knowledge base for us but also for future generations to build on. There are many junior people doing very good and important research, and the planning community could benefit from hearing from them – at conferences, in bulletins and in journals. A range of new student journals have emerged in recent years but these will only fulfil their potential if they reach a wider audience than actual and aspirant contributors.

As a young academic, it can be hard to have your voice heard. I will never forget the referees' reports the first time I submitted a paper to a journal. They were frustrating! Never again would I dedicate that much time again to writing an article, just to face rejection. But of course now I know that that is just part of the cut and thrust of academic life for everyone from the green PhD to the established professor. And I like to tell myself the story of Tore Sager who won the 2007 best published prize paper in planning at the AESOP conference, a paper which was refused by the first journal he approached. So I went on writing articles and today I am proud to say that an article I wrote with Prof Sandro Fabbro from the University of Udine (Italy) has been accepted by a top-flight journal.

But writing good articles is learned over time, and young people need the assistance and help of established researchers and academics. In my case, it was a professor approaching *me* to write a paper with him. It took us around one year until it was ready to be published. The 'slow nature of academic reflection' is an important requirement for good articles. But this can mean a slow emergence of new ideas. Moreover, the important control of professors over the academic hierarchy should not be underestimated as they have the ability to enable and assist or to disable and hinder young scholars on their way to get their voices heard.

From my perspective, universities should strive to encourage their young academics to publish and provide them with the required skills – in this regard, the UK has blazed a trail in the Roberts review (*qv*) highlighting the transferrable research skills that all PhD programmes should provide. Universities should embrace Bologna to make English a more central part of the research experience, reflecting the contemporary dominance of English language journals. This is just one example which should remind us of the importance of the global context of our research practice.

A final piece of advice I would like to give to young planning scholars is to **believe and trust in your dreams and skills, and ...**

**stand up** – if you want people to see you;

**speak loudly and clearly** – if you want people to understand you;

**speak concisely** – if you want people to like you;

**write and publish** – if you want people to remember your message.

And to our other readers, I wish you much pleasure in reading our innermost thoughts which may, after all, provide a window into the future!

# REGIONAL SURVEY: NEW THINKING ABOUT REGIONAL PLANNING IN THE YAN

**Guest Editor: Beatrix Haselsberger, Vienna University of Technology**

## Introduction: Co-operation beyond borders after the death of distance

Co-operation beyond borders is closely related to the building up and the existence of national states (in particular from the 18th century onwards) and the phenomenon of their boundaries, which have to be considered essential elements of delineation of national states' territories und functions. In general, it can be said that the more the national state took over tasks and functions, the more the importance of boundaries increased, as they have the ability to provide tangible (physical and non-physical) limitations of a nation's sphere.

It has to be acknowledged that contemporary society faces a spectrum of intense pressures driving rapid change and evolution in social, political, economic and cultural structures. Planning has to take account of these dynamics. New thinking in (regional) planning is strongly required to handle this fast-changing situation. Some borders disappear but there are also new ones emerging. Thus 'looking beyond one's nose' remains a contemporary interest, arguably more salient now than ever before.

**BOUNDARY**
unspecified linear dividing element, indicating various kinds of limits (geographic, political, demographic, cultural, economic)

**BORDERS**
linear, hard and static dividing element, fixed in a particular territory, ensuring the division between political and administrative units

**FRONTIERS**
zonal, soft and fluid dividing elements, comprising variously overlapping political, economic, and cultural boundaries

## The often mistaken (non)synonyms

The term 'border' has a very high presence and visibility in everyday life; it is among the 3,000 most spoken and among the 2,000 most written English words. But one has to be aware that the term 'border' is often used synonymously with the terms 'boundary' and 'frontier', although this is not correct, since all three terms have a very particular meaning.

According to the etymological dictionary, the word 'border' derives from the French term *bordur*, defining a 'seam' or an 'edge'. The geopolitical dimension was first adopted to it in 1535, in reference to the adjoining territory between England and Scotland.

The term 'boundary' emerged in 1626 and can be deduced from the French term *bodn*, as well as from the Latin term *bonnarium*, defining 'a piece of land with a fixed limit'. The boundary represents most typically a line (or a vertical level) of physical contact between states and ultimately affords opportunities for co-operation and discord.

Also, the meaning of the term 'frontier' is rooted in the French tradition and goes back to the 14th century. It was (originally) used to define 'the frontline of an army'.

Agreeing with Parker (2006), the interrelationship of borders, boundaries and frontiers can be described in the following way: borders and frontiers constitute boundary sets, as they are made up by various types of boundaries (i.e. geographic, political, demographic, cultural or economic). When borders and frontiers appear in their most extreme manifestation, a strong difference can be recognised – the first is a hard, static and linear dividing element and the latter a soft, fluid and zonal one.

## This issue

Borders, appearing either as the beginning or the end of particular territorial and socio-cultural understanding, or as linkages of integration and communication between different realities, still have a very dominant role in our life. Within the 2nd YA Meeting in St Petersburg, many interesting aspects of this multidimensional concept of borders have been presented and discussed. The following five articles, reflecting on enlarging Europe's borders in a globalising world, planning for metropolitan areas (the limits to city regions) as well as on planning on the edge (working with peripheral places) represent just a few contributions from this very successful event of young planning scholars.

### The emergence of the AESOP YA Network

In 1997, the yearly AESOP Congress was organised in my city, Nijmegen. With two fellow PhDs, we organised a PhD workshop on the formula that had already proven its value in the years before. This was my first contact with AESOP, and I liked it. The PhD workshop was a great success (as always) and the Congress a great experience. However, this was something that happened on a yearly basis; for the rest of the year, AESOP disappeared.

A few years later, Hans Mastop, then AESOP president, was looking for ways to mobilise young academics, observing that involving young people would be good, both for AESOP and for the youngsters. Together with some colleagues, we picked up the idea. At the Congress in Volos in 2002, we discussed the creation of a young academics network to open up the structure of AESOP for young academics to make AESOP a more challenging environment for them. At the Leuven Congress in 2003, the AESOP Young Academics Network was officially launched, with the first ever YA drinks and YA special session. Both were a success, and from there on the network developed into what it is today.

Looking at what has been achieved in terms of activities for young academics and of opening up the structure of AESOP, I am very proud of subsequent YA co-ordination teams. They have done a great job. But this would not have been possible without continuous support from AESOP, which today offers a challenging environment to academics – young and old – in planning. Young academics have made an important contribution to that, and I remain tormented by the question: when does one stop being a young academic?

*Roelof Verhage, Université Lyon 2*

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# TERRITORIAL COHESION VERSUS VARIATION AND DIVERSITY: THE HALLMARK OF SUPRANATIONAL TERRITORIES?

**Sergey Akopov and Beatrix Haselsberger**

Given the extensive and increasing diversity of the European Union, the concept of 'territorial cohesion' as a general policy objective seems increasingly unattainable. Likewise, the Russian Federation appears as a 'melting pot' of state provinces, including 21 national republics with their own constitutions and presidents.

However, two factors demonstrate a growing demand for territorial co-operation. First, the existence of (national) borders continues to have negative consequences for the immediately adjacent areas. Secondly, today more than 32% of the European population lives in border regions which comprise 40% of the European territory. Similarly also, the Russian Federation experiences difficulties along its border to 16 different national states.

In broad terms, there seem to be two distinct views concerning territorial co-operation processes. The first is, in a figurative sense, a 'top-down' perspective and deals primarily with the impact of (European) territorial policies on national states. The second is more focused on the internal co-operation between the different interests and objectives of each local territory, and may be characterised as 'bottom-up' driven.

## The impact of top-down pressures on territorial co-operation

The European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) has become an important policy document for spatial development in Europe – despite all criticism and shortcomings – and represents the pinnacle of a growing interest of (transnational) spatial planning at the European scale. The ESDP, alongside other European documents such as the Territorial Agenda, are tools that have become an important position in the Europeanisation process. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that they are also leading to a degree of convergence/ harmonisation of spatial planning in Europe from a top-down perspective.

The collapse of the Soviet Union saw many former socialist states aspire to join the EU in order to improve economic opportunities and to reduce dependence on Russia. However, the perceived independence offered by EU membership in a post-Soviet world and the promise of EU funding ensured that the influence of the EU on the restructuring process has been significant. Mercier (2005) argues that many post-Soviet states have allowed a 'Western planning model' to be imposed upon them to achieve EU funding. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the Russian Federation possesses some territories, in the sense of enclaves, inside the EU (the so-called Kaliningrad problem).

The ongoing enlargement processes as well as the process of European integration has changed the role of borders dramatically. It could be argued that the more the EU harmonises national legislation in fields transferred to it, the more boundaries may become obsolete and less transnational co-operation will be necessary. However, the opposite is true.

Harmonising issues of private-public life at the supranational level creates new problems and imbalances directly in the border areas: The EU has harmonised parts of politics, for instance, by abolishing border controls, but still has to leave (for lack of competences conferred upon it) other parts to the legislation of the member states.

"There is a growing gap between the requirements of private players whose activities are no longer limited by national borders, and local public players (regional or local authorities) which, due to a lack of appropriate legal instruments and mechanisms, remain confined to national regional spheres." (CoR, 2007, p.18)

Moreover, it can be recognised that whilst internal borders have become less important, conversely external borders have been tightened up. Access to the unfenced area of the EU requires stricter controls than access to solely national territory. In fact, the 'strengthening' of external borders simply increases the need for co-operation in order to overcome the 'border effects' generated.

The ongoing EU enlargement towards the East, for example, triggered transnational co-operation activities, in particular between Russia and the Baltic States. Assisted by the Nordic Council of Ministers, twelve have been established in this area since 2000. Further on there is an apparent tendency that Commonwealth of Independent States (an alliance of eleven former USSR republics) members aim to join NATO and that Russia's foreign policy is tempted by a closer co-operation with EURASEC.

## The often underestimated bottom–up effects influencing territorial co-operation

Top-down initiatives are by no means a substitute for territorial co-operation efforts aiming to elaborate visions and strategies at (sub)national spatial scales. Nowadays, transnational co-operation often fails because of a shortfall of (national) political interest, alongside the existence of deep structural deficiencies characterised by historical, linguistic and semantic barriers or, more generally, by cultural and natural diversities. In this sense, reciprocal trust and shared meanings and values become an essential 'social capital' for pursuing transnational co-operation activities.

This social capital is vital for influencing political opinions on trans-national working by revealing potential develop-mental opportunities. What hinders the process of spatial planning at a supra-national scale is, generally speaking, the persistence of different planning traditions/identities *within* a supra-national territory, like the European Union or the Russian Federation. A bottom-up planning process needs therefore to begin by recognising that different nations deal differently with similar spatial planning 'issues' in accordance with their own traditions and identities, and not assume that these are insignificant or easily washed away.

## The added value of recognising and understanding identities

Planning is strongly influenced (though this is often unrecognised) by (national – regional – local) identities, collective and cognitive pictures of a specific area, adapted from collective memories of social groups and societies, which are

## Taking the horse to water

I took over the ExCo role from Roelof Verhage with a clear mandate to continue building the Young Academics Network, from less than 100 members then. Our main goal for 2005 was to build a website and to formalise the YA statutes, the constitution of the YAN. Along with Joao, Richard, Valeria and Roelof, we worked hard to get funding and to implement the website that continues to this day.

We learned many lessons that year, most crucially the importance of always having a 'Plan B'. Oh yes, and nice drinks at the university café in Vienna! I stayed on with the YA for a few more months after my ExCo duty and then moved to the AESOP ExCo where I created the Design Guidelines and the upcoming website.

These past few years of AESOP involvement were exciting, buzzing with creativity, interactions and networking. I've made some good friends and went to cities I never imagined I'd go to. The greatest inheritance for me was the satisfaction of working with others in creating something great! It was a great experience to see it happening and it fills me with joy to see that future generations of Young Academics are taking it even further forward.

*Nikos Karadimitriou, Bartlett School of Planning*

only coherent in a relative sense. Hence, identity is deeply, but often unconsciously, embedded in the practices and professions of people involved in planning processes and their interests in planning. Doing so, it appears that in some cases empirical research mirrors subjective feelings or interests, emerging from language, race, religion.

Identities are by no means static, but fluid and sometimes fragmented, and they develop and deteriorate, causing an increase and a decrease in the value of a region, both individually and collectively. Price (2000) notes that identities are often utilised consciously by the elite to maintain political power within a society. Thus, identities have the potential to be highly exclusive and can lead to a highly selective construction of values. Given the existence of often unequal power relations between experts and politics, social systems like spatial planning systems can be used strategically, for example to empower politicians as well as to pursue specific policy directions.

The building up of identities takes place alongside and within the context of external factors like globalisation, mass media and the internet. Nowadays in times of globalisation, identity has become a key concern and cultural patterns (emblems) are, apart from landscape features, the only local asset to display such differences. While the physical structures of a place, together with consumer products, food and large cultural events converge more and more in style, the cultural expression of a social group remains the 'last bastion' of local identity.

The 'identification' with an identity gains importance in particular when perceptions of territorial boundaries are transformed or hardened (Duara, 1996), as can be learnt for example from the current 'Macedonia' dispute between Skopje and Thessaloniki, where identities assume the role of boundaries, defending an economical interest.

Border regions are the places where local identity is immediately visible, shaping and constraining the way that cross-border working takes place. Unselfconscious traditions and behaviours can create complementarities and conflicts, highlighting the essences of what is important to these local cultures, which lies hidden behind the ubiquitous multinational brands of 'high street Europe'. In short, studying border regions remains a way of understanding what remains important to our identities in this age of globalisation. Indeed, better cross-border working offers a proving ground for how to make inter-cultural co-operations work better, which are imminently necessary to solve the pressing issues of the 21st century.

# EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND SPATIAL PLANNING: FROM AN INTERNATIONAL TO A LOCAL CROSS-BORDER LEVEL

J. Berdavs, University of Primorska, Slovenia

## Introduction: European spatial development policy

Spatial cohesion is one of the main goals of EU policies, and spatial development policy is made necessary by often negative spatial effects of a single market, monetary system and other sectoral policies. It strives towards equalisation of living conditions inside the EU and integration of European territory. The European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) acknowledges the importance of local and regional cross-border level for European spatial development policy and envisages a number of cross-border planning activities.

The role of regional and local authorities is also re-emphasised in the EU's new Territorial Agenda.

Spatial policy is, however, not the responsibility of the EU and remains under the jurisdiction of the member states. The ESDP is consequently not a legally binding document. It has certainly fulfilled its role in spatial planning, and the EU needs a new direction. The draft of the EU constitution foresaw that the responsibility for spatial planning would be shared by the European Commission and the member states. Faludi (2006) has claimed that the European Commission will continue to try to support territorial cohesion through policies in its competence, primarily through regional policy, territorial co-operation and the ESPON programme, in the face of rejection of the draft constitution.

But 'trying' is not the same as 'doing', and there can be much at stake for cross-border regions. What happens when 'trying' fails? To explore this, I consider the region of South Primorska in southwestern Slovenia. It shares its borders with Italy (also an EU member) and Croatia (a non–EU member state). The area can be divided into coastal and karst zones: the coastal zone is Solvenia's

only coastal access (to the Adriatic). The Italian city of Trieste is both very close to the Slovenian border (10-15 km), and enclosed on three sides by the border leaving the city's hinterland in a foreign country.

## Slovenian planning legislation

The ESDP has not markedly influenced Slovenian national spatial legislation in the sense of international co-operation and integration in spatial planning. Cross-border co-operation and integration in spatial planning are largely disregarded and are almost absent from planning law, guidance and strategies. The regional situation is similar: there is no Slovenian regional government, with the regional development plan (the RDP) the only instrument for regional scale planning. The current Southern Primorska RDP mentions cross-border co-operation programmes (CBC) only as a possible source of funds without proposing cross-border spatial planning activities.

There is no legal provision for Slovenian municipalities to co-operate with municipalities across state borders. Consequently, it is not possible to expect a high degree of cross-border co-ordination in spatial planning on a local level. Most Slovenian municipalities' local plans were adopted in the mid 1980s and have only been amended thereafter. These municipal plans typically plan spatial development in isolation from neighbouring municipalities. In particular, spatial plans of municipalities on either side of the international border do not correspond with each other.

## Cross-border co-operation programmes

Most cross-border spatial planning activities have taken place within European territorial co-operation frameworks PHARE and INTERREG. Indeed,

financial support seems to be the main incentive for the relatively important role of territorial co-operation programmes for cross-border activities in spatial planning.

EU supported territorial co-operation programmes have, however, some deficiencies. The majority of projects are not mutually connected or co-ordinated; they are thematically inconsistent as they solve issues from different sectors; they take place in geographically different areas and in different periods. Projects solve independent and individual problems. Territorial co-operation in spatial planning forms only a patchwork of disconnected activities without a synergy effect.

Projects can be problematic from a time perspective as well. The end of a project period and the end of financing often means the end of all activity; in case of physical investments, maintenance is not guaranteed. Moreover, some territorial co-operation projects have been achieved only on one side of border, without cross-border partners.

Projects involving territorial co-operation do not have a notable effect in the long run or beyond local boundaries due to a low number of projects and a low budget. It is obvious that territorial co-operation programmes cannot substitute for a more systematic approach towards co-ordination and integration in spatial planning, nor do they have such an objective. These programmes can, nevertheless, solve

individual problems that arise as a consequence of a lack of a systematic approach.

## Consequences at local level

The border municipalities of the South Primorska region co-operate with cross-border municipalities in Italy and Croatia in the field of spatial planning via CBC projects, without regular contact between municipality planners. The lack of co-ordination and integration in spatial planning between border municipalities causes various problems, both for the local population and development of concerned area. Examples are valuable natural areas, lying directly on the borderline and bordering on completely unprotected areas, sometimes leaving part of a natural area in a neighbouring state.

There are two such cases in the area: a cross-border canyon (Val Rosandra), protected only in Italy, but not in Slovenia, and wetlands (*Se oveljske soline*), protected as a nature park in Slovenia, directly on the Croatian border. *Se oveljske soline* is interesting because part of the nature park is subject to a territorial dispute between Slovenia and Croatia. The park's southern border overlaps an international border, as claimed by Croatia. Croatian police carry out patrols in the disputed area, enforcing Croatian and overruling Slovenian law in the area. Accordingly, a strict protection regime cannot be

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## Virtually building a real community



Prior to becoming the ExCo officer in 2005/06, I was involved in launching the website as Communications Officer 2004/2005. The pace with which the YAN would develop thereafter was exciting, bringing with it a need to accommodate the organisation's growth as well as to continually provide a platform for young planning scholars that clearly now had taken on a global dimension with the launch of its website.

As ExCo officer in the following year, a couple of matters became apparent to me. Firstly, the YAN website would soon need to accommodate future growth. Secondly, many young European planning scholars would be restricted to the AESOP conference (Naples, 2007) until 2009 due to the sheer costs of transatlantic travel to the World Planning Schools (Mexico, 2006) and AESOP/ACSP (Chicago, 2008) Conferences.

Our first initiative included the launch of the current YA logo, subsequently followed by revisions to the YAN website currently underway. More importantly, we initiated an annual 'meeting' of young planning scholars, "fostering creative interaction among young planning scholars".

The first YA conference was held in Bratislava at the Slovak University of Technology in 2006, followed by St Petersburg, Russia, in 2007 with nearly twice the number of papers presented than in the previous year! The ongoing materialisation of these two initiatives has been one of the most rewarding professional experiences I have had in recent years. And I look forward to the organisation's future development alongside that of AESOP in the coming years.

*Richard Nunes, The Bartlett School*

*Figure 1: Illegal development in the national park*



*Figure 2: Infrastructure ending at the border*



## Conclusion

This case study has shown that the European Union has had some success in supporting territorial cohesion through policies. However, this is clearly not enough. Due to the absence of competences in spatial planning at the European level, a more systematic approach is also required. First and foremost, devolution is needed in Slovenia and part of the planning competences should be transferred to the regions.

Secondly, municipalities should have powers to plan cross-border investments and co-operate directly with foreign municipalities. A promising new instrument that could be used for the co-ordination of planning activities is the European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC), which was introduced by the EU in 2006 (*cf. Regions* passim).

The instrument is, however, vague and requires enthusiasm on both sides, with municipal planners regarding its implementation in South Primorska as practically impossible. Thus, a basic pre-condition for successful planning activities in the border area along the Slovenian-Croatian border has to be seen, first of all, in the solution of territorial disputes and the creation of a better political climate between both countries with a higher level of mutual trust and understanding.

implemented in the southernmost part of the wetlands.

This has tangible consequences: what should be a protected area is a venue for regular hunting activities by Croatian hunters. A residential house with auxiliary buildings has been constructed and a sports hall was under construction as of November 2007, all inside the pro-claimed area of the nature park, although according to the Ramsar convention, Croatia should be obliged to protect the nature park regardless of their border conflict with Slovenia (see Figure 1).

Cross-border co-operation is needed also in planning and constructing infra-structure networks. Borderlines do not follow watershed lines, which makes water provision and the discharge of waste water difficult in hilly areas without constructing cross-border systems. There is a strong interest in cross-border

public transportation because of daily commuting from Slovenian and Croatian Istria to Trieste in Italy. Municipality representatives have emphasised the need to reconnect roads on the Italian border after Slovenian accession to the Schengen Agreement. At present there are numerous cases where roads or cycling tracks end abruptly at the borderline or change width and facilities (see Figure 2).

An important reason for the low level of co-operation and co-ordination in planning is a lack of jurisdiction in the hands of the municipalities. Slovenian spatial legislature defines any development around borders as within the state's jurisdiction. Similarly, public transportation and protected areas are national portfolios. The non-existence of regional authorities in Slovenia only aggravates the problem, as the state level is simply too distant from problems that arise in border municipalities.

# THE HISTORICAL SHAPING OF SOCIAL CAPITAL LEVELS IN POLAND

**Krzysztof Janc, University of Wrocław**



## Introduction

Over the last few centuries, Poland was either under the rule of or within the range of influence of various state insti-tutions, all characterised by cultures, levels of socio-economic development, management cultures and value systems. The borders which divided the territory of Poland into zones under various rulers are still visible today and clearly

distinguishable in Poland's spatial structure, notably its social-economic diversity. To better understand Poland's contemporary economic development trajectory, and notably its varying stocks of social capital, a vital component of growth in the knowledge society, a deeper understanding of the past is necessary.

## The history of Poland

From 1795 to 1918 Poland was ruled by three empires: Austria-Hungary, Russia and Prussia (see Figure 1). These countries differed from one another in the level of socio-economic development as well as the cultural and social values they presented, and their attitude to Polish economic development was different. Prussia and Russia adopted an intensive anti-Polish policy, connected with the

displacement of the native population of Poland deep into the territory of the empire and replacing them with culturally foreign German and Russian populations, downplaying national Polish identity by banning the use of spoken and written Polish in schools, culture and everyday life. The most liberal policy was under the Habsburgs, where Polish culture, science and education in Polish thrived and Polish citizens were a part of a multinational Austro-Hungarian empire, even with (limited) rights to co-determine the monarchy's future.

During the interwar period (1918-1939) one of the basic objectives of the newly independent Polish nation was to integrate the three regions across their very different levels of social, eco-nomic and infrastructural development, a process interrupted by the outbreak of

**Figure 1: The historical spatial structure of Poland**



World War II. After World War II, the territory of Poland changed shape. Poland lost the lands belonging now to Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania but received the eastern part of Germany.

As a result of these changes, a complete exchange of population took place in the western territory of contemporary Poland. The German population inhabiting these regions for centuries were expelled and replaced with Poles. But there was an influx of ethnic Poles from Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania who were forcibly removed from their small homelands, separated from their heritage and traditions created by many generations, and forced to start their lives again in new, different settings.

## The present I – social capital

Given this turbulent background, what have the impacts been on the social capital of these groups? I measured this using data concerning the number of NGOs, the number of artistic groups and special interest groups, membership in sports clubs, artistic groups, special interest groups and voter turnout. This data is a proxy for social capital data – the kind of activities that are the effect of Puttnamesque social capital.

Principal Component Analysis highlighted two components of social capital in Poland. The first one relates to the participation of population in cultural life and the second with citizen involvement and self-management of society. Generally speaking, it can be stated that the first form of social capital is connected with the cultivation of traditions while the other with the diffusion of modern attitudes. For the majority of Polish society, who lived in a non-

democratic system between 1945 and 1989, self-management and participation in public life is still a novelty.

We can observe clear similarities between the historical borders and the current spatial distribution of social capital (see Figure 2). The highest level of social capital is seen in the regions of former Galicia (Austro-Hungarian partition). The liberal policy of the invader may well have provided the basis for the present shape of social attitudes in this region.

The process of acculturation was most advanced in the territory of Russian and Prussian partitions and the population was intensively russianised before World War I. In the region of former Russian partition the level of social capital is lowest. This might be explicable via the withering of social bonds and low cultivation of traditions, which translates into low participation in cultural and public life.

In this region there *are* areas characterised by a high level of social capital, mainly at the eastern border of Poland. This is connected with the occurrence of many national and religious minorities at the junction of particular countries, which encourages cross-border co-operation primarily in the cultural sphere.

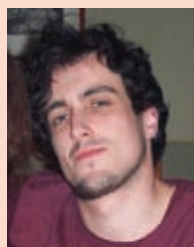In the territory of former Prussian partition the level of social capital is a

**Figure 2: Level of social capital in Poland**
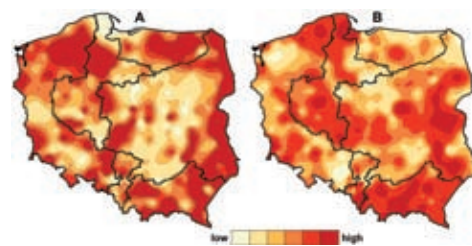


*Note: A – cultivation of traditions,
B – diffusion of modern attitudes*

little higher than in the Russian partition. This may be connected with the fact that despite intensive processes of deprivation of national identity, the Poles inhabiting these lands managed to retain their identity as well as take on some positive features from the occupation, including the organisation of work and public life.

The Western Lands, for the major part, are characterised by a relatively low level of social capital, intuitively linked with the lack of tradition and communities combined with the strong influence of socialist ideology. These regions are inhabited by a population whose identity and regional awareness has been shaped largely in the last several decades. On the other hand, this population accepts changes more easily and is more open to cultural innovation. This is important in the context of modernisation of Polish

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### Continuous learning through sharing

Patsy Healey defined the PhD as a milestone along one's own research process, a way to learn and develop your research skills, while at the same time devoting yourself to producing an original contribution to knowledge. Whereas such a pretentious ambition seems hard for a person commencing doctoral studies, the uncertainty characterising the first stages of a research career is unbearable in solitude. To share such a vulnerable path with other people living in similar situations provides the necessary strength to advance and complete the process.

The chance to mature inside AESOP Young Academics mainly allowed me to enact the above experience, not only for myself but sharing views and perspectives of the young scholars I had the opportunity to contact during network activities. I increasingly understood how, for a mature student, the validation and exchange of prior knowledge represents a central issue to both confidence and further learning, and how active participation in international networking activities assists cross-disciplinary and cross-contextual approach to educational and research activities, engendering those skills that will be central to continued life-long learning.

I consider the AESOP YA Network a highly dynamic environment allowing for many different ways of working and co-operating together, thus providing young scholars with the possibility to increasingly share and challenge their personal views vis-a-vis the one of the others inside a stimulating experience of mutual confront and understanding.

*Giancarlo Cotella, University of Turin*

society. High social capital values in some places result from the stimulating effects of Poland's internal borders (interactions between different groups of people).

## The present II – social capital vs. development

The two different forms of social capital are associated with different properties of economic development (using the analysis of correlation coefficients). Social capital manifested in participation in cultural life does not correlate with the features describing entrepreneurship, affluence of local communities or level of education. This form of social capital does not depend on formal education but is more dependent on values passed down in an informal way (tradition), which is indifferent to the level of socio-economic development.

The second form of social capital shows significant, positive connections with the level of entrepreneurship, affluence as well as education level. This confirms a common fact that citizen involvement and social self-management are associated with developments of human capital. These features are also strictly connected with economic success.

Unsurprisingly, this form of social capital is more common in cities than the previous form. In a city, as a place inhabited by a large number of people, there are many face-to-face contacts which largely influence the increase in human capital and the format of social capital. Face-to-face encounters are the most efficient means of interpersonal communication and are helpful in solving problems, facilitating socialisation and learning as well as bringing an increase in shared vales and attitudes.

Therefore, in the case of Poland, a high level of post-developmental form of social capital is partly conditioned by the different histories of particular regions of Poland. The line dividing urban and rural regions is also important.

## Conclusions – the future

Historical borders visible in the Polish space remain a barrier between Poland's regions today. From the point of view of possibilities for future development of particular regions, strong relationships between social and human capital are essential. Resources of this type of social capital are directly linked to economic factors and may be increased through

investment in education and a subsequent increase in the level of education of society.

However, both forms of social capital have to be considered. Therefore, it is necessary to intensify activities aimed at social activation in the regions characterised by a low level of social capital (e.g. former Russian partition). On the other hand, the potential in the regions with a high level of social capital is worth utilising. The main focus of these activities should be on such activation of the resources of social capital connected with the cultivation of inherited traditions, particularly important for south-eastern Poland.

The diffusion of values connected with social self-management and participation in local community life, as well as that of the whole country, should be stimulated. What remains necessary and unrealised in the Polish case are the 'bridges' between populations coming from different regions, to facilitate mainly the exchange of thought, knowledge and attitudes, and help to internally fertilise Poland's stock of social capital.

# THE REGION AND ITS CITY: DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE METROPOLITAN AREAS OF BERLIN AND WARSAW

**Florian Koch, Humboldt University Berlin**

## Introduction

The contemporary city has expanded its limits and is growing in the region. The economic activities, housing provision for inhabitants but also leisure infrastructure of a city are to an increasing degree located outside the city borders in the surrounding region. This process can be described as *metropolisation* or *suburbanisation* and is evident both in the US and Europe. One aspect of this process is that the suburban region is developing

faster than the core city, whilst the formerly compact city is becoming only one element of the whole city region.

This article compares aspects of demographic development in the two metropolitan regions – Warsaw and Berlin – and analyses the development in the city districts and surrounding suburban municipalities. Three main issues are discussed: What differences and what similarities can be seen concerning population dynamics and migration balances in the two regions? Are the archetypal suburbanisation processes now also visible in the post-socialist transformation case studies? And how homogeneous is the development of the different city districts and suburban municipalities?

## Case studies: The metropolitan regions of Warsaw and Berlin

The cities of Berlin and Warsaw have a comparable regional context. Due to

the lack of other important cities in the region (excepting Potsdam), the regional structure can be described as primate. Suburbanisation existed in socialist cities but only via new large-scale housing projects at the city fringes. In West Berlin, part of the Federal German Republic, private home builders could construct new housing and become actors of suburbanisation, but it remained an isolated capitalist enclave in the socialist GDR, preventing suburbanisation or other connections between West Berlin and its surrounding region.

The transformation of the socialist system at the end of the 1980s completely changed the conditions for metropolitan development in Berlin and Warsaw. Land rents, local (and no longer central) planning decisions as well as private investments became major driving forces for metropolitan development. New relations between the cities and their

surrounding regions were possible, for example suburbanisation processes.

Berlin (3.3m inhabitants) is much bigger than Warsaw (1.7m inhabitants), but the population division between city and region is roughly comparable: 76% of the 4.4m inhabitants of the Berlin metropolitan region live in the city of Berlin, and 24% in the suburban region whilst the corresponding split of the 2.8m residents of the Warsaw city region is 62% to 38%.

The Warsaw metropolitan region is not an officially defined area and has also no administrative borders or any kind of legal power, something which has remained a thorn in the side of government over many years. Indeed, the correct definition of Warsaw remains disputed; I use the definition of Smetkowski (2005, *qv*).

In contrast to Warsaw, the Berlin city region is defined officially by the federal states of Berlin and Brandenburg. The Berlin metropolitan region is a 'closer sphere of influence' (*engerer Verflechtungsraum*), part of the joint spatial planning approach of both federal states providing land development plans and guidelines for sub-regional planning across both federal states.

After the fall of the iron curtain, both city regions are trying to find their position in the global urban hierarchy. New building projects have transformed both cityscapes dramatically, the economic structure has changed completely and also population dynamics have been influenced by the shift from socialism to post-socialism.

## Warsaw

For the city of Warsaw, its metropolitan region in the period from 2002-2006 had a moderate growth rate of 2.2%. In the suburban region the growth rate was considerably higher (4.4%) than in the

**Map 1: Change of population in the Warsaw metropolitan region**



*Map: F. Koch, data source: GUS*

**Map 2: Migration balance in the Warsaw metropolitan region**
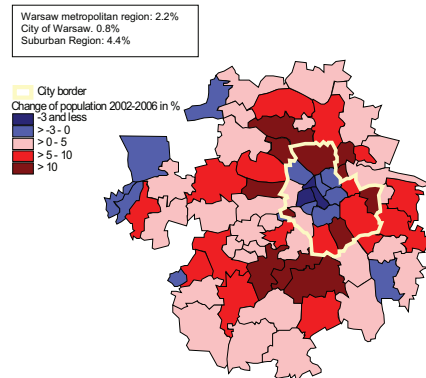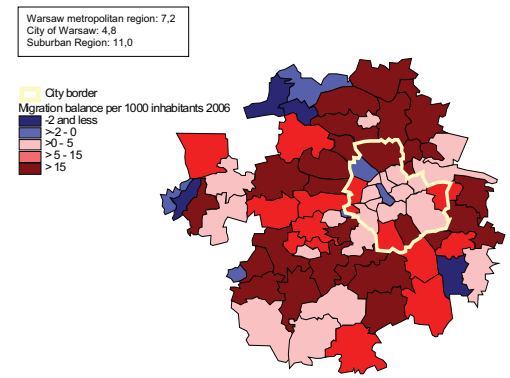


*Map: F. Koch, data source: GUS*

city of Warsaw (0.8%). Within the city of Warsaw, the inner city districts have the most negative growth rates in the whole metropolitan region, while some of the peripheral city districts have very high growth rates of more than 15%.

In the suburban region the municipalities close to the city border generally display higher growth rates than the municipalities located further away. Thus the areas with the highest growth dynamic are suburban locations inside and outside the city boundaries. This can be seen as a result of suburbanisation processes within and beyond the administrative area of Warsaw.

In general the Warsaw metropolitan region has a positive migration balance (7.2 per 1000 inhabitants). This rate is much higher in the suburban region (11.0) than in the city of Warsaw (4.8). The migration balance contains regional but also supra-regional migration and shows the general attractiveness of the Warsaw metropolitan region. The highest surplus of migration can be found in the suburban

city districts of Warsaw as well as in the neighbouring suburban municipalities. In contrast, the city centre of Warsaw as well as the municipalities located on the outskirts of the metropolitan region have negative migration balances.

## Berlin

Similar to the Warsaw metropolitan region, there is a moderate population growth in the metropolitan region of Berlin (1.1%). But while the suburban region has a growth rate of 5.0%, the city of Berlin is shrinking slightly (–0.1%). The population development in the city districts is more homogeneous than in Warsaw; most of the city districts have a slight population decrease. This applies to the periphery as well as to inner city districts. There is also a belt of growing districts which spans from the North to the South East and also crosses parts of the inner city. The districts with population increase are – with the exception of the districts of Kreuzberg and the peripheral Zehlendorf – all districts of the former Eastern part of Berlin!
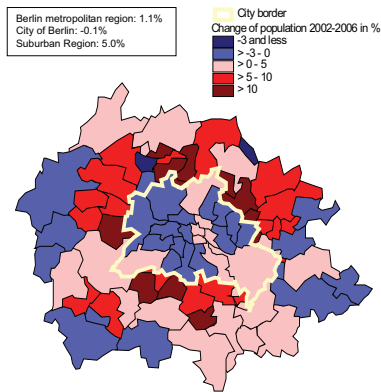
### From past and present to future

The first time I came into contact with the AESOP Young Academics network was when my university colleague suggested I attend the 2006 AESOP PhD workshop in Bristol. To do so I had to register at the YA website, which was for me at that time only one of the requirements for going to Bristol. However, due to the great time I had at the PhD workshop, I became interested in the behind-the-scenes work of the people who make up the the AESOP YA co-ordination team, providing all these unique opportunities for young planning scholars. I was really impressed!

One day I discovered that the AESOP YA co-ordination team was looking for interested people to join their team. That was my chance! Thus, since 2007 I've been firmly on board. In the beginning, I discovered the very real difficulties of co-ordination in a co-ordination team drawn from across different countries. Luckily things became clearer and clearer and I grew with the competences I took over.

Today I am the first female Executive Officer of the network and I'm really proud of it. This great position allows me and my team to create essential framework conditions for young planning scholars, enabling them to network, to exchange experiences as well as to discover that they are not alone, when facing difficulties in their early stage of career. It is a wonderful and indescribable feeling to see people enjoying and appreciating the outcomes of our teamwork.
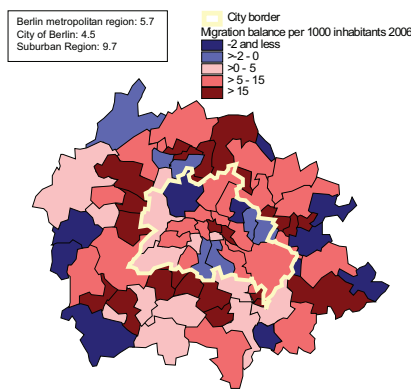
*Beatrix Haselsberger, Vienna University of Technology*

**Map 3: Change of population in the Berlin metropolitan region**



Berlin metropolitan region: 1.1%
City of Berlin: -0.1%
Suburban Region: 5.0%

City border
Change of population 2002-2006 in %
-3 and less
> -3 - 0
> 0 - 5
> 5 - 10
> 10

*Map: F. Koch, data source: Statistik Berlin/Brandenburg*

The suburban municipalities with the highest growth rates are located mainly at the boundaries to the city of Berlin. Municipalities which are further away tend to grow in a more moderate way or are shrinking. The change of population in the Berlin metropolitan area seems to be influenced by suburbanisation processes from the city districts to the neighbouring municipalities just outside the city borders.

In general the suburban region has higher migration surpluses than the city of Berlin (9.7 to 4.5). Suburban municipalities which are further away from the city borders display moderate or even negative migration balances while the

**Map 4: Migration balance in the Berlin metropolitan region**



Berlin metropolitan region: 5.7
City of Berlin: 4.5
Suburban Region: 9.7

City border
Migration balance per 1000 inhabitants 2006
-2 and less
> -2 - 0
> 0 - 5
> 5 - 15
> 15

*Map: F. Koch, data source: Statistik Berlin/Brandenburg*

suburban municipalities adjoining the city of Berlin are in the category of the highest migration gains. But in the city there are two central districts which are in this category as well! In addition, other inner city districts of Berlin also have considerable migration pluses. So a slight trend towards a renaissance of the city core – thus towards *reurbanisation* – can be stated.

## Conclusion

The overall development of the two metropolitan regions is comparable. Both *suburban* regions have a higher population growth and a higher migration surplus than the core cities, thus the suburban regions develop more quickly than the core city.

This phenomenon has been typical for many Western cities during the last decades and is now also visible in the post-socialist city regions of Berlin and Warsaw. But a closer look reveals quite strong differences between the two case studies:

In Warsaw the areas with the highest growth rates and biggest migration gains can be found inside and outside the city boundaries. It can therefore be supposed that suburbanisation processes are also happening inside the city borders. In the Berlin region the highest growth rates and migration surpluses are in the municipalities just outside the city borders, whilst for some part of Berlin's inner city a trend towards reurbanisation is also evident, unlike in Warsaw.

The emerging development patterns in the two regions are very different and allow insofar only one very common statement about the implications for regional planning. In both case studies big variations exist between the development of several suburban municipalities. In the Warsaw metropolitan region there are city districts with the same dynamic development as suburban municipalities. In Berlin there are both suburban municipalities and inner city districts with a considerable population increase and migration gains. It seems that the clear picture about faster developing suburban regions and stagnating or shrinking core cites is an oversimplification.

# THE BORDER CITY IN A BORDER COUNTRY: THE CASE OF SKOPJE

**Goran Sekulovski, University of Paris I**



## Introduction

The historical political development in the Balkans is characterised by gaps between borders – original and modern, physical and mythical, real and dreamed-of. These gaps can be seen throughout the Balkans, and are typified by their border cities. These cities demonstrate both their functional roles as centres of interaction, trade and commerce. But they also fulfil symbolic roles as the place where borders between communities come to life. The border cities of the Balkans are places of contradictions. Skopje, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia, presents a rather complete

picture of all these complexities.

How should this city, heir to Roman Scupi, Ottoman Uskup, capital of the new republic, born of the fall of former Yugoslavia, be understood? Should it be called a border city? This question is not merely a theoretical one. The transformation of empire into territorial nation states radically affected the image and functioning of the city. From a crossroads of diasporas, it became a pole of neo-nationalism, which made a border city of it. The political consequences of this remain evident today.

## Polarisation between Macedonians and Albanians in the capital

Situated in one of the basins of the valley of the Vardar River, the city unites

two communities, Macedonians and Albanians, which have very marked differences but whose co-existence has shaped the most significant socio-political events of its history and has had a decisive impact on its development. This *de facto* bi-partition brought about a strong ethnic and ideological polarisation which is felt even today. Stabilisation began with the 2001 Ohrid Framework Agreement, intended to put an end to the conflict – at first latent, then open – which for seven months saw Albanian rebels opposed to government security forces.

The Ohrid Agreement put in place several reforms as fundamental: authorising the official Albanian language, decentralising administration by strengthening local power, and guaranteeing proportional representation

The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia



in institutions to the Albanian part of the population. During the implementation of the agreement, however, a problem has quickly appeared in which the very concept of the state as a public and civil space seemed menaced by communitarianism. The Agreement clearly stated that this must not occur, there must be no "territorial solutions to ethnic issues: the multi-ethnic character of Macedonia's society must be preserved and reflected in public life".

## The new law and 'bilingual Skopje'
Perversely, a Law on Territorial Organisation was advanced in 2004 which, while claiming to base itself on the Ohrid Agreement, contradicted its principles. It was designed at the end of long, wearying and opaque negotiations by Macedonian and Albanian leaders who were members of a government coalition. This law caused even more controversial debates within the country and abroad because it put directly into doubt the divisions and delimitations admitted in the capital.

However, if the Ohrid Agreement included a possible revision of decentralisation, such as was done in 1996, it did not envisage the drawing or redrawing of borders, and still less along ethnic lines. The theoretical result was that, following the territorial map, the country was divided according to an ethnic principle with citizens' interests sacrificed for those of government elites. In practical terms, Albanian became the second official language of Skopje and Albanians were imposed as the majority in the city of Struga on the Ohrid Lake.

Creating a bilingual Skopje demanded that the city's 'borders' be redrawn: two

neighbouring villages were added to the capital in order to increase the Albanian population from 15% to more than 20%, a condition under the Ohrid Agreement for the recognition of a second official language in the capital. These are the municipalities of Saraj and Kondovo, increasing the area of Skopje by 229 km², including borough villages more than 20km away from the capital. This has also increased Skopje's rural population from 6% to 15%.

The prospective result is that the two communities are ever more called on to separate themselves: one can see here a phenomenon of dualisation along the Vardar, between the 'left bank' abandoned to Albanians and the 'right bank' reserved by ethnic Macedonians. Certainly the river which physically bisects the city symbolises the division more as a mental barrier than a border zone in the military or literary sense. Nevertheless, it represents the potential risk of outbursts which could threaten the integrity of capital and country.

## Macedonian 'fears'
The enforced 'bilingualism' of the capital affected civic practice, access to public services in one's language and also Skopje's symbolic status. Macedonians feared that the introduction of Albanian would result in waste as well as undermine its

Slavic identity. This fear highlights the endemic distrust between the two communities which remains considerable to this day. Each side suspects the other's intentions and motivations, reinforcing a conspiratorial tendency inherent in Balkan political culture.

Fear of Albanian secession is aggravated by demographics; Albanians have a higher growth rate than Macedonians and live mostly in the border zones of Kosovo and Albania. At the same time, it is necessary to remember that the capital's demographics have evolved considerably since the first post-war census in 1953 and the latest one in 2002.

The proportion of ethnic Macedonians went from 63% to 71%, and that of ethnic Albanians from 3% to 15%, of a total of 467, 527 in the capital in 2002. But since 2004, Macedonians have formed the principal group in Skopje (67%) followed by Albanians (20.%) for a total population of 506,926 inhabitants. Ethnic

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### The apple falls close to the tree



With over 150 member schools, AESOP is the only representative body bringing together the Planning Schools of Europe. Over 1200 papers have been submitted for the joint conference organised with the ACSP in Chicago this July. AESOP leads a range of activities related to planning education and research (thematic groups, prizes).

AESOP is seeking to strengthen its profile as a professional body. AESOP will mobilise its resources taking a leading role and entering its expertise into ongoing debates and initiatives regarding planning. In the field of education, the last meeting of Heads of Schools set an agenda to develop AESOP's contribution to accreditation and quality assessment of planning curricula.

In the field of practice, AESOP is working in co-operation with the ECTP towards a European recognition of planning professionals. AESOP will promote its agenda with the politicians and all other key stakeholders in place development and management across Europe.

Since the 1990s, AESOP has implemented a strategy supporting and integrating its young generation, starting with a PhD workshop linked to its annual congress. Today, AESOP YAN has grown to become a creative and open-minded network of young researchers, academics and students from all over the world, developing and disseminating their ideas and research results.

Being an active AESOP YA is only a step from an involvement in AESOP, with YAN supplying over 5 years a number of key committee members. We are proud that YAN has provided so many returns for our early investment.

*Anna Geppert, University of Reims*

Macedonians fear losing 'their' country, of having abandoned it to the Albanians. In a strained atmosphere where heated debates on national identity and the threats that surround it come together, most ethnic Macedonians see only one protector for their existence as a nation: the state.

## Conclusions

How should we, without reverting to radical optimism or pessimism, find a new balance of 'living together', between individualism and communalism? On the one hand, there is the dominant conception founded on a sort of voluntary optimism. This current of thought easily lauds cohabitation, coexistence, differences, and crossbreeding, in a place where mutual confidence is supposed to deepen, and negative stereotypes in the perception of the other go into decline. Following this logic, the term 'border city' for Skopje will refer to the zone of confluence more than to a line of demarcation.

On the other hand, historical analysis emphasises the fatality of communitarian logic. In the polarisation of differences, is it not violence which confirms this identity, its well-foundedness, its durability? As Debray (2005:158) exhorts: "Give me a border and a threat and I will make you a community: the grammar of civilisations has something inalterable."

Today, the challenge of the Western Balkans is EU accession; Macedonia registered its candidacy in March 2004 and in December 2005, the European Council ratified the decision, without setting a date for opening negotiations. Meanwhile, the border city of Skopje became the capital of a political and state entity, itself transformed into a border country. Between possible pacification and possible chaos, Skopje became the metaphor for Macedonia.

It would moreover be a grave delusion to believe that Macedonians and Albanians will suddenly change their

civic attitude towards the state; national identity is, and will remain for a long time, defined in terms of ethnicity. The conflict is not, or is not only, between Macedonians and Albanians. It exists first and foremost between those who believe in a peaceful manner of tackling the mental border and those who do not. One ought not to underestimate the utility of a peaceful framework to control the divergences of affinities or interests which are perfectly normal in a plural city.

## The 2008 AESOP Young Academics Meeting
*A small-scale conference dedicated to the needs and requirements of young planning scholars*

### Looking Beyond One's Nose
**Planning, Policies and Institutions for Integration**

The idea of the AESOP YA Meeting was born in 2006 when the AESOP YA Co-Ordination Team (CT) recognised that some young planning scholars find it difficult to position themselves at big scientific conferences. With this in mind, the AESOP YA Meeting has been established according to the rules and guidelines of big conferences, but in a much smaller and more familiar scale, limited to around 30 participants (like a PhD workshop). Moreover, this particular event is organised by young planning scholars (assisted by established academics) for young planning scholars. The YA Meetings (free of charge to participants) are able to operate only through strong support from the host university, and each year a co-organiser from the host university is co-opted onto the YA CT.

After more than one year of preparation, the first YA Meeting was held in February 2007 at the Slovak University of Technology, Central European Research and Training Centre in Spatial Planning, Bratislava, Slovakia (co-organised with Prof Maros Finka). The topic 'Central and Eastern European Engagement' was chosen to attract papers dealing with central and eastern European planning issues in an age of European enlargement towards the East. This event was a great success and confirmed to the AESOP YA CT that a follow-up had to be strongly considered.

The second YA Meeting took place in St Petersburg (Russia) at the North West Academy of Public Administration (co-organised with Natalia Razumeyko and Rector Alexander S. Gorshov) from 6th to 8th February 2008.

The conference discussion and debate was handled in three independent tracks and seven sessions, framed by keynote lectures and panel discussions, according to the main topics of the multidimensional concept of borders:

- Territorial borders and the way in which they have implications for planning and development;
- Cultural and social borders and the way in which they can contribute to social exclusion phenomena as well as integration;
- Operational and disciplinary borders and the way in which the limits and challenges of planning are addressed in different institutional and operational contexts through the incorporation of differing knowledge sources.

The world café brought together all the ideas discussed during the whole event and created a very open and creative exchange of ideas on the last day of the YA Meeting in St Petersburg.

The past two YA Meetings have attracted high-quality papers from young planning scholars, and have provided a dedicated forum for peer mentoring and support activities. The contributions to this Regional Survey have been written by participants from the AESOP YA Meeting in St Petersburg on the basis of their full papers.

The third YA Meeting will be held at the Vienna University of Technology, Austria (co-organised with Petra Hirschler and Prof. Gerhard Schimak) from 9th to 12th February, with the topic: 'Planning as Rear View Mirror or Crystal Ball? Diversities of Planning Cultures, Traditions, Identities'.

If your university is interested in hosting a YA Meeting in the near future, please contact Beatrix Haselsberger (haselsberger@email.archlab.tuwien.ac.at).

# STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN THE DUBLIN CITY REGION

**Cormac Walsh, University College Dublin**

## Introduction

Recent years have witnessed increasing academic and policy attention to the concept of strategic spatial planning. The focus of attention has primarily rested on developments and innovations in spatial strategy-making at the European, national and regional scales and the capacity for spatial planning practice to perform a creative co-ordinating function, far beyond the remits of traditional planning practice centred on development control and land use regulation. The relationships between the scales of practice and, in particular, the role of local planning practice in the context of regional scale strategic planning initiatives have received relatively little attention. This contribution discusses the emergence of strategic spatial planning in the Dublin city region in the context of rapid socio-economic and spatial transformation and explores an apparent divergence between spatial planning practice at the regional and local scales of governance.

## Socio-economic transformation and spatial change in the Dublin city region

Since the mid 1990s the Dublin city region has experienced very rapid economic, demographic and socio-cultural transformation. A prolonged period of unprecedented economic growth in Ireland has reversed previous trends of high unemployment, net out-migration and economic stagnation. The pace, scale and intensity of recent changes have had very significant spatial implications, including the emergence of post-productivist rural landscapes, the dramatic expansion of the functional urban regions or 'commuter hinterlands' surrounding the largest centres of population, and a restructuring of the urban settlement hierarchy.
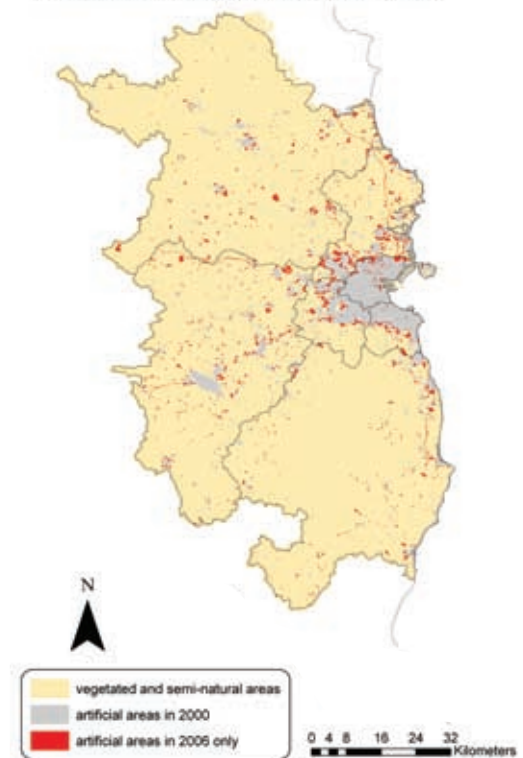
In the Dublin city region the impacts of changing settlement patterns and socio-spatial functional relations are perhaps most evident. Trends of high population growth and a consequent crisis of housing supply in areas proximate to centres of employment within or close to the Dublin metropolitan area have led to a dramatic spatial expansion of the city's functional area. Residential development and population expansion have occurred in a dispersed pattern across the rural and peri-urban hinterland of the Dublin city region with significant social, environmental and economic implications, including problems of long distance commuting, housing affordability, traffic congestion, car dependency and lack of co-ordinated service provision.

## Strategic spatial planning policy and structures of governance

The pace and scale of recent developments, outlined above, have posed significant challenges for the practice of spatial planning at the national, regional and local scales. With the publication of a National Spatial Strategy (NSS) in 2002, the principles of strategic spatial planning became firmly embedded within Irish planning practice, introducing a hierarchical system of local, regional and national plans. The NSS aims to redress current regional socio-economic disparities to achieve more 'balanced regional development' through the promotion of development and investment in designated regional 'gateways' and the 'physical consolidation' of the Greater Dublin Area.

The National Spatial Strategy has been recognised as one of the more 'advanced' spatial strategies among European states and often represents an example to be followed for countries seeking to emulate Ireland's economic performance in the context of an enlarged European Union. Regional planning guidelines were formulated in



Expansion of Artificial Surfaces in the Greater Dublin Area: 2000 - 2006

N

vegetated and semi-natural areas
artificial areas in 2000
artificial areas in 2006 only

0  4  8      16      24      32
Kilometers

2004 by the eight Regional Authorities in order to guide the implementation of national spatial planning policy at the regional and local scales.

The Regional Planning Guidelines for the Greater Dublin Area were first formulated in 1999, prior to the publication of the NSS, and may be seen as an attempt to combat increasingly evident trends of long distance commuting, traffic congestion and dispersed settlement patterns associated with the current period of economic growth. They sought to achieve greater co-ordination between planning authorities and other state agencies within the Dublin city region as well as greater spatial co-ordination in terms of planning and development outcomes.

The associated settlement strategies seek to accommodate residential and demographic expansion through urban intensification within a clearly defined 'metropolitan area' and the designation of a number of 'growth centres' within the adjacent 'hinterland area'. The urban focus of this spatial policy is counter-balanced by rural development strategies at the national and local scales focused on restricting the development of 'urban-generated rural housing' while maintaining the socio-economic sustainability of rural areas.

TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

VIENNA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

## Discussion and conclusions

The experience of spatial planning and development practice in the Dublin city region raises a number of questions relating to the role of planning practice in the context of shifting modes of governance.

Does planning practice constitute an arena for collaborative policy making and social innovation involving a multiplicity of stakeholder participants at a plurality of spatial scales or is it intrinsically *political* involving contested discourses, multiple rationalities and conflicting interests?

What role does the professional and technical expertise of practitioners of spatial planning play in the governance of urban development and regulation of land use? How do the collaborative efforts of planning practice interact with the economic logics of urban development and property markets?

What role do spatial planning practices play in the context of neo-liberal governance where key strategic decisions are often made by non-state actors? Are the objectives of strategic spatial planning at national and regional scales achievable in the context of current institutional structures and forms of governance?

Recent experiences of spatial planning practice and evolving urban settlement patterns within the Dublin city region highlight the need to critically examine the relationship between practices of spatial planning at a range of spatial scales and, in particular, the capacity for local planning practice to balance the demands of democratic accountability and multi-scalar strategy-making in the context of shifting structures and forms of governance.

A clear divergence is evident between strategic spatial planning policy and local planning and development practice as the NSS and Regional Planning Guidelines have thus far not proved effective in achieving more consolidated patterns of development within the Greater Dublin Area. The economics of house prices and land values have helped to ensure the continued expansion of the city's functional urban region beyond the boundaries of the Greater Dublin Area.

A number of commentators have highlighted the non-statutory nature of regional and national spatial planning policy and the lack of effective institutional structures for regional scale governance. It may be argued that the potential of strategies for co-ordination at the regional and local scale are significantly restricted by the highly centralised nature of current institutional structures. Local and regional planning authorities are thus restricted in their capacity to plan for the future provision of healthcare, education or transportation infrastructure and services. In comparison to many city regions in Europe, the Greater Dublin Area is characterised by very weak regional governance structures with very limited electoral accountability or financial resources.

## Spatial planning as governance practice

Spatial planning practice at the local, regional and national scales is characterised by divergent institutional and discursive structures reflecting both a *politics of scale* where local, regional and national institutions may compete for governance capacity and critical resources, and a *politics of scope* where different actors and discourses struggle for participation and inclusion within the policy making arena.

A *territorial politics of place* is also evident at a plurality of spatial scales as, for example, regions compete for public and private investment, cities and towns may seek to become designated as 'gateways', 'hubs' or development growth centres, and local residents may seek to restrict or promote the continued expansion of particular settlements or preserve the 'rural character' of peri-urban areas under pressure from urban expansion and counter-urbanisation.

This spatial politics may be visible and transparent, subject to the rigour of democratic accountability and public scrutiny, or hidden from view behind consensus-based planning policy documents and fragmented governance structures.

Traditional conceptions of planners acting in the 'public interest' may be questioned in the context of a differentiated polity where perceptions of the public interest may be contested according to the politics of scale, scope and place outlined above. A perspective which explicitly recognises the politics of spatial planning practice and identifies spatial planning as a mode of governance practice may provide a useful foundation for analysing apparent disjunctures between the 'rhetoric and reality' of spatial planning.

Spatial planning as governance may be conceptualised as a hybrid mode of regulation involving the institutionalised regulation of land markets, formal and informal practices of co-ordination, consultation and collaboration as well as hierarchical relations founded on legislative procedures and the administrative structures of government.

## Winners of the 2008 Young Academics Network Bursary Award

One of the key activities of the YAN is awarding bursaries for young academics to attend the annual AESOP Congresses. As Richard indicated, this is especially important this year because it is to be held in Chicago. The bursary provides support for students to attend on the proviso that they are presenting a paper. The bursary is awarded for the quality of paper submitted for review by the Awards Panel. In 2008, the Awards Panel made five awards to young academics, and we congratulate them for their achievement. The five bursary winners and the titles of their papers are:

**Eva Cermakova** (Brno University of Technology): Urban festivities, cultural events and sustainable urban development
**Gyorgy Kukely** (Hungarian Academy of Science): Urban dynamism by renewing the former industrial sites – the case of Hungary
**Madeleine Pill** (Cardiff University): Who is governing neighbourhoods?
**Miao Xu** (Cardiff University): Theoretical debate on gated communities (GCs): Genesis, controversies, and the way forward
**Brian Webb** (Manchester University): The articulation and co-ordination of national level planning policy in Western Europe: Lessons for Canada

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# *Regions*

This special issue of *Regions* is dedicated to 'New Thinking about Regional Planning' as a co-operation between the RSA and the AESOP Young Academics Network. PhD students face a continual dilemma of trying to both fit into their 'scientific community' but also to find exciting new ideas, and use their determination and optimism to produce a substantial work which can help that scientific community to evolve.

The Young Academics Network is dedicated to providing a forum for young scholars to showcase their work. At the 2nd AESOP YA Meeting in St Petersburg, Russia, dedicated to the topic 'Looking beyond one's nose. Planning, policies and institutions for integration', 30 students presented their thinking and participated more widely in debating how this related to the development of the discipline.

Borders, whether appearing as the beginning or the end of particular territorial and socio-cultural understandings, or as linkages of integration and communication between different realities, still have a very dominant role in our life. Within the 2nd YA Meeting in St Petersburg many interesting aspects of this multidimensional concept of borders were presented and discussed.

The survey covers five articles, reflecting on enlarging Europe's borders in a globalising world, planning for metropolitan areas (the limits to city regions) as well as on planning on the edge (working with peripheral places). These represent just a few contributions from this very successful event of young planning scholars. In short, the future of our 'scientific world' lies in the hands of young scholars of today – the professors and researchers of tomorrow!