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Gro Sandkjær Hanssen
Hege Hofstad (eds.)

Compact City Policies in England, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway

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Preface

This report is one of the deliveries from the comparative research project "Handling goal-conflicts in compact city/centre development: How is local sustainable planning managed through new planning tools and practices? (SUSPLAN)". The project is financed by the DEMOSREG II-program of the Norwegian Research Council (2011-2015). The focus of the project is how in-built tensions and goal conflicts in sustainable planning is handled in compact city/centre development, and how this is influenced by institutional conditions. This report describes compact city policies in four different countries; England, Denmark, The Netherlands and Norway, as well as the institutional and organizational conditions for these policies (the planning system).

Oslo, December 2013

Trine Monica Myrvold

Research Director

Table of Contents

Preface 1
Tables 5
Figures 5
Summary 6

1 Compact city policies in England, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway 8
1.1 Introduction 8
1.2 The structure of the report 10
1.3 Literature 11

2 Compact Cities in England 13
2.1 Introduction 13
2.2 Compact cities in context 14
2.3 Planning sustainability, sustaining planning 16
2.3.1 Light versus deep green 18
2.4 Planning for housing - the English context 18
2.4.1 From Greenfield to brown 22
2.4.2 New Labour 24
2.5 Density in English policy 28
2.5.1 The outcomes 29
2.5.2 A cultural shift? 32
2.6 Concluding thoughts 37
2.7 References 40

3 Compact Cities in Denmark: Political Rationalities and Governmental Technologies 45
3.1 The concept of compact cities in Danish planning 45
3.2 The Danish planning system 50
3.3 The government reform in 2007 54
3.4 National strategies 54
3.5 Regional strategies 54
3.6 Municipal strategies 57
3.7 Participation in Danish planning 59

3.8 From hierarchy and regulation to networking and coordination in spatial planning: more or less compact cities? ... 60
3.9 References ... 63

4 Compact Cities in the Netherlands ... 65
4.1 Introduction ... 65
4.2 The Dutch administrative system ... 65
4.3 Dutch spatial planning and policy ... 66
4.3.1 The First Four Memoranda on Spatial Planning ... 66
4.3.2 The Fifth Memorandum on Spatial Planning ... 67
4.4 Recent Trends in Dutch Planning and Culture ... 69
4.4.1 Demographic Trends ... 69
4.4.2 Housing Trends ... 70
4.4.3 Planning Trends ... 72
4.5 Urbanisation and compact city ... 73
4.5.1 Urbanisation policies ... 75
4.5.2 Success and failure of compact city policy ... 78
4.5.3 'Urban Network' Policy ... 80
4.5.4 Through the looking glass ... 83
4.6 Participation ... 84
4.7 Literature ... 86

5 Compact Cities in Norway: Political Rationalities and Governmental Technologies ... 90
5.1 Compact city in Norwegian policy - political rationalities ... 90
5.2 The Norwegian context and the Norwegian planning hierarchy (governmental technologies) ... 94
5.2.1 The national level ... 94
5.2.2 The regional level ... 98
5.2.3 The local level ... 99
5.2.4 The role of strategic planning ... 102
5.2.5 The relationship between public and private actors in spatial planning ... 105
5.2.6 Participation ... 106
5.3 Output – Compact city at the local level ... 109
5.4 Literature ... 112

6 Comparative reflections ... 118
6.1 Political rationalities: Compact city policies ... 118
6.2 Governmental technologies; Institutional and organizational conditions – and how they

influence the balance of sustainability dimensions 121
6.3 References 122
Appendix 1 124

Tables

Table 2.1 Existing housing stock and new build by type (per cent house/flat) in three outer London boroughs 32
Table 3.1 The development of spatial planning in Denmark 51

Figures

Figure 2.1 Density of new dwellings by English region 2000. 30
Figure 2.2 Developments in excess of London plan density matrix (indicated in black) 31
Figure 3.1 The Danish spatial planning system as implemented in 1970-75 53
Figure 3.2 The Danish spatial planning system since 2007 illustrated from a hierarchical mindset and elaborated on from the Ministry of Environment, first illustration of the new planning situation. 59
Figure 3.3 Key relations in formulating spatial plans and strategies (Sørensen et al 2011)* 61
Figure 4.1 Urban area and nature conservation areas in the Netherlands, 2000. 74

Summary

Gro Sandkjær Hanssen and Hege Hofstad (eds.)
Compact City Policies in England, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway
NIBR-report 2013:30

This report describes compact city policies in four different countries; England, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway, as well as the institutional and organizational conditions for these policies (the planning system).

In all countries there are traces of compact city development in national policies, but there are large variations. Compact city policies have a long history in the Netherlands and Denmark, while being a newer discourse in Norway and England. The discourse has taken two distinct directions. The Netherlands has developed the discourse further, now having an "urban network" policy. In England, the opposite is happened, where the current political climate is likely to turn away from density.

All four countries have reformed their planning systems, and the three major tendencies can be summarized in; *decentralization*, *deregulation* and *development*.

The trend of *decentralization* can be observed in all countries. The role and autonomy of municipalities has been strengthened in compact city development, and municipalities are more capable of deciding and facilitating development, with fewer possibilities for central government to interfere than before. Still, national strategies for compact city development and for ensuring sustainability dimensions are still to be found.

In addition, we observe a general trend of *deregulation,* understood as the hierarchically based planning system being complemented by more market- orientated or "new public management"-orientated elements. As a result, the regulative power of planning authorities is being weakened, and the position of market-actors (developers) is strengthened. However, we find variation as to how formal this new balance between the actors is.

In England, Norway and Denmark we also see a shift in political climate, and all countries have - or have had right-wing Governments lately. These governments are preoccupied with strengthening the economic dimension in urban development, by a stronger emphasis on *development and growth*.

1 Compact city policies in England, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway

Gro Sandkjær Hanssen and Hege Hofstad

1.1 Introduction

The empirical point of departure of this report is *compact city and centre development,* which is often denoted as transport nodes/transport junction-point development, centre-development etc. Compact city and -centre development has obtained a dominant status, now being the preferred model in Norway and in other European countries (Hofstad 2012, Holden and Norland, 2005, St.meld 31 1992-1993; St.meld 23 2001-2002; Nordahl et al. 2007; Næss et al., 2009, Jenks and Dempsey 2005), as it combines the concerns of economic interests for dense development, the environmental concerns for climate change mitigation and political concerns for new dwellings for a growing population. Empirical studies show that the compact city model creates a strong alliance between climate abatement concerns and urban economic development (Hanssen and Saglie 2010, Holden and Norland 2005). However, this ideal, while reconciling many different concerns, might also challenge other concerns, like biodiversity, recreational opportunities and other qualities of life that matters within the city. Previous research on densification has identified severe tensions between the three dimensions of sustainable development; the economical-, environmental- and social (Falleth et al 2010, Fimreite and Medalen 2005, Guttu og Schmidt 2008, Holman 2009, Schmidt 2007, Thorén 2000). Goals related to economic growth need to be balanced against environmental and social-cultural concerns. For example, areas with rich biodiversity

are often densely populated, as these areas often have a favourable climate, often resulting in interest conflicts between urban expansion and preservation of green areas. Statistical data show that the densification policy in Norwegian cities has reduced the total hectares of green areas by 20 percent the last decade (Falleth and Thoren, 2010). However, conflicting goals are also found *within* the different dimensions. The goal of reduced carbon dioxide emissions is considered to be ensured by dense and compact development, a type of development that might be in conflict with green area-protection, local biodiversity and cultural heritage concerns. The social dimension has gained increased attention in planning as land use influences public health and well-being through the distribution of both positive and negative environmental externalities (e.g. liveability, positively green/social space and clean environments or negatively pollution and congestion).

Studies show that in the weighing of conflicting concerns, economic concerns tend to be the winner in compact city and centre development (Falleth et al 2010a,b, Schmidt 2007, Hofstad 2012). In the research project "Handling goal-conflicts in compact city/centre development: How is local sustainable planning managed through new planning tools and practices? (SUSPLAN)"[1], the focus is how in-built tensions and goal conflicts in sustainable planning are handled in compact city/centre development. This research report is one of the deliveries from the project, having a comparative approach on compact city policies. We here ask;

- Do we see compact city policies in England, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway, and how can they be described?
- What are the different institutional and organizational conditions for planning the compact city in the four countries?
- How do the institutional conditions and differences in policies affect the balancing of core dimensions of sustainable planning in compact city/centre development?

[1] Financed by the DEMOSREG II-program of the Norwegian Research Council (2011-2015)

This report presents the development of compact city policies in the four different countries – including a focus on strategic and participatory planning as part of these policies. Weight is put on the institutional and organizational conditions for compact city development. Thus, our focus is primarily on what is often called political rationalities and governmental technologies (see for example Rose and Miller 1992). The presentations will be used for a cross-country comparison and discussion about how institutional and organizational conditions affect the balancing of core dimension in compact city development.

1.2 The structure of the report

Chapter 2 presents the development of urban planning and compact city policies in United Kingdom, and is written by *Nancy Holman* and *Alan Mace* from London School of Economics (LSE). In chapter 3 the new Danish planning system after the government reform is presented, followed by a presentation of the official compact city policy in Denmark. The chapter is written by *Karina Sehested* and *Niels Boje Groth*, Copenhagen University. Chapter 4 presents the Dutch planning system and recent trends in Dutch planning and compact city policies in the Netherlands. The chapter is written by *Laurens de Graaf* at the Tilburg University. Chapter 5 present the Norwegian planning system and recent trends in planning practises and compact city policy. The chapter is written by Hege Hofstad, Gro Sandkjær Hanssen, Inger-Lise Saglie and Lene Schmidt, representing Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR) and Berit Nordahl, representing the University of Life Sciences (UMB). The last chapter compares the institutional framework and policies for compact city development across the four countries. This signifies the start of a more rigorous comparison of the four countries that will be continued in various academic articles reporting from the project. The chapter is written by *Gro Sandkjær Hanssen*, *Hege Hofstad and Alan Mace.*

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2 Compact Cities in England

Nancy Holman and Alan Mace

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at approaches to housing density in England[2]. Its starting point is that the development of housing at low density and away from city reflects long and deep cultural preferences. Recent changes that have framed the city in a more positive light have led to a new focus on higher density development; however, in order to make this acceptable the possible benefits have been oversold. Planners, in seeking to guide the development of higher density housing find themselves between excessive claims for density, the need to meet government targets and the profit imperative of developers. This chapter comprises three parts: first, a brief overview of sustainability as an organising idea for planning and how this impacts the professional self-identity and practice of planners. The second section contains a focused review of planning for housing in England which looks at the historic focus on decentralisation and the millennial turn to the city. The third section turns to the delivery of higher density housing in an English context; it looks at how elements that might be associated with the compact city have come to be delivered in England. It is argued that these elements have been delivered in a fragmented way and more as projects than as strategy, this reflects the strong role of the market in the English system. Moreover, the key delivery period up to the market crash of 2007 was dominated by a culture of targets – what mattered was what could be quantified. In the absence of a strategic approach to the compact city and with a

[2] England is used as the jurisdictional scale throughout as planning is devolved to the constituent parts of the UK and because, historically, Scotland's cities have developed along a different model from those in the rest of the UK.

focus on particular measurable outcomes there has not been a coordinated approach to the delivery of density within a framework of liveability.

2.2 Compact cities in context

First we seek clarity in our use of terminology as the literature reviewed ranges over a number of terms sometimes distinctive at other times interchangeable. Under the broader rubric of sustainability (itself a problematic term returned to later), various interventions in the built form have been proposed. Compact cities are accompanied by other crossover concepts such as smart growth, new urbanism, urban villages, transit orientated developments and neo-traditional towns. Smart growth and new urbanism are sometimes used interchangeably yet there is a significant difference of emphasis (Knapp & Talen, 2005). New urbanism grew out of a movement of architects and physical planners and therefore tends to be more focused on design, where smart growth, which emanated from the environmental movement, emphasises density more explicitly and the claimed benefits that flow from this such as supporting public transport ridership.

In the US the Congress of New Urbanism, established in 1993, serves a lobby promoting new urbanist ideals, whilst the American Planning Association has been instrumental in supporting smart growth. In the UK there is no single comparable group promoting either new urbanism or smart growth. However, in England the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE) is a powerful lobby group that argues against Greenfield development and in favour of focussing new house building in existing towns and cities. For the CPRE compact cities/smart growth, arguably, represents more a 'coincidence of interest' than a 'desire of the heart' as their rhetoric of the compact city (sustainability, density, social equity) provides useful support for their prime purpose of limiting development in rural areas. While smart growth and new urbanism have tended to dominate in the US (Krueger 2010), in Europe similar concepts have tended to be expressed through the idea of the compact city (and within the Agenda 21 process). As Jenks et al (1996) note the European focus on the compact city is unsurprising give the historical referents

that continental Europe provides. The medieval city is often idealised by architects and designers (Swenarton 2002) although its advocates appear to ignore the considerable suburban sprawl that is the reality of much of Italy and France (on France see Meades 2012). For Kiefer (2005) the compact city represents an imprecise set of ideas; as Downs (2005: 368) notes of smart growth '[it] does not mean the same thing to everyone. In reality, it has almost come to stand for "whatever form of growth I like best"'; an observation that could be applied to new urbanism, compact cities and to sustainability more generally. This includes the spatial scale at which it might be applied; while clearly the name suggests the densification of the city, the extent of the city is unclear. Should the compact city focus primarily on the densification of existing city centres, or the densification of existing suburbs or should we look further (recognising complex forms of polycentric development as in the Randstad) to a regional scale of compaction – ie multiple compact settlements linked by public transport or even the dispersal of population into self-contained communities (Haughton & Hunter 1994).

Whether these principles apply exclusively to the city centre or to the suburb; or indeed, what the relationship is between the centre and suburbs, in applying these policies, is often not clear. This confusion informs the story in England, which we will turn to later, illustrating that the application of compact city principles has been, at best fragmentary and applied on a project by project basis. The scale at which the compact city is to be implemented has very practical political ramifications as suburban residents may promote compact cities where they believe that this means development and densification of the city but protection and maintenance of low density in the suburb. Clearly, the local politics of the compact city will play out differently if the focus is on the intensification of existing middle-class low density suburbs or if it seeks to focus on the coordinated development of sub-centres managed at a regional or pan-regional level. Before looking at how elements of the compact city have been worked into English planning policy we turn to the broader concept of sustainability into which the compact city nests.

2.3 Planning sustainability, sustaining planning

There is a persuasive argument that sustainability has come to represent a new meta-concept, a unifying purpose or narrative for a planning profession that found itself increasingly beleaguered from the 1970s (Davoudi 2000; Jepson, 2001). With its golden period in the modernist western tradition of post war blueprint planning (Hall 2002) and large scale reconstruction under a command and control government, the profession had increasingly to redefine itself as it came under sustained criticism from both neo-liberal administrations (Thornley 1991) and a disillusioned public, who began to see planners as destroyers of local communities and/or rule driven bureaucrats. Arguably, in the late-modern world where the (male) certainties of 'master'-planning no longer hold, sustainability has once again provided a unifying narrative for the planning profession. This can be illustrated by the incorporation of sustainability into planning curricula in a number of national contexts (See Gunder 2006 for Great Britain; Friedmann 1996 for the USA).

For some the discovery of a new unifying big purpose for planning, one that allows planners to think in terms of the grand project rather than engaging tactically in an incremental process is a positive development (Jenks et al 1996). However, others see this as a more retrograde step, as Harvey (2005) argues of New Urbanism, it represents a return to the environmentally deterministic planning of the modernist period that sought social engineering through the built form. For Harvey, the community-communitarian ideals of New Urbanism divert us from underlying structural issues such as the loss of employment, which lead to the decline of some inner cities and can stoke the drive to suburbanisation as employers disperse (Weitz & Crawford 2012). He argues then, that New Urbanism is overly focused on how to make the suburbs better for those who already live there rather than improving conditions for society overall (Harvey, 2005). The potential failure of compact cities to capture issues of social equity is also, indirectly, the focus of Gunder (2006) for whom the intangible and woolly nature of sustainability (what is it to be sustainable?) makes it a treacherous organising principle for professional practice. He brings this critique together by arguing that sustainability policy is far too closely aligned with dominant

power interests to provide anything more than a 'business as usual' approach to development (Gunder, 2006). In his analysis, the compact city, as enacted, similarly supports vested power interests as compact city living may be a choice for an elite who enjoy mobility and the options of buying space elsewhere but may threaten and further disadvantage those forced to adopt the compact city ethos who cannot mitigate the disadvantages. The key point is that in both cases the interests of existing powerful groups may be maintained through 'light' environmental policies and the way in which compact city policy is enacted. Turning to his first argument, he states that, '[…] *sustainability* can be and often has been deployed selectively by planners or politicians as a materialization of dominant institutional ideologies supportive of growth and capital accumulation […]' (Gunder 2006: 209).

Similarly, Marcuse (1998) in broadening the concern out to sustainability as an organising concept argues that social justice rather than sustainability should represent the aim or purpose of planning with sustainability serving as a limiting factor on development; he notes that otherwise planners might find themselves supporting sustainable yet socially unjust policies. For example, a number of studies have shown that pursuing the compact city often leads to a crisis in housing affordability thereby potentially promoting an environmentally sustainable policy but creating all the while a negative externality leading to social injustice (Echenique *et al*, 2012). For Downs (2005) the smart growth debate has been dominated by environmentalists, local officers and the development industry, '[…] most pressures to adopt Smart Growth policies do not come from the citizenry at large but from one or more of these special interest groups.' (p368). This critique resonates with the work of Jarvis et al (2003) who draw on empirical work in outer London. They are not unsympathetic to the compact city but they conclude that instead of seeking to impose new city forms on residents to determine their behaviour (including car use), planners should first seek to understand the complex time-space demands of city (and suburban) life in order to work with this – the compact city should seek to support people in managing the time-space relations of the city not throw even more challenges in their way. As Jarvis et al (2003) observe, for many people the reality of life in the city is primarily the challenge of 'being there', that is, managing to find

somewhere they can afford to live, school their children, access work, pick up the shopping and so forth.

2.3.1 Light versus deep green

Criticism of the adoption of the sustainability motif by planners can be seen as largely within the regulation school critique of planning; namely, that it supports rather than seeks to challenge the status quo leading to little more than reform at the margins (Rees 2003:30) which helps to maintain an inherently unsustainable economic order. Here we see the triple bottom line of sustainability result in a reality where the economy dominates while social and environmental ideals follow (Marcuse 1998). While others also see the sustainable development discourse as having been captured by dominant interest groups, so much so that it has become part of the 'roll-out' of neo-liberal policy, this is not a complete or perfect capture. While the language of sustainability may include the need to introduce market signals to regulate the commons there are also indeterminate spaces, opportunities for the framing of an alternative discourse and so for the 'roll-back' of neo-liberal polices too. The extent to which planning's approach to sustainability is captured by conservative forces or is open to more radical interpretation can be further illuminated by looking at the historical development of the professional practice. In the following section we continue with a brief, selective history of planning in the UK; given the focus of this paper on planning and compact cities in England, we focus specifically on how density has been interwoven in the fabric of the system. In particular, this requires that we consider the relationship between the city and the suburb in England.

2.4 Planning for housing - the English context

Planning reflects national imaginings of the city and country, so, for example, while the cultural elite's centre of gravity in France is the city in England it is the country – or at least an imagined rural idyll. The point is illustrated by comparing the suburbs, while the *Banlieue* of Paris represent the furthest the working class can penetrate into the city (they represent a class exclusion from the centre) the Anglo-American suburb has long represented the furthest the middle classes could get from the city while still being

able to commute back in for work[3]. The UK and US were early to industrialise (Beauregard 2006) and in both cases unregulated industry forced its way into the centre of the city that the elite were all to ready to vacate, Kidd (2002) argued that Manchester produced the first central business district as industrialists turned to exclusive suburbs leaving their warehousing and industrial operations to dominate the city centre. It was left to the working class to generate massive increases in population in cities whose housing stock was ill adapted to cope. Overcrowding and noxious industrial land uses helped to drive the view that, in order for society to be healthy, both light and air were required in housing. Ebenezer Howard's promotion of the Garden City, to be followed by later debased manifestations, was the poor state of the nation's cities. That Howard hadn't sought to remodel or address directly London arguably reflects a cultural bias; Howard's garden-city fusion at Letchworth is decidedly leafy green suburb in its execution, it is positively more garden than city.

Early modern planning unintentionally set the model for the relatively low density suburb as Howard's Garden City provided the intellectual underpinning first for Hampstead Garden Suburb and then, through much debasement as a marketing tool, for much private sector suburban development which drew on the terminology of the garden suburb if not the social principles. Ray Unwin, one of the architects who worked on the first Garden City at Letchworth and later on Hampstead GS was influential as a member of the Tudor Walters committee whose recommendations on housing standards, including a density of 12 houses per acre, was institutionalised through the Housing & Town Planning Act of 1919 which set out provisions for public housing. The legacy of the garden city, including the density provisions of the 1919 Act, does not mean that national policy and planning has had an entirely sanguine relationship with suburban development. The rapid rise of private sector suburbs during the inter-war period took place under a light-touch planning regime where local authorities had limited powers to control the development. The rapid expansion, especially around London, saw the development of early planning legislation including the Restriction of Ribbon

[3] Whilst, in reality, this is a simplification as there are working class public-housing suburbs in outer London and leafy green *Banlieue* around Paris, the general difference between the two supports the broader point.

Development Act (1935) and green belt policy (first mooted by the Greater London Regional Planning Committee in 1935). Although green belts sought to address sprawl policy makers were quiet on any correlation between restricting city boundaries and increasing densities; the green belt was not intended to encourage greater density, simply to stop the expansion of the suburbs into the rural heartlands. New Towns avoided the need for greater density in cities constrained by green belt; they would provide planned dispersal from the city in a way that the private sector suburbs had not. These were facilitated by the New Towns Act of 1946 and the Town Development Act of 1952 and the first wave reproduced low density residential development but away from the old cities; the low level of density in the new developments led to them being criticised for being more villages than towns; as lacking an urban character – similar to the garden cities in which they had their conceptual roots. The key point here is that New Towns provided clearly defined settlements that didn't sprawl into the countryside, they did not necessarily provide density.

The New Towns were delivered through a planning system which in England was founded in a strong statist/interventionist philosophy that underpinned the pivotal 1947 Planning Act. It nationalised the right to develop land; although land remained in private ownership permission would be required to develop it. At the point of conception it was assumed that the public sector would deliver the vast majority of all new housing and that the explosive private sector dominated suburbanisation of the inter-war period would never be repeated. At first this assumption was realised as between 1946 and 1950 eighty per cent of all new housing was delivered by the public sector (Hall 2002: 82); part of this was delivered through the New Towns. While the '47 Act still sets out the basic foundations of planning in the UK, nationalisation of the right to develop, the relationship between market and state has since changed fundamentally; the significance of this for planning is England is that the system now has a hybrid quality to it. The logic of state control of the right to develop land used to manage a large state housing sector was soon eroded as the private sector took up the development of housing. The oil/energy crisis of 1973 and national budget crises saw the rise of a new narrative where the state would deliver less - this was brought into sharp relief by the election of Thatcher and what was to become

the long Conservative administration of 1979-1997 which effectively ended the state's role in developing housing. The result is that the right to develop is still overseen by the state but the resources to develop are almost entirely within the private sector; the state, therefore, has to realise its housing ambitions through the private sector.

The extent to which the state should use its planning powers in pursuit of wider social goals has waxed and waned over time. The 1968 Planning Act moved away from the emphasis on land use in the 1947 Act, seeking to have planning take into account wider social issues as part of the development process. Under Thatcher the appropriate scope of planning was redefined making it a narrower, regulatory function with its purpose again being broadened under New Labour. A detailed consideration of the impacts of Thatcherism on planning is provided by Thornley (1991); despite the anti-state planning rhetoric of Thatcher's administration and changes to planning law, the challenge to planning was not unambiguous. As Thornley points out, the administration retained a strong centralist stance, while it sought to curtail the role of local government and local planning, the central state continued to use planning powers including the use of the 'call in' to the Secretary of State. Moreover, some planning policy opened up divisions within the Conservative's constituency; relaxing green belt policy is approved of by house builders but raises the ire of the countryside lobby both of whom could be seen to be traditional Conservative supporters. This was tested when a new, more development friendly, circular on the green belt was issued in 1983 and replaced in 1984 by one reverting to the previous policy stance (Thornley 1991:213). Reflecting the point made by Raco (2005); planning is not always predictably captured by business interests (not least because these are not singular) and does not guarantee the roll out of neo-liberal policy.

As in the case of the green belt, the Conservative's desire to free up the planning system and to open up land for development has long clashed with their heartland rural vote, which strongly favours the protection of the countryside from major house building. That the UK planning system has become particularly focussed – if not defined by - the preservation of the countryside (Hall 1973) is a point driven home every time figures are produced projecting new housing demand. The 1992 projections released in 1995 generated

a storm of criticism; in particular the growth rates for the Southeast (Holmans 2012). It has been argued that a long cultural tradition has made development in the countryside near to impossible in England, leading Hall (1973) to consider that the '47 Act was the start of a continuing policy of *the containment of urban England*. This has generated, over a long period of time, deep seated propertied interests and associated lobbies who have a continuing interest in maintaining stasis within the system. As the countryside and the green belt have become institutions, in their own right, political parties, of any hue, have had to deal with entrenched resistance to new housing on Greenfields. This political reality has only been exaggerated by the long term shift of economic activity and housing demand to the south and southeast of the country, placing exceptional demand for new housing in the part of the country already most densely settled. While the majority of market evidence suggests that newly forming households wanted street housing often suburban in style (MORI 2002), existing home owners outside the city were determined to prevent the arrival of new neighbours; the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England never tires of reminding politicians how the countryside can only continue to exist by ensuring that future housing demand is met by keeping new households within existing urban boundaries; a policy which has increasingly required higher density housing in the absence of a modern new towns policy.

2.4.1 From Greenfield to brown

As we have seen, the long tradition in England is of dispersal and suburbanisation. Recent environmental/sustainability discourse as it relates to planning in England can be crudely divided into two key phases, which are only partly contiguous with changes in national administration. An essential element of the roll-out of neo-liberalism was a physical rolling out of development into suburban and peripheral areas (see Peck 2011 for a discussion of the American case); this period covers roughly 1979 to 1990. From the 1990s we see elements of roll-back as the conservative administration met with growing opposition (not least from its own support base) to the development of swathes of retail sheds and new housing on Greenfield sites. The New Labour administration, post 1997, continued the roll-back, but whereas the emphasis had previously been on protecting the countryside now

the focus was also on a positive vision of how the city could deliver economic, social and environmental solutions.

- 1979- early 1990s: Early Conservative administration; roll-back of planning, development of edge of town development;
- Early 90s to 1997: later Conservative introduction of restrictions in response to earlier policy outcomes. Restrictions on peripheral development; increasing stress on sustainability.
- 1997-2010: 'New' Labour; continuation of neo-liberal principles of former administration. Roll out of array of 'neo-liberal' social, environmental and economic programmes; but more positively focussed on the city (urban regeneration & renaissance).
- 2010-present: coalition government; roll back of programmes, localism as metaphor for smaller central government. Potentially a roll out of development to fringe and rural areas.

The later years of the long Conservative administration, in particular when John Major was Prime Minister (1990-1997), saw a less ideological approach to planning; most significantly for this work, under John Gummer (SoS for the environment 1993-97), the laissez-faire approach to, for example, out of town shopping came to end with the updating of government guidance on retail (PPG6, 1993 and 1996) and on transport (PPG13, 1994)[4]. When New Labour came to power in 1997 they continued the restorative work started by Gummer, attempting to reign in the worst planning excesses of the Thatcher years, especially the explosive growth of out of town retail development. The new administration also sought to address increasing car use, in 1998 it launched a ten year transport plan and the Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott announced, "I will have failed if, in five years' time, there are not fewer journeys made in a car"; as Enoch Powell had noted years before…all political careers end in failure.

[4] Not that Gummer's environmental credentials went unquestioned as in 1993 he was described by Thorbjørn Berntsen, the Norwegian minister of environmental affairs (1990-97), as "[…] the biggest shitbag I have ever met" for refusing to discuss the issue of acid rain carried from the UK to Norway. http://www.downtoearth.org.in/node/31542

2.4.2 New Labour

Despite changing administrations basic tensions in the planning and supply of housing remained. New Labour in many respects represented a continuation of the previous administration, not least in terms of the relationship between the state and private sector. New Labour did not seek to reverse the withdrawal of the state from the direct provision of housing and faced a continuing problem with housing undersupply. The 1996 projection for new housing need was released in 1999 and, predictably, saw a similar furore to that accompanying the release of previous projections with press reports talking of the paving over of rural England. There were early portents of how New Labour would address housing demand. On coming to power in 1997, the new Prime Minister, Tony Blair, moved to number 10 Downing Street from his family home in Islington N1; this inner-city move predicated a policy framework that conceived of the city in positive terms and was, arguably, revolutionary in a country where the idea of the suburbs as a desirable permanent residential location for the middle-class family first saw the light of day (Fishman 1987).

In the run up to the end of the millennium, in the years after Blair had moved from London N1 to SW1, the government started to formulate a policy approach to the city that saw it as a positive place where social challenges could be addressed rather than as the place where social problems were simply concentrated and over-represented (Hoskins & Tallon, 2004). In this rethinking of the city, the administration was greatly assisted by a quiet, private movement that had been underway for several decades. Islington, the location of Blair's former home, was where Glass had, in the 1960s, observed the encroachment of the middle-class into previously working-class neighbourhoods of the inner-city, coining the term gentrification to describe this change (Glass 1964). Long before changes in government policy promoting the city as a residential location, elements of the middle-class had already chosen it over the suburbs. When the Urban Task Force (1999) set out its vision for the revitalisation of the city by bringing in a broader middle-class residential population it drew on the existing symbolism of gentrification, red wine and coffee houses; leading Lees (2003), in deconstructing the report's language, to argue that urban renaissance was merely a cover for the entirely less

acceptable gentrification. Regardless of the politics of gentrification, the Urban Task Force were pushing at an open door. Their proposals resonated with broader changes in the economy associated with globalisation, including the agglomeration of key functions in cities. Linked to this, New Labour's leadership has a distinctly metropolitan edge to it, making it part of the new city zeitgeist. The new city-focused economy was driven by an economic logic that New Labour had no intention of resisting but which could be supported by socially progressive claims as the urban now provided a focus for house building that had a rationale founded in sustainability and which had the additional benefit of countering political resistance to new house building on Greenfield land.

Having been out of power for 17 years, New Labour brought in a tide of reforms justified by a complex rhetoric which oftentimes reached beyond the practical reality of joining up multiple initiatives on the ground to deliver the changes claimed by politicians (Colomb 2007). The new focus on building at higher densities in cities promised, among other things, reduced social division through proximity, reduced car use by linking work-residential location and with density supporting public transport use and preventing the need for new infrastructure associated with Greenfield development. The challenge of 'joining the dots' to deliver the win-win claims of New Labour was made more difficult for planners by fissures within government. Two key relationships that impacted planning were; first, that between the Treasury and the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) which oversaw planning and second internal divisions within the ODPM. This first can broadly be summarised as a tension between the Treasury which saw planning negatively as a constraint on economic development and the ODPM which viewed planning as potentially a useful tool to serve the wider social purposes of the government. The Treasury/ODPM relationship continued the long standing critique of planning as a break on the economy, it failed to deliver enough housing in the right places, large scale infrastructure was held up by interminable inquiries and business was restricted in its ability to respond to changing economic circumstances. Significantly, it was the Treasury that put forward Kate Barker to lead a review of the planning process (2005-06) and, in particular, the delivery of housing. This provided a narrative unashamedly

focused on the economic while the ODPM was developing the sustainability meta-narrative which sought to provide a new unifying purpose for the profession after the wilderness years under the long Conservative administration. In practice, while the ODPM was making expansive claims for the purpose of planning the Treasury was applying pressure to achieve a more narrowly focused economic agenda. One way of partially resolving this impasse on which both the Treasury and the ODPM could agree was to make planning demonstrably more efficient. Under the rubric of New Public Management planning was charged with meeting a range of outputs (rather than outcomes); this had the effect of focusing planning on a narrow range of targets such as time taken to determine an application and so, arguably, diverted planners from the broader, and less readily measured, claims for density which formed part of the wider agenda of the ODPM.

The result of this tension between Treasury desires to speed up planning and make it more market friendly and ODPM ideas of creating a new meta-narrative for the profession, was that planning, while newly re-focused on sustainability was constantly reminded of the weight of the economic argument, and had always to be justified in terms of its own efficiency. Clearly related to the rise of New Public Management, the more utopian rhetoric of the ODPM in defining a new purpose for planning was accompanied by the introduction of a bank of targets; in addition to timescales for determining applications, these included timescales for plan development, a focus on housing numbers and on the proportion delivered on previously used land. The Sustainable Communities Plan (Sustainable Communities: Building for the Future), released in 2003, illustrated the Treasury-ODPM tension. This document is notable for employing the dual empty signifiers of sustainable and community in its title to provide political cover (and buy in from the ODPM) for what was, in essence, a Treasury driven national policy on housing development which set out, in its own words, a new regional approach to housing delivery. Reflecting Treasury demands that privileged the shift of the economy to the south, the Sustainable Communities Plan did not challenge this, it set out high levels of housing development in the south of England. The Sustainable Communities Plan referenced the Urban Task Force report (UTF 1999) and subsequent Urban White Paper (Our Towns & Cities 2000) and so leant support to the general principle

of delivering higher density housing primarily on brownfield land; supporting the thrust of ODPM policy on the environment and minimising opposition from the rural lobby.

Further undermining the wider aims of the ODPM were internal divisions within the Department itself. Those in charge of planning developed a narrative of the central role of the profession in local government; this accompanied the introduction of spatial planning through a new Act in 2004. However, other parts of the ODPM were rendering planning more incidental as they developed other aspects of local government reform, seemingly unaware of the primacy, which colleagues in the ODPM were claiming for spatial planning; a case of silos within silos. In the same year that the government introduced a spatial planning system in England it set up the Lyon's inquiry into local government funding, this was soon extended to consider the role of local government. When it reported in 2007 it described the purpose of local government as that of place shaping and the planning system was identified as a tool readily available to local government to help in this role. As Lyon's thinking emerged it came to drive the meaning of spatial planning in an English context. Moreover, ODPM was rolling out Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) which was a coalition of local government and other service providers who would produce a Sustainable Community Strategy (SCS) setting out the key challenges and aims for their area. Both Lyons and the LSPs meant that spatial planning was being defined elsewhere; Lyons saw planning as a readily available tool to support local government's key function and planning policy was there to give spatial expression to the policies in the Sustainable Community Strategy; as Tewdwr-Jones et al (2010, p.249) observed, '[Planning had an ambiguous challenge, it is] no longer in "the lead" but it is a key component and facilitator of delivery'. In summary, the urban renaissance which included a new emphasis on higher density housing, was part of a complex and shifting array of institutional reform. Planning's role was fluid and in practice sometimes peripheral with emphasis on particular targets rather than the unifying strategic vision that spatial planning was claimed to deliver. In this context we focus in the following section on the treatment of density latterly as part of reform under New Labour.

2.5 Density in English policy

We have already seen that historically, planning policy and housing guidance has formalised a long-term cultural preference for low density housing in the form of street properties. Although high rise is not necessarily a requirement of higher density, we consider briefly the promotion of flatted development by government as, we argue, this left another legacy that had to be countered as part of New Labour's return to the city. Although much public housing up until the Second World War was semi-detached and terraced street properties often in expanding suburbs, the housing grant regime was used to encourage flatted development when, between 1956 and 1967, it paid local authorities higher levels of grant for taller public housing stock – the higher the building the higher the grant, although after 1967 the benefit was capped to six storey buildings. However, if this wave of development challenged the long English tendency to build street properties, the execution of the policy did not represent a turn to high rise living on the part of the English. These developments only served to support the doubters as the high rise blocks of the period were often poorly constructed and so provided an unsatisfactory environment with damp and or water ingress being a problem. Insufficient maintenance of communal spaces and lifts also proved problematic in terms of liveability, as did the layout of blocks, which sometimes produced 'dead spaces' seen as encouraging crime. The collapse of one corner of Rowan Point tower block in 1968 (killing three) galvanised those opposed to high rise residential development in the UK and neutered the modernist movement in England (Swenarton 2002).

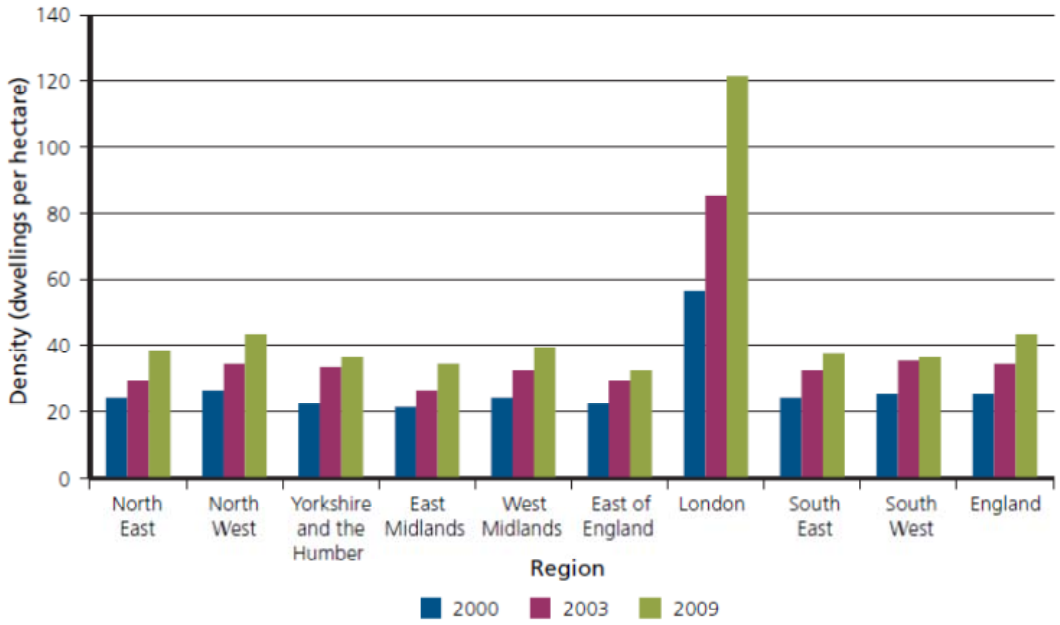
Even if the stock has been of better quality and so endeared itself to the British, it was, in any event, often built at relatively low densities. If one measures density across an entire site (as opposed to the footprint of the building), these high-rise blocks were often not producing higher-density urban forms than the street properties they replaced. In practice many such blocks were socially problematic not just because of poor build quality but also because the towers were surrounded by large aprons of grass the use and care of which was indeterminate. Moreover, they were commonly located outside the city on cheaper land away from public transport links and sources of employment (these were

British *Banlieue)*; Salford offers one of many examples of such 'island high-rise' estates in England. Density has been associated with past forays into high rise living in England which have not tended to be marked by success, there was little to suggest that the British middle classes were about to embrace city and/or higher density and/or apartment living. For those who saw high-rise to be a failure in the UK but who supported density there was no problem, as a number of writers showed, traditional street patterns and street front development could produce equal or higher densities than the much maligned high rise (Schoon 2001:250). What was, perhaps surprising, was that so much of the post millennial higher density development also embraced high rise.

2.5.1 The outcomes

The Urban Task Force report sought to promote density, including apartments, in the context of a longstanding distrust of denser, and in particular, high-rise development that was seen to have had a poor track record in England, especially in its public sector guise. In part, the bolder win-win claims for sustainability might be interpreted as attempts to counter this distrust. Moreover, the extent to which density and in particular high-rise was sensitive in England is reflected in the modest legislative requirements. It is notable is that despite the stress placed on density by the Urban Task Force and its promotion in government circles, changes in legislation were distinctly modest requiring minimum densities of only 30dph (PPS3 2009). The London Plan, rooted in a Treasury approved boosterist agenda for the capital (Thornley et al 2005), went further with its density matrix that provided a range of densities depending on proximity to public transport, town centres and existing urban form.

Figure 2.1 *Density of new dwellings by English region 2000.*

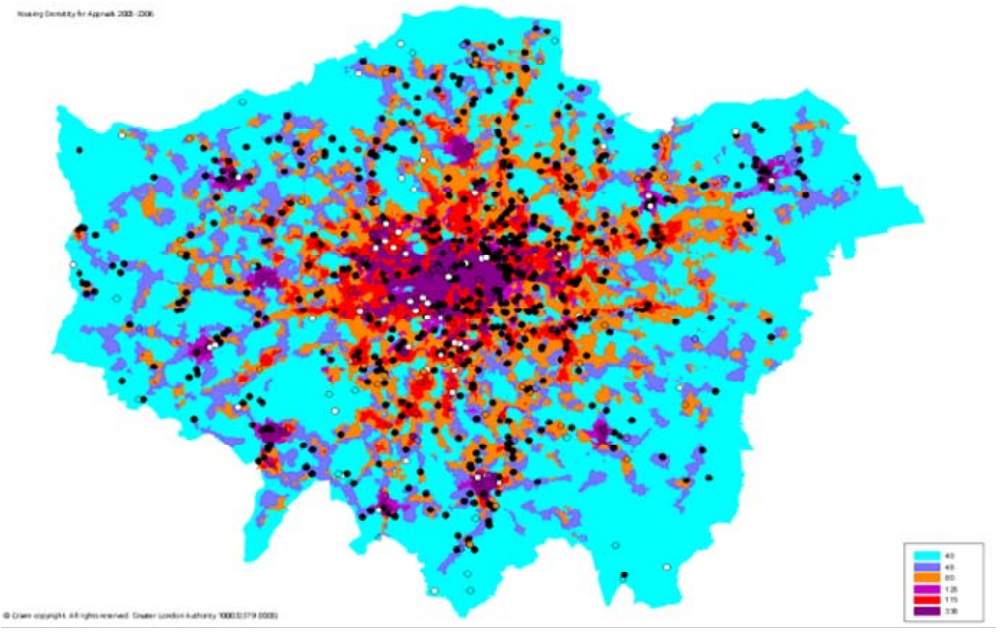


Source: CLG 2010:xxvi

It is noteworthy that despite the modest legislative requirements, there has been a marked, nationwide increase in residential density between 2000 and 2009 with the increase being most notable in London and, then, in other regions with large urban areas. The average increase has been from 25 to 43 dwellings per hectare, in London from 56 to 121dph, (Figure 2.1) and whereas the average figure reported represents a doubling of density on previously used land the increase has been 75% (CLG 2010); the economics of development, density and previously used/brownfield land are explored by Bramley et al (2010) and suggests a market logic that particularly requires higher density on brownfield sites – indeed, the focus on brownfield development pushed density far more than the weak PPS3 minimum. In the case of London, Bowie (2008) shows how the densities delivered in many new developments were sometimes much in excess of the density targets set out in the London Plan (Figure 2.2). As Table 2.1 illustrates, the change in housing type has not only been a central/inner city phenomenon. In the suburbs of outer London

the change in the housing delivered is marked. While the existing housing stock in outer London divides around three-quarters houses one quarter flats (with some variation between the boroughs), new build in recent years has reversed this split with the vast majority of new build (around three-quarters) now comprising flats. The immediate impacts of this should not be exaggerated as new housing makes up around half a per cent of all new housing stock so it would take many years of delivery with this split to change fundamentally the overall balance of stock of the suburbs. However, if we refer back to Bowie's (2008) work on over-development we see that much of the excess density housing was in outer London.

Figure 2.2 *Developments in excess of London plan density matrix (indicated in black)*



Source Bowie 2008:5 illustration # eight

Although exceeding density targets may not necessarily be problematic, given the development of housing at well in excess of any policy minimums, we might assume that there has not been a reluctant development industry being pushed to increase density (in which case we might expect development at or around the policy minimum). As new development across London (and

elsewhere) far outstrips the required density either in the now defunct PPS3 (30dph) or the London Plan (variable depending on location) we must conclude that the driver lays elsewhere; one ready explanation is that "[…] density generates the most rewarding opportunities" (Gordon 2004: 371).

Table 2.1 *Existing housing stock and new build by type (per cent house/flat) in three outer London boroughs*

	Bromley (Beckenham)		Havering (Collier Row)		Harrow (Queensbury)	
Existing stock 2001	houses 72%	flats 28%	houses 81%	flats 19%	houses 72%	flats 28%
New build *2010/11 **2009/10	20%*	80%*	30%**~	70%**~	24%**	76%**

~ imputed by number of bedrooms
Source: Mace (2013) Table 7.1
Census 2001 table KS16 (existing stock 2001) & personal communication, London Boroughs of Beckenham, Havering & Harrow (new build)

The dramatic increase in density also coincided with a property/economic boom in London and what seems likely is that the narrative of dense development being good development established by the UTF came to represent an opportunity for developers to push densities to ever higher levels but where the broader aims of sustainability linked to density may have been underplayed. Using the targets for affordable housing as an example, these were not exceeded in the same spectacular manner; in fact they were not met, again emphasising the role of the willing private sector in delivering policy rather than policy leading the private sector and so raising questions about the sustainability of the communities being created in the boom.

2.5.2 A cultural shift?

Have the English, so long associated with the suburban semi, finally embraced the compact city and higher density living? For all of the emphasis on inner city living in England it is important to

recall that the majority of the population still live in suburbs, inner city living remains a minority, arguably a specialist, taste (Bridge 2006 on the distinctiveness of gentrification). Empirical work on inner city residents in Manchester (Allen & Blandy 2004) and Leeds (Evans & Unsworth 2012) find that the market is demographically narrow; mainly young single people or childless couples, and that many report their intention to move out when they are older and/or have children. Like Allen & Blandy (2004), Nathan & Urwin (2005) report a series of annoyances for inner-city residents, poor internal space standards, limited external space, proximity to noisy neighbours (especially bars and clubs) and lack of parking space; however, they are sanguine about these. A different methodological approach is taken by Bramley et al (2010) in five English cities (with two studies in London), they use multiple regression analysis to look at the relationship between house prices and 'explanatory' variables including density, covering the period 2005/07. Their headline findings follow:

- 'Generally speaking, high-density neighbourhoods do not attract a premium, suggesting that consumers prefer lower density neighbourhoods.
- Consumers prefer houses to flats and detached properties to semi-detached and terraced houses (i.e lower density suburban areas).
- Both low density, detached-dominant areas and high density, flat-dominant areas attracted a premium over medium density semi-detached and terraced areas.
- The relative size of these price premia or penalties for different type mix and density characteristics varies between different housing market areas. For example, the penalty from higher density was less marked in London and Manchester than in the other provincial cities examined.' (p5).

Their work indicates the need to be aware of considerable variations across locations and that we cannot make a general link between density and desirability. Given the thinness of the evidence we might spread the net further; Howley (2010) writes on density and housing satisfaction in Dublin which has undergone a similar growth in city living to that in many English cities. He notes that whilst the city has been able to attract in new residents

to higher density environments, the population tends to be younger and more unstable; a fact that does not necessarily auger well for the development of enduring communities.

The Coalition government, which came to power in 2010 as a pairing of the Conservatives with the Liberal Democrats as junior partners, promised to radically overhaul the planning system; so continuing the tradition of many past governments in the UK. The impacts of their policies thus far are hard to determine as the country has been in the grips of a recession/ low growth, house building is still suppressed, credit markets are inflexible, builders are still operating land banks,[5] and the new planning reforms are only just coming on-line. Just as the basics of development economics appeared to have been far more important than policy in determining levels of density under New Labour, so it is now driving an overall lack of development under the coalition. Aside from a long-wave distrust of planning on the part of the Conservative part of the coalition, the shorter wave of economic downturn is refocusing the coalition on the economic aspect of the sustainability triptych. We argue that a number of measures introduced by the coalition may indicate a broadening out of the city focus. Overall, we believe that the continuing reality of land supply and demand will see a continuation of higher density development but marked by a more ad hoc approach and where there is less focus on the win-win approach. In the remainder of this section we detail this argument and consider the implications.

We noted earlier Gunder's (2006) belief that the treacherous organising principles of sustainability were likely to see the dominance of existing power interest. Arguably the context of economic stagnation which has formed the backdrop of the early years of the coalition has reinforced this. The coalition has replaced all previous planning guidance[6] with a much reduced National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF). This, arguably, reflects the coalition's belief (or at least the Conservative part of the coalition) in the development industry as it is heavily slanted towards development; dovetailing it nicely with the Treasury

[5] The RTPI estimates that home builders have some 14,000 acres of land with planning permission, or enough land for 225,000 new homes, in land banks

[6] This includes Planning Policy Guidance (PPGs) and the newer Planning Policy Statements (PPSs), which helped to form and inform planning at the local level.

favourable report, *The Plan for Growth* (DBIS 2011), which returns to the longstanding theme of land-use planning as a major brake on the economy. The arrival at the final NPPF, through the drafting stage, was not smooth as the manner in which the presumption in favour of sustainable development was defined and conceptualised proved to be a significant controversy. In the draft NPPF, though sustainability was stated as a core principle, a key theme that was developed was that 'Decision-takers at every level should assume that the default answer to development proposals is "yes", except where this would compromise the key sustainable development principles set out in this Framework.' (CLG 2011:5). Numerable lobby groups and two commons select committees opposed this sentiment as being too vague and having the potential of promoting unsustainable development. It was, in the end removed, and the Planning Minister (Greg Clark) reaffirmed the Government's commitment to development that was sustainable. Nevertheless, the earlier iteration suggests that sustainability is a convenient backstop for the coalition rather than an organising principle.

We have argued that the focus on city development helped the last government to ameliorate this problem by pacifying the vocal suburban and rural home-owning lobby through focusing relatively more development in the city. The coalition government has, arguably, undermined this city focus by depicting the last administration as having run a top down government, including an overly bureaucratic and hierarchical planning system, which foisted new housing on unwilling local communities[7]. The coalition has removed the 30dph minimum density requirement and targets for development on brownfield land. These changes send out a strong signal that, in seeking to meet the demand for housing and stimulate the economy, lower density housing and housing beyond the city is back on the table as an option. This is reinforced by a politically expedient policy against so called garden grabbing as under the previous administration houses within a large curtilage were redeveloped, as the land was considered brownfield. The

[7] Although this partly reflects the coalition's decision to remove regional planning in the UK. As housing targets were tiered down from regions to local areas, the unpopular imposition of housing targets was employed as a popular justification for removing the regions.

enactment of this policy sends out a further message that density is not a top priority for the coalition.

The coalition's focus on localism, which chimes with both constituent parties (Holman & Rydin 2012), is also significant. The Localism Act sets out the legislative framework for neighbourhood planning. The coalition has followed tradition by publicising the changes in planning in terms of local people determining their neighbourhood's future. But the development of neighbourhood planning invites local communities only to request more development; it does not provide a mechanism for local residents to reduce proposed development. In effect, the coalition is seeking to move beyond a dependence on the city as the primary means of delivering new housing, offering additional funding to any local authority that permit more housing. This utilitarian appeal to the person on the street – more housing means more resources, and/or less local taxes – is untested but is intended to work beyond the city. The changes in the NPPF may resonate with the fiscal incentives, local home-owners may be more amenable to the bespoke development of low density executive housing rather than higher density, possibly flatted, development, and the prevention of garden grabbing may also make development more acceptable by resisting the densification that 'garden grabbing' can produce. Taken as a whole, these policies may encourage more dispersed housing development than New Labour's polices for urban renaissance. Put simply, the local is everywhere and if the coalition can succeed in convincing 'everywhere' that new development is needed and desirable then we might see every different patterns of expansion as cities may no longer carry the load of new housing development.

Within cities the dynamics of the development industry in the UK is likely to produce some continuity. Housing providers, dominated by a few large companies in England, are notoriously slow to change. They have refined the production of higher density housing on brownfield inner sites over recent decades and will currently hold many brownfield urban sites which will require development. Moreover, there remains a constrained supply of land in England and the geography of availability is likely to make development in urban areas more likely than in rural. Other changes from the coalition, including the proposal to amend the 'Change of Use' legislation which would allow for the conversion

of office space to housing without recourse to full planning permission, also promises a more opportunistic and speculative approach to the development of housing in urban areas. In both urban and rural areas, therefore, the coalition approach appears more opportunistic, seeking sites wherever communities can be persuaded to accept development, and less strategically driven by a focus on city development. However, it would be a mistake to depict the turn to density under New Labour as having been particularly strategic or joined up in terms of delivering sustainable communities. As we have seen the speculative boom delivered by the development industry far exceeded policy intentions in terms of the levels of density; it was a speculative/market rather than a strategic/planning led period of development. The great difference is of a change of tone, if the inflated win-win claims of New Labour were in part a means to counter suspicion of higher density development they did, also, set out an expectation of what it should achieve beyond simply more housing or more profit. Finally, the coalition has been largely silent on the greater ambition of higher density. This might be welcomed as a turn to a more utilitarian view of what can be achieved or lamented as a lost opportunity to, at least, aim for a greater social ambition through higher density development.

2.6 Concluding thoughts

We conclude with a series of brief points. First, there has been a marked shift in the density at which housing is being built in England over recent decades. While there are politically expedient and socially progressive reasons for the promotion of density, its delivery has been driven more by market forces than principles; national policy and discourse provided a permissive atmosphere which has led to an ad hoc increase in density. Changes under the coalition are only likely to reinforce the opportunistic nature of the turn to, and also away from, density. However, just because the market has led the change the win-win claims for density are not necessarily voided. A key problem with the win-win claims remain that some are more measurable than others and the measurable claims have, therefore, come to dominate; number of housing units provided, quantity of affordable homes etc. We do not dismiss these important outcomes (although they are not only achievable through density). However, what we might refer to as

composite benefits are more difficult. Is there a correlation, let alone causation, between density and decreased social exclusion, healthier lifestyles and energy consumption. Given how difficult these claims are to prove, even to weigh up, we turn to our third point, that of the role of planners in the boom period.

Although the fiscal value of density, including the practical requirements of brownfield sites, explains why developers sought to push densities to ever higher levels, it doesn't explain why planners permitted development so far above the density levels required by their own policies. Local planners were under considerable pressure to meet targets including on new housing numbers and proportion of development on brownfield. Moreover, the rhetoric of New Labour was simplistic yet pervasive, if density provided benefits then more density would provide more benefits. This is pertinent when we recall the new identification of the profession with sustainability serving as an organising logic as in any way questioning a core policy such as density might be seen as undermining the very rationale of the profession. The turn to higher density and the aligning of the profession with sustainability may simply have placed more on planners as a profession than they were prepared for; local planners, determining applications, have found themselves as inheritors of grandiose win-win claims of central government that strongly underpinned the opportunism of the development industry. Written in the genealogy of the planning system in England is the tension between public policy setting out ambitions for housing and the private sector holding the resources to deliver housing (with or without the ambition). Policy has articulated broad ambitions for density which the development industry has exploited as a permissive environment; planners have found themselves seeking to resolve the two. There is little evidence of how planners managed these pressures or of the extent to which planners and developers have delivered the broader win-win claims for higher density.

In asking about what planning has delivered, we turn to a final matter that we have not raised so far; whether consumers were ever interested in the win-win claims of New Labour anyway. Although density was nested in the virtuous circle of sustainability did consumers ever buy into it? In the speculative market leading up to the 2008 crash, and in a country where there is chronic

housing undersupply, the market conditions meant that developers were able to sell units regardless of whether consumers would have preferred lower density housing and *also regardless* of whether they were interested in mixed income communities, reduced energy use and so forth. What the consumer of housing actually wanted from the new product and what they feel about what they've got is largely unknown. Limited research on resident attitudes suggests that higher density, apartment life, may be rendered acceptable because it is viewed as a temporary, life-stage-dependent experience to be replaced with a move to housing in the suburbs at a later date. Moreover, we do not know if the win-win claims, if realised, are contributing to quality of life or, indeed, are in some cases welcomed by their absence. In a low density suburban nation much remains to be established about the outcome of the permissive rush to density.

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3 Compact Cities in Denmark: Political Rationalities and Governmental Technologies

Karina Sehested and Niels Boje Groth

This chapter presents how the concept of compact city has been interpreted within the Danish planning context. It also presents the planning system of Denmark, with a special focus upon the changes in government structures in 2007 and on instruments for ensuring strategic planning and participation.

3.1 The concept of compact cities in Danish planning

The notion of compact cities has been on and off the political agenda during the last decades but several important regulations, state directives and local government initiatives sustain the development of the compact city – especially in the Metropolitan area of Copenhagen and in the larger Danish cities. The national government has been the driving force in upholding the compact city ideal sometimes in opposition to local governments.

One of the most important planning ideas in Denmark to sustain compact cities is the ideal of a clear division between the urban and the rural. In 1969 the planning law introduced the mandatory division of urban, rural and second homes areas in all municipalities and strict regulations of buildings in the rural areas not related to farming. This ideal of a clear division is very strong in Danish planning and is still stated in the Planning Law (chap 7, §34-30) (Planning Act 34). But it is also stressed in all national

planning documents. Even in the latest national report on planning with very few frames and comments to Danish planning development it is stated as a principle: "Urban and rural areas should be distinct" (Miljøministeriet, National reports 2003, 2006, 2010). We also find it in many municipal plans. The argument for a clear demarcation between the urban and rural areas has been related to the preservation of the open land, the farming areas and natural landscapes. But later on the sustainable argument of making compact cities has been included in national reports regardless of the minister in office.

In the 2006 version of the National report the focus in on planning for economic development and suggestions about municipalities branding themselves as commuting municipalities could undermine the compact city policy. After that the compact city policy is mentioned and it is stated that: "No one should doubt as to where the town ends and the countryside begins. Developed areas should be relatively densely built so that other areas can be free of development. It is important that towns and especially cities maintain their density and thereby their urban qualities and urban identity" (Miljøministeriet, National report 2006 english version, p. 11) But in the end of the report possibilities for sprawl around smaller cities is introduced – especially in areas with large economic problems.

In the 2010 national planning report the focus is on green growth and development of peripheral areas in Denmark due to global competition. In this report the Minister refers to the request of the municipalities in peripheral areas for the possibility of more commercial (shopping malls) and business development in rural areas (Miljøministeriet 2010). But only a few changes were made in the National Planning Act. One made it possible to build more second homes in coastal areas and another made it possible to build a few more buildings in relation to farms (Miljøministeriet 2011). But still plenty of planning restrictions are regulating this form of development.

In the overview of state interest 2013 to the municipalities it is stated that urban sprawl should be avoided and that there is a need for placing housing, institutions, work places etc. in close to one another to reduce the need for transport and sustain sustainable urban structures. New working places along the highways should

be avoided (Miljøministeriet 2011, p15, see also the Planning Act 11).

Another strong national regulation tool that sustains compact cities is the regulation of large retail shops inside and outside cities. In the Planning Law (chapter 2d) there is an explicit and detailed regulation about how big the retail shops can be in the city centers and regulations about where large retail shops can be placed in Denmark. In this sense The Ministry of Environment control the large retail development in the country. This is of great importance for hindering urban sprawl and keeping the city centers alive.

The principle and regulation about a clear demarcation between urban and rural areas and the regulation of the retail development is a driver for the municipalities to develop their cities within the city limit and in this sense the cities are made more compact. There is no doubt that the municipalities in many cases oppose these regulations when it hinders growth and investment potential in any given municipality.

In the Metropolitan Area of Copenhagen there has been a compact city policy for many years. In 1947 when the first plan for the metropolitan area was made (the Fingerplan: Skitseforslag til Egnsplan for Storkøbenhavn) the idea was for an urban compact development in the old city centre of Copenhagen (a palm) and along long fingers with railway stations as the central nodes. This transit oriented development in the Metropolitan Area has ever since been a strong ideal in the Danish planning – but mostly in relation to the development of the big urban areas. From a sustainable perspective it was argued that new urban structures should be developed very close to the train stations to avoid more automobile traffic and pollution and in between the fingers were green wedges to preserve first farming areas and later on nature areas for recreation. The Finger Plan was never a proper plan with mandatory regulations for land use in the municipalities but more like a general framework and has been influential in the development of the Metropolitan Area for more than 60 years; the fundamental finger structure is there to be seen today. But some of municipalities in the Metropolitan Area also worked against the plan and developed business and housing in some of the green wedges which prevented the plan from being fulfilled. Especially the regional plans for the area have in time worked to uphold and

integrate the idea of the Fingerplan in the regulation of the development. In 2007 the idea of the Fingerplan as part of the regional plan for the metropolitan area was turned into a national regulation for the metropolitan area (for the first time in its history). The compact and sustainable city argument was now central for the "revival" of the plan (Miljøministeriet 2007). The prevention of urban sprawl and the proximity of living, working and public transport were stressed even further.

The municipalities in the Metropolitan area were more supportive of the plan now because the state and the municipalities agreed on a future light rail crossing the Fingers in the municipalities around Copenhagen. This light rail solves some of the major traffic problems crossing the fingers (only possible by cars or busses on crowded ring-roads).

As part of the development of the Metropolitan area the new large city area of Ørestaden close to the center of Copenhagen is another example of a very compact city development in a Danish context. Here the ideal is brought to the forefront of the development. The houses are higher and closer than normal and the public transport to and from the area is intense with the metro and regional/international trains going through.

In recent years, we find the same tendency in other larger cities in Denmark; to sustain the compact city ideal due to the arguments of a sustainable urban development. In Århus (the second largest city in Denmark) they have had a municipal development plan since the beginning of the 2000 stressing large development areas in the outskirt of the city. But in the mid-2000 the municipality changed the strategy towards a more compact inner city development and introduced the building of a light rail to reduce the car traffic and CO2 emission. In the same period in many Danish medium sized cities we experience a development of the inner city harbour or old industrial areas to new urban function which sustains the compact city development.

While the transit oriented principle of urban development has a major impact in the Metropolitan Area and in some of the larger Danish cities we do not find the same impact in the rest of the country. Especially not in the less populated areas of the country where urban sprawl, car traffic and the building of highways have

dominated the municipalities political agenda for urban and regional development for many years.

Even though we find several regulations, national directives and local initiatives to support the ideal of the compact city, another type of urban development make a contrast to the idea behind compact cities. The backbone of, and tradition for urban development in Denmark is the garden city and a low/dense building tradition with green structures. Like in other European countries the ideal of urban development in the period of building cities and suburbs was the open urban structures and regulations about the height of buildings were introduced. Until 1980 there was a maximum for building density in the Planning Act, but is has disappeared today. However, in Denmark there is e.g. almost no high rises and it always causes public debate and conflicts when high rises are suggested. After the WWII most Danish urban planning was concentrated on developing big areas of single homes with gardens and large green areas and in the beginning of the 1970s the planners were afraid of making the land slots too small and argued for larger land slots for the single homes (Miljøministeriet 2009,2). Also the multi-story buildings had vast open green areas in between the buildings.

In the 1980s when the planning ideas among planners changed towards the compact city and more classic close urban structure there was very little new development. Today most urban development in the cities is concentrated in brown field areas within the city and in very few limited newly built urban areas and here the ideal of the compact city is very clear.

Kristensen (2008) describes how the idea of compact cities in the planning society and in the national planning debate in 2009 is very far from the preferences among the citizens. Every investigation of housing preferences among the citizens concludes that approx. 80 % in 2001 and also in 2008 prefer to live in single family homes – in practice most of them are placed in suburbs and in the outskirts of cities. Social and anthropological studies are made to explain these preferences. The conclusion from Kristensen (2008) and also Miljøministeriet (2009,2) is that the potential for compact cities is not to be found in higher buildings and high urban densities in a Danish context. Instead they both argue for the reinvention of the large single homes area introducing a higher density (by e.g.

changing building regulation to allow higher building density in these areas) and reinventing the low/dense urban forms so popular in Denmark. Still there is no doubt that the inner city development of e.g. brown fields and harbour areas in many Danish middle sizes cities has been very popular and a success for the municipalities.

As a conclusion the compact city development in Denmark is mainly driven by the state regulations concerning the demarcation of urban and rural areas which increased the density in the built environment, the strict national regulation of large retail development preventing urban sprawl and in several larger urban areas the use of the transit oriented development to keep the development close to, especially, railway stations. Furthermore the development of urban inner city areas like brown fields and harbour areas into attractive housing, service and business areas has increased the density and sustained the development of the compact city.

3.2 The Danish planning system

During the first planning regulation period, from 1938 to 1970, spatial planning developed as a professional discipline and as a legal framework. The period was characterized by a focus on regulating the urban development into the countryside (preventing urban sprawl and protection of nature, heritage and land use interests). The most important development of the legal planning framework was the Danish Act of Urban Regulation (Lov om byregulering) passed in 1949. The act implemented the zoning of urban development areas around the largest cities with the purpose of preventing urban sprawl and ensuring rational gradual urban development. For each developmental zone, urban development boards were appointed by the government. At the local level, it was acknowledged that inter-municipal coordination of urban planning was needed prior to the zoning. Therefore, during the late 1950s and 1960s, voluntary regional planning was conducted jointly by the local authorities, controlled by the leadership of the regional centers but without a formal regional planning authority.

After a municipal reform in 1970, where 1300 municipalities merged into 275 municipalities and 14 regions, the planning system was generalized, and all types of land were included as objects for

planning. The problem-solving perspective, focusing upon urban growth areas, was augmented and even replaced by a systemic planning perspective. A planning system, organized into three tiers, was organized. The municipalities had the responsibility for urban planning while regional planning in the 14 new counties was made obligatory and related especially to the rural areas. However, urban systems were introduced as an object of planning, and development of a new planning methodology for the rural areas began. This system installed a relation of conflicting interest between the municipalities interested in urban growth and the regions preserving the countryside and nature from urban growth. Therefore the municipalities soon became hostile to regional intervention in their urban affairs. Outside the cities, however, regional planning in the rural areas was boosted by the development of the national directives and regulations, GIS techniques, facilitating analysis of conflicting land use interests and by a public sympathy for environmental protection and protection of nature.

Table 3.1 *The development of spatial planning in Denmark*

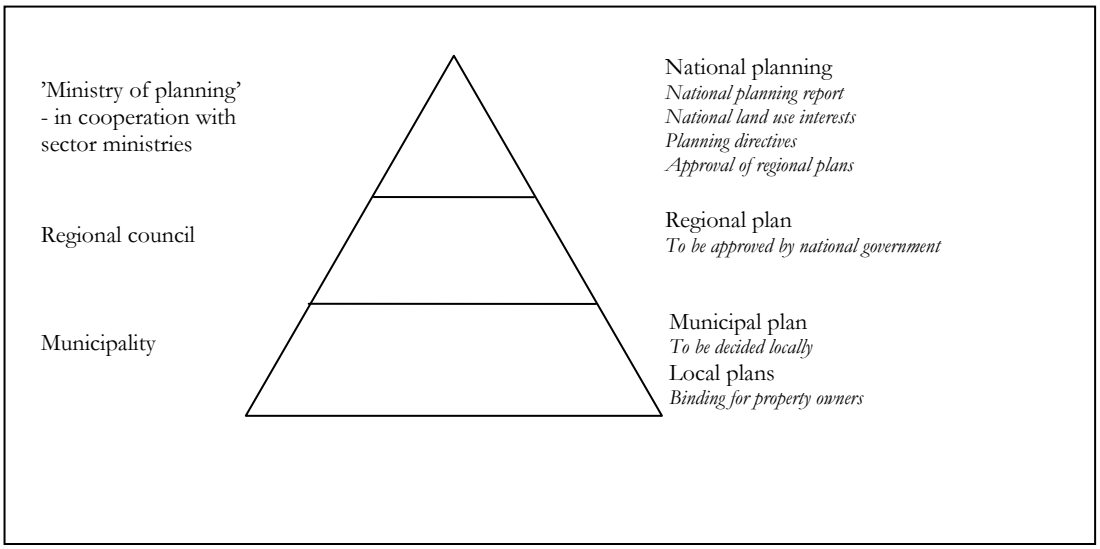
	Important planning acts	**Focus**	**Other important acts**
1949	Act on urban regulation (the first planning act in DK	Monitoring urban growth and sprawl in urban growth regions	
…….	Voluntary regional planning	Inter-municipal coordination of urban development plans in appointed urban growth regions	
1970-74	*Administrative reform: Formation of 14 counties – former 1300 municipalities merged into 275 larger municipalities* *Planning reform: Planning in three tiers over the entire territory (not just urban growth zones)*		
1970	Urban and Rural Zones Act	Protection of the entire rural land and country side in Denmark. Zoning tools for monitoring urban and	

		rural development and summer housing. Mandatory hearings among citizens of plans	
1974	Municipal planning Act National and Regional Planning Act *Regional planning*	Municipal plans within the framework of regional plans Regional urban systems, protection of land use interests and environment in the rural areas and countryside	
1990		Emerging political understanding of the need for urban competitiveness and development of all regions	
1992	New Planning act	A more growth oriented and vision based planning approach	
2005		Economic and business development of all regions	Business Development Act *Regional Growth Forums* *Business development strategies*
2007	*Administrative reform: consolidating 14 counties into 5 new regions; merging 275 municipalities into 98 municipalities* *Planning reform: Spatial planning in two tiers: planning of rural areas transferred from regional to municipal responsibility; regional planning transferred from regulatory to soft tools.*		
2007	Revision of the Planning Act Municipal plan-strategies *Regional spatial development plans*	Coordination of regional stakeholders To make planning more political and less technical	

The figure shows the simplicity and logic of the three-tiered planning system as introduced by the planning reform in 1970-74. In practice, the system eroded and was eventually replaced by a division of labor between the regional councils that administered

the rural areas and environmental matters and the municipal councils which dealt with urban development and urban restructuring.

Figure 3.1 *The Danish spatial planning system as implemented in 1970-75*



Regional planning was made obligatory. Municipal plans were to be enacted by the municipal council following public consultations (see below about participation). For each of the three tiers, the plans covered the entire land of jurisdiction, increasingly detailed in hierarchical order - from national guidelines and planning directives, via regional plans to municipal and local plans. The simple logical system, however, was eroded by the changes of the planning agenda from urban growth to urban restructuring and by municipal dissatisfaction over regional intervention in urban issues.

The slowdown of urban growth in the aftermath of the oil crises and the economic restructuring following the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, created an agenda of urban restructuring and urban competitiveness with global ramifications.

3.3 The government reform in 2007

With the 2007 government reform, the role of the different government levels in spatial planning changed dramatically. The former 275 municipalities were merged into 98, the 14 counties were abolished and five new regions were established. The regions are governed by regionally elected politicians, but they do not have authority to collect taxes, as with the former counties. They are restricted to operate within the budgets allocated by the national and local government. Land-use planning in the rural areas was moved from the regional to the municipal level and the state got more authority in spatial planning through the mandate to veto municipal plans if they do not follow national interests and through the task of regulating environmental matters. To perform this task several state agencies (Environmental Centers) were established in the regions with the purpose of close cooperation between the centers and the municipalities to avoid the need for regulation and a state veto. Recently the number of centers has been limited in order to avoid regional differences in regulations and agreements with the municipalities. The centers are tightly governed from the state department.

3.4 National strategies

In the 2006 national planning strategy there was a clear strategy for the spatial development in Denmark with two growth centers in Denmark: The metropolitan area and east Jutland. The Ministry of Environment also tried to initiate common planning and dialogue processes to sustain this development. But they did not succeed (Olesen and Richardson 2012). Recently the national planning strategy has become weaker without specific visions and overall development ideas leaving it to the regions and municipalities to make strategies. The latest strategy has clearly turned into a more physical and sector oriented strategy with no overall vision for Danish spatial development (Olesen & Richardson 2012).

3.5 Regional strategies

The core responsibility of the regions is hospitals. Alongside this, the regional councils have to prepare a Regional Development

Plan – a new planning tool. They are only allowed to deal with the general content of a regional development plan. Mapping land use zoning and environmental regulation is no longer part of the plan. With a comprehensive view of the region, the strategy must describe a desirable future development for the region, cities, countryside and the region's peripheral areas. Thematically, it must deal with nature and environment, business and tourism, employment, education and culture. Further, the strategy must show the relations with national and municipal planning of infrastructure as well as relations with planning of neighbouring countries in relevant fields. An action plan must be included. The strategy has no legal authority. It is an advisory and coordinating document that sets out common strategies, visions and frames for the region in cooperation with other relevant regional actors. However, the regional council is able to channel its support to strategic initiatives and it has its own funding. The municipalities are not obliged to follow the strategy, but neither can they be in opposition. There are only a few directives in the planning act that apply to the Regional Development Plan; the content and methods may differ. The Regional Development Plans are to be compared with regional strategies.

Furthermore the Regional Development Plan has to consider the *Regional Business Development Strategy* made by Growth Forum – a regional council established in 2005 containing public (regional and municipal councils, education institutions) and private stakeholders (business and interests organisations) responsible for preparation of the regional business strategy and action plan. The regional business development strategy is supposed to provide input to the regional development plan. This strategy is made mandatory by the National Business Authority. Input and ideas from the regional business community, municipalities and knowledge institutions has to be channelled into the strategy. In addition, the regional business strategy channels national growth strategies downwards via a regional partnership agreement, annually established, between the regional Growth Forum and the government on development initiatives, on which the two parties agree to give special attention and via the participation in the national 'growth council', via the membership of the chairman of Growth Forum.

Although the regional business strategy appears as a strategy of its own, it becomes effective only through integration with other

strategies and with the operations of other authorities. Hence, through the regional council, the regional business strategy obtains policy input to the Regional Development Plan; and policy background for nomination of projects to be co-financed by the regional development funds. Moreover, through the government it obtains policy background for nomination of projects to be co-financed by the EU Structural Funds.

After the government reform in 2007, the municipalities formed their own informal regional collaboration councils in each region dealing with regional matters also related to spatial planning. The Local Government Contact Councils (as they are called) are non-statutory and were formed at the initiative of Local Government Denmark (LGDK), a voluntary interest organization of Danish municipalities, the goal of which is to establish a strong municipal political platform in each region. The members of the Local Government Contact Councils are politicians appointed by the municipal councils and represent the parties proportionally. The councils discuss all regional matters important for the municipalities and prepare themselves for the meetings with the regions in a new formal contact council between region and municipalities. Studies show that the Local Government Contact Councils have developed successfully into strong forums for the municipalities (Pedersen et al. 2010, Sehested 2010).

The role of the Regional Development Plans has been transformed from land use regulation to a non-binding strategic and communicative instrument, the role of which is to facilitate dialogue between all regional stakeholders: public and private, local and regional. It is stated by the Danish Ministry of the Environment (2007, p. 16) that cooperation rather than regulation has come to the fore: "Regional spatial development plans are a collective project between the municipal councils, businesses, the regional council and the other actors in each region." Cooperation is a soft measure: You can invite people to meet, but you cannot compel them to cooperate. The same goes for the Business Development Strategies. Illeris (2010) and Halkier (2009) emphasize that the regional Growth Forums are mediators rather than consumers of regional funds. The Growth Forums are compelled to cooperate and negotiate. Illeris emphasizes that due to the multitude of topics for the Regional Development Plan, the very logic and strength of the plan is to coordinate: "Former

hierarchical decision systems are partly replaced by dialogue between coordinating and sector authorities as well as between state, regions and municipalities" (Illeris 2010 p. 58, translation added).

The municipalities are thus key stakeholders in terms of regional planning. The cooperation between the region and the Local Government Contact Council in each region was marked by conflicts during the first election period from 2007-2010. The strategy set from the Local Government Contact Councils was more or less openly to diminish the influence of the new regions in municipal matters and all in all to make the new regions without influence at all. They argued for a two-tier planning system. On the other hand the regions had to learn to perform a new planning role not as a regulator but as a coordinator and communicator. This was not an easy task for the regions (Pedersen et al. 2010). That is the reason why the first Regional Development Plans had no impact. In the second period, however, the regions and Local Government Contact Councils agreed to collaborate (the municipalities accepted that the regions might be existing for a while) and they do now develop several strategies in agreement, e.g. climate strategy, education strategy. The Regional Development Plans are not the core plans but have to be seen in relation to a lot other regional plans and initiatives.

There has not been any study about the content of these recent regional strategies and the effect in relation to compact cities. However, the turn towards the climate discourse in Danish planning has as mentioned placed public transport (especially trains) on the public political agenda all over the country with planned major government investment.

3.6 Municipal strategies

According to the planning act the municipalities have to make a planning strategy before the end of the first half of the municipal election period (Danish Planning Act 2007, 23). The purpose is to make a strategy for the development in the municipality and indicate the level of revision of the municipal plan. The municipalities still make a more traditional municipal plan with a general frame of directions and goals for sector policies and a land use regulation executed via mandatory local plans. The planning

strategy is supposed to present and discuss (via a hearing period of 8 weeks) visions and goals in the municipality (Plan09 2006: 3). In the planning act there are no directions for methods to be used in making the planning strategy and an evaluation of the first planning strategies show a very large variety in processes and products (Sehested et al 2008). In some municipalities (not a lot) the strategy was made by the planning department solely. In others (most municipalities) there were close dialogues between politicians and planners about the strategy making and in some municipalities there was an inclusive public participation process making visions and goals.

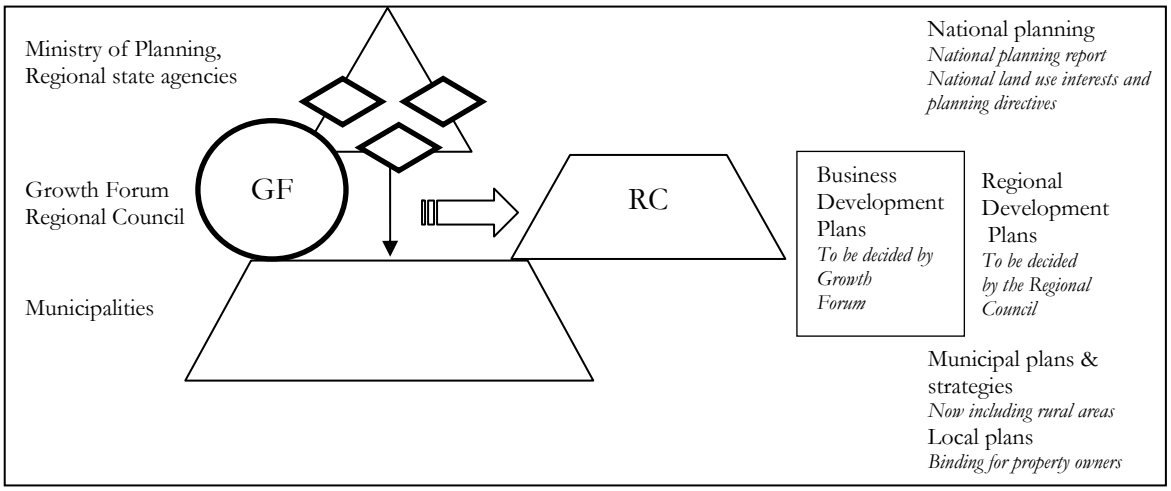
The planning strategy is supposed to be a political document and strengthen the role of politicians in spatial planning. Furthermore is has to create political ownership to planning strategies. In the national recommendations for strategy making it is stressed as an advantage to make the strategy in dialogues with politicians, citizens and businesses (VEJ 9905 af 01/02/2002: 7, Plan09 2006:6). Evaluation studies show that the planning strategies has become a political planning tool while the municipal plans have become the more "technical" implementation tool (Sehested et al 2008).

Besides the municipal planning strategy the municipalities also have to make an agenda 21 strategy according to the Planning Act 33 where they explain how they intend to promote sustainable urban development and urban regeneration. Recently in 2012 it is decided from the government that the municipalities also have to make a Climate Adaptation Strategy.

A screening study has been made of the themes in the first municipal strategies (Caspersen 2009). Most municipalities focus on urban and business development in their strategies but also public infrastructure is high on the agenda. Agenda 21 comes next dealing with the sustainable aspect in the municipalities followed by nature and the open countryside from the preservation and improvement perspective and related to the importance of this perspective for citizens and their health. Whether these themes tell us anything about the compact city development in the municipalities is difficult to say. Maybe we can conclude that the municipalities have integrated some of the compact city ideas (formerly "protected" by the regions) in their municipal strategies.

But we do not know if they actually implement these ideas. The new planning system is shown in figure 3.2

Figure 3.2 *The Danish spatial planning system since 2007 illustrated from a hierarchical mindset and elaborated on from the Ministry of Environment, first illustration of the new planning situation.*



3.7 Participation in Danish planning

The Danish planning act from 1970 introduced public participation in Danish planning by making 8 weeks of hearing among the citizens mandatory before political decision about the municipal plans and for major changes in the Municipal plan during the election periods. This hearing system has been institutionalized in Danish planning ever since through 1. citizens meeting where plans are presented and discussed and 2. through a certain period for written comments to the municipal plans. The same rules apply for the municipal strategy. In the planning act 2007 (33) it is stated that the agenda 21 has to be developed involving the general public and business.

These are the only formal regulation about participation in spatial planning. But in practice there has been a major change in participation forms within Danish planning development. The traditional hearing system has been institutionalized in a form where professional interest organizations participate and are

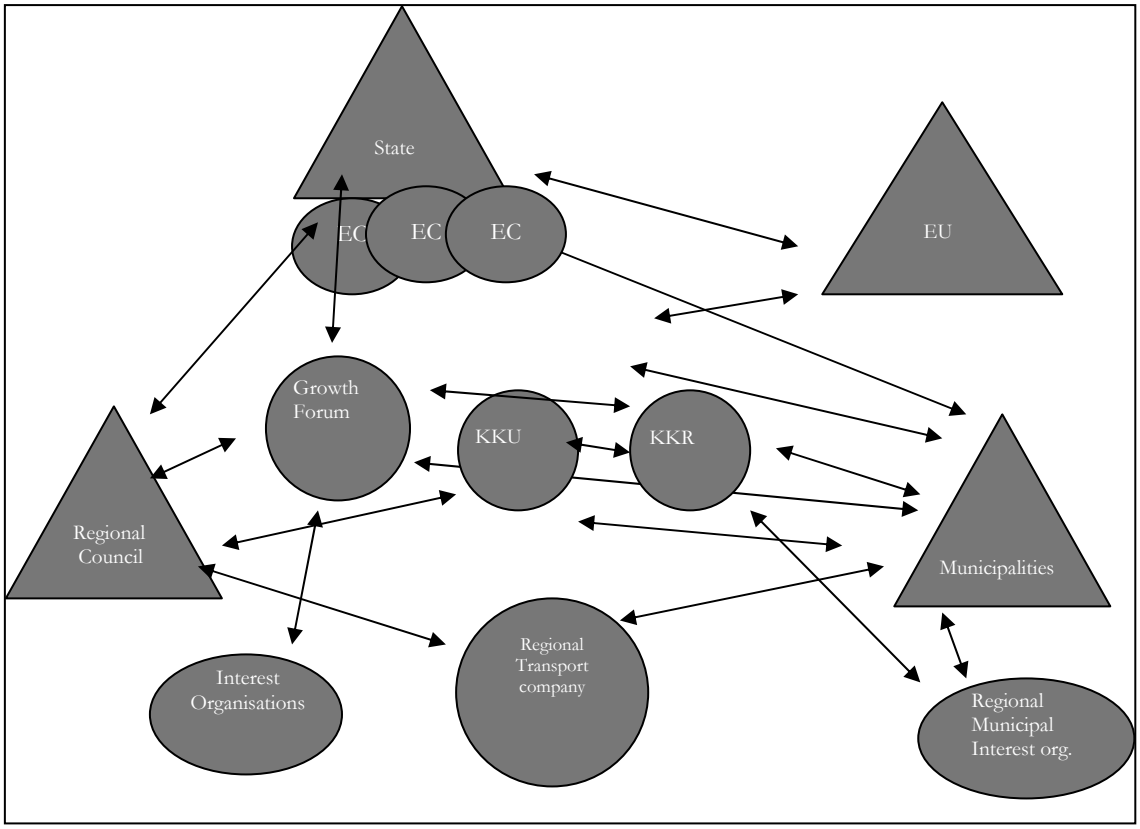
invited to participate in order to integrate their interest in the planning process. The citizen meetings are open for everybody to participate and typically a lot of citizens participate when they disagree with plans. This is where politicians and planners have to defend their plans and decisions.

A new trend in spatial planning developed up through the 90's is to involve citizens in the beginning of the planning process and to involve citizens in various forms besides the mandatory citizens meeting, e.g. in project groups, steering groups, working groups and large visions events. This form of participation is not mandatory and regulated by the planning law. The municipalities decide for themselves how to involve the citizens and there is a great variety in how much they involved and in the forms of involvement.

3.8 From hierarchy and regulation to networking and coordination in spatial planning: more or less compact cities?

If we interpret the new spatial planning system in Denmark not from the perspective of hierarchy (as illustrated in an earlier figure) but from the perspective of governance networks a figure of the new situation after 2007 looks like this:

Figure 3.3 *Key relations in formulating spatial plans and strategies (Sørensen et al 2011)**



*EC is state environmental centers located at regional level. KKU is the formal coordination council between the regional mayor and the mayors of the municipalities. KKR is the informal (not stated by law) local government contact council of political representative from the municipalities.

The figure illustrates a network governance situation in spatial planning. The regional council and municipalities have become equal in their influence on regional development, and several coordinating bodies have been constituted, some formal, others informal. The Growth Forum is a public-private policy network and coordinates between different public levels and between public and private actors. The state is still in a hierarchical position with respect to both regions and municipalities but the state governance is not performed mostly by regulations and laws (implemented through the Environmental centers) but rather via

setting goals and economic frameworks. In relation to compact city development it is stated above that the national reports describes the need for compact cities and urge the municipalities to sustain this idea. In the 1990s they also initiated and distributed knowledge about success stories from the municipalities sustaining the compact city development. In this sense the state acts mostly through framing (sense-making) in relation to compact city policies. However, more regulation in the area of environmental matters has also occurred.

The indirect governance by the state (and EU) and the non-hierarchical and fragmented network governance situation at the regional level require that regional governance change from steering to coordination.

Pedersen et al. (2010) conclude that after the reform, the institutional setting reveals a new governance situation where Danish spatial planning turns into pluricentric coordination. The aspirations for coherence, unity and universal rationality in spatial planning have to be given up. Instead, a new perspective developed that values the floating and 'messy' character of coordination in the non-hierarchical situation. The fluid character of coordination is not an obstacle to overcome but a resource to be exploited in the pursuit of spatial planning. Based on a study of regional planning in the Zealand Region in the first four years after the reform, it is illustrated how coordination is taking place in a terrain characterized by competing situated logics that are shaped and reshaped in and through network-like coordination processes that promoted the construction of shared meaning and story work. It is difficult to use the concepts such as 'horizontal-' and 'vertical governance' in this situation. Governance relations among key actors in spatial planning change according to different policy issues and according to negotiation between the actors in different governance and planning situation. Pluricentric coordination highlights the value of interpretive and relational forms of coordination that evolve around specific situated efforts to govern and plan. The coordination is framed by public institutions within a plural democratic setting, which makes the 'pluricentric coordination' a more precise description than 'polycentric coordination'.

Whether this fragmented and pluricentric planning situation will sustain the compact city development or not, we do not know yet. We have seen that the state and the regions formerly had the role of defending and regulating the development toward compact cities and many municipalities opposed the idea and planned for urban sprawl. Before the government reform in 2007 a major argument against the reform was the doubt about the willingness in the municipalities to preserve nature and the open countryside and avoid urban sprawl. Maybe this is the reason that so many municipalities in their first municipal strategy stressed this issue. We haven´t any knowledge about the general development in Danish municipalities towards compact cities but several recent initiatives related to the climate discourse like e.g. strengthen public transport, bicycling, development of inner city areas instead of areas in the outskirt of the cities, nature preservation around cities etc. as mentioned can be interpreted as sustain the compact city development. But still we find municipalities planning for quite new urban areas in the countryside not yet realized due to the financial crises.

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4 Compact Cities in the Netherlands

Laurens de Graaf

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the development of the concept of the compact city in The Netherlands. Based upon earlier research, it describes what way of planning is used and explores the rules of participation in it..

4.2 The Dutch administrative system

Historically, the Dutch administrative system has been characterised as a decentralized unitary state. The decentralisation becomes clear when we look at the three layers of government, which are the national, the provincial and the local level. At the moment The Netherlands has 12 provinces and 415 municipalities[8]. The Dutch national government situates in The Hague and has a dominant role. Many policies are being organised at the national level and must be executed at a lower level. Central government comprises the cabinet and the 'States General' - the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament. The Netherlands is a parliamentary democracy.

[8] The newly elected (September 2012) national government has big plans to raise the average scale of municipalities (from a current average of 35.000 to 100.000 inhabitants per municipality). There are also plans to merge several provinces. Amalgamations gets high attention from the national government, but locally it is strongly criticized.

4.3 Dutch spatial planning and policy

The Netherlands has a modern infrastructure that allows for automobile use, but the nation has managed to limit the low density auto-oriented development that is so typical of many countries after World War II. The Netherlands is one of the top ten countries in the world for density and they still have vast amounts of undeveloped land. The central government has played a strong role since World War II and that role has been as developer and preservationist. Until recently the central government was in control of spatial policy, but has decentralized in order to allow provinces to develop according to their individual needs. This newfound flexibility allows for more development options that vary due to the unique situations of each of the provinces. This new flexibility is in the context of past spatial policy that still influences and guides the current methods of today (Schiess, 2007).

4.3.1 The First Four Memoranda on Spatial Planning

Modern Dutch planning began after post-World War II reconstruction and has been amended and tailored through the intervening decades. It shows the strong central role of the national government and how planning has adapted to change. As the Netherlands emerges from a welfare state to its current more market economy, new flexibility in planning implementation is a reflection in the needs and wants of the people. The first Memorandum on Spatial Planning, published in 1960, was a modernization policy aimed at increasing modern industry and housing (Pellenbarg, 2001).

The second Memorandum, 1966, aimed at an even distribution of housing and economic activities across the country in anticipation of a population boom. The 1966 Memorandum brought with it the concept of 'collected deconcentration' that aimed to control suburbanization (Pellenbarg, 2001). This memorandum has led to the modern Dutch planning system that began with the Spatial Planning Act of 1965 and follows a hierarchy of planning instruments, from the national `Key Spatial Planning Decision' (PKB-Planologische Kernbeslissing) through the provinces' `Regional Plan' (Streekplan), to the municipal `Zoning Scheme'

(Bestemmingsplan) which is the only binding power for land use (Wolsink, 2003). The third Memorandum took the collected deconcentration concept and developed it further limiting suburban growth to a limited number of 'growth centers.' It was released in separate issues during 1973-78 (Pellenbarg, 2001). The fourth Memorandum, published in 1988 and followed by an extra edition in 1994 called 'Vinex,' focused on planning for the cities rather than suburbs to encourage new growth impulses and maintain vitality in the cities. Thirteen 'urban nodes' were given priority status for public investment and Vinex developments are those where land has been set aside to meet the demand for new housing (Pellenbarg, 2001). In 2000, the Dutch government proposed a major overhaul of the planning system. This began years of heated debate and proposals that have emerged in the fifth Memorandum (Wolsink, 2003). This memorandum introduced the concept of 'urban network,' which presented the idea of making space, sharing space. The fifth Memorandum outlines various spatial needs in the Netherlands until 2020. The Memorandum also shows anticipated spatial needs from 2000 to 2030 for housing, economic activity, mobility, nature, and culture, all with a take on national and regional objectives (Pellenbarg, 2001) (this subsection is based on Schiess, 2007).

4.3.2 The Fifth Memorandum on Spatial Planning

Some argue that the fifth Memorandum makes much ofideas of space quality but pays insufficient attention to how to achieve these levels of quality. called the New National Spatial Strategy, this memorandum is supposed to be the result of evaluation of past policies conducted by the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) which is an independent evaluation organization. The new National Spatial Strategy should be implementing the WRR's recommendations; which are to continue the decentralization and market approach for spatial planning, meaning that the central government provides only broad guidelines while the provinces and municipalities create the specific details and plans that best suit their unique needs (Wolsink, 2003 & VROM2, 2007). In an article published in *Environment and Planning A 2003,* Maarten Wolsink argues that the new Strategy seems to ignore the research and recommendations from the WRR. The WRR recommended a change in spatial

planning to continue decentralizing, but the government's new policy has a strong top down centralized approach when it comes to certain large projects. The article argues that the new strategy is not based on a past learning experience. In order to try and speed up legislation and make way for large projects, legislation aimed at shortening approval time for large projects resulted in rush jobs that were implemented top down – national to local level – and have a history of failure and impropriety. The first few projects started with this legislation were largely opposed and were not built as intended. Wolsink's argument is that the ability to allow the government to implement the projects of national importance so quickly and without giving adequate local input was exactly opposite of what the WRR recommended (Wolsink, 2003). On the contrary, Bart Vink and Arjen van der Burg from the Office of the Director General for Spatial Development, Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, wrote that the policy's main aim is to limit central government control, except in issues that are important on a national and international level with a motto of "Decentralize if possible, centralize if necessary." The focus is to allow locally controlled development with as little interference from the central government, which is opposite of the post-World War II years' development of the welfare state. Issues of national importance are still centralized, since they are beyond the boundaries of the provinces (this subsection is based on Schiess, 2007).

Vink and van der Burg write that the new Strategy focuses on more localized control and can be summed up in three terms: development, decentralization, and deregulation. Municipalities can now decide how much development is to occur, generally without central government interference. In cases where interests are beyond municipal control, the provincial government would direct actions. Decentralization will redistribute planning tasks with the central government focusing on the National Spatial Network of infrastructure and protecting national and international interests (interests which Wolsink argued have a history of failure); the provincial governments will focus on local and regional interests partnering with municipalities; and municipalities will partner with local organizations and citizens to plan development actions. Deregulation will allow for a more stream lined development process that limits the amount of red tape needed. The new Spatial

Planning Act shortens many procedures and processes for permits (Vink, 2006). This new memorandum has resulted in a more market oriented approach and has given the municipalities much more control on spatial planning. Perhaps the repetition of a history of failed national projects can be averted with a better focus on national level projects rather than on the development in the many municipalities. The fear is that this could lead to unchecked development by allowing the provinces to develop what suits the needs and wants of those in the localities. Perhaps the reason why the principles outlined in the fifth Memorandum are generalized when talking of the national approach is to let the national government act in a policing role to ensure developments don't overstep the bounds of the general guides in the Spatial Planning Act. The plan of decentralization could be a change in the right direction to allow for changes in culture and protect against harmful short-term development trends (this subsection is based on Schiess, 2007).

4.4 Recent Trends in Dutch Planning and Culture

The Netherlands has been making the transition from a welfare state to a market driven state in recent years. Its change is evident in the decentralization push and the peak in social housing in the 1990s. Dutch households are getting smaller and the push for new housing is an ever present need. Dutch lifestyles and consumption patterns call for different qualities in places to live beyond proximity to work.

4.4.1 Demographic Trends

The Netherlands is a small country with 41,000 square kilometers (15,830 square miles) of which 33,900 square kilometers (13,089 square miles) are inhabitable. With a population of around 16,7 million, the Netherlands is the sixth most populous country in the European Union. According to 1998 statistics, the average density is 380 persons per square kilometer overall with 460 persons per square kilometer if only the inhabitable land is taken into account. This density puts the Netherlands in the top ten most densely populated countries in the world. That density varies from 6,500 persons per square kilometer in The Hague area to only 25 persons

per square kilometer in the less populated areas (Beets, 2000). Even more interesting is that the Dutch live at very high densities with 90 percent of the population living on 10 percent of the land.

The Dutch population as a whole is relatively young for Europe since its baby boom was a bit more prolonged than other countries. Its growth will continue, but is slowing and is expected to begin declining around 2033 onward when the population is estimated to peak at 17.2 million. As the population begins aging, the younger generations are waiting longer to have children and marry. Also, most women are having fewer children as more and more women join the workforce. Fertility rates are around 1.6 children per woman, which is below the replacement rate (Beets, 2000).

Besides the effect of having fewer children, household sizes are decreasing as people live alone longer before marrying, divorcing more frequently, and living longer after a spouse has died (Beets, 2000). The impact of smaller households is that even with the same population, the demand for housing is still increasing (Ministry of Housing, 2001). The current Dutch welfare state enables individuals with a basic minimum income and provides for those who fall beneath a level deemed unreasonable. As a result, poverty is relatively uncommon. Part of the welfare state has been to supply housing for all (Beets, 2000), but as more and more people are able to own homes, there is a rift between supply and demand (Schiess, 2007).

4.4.2 Housing Trends

Dutch social housing is different than many other countries as it currently takes a more market oriented approach and allows for residents to choose where to live. Much of this could be attributed to the fact that people are leaving social housing for the private market. Dutch social housing was also built up over a longer period than most other European states and it peaked in the early 1990s as the private housing market began to be more competitive. Local housing authorities responded by providing more flexibility as they competed for tenants (Boelhouwer, 2002). The results have been more demand for private housing and less for the social housing developments. Social housing is losing ground as peoples' housing preferences change.

The Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM) released a document in April 2001 entitled "What People Want, Where People Live," that explains the Dutch housing situation along with peoples' preferences. This document is the descendant document to previous housing policy documents. It is the next step from the last housing document and it continues to focus on decentralization, but it places emphasis on freedom of choice for individuals while still allowing limitations that are in the best interest of the collective good (VROM1, 2001).

The Ministry of Housing reported that people no longer look for places based on proximity to work due to changes in technology that allow people to do more from home. The increased number of women in the workforce is providing more households with dual incomes. Together these factors allow for more freedom of choice and people are looking for the locations that have qualities that allow them to do more from home. The aging population also has different needs that may not be met in their current environments. Repeatedly, the Ministry wrote about the shortage in the quality of housing people desired and that the policies of that time were leading to an increased gap between supply and demand for such housing. Policy cannot keep people in their present homes, people will find alternatives elsewhere. The Ministry suggested charting a different course.

The Ministry of Housing suggested making more space in the cities by redeveloping the out-of-date post WWII housing and making them more recreation and green oriented and also adding more green land, nature areas with recreation opportunities, to the edge of cities where municipalities think it is appropriate. They recommend that housing needs to change from mass producing quantities to understanding and tailoring housing quality by making the process more consumer oriented.

People now have more ability to move and will only stay in their present situation if the city offers the quality they desire. People want the type of space afforded by country living with all the benefits of urban living. The Ministry of Housing even warns that the line between urban and rural will blur. Village life is popular as lot sizes are bigger while costing less than in the city. There is a need for more residential environments in the countryside, especially in the North. Many Dutch villages have many new

residents, but with this comes the danger of losing the rural identity as prices rise and development encroaches. In order to maintain the rural lifestyle despite an increase of residents, the Ministry suggests that villages establish a growth boundary and to have municipalities give their own residents priority to inexpensive housing. The Housing Allocation Act enables municipalities and allows the province to oversee the process. Another suggestion to help stave off urbanization of the countryside is for cities to make more green, meaning outdoor recreation oriented development, essentially bring more countryside to the cities (Schiess, 2007).

4.4.3 Planning Trends

Coinciding with the change of social housing in the 1990s from a welfare state to being more market driven is the change in Urban Regeneration Policies from a national top down approach to the current local system's distribution of block grants. These block grants were established with the Urban Renewal Fund (*Stadsvernieuwingsfonds*). This fund established a breakthrough in national-local relations bundling resources for local urban regeneration policies and may have been one of the driving forces behind the decentralization of the 1990s. It makes local government accountable for an allotment of national funds using local knowledge and expertise for local projects. The local governments can tailor sound planning principles and policy handed down from the national government to suit local needs (Korthals Altes, 2002). The powers of local governments are now more closely associated with provincial governments. Provinces create and follow their own plans, which is a change from the regional plans handed down from the national government. The changes have enabled new housing and perhaps more locationally unique developments. Along with that freedom comes the risk of undoing what Dutch planning may have been trying to protect.

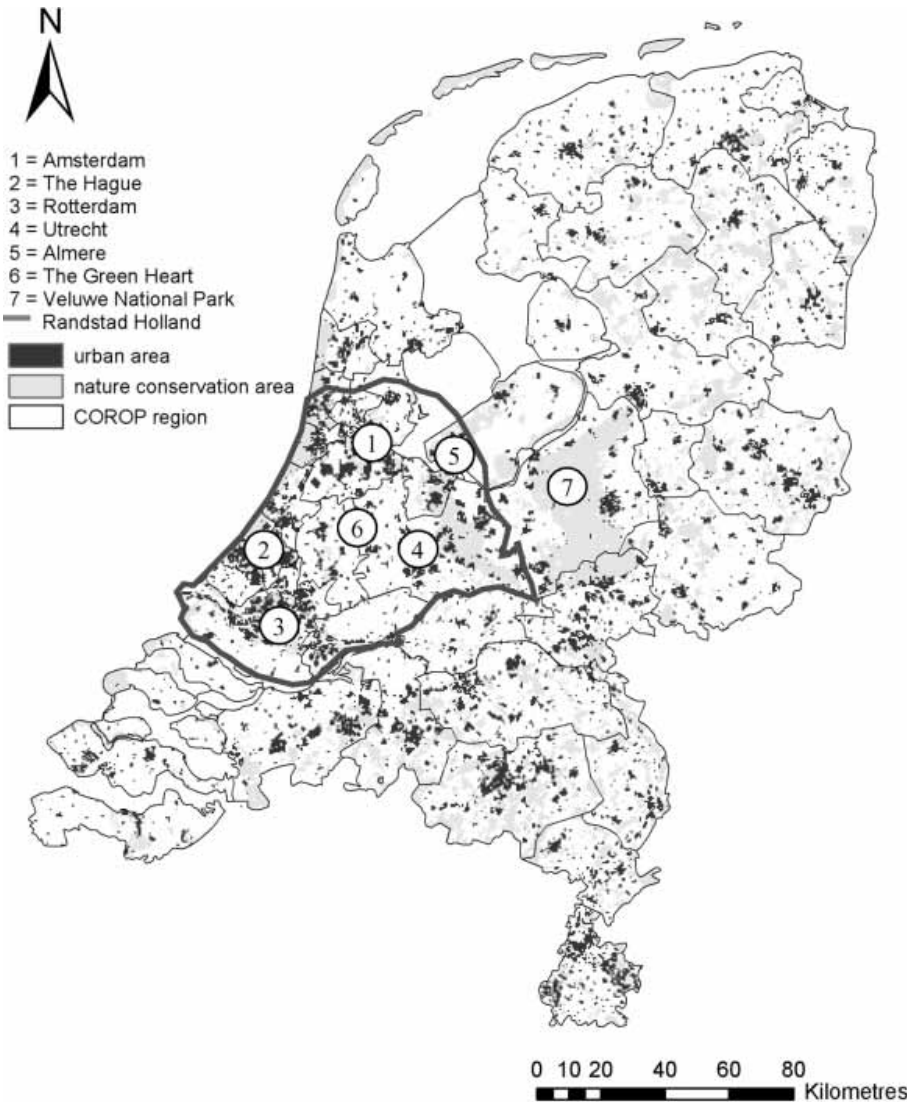
In the Ministry of Housing's document on housing, they recognized that while development may become more market driven, the laws still apply. The government is just stepping back from being the developer. A new act called "Woonwet" or New Housing Act is being introduced that deals less with policy and more with regulation. The new act has the national government providing the vision and framework for the nation, much like the Fifth Memorandum. It acts as a police force that ensures that local

developments are within the bounds set. Provinces have more responsibility with the new act to ensure that municipalities are acting regionally in their policies. The province will be making policy and the municipalities will be implementing them with the national government acting more as an observing police officer (this subsection is based on Schiess, 2007).

4.5 Urbanisation and compact city

This section is based on Van den Burg & Dieleman (2004). Compact Urbanisation Policies in Dutch spatial planning, especially at the national level, has been characterised by a great number of spatial policy concepts, even though the basic principles have continued to be the same (Hajer and Zonneveld, 2000). For 30 years, national spatial planning policies in the Netherlands were aimed at implementing compact urbanisation in various forms. Most efforts were directed mainly to the Randstad, a distinctive polynucleated pattern of urban centres in the western part of the Netherlands (including the major cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht and a substantial number of smaller cities). The urban centres are arranged roughly in the form of a horseshoe, encircling the 'Green Heart', a rural area where a few small towns and numerous villages are located (Figure 4.1). Before going on, we will go back to the late 1960s for a short overview of Dutch national spatial planning policies (based on Geurs & van Wee, 2006).

Figure 4.1 *Urban area and nature conservation areas in the Netherlands, 2000.*



4.5.1 Urbanisation policies

The Netherlands almost meets the criterion set by the US Bureau of Statistics for a 'metropolitan area': 1,000 inhabitants per square mile. (…) Not surprisingly, urban growth management and planning have a long tradition in the Netherlands. Settlements along the rivers and in the lowlying parts of the country typically took the form of walled cities with an internal transport and drainage system: canals. Urban planning was invented in these cities, forming a prelude to the compact-city policy of the last two decades. This urban history has led to a characteristic distinction between urban and rural areas in the lower parts of the country even to this day. Living in the city, one is always within a short distance of visually open, non-urban land. This is partly because the contrast between urban and open landscapes has been generalized since 1945 into a national planning doctrine (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004).

As said before, the first concrete formulation of National Memorandum on Spatial Planning occurred in 1966. 'Concentrated deconcentration' was chosen as the magic formula. Urbanisation was to be concentrated in or around major cities, and opportunities for urban growth were to be offered in new towns as satellites around them. Since then, *concentration of urbanization* has been the common denominator of national spatial policy. Some of the main points of departure for this policy were (and still are) the following:

- Neither large metropolises (of over one million inhabitants) nor sprawl are considered desirable.
- Land should be made available for the preferred (75% of demand) semi-detached and detached dwellings.
- Housing should be within reach of urban nodes with higher-order services.
- Good opportunities for regional public transport should exist where urban density is high.
- A minimal reduction of open (agricultural) land is necessary.

Over the past four decades, changes in the political climate have prompted divergent interpretations of this principle of concentrated urbanisation. The policy of developing new satellite towns, though successful in terms of housing production, was abolished (Dieleman *et al.*1999). After 1980, the Netherlands saw the rise of a strong environmental agenda, favouring public transport over driving. The major cities were to be protected from further decline (caused by deindustrialisation, but also by channelling new construction into new towns). Open land was seen as a natural or recreational amenity rather than as agricultural land. Altogether, this agenda promoted the concentration of urban growth in the major cities and their metropolitan regions. Although the term *compact city* does not appear in official documents, this has become the prevailing policy (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004).

Compact city

The Dutch compact city policy recognises that most cities, understood as municipal governments, are functionally arts of larger urbanised areas, i.e., metropolitan regions. The policy seeks to concentrate urban growth within the limits of the country's existing 26 metropolitan regions. In order to maintain a balance between rural and urban land uses, a limited proportion of the housing need (overall 25% for the Netherlands) may be met in the rural areas. The compact city policy specifies the following criteria for the choice of new urban sites within metropolitan regions:

- Minimise the distance to the major city centre.
- Ensure good accessibility by bike and public transport.
- Keep open spaces free of urbanisation as much as possible.
- Give preference to mixed-use development, including recreation facilities, industry and offices.
- Provide for a sound financial basis (with both private and public finance).

Furthermore, at least 70 per cent of the additional housing stock should be 'market-priced homes', and 30 per cent should be built by or on behalf of the individual owner-occupier. These additional rules have been in force since 1995 and 1998 respectively. For industrial and office sites in particular, extra policy criteria were introduced the 'A B C' location policy. In general, uses with a high

intensity of workers per sq. km. or a high intensity of visitors (hospitals, schools, shops) should be concentrated around major railway stations ('A'), or at least regional transport nodes ('B'). Highway locations ('C') had to be reserved for goods-handling industries. Strict and nationally uniform norms for parking spaces (e.g., A = 1 per 10 workers) made the 'A B C' policy rather controversial. The compact city policy has created some very large sites for urban expansion; these are small cities in themselves, within or close to the major cities. One example is Leidsche Rijn, adjacent to the city of Utrecht; this new development is the largest under construction in the Netherlands (35,000 homes to be built over a period of twenty years) (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004).

Policy implementation

Although the compact city policy was largely formulated by the national government, it depends on provinces, municipalities and private developers for its implementation. Compliance can partly be ensured by regulation under the national spatial planning law, along with subsidies. Arranging covenants between the various players in the development process is another means often used in the Netherlands. Since the 1970s, covenants signed by the national government, municipalities and provinces have been used to develop new towns and growth centres. In 1994, urbanisation covenants were concluded all provinces, covering the major brownfield and greenfield sites to be developed during the period 1995 to 2005. Municipalities have subsequently signed covenants with private developers. These covenants are package deals. The developer promises to build dwellings in exchange for subsidies on land provision, soil sanitation, and public transport. These covenants are combined with restrictions, to be enforced by the provinces, on urban development outside metropolitan areas: 75 per cent of all housing production is to be situated in the 26 designated metropolitan regions, while 40 per cent of all new construction is to be concentrated in existing built-up areas (brownfield, infill, reconstruction). In reality, since 1995, the amount of new construction of housing in existing built-up areas has been substantially larger than originally planned. Meanwhile, the development of large new greenfield sites in the major conurbations has lagged behind, and the development in smaller towns and villages has taken a spurt. In 1997, 41 per cent of all housing production was in previously built-up areas; 11 per cent

was adjacent to the major cities; 11 per cent was in the vicinity of major cities; and 37 per cent was outside designated metropolitan regions (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004).

4.5.2 Success and failure of compact city policy

The implementation of the compact city policy is now well underway in terms of the construction of the designated new sites for urban infill and expansion. There is an on-going debate on whether the objectives – i.e., the perceived benefits of the policy (see previous section) – were realistic and seem to be forthcoming or not. Here, four elements of the spatial planning objectives are discussed, namely those that regularly reappear in policy documents:

- to create strong and vibrant central cities;
- to stimulate walking, biking and the use of public transport versus the use of the private car;
- to preserve open agricultural and environmental space; and
- to provide decent housing for all Dutch households.

Before attempting to assess the success and failure of Dutch spatial planning on these elements, it should be noted that it is not easy to evaluate the results of spatial planning policies. This is largely because forces other than spatial planning also influence urban development, travel behaviour, etc. One brief example suffices to illustrate this point. The substantial rise in affluence in the Netherlands since the 1960s (roughly a doubling of average income in real terms) may have had a greater effect on the use of the private car and the demand for more luxurious housing space than spatial planning policies have had (Dieleman and Wallet 2003), (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004).

Central city investments

The substantial investments made in the central cities since the mid-1980s may be considered one of the main achievements of Dutch spatial planning and the compact city policy. Following the huge outflow of population from the cities in the 1960s and 1970s, a concerted effort was made to buttress the cities. The policy of compact urban growth, the substantial national funding for urban

renewal, and the strategy of maintaining the retail function in central cities by discouraging the development of out-of-town shopping malls (Evers 2002) were instrumental in renewing population growth in the central cities and (re)creating a lively pedestrian setting in central parts of the cities. For example, the city of Rotterdam had lost roughly a quarter of its population between the mid-1960s and the 1980s. But since the implementation of the compact city policy, Rotterdam has seen a slight annual rise in population. According to recent predictions, the present population of roughly 600,000 will [2012: 617.000] grow to 635,000 by the year 2017 (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004).

Travel behaviour

The objective of influencing modal choice by spatial planning measures turned out to be difficult to achieve (Schwanen *et al.*2004). Many forces besides spatial planning determine travel behaviour. In large and middle-sized cities, the use of the private car is lower than in new towns and suburban locations. But income seems to have a stronger influence on modal choice than the type of residential environment. The central cities are still places where people walk, cycle to work, and shop. This is no doubt partly due to the compact city policy and retail planning, but the exact contribution of spatial planning is hard to assess. The compact city policy has certainly not prevented the massive use of the private car outside the city centres. There are daily traffic jams on all the major motorways in the Randstad, and spatial planning may even have contributed to this situation (Priemus *et al.* 2001). Spatial planning restrictions may hamper the choice of efficient locations for both households and firms, which may have resulted in longer commuting distances than desired by households and firms (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004).

Preservation of open space

Spatial planning policies in the Netherlands have certainly helped shield open land from urban sprawl. Even in the Randstad, where the population density is very high overall, large parts of the green heart of Holland (the central part of the Randstad) are still fairly open and agricultural land use revails. After the introduction of the compact cities policy, population growth in the rural parts of the green heart of Holland was reduced. Also in terms of landscape,

the contrast between urban and agricultural land use is still clearly visible. Of course, agricultural practices change, and the ensuing changes in the landscape may not always be an improvement. For instance, greenhouses have expanded in many parts of the green heart, diminishing its open character (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004).

Housing market

For decades, Dutch housing policy has largely gone hand in hand with spatial planning policies. Each tier of government exerts a strong influence on the type of housing that is built and in which tenure the dwellings are constructed. Thus, the government can largely determine where new residential development is allowed to take place. This has not always been conducive to development that reflects housing preferences, however. A substantial part of the housing stock now consists of semi-detached units. That housing is often considered to be rather uniform; there is little variation in style and architecture, partly because of the regulations imposed on new construction. Spatial planning has repeatedly hampered the construction of enough new units to satisfy the demand for housing. Policy-makers have frequently underestimated the demand for new dwellings, and planning restrictions lengthen the process of developing new residential areas (Feddes & Dieleman 2003). The Netherlands scores very low on the 'enabling index' for this process (Angel 2002). In comparison to other European countries, the Netherlands has a relatively small housing stock (966 homes per 1,000 households in the year 2000); it cannot accommodate swings in demand very easily. The size of the stock has certainly been a factor in the sharp rise of house prices over the last decade and a half. This has created a housing affordability problem for newly formed households looking for independent housing and for households with relatively low incomes. Since the financial crisis of 2008, this problem has been increasing (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004).

4.5.3 'Urban Network' Policy

The national urbanisation policy currently in force is often said to be inadequate (Bontje 2003) and not a timely answer to societal changes (Hajer & Zonneveld 2000). The *urban network*, the new concept for urbanisation, was introduced in the Fifth National

Memorandum. There were various reasons to switch from the compact city to the urban network concept.

A. Most 'metropolitan regions' are now too small as planning units;

- Daily Urban Systems continue to expand across the borders of the metropolitan regions. In 1985, 69 per cent of daily commuting took place within those regions; by 1997, that share had decreased to 63 per cent.
- The availability of new sites for urban growth in accordance with policy is insufficient in the long run (i.e., 2010 to 2030, the planning horizon of the Fifth Document).
- The acknowledged demand for less compact housing sites pushes demand further away from major centres and towards more rural areas.

B. Public transport is insufficient as an organizing principle:

- The private car is the most used means of transport. In 2000, national transport policy abandoned the aim of a modal shift away from the use of the private car.
- Directing employment to sites according to the 'A B C' policy had only a modest impact, one of the reasons being the attractiveness of car-oriented C locations.

C. Metropolitan regions consume too much open land and expand in areas with water management difficulties:

- Some metropolitan regions have grown almost together, e.g., Rotterdam and The Hague, forming one large urban zone, threatening to use up open land from both directions in an unstructured way.
- Metropolitan regions tend to minimise open land inside their limits.
- The rising sea level and river flooding will limit traditional possibilities for urbanisation.

D. Society is developing in the direction of 'network-based' rather than 'area-based' relations (Hajer & Zonneveld 2000):

- Households and firms need a greater diversity of environments.

- Relations between households and among firms become more complex, reaching over larger, non-contiguous areas.

E. Global competition favours larger urban areas rather than smaller ones:

- Most metropolitan regions in the Netherlands are rather small and have limited international competitive advantages (except Amsterdam).

These trends and circumstances are found in many European countries, but the translation into spatial *policies* – and governance structures (Salet *et al.* 2003) – has been cumbersome. How can the 'compact city' policy be modernised? In the Netherlands, the 'rise of the network society' (Castells 2000) was chosen as the *Leitmotiv* for this shift in policy. The tension, inherent in all spatial policy, between 'function' and 'form' is enhanced. In the network society, 'flows' take precedence over 'places', functions over forms. The functional aspect is dominant in networks, which means that they are not elegantly definable in stable and nested territorial forms. The Fifth National Memorandum (National Spatial Planning Agency, 2001, par. 5.4) states that: Urban networks are highly urbanized zones that take on the form of a network of larger and smaller compact cities, each with its own character and profile within that network.

It is not the individual cities but the metropolitan areas and urban networks that offer a complete range of living/working environments, services, parks and transport systems, and taken together these are beneficial for planning in the rural areas. The concept is strategic in nature (Faludi & Van der Valk 1994); thus, it offers no blueprint for the arrangements to be made inside each network. Members of the urban networks are municipalities. They are required to draw up spatial plans in mutual consultation and are supposed to set competition aside. The national government promises to support the municipalities in the development of transport systems, major transport nodes, and regional parks. Six national urban networks have been designated. These urban networks are larger than the metropolitan regions of which they are composed; two of them cross provincial borders and three of the 'Delta Metropolis', the region known as the Randstad in the international literature, comprising over five million inhabitants. The urban networks are definitely polycentric and encompass very large zones of open landscape. Larger planning areas provide

opportunities for a wider variety of locations and a better combination of urban and rural development than could be found in metropolitan regions that see themselves primarily as urbanised areas. To plan for such multi-level and diverse areas is to enter uncharted territory. For the Delta Metropolis, a design laboratory has been set up. Another promising development is that all of the urban networks of national importance have embarked upon some planning endeavour and have organised intergovernmental interaction, sometimes supplemented by private sector and non-commercial interests. The Delta Metropolis goes farthest in this respect (www.deltametropool.nl).

4.5.4 Through the looking glass

In retrospect, the Dutch urban growth management system is unique in two respects (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004):

- The high quality of inner cities and urban renewal areas;
- The permanent state of qualitative and quantitative shortage on the housing market.

In the opinion of the authors, the former should be preserved with force, while the latter should be mitigated with equal force, since the two characteristics are connected. The recently installed government intends to present an update of the Fifth Planning Memorandum to Parliament. Some fear a worsening of the position of the existing urban centres. They note that the government's policy programme calls for less dense milieus and expanded rural homesteading, while spending on urban renewal will be cut back. This could increase the income differences between the central cities and the suburbs, a situation that is often seen as a sign of urban decline. However, there is some evidence that the income differences have been surprisingly stable since the 1970s and not very great (Dieleman & Wallet 2003; data until 1994). 'Doughnut cities', poor inner cities and wealthy suburbs, are not found in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, if the government opts for a massive, market-led expansion of housebuilding possibilities in suburban and rural areas, the market position of many inner cities will be jeopardised. As a consequence, the need for compensatory government support will increase. Others fear a piecemeal transformation of open landscapes into unstructured 'garden cities' with a lack of facilities. This could happen if more

residential construction and lower density areas were to be allowed. However, the firm grip of provinces and municipalities on spatial development, combined with an active environmentalist and nature conservation movement, would counteract any tendencies of runaway urbanisation of the rural areas (Van den Burg & Dieleman, 2004).

4.6 Participation

The Netherlands has broad experience with various forms of participatory policy making. Its main focus is at the local level (Denters & Klok, 2005: 79–82, De Vries, 2008; Michels, 2006, Michels & De Graaf, 2010). Although Denters (2005) argues that, where participation is concerned, citizens should not merely be 'followers', but also initiators, in most cases it is the local government that takes the initiative and leads the process. This practice of participation and cooperation, in which the political elites play a leading role, is part of a long tradition of cooperation and consensus forming in the Netherlands, that goes back to the era of pillarisation during which government and social organisations cooperated in corporatist structures (Duyvendak & Krouwel, 2001; Michels, 2007). Participatory projects often focus on the development of city centres, the revitalisation of old neighbourhoods, and the construction of public works. Participatory policy making operates under the premise that citizens and other stakeholders take an active role in the policy process at an early stage. Local governments may have various motives for introducing participatory policy making. The main argument is that involving stakeholders and (groups of) citizens at an early stage of the policy process rather than consulting them immediately before the implementation phase, can create a broader support for policy decisions and, therefore, make government policy more effective and legitimate (De Graaf, 2007). However, other arguments are also heard. Engaging citizens in policy making allows governments to tap into wider sources of information, perspectives and potential solutions, and improves the quality of the decisions reached. It also contributes to building public trust in government, raising the quality of democracy and strengthening civic capacity (OECD, 2001: 11). In short, participatory policy making is expected to increase democratic legitimacy, narrow the gap between citizens and government, enlarge the problem-solving

capacity, increase the support for policy and improve the quality of policy (Edelenbos, 2000).

When we regard participation in a historical sense, we can divide three generations of participation (Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2008):

1. First generation of participation: literally this is called '*having a say*' (*inspraak)*. Since the beginning of the 1970's citizens have the opportunity to react on policy plans, which are made by governments. This right to have a say has been adopted in the national law of planning (Wet op de Ruimtelijke Ordening) and the national administrative law (*Algemene Bestuurswet*). These laws have a national character and are still applicable.
2. Second generation of participation: Since the 1990's 'having a say' developed further into *participatory policymaking* (*interactief beleid*). As said above, the main argument - here - is that involving stakeholders and (groups of) citizens at an early stage of the policy process rather than consulting them immediately before the implementation phase, can create a broader support for policy decisions and, therefore, make government policy more effective and legitimate Due to decreasing local election turnouts, decreasing political party membership representative bodies felt an increasing legitimacy problem. Since the 1990's, participatory policymaking has been applied (mostly) by local governments and social organisations, such as housing associations. The policy practice is often uses all sorts of practical instruments, such as ladders of participation (cf Arnstein etc,), participatory toolkits and so on.
3. Third generation of participation: Since 2000 (onwards) not only are (local) governments the initiators of citizen participation, also citizens themselves initiate all sorts of projects and come up with all sorts of ideas. So, citizen initiatives are becoming more usual. Larger developments stimulating the trend to greater citizen initiatives include: the stronger awareness of citizenship; cost cuts because of the financial crisis (since 2008); the power of the civil society; and to a certain extent some elements of the Big Society ideas from the UK. . Governments are trying to cope with

these 'new' sorts of participation and are trying to be less the policy maker and more the relation builder.

It is important to stress that these three generations can still exist next to each other.

When we connect these ideas of participation to planning processes in The Netherlands, we can see that participation is most often used in planning processes (when we compare this with other policy domains). Governments use it mostly in a quiet instrumental way. Their idea and hope is that by involving others, the quality of policy or decisions will increase. It also means that government plans are less made behind an administrative desk (as was the case a few decades ago). Plans should match with the people they are aimed at and have to be more flexible. This way of working has big consequences for the fundamental questions, such as: what should a government do, how is it organised, how does it work (together) and what kind of skills should civil servants have to work with participation in planning processes? Things are changing slowly, but it seems as if urban planning is developing from administrative centred (system oriented) towards a more citizens or societal (life world) oriented approach.

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5 Compact Cities in Norway: Political Rationalities and Governmental Technologies

Hege Hofstad, Gro Sandkjær Hanssen, Inger-Lise Saglie, Berit Nordahl and Lene Schmidt

The chapter presents how the concept of compact city has developed within the national context in Norway. It also presents the planning system of Norway, with a special focus upon the instruments for ensuring compact city-ideals and sustainable development, and discusses the role of strategic planning within this system. Further on, the formal rules of citizen participation are presented.

5.1 Compact city in Norwegian policy - political rationalities

The concept of compact city gained currency in Norway from the 1990s. After the publication of the Brundtland-report "Our common future", the implementation of the principles in the Norwegian context was an important issue for the government lead by prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. A research project on principles for a sustainable urban development was initiated by the Ministry of Environment. The so-called NAMIT-project (1988-1992) paved way for the concept, by emphasizing what the main principles for nature- and environmentally friendly principles of urban development should be. These principles were; concentration of the technical encroachments on nature, first and foremost by densification – for example by densification on

brownfields. Hence, concentration and mixed development is a cornerstone in the model that secures proximity between dwellings, services, transport, leisure activities, and working places. Other important principles were efficient land utilization through building with relative high density and a restructuring of the transport system by limiting the space available for cars and investing in better public transport and bike paths (Næss 2012).

Important justifications were the protection of "green areas", including protection of farmland and large outdoor recreational areas. Protection of farmland had been an important issue for discussion on urban development since the 1960s. Farmland is a very scarce resource in Norway and is located close to urban areas. The policy from the 1960s up to the 1990s was to "jump over" farmland close to urban areas and build on non-productive hillsides, mostly detached housing. This resulted in a very fragmented urban pattern, dependent on transport by car and also quite expensive with regard to infrastructure. The protection of outdoor recreational areas has been a main theme for Norwegian urban planning. Almost every large or small urban concentration has one or several areas set aside for outdoor recreation, called "Marka". These have received an almost iconic status, and remained a fairly stable element through many decades up to now, even through the relative massive building of housing after WWII. In Oslo this iconic status is clearly visible in the built structure in corridors going north east, south east and to the west, shaped by "Nordmarka", "Østmarka", "Sørmarka" and "Bærumsmarka"[9].

The other main argument was the necessity to reduce emissions leading to climate change. Shorter travel distances through concentration and mixed use would reduce the total volume of transport, and at the same time allow for public transport. The call for concentration meant that farmland close to urban centers or transport nodes could be accepted as land for development, representing a turn in policy.

The general principles for a concentrated urban development have become widely accepted and institutionalised in Norway, and have

[9] This translates to "The Northern Marka", "The Eastern Marka" , The "Southern Marka" . "Bærumsmarka" has its name from the western neighbor municipality to Oslo (Bærum) , being one of the 11 municipalities forming the larger Oslo urban area.

been incorporated in *national policy* the last 15 years (St.meld.31 1992-93, St.meld 23 2001-2002, Moe 1993, Nordahl et al 2007, Næss et al 2009). As an example the governmental report St.meld 23 (2001-2002) depicts the compact city model as clearly favourable to sustainability with weight on the environmental dimension. National policy provisions on coordinated land use and transport planning, in order to reduce energy use and emissions from transport, have been in force since 1993.

However, in the early discussion on the merits of the compact city, concerns were also raised. This included pressure on green areas within the city. The necessity to increase density and at the same time protect the green structure within the city was presented as the solution. Programmes to make an inventory of existing green structure and to make specific plans for them were initiated by the Directorate for Nature Management (DN 1994). Another discussion was that a concentrated and more "urban" development would be contrary to housing preferences (Næss and Engesæter 1992). As increasing housing standards and increasing use of urban land had been a trend after the WWII up to the 1990s, this was a seen as a possible obstacle. Detached housing in suburban areas was also a favoured housing type, and a "must" for families with children. However, in retrospect a turn to the urban attractions can be observed, also for families with children. It is interesting to note that while European debate; e.g. in the Commission of the European Communities' Green paper on the Urban environment (1992) , stressed the urban qualities, this was not part of the early justification for the compact city as spelled out by the NAMIT project. However, during the 1990s this argument emerged, particularly among architects and urban designers. The environmental discourse emanating from the NAMIT project joined forces with the urban design discourse. The implementation of the compact city was made easier through greater interest in centrally located flats, as well as available brownfield land in former industrial and harbour areas.

As shown above, the compact city ideal is closely linked to urban planning not least because land use is central to create densification and mixed use development. The current planning system is a direct descendant of the first national building law, adopted in 1965. The main purpose was to develop a national planning system, but also to enact building standards and to

establish a professional administration in the local municipalities. Three major events have constituted the national planning and building *system* as it appears today:

- The use of an *economic plan* to rebuild Northern Norway after the destruction in WWII
- The new *Ministry of the Environment* which was established in 1972
- *Deregulation* of the housing and finance markets in the 1980s.

Northern Norway was left totally destroyed after WWII and was rebuilt during the 1950s. The rebuilding was based on an integrated model of spatial and economic planning using an *economic plan mode*. This model influenced the national planning system in the Building Act (1965). The Act introduced a system of local plans, regional plans and national guidelines and regulations. Planning was no longer just a tool for spatial development but also a tool for the development of Norway. The period has been termed 'the glorious times' of planning (Thomassen, 1997). The linkage of local planning authorities, the state housing bank, and housing cooperatives has been termed 'the jewel of Norway's social democratic order' (Furre, 1991, p. 388). The period is also characterised by the comprehensive regulation of market activity and the precedence for public authorities and public bodies. Norway had a regulated finance and housing market. The regulated housing market was supplementing and coexisting next to the unrestrained 'free' housing market, and the local authority enjoyed precedence when buying land for development etc.

Development became increasingly a subject which critics related to the protection of nature and a more sustainable development. *The Ministry of the Environment* was established as a response to these challenges in 1972. Establishing this ministry divided the formal responsibility for planning and building legislation: the responsibility for the planning system was delegated to the new Ministry of the Environment, while the Ministry of Local Governments and Regional Development was left in charge of building legislation. The planning system has, since then, been increasingly developed as an environmental tool, whereas building legislation became a system increasingly attuned to regulating construction activity and to ensuring that new buildings met the

required standards – functionally, technically and also environmentally. The two legislative systems drifted apart.

In the late 70s and early 80s a conservative wind blew over Europe. This created a general *deregulation* in the public sector. It was an increasing critic in Norway of the post WWII market regulations. Massive deregulations began: the housing market was deregulated and credit restrictions were abolished. House prices boomed – and slumped shortly after. The acquisition of public land in local municipalities was abandoned (Nordahl, 2006). In 2006, deregulation was topped by the withdrawal of the local authorities' precedence to purchase land for development (The Concession Act of 2003). Land for development was acquired, developed and purchased on market terms. Urban renewal programmes were cancelled. Urban infill development and even larger transformation projects were left for market actors to develop, on market terms. Local authorities became increasingly occupied with social welfare.

5.2 The Norwegian context and the Norwegian planning hierarchy (governmental technologies)

In general, Norwegian local (urban) government is considered to be highly autonomous (Baldersheim *et al.* 2001, Mydske 2006). The responsibility for several welfare tasks have been decentralised to the municipalities the last decades, strengthening local government. Many of these welfare tasks are, however, subject for detailed national regulation. Urban spatial planning is a policy-field only being subject for minor regulations from national government, and are one of the policy-fields where local politicians really can have a say (Fimreite 2003, 349). The 429 municipalities are quite small, averaging 10,400 inhabitants.

5.2.1 The national level

The general planning system

Norwegian planning is regulated by the Norwegian Planning and Building Act (PBA) that was revised in 2008. The PBA organizes planning at three levels, the national, the regional and the local.

The national level does not ordinarily produce plans. However, it does issue *national expectations to regional and municipal planning* each fourth year as well as issuing plan instructions and binding plan provisions. These expectations highlight tasks and interests that the government judge as vital for the implementation of the prevailing national policy (Norwegian Government 2011). The basis for this policy is the promotion of sustainable development. The purpose of the expectations is however not only to enhance policy consistency across the levels of the decision-making system. One aim is also to strengthen plan coordination, including coordination between different governmental authorities. The content of the expectation document serves as a basis for the governmental actors' participation in planning (Kalbro et al 2010:4). Additionally, the PBA gives the government a right to issue plan instructions and binding plan provisions that serve as guidelines for steering and development at all levels of the planning hierarchy. Of special relevance to SUSPLAN is the plan provision concerning co-ordinated land use and transport planning (1993). These provisions demand that consequences for transport are considered when land use decisions are made. In addition it promotes the principles for concentrated development as laid out by the NAMIT project. The plan provision states that farm land protection is less important at public transport nodes.

A later binding provision is the regional and local climate and energy planning (MoE 2009). The provision demands that the municipalities incorporate actions and measures to reduce climate gas emissions, secure a more efficient use of energy, and arrange for more environmentally sound energy provision. This can be done either in a separate climate and energy plan or be a part of the ordinary municipal plan (master plan + land use plan). In addition, the plan provision shall be a basis for regional planning.

The national level does not only issue expectations and provisions, it may also intervene to adjust subsidiary plans out of rhythm with the abovementioned national intentions. Firstly, the regional planning strategy that will be introduced later must be sanctioned by the government (Kalbro et al 2010:22). Changes can then be made in line with national interests. Secondly, national authorities and affected municipalities can issue objections to regional and local plans. If raised, objections will first be discussed by the parties in order to try to reach consensus. If not, the plans will be

considered by the Ministry of the Environment which is the responsible authority for planning in Norway. The most frequent objectors to local plans are the County council, the County governor, the national road authority, the Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate and neighbouring municipalities (SSB 2012). If all types of plans are seen together, there were 2420 adopted plans in 2011. There were 851 objections to these plans, (one plan can be met with more than one objection). Naturally, it is the detail plans that experience most objections. Thirdly, the Ministry of the Environment has admittance to intervene directly into local plans through governmental planning (Kalbro et al 2010:22). However, this instrument is very seldom used.

In sum, the basic planning role of the national level then is to make sure that the regional and local level live up to the content and procedure demands given in regulations, expectations, provisions and instructions (Aarsæther and Buanes 2012).

Topical sector Laws for compact city development

As a coordinative tool, both in a vertical and horizontal sense, planning has consequences for, and is influenced by, activities in the social sectors. The *integration of plan legislation with sector laws* is therefore a topical question. Of special relevance to the SUSPLAN project is environmental, social, and agricultural regulations tied to the physical allocation of resources.

Protection of farmland is backed by a separate Law, The Land Act. The aim is both to secure farmland resources for future generations but also to ensure an economically viable farming practice. Construction on farmland has to be accepted by the agricultural authorities as well as by planning and building authorities. Construction necessary for agricultural practice is exempted. While farmers in the 1960s and 1970s were eager to protect their land from urban expansion, they later became more interested in selling land for construction. This is due to the restructuring of the agricultural sector where there is a declining number of farmers and farms. As more and more farmers find work opportunities outside the agricultural practice, selling farmland is an attractive option, more economically attractive than letting out farmland to the neighbouring farm. To counter this, the agricultural authorities have promoted additional income opportunities on farms, including small scale production of e.g.

cheese, fruit juice, or cafes selling homemade produce, importing tyres for tractors targeted at neighbours etc. Inventiveness is encouraged. Some of these have become so successful that that they grow into small hotels, conference centres, regional centre for car tyres etc. Farmland protection is held high by national and regional authorities and farming organisation at national level. However, at the local level the picture is more diverse. In fact, a case study of actual construction on farmland shows that construction under the heading of agriculture represent a bigger threat than actual "urban" development.

Outdoor recreation has traditionally had a strong position in Norwegian culture and protection of the so-called "marka" - forests lying at the urban fringe where activities as skiing, gathering of mushrooms and berries, hiking, and cycling are performed – is important in many Norwegian cities. There is common to speak about *"markagrensa"*, the borderline of the urban area towards the greenbelt. This borderline has especially in the Oslo region been regarded as somewhat holy, and in 2009 it was regulated by national law. The justification was that this area stretched across several municipalities and had to be secured on a higher governmental level. Urban expansion in the greenbelt is consequently not permitted. Seen in a compact city context, Marka is one of the areas to be protected by the densification and coordinated land and transport planning.

The Nature Diversity Act (NDA) contain regulations for how nature diversity should be described and judged across different laws with the aim of contributing to sustainable management of these resources (MoE 2012). In order to safeguard a knowledge-based management of nature diversity, all plans shall describe their consequences for environment and society, including nature diversity. This judgement shall be an integrated part of the assessment and justification done in the planning process. If plans or specific measures are judged to have considerable impact for environment and society, The Planning and Building Act requires that an *environmental impact assessment* should be made (PBA §14-1). This requirement can also be raised with reference to NDA where the initiator can be instructed to assess or clarify consequences for nature diversity and to be given conditions related to nature diversity (Moe 2012:42). Alternative localisation of buildings and installations can be given (MoE 2012:46). In addition, PBA contain

explicit references to nature qualities and green structure. Firstly, the PBA state that plans shall secure *'…landscape qualities and protect valuable landscapes and cultural environments'* (PBA § 3-1 b). Secondly, so called *zones of concern* can be marked in land use plans to highlight green structure qualities.

The Public Health Act (PHA) builds on a broad determinant perspective on public health work. Overview of public health and health determinants constitutes the starting point for evidence based public health work. Based on a local assessment of the public health challenges, public health policy development must be an integrated part of ordinary societal and spatial planning and administration processes in counties and municipalities and in other social development strategies (MoH 2011). More explicitly, the conclusion drawn in the assessment of public health challenges shall lay premises for the regional and local planning strategy (to be presented below) and subsequent plans. Correspondingly, public health is integrated as one of several goals to be promoted by planning. The PBA states that: *'plans after this act shall (…) promote population health and counteract social inequalities in health, as well as contribute to prevent crime'* (PBA § 3-1 f).

To what extent has/will these instruments influence compact city development? Næss (2012) claim that the key land use policy instruments promoting sustainability by stimulating compact city development in Norway is first and foremost restrictive national policy in farmland conversion. Secondly, it is national policy provisions on coordinated land use and transport planning. Thirdly, it is strong emphasis on protection outdoor recreational areas in the main cities. The strengthened emphasis in protection of nature diversity through the new Act, might give a stronger protection of the green structure within the city, although it is underlined that protection needs to be balanced against societal gains. Also public health act may increase the emphasis on green urban infrastructure, but this remains to be seen and will be studied as part of the SUSPLAN-project.

5.2.2 The regional level

The elected regional level, the Counties, also enjoys a high level of autonomy, but has experienced a profound and wide-ranging transformation during the last decade. Their traditional role as

service providers has gradually shifted towards a role as *network nodes* in policy areas as regional development, water management (implementing the EU WDF) and health promotion. The Counties' diminishing role as service providers is most notably related to the transfer of somatic hospitals and child care services from the County to the state level, in 2002 and 2004 respectively (Helseforetaksloven 2001, Norwegian Parliament 2003). Being bereft of significant portions of their task portfolio, the Counties' role as coordinators and facilitators was emphasized, and the Planning and Building Act (PBA) in 2008 assigned new and vitalized planning tools to the Counties[10], supporting this role. The regional *planning strategy* is a new tool for discussions and prioritizing topical questions. Regional *plans* function as working tools on selected themes related to physical planning, whereas new regional *plan provisions* gives guidelines for area development. As a parallel to the national plan provisions, the regional plan authority may issue regional plan provision that attend to national and regional concerns and interests. However, it may be left to the local authorities to decide how the provision best can be attended to in their planning.

The instruments have expanded the Counties' ability to act as a coordinator of public efforts in relation to cross-cutting problems such as transportation, infrastructure, health promotion, management of nature and coastline as well as housing and business development (MoE 2008). In order to coordinate national, regional and local interests a regional planning forum is established in each county (Kalbro et al 2010:7). In addition, the PBA permits plan collaboration across municipal borders so that two or more municipalities have the ability to coordinate their activities by making a common plan. They are to decide themselves the topic and organisation of the plan but they must use one of the local planning forms to this end.

5.2.3 The local level

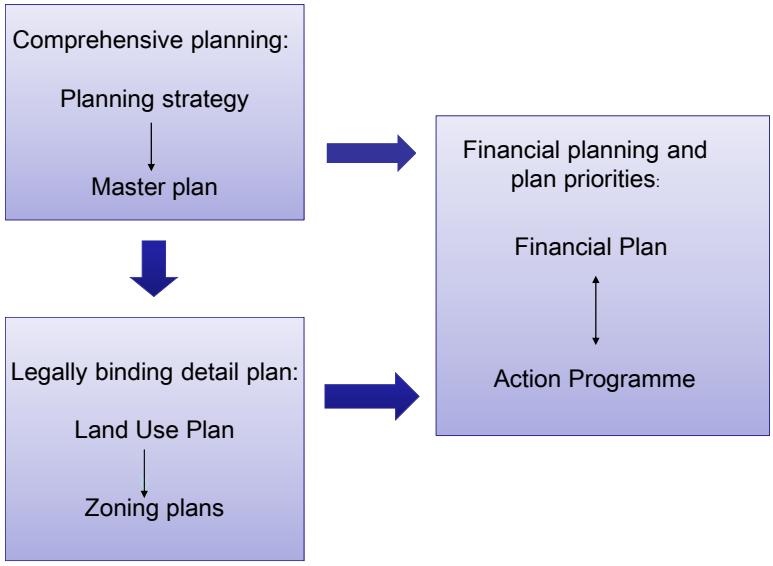
The Norwegian Planning and Building Act of 2008 uses different plan formats at the local level to address local needs and challenges

[10] In general, the regional plan authority initiates and is in charge of planning (Kalbro et al 2010:6). The regional plan authority is a collaboration between several municipalities or the County municipality where the county council is the highest authority.

and act on national goals and policy signals. The city council (or one of their committees) are the final approval authority for all plans, and are entitled to formulate detailed instructions for plans and processes, being implemented by public planners.

Urban planning consists of four internally integrated parts: a Planning Strategy (Planstrategi), where local planning needs and strategic decisions are considered, the long-term Master Plan (Samfunnsdel), a short-term Action Programme (Handlingsdel), a Land Use Plan (Arealdel), and two forms of zoning plans. The plans have different legal status, time horizons, content, and degree of binding commitment. Figure 1 shows the relationship between them.

Figure 5.1 *The planning hierarchy at local level*



The *Planning Strategy* involves choices concerning social development, long-term land use, environmental challenges, activities in the administrative sectors, and planning needs over a specific period (PBA, 2008, ss. 10.1). The *Master Plan* reveals long-term challenges, needs, and strategies for the community in general, and for the municipal organization in particular (PBA, 2008, ss. 11.2). It also discusses alternative strategies for development. The *Action Programme* is basically a plan for the

allocation and commitment of the local authority's financial resources, revised on an annual basis (PBA, 2008, ss. 11.1). The *Land Use Plan* is the legally binding steering tool to control land use, protect nature and the environment, and provide technical infrastructure (PBA, 2008, § 11.5). The Action Programme may be, and often is, merged with the compulsory *Finance Plan*, regulated by the Local Government Act (LGA) (1992). The latter gives a realistic overview of income, expected expenses, and a prioritization of tasks (LGA, 1992:44).

The lowest level of land-use planning is legally binding zoning plans. They state use, protection and shaping of areas and physical environments (PBA § 12-1). Zoning plans can come in two forms: 1) *the area-based zoning plan* which is a tool for more detailed, area-specific clarification of land use (PBA 2008 § 12-2). This plan can be formulated either by the municipality or be left totally or partly to private actors (MoE undated). Nevertheless, the municipality shall frame the planning either alone or in collaboration with the private actors (ibid). 2) The *detailed zoning plan* is used to specify the land use plan or the area-based zoning plan. The PBA requires that the detailed zoning plan shall be in accordance with main features and frames in the land use plan and topical area-based zoning plans (PBA 2008 § 12-3). In addition to local government, private developers, organisations and other authorities have the right to formulate a detailed zoning plan and have it judged by the local council (ibid). Actually, the majority of detailed zoning plans are made by these other actors (SSB 2012).

In addition to the plan formats demanded by the PBA and the LGA, local authorities will make a number of thematic or strategic plans on topics that are either required by national authorities, or are the centre of local attention. The Norwegian Planning and Building Act states that the municipal Master plan are to set out the main development goals and principles, including a legally binding land use plan, while legally binding detailed area-based- and detailed zoning plans are to set out detailed regulations. However, there is no hierarchical mandatory linkage – the latest adopted plan is the valid plan (Nordahl et al 2008).

5.2.4 The role of strategic planning

In 1999, EU issued the European Spatial Development Perspective that underlines the need to develop strategies guiding urban development and planning (CSD 1999). The raise of this planning can be understood as a combination of several parallel phenomena; coordination, fragmentation and complexity challenges, the need for more economically competitive regions, the ambition to create sustainable development and long-term thinking, the wish to empower the local municipal level within the larger multi-level landscape, to redress the unequal distribution of opportunities across urban regions (Healey 2004:45, Albrechts 2004:743). In the literature, the most important sources of strategic planning is held to originate from a turn to corporate strategic planning in the US private sector during the 1950s (Albrechts 2004) and the US armed forces that in the 1970s started to work according to strategic objectives (Miller and Holt-Jensen 1997).

There is no single, universally accepted definition of strategic spatial planning. (Albrechts 2006:1150). Albechts, which is one of the most active in the discussion about strategic planning, offer the following definition: *"strategic spatial planning is a public-sector-led (…) sociospatial (…) process through which a vision, actions, and means for implementation are produced that shape and frame what a place is and may become"* (2004:747). However, as we see it, the problem with this definition is that it does not differentiate much from a description of planning in general. Furthermore, Albrechts continues by highlighting several aspects showing how strategic spatial planning is, or should be, performed. Among many elements, he highlights that strategic planning has a focus on a limited number of strategic key issues (ibid). This fits well with Miller and Holt-Jensen's (1997) description of the strategic planning model characterized by a long-term perspective for management, using analytical techniques to achieve in-depth knowledge of the current situation (for example SWOT analysis), identification and involvement of stakeholders, following a limited number of goals and objectives, and finally putting effort in monitoring, feedback and revision to account for uncertainty.

Other scholars highlight the altered context that planning operates in and argue that this has repercussions for how planning is performed. Balducci et al maintain that 'the world in which

strategic spatial planners attempt to plan is messy with potentialities, possibilities and uncertainties, mostly beyond their control' (2011:485). As such, strategic spatial planning should '…embrace incompleteness and uncertainty, multiple possible alternative futures, that people's desires are likely to change over the life of a strategic spatial plan, and that many decisions need to be flexible, exploratory and experimental' (ibid). Hence, one should let go of the 'traditional ideas of an orderly and hierarchical planning system, which mobilizes resources according to planned or projected events, hold little conviction in an age of simultaneity and juxtaposition, the contiguous and the fragmented, the anticipated and the unpredictable' (Balducci et al 2011:485). Sharing these thoughts and arguments, Jean Hillier suggests a new definition of strategic spatial planning as 'the investigation of "virtualities" unseen in the present; the speculation about what may yet happen; the temporary inquiry into what at a given time and place we might yet think or do and how this might influence socially and environmentally just spatial form' (2007:225). Hence, it is a form of planning trying to cope with the highly complex and uncertain nature of goals, actors and technologies faced by current planning.

There is a contrast between the first (Albrechts, Miller and Holt-Jensen) and the second (Hillier, Balducci et al) line of thought. While the in-depth analysis described first seems to have an intention and belief that it is possible to reduce the current uncertainty, the second line of thought does not think that to be possible. What we have left is experimentation. On the basis of these differences, we can expect that the forms of strategic spatial planning are varied also within one national context. As we see it, there is no point, at this stage, in restricting ourselves to one distinct definition of strategic planning, but rather we should be open to the eventual divergences between different practices aiming to respond to the prevailing fragmented, complex and uncertain reality. It may also be that the existence of strategic practices in planning is scarce. As Newman points out '…it is a paradox of what is a growing body of work that evidence of this style of planning is acknowledged to be relatively weak' (2008:1372). He argues that rather than seeing actors getting it wrong by not managing to create the form of sustained collective action as prescribed by the strategic planning model, we should

shift our gaze to the actual responses of planners to contextual factors.

So, is it possible to identify current planning practices in Norway with traces of the abovementioned forms of planning? In general, the planning process at the regional level has become more stringent, streamlined and strategically focused (Knudsen et al 2005). This is a process that has occurred in all counties. However, much of the conditioning of future regional development paths takes place in the different sectors, all of which are beyond the control of the counties. It is only when county planning is invited into these arenas that strategic planning will be approached as authoritative and as an attractive arena for involvement by the private and voluntary sectors (ibid).

More specifically, as noted earlier, each county and municipality is expected to formulate a *planning strategy* where the main challenges for future (environmental) development are mapped and where choices concerning social development, long-term land use and planning needs over a specific period are specified. This should be brought about by citizen participation and general debate serving as a basis for the decision-making process. This means that the planning strategy is a 'plan of plans' (Tewedwr-Jones et al 2006). As in the UK context, one of the purposes with this strategy is to simplify the planning process (MoE 2011). In the planning strategy, there is the option to decide not to revise the master plan which was obligatory in each election period according to the former plan legislation. Additionally, the planning strategy should contribute to making planning needs-driven in the sense that it prevents planning from being more extensive than it ought to be (ibid). This is done by clarifying the planning needs in the current election period. Apart from the strategy's contribution to planning efficiency, a long-term view on land use, enhanced coordination and the handling of social and environmental challenges are explicitly addressed. This coincides with the discourse about strategic spatial planning's weight on the handling of uncertainty and fragmentation.

A strategic plan can take many forms. While planning strategies involve broad assessment of planning needs and challenges, other strategic plans focus on a limited number of key topics. *Green structure planning* is one example of this form of strategic spatial

planning. Green structure can take many forms: cultivated areas, the shoreline, urban forests, parks and streams. These areas are multi-functional; they are offering settings for recreational and agricultural activities, nature diversity and cultural heritage, but are also attractive building ground for urban expansion. Moreover, they are often under high pressure with the competing and mutually exclusive interests of urban development and nature protection. This leads to land use conflicts which urban planning intends to solve. The purpose of green structure plans is to clarify the green structure's values and functions and to highlight the most valuable parts of the green structure in need of protection (DN 2003:11). Hence, the intent is that it shall contribute to a prioritization in the green areas not least support the most basic questions about the future use of these areas: which can be used for city development, which should be safeguarded for future generations? However, the green structure plan can serve also other purposes: serve as a basis for city development and planning, give information to users of green areas, and identify needs for recreational, environmental or planning measures (ibid).

The last two decades or so, reputation, place development and development have been important catch words in regional and local planning. Stressed by globalization and trade liberalization and inspired by the European Spatial Development Perspective highlighting the need for a geographically balanced polycentric development of regions - *development plans* aiming to create innovation and economic development in Norwegian regions has popped up (Selstad 2006). Around 2000, the municipalities in the eastern region of Norway, where Oslo is situated, agreed on a polycentric strategy (ibid). Oslo and the neighbouring cities met in corresponding challenges – Oslo needs relief from the strong development pressure and the Eastern cities want to take part in Oslo's growth. As part of the strategy to redirect and attract growth, Norwegian cities put effort in creating a place narrative – to build reputation and a good image (Vestby 2006).

5.2.5 The relationship between public and private actors in spatial planning

As presented above, the system for spatial planning in Norway has traditionally been, and still is, based upon a body of *hierarchical instruments*, like laws and regulations, controlled by public actors. At

local level, the city councils (or one of their committees) are the final approval authority for all land-use planning within their territory, and are entitled to formulate detailed instructions for plans and processes, being implemented by public planners.

However, a new division of labour have emerged between public and private actors. The Norwegian Planning and Building Act (PBA) from 1985 opened up for private planning initiatives, thereby liquidating the public plan-monopoly. Private actors are entitled to propose draft detailed (and area-based) zoning-plans and submit them for political approval by local government. The right, which had the intention of being an additional democratic right of civil society, has become a planning instrument for market actors today. Thus, we have seen a *delegation of the planning initiative* to private developers (Sager 2009, Børrud 2005, Nordahl 2006, Røsnes *et al.* 2010), as 90 percent of the plans are initiated and formulated by private developers today, in contrast to countries like Sweden, Denmark and Germany, having public planning. The de facto termination of the municipal planning monopoly in 1985 has been accompanied by very little discussion of the underlying principles (Falleth and Saglie 2011).

A consequence of this new division of labour is the emergence of market- and network oriented practices as institutionalized closed-door *negotiations* between public planners and private developers. The negotiations often result in public-private partnership agreements, formalized by *development agreements and contracts*, which is primarily agreements between planning authorities and developers about planning and implementation of a project on a privately owned land property, for example about cost sharing of infrastructure. The agreements are not juridical binding until being politically approved.

Furthermore, many cities have reorganized in accordance with NPM-principles, *established agencies and public companies* which play an important role in urban development, and giving councillors a more *hands-off, strategic leadership role* (Stigen & Vabo 2001, Ringkjøb *et al.* 2008).

5.2.6 Participation

The principle of direct participation by citizens in planning processes is a rather new phenomenon in Norway. In the Building

Act from 1965 the rights of citizens in planning processes was predominantly related to openness and access to case-documents, not to direct participation (Holsen 2000). The right to (direct) participation was not explicitly included in the legislation until the Planning and Building Act 1985. A general principle of direct participation was included in § 16, saying that "affected actors are to be given the opportunity to participate actively in the planning process" and with more specific descriptions of the right to participate in different plan types. These amendments represented a change of attitudes towards citizen participation, where citizens now were regarded to be legitimate actors in planning and were now considered to represent important knowledge (Fiskaa 2005). Hence, the Act from 1985 represented an acknowledgement of the value of the dialogue between public authorities and citizens for clarifying and operationalizing overall goals, for finding innovative solutions and for obtaining knowledge about the consequences of different policy-proposals (Sager 1991:149).

The requirements in the Law in 1985 to ensure the general purpose of participation were a) *compulsory public announcement* of the start of the planning process, and *b) public consultation (hearings).* These requirements were valid both for *overall municipal plans*[11] and for the lowest plan-level –*zoning plans,* and were quite similar to the requirements in other Scandinavian countries (Mäntysalo et al 2011). Participatory measures beyond this was not required, and a very precise definition of who were to be considered as "affected actors and groups" was not given (with exceptions for neighbours and property owners, that has to be notified). The operationalization of affected actors, and the content and extent of "active participation" have primarily been up to the municipal planning authorities to decide (Wøhni 2007). Even if the hearings have been actively used as an avenue for civil society participation, the amount of participatory measures in zoning plans cannot be characterized as extensive (Falleth et al 2008).

The PBA was revised in 2008, strengthening the principle of participation by affected actors and stressing that it is the responsibility of "*anybody* who submit plans, to facilitate participation" (PBA §5-1)[i]. The background for stressing "anybody", is that Norway opened up for private planning

[11] Kommuneplan, kommuneplanens arealdel, kommunedelplan

initiatives in the PBA 1985, and since then almost all zoning plans (90%) are submitted by private or semi-private actors, - thus being the plan owners. Thus, in a situation without public planning monopoly, an important responsibility for ensuring public participation in the plan formulation phase rests on private developers (Hanssen 2013). The article continue by stressing that it is the responsibility of the municipality to make sure that this is ensured in planning processes that is carried out by other public actors or by private actors. Here, it is stressed – as an attempt to clarify who is to be considered as affected actors – that the municipalities has a particular responsibility to ensure participation by weak groups as disabled persons, children and youth, mentally ill and immigrants, and also stresses the importance of involving associations representing environmental interests and recreational interests, as well as unorganized interests (Schmidt *et al.* 2011:36).

The lowest plan level is split in two levels in the new Act, in *area-based zoning-plans*[12] and *detailed zoning-plans*[13]. While municipalities are expected to be plan owners of the former, private actors are expected to be the plan owners of the latter. However, the Act opens up for private actors being plan owners also of area-based zoning plans. The requirements from 1985 with *compulsory public announcement* of the start of planning processes and *public consultation/hearings* of the plan-proposal are maintained in the Act from 2008 (the new Act also require this to be electronically available), and is related to both plan-types.

A new requirement in the Act from 2008 is a *planning programme*, which is a plan for the plan (§12-9, § 4-1) for all regional plans, all municipal plans and for (area-based and detailed) zoning plans which have considerable effects for the society and environment[14]. One of the things that has to be described in this planning programme is the involvement strategies – especially related to groups expected to be affected[15]. The Act mandate public consultation in the formation of planning programmes as an

[12] *områdereguleringer*

[13] *detaljreguleringer*

[14] "vesentlige virkninger for samfunn og miljø» (§ 12-9).

[15] "opplegget for medvirkning, spesielt i forhold til grupper som antas å bli særlig berørt" §4-1.

adjunct to the planning process, and it also extend the time limits on public consultations (Falleth and Saglie 2011).

As has been mentioned earlier, the Act from 2008 mandates the municipalities to produce a *municipal planning strategy* – and the county to produce a *regional planning strategy*. The Act stresses that the municipalities are to actively facilitate broad participation and public debate in the process of formulating the municipal planning strategies[16], and the Counties are expected to formulate the regional planning strategy "in cooperation with municipalities, regional state authorities, NGOs and institutions that is affected by the regional plans" (§7-1). The Act also mandates public consultation (hearings) in the formation of the regional planning strategies.

Will the new requirements in the Act from 2008 improve and increase citizens and civil society participation in planning? This is one of the research questions in SUSPLAN. Based upon previous findings, a conclusion is that one of the main problems for civil society influence in planning is that the requirements in the Act of direct participation by civil society actors in the *plan-formulation phase* have been too diffuse (Falleth et al 2008, 2010). Neither the new Act offer more specifically formulated requirements on if, how, when and who is to be involved in this phase. Thus, private developers being plan-owners are not forced to include participatory measures. The Act has also accommodated the need of developers for effective and efficient planning processes, which implies tight schedules (Saglie & Falleth 2011).

5.3 Output – Compact city at the local level

Empirical studies find that the compact city has been one of the dominating discourses also at regional and local level (Næss et al 2009, Næss 2012,a,b, Hanssen and Saglie 2010, Hofstad in prep). The conceptions operationalizing compact city are found in the overall plans and strategies of the main Norwegian cities; as for example urban containment, inner-city densification, polycentric development at public transport nodes. In the Master plan of Oslo for 2008 an important aim is "a compact urban development"

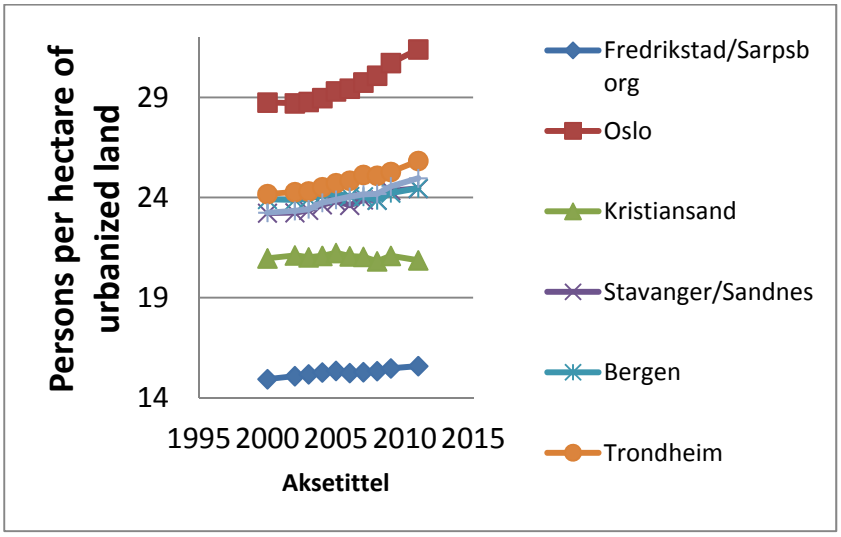
[16] "Kommunen bør også legge opp til bred medvirkning og allmenn debatt som grunnlag for behandlingen" (§10-1).

(page 44), "concentrated development pattern" and "high utilization of areas" (page 45) and Oslo, Trondheim and Bergen all have politically decided high-rise building strategies and density strategies (Masterplan for Oslo 2008: 45, Masterplan of Trondheim 2007:4,13, Masterplan for Bergen 2007). The latest year, densification and development *around transport nodes* have been emphasised in many overall strategies of the main cities in Norway.

During the whole period since the 1990s, there has been a high degree of professional and political consensus about urban densification as an overall strategy for urban development. Thus, the compact city ideal have gradually obtained a hegemonic position among Norwegian planners, and the professional and political discourse on urban sustainability evolved around the issue of limiting urban sprawl. (Næss et al 2009:30). Strong discourse coalitions have been formed around the story-lines of "save land" and "transportation", making it difficult for urban strategies placing less emphasis on these issues to gain foothold among planners and policy-makers.

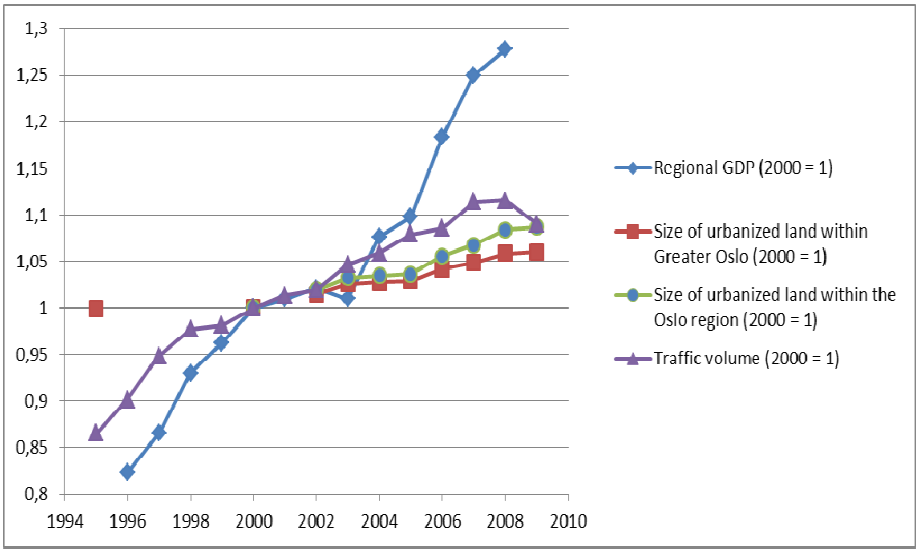
The effect of the policies can be observed in urban development in the main cities in Norway, illustrated by the figure below (Næss 2012).

Figure 5.2 *Urban development in the main cities in Norway (Næss 2012).*



The compact-city ideal is especially evident in the development in Oslo since the 1990ties, which can be characterizes as concentrated and compact (Næss et al 2011:117). The substantial residential development in the inner districts of Oslo has implied an increase in the population living close to the concentration of workplaces and service facilities found in the central parts of the metropolitan area (Næss et al 2011). This has contributed to reduce the overall amount of motorized travels and saved land. Studies show that road traffic has increased at much lower rates than the economic growth (Næss 2012); illustrated by the figure below;

Figure 5.3 *The increase of road traffic (Næss 2012).*



In Great Oslo the share of people travelling by car to work is 25%, while it is 80-90% in the periphery (Næss 2012b). Public transport has improved, but motorways are also built. Intra-urban open-access areas were reduced by 7% from 1992 to 2002 (Næss 2012).

Growth of the building stock - in absolute figures as well as in floor area per capita - has been taken as an unquestioned good in Norwegian urban development. Growth in transport and mobility has also to a high extent been taken as an unavoidable fact. Enlargement of the functional regions is thus an expressed political goal. Cities may, through urban densification, attempt at

providing increased opportunities for choice through proximity rather than mobility. The quest for ever-widening opportunities for choice and consumption is, however, hardly questioned (Næss 2012).

Following from this success some issues of concern have been raised. There is a growing concern about rising housing prices, and a lack of dwellings due to in-migration. This has resulted in a several early policy statements from the political parties: The leader of the conservative party in Oslo has asked for a less time consuming planning and building permit process, and the possibilities for national and regional sector authorities to object to a local detail plan for dwellings are questioned. In addition they call for the possibility to build smaller flats, as new requirements for universal design have increased the necessary floor area, and to reduce new demands for energy efficiency. In short: further deregulation is called for (Astrup *Dagens Næringsliv* 3/9-2012). In addition, the Conservative party leader has asked whether a revision of farmland protection policies is needed. This statement prompted the minister for agriculture from the Senterpartiet; traditionally the farmers' party, to argue that Oslo should rather build in the Marka than taking farmland resources from future generations. Other commentators point out the lack of investments in public transport, particularly regional train, which could open up for a decentralized concentrated urban pattern along stops in the regional train system. From the professional bodies, e.g the Architects Association has raised concerns about poor housing qualities in new densely built projects (Arkitektur N 2 /2011).

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6 Comparative reflections

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The previous chapters have presented the development of compact city policies in four different countries, and have also described the institutional and organizational conditions for compact city development. Thus, we have had an ambition of presenting both political rationalities, and governmental technologies in compact city policies.

Based upon these presentations, we will here sum up the main tendencies and answer the questions;

- Do we see compact city policies in England, The Netherlands, Denmark and Norway, and how can they be described?
- What are the different institutional and organizational conditions for planning the compact city in the four countries?
- How do the institutional conditions and differences in policies affect the balancing of core dimensions of sustainable planning in compact city/centre development?

6.1 Political rationalities: Compact city policies

Are we able to identify compact city policies in England, The Netherlands, Denmark and Norway, and if so; how can they be described? Do they vary?

A short answer to these questions is yes. In all countries there are traces of compact city development in national policies, but there are large variations.

The *Netherlands* has a long tradition of compact city policy, a policy which lately has been transformed to a policy of an "urban network" of cities. Traditionally, settlements along the rivers and in the lowlying parts of the country typically took the form of walled cities with an internal transport and drainage system: canals. For 30-40 years, national spatial planning policies in the Netherlands were aimed at implementing compact urbanisation in various forms. The 1966 Memorandum brought with it the concept of 'collected deconcentration' that aimed to control suburbanization, while the third Memorandum took the collected deconcentration concept and developed it further limiting suburban growth to a limited number of 'growth centers' in the 1970s. In the end of the 1980s, the fourth Memorandum, focused on planning for the cities rather than suburbs to encourage new growth impulses and maintain vitality in the cities. The fifth Memorandum, at the beginning of 2000, introduced the concept of an 'urban network,' which presented the idea of making space, sharing space.

Also *Denmark* has a long tradition for compact city development, which can be traced back to The Finger Plan from 1947, based upon the idea of an urban compact development in the old city centre of Copenhagen (a palm) and along fingers out of the city centre with railway stations as the central nodes. In 2007 the idea of the Fingerplan was turned into a national regulation for the metropolitan area, strengthening the ideal of the compact and sustainable city. The compact city development in Denmark is mainly driven by state regulations concerning 1) the demarcation of urban and rural areas which increased the density in the built environment, 2) the strict national regulation of large retail development preventing urban sprawl and 3) in several larger urban areas using transition oriented development to keep the development close to especially railway stations. Furthermore, the development of urban inner city areas like brown fields and harbour areas into attractive housing, service and business areas has increased the density and sustained the development of the compact city.

Norway does not have the same history of compact city policies, not being a densely populated country – and having large space per capita. Protection of farmland had been an important issue for discussion on urban development since the 1960s, being a scarce

resource. The policy from the 1960s –to the 1990s was to "jump over" farmland close to urban areas and build on non-productive hillsides, mostly detached housing. This resulted in a very fragmented urban pattern, dependent on transport by car and also quite expensive with regard to infrastructure. The concept of compact city gained currency in Norway from the 1990s, especially after the publication of the UNs "Brundtland-report" "Our common future". The implementation of the principles has been seen as a necessity to reduce emissions leading to climate change, and to protect cultural and natural landscapes. The general principles for a concentrated urban development have over the years become widely accepted and institutionalised in Norway, and have been incorporated in *national policy* since 1993, and also in most city/municipal policies.

In *England,* on the other hand, there has been a marked shift in the density at which housing is being built in England over recent decades, but this development has not been driven by an explicit national policy. While there are politically expedient and socially progressive reasons for the promotion of density, its delivery has been driven more by market forces than principles. Housing providers, dominated by a few large companies in England, have refined the production of higher density housing on brownfield inner sites over recent decades and will currently hold many brownfield urban sites which will require development. However, for all of the emphasis on inner city living in England Holman and Mace argue in chapter 2 that it is important to recall that the majority of the population still live in suburbs.

Currently, the national policy in England are going in a rather opposite direction than compact city development. Just as the basics of development economics appeared to have been far more important than policy in determining levels of density under New Labour, so it is now driving an overall lack of development under the Coalition government. The coalition has removed the 30dph minimum density requirement and targets for development on brownfield land. These changes send out a strong signal that, in seeking to meet the demand for housing and stimulate the economy, lower density housing and housing beyond the city is back on the table as an option. Taken as a whole, these policies may encourage more dispersed housing development than New Labour's polices for urban renaissance. However, England is

marked by a peculiarity. It is both an early developer of suburban development yet since WWII it has pursued a strong policy of urban containment. As we have seen in other national settings, the countryside lobby is likely to resist strongly any loosening of the policy of urban containment.

Summing up, compact city policies have a long history in the Netherlands and Denmark, while being a newer discourse in Norway and England. The discourse has taken two distinct directions. The Netherlands has developed the discourse further, now having an "urban network" policy. In England, the opposite is happened, where the current political climate is likely to downplay density.

6.2 Governmental technologies; Institutional and organizational conditions – and how they influence the balance of sustainability dimensions

All four countries have reformed their planning systems, and the three major tendencies can be summarized in; *decentralization*, *deregulation* and *development.*

In all four countries, we can observe a trend of *decentralization.* The role and autonomy of municipalities has been strengthened in compact city development, and municipalities are more capable of deciding and facilitate development, with fewer possibilities for central government to interfere than before. Still, national strategies for compact city development and for ensuring sustainability dimensions are still to be found.

In addition, we observe a general trend of *deregulation,* understood as the hierarchically based planning system being complemented by more market- orientated or "new public management"-orientated elements. As a result, the regulative power of planning authorities is being weakened, and the position of market-actors (developers) is strengthened. However, we find variation as to how formal this new balance between the actors is.

In England, Norway and Denmark we also see a shift in political climate, and all countries have - or have had right-wing

Governments lately. These governments are preoccupied with strengthening the economical dimension in urban development, by a stronger emphasis on *development and growth*. In England, this development has been at the expense of the social and ecological dimension of sustainability. In Denmark, the new planning instrument of Municipal strategies has resulted in an increased focus on business development and growth. In Norway, where the right-wing government is just a few months old, the exact balancing of the sustainability dimensions are not yet clear. However, the signal so far is to hamper national interference in local planning in order to enhance plan efficiency – a policy that will strengthen the economic dimension.

The observed decentralization and deregulation seem to have resulted in a much heavier growth focus in the three countries, on behalf of the social and ecological dimension. The growth focus and market focus might ensure compact city development – as prices are still high in inner city districts. However, market-mechanisms are much more unstable mechanisms to ensure compact city development, than regulations.

Another observation is that "the compact city" is a rather poorly defined concept in all countries, and encompasses a huge range of practices that could be interpreted as compact city development. In the case of England, for example, being – arguably - the originator of the modern low density suburb, it never turned to sprawl because of the post '47 policy of urban containment. Compared to the US and some of the sprawl in France, the UK might be said to have achieved a compact city form with suburbs. In a number of other reports the story is similar (Schoon 2001) – ie the compact city alongside a preferred suburban form. Hence, there is a need to modernise, reinvent and redefine the term to include a more expansive view of the compact city that can encompass polycentric compact forms, single family house compact cities and so forth.

6.3 References

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Appendix 1

Year	Extra national	National	Planning/urban
1979		Conservatives elected	
	First EU Directive on Environmental assessment (Brundtland, *Our Common Future)*		
		This common inheritance British Environmental Strategy (DoE)	
	UNECD Earth Summit, Rio.		
		Sustainable development: the UK strategy	
			EU Sustainable cities report
		New labour elected	
		A better quality of life: a strategy for sustainable development in the UK (DEFRA)	
		Environmental Audit	Urban White Paper *Our towns and cities*

Year	Extra national	National	Planning/urban
		Commission established	
	World Summit on sustainable development Johannesburg		
			Planning and compulsory purchase Act
			Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable Development
		Securing the future: delivering UK sustainability strategy (DEFRA)	Town and Country Planning (Residential Density) (London, South East England, South West England, East of England and Northamptonshire) Indicative min density 30dph notify SoS if less.
2010		Coalition elected	
			Density directive removed. Residential gardens no longer classified as previously used land.
		Environmental Audit Commission disbanded	
			March targets for brownfield land abolished June minimum density targets

Year	Extra national	National	Planning/urban
			removed & Private gardens removed from the definition of ”brownfield land”
			National Planning Policy Framework and the Localism Act

Source: Based on Cullingworth and Nadin 2006 table 7.2 page 255

[i] In Norwegian: “enhver som fremmer planforslag, skal legge til rette for medvirkning”.