

**Europeanisation and Territorial Governance:
An Inquiry Into Power and Institutional Culture Change in Portugal.**

by

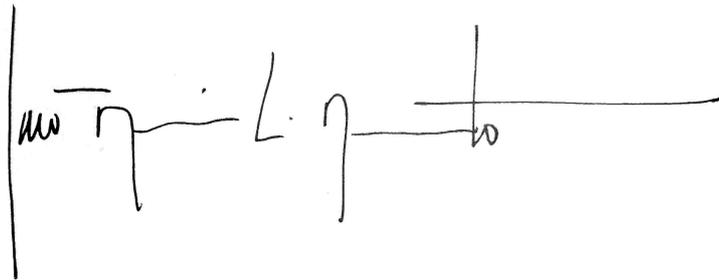
João Morais L Mourato

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Town Planning

Bartlett School of Planning
University College London
July 2011

Declaration

I, **João Morais L Mourato**, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'João Morais L Mourato'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a vertical line on the left side.

*Until they become conscious they will never rebel,
and until after they have rebelled they cannot become conscious.*

George Orwell

1984

Abstract

From within the European Union integration project, a shared spatial development agenda has emerged. From the beginning of the European Spatial Development Perspective process in 1989, to the post-enlargement Territorial Agenda of 2007, in a non-binding policy context of inexistent formal competencies, member-states agreed on a shared vision, spatial development objectives and planning principles for the EU territory. This catalysed the institutionalisation of European Spatial Planning. Fuelled by processes of socialisation framed within a platform for common policy learning the latter produced an undeniable cultural footprint. Growing attention has been given to the impact that this process has had on domestic planning systems and institutions among member-states. This impact is widely referred to as the Europeanisation of planning.

This thesis examines the Portuguese National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT) under the light of the hypothetical causal relationship between the Europeanisation of planning and institutional culture change in Portugal. As evidence mounts of innovation in policy discourse, conceptual paradigms, legal framework and practices, the research focus shifts to the domestic drivers, mechanisms, key actors and their motivations, enabling factors and obstacles to culture change. The outcome is a portrait of the contemporary challenges faced by planning in Portugal. The latter highlights the fragilities of the planning-related policy learning dynamics, capacity-building processes, inter-institutional coordination deficit and structural shortcomings in terms of the communicational capacity and the adaptational ability of institutions and practitioners in an evolving public policy context. Finally, although a policy-steered process, planning culture change in Portugal, if to prevail, depends on the mobilisation of the community of planners. Through a communicative power framework they must work alongside central and local government and citizens in an inclusive spirit of mutual learning and partnership. For a culture change in planning to have any effect in shaping places, it must first shape minds.

Table of Contents

	PAGE
Declaration	i
Abstract	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Acknowledgements	vii
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	xi
Additional Notes	xv
Chapter 1 Introduction	
1.1 Contextual Settings	1
1.2 Research Lines and Main Hypothesis	4
1.3 Aims and Objectives	6
1.4 Research Focus	7
1.5 Key Definitions	9
1.6 Research Context	10
1.7 Thesis Structure	11
Chapter 2 Planning Culture Change	
2.1 Introduction	15
2.2 Planning Culture as a Research Agenda	16
2.2.1 Defining Planning Culture	16
2.2.2 The Culturised Planning Model	19
2.2.3 Planning Artefacts and the Planning Environment	20
2.2.4 The Societal Environment	24
2.3 Culture Change	25
2.3.1 Typologies of Culture Change	26
2.3.2 Culture Change as a Learning Process	28
2.3.3 Culture Change as Power	33
2.4 Institutional Culture Change	37
2.5 Final Remarks	42

Chapter 3	Europeanisation as Culture Change	
3.1	Introduction	44
3.2	Europeanisation as a Research Agenda	45
	3.2.1 Europeanisation or European Integration?	46
	3.2.2 Defining Europeanisation	47
	3.2.3 Themes of Europeanisation	50
3.3	The Europeanisation of Planning	54
	3.3.1 Which Europeanisation of Planning?	54
	3.3.2 Mechanisms of the Europeanisation of Planning	56
	3.3.3 The Dynamics of the Europeanisation of Planning	57
	3.3.4 The ESDP as a Catalyst of Europeanisation of Planning	59
	3.3.5 The Emergence of a European Planning Culture?	66
3.4	Final Remarks	66
Chapter 4	Tracking Down Institutional Culture Change	
4.1	Introduction	69
4.2	Planning Research against the Backdrop of a ‘Science Wars’	69
4.3	<i>Phronesis</i> as a Research Philosophy	72
4.4	<i>Phronesis</i> as a Research Agenda	75
	4.4.1 Context-Dependency and the Single Case Study	76
	4.4.2 Research Design Guidelines	79
4.5	Phronetic Research in Practice: Issues and Limitations	82
	4.5.1 The Case Study	82
	4.5.2 The Research Timeline	86
	4.5.3 The Data Collection Process	87
	4.5.4 The Researcher	98
4.6	Final Remarks	99
Chapter 5	Planning Culture in Portugal	
5.1	Introduction	100
5.2	The Evolution of Planning in Portugal	101
	5.2.1 Key Contextual Influences	102
	5.2.2 The Setup Process (1974-1984)	105
	5.2.3 The Emancipation Process (1985-1999)	107
	5.2.4 The Coming of Age (2000+)	113
5.3	Portugal and the Europeanisation of Planning	116
	5.3.1 The Hidden Agenda (1986-1999)	116

5.3.2 Uncertainty (1999-2005)	120
5.3.3 Voluntary Action (2005+)	122
5.4 Final Remarks	124
Chapter 6 PNPOT - The National Spatial Planning Policy Programme	
6.1 Introduction	126
6.2 The PNPOT as Institutional Culture Change	127
6.2.1 Policy Predecessors	128
6.2.2 Legal Framework	130
6.2.3 The Making of the Draft PNPOT	142
6.2.4 Policy Harmonisation Process	150
6.2.5 Public Discussion Process	151
6.2.6 Political Debate and Approval	154
6.3 The PNPOT as Evidence of Europeanisation of Planning	159
6.4 The PNPOT as Planning Culture Change	161
6.5 Final Remarks	163
Chapter 7 Conclusions	
7.1 Europeanisation and Institutional Culture Change in Portugal	164
7.2 Future Research Agenda	167
Chapter 8 Epilogue	170
List of Legislative References	179
List of References	180
Appendix A PNPOT: The Making Of - Key Dates and Events	196
Appendix B PNPOT: The 24 Problems of Territorial Planning	198
Appendix C PNPOT: Portugal 2025 - Territorial Model	200
Appendix D PNPOT: The Strategic Objective 6	201

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At the Bartlett School of Planning, UCL, colleagues played a huge role. Fruitful academic discussions are usually the words associated with colleagues. They are significant, by all means. But I found far more by looking at my fellow colleagues and understanding that the troubles and insecurities I experienced were not exclusively mine. Or, in other words, that we can learn from others to deal with the issues we think are solely ours. That is the greater lesson, I find. In this sense, I wish to leave a special word of affection to Marta, Moshe and Richard. A very special thanks to Sonia who is the best friend one could ask for: supportive, and the perfect discussant, honestly critical and trustable. To Suzanne for having pushed me forward and for all the affection and companionship I was granted. To Jonathan, for being such a trustworthy and supportive friend, and an excellent running partner.

The PhD extends far beyond the limits of one's school or department, both in time and space. May it be the fault of the 'network society', the 'skype-society' or the 2.0 world we live in or just the twists and turns of life itself but people we randomly come across, add up, little by

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List of Tables

	PAGE
Chapter 2	
Table 2.1 Definitions of Culture	18
Table 2.2 Planning System Typologies	21
Table 2.3 Comparison of Land Use Planning and Spatial Planning	22
Table 2.4 Unintended Consequences of Change	27
Table 2.5 Definitions of Power	34
Table 2.6 Characteristics of Institutional Culture	39
Table 2.7 Mechanisms of Institutional Reproduction	40
Chapter 3	
Table 3.1 Towards a Typology of the Europeanisation of Planning	62
Chapter 4	
Table 4.1 Comparative Summary of Aristotle's Virtues	74
Table 4.2 Five Key Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research Identified by Flyvbjerg	78
Table 4.3 Methodological Guidelines for Phronetic Planning Research	80
Table 4.4 Type and Purpose of 'Information-Oriented' Case Studies	84
Table 4.5 Key Official Documental Sources	87
Table 4.6 Interviewing Methods	91
Chapter 6	
Table 6.1 Succinct Chronology of the Making of the PNPO	142

List of Figures

	PAGE
Chapter 1	
Figure 1.1 Research Contextual Settings	3
Figure 1.2 Thesis' Conceptual Outline	14
Chapter 2	
Figure 2.1 Key Contextual Influences in Planning Culture	17
Figure 2.2 The Culturised Planning Model	20
Figure 2.3 Elements of Culture Change	26
Figure 2.4 Discursive/Operative Cycle	30
Figure 2.5 Hypothetical Conceptual Evolution in Public Policy	32
Figure 2.6 The Real System	33
Chapter 3	
Figure 3.1 Processes and Influences Underlying the Europeanisation of Planning	58
Figure 3.2 Perspectives on European Spatial Planning	64
Chapter 5	
Figure 5.1 The Development of the Portuguese Planning Environment	102
Figure 5.2 Law 48/98: The Portuguese Planning System	112
Figure 5.3 Planning's Path to Autonomy as a Public Policy: Critical Events	115
Chapter 6	
Figure 6.1 The PNPOP as Institutional Culture Change	126
Figure 6.2 The Relationship between Territorial Management Instruments	134
Figure 6.3 The Coordinative Role of the PNPOP	158
Chapter 8	
Figure 8.1 Planning Artefacts as Challenges for Culture Change	171

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AdUrbem	Association for the Development of Urban Planning and Construction Law (Associação para o Desenvolvimento do Direito do Urbanismo e da Construção)
APDR	Portuguese Association for Regional Development (Associação Portuguesa de Desenvolvimento Regional)
APG	Portuguese Association of Geographers (Associação Portuguesa de Geógrafos)
APPLA	Portuguese Association of Planners (Associação Portuguesa de Planeadores do Território)
AUP	Association of Portuguese Urbanists (Associação dos Urbanistas Portugueses)
BE	Left Bloc (Bloco de Esquerda)
CC	PNPOT Consultative Commission (Comissão Consultiva PNPOT)
CCDR Algarve	Regional Development Coordination Commission of the Algarve (Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional do Algarve)
CCR	Regional Coordination Commission (Comissão de Coordenação Regional)
CCR LVT	Regional Coordination Commission of Lisbon and the Tagus Valley (Comissão de Coordenação Regional de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo)
CCR Norte	Regional Coordination Commission of the Northern Region (Comissão de Coordenação Regional Norte)
CDS	Democratic and Social Centre (Centro Democrático e Social)
CDU	Democratic Union Coalition (Coligação Democrática Unitária)
CEC	Commission of the European Communities
CEG	Centre for Geographical Studies, University of Lisbon (Centro de Estudos Geográficos, Universidade de Lisboa)
CEMAT	Council of Europe Conference of Ministers Responsible for Spatial/Regional Planning
CNADS	National Council of the Environment and Sustainable Development (Conselho Nacional do Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Sustentável)
CPMR	Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions
CSD	Committee for Spatial Development
CSF	Community Support Framework
DAR	Official Journal of the Portuguese Parliament (Diário da Assembleia da República)

DGDR	Directorate-General for Regional Development (Direcção-Geral do Desenvolvimento Regional)
DGOTDU	Directorate-General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development (Direcção-Geral do Ordenamento do Território e Desenvolvimento Urbano)
DGSU	Directorate-General of Urbanisation Services (Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização)
DPP	Prospective and Planning Department (Departamento de Prospectiva e Planeamento)
EC	European Commission
ENDS	National Strategy for Sustainable Development (Estratégia Nacional de Desenvolvimento Sustentável)
ENOT	National Planning Scheme (Esquema Nacional do Ordenamento do Território)
EPUL	Public Urbanisation Company of Lisbon (Empresa Pública de Urbanização de Lisboa)
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
EEC	European Economic Community
ESF	European Social Fund
ESPON	European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion
EU	European Union
FDUC	Law School, University of Coimbra (Faculdade de Direito, Universidade de Coimbra)
FEADER	European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (Fundo Europeu Agrícola de Desenvolvimento Rural)
GEOTA	Planning and Environment Research Unit (Grupo de Estudos de Ordenamento do Território e Ambiente)
GPNPOT	Workgroup of the PNPOT (Grupo de Trabalho do PNPOT)
ICN	Nature Conservancy Institute (Instituto da Conservação da Natureza)
ICS	Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)
IFDR	Financial Institute for Regional Development (Instituto Financeiro para o Desenvolvimento Regional)
IGAOT	Planning Inspectorate for the Environment and Territorial Planning (Inspeção-Geral do Ambiente e Ordenamento do Território)
ISCTE	High Institute for Labour and Entrepreneurial Sciences, Lisbon University Institute (Instituto Superior das Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa)

ISEG	High Institute for Economics and Management, Technical University of Lisbon (Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa)
IST	Higher Technical Institute, Technical University of Lisbon (Instituto Superior Técnico, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa)
LBOT	Planning Act (Lei de Bases do Ordenamento do Território)
LBPOTU	Planning and Urbanism Policy Act (Lei de Bases da Política de Ordenamento do Território e de Urbanismo)
LNEC	National Laboratory for Civil Engineering (Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil)
MAOT	Ministry for the Environment and Spatial Planning (Ministério do Ambiente e Ordenamento do Território)
MAOTDR	Ministry for the Environment, Spatial Planning and Regional Development (Ministério do Ambiente, Ordenamento do Território e Desenvolvimento Regional)
MCOTA	Ministry for Cities, Spatial Planning and Environment (Ministério das Cidades, Ordenamento do Território e Ambiente)
MEPAT	Ministry for Equipment, Planning and Territorial Management (Ministério do Equipamento, Planeamento e da Administração do Território)
NTCCPs	Network of Territorial Cohesion-related Contact Points
NUTS	Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics
OA	Architects Guild (Ordem dos Arquitectos)
OE	Engineers Guild (Ordem dos Engenheiros)
OOTU	Observatory for Territorial Planning and Urbanism (Observatório do Ordenamento do Território e Urbanismo)
PCP	Portuguese Communist Party (Partido Comunista Português)
PDM	Municipal Director Plan (Plano Director Municipal)
PEAASAR	Strategic Plan for Water Supply and Sewage Services (Plano Estratégico de Abastecimento de Água e Saneamento de Águas Residuais)
PEOT	Special Spatial Plan (Plano Especial de Ordenamento do Território)
PIOT	Inter-municipal Spatial Strategy (Plano Intermunicipal de Ordenamento do Território)
PMOT	Municipal Spatial Plan (Plano Municipal de Ordenamento do Território)
PNAC	National Programme for Climate Change (Plano Nacional para as Alterações Climáticas)
PNACE	National Action Programme for Growth and Employment (Programa de Acção Nacional para o Crescimento e o Emprego)

PNDES	National Plan for Socio-Economic Development (Plano Nacional para o Desenvolvimento Económico e Social)
PNOT	National Planning Plan (Plano Nacional do Ordenamento do Território)
PNPOT	National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território)
POAC	Coastline Planning Strategy (Plano de Ordenamento da Orla Costeira)
POAP	Protected Areas Planning Strategy (Plano de Ordenamento das Áreas Protegidas)
POAAP	Plan for Public Waters and Reservoirs (Plano de Ordenamento de Albufeiras e Águas Públicas)
PP	Detail Plan (Plano de Pormenor)
PROT	Regional Spatial Strategy (Plano Regional do Ordenamento do Território)
PROTAL	Regional Spatial Strategy for the Algarve (Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território do Algarve)
PS	Socialist Party (Partido Socialista)
PSD	Partido Social-Democrata (Social-Democratic Party)
PU	Urbanisation Plan (Plano de Urbanização)
QREN	National Strategic Reference Framework (Quadro de Referência Estratégico Nacional)
RCM	Resolution of the Council of Ministers
SEDES	Association for Social and Economic Development (Associação para o Desenvolvimento Económico e Social)
SEOTC	Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities (Secretaria de Estado do Ordenamento do Território e das Cidades)
SIG-PNPOT	PNPOT Geographical Information System (Sistema de Informação Geográfica do PNPOT)
SPESP	Study Programme on European Spatial Planning
SPF	PNPOT Focal Points Group (Sistema de Pontos Focais do PNPOT)
TEAP	ESDP Tampere Action Programme
TEN-T	Trans-European Networks
TIA	Territorial Impact Assessment
WGSUD	Working Group on Spatial and Urban Development

Additional Notes

Note on Published Materials Used in the Thesis

In line with the PhD Regulations of the University College London, research work already published, or submitted for publication, at the time of submission of the thesis, either by the candidate alone or jointly with others, may be included in the thesis. The published papers themselves cannot be included, but may be adapted to form an integral part of the thesis as a relevant contribution to its main theme.

Some of the ideas and arguments presented in this thesis were explored in publications which pre-dated the completion of the thesis:

- Mourato, J. (Forthcoming) “Problema 21”, *Sociedade e Território* Nr. 43, Porto: Edições Afrontamento (in Portuguese).
- Mourato, J. and Tewdwr-Jones, M. (Forthcoming) “Europeanization of Domestic Spatial Planning” in Zonneveld, W. *et al.* (Eds.) *European Territorial Governance*, Amsterdam: IOS Press.
- Ferrão, J. and Mourato, J. (Forthcoming) “Evaluation and spatial planning in Portugal: from legal requirement to source of policy-learning and institutional innovation” in Farinós, J. (Ed.) *De la evaluación ambiental estratégica a la evaluación de impacto territorial*, Valencia: Universidad de Valencia.
- Ferrão, J. and Mourato, J. (2010) “A avaliação de políticas públicas como factor de aprendizagem, inovação institucional e cidadania”, *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais*, V. 12, Nr. 1, São Paulo: ANPUR, pp. 9-28 (in Portuguese).
- Vale, M., Mourato, J. *et al.* (2010) “COOPTER - From territorial networks to territorial cooperation: spatial dynamics and procedural innovation in mainland Portugal” - FCT-Funded Research Project, Final Report, Lisbon: CEG-IGOT.
- Waterhout, B., Mourato, J. and Böhme, K. (2009), “The impact of Europeanization on planning cultures”, in Knieling, J. and Othengrafen, F. (Eds.) *Planning Cultures in Europe: Between Diversity and Convergence? Decoding Cultural Phenomena in Urban and Regional Planning*, London: Ashgate, pp. 239-254.
- Mourato, J. (2009) “Território e a (Ir)racionalidade da Decisão”, *Finisterra*, XLIV 88, Lisboa: CEG, pp. 145-164 (in Portuguese).
- Mourato, J. and Rosa Pires, A. (2007) “Portugal e a Perspectiva de Desenvolvimento do Espaço Europeu: o EDEC como institucionalização de um discurso de mudança” in “PNPOT – Programa Nacional da Política do Ordenamento do Território”, *Sociedade e Território*, Nr. 40, Porto: Edições Afrontamento, pp. 34-43 (in Portuguese).
- Mourato, J. (2006) “Portugal National Report and Case Study Report”, European Spatial Planning Observatory Network (ESPON) Policy Impact Project 2.3.1 “The application and impact of the ESDP in the member states”.

Note on the Translation from Portuguese to English

Unless otherwise indicated, all the quotations from primary and secondary data sources have been translated from Portuguese to English by the author. To avoid that their full meaning is lost in translation words such as domestic planning-related concepts, the name of institutions and offices held by the interviewees, specific policies and legislation, abbreviations and acronyms or key terminology related with the case study, were kept in the original Portuguese version.

1 Introduction

We have seen that the current form of global capitalism is ecologically and socially unsustainable. The so called 'global market' is really a network (...) programmed according to the fundamental principle that money-making should take precedence over human rights, democracy, environmental protection or any other value. However, human values can change; they are not natural laws. The same electronic networks of financial and informational flows could have other values built into them. The critical issue is not technology, but politics. The great challenge of the twenty-first century will be to change the value system.

Capra (2003: 229)

1.1 Contextual Settings

This thesis starts from a single, simple premise: that the current form of global capitalism is indeed ecologically and socially unsustainable, and that the fundamental challenge that we face in the coming century is how to go about changing the values embodied in the current system so as to produce more equitable social, environmental, and economic outcomes. The rest of this work is thus neither more nor less than a theorisation of value change in institutions and societies, a methodology for the study of such phenomena, and a case study that traces this change through the set of institutions concerned with the design and implementation of Portugal's National Spatial Planning Policy Programme: the PNPOT.

Regardless of whether we focus on society as a whole, or on a single community, if we accept that a shift in the dominant ethos is necessary, then we must examine how values change within social groups. This dynamic is of vital importance to help better design future policy, as well as to create policy instruments to encourage the desired shifts in the value system – what we will hereafter refer to as 'culture change'. Therefore, if we can agree on the need set out by Capra for culture change, then the questions that we must address are *how* and *why* does such change take place.

As I have stated above, like Capra, I believe in the social and ecological unsustainability of current patterns of economic development. But I am not alone since this imbalance has become increasingly central to the development of public policy, and planning – as a field of public policy – is no exception. Because of its wide scope of intervention and coordinative

nature, it can be argued that planning holds a unique place in public policy, though it is perhaps one that is all too often overly ambitious or excessively utopian in its aims. Be that as it may, whether through the proactive pursuit of predefined development goals, or through the regulatory use of law to prevent unwanted outcomes in the interactions between societies and the territories that they occupy, planning embodies the most comprehensive contemporary societal effort to secure the overall sustainability of our settlements, to enhance liveability standards, and to make the latter equally accessible to all inhabitants.

However, when today we envisage the realisation of these objectives, the odds seem increasingly unfavourable. There are many reasons for this (See Figure 1.1), but let us highlight the influence of:

- the increasing complexity of the global socioeconomic and environmental milieus and their glocal effects;
- the contemporary challenges to the traditional role and scope of sovereignty of the State as a result of the processes of Globalisation and of Europeanisation;
- the growing public demand for planning to deliver equitable outcomes via an incrementally inclusive participatory practice whilst facing a deficit of social recognition and support for its role as a public policy;
- the shifting landscape of multilevel governance arrangements and deliberative democracy practices that influence the contemporary planning polity and the consequent adaptational strain on existing processes, practitioners and institutions;
- the adverse environment of competing public policies through which planning must navigate in order to fulfil its role despite being undermined by an overall lack of political clout.

By any measure, planning faces an uphill battle if it is to prevail as public policy and avoid becoming some sort of political tokenism or mere bureaucratic tool. Out of this scenario emerges a core premise of this research: *if planning as a public policy is to respond to such a demanding socio-political environment then it must undergo its own process of culture change*. In order to investigate whether and how planning policy can adapt and respond to these developments, we will turn to the process of ‘Europeanisation’ as a means to investigate whether or not a culture change has occurred in planning in Portugal, and to clarify how it took place.

Europeanisation is here broadly understood as the impact of the European Union policy arena on domestic planning policies and practices. In basic terms, we are wondering if there has been a culture change in planning that has come about in *response* to a direct *challenge* from ‘Europe’ to the prevailing domestic policy ethos by the process of Europeanisation. However, we have to take into consideration the fact that this process does not take place in a vacuum. In fact, Europeanisation is a highly *context-dependent* process and so particular

attention must be given to the characterisation of the domestic context in our analysis of the ‘response’ to ‘challenge’.

Figure 1.1 provides an overview of the different processes at work in this study, and it emphasises the influences that we can expect will drive planning culture change, the mechanisms through which it takes place, and the different dimensions where its impacts can be felt.

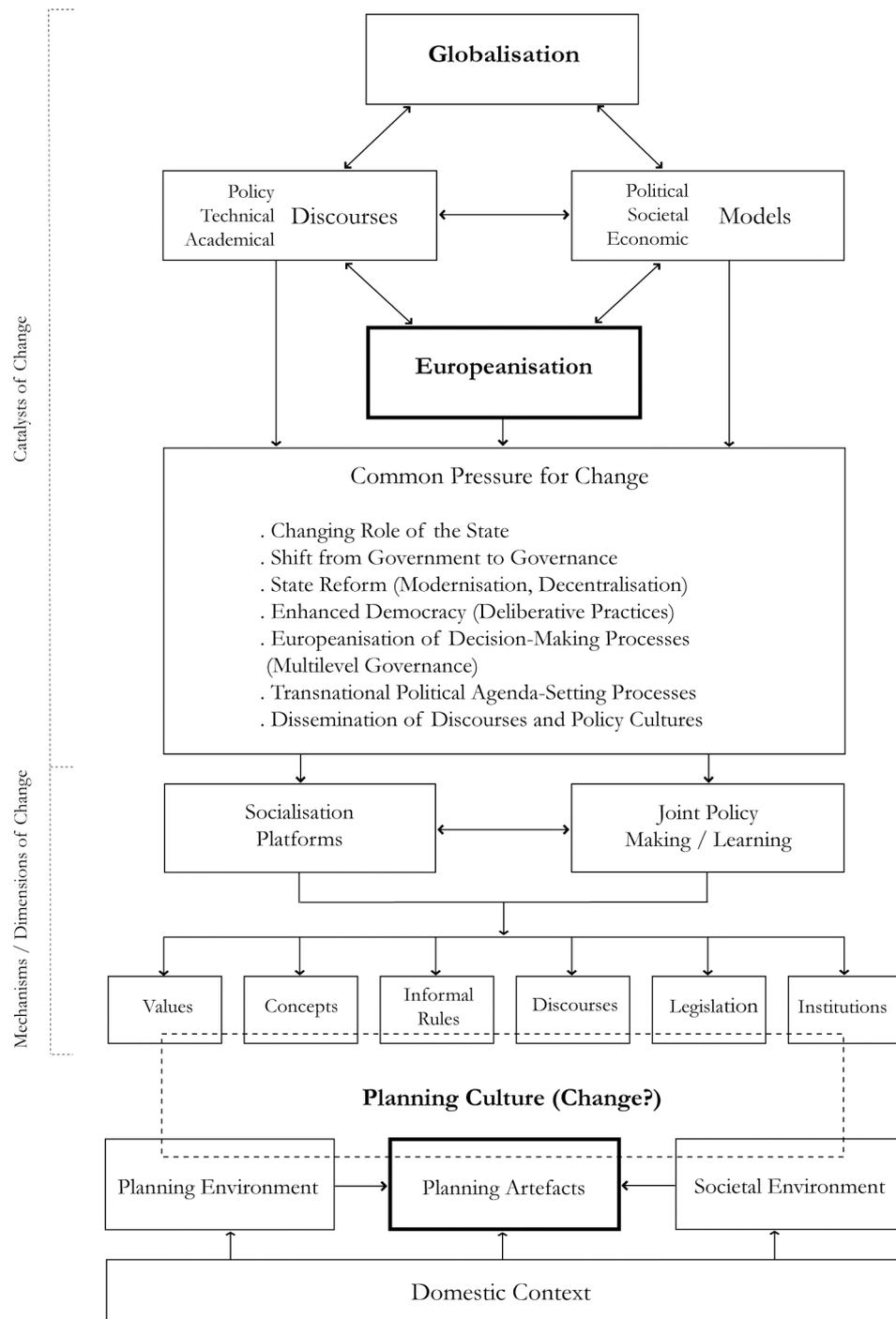


Figure 1.1 Research Contextual Settings

Finally, Figure 1.1 introduces the constituent parts that set the domestic context. In particular, it highlights planning artefacts – the products, structures and processes of planning that we will be exploring in Chapter 2 – that act as the gateway into this research. These artefacts are the visible dimension of a mutually influencing interaction between exogenous pressures for change, namely Europeanisation, and the domestic context. The ways in which we investigate this interaction and the ways in which it leads to planning culture change are detailed in the next section.

1.2 Research Lines and Main Hypothesis

This section outlines the rationale underpinning the research design. The starting point has been the observation that a planning policy instrument in Portugal has undergone a development process unlike any other previously carried out in the country. The differences in this particular policy process can be found in the legislative framework, the design process, the interplay between the key actors involved, the associated participatory strategy, the final form, its legal nature and the implementation strategy. In fact, we could argue that the observed policy instrument embodies multiple forms of policy innovation all at once. Thus, if we build on the premise that an innovation has in fact taken place, we must therefore ask why it did so, what influenced it and through which mechanisms, and who was responsible for its ultimate form? This lays the groundwork for the first research question of this thesis: *A culture change in planning-related public policy-making in Portugal is occurring: Why and How?*

A second research question arises from our observation of the setting in which policy innovation took place: there are obvious clues, such as direct references to European Union documents, to suggest that the observed planning policy innovation has, to some extent, happened as the result of a process of Europeanisation. This observation helps us to clarify the purpose of this research and, in line with what was presented in Figure 1.1, we can now phrase this second query as: *What, if any, is the causal relationship between the process of Europeanisation and that of institutional culture change in planning in Portugal?*

These two questions gave rise to this thesis' title: *Europeanisation and territorial governance: an inquiry into power and institutional culture change in Portugal*. The first part of the title reflects the two core elements, Europeanisation as a challenge to an existing planning culture, and territorial governance as the field of policy where institutional culture change will be investigated. We will see that Europeanisation was in some ways a sort of Trojan horse that, upon introduction into the Portuguese policy context, acted as a catalyst to stimulate culture change in planning. The second part of the thesis' title hosts my contention that we can best understand the impact of the Europeanisation of planning by focussing on the exercise of power in the domestic policy

arena: we need to understand *who* steers institutional culture change (if, indeed, anyone does), *how* it materialises in domestic policy debates and outputs, who favours it and who opposes it and why, and *what* set of values drive the actions of the decision-makers and stakeholders involved. In the end we will know more than simply the extent of the impacts of the Europeanisation of Planning. We will have a clearer picture of what the planning culture in Portugal is. The underlying proposition here is that *we cannot determine how deeply embedded cultural traits, beliefs, social attitudes and values are until they are challenged*.

In Sections 1.4 and 1.5 we will refine our definitions of Europeanisation, planning culture and institutional culture change, and we will further justify the selected research focus, but for now let us reiterate the principal hypothesis, that *institutional culture change in planning in Portugal is happening as a result of a process of Europeanisation*. This hypothesis can be broken down into a series of questions that can be organised under two main lines of research. One line of inquiry seeks to characterise (A) the impact of the Europeanisation of planning in Portugal, while the other seeks to illustrate (B) the dynamics of culture change in planning in Portugal.

Research line A: Key research questions:

- What are the key sources of Europeanisation that influence the Portuguese planning environment?
- At what levels (*i.e.* process, policy content, governance solution, nature of actors' involvement, values, attitudes and behaviours, etc.) does the impact of Europeanisation show? And what specific mechanisms of Europeanisation are responsible for this effect?
- Are the observed changes a result solely of Europeanisation-related influences, or are there other domestic factors in play? In other words, would these changes have happened without the influence of the process of Europeanisation?
- Do the conceptual definitions and procedural depictions of the dynamics of Europeanisation presented in the existing literature also apply to the Portuguese case?
- Do domestic actors identify the origins of some of the influences that they refer to as structural for their values and behavioural change in the process of Europeanisation of Planning?
- What is the political economy surrounding the dynamics of Europeanisation of planning in Portugal?

Research line B: Key research questions:

- What are the key features of the Portuguese institutional planning culture?
- What are the main arenas for institutional innovation and subsequent culture change?

- Who are the key stakeholders involved? Who holds the power to induce and steer culture change?
- If we assume that an institutional culture change in planning in Portugal has occurred, has it happened in a balanced way as far as its multiple dimensions are concerned (*i.e.* policy content, policy design, governance solutions, ethos and behaviour of key actors, institutional interplay, etc.)? If not, why?
- If we are able to identify the mechanisms through which Europeanisation has influenced institutional culture change at the domestic level, can we identify similar dynamics within the domestic level itself? In other words, can we anticipate that a catalyst for culture change developed at the national level will have a cascade effect down to the regional and local level?
- What are the main drivers and obstacles to institutional culture change in planning in Portugal?

1.3 Aims and Objectives

We define ‘aims’ as the expected contribution that the thesis will make to both the existing body of research and the policy field that it scrutinises. ‘Objectives’ are the activities undertaken in order to provide that contribution. The principal aims follow the main research lines identified in the preceding section: (A) to characterise the impact of Europeanisation in planning in Portugal; and (B) to advance an explanation of the dynamics of culture change in planning in Portugal.

(A) In order to characterise the impact of Europeanisation in planning in Portugal, the first objective is to verify, via document analysis, the suitability of the observed policy-making process to be used as a case study. The next task is to review its legislative framework, and to identify and interview the network of actors and decision-makers who were central to the development of that policy process. This data collection process will allow us to develop an understanding of the ethos of the actors involved, and whether it has been in any way influenced as a result of the exposure to the dynamics of Europeanisation of planning.

An additional objective is to track down and interview key actors involved in the Portuguese participation in the creation of the dynamics of Europeanisation of planning. We must systematise the data collected in terms of the key sources of Europeanisation of planning and the mechanisms (*i.e.* socialisation processes, joint policy-making, etc.) that affect the domestic policy-making process. Furthermore we must also identify where the influence of the Europeanisation of planning is most visible at the domestic level (*i.e.* in the policy process, policy content, governance solution, etc.).

(B) In order to explain the dynamics of culture change in planning in Portugal, the first objective is to ascertain if the selected case study is suitable for assessing the influence of Europeanisation pressures, and also that it constitutes a policy innovation within the Portuguese planning policy context. This requires a comparison between contemporary planning policy and what has hitherto been the norm in terms of planning policy in Portugal. Because no overview exists in the published literature, I will need to provide an overview of the evolution of the Portuguese planning system, its legislative framework, its institutional architecture, culture and prevailing ethos.

Another core objective is to depict the process of institutional culture change in Portugal with particular emphasis on the use of knowledge to inform change, the interaction of the actors and institutions involved, and the limits of the current institutional culture when it comes face-to-face with adaptational strains. In other words, the objective is to identify the core obstacles to, and enablers of, the process of culture change. The rationale here is that the more we know about the dynamics of culture change, the better we can inform the design of policies that seek to steer it.

To fulfill the stated aims and objectives, I have opted for a phronetic research approach. A more detailed explanation of what phronesis means, and what methodological implications it has for the research design can be found in Chapter 4, but for the time being we can simply say that this is a case study-based qualitative research methodology supported by document analysis and by several rounds of face-to-face interviews with key stakeholders and decision-makers in the selected policy process: the PNPOI.

1.4 Research Focus

In order to test the hypothesis and research questions, a series of choices had to be made with respect to the definition of the research focus. This implies a reference to the nature of the research object, the scale of analysis, and to the case study selection.

Values

Why focus on values? As the opening quotation of this thesis stated: *The great challenge of the twenty-first century will be to change the value system.* Accordingly, this investigation focuses on the analysis of the processes of change of values and beliefs as driving forces of both politics and policy making in the field of planning in Portugal. The main reason for this choice is that understanding the dynamics of culture change is central to meeting some of the contemporary challenges that planning as a public policy faces.

Culture change is both a belief and a value-specific process. With the specifics of the Portuguese context in mind, little is known at this time about the value system of the planning community, how it is formed, and how susceptible it is to exogenous influences for change. This investigation can therefore help to address this gap in the existing body of research.

Institutional level

Why focus on the institutional level? Institutions are viewed as purposeful structures within a social context, able to make and enforce rules that govern cooperative human endeavours. Institutions, because they are usually understood as stable, socially valued and characterised by a recurring pattern of behaviour, can be perceived as the optimal focal point to determine whether a dynamic of culture change is taking place. Within a specific field of planning policy, institutions stand for what can be accepted as the prevailing cultural pattern. In this sense, and although the core focus of this research is on culture change at the institutional level, it is legitimate to extrapolate that conclusions drawn from this study can represent to a significant extent changes in planning culture as a whole.

National level

Why focus on the national level? Since the earliest stages of development of the Portuguese planning system, there has been a lack of an overarching national policy framework to articulate and coordinate the multiple planning instruments coexisting at the local and regional levels. Although inscribed in the 1998 Planning Act, only in 2007 was a national level planning policy instrument – the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT) – approved by Parliament.

Consequently, there is ample justification for the choice of the national level as the research focus. For starters, the introduction of a national level policy instrument alone constitutes a novelty in the Portuguese planning tradition that is worth researching as a potential case of institutional innovation and subsequent planning culture change. In addition, the validity of the PNPOT as a case study of Europeanisation-influenced institutional culture change is reinforced by the nature of the policy document itself: its innovative policy design process and its factual content directly reference the wider European spatial development framework.

Furthermore, additional ground for homing in on the national level lies with the hierarchical position of the PNPOT within the Portuguese planning system. If we take into consideration the fact that all future revisions of local and regional plans will have to take into account the PNPOT's guidelines, then we may anticipate that if there is in fact an institutional innovation within the PNPOT process and policy design then the latter may cascade down to the lower tiers of the planning system. Hence, from this perspective the PNPOT bears the hallmark of a catalyst for further institutional culture change.

In summary, in the Portuguese context, the PNPOT – which will be studied in great depth in Chapter 6 – stands apart as an innovative policy concept and design process worth analysing as potential evidence of an Europeanisation-influenced institutional culture change.

1.5 Key Definitions

This section introduces and justifies the key definitions used in this thesis. In order to avoid any misunderstandings in terms of the scope of the present study and what we can deduce from its findings, we must first engage a preemptive conceptual clarification. A causal relationship consists of an interaction between two elements, regardless of their nature, in which one challenges the *status quo* of the other. The latter may or may not change as a response to that challenge. It is, briefly speaking, a question of cause and effect. In the context of this research, Europeanisation plays the role of challenger, and Portuguese planning culture is the element that sees its *status quo* challenged. However, due to the implications of trying to research planning culture as a whole, I chose to place the analytical emphasis upon the culture change of planning institutions as justified in the preceding section.

At this stage we must emphasise that neither Europeanisation nor planning culture have universally accepted definitions (See Chapters 2 and 3). For the purposes of this research, I have chosen to define these terms as follows:

***Europeanisation** consists of processes of a) construction, b) diffusion, and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, “ways of doing things” and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies. (Radaelli, 2003: 30)*

***Planning culture** is (...) the way in which in some historical moments a (situated-national, regional or urban) society has institutionalised planning practices and discourses. In other words, values, ways of defining problems, rules, instruments, evaluation criteria, professional/expert roles and knowledge, and the relations between institutions and actors, and among State, planners and civil society. (Vettoretto, 2009: 189)*

***Institutional culture** is a pattern of shared assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (Schein, 2004: 17)*

When we compare these three definitions, several connections become clear. For instance, we can highlight the emphasis on *values, assumptions and beliefs* as a common element to all three definitions, a fact that will play a relevant role in the choice of research philosophy and operational framework detailed in Chapter 4. Furthermore, the *institutionalisation of behaviours* is a relevant component to all three definitions, and this lends additional support to the choice of the institutional level as the relevant scale at which to search for evidence of culture change.

1.6 Research Context

Planning culture is evolving as a research concept. In planning theory, the issue of a cultural dimension to planning, or of planning as an expression of culture has been poorly researched; only recently have systemised conceptualisations been attempted (Chapter 2). In other words, although the concept of culture is not new to planning, it has always been treated as a contextual factor rather than as an output. As a consequence there is no systematised conceptual framework in the existing literature with which to examine planning culture change (Chapter 2). The solution is to articulate existing theoretical explorations in order to provide the conceptual framework later used to interpret the analysis and conclusions included in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. This choice will pave the way for a contribution to the development of planning culture as a research agenda.

Unlike planning culture, the Europeanisation of planning, broadly understood as the impact of the EU policy arena on domestic planning policies and practices, has steadily established itself as an important research agenda. However, we can argue that this maturing process can be characterised as somewhat uneven. Why? Let us briefly backtrack to what is common to all Europeanisation studies: the mutual influence between the EU and each member-state. As detailed earlier in this chapter, regardless of the intensity of this interaction or of the field of public policy under analysis, if we break down to basics the cause and effect cycle embodied in the process of Europeanisation, then we can acknowledge the existence of (a) a *challenge* to the prevailing planning culture in each member-state, (b) a *process* of influence, and (c) a *response* to that challenge. Furthermore, Europeanisation is a highly (d) *context*-dependent concept. These are the four key elements to focus on when we discuss research into the Europeanisation of planning.

However, these are not evenly represented in the contemporary body of research on this topic and I would argue that, to a significant extent, investigations to date have focused either on the *challenge* or on the *process* of Europeanisation. The available literature illustrates that efforts in the conceptual definition of typologies of Europeanisation, its main drivers, mechanisms and effects have experienced noteworthy theorisation and methodological systematisation, but at the

opposite end of the spectrum the *response* and the impact of the cultural *context* have received much less theoretical attention.

In addition, beyond the national level of discursive integration, we still have little consistent comparative data about what impact, if any, Europeanisation has had in domestic planning cultures throughout the EU. This is not to say that such information is non-existent; in fact, during the past decade, in addition to individual accounts of the impacts of Europeanisation at the domestic level in several member-states, a series of comparative exercises sought to address the issue of change in local planning cultures (Chapter 3). There is nevertheless a gap in the literature, and it has been observed that “the Europeanisation of spatial planning in the Mediterranean countries” is far from homogeneous and that there is “need for further research in order to explain in depth the extent and the direction of change in each domestic system” (Giannakourou, 2005: 329).

Existing research and publications that have focused primarily on the links between Europeanisation and spatial planning, have portrayed it mainly as it relates to the experiences of Central and Nordic European countries. However, Giannakourou’s assessment reinforces the relevance of focusing this investigation on the still under-explored Europeanisation effects in the Portuguese planning system (Mourato and Rosa Pires, 2007). This research will therefore address an existing gap in the body of knowledge, not only in a domestic context but also at the wider European level.

1.7 Thesis Structure

Regarding the chapter organisation and their contents, this dissertation has been tailored to the conceptual and analytical framework outlined in Sections 1.2 and 1.3. Broadly speaking, the thesis is subdivided into three main sections: the first expands on the conceptual framework of the research, *i.e.* planning culture change and Europeanisation (Chapters 2 and 3); the second illustrates how we are conducting that research (Chapter 4); and the third encompasses a series of interpretative narratives that constitute the primary analysis of the selected case study (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). An additional chapter (Chapter 8) presents a critical interpretation of the researcher on future institutional culture change in planning in Portugal.

To put it another way, the emphasis of Chapter 2 is on the concept and process of culture change, while Chapter 3 focuses on Europeanisation. Chapter 2 defines planning culture and engages in a theoretical discussion about what culture change actually is, what drives and conditions it, and what mechanisms are there to enable it. This chapter outlines the instruments that will allow us, later, to interpret the hypothesised institutional culture change process that is occurring in the field of planning in Portugal. In sum, the contents of Chapter 2 will permit us,

at the end of this investigation, to determine whether an institutional culture change in planning in Portugal has occurred and, if so, how it developed.

If Chapter 2 focuses on *what* we are looking for, then Chapter 3 focuses on *why* such culture change may be occurring. In a sense, Chapter 3 examines whether the institutionalisation of European spatial planning has functioned as a catalyst for institutional culture change in planning in Portugal. To that end, Chapter 3 begins by exploring Europeanisation as the cornerstone of a research agenda, systematising it as a concept, and identifying its key themes, mechanisms and dynamics. Chapter 3 also expands on how we can trace Europeanisation-related change at the domestic level in the field of planning, principally by exploring how it works as both a challenge to the existing planning culture and as a catalyst for culture change. Chapter 3 concludes by reflecting on whether or not a European planning culture is emerging and what impact this might have at the institutional level.

Chapter 4 elaborates the research design that will enable us to test the main hypotheses and research questions identified and advanced in the preceding chapters and in this Introduction. In other words, the purpose of Chapter 4 is to explain the reasoning that underpins the verification of the aforementioned hypothesis: how was data gathered and analysed, and how were the subsequent results presented.

Chapter 4 is actually organised around two distinct frameworks: a conceptual one and an operational one. At the conceptual level, this chapter expands on the concept of phronetic planning research, which is the philosophical approach underpinning this investigation. The chapter therefore briefly explains what *phronesis* is, why it is suitable, and how it translates into an operational framework. At the operational level, Chapter 4 also addresses the basic issues and limitations of the research design, and it goes on to discuss case study selection, the data collection process, direct observation, interviewee selection, interview design, and the data validation strategy.

Chapters 5 and 6 embody the evidence-based interpretation of how the dynamics identified earlier manifest in the field of planning in Portugal. In overview, the analytical exercise of this research produced three interpretative narratives as its outputs: the first of these depicts the influence of the process of Europeanisation in the development of the Portuguese planning system and of planning as a public policy in Portugal (Section 5.2); the second portrays the Portuguese participation in the construction of the dynamics of the Europeanisation of planning (Section 5.3); and the third and last narrative breaks down and examines in detail the making of the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT) (Section 6.2). Chapter 5 contains the first two narratives, while Chapter 6 addresses the third and final narrative. These two chapters will contain a mixture of contextual information and interpretational analysis, and they will necessarily have some degree of overlap in terms of the facts covered since these are three different critical perspectives on the same research object.

In detail, Chapter 5 will begin by illustrating the emancipation of planning as a public policy in Portugal. In order to do so, it will review its key contextual influences, and detail how planning both as a public policy and as a system evolved in Portugal, as well as the role that the process of Europeanisation played in that evolution. Furthermore, the chapter will contextualise not only the PNPO within the evolution of planning as a public policy in Portugal, but it will also illustrate how the Portuguese planning system works, and the position that the PNPO occupies within it. This is the first of the two interpretative narratives included in Chapter 5; the second will delve into the Portuguese contribution to the process of Europeanisation of planning, ranging from the earlier positioning in face of the ESDP to the later process of elaboration of the Territorial Agenda and its First Action Programme. In other words, the first interpretative narrative examines the role Europeanisation has had in the emancipation of planning as a public policy in Portugal, and the second narrative reviews the role that Portugal has had in the construction of that same dynamic of Europeanisation.

Chapter 6 contains the third and final interpretative narrative of the Europeanisation of planning in Portugal. This chapter looks into the making of the PNPO as a material example of institutional culture change in planning, and investigates the drivers, mechanisms, contextual enablers and obstacles that were fundamental to the ultimate outcome of the policy-making process. This narrative shifts from the 'context construction' approach developed in Chapter 5 to focus on providing an evidence-based illustration of how Europeanisation has produced institutional culture change in planning in Portugal. This process will entail looking back to Chapters 2 and 3 in order to elaborate the ways in which PNPO is both an example of Europeanisation and a case of institutional culture change.

Chapter 7 recapitulates the primary findings from the dissertation, some of which will previously have been highlighted in Chapters 5 and 6. In this sense, Chapter 7 goes back over earlier findings, but it places them more clearly in the context of the main hypothesis and research questions outlined in this introduction. This chapter also reflects upon the limits of the present investigation and data collection methodology, as well as of the overall research design. In addition, Chapter 7 discusses future research directions with a particular emphasis on the dynamics of change in planning culture; it also briefly discusses the implications for both policy design and implementation in cases where we aim to promote institutional culture change.

Chapter 8 constitutes an epilogue, going beyond the narrow scope of this doctoral research, but nevertheless closely connected to it. As such, the chapter presents the critical reflection of the researcher on the wider topic of future culture change in planning in Portugal beyond the remit of its institutional dimension. This reflection evolved throughout the research process and so, to a significant extent, is in itself an output of that process. In terms of its contents, the chapter focuses on the political and societal dimension of the emerging challenges to planning culture change.

To summarise, Figure 1.2 provides a conceptual outline of the structure of this research.

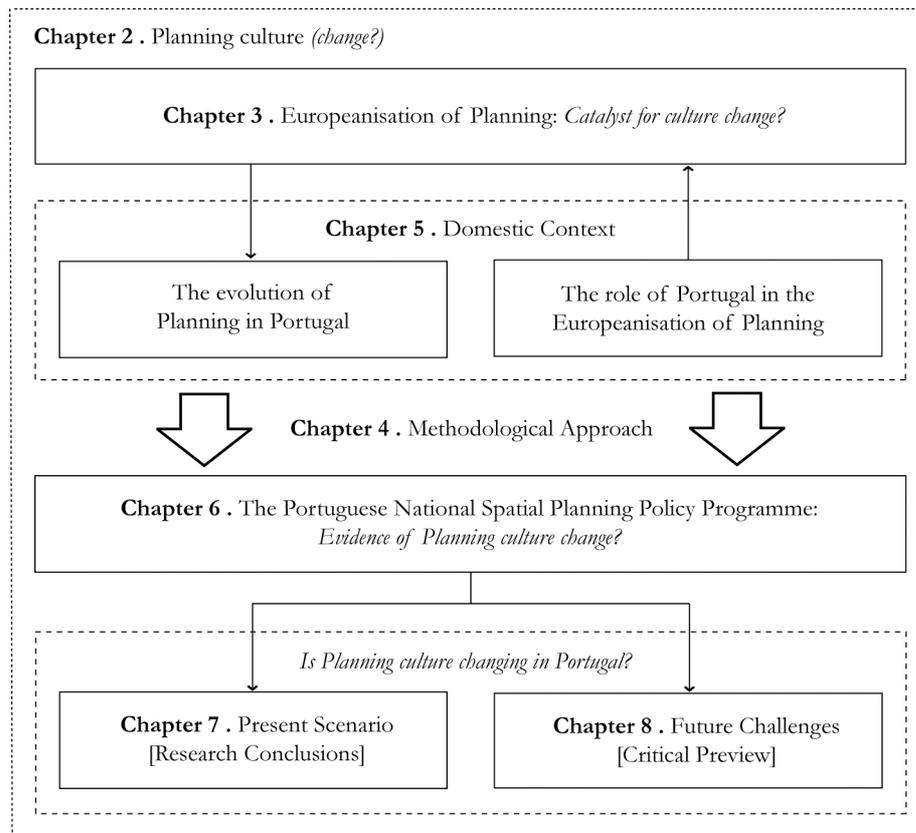


Figure 1.2 – Thesis' Conceptual Outline

In summary, against the backdrop of the discussion of what causes planning culture change, how it happens, and where it can be found (*i.e.* at the institutional level, societal level, etc.) we will be examining the influence of the process of Europeanisation on a pre-existing domestic planning context (that of Portugal). Using a phronetic research methodology, three interpretative analyses are developed, providing both a wider picture and a detailed account of how planning culture change as a result of an Europeanisation process occurs at the institutional level. The dissertation concludes with a review of the dynamics of culture change in planning in Portugal, together with an overview of the main challenges that will determine the future of a planning culture in Portugal.

2 Planning Culture Change

There is nothing so hard as to change the existing order of things.

Machiavelli

2.1 Introduction

Theorising on culture change is a labyrinthine process because there is no one body of theory that offers a roadmap to such phenomenon. The basic problem is not that the concept of culture is new to planning, but that it has always been seen as a contextual factor rather than as an output *per se*. Only recently have systemised conceptualisations of culture change in planning been attempted (*e.g.* Sanyal, 2005; Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009), and so this chapter presents a series of theoretical explorations that will provide the conceptual framework used to substantiate the analysis and conclusions contained in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

The contents of this chapter are organised into three units. In the first section, we will explore the available definitions of planning culture and select the one that will anchor the research design of this study. We will discuss the contextual influences and we will present the culturised planning model as the cornerstone of the present research framework. This implies a definition of its constituent parts: the societal environment, planning environment, and planning artefacts, and an explanation of how these are both an influence in, and an expression of, planning culture.

Section two will focus on the concept of culture change and we will examine the multiple ways in which culture change occurs. Special attention will be given to culture change as a learning process and as a use of power. The objective is a systematisation of information on the topic so that later in this investigation we can characterise the case study in terms of why it constitutes a culture change, and what type of culture change it embodies.

The third and final section will address institutional culture change. In order to do so, it will justify the selection of the institutional level as the focus of this investigation, explain change in terms of the behaviour and culture of institutions, and identify the core elements in institutional culture change processes and patterns of development. This section will provide the information necessary to characterise the culture change embodied in the planning policy process.

2.2 Planning Culture as a Research Agenda

2.2.1 Defining Planning Culture

'Planning culture' is not in and of itself a scientific term (Fürst, 2009: 23), and as a result it is not defined by a single body of theory and its origins are difficult to determine. Friedmann (2005: 30) claims that Selle (1999) introduced the term through a hermeneutical analysis of changes in the planning practices of four different European countries. Alternatively, Faludi (2005: 286) argues that the concept of a planning culture emerges even earlier in the work of Bolan (1973). Origins aside, it is undeniable that there has been a recent rebirth of interest in the term. However, the lack of theoretical systematisation translates, in practice, into the coexistence of multiple conceptual definitions of what planning culture is. These can be broadly fit into two groups, those that place a greater emphasis on: (i) the driving principles and (ii) the materialisation of the planning activity.

The first group (i) understands planning culture as one or more of several possible things: as: planning perceptions (Selle, 1999; Sanyal, 2005; Keller *et al.*, 2006); as the "collective ethos and dominant attitude of planners regarding the appropriate role of the State, market forces, and civil society influencing social outcomes" (Faludi, 2005: 285); and as a mirror of the diversity of the interactions of different societies with the territories they occupy in different points of the globe (Sanyal, 2005). The commonality here is the prominence of *values*, beliefs and attitudes as the cornerstone of planning culture.

The second group (ii) perceives planning culture as a reflection of planning systems (Newmann and Thornley, 1996; CEC, 1997) and planning styles (Innes and Gruber, 2001) commonly defined as the "general model of professional practice" (Hemmens, 1988: 85). The large majority of the literature, mostly coming from an Anglo-Saxon background, understands planning culture in this spirit (Fürst, 2009: 23). However, Knieling and Othengrafen (2009: 43) argue that a planning culture is more "than planning instruments and procedures, it is determined by several framing factors and it is embedded into political, administrative and institutional structures, as well as in socio-economic and cultural models and traditions, which differ across Europe". In tune with this, Vettoretto suggests that planning culture, "a relationship among State, planners and civil society", is influenced by contextual processes such as Europeanisation or Globalisation (2009: 189). In other words, what these authors emphasise is that practices should not be analysed in isolation from their main *contextual* influences.

In sum, although a theoretical systematisation of the concept of planning culture is not available, if we consider the commonalities amongst the available conceptual definitions we can conclude that at the centre of the definition of planning culture should reside: its *context*-dependent nature and the issue of *values*, either held individually or collectively.

Context

The context-dependent aspect of planning culture is one of the main reasons why it is so difficult to discuss the dynamics of change: we must understand and take into account not only the characteristics and evolutionary dynamics of the planning system itself, but also the social context within which a culture change might take place.

These multiple attempts to more precisely define planning culture provide us with the outline of a more workable definition that synthesises many of the important points made above (See Figure 2.1). On the outside lie generic socioeconomic ‘processes’ such as Globalisation and Europeanisation (See Figure 1.1) – two that are of particular interest to planners, though there are obviously others – that are presumed to affect the practices of planners and the system within which they operate. These processes affect planning through the mechanisms of discourses and models: the ways in which we see the world around us.

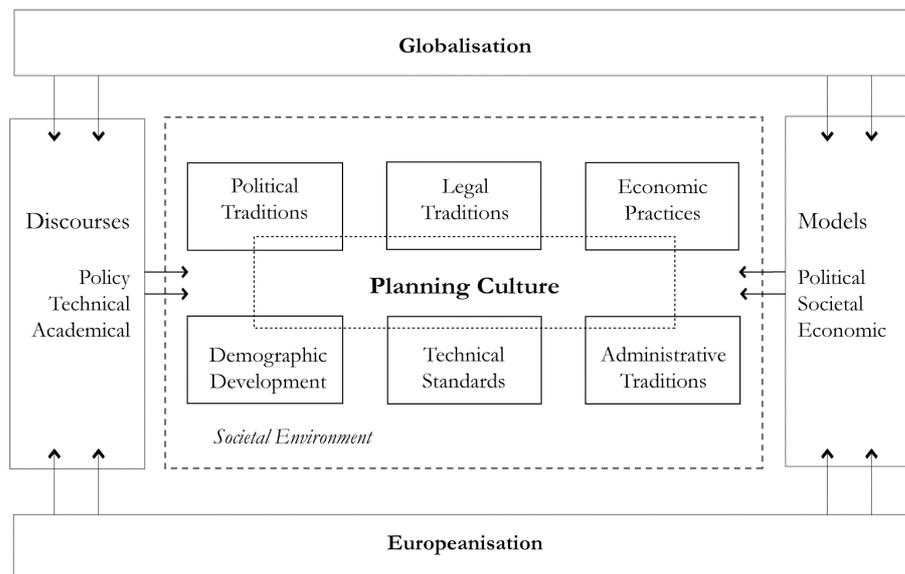


Figure 2.1 – Key Contextual Influences in Planning Culture (Adapted from Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009)

Values

Despite all shared influences, the nature of planning culture is far from homogeneous, it is very much heterogeneous as the distinctions between urbanists, planners, geographers, and developers might imply. These professionals not only produce but also share cognitive frames, practices, knowledge, beliefs, norms and rules, values and codes that are part of what we name planning culture. In other words, planning culture embodies an ‘aggregate’ of different subcultures that have arisen through individual traditions, standards, and practices from the

underlying set of values, beliefs, norms and rules, signs and symbols, traditions and other factors that members of a group, organisation, or nation might hold in common (Holden, 2002: 27).

Taking a step back from Figure 2.1, it becomes clear that planning culture is ultimately about *values*, be they contentious or mutually agreed, and the *interactions* that they help to structure through their effect on practices, standards, and traditions. Consequently, it will be helpful to briefly look into other disciplines where this concept of culture is integral to the field. Particularly useful material comes from the political sciences, public administration and organisational sciences, and in Table 2.1 we provide a sample from the relevant literature.

Authors	Definitions
Jacques (1951)	“The customary and traditional way of thinking and of doing things, which is shared to a greater or lesser degrees by all its members, and which new members must learn, and at least partially accept, in order to be accepted.”
Hofstede (1991)	“Culture is always a collective phenomenon, because it is at least partly shared with people who live or lived within the same social environment, which is where it was learned. It is the collective programming of the mind, which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another.” “Culture is learned, not inherited. It derives from one’s social environment, not one’s genes.”
Schein (1992)	“A pattern of basic assumptions - invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration - that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.”
Cook and Yanow (1993)	“A set of values, beliefs, and feelings, together with the artefacts of their expression and transmission (such as myths, symbols, metaphors, rituals), that are created, inherited, shared, and transmitted within the group of people and that, in part, distinguish that group from others.”
Schneider <i>et al.</i> (1996)	“Values and beliefs firmly shared by the members of an organisation”
Fan (2000)	“The collection of values, beliefs, behaviours, customs, and attitudes that distinguish a society. A society’s culture provides its members with solutions to problems of external adaptation and integration.”
Gullestrup (2006)	“Culture consists both of shared meanings as they are conceptualised in the basic philosophy of life and values among a group of people and of the way in which these shared meanings are visualised or manifested on people’s social interactions as well as in the results of those interactions.”
CEC (2007)	“Culture should be regarded as a set of distinctive spiritual and material traits that characterise a society and social group.”

Table 2.1 – Definitions of Culture (Adapted from Pina e Cunha *et al.*, 2006)

Note that these definitions make it clear that we are dealing with several types of values: those that we hold as individuals, and those that we hold collectively as a society. In other words, culture clearly also refers to the attitudes, mindsets and values shared by members of the same group and, by extension, by members of an institution.

These values are necessarily expressed through interaction, since it is through their expression that they are reinforced and perpetuated. For example, Albrechts *et al.* (2003)

conclude that culture is bound to the variables that shape interactions within a society and that these are reflected in the behaviour of public actors.

Definition

In this section, we have reviewed existing uses of the concept of planning culture, and we have explored their core elements and common characteristics. We conclude that a definition of planning culture must reflect: (a) its context-dependent nature and (b) the issue of values and beliefs either held individually or collectively. With this in mind, in this dissertation we understand that:

A planning culture is (...) the way in which in some historical moments a (situated-national, regional or urban) society has institutionalised planning practices and discourses. In other words, values, ways of defining problems, rules, instruments, evaluation criteria, professional/expert roles and knowledge, and the relations between institutions and actors, and among State, planners and civil society. (Vettoreto, 2009: 189)

2.2.2 The Culturised Planning Model

To make planning culture part of a wider research framework, we must keep in mind that it is context-dependent, particularly with respect to its societal environment. In order to further understand the construction of a planning culture while taking into account this context, Knieling and Othengrafen (2009) have produced the culturised planning model (Figure 2.2). According to the authors, the model has been developed so as to foster future comparative research on spatial planning practices (2009: 54).

The model addresses in direct terms the issue of culture and aims to analyse the role of culture in planning and development processes, as well as to find out if there are cultural traits or phenomena that distinguish between planning models and practices in different countries and regions. Furthermore, the model contributes to a conceptual definition of planning culture and helps operationalise it in the context of planning research. The underlying idea here is to develop a workable system that increases the integration of culture into planning research, and helps researchers to understand planning practices in different contexts.

The culturised planning model assumes an interaction and interdependency between its three tiers. Broadly speaking, the model has a more visible dimension – planning artefacts, very much embodied in the planning system itself, and it has a rather more hidden dimension, constituted by the planning environment and the societal environment.

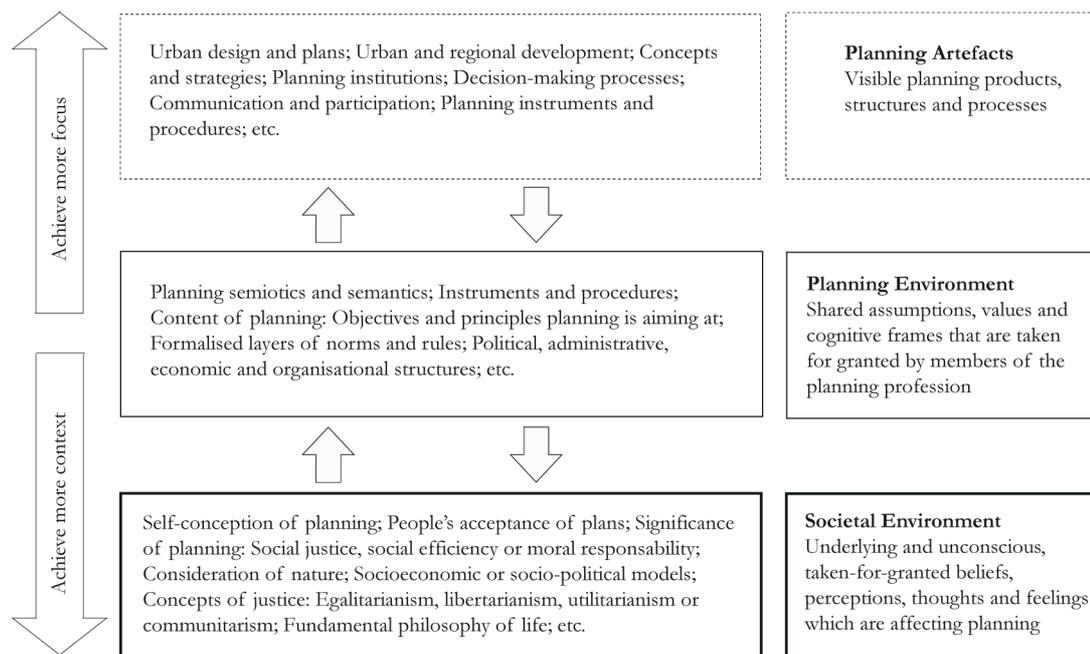


Figure 2.2 – The Culturised Planning Model (Adapted from Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009)

2.2.3 Planning Artefacts and the Planning Environment

Friedmann (2005: 30) takes planning cultures as the underlying reason for the differences in institutions and practices at the local, regional and national level. Fittingly, planning systems as a reflection of a set of values and interaction between epistemic communities, decision-makers and citizens must be perceived as a form of cultural expression. And so must the evolution of planning as a practice.

Planning Systems

Obviously, a country's planning system – understood here as the operative set of laws, regulations, and policies, as well as administrative and organisational arrangements – mirrors the prevailing local political, institutional and societal conditions. It is not the purpose of this section to explore in depth national variations in regulation or administration, but it is important to note the wide variety of European planning systems and the way in which our understanding – and classification – of them is evolving over time. In short, it is essential that we keep in mind that planning systems are not necessarily stable, static entities.

Davies <i>et al.</i>, 1989 [1]		Common Law England		Napoleonic Codes DK, DE, FR, NL	
Newman & Thornley, 1996	Nordic DK, FI, SE	British IE, UK	Germanic AT, DE	Napoleonic BE, FR, IT, LU, NL, PT, ES	East European
CEC, 1997 [2]	Comprehensive Integrated AT, DK, FI, DE; NL, SE	Land Use Regulation IE, UK (+ BE)		Regional economic FR, PT (+ DE)	Urbanism GR, IT, ES (+ PT)
Farinós Dasí, 2007 [3]	Comprehensive Integrated AT, DK, FI, NL, SE, DE (+ BE, FR, IE, LU, UK) BG, EE, HU, LV, LT, PL, RO, SL, SV	Land Use Regulation BE, IE, LU, UK (+ PT, ES) CY, CZ, MT		Regional Economic FR, DE, PT (+ IE, SE, UK) HU, LV, LT, SK	Urbanism GR, IT, ES CY, MT

Notes:

[1] *Davies et al. do not give a specific name to the two groups but contrast England and other systems based on their legal frameworks.*

[2] *The EU Compendium identifies 'ideal types' of planning traditions. Each country may exhibit combinations of ideal types in different degrees. The ideal types are dominant in the countries indicated here.*

[3] *The ESPON project took the EU Compendium traditions as a starting point and examined how countries, including the transition states of central and Eastern Europe, were moving between them.*

Table 2.2 – Planning System Typologies (Stead and Nadin, 2009)

Table 2.2 presents a series of synthetic comparisons of European planning systems. Rows one and two were structured around similarities in terms of legal and administrative arrangements on the basis that these are key to defining the practices of a planning system. These two rows make it clear that planning is embedded in a wider regulatory or legal framework that, in some cases, dates back to the eighteenth century and beyond. These ‘histories’ point towards the existence of complex national traditions – which is to say cultures – in the construction of planning systems.

The Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies (1997; row #3) and Farinós Dasí (2007; row #4) classifications adapt the historical perspective to reflect a perceived need for more subtlety in the earlier typologies. The EU Compendium (CEC, 1997) suggests that there are four distinct planning traditions: regional economic, comprehensive integrated, land use management, and urbanism; and Farinós Dasí expands this 1997 classification to include the more recent accession countries, emphasising the distribution of “powers relevant to planning among levels of government and the decentralisation and the evolution of competencies” (Stead and Nadin, 2009: 291).

Planning as a Practice

Planning as practice reflects a set of values and interactions between its epistemic community (the community of planning ‘experts’), decision-makers, and citizens. In this sense, the evolution of planning as a practice must be understood as a form of cultural expression.

Lovering (2009: 1) highlights that, “planning as conceived by the lead thinkers of the discipline from Patrick Geddes to Peter Hall came to an end long before the twentieth century did”. Similarly, Tewdwr-Jones (2001: 8) states that “what we know today as planning bears little resemblance to the same activity that existed just twenty years ago in different European countries”. These processes can be understood as manifestations of culture change.

The contemporary discussion about the practice of planning as a public policy is strongly influenced by the dichotomy between land use planning and spatial planning (Table 2.3). In other words the balance between a regulatory approach and a strategic integrated approach to planning. With the case study of this thesis in mind it is essential to review this divide as this section will help inform the character of the planning artefact at the centre of this study: the PNPO.

Land use planning embodies the regulation of the use and transformation of land through interventions of a physical and administrative nature carried out by the State, regardless of the scale at which it is done. In this perspective, land use planning represents a technical exercise with a political purpose, such as the definition and guaranty of the safeguard of the public interest, as well as the overcoming of existing market failures. Land use planning has been a cornerstone in the consolidation of the ‘modern’ idea of state, society and economy.

Spatial planning, a concept born out of the EU spatial development debate, initially had its strongest communicational amplifier in the United Kingdom’s planning environment, but it later found its way into policy environments all over the world: from Europe to China, the United States of America and even South Africa (Tewdwr-Jones *et al.*, 2010).

Unlike land use planning, spatial planning embodies a wider, integrated, strategic perception of what planning entails. Spatial planning builds on the interaction and cooperation between different actors (participatory and collaborative planning), and in the coordination, via specific governance platforms, of a series of both planning policies and sectoral policies with spatial impacts, in the framework of a shared strategic development vision.

	Land use plan	Spatial plan
Purpose	- Regulating land use and development through designation of areas of development and protection, and application of performance criteria.	- Shaping spatial development through the coordination of the spatial impacts of sector policy and decisions.
Form	- Schedule of policies and decision rules to regulate land use for the administrative area. - Mapping of designation of areas and sites for development purposes and protection.	- Strategy identifying critical spatial development issues and defining clear desired outcomes across functional areas. - Visualisation of spatial goals, and key areas of change. - Principles and objectives that will guide coordinated action.

Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discrete process leading to adoption of final blueprint plan. - Confrontational process, instigated through consultation on draft plans and political negotiation. - Stakeholders using the process to protect and promote their interests. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Continuous process of plan review and adjustment. - Mutual learning and information sharing, driven by debate on alternatives in collaborative political process. - Stakeholders using the process to achieve their own and mutual goals.
Ownership and policy community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A document of the planning authority providing guidance to other professional planners promoting and regulating development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A corporate document of the local authority in shared ownership with communities and other stakeholders, partnerships and NGOs.
Procedural safeguards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Final plan determined through adversarial inquiry on parts of plan subject to objections. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Final plan determined by inquisitorial examination of the soundness and coherence of the whole plan.
Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mapping of constraints and collection of sectoral policy demands. - Bargaining and negotiation with objectors and other stakeholders, informed by broad planning principles. - Checking of proposals through sustainability appraisal/ strategic environmental assessment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Building understanding of critical spatial development trends and drivers, market demands and needs, and the social, economic and environmental impacts of development. - Analysis of options through visioning and strategic choice approaches. - Generation of alternatives and options assisted by sustainability appraisal/strategic environmental assessment.
Delivery and implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seeks to direct change and control investment activity in land use through prescriptive regulation, whilst mitigating local externalities through conditions and planning agreements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seeks to influence decisions in other sectors by building joint ownership of the strategy and a range of incentives and other mechanisms including land use regulation and planning agreements.
Monitoring and review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Measures conformance of the plan's policies and proposals with planning control outcomes. - Data provides portrait of plan area as general context for implementation of proposals. - Periodic but infrequent review of whole plan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Measures performance of the plan in influencing sector policy and decision-making. - Data informs understanding of spatial development and the application of the strategy. - Regular adjustment of components of plan around a consistent vision.

Note: These are ideal types. Local plans and development documents in practice will exhibit characteristics of both.

Table 2.3 – Comparison of Land Use Planning and Spatial Planning (Nadin, 2007)

The different impact of these two planning practices in the role of planners is striking. In sum, the role of the planner shifted from the ‘hero’ (land use planning) (Vettoretto, 2009) to the ‘stoic invisible anti-hero’ (Myers and Banerjee, 2005). Spatial planners, instead of working against the backdrop of a clearly structured regulative framework have now to adapt to the exercise of planning as a flexible process of innovation and creation of opportunities structured around processes of consensus building.

The dynamics of coexistence of these two forms of planning is not an entirely settled matter. Vigar (2009) looks upon spatial planning as a new planning orthodoxy, which will radically replace land use planning and take planning as the hegemonic prevailing discourse. In turn, Nadin (2007) builds on the notion that although these two planning perspectives are fundamentally different in their nature, the reality of practice mirrors a mix of the characteristics of these two approaches. This view is somewhat reinforced by the necessity some authors find

to further clarify the nature of spatial planning as ‘strategic spatial planning’ (Albrechts 2001; Healey, 2006; Davoudi, 2009).

2.2.4 The Societal Environment

From a societal perspective planning culture reads as (i) the evolution of planning as a societal value and (ii) the impact of prevailing societal values on the development of planning as a public policy¹. Increasing contextual pressures (See Figure 1.1) have called the prevalence of the public interest – which is a key societal value and a cornerstone of the traditional planning system ethos – into question. This is a crucial fact to discuss when we research planning culture change.

Public interest is a universal normative value that allows the State to regulate different private interests and legitimates the role of the State to exercise its safekeeping. The modern concept of the State enclosed a social consensus about who defines what public interest is and who secures it. However, Keller *et al.* (1996: 53) ask whether “the public interest [has] in the sense of the common goal already been abandoned, or is it utilised just for the sake of producing optimal conditions for private investments?”.

Since the mid 1980s, the traditional idea of public interest has been challenged initially by the regulatory principles of the neoliberal economic trends, and more recently by conceptions of public value that aim to adjust the growing complexity, diversity and instability of contemporary societies. This embodies a plurality of values that define public interest as the result of a consensus reached by different stakeholders against the backdrop of a participatory governance model, and not as a value unilaterally set by the State. The absolute nature of the modern concept of public interest becomes a consensus-based notion (Grant, 2005: 49). In fact, the duty of securing the prevailing of the public interest forces contemporary public administrations to define in an *ad hoc* way what public interest actually is (Garcia, 2009: 23). In other words, public interest becomes an object of negotiation.

In retrospect, changes in the notion of public interest have a structural impact in the concept and implementation of planning as a public policy. This impact has an undeniable influence in determining the evolution of planning culture but it is in itself the embodiment of a cultural dimension of planning as ‘an idea of value’ (Campbell, 2006). And here lies the

¹ An alternative illustration of the societal dimension of planning culture can be produced through the understanding of planning as a mirror of the prevailing intellectual traditions in social theory. An in-depth analysis developed by Davoudi and Strange (2009: 40-41) illustrates how the shifting perceptions of space and place have impacted on key aspects of the content of planning as well as on the processes of planning.

difference between *planning culture* (Section 2.2.1) and a *culture of planning*; the latter being the expression of planning as a societal value (See Chapter 8).

Summary

Knieling and Othengrafen's culturised planning model was developed to support comparisons between planning cultures. However, the fact remains that, in order to perform such comparative exercises, we must first perform individual assessments of the planning cultures that are to be compared. Fortunately, the culturised planning model can also be used to map culture change within a single planning culture, and it therefore provides a roadmap for enquiries into domestic planning culture change as well. This is why we use this model in this thesis.

Furthermore, the culturised planning model assumes interaction and interdependency between three tiers: planning artefacts, planning environment and societal environment. But there is clearly a layer that sits 'on top' of planning culture: that of the artefacts that are the visible products and processes of planning. By paying close attention to planning artefacts we can, in turn, get to grips with the underlying planning culture. And by studying changes in the artefacts we can begin to determine whether or not these reflect underlying changes in the culture itself. This is why we picked a planning artefact, the Portuguese National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT), as the key research object in this thesis.

2.3 Culture Change

So far in this chapter we have explored the concept of planning culture to be used in this investigation, and we have considered the contextual influences and how these impact its evolution. In addition, we have presented the culturised planning model as the cornerstone of the research framework. We have also clarified what the societal environment, planning environment and planning artefacts are and how these are both an influence in, and an expression of, planning culture. What we have addressed so far will help us to characterise the context and principal features of Portuguese planning culture. Consequently we will now be able to determine whether a planning culture change has taken place via the PNPOT.

2.3.1 Typologies of Culture Change

Culture change permeates every single aspect of our approach to planning reform. We have to reform the way we go about planning, as well as reforming the system itself. Planning is a vehicle, which cannot be fixed by only looking at the engine. You need to change the way the machine is driven.

Macknulty (*cit. in* Shaw and Lord, 2007)

We now need to characterise the features of culture change in more detail since, by systematising the existing literature on the topic, we can better investigate and understand the case study later in the thesis. This approach is very much in line with Shaw (2006; 2007), who argued that we should first to get to grips with the general causes of culture change and the ways in which it can occur, before turning to the mechanics. To begin with we will revisit the work of Schein (1992) and its three-tier culture structure.

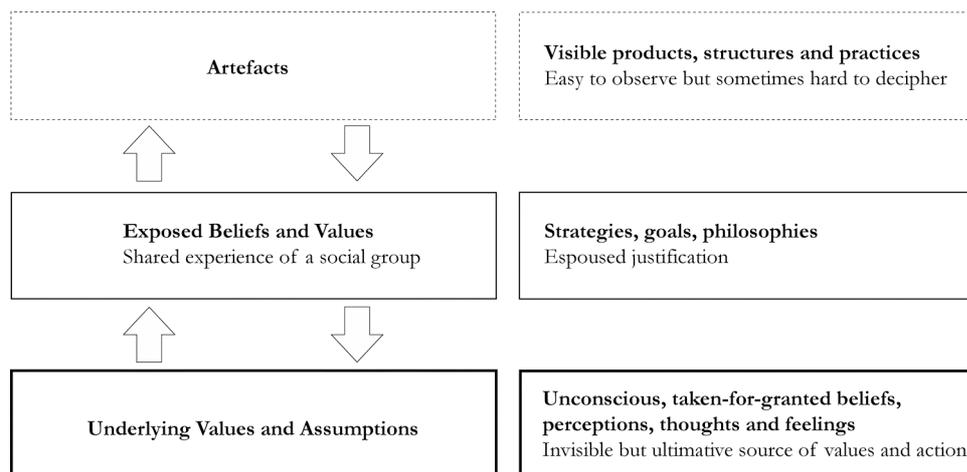


Figure 2.3 – Elements of Culture Change (Schein, 1992)

The relationship between the three elements depicted in Figure 2.3 constitutes an indicator of the probability of culture change taking place. So if the relationship between any of these elements changes – regardless of whether it comes about through either intended or unintended pressures – then it is likely that a culture change will be realised (Shaw, 2006: 8). This enables us to systematise a cause and effect relationship, and we can do so using Lovell's (1994) fourfold typology:

- (1) *Change by exception*, which usually involves catalysts that are temporary in nature and produce a short lived cultural impact;

- (2) *Incremental change*, which is the most common type of change, and resembles an evolutionary process in which affected actors do not necessarily realise that change is taking place;
- (3) *Pendulum change*, which implies an oscillating pattern of change; for example, a swing between a more centralised and a more decentralised decision-making process;
- (4) *Paradigm shift*, which involves a radical alteration in the values that underpin a culture.

None of these modes of change are necessarily straightforward or simple; as Shaw (2006: 8) notes: “even when the direction of change is understood and accepted, many of the ideas designed to encourage and facilitate change do not produce the anticipated or desired outcome”. We may therefore infer that some unintended consequences can occur, and Shaw, drawing on the work of Harris and Ogbonna (2002), highlights eight types:

Ritualisation of culture change	Recognising that culture change is a gradual and continual process there is a danger that the change agenda becomes ritualised.
Hijacking the process	The change management agenda is managed or manipulated to a certain extent in order to achieve the aspirations of a particular group.
Cultural erosion	The espoused values of the culture change agenda may be eroded by subsequent events.
Cultural re-invention	Espoused values and behaviours may camouflage older working practices whilst appearing new.
Ivory tower culture change	Change may be divorced from the organisational reality or incapable of meaningful implementation because the culture change indicators do not understand how the system is working in practice.
Inattention to symbolism	Organisational myths or a lack of attention to symbolic details may have a negative impact on cultural change.
Uncontrolled and uncoordinated efforts	Mixed messages coming from the centre may make it difficult to understand the real aspirations of the culture change initiative.
Behavioural compliance	Change may be witnessed in the work practices without occurring a change of values or attitudes. People are simply doing as they are told.

Table 2.4 – Unintended Consequences of Change (Adapted from Shaw, 2006: 8)

These are not the only obstacles that will emerge when culture change is promoted, and particular attention should be paid to the attitude of the actors and institutions involved in the process. A ‘negative’ reaction – by which I mean a resistance – to cultural change by either of these two categories of ‘agent’ can be broadly grouped into three main categories (Martin, 1999 *cit in*. Shaw, 2006: 12).

These are:

- (1) *A culture of complacency*, which occurs when groups of actors and institutions do not engage a process of change unless they feel the pressure to do so.
- (2) *A culture of ineffectual conservatism*, which refers to the behavioural patterns developed by actors and institutions that become accustomed to short-lived initiatives or attempts to culture change, and end up ignoring the effort altogether.
- (3) *A culture of compliance*, which emerges when actors or institutions follow the guidelines for culture change, but in a superficial rather than meaningful way.

What the unexpected consequences of, and modes of resistance to, culture change make clear is that there are many ways in which the outcomes of such change can become uncertain, and quite a few conditions under which it does not occur at all.

2.3.2 Culture Change as a Learning Process

*The creation of knowledge in social networks
is a key characteristic of the dynamics of culture.*
Capra (2003: 88)

We can now turn our focus to the mechanics of culture change, and to understanding it as a generalised learning process. As outlined in the introduction (See Figure 1.1), I believe that the pressure for planning culture change that derives from Europeanisation has taken place largely through socialisation processes and joint policy making and learning. The longer actors are engaged in a collaborative interaction in the context of a planning activity, the more they will influence one another and create common reference points in terms of values and perceptions.

This dynamic emphasises the fact that planning cultures are a type of learning system (Fürst, 2009: 24; Faludi, 2008), and at the centre of a learning system lies (common) knowledge. Consequently, the issue of the knowledge that we use, and the ways in which we use it to inform public policy, is of crucial importance to any discussion of culture change in a policy field. If the production and use of knowledge to inform future policy is essentially a social process then not only will scientists and academics, politicians and other decision- or opinion-makers play an important role, but the population as a whole, *i.e.* civil society, will as well.

In the process of knowledge creation and dissemination, there will often be a struggle between actors and institutions over the ‘correct’ interpretation of the problem and course of action that should be taken to address it. In this context, knowledge is a source of power, and as a result at times there are many parties with an interest in controlling its production and distribution.

We can broadly say that there are three types of knowledge: data, ideas, and arguments. The actors that deal with data are typically academic or professional specialists in a given field. Each actor has its own methods for determining the relevant pieces of information and excluding those that are not. The actors that deal with ideas are often those that span the policy-making and academic or professional realms, particularly those operating in advisory roles. Finally, the actors that deal with arguments are the most visibly political, since this type of knowledge involves a reasoning strategy as well as the need to convince others of one's 'rightness'. Clearly, this kind of knowledge usually emerges in the public domain, whether from actors with well-defined roles such as politicians and media commentators, or in less formal platforms such as the interactions between members of advocacy coalitions. This categorisation is key to understanding the interactive knowledge creation processes and its subsequent importance in the formation of governing 'images' – the ways in which the public, policy-makers, and professionals view the world. It is my contention that the same rationale applies to the use of knowledge in inducing planning culture change.

Learning can be defined as the process by which information becomes knowledge (Jentoft *et al.*, 1999), and governance, according to Kooiman (1993; 2003), is mutual interactive learning in image formation. Learning occurs across the full spectrum of governance, from the solving of practical problems, to institutional learning, and even at the 'meta-level' of governance, which is to say how we decide what governance actually is.

According to Argyris (1992) there are two main forms of learning: the single-loop and the double-loop. The former is also considered 'learning of the common type', while the latter is regarded as 'learning how to learn'. In practical terms, single-loop learning occurs when mismatches between intentions and outcomes are discerned and corrected. Communication in this context is greatly improved if those involved either share similar backgrounds, beliefs, and aims, or are able to see the backgrounds, beliefs and aims of others. This brings us back to the concept of platforms of socialisation that provide the necessary interpersonal communication opportunities and environment of trust essential for the exchange to take place. Logical reasoning, empirically-verifiable evidence, and controllable and reproducible experiences are all important single-loop learning examples. However, where actors employ different 'regimes' of reason, the insights or perspectives of one group may be deemed irrational by another, preventing effective communication and hindering the creation of governing images.

Double-loop learning occurs when the conditions that generated disparity and conflict at the first level of learning are identified and modified at the second. In other words, for double-loop learning to take place we must first question and scrutinise our fundamental assumptions and values. As Kooiman (2003: 33) highlights, such an exercise may be seen as threatening to governing actors, and they may be inclined to evade or resist it. Interactive learning is therefore an example of a double-loop learning process in which the participants not only learn from each other but also learn from each other's learning.

In this sense, the practice of learning should be seen as a permanent feature of the governance process, rather than a sporadic and an *ad hoc* event. But in practice, while single-loop learning is relatively easy to achieve amidst institutional interactions and multi-level governance policy arenas, successful double-loop learning is much less common. This reasoning is fundamental to characterise the case study policy process in terms of its learning nature. In sum, the dynamics of learning in a policy process can be both a force that works as a cause of change, and as an effect of change in that same process.

We have now seen how knowledge can be created via the interaction of actors through socialisation and joint policy-making and -learning processes; however, this does not account for how and when it is used in the policy cycle, and whether it is instrumental to culture change *per se*. As discussed above, the evolution of a planning system is closely linked to the concept of knowledge, either in the process of (a) training and informing the agents that regulate and drive it; (b) securing its transparent functioning; (c) the evolution of how we manage, disseminate and capitalise on the knowledge that we create about the territories we occupy; or (d) the way in which citizens use the available knowledge about the territory they occupy. To understand the role of knowledge in the policy cycle requires the assumption that a whole universe of interactions takes place between creating, driving, suppressing, and influencing agents and the overall group of users of that very knowledge.

This universe of interactions is structured in what I term in this research the discursive/operative cycle:

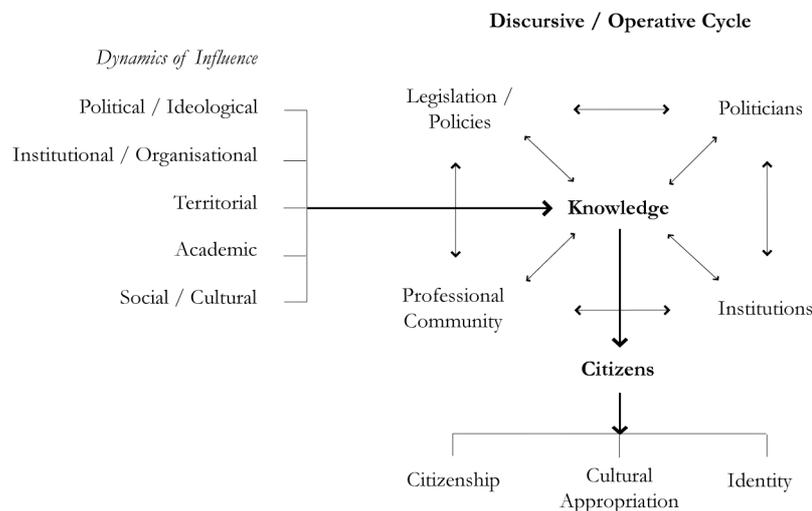


Figure 2.4 – Discursive/Operative Cycle

The purpose of this diagram is to illustrate how knowledge flows into the planning system and policy-making process, and how it influences the behaviour of the actors and institutions involved, as well as politicians and citizens. More than the technical specificities of a

particular type of knowledge, the focus here is its positioning, transformation, and the nature of its interaction within the discursive/operative cycle depicted. For our purposes the rational or political foundation of any given piece of planning knowledge is not particularly important, rather we want to understand how the concept is introduced into the system, how it is influenced, accepted, or corrupted by the pre-existing planning discourse, policy and legislation, how it is discursively appropriated by both institutions and epistemic communities of professionals and academics, and, finally, how local decision-makers and citizens take possession of it. In sum, how does a specific piece of knowledge evolve from theory (discursive dimension) into practice (operative dimension)?

Given this, there are four key points in Figure 2.4:

- (1) The multiplicity of existing dynamics of influence, both external and internal to the system, which catalyse change or conceptual innovation. These dynamics of influence determine to a large extent what is considered to be knowledge, what is coded as knowledge, as well as who participates in the formation and introduction of knowledge into the discursive/operative cycle.
- (2) The nonexistence of purely challenging/catalysing, or purely reactive agents. Innovation and conceptual change may arise at one specific point of the system, or from the interaction of different parts of the system. The most common of scenarios will be the coexistence of multiple overlapping dynamics. Even if we take stock of the existent communicational bottlenecks (Ferrão, 2007), politicians, policies, legislation, institutions and professional community constitute an interdependent network of mutual influences that render extremely complex, if not impossible, to dissociate any of these elements from its contextual background.²
- (3) The fact that in order for the system/citizen interaction to evolve it is a *sine qua non* condition that citizens must take possession of the available knowledge about this system. The implicit argument here is that it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify with what we do not know.
- (4) The many lines of feedback between actors and institutions emphasise the idea that these cycles may be continuous or interrupted, and that changes to knowledge may

² This approach takes inspiration from earlier sociological approaches that have produced similar systematisation, although with an emphasis on a different focal point: Giddens' concept of agency (1986), Foucault's concept of power (1991), Bourdieu's theorisation of practice (1992), and even the new institutionalism of Powell and Di Maggio (1991), all to a significant extent forward far more developed and complex interpretations of the logics of articulation of the elements that make the discursive/operative cycle.

come about incrementally or in a non-linear fashion. For now, let us assume that the different ‘parts’ of the system set out in Figure 2.4 may play different roles according to the stage of development of a given piece of knowledge.

We now have a theoretical model of how the knowledge generation system operates, but we still need to get to grips with the way in which it works. In other words, we might know what ‘parts’ coexist within the system and yet still have no idea how they interact. So the next step is to reflect upon the characteristics and contextual influences that define the way in which knowledge influences this system, if it *de facto* does.

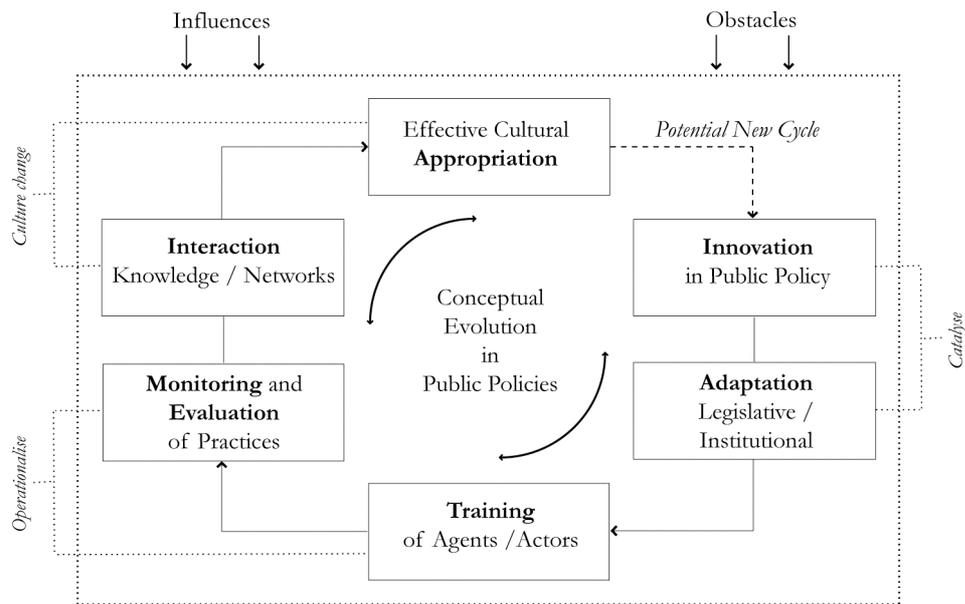


Figure 2.5 – Hypothetical Conceptual Evolution in Public Policy

Figure 2.5 sets out how this process might operate, and can be read like a learning process. There are three steps in this process:

- (1) *Catalyse*: innovation and adaptation are both part of the introduction in the system of stimuli for change. The impact that the latter will have is strongly dependent from the relational balance between the influences and obstacles that coexist in the process of design and implementation of public policies.
- (2) *Operationalise*: training, monitoring/evaluation. Metaphorically speaking, we can summarise this point as the construction of the implementation architecture of the concepts we wish to introduce.
- (3) *Culture change*: interaction and appropriation are to a large extent the practical outcomes of the previous steps, as far as the socialisation and behavioural change of actors is concerned.

This is obviously a schematic depiction of a strictly rational and linear public policy cycle. In other words, the figure portrays an orderly process with a set of logical, sequential steps that work together to achieve an effective cultural appropriation. This ideal interaction of the constituent parts of the cycle is far from being a realistic model of the system in which cultural appropriation takes place. Figure 2.6 illustrates the limitations associated with the rational cycle depicted in Figure 2.5 and, in particular, it calls into question the rational systems explanation of how cultural appropriation takes place.

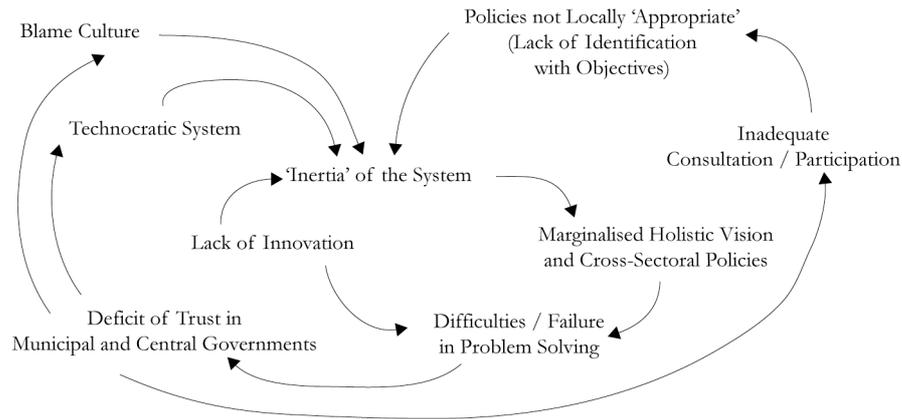


Figure 2.6 – The Real System (Adapted from Goss, 2001)

Figure 2.6 allows for a series of possible readings depending on the point upon which we anchor our reasoning. In the context of this section, which is focused on the use of knowledge in the policy process, let us focus on the issue of a lack of innovation. In its most immediate sense, innovation can be understood as the implementation of a set of rules and procedures that are different from the ones currently in place, and to which is associated an instrumental expectation for the resolution of previously diagnosed problems. Instrumental in its outline, the role of knowledge as a catalyst for change is central to the notion of innovation. We must nonetheless remember that the new knowledge we discuss here may not be new *per se*. As Schumpeter would highlight this 'new' knowledge already exists in the system. What is new is the way in which it is looked upon and used.

2.3.3 Culture Change as Power

The relationship between knowledge and culture change inevitably, as I have outlined above, brings the problem of power into play. As Davoudi (2006: 14) notes, there are two aspects to this dynamic: first, that 'knowledge is power', and, second, that 'power is knowledge'. This latter case is what Foucault explored as 'power producing knowledge', meaning that power

determines what actually counts as knowledge in the first place (Flyvbjerg, 1998: 226). Thus, if we assume that public policy is developed and implemented through the use of power (Solesbury, 2002: 95), and that control of knowledge makes actors even more powerful (Healy, 2002: 98), then we must consider the fact that knowledge is as subject to ‘corruption’ as much as any other source of power (Solesbury, *Ibid.*). This implies that we must investigate who selects the types of knowledge that are included in the policy process and why, and that we must view knowledge-driven culture change as an exercise of power.

Friedmann calls “our ambivalence about power perhaps the biggest problem in theorising and understanding planning” (1998: 249). To discuss power within the context planning culture change is in this sense no different. The notion of how we would normatively expect culture change to take place, as opposed to what actually happens, makes for a fertile ground for an inquiry into power. As Flyvbjerg (2002: 353) highlights: planning research, unlike political science and sociology, is still short of a systematised body of reflections that place power relations at their core, and he goes on to argue that although some authors (*e.g.* Friedmann, 1987; Forester, 1989; Hajer, 1995; Healey, 1997; Richardson and Jensen, 2000; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003) have addressed power in their work, their take on a Habermasian communicative rationality³ means that their analysis is “strongly normative and procedural without the substantive understanding of *RealPolitik* and real rationality that characterises studies of power” (Flyvberg, 1998).

In this section, we will take on Friedmann’s challenge and we will briefly address the issue of power – and especially enabling power (1998: 253) – in the context of planning culture change. To begin with, we need to define what we perceive as power, and in the following table there is a selection of the key definitions used both in institutional and in organisational studies.

Authors	Definitions
French (1956)	Power is a resultant of the maximum force, which A can induce on B minus the maximum resisting force, which B can mobilise in the opposite direction.
Dahl (1957)	A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something B would not otherwise do.
Emerson (1962)	The power of actor A over actor B is the amount of resistance on the part of B which can be potentially overcome by A.
Salanik and Pfeffer (1977)	Power is the ability of those who possess it to bring about the outcomes they desire.

³ Communicative rationality refers to the capacity to engage in argumentation under conditions approximating to an [egalitarian] ideal [speech] situation (‘discourse’ in Habermas’ terminology), with the aim of achieving consensus” (Dews, 2005: 130).

Perrow (1986)	Power is the ability of persons or groups to extract for themselves valued outputs from a system in which other persons or groups seek the same outputs for themselves. Power is exercised to alter the initial distribution of outputs, to establish an unequal distribution, or to change the outputs.
Mintzberg (1989)	Power is the ability to produce or affect organisational outcomes or effects.
Lee and Lawrence (1991)	Power is the ability to influence individuals, things, situations and decisions.
Johns (1996)	Power is the ability to influence others that are in a situation of dependency.
Yukl (1998)	Power is the potential influence of one agent on the attitudes and behaviours of his/her target-audience.

Table 2.5 – Definitions of Power (Pina e Cunha *et al.*, 2006)

Although there are a wide variety of definitions, there is a clear common ground and key words recur throughout: interaction, context, capacity, influence, dependency, resistance. So in the context of planning culture change, we can make the following power-related propositions:

- Power requires some form of *interaction* between social actors. It is not an individual attribute but a feature of the relationship between one individual/group and other individuals/groups.
- Power is *relative*. No individual group or organisation or community of practice is powerful or powerless in abstract, but only in relation to other actors.
- Power is *contextual*. In other words, the power of an individual or a group depends on the context in which the interaction takes place, and this means that the relations of power can change with the context.
- Power is a *capacity*. It does not need to be used in order to be power, it is only necessary that others foresee the capacity to act.
- Power is used through *influence*, which is the capacity to modify and frame attitudes, values or behaviours.
- Power assumes *dependency*. In logical terms, A has power over B if B depends on A and has no alternative to achieve what he requires.
- Power assumes *resistance*. If through the logics of dependency on A, B does something that in any other circumstance he would not do, then B does it because he was not able to avoid it and not because it was his own will. B will resist as long as possible, and she will resist longer if her dependency upon A is less.

If we take these key structural assumptions about power against the backdrop of the culturised planning model, then what will the power issues be in the context of a planning culture change? First, it seems clear that the key actors in a scenario of planning culture change vary according to the tier of the culturised planning model upon which we focus our research. A

second proposition is that the exercise of power may take multiple forms, including decision-making, agenda-setting, or the shaping of perceived needs (Forester, 1989: 38). So although we need to consider who exercises power and by which mechanism or mechanisms, the main point we want to stress at this stage is that power is structured around a logic of dependency and resistance that is also context-dependent.

Let us explore the relationship between planners and central government in order to further illustrate the multiple forms in which power relations materialise. As far as *dependency* is concerned, at the planning environment level, planners are less dependent upon central government than it may seem. In other words, the degree of autonomy available to planners for inducing and driving culture change, or resist it, within the planning environment surpasses the range of influence of central government. This autonomy resides in the fact that central government can not tell planners how to think, simply to condition the way in which they formally engage their professional activity.

As far as power assuming the form of *resistance* is concerned, the shift at the planning artefacts level from a regulatory approach to a more integrated spatial approach in terms of planning practices is bound to meet resistance from planning practitioners, as it implies a shift in their embedded behaviour. In this context, we have to assume that the aforementioned resistance may develop into a type of superficial compliance to the imposed new rules, while simultaneously not representing a culture change *per se*.

When *context* is considered, it is significant, against the backdrop of the culturised planning model, how the same actor (*e.g.* central government, planners, etc.) can see their power framework shift so radically in different levels of the model. For example, if in the context of the planning artefacts, we can to a certain degree argue that central government exerts influence and exerts dependency, when we consider the societal environment, and the desire of central government to induce culture change at that level (*e.g.* shift in urban mobility patterns, acceptance of planning as a socially valid policy, acceptance of territory as a societal value, etc.) then central government is completely dependent on the reaction of the citizens in order to carry out the desired culture change.

In a nutshell, let us highlight the fact that there is not one clear power framework that can be used to explain all power relations included throughout the culturised planning model, when investigating a planning culture change.

In this section we have explored culture change as an exercise of power. This will allow to characterise the nature of the interactions identified in the policy process used as a case study in the present investigation.

2.4 Institutional Culture Change

In this section we will focus on institutional culture change, justify the selection of the institutional level as the appropriate research focus for examining planning culture change, explain how institutions change in terms of their behaviour and culture, identify the core elements in institutional culture change processes, and identify patterns of institutional development. This section will provide the necessary information to characterise the institutional culture change process embodied by the planning policy process used as a case study in this investigation.

An institution is essentially an established way of behaving, or an established set of procedures; it is one of the structural components of a society, through which the concerns and activities are organised, and through which social needs such as those for order, belief, or reproduction are met (Parsons, 1982). From this perspective, institutions are central to the notion of society as an organism or functioning system. By the same token, institutionalisation is the process by which organisations and procedures acquire value and stability. This is a key distinction between institutions and organisations, and it is the former that binds both the latter together and supplies them with meaning.

Because institutions are usually seen as stable, I regard them as the optimal focal point for determining whether a dynamics of culture change is taking place. The idea of examining culture change in institutions can be justified by the fact that if that change is to occur, only if it has crystallised will it provoke an institutional reaction. In other words if the dynamics of culture change are weak in intensity and effect, and do not succeed in securing change, then institutions will not react. Conversely, where we see strong institutional reactions then we may assume that powerful cultural change has been at work.

Institutions cannot be interpreted as mere instruments, controlled by a specific organisation, set in place for a specific purpose and then adapted as necessary. According to March and Olsen (1989), institutions in the sociological sense also embody symbolic values and these supply them with cultural significance. In this sense, not only can institutions act as a platform for policy interaction and power games, but they can also embody and reflect a cultural 'meaning' that helps to guide and steer behaviour.

As we noted above, a key contextual factor that affects culture change – and, by extension, institutional culture change – is the issue of whether or not different groups recognise the need for such change. Institutions, like many complex systems, are fundamentally homeostatic and so will tend to change only if there is intense pressure to do so, such as when there is a risk of severe sanctions. As Sommermann (2002: 143) note, the stronger and more formal the existing institutional processes, the higher the transformation costs. In this context, Fürst (2009: 32) makes a crucial point: “changes of the planning system must be supported by

planners”, or resistance may emerge if the referred changes lead to a potential loss of the planners steering power.

Clearly, changing the behaviour, culture, or architecture of institutions is not a straightforward process, and institutional change can be understood as resulting from any one of several possible combinations of intention, evolution, and accident (Waterhout, 2008: 19). As I have said above, evolution is an incremental process, and in this case institutionally conditioned agents respond and adapt to societal change, but in doing so change institutions. Accidental change occurs primarily during times of crisis or disaster, which provoke a radical change of view in society and lead to swift action and reaction processes. Institutional change by design seeks to overhaul existing institutions.

Although the degree of urgency and deliberation may vary amongst the three types of change identified above, we can think of them as depending on two moments when (policy) windows of opportunity open to admit change. The first moment, according to Buitelaar *et al.* (2007), occurs when institutions (*i.e.* hegemonic discourses) are challenged by agents – both internal and external – who call into question – whether deliberately or inadvertently – the existing hegemonic logic of the institution’s existence. The second moment occurs when agents grasp the opportunity presented by the first, to reposition themselves and to realise change. According to Kingdon (1995) a policy window may open when there is an overlap of a societal problem perception, a suggested solution, and a political development. As Buitelaar *et al.* (2007: 896) put it: “The first window of opportunity opens when one of these developments, or a combination of [them], exerts sufficient pressure to open up the discursive arena”.

Once this window has opened, there are three factors that must be present in order for institutional change: first, as I have implied above, external societal developments must place the existing institutional arrangement under severe strain; second, there must be some kind of internal institutional reflection that challenges the prevailing discourse with alternative ideas, solutions, and actions; and third, effective leadership must be in place.

According to Shaw (2006: 14), the role of leadership within an institution undergoing a process of culture change is crucial not only in terms of defining the aims, objectives, and priorities, but also in “trying to ensure the key messages of change are transmitted and adopted” by its members. Without effective transmission of the ‘logic of change’, many of the unintended consequences of culture change previously identified are likely to occur (*Id. Ibid.*). An absolutely critical issue is therefore the capacity of the actors in charge of promoting and managing change within the institution. Against a backdrop of resistance to change, leaders must recognise and exploit informal and unofficial opportunities rather than rely solely on effecting change via formal channels (*Id. Ibid.*). This route leads us to the importance of the ‘learning by doing’ dynamics as part of the process of change, and it should be clear that this encompasses not only actors in leadership roles, but also other institutional agents involved in the implementation of measures to achieve the expected culture change.

In short, in the absence of a window of opportunity institutional change cannot begin, but in the absence of the transformative capacity of agents institutional change will not occur. The effectiveness of the agents will necessarily depend on their capacity to gather social recognition, trust, and legitimacy, but also on their capacity to learn and to act upon this learning. In other words, institutional change depends upon the capacity for institutional reflection as reflected in the ability of agents to learn (Buitelaar *et al.*, 2007: 896). “The more these outputs reflect changes in society, the more this forms an indicator of the capacity to learn” (Waterhout, 2008: 21).

Taking stock of the previous points, Table 2.6 provides a systematisation of the characteristics of institutional cultures.

National self-similarity	The institutions of a country tend to be more similar among themselves than what they are to institutions in other countries.
Historical influence	The national self-similarity is partly due to a common historical experience.
Collective reach	Culture is collectively created, which means that institutions, in addition to having cultures, are also cultures themselves.
Dynamic character	Changes in internal or external conditions produce changes in the institutional culture.
Learned	The culture of an institution acquires meaning for their members through experience. The process of assimilation of cultural characteristics is called socialisation.
Shared	Culture is formed by the values, the assumptions and the practices shared within the institution.
Visible and invisible	Some cultural elements are objective and visible, like the degree of formality in communication, while others, like deep assumptions, are invisible and subject to some subjectivity in the way they are appropriated by each member.

Table 2.6 – Characteristics of Institutional Culture (Adapted from Pina e Cunha *et al.*, 2006)

So far, we have addressed why we should focus on institutions, what institutions are and how can we depict them. The following point is to expand on how institutions reproduce themselves and perpetuate their existence. Mahoney’s view (2000: 515) suggests two opposing scenarios:

(1) Institutions that rapidly and decisively trigger mechanisms of reproduction are especially capable of seizing opportunities provided by contingent events and thus setting into motion self-reinforcing sequences that are path-dependent;

(2) Institutions that more gradually trigger mechanisms of reproduction may not be able to respond to contingent events, even ones that may initially favour the institution, and so may

not prevail in the long run over superior alternatives because mechanisms of reproduction are not activated quickly enough or powerfully enough to capitalise on the early advantage.

	(a) Utilitarian explanation	(b) Functional explanation	(c) Power explanation	(d) Legitimation explanation
Mechanism of reproduction	Institution is reproduced through the rational cost-benefit assessment of actors	Institution is reproduced because it serves a function for an overall system	Institution is reproduced because it is supported by an elite group of actors	Institution is reproduced because actors believe it is morally just or appropriate
Potential characteristics of institution	Institution may be less efficient than previously available alternatives	Institution may be less functional than previously available alternatives	Institution may empower an elite group that was previously subordinate	Institution may be less consistent with the values of actors than previously available alternatives
Mechanism of change	Increased competitive pressures: learning process	Exogenous shock that transforms system needs	Weakening of elites and strengthening of subordinate groups	Changes in the values or subjective beliefs of actors

Table 2.7 – Mechanisms of Institutional Reproduction (Mahoney, 2000)

(a) Utilitarian Explanation

A utilitarian theoretical framework is used to explain self-reinforcing processes. With organisational institutions in mind, we should note that factors such as information dissemination, organisational interdependencies and user proficiency may be key to generating a lock-in of existing arrangements that are suboptimal compared to the alternatives (Mahoney, 2000: 518). In this type of framework change occurs when it is no longer in the self-interest of actors to reproduce a given institution (*Idem*). Learning processes help actors to anticipate negative future consequences, encouraging them to enact change in the present. Learning processes can be further aided by ‘change agents’ (*Idem*), who are actors with an unusually clear notion of future changes and a high propensity to embrace change. Change agents can be a crucial aid to overcoming collective action problems that are hindering institutional transformation.

(b) Functional explanation

Functional explanations of self-reinforcing sequences focus on the functional consequences (integration, adaptation, survival, etc.) to the wider system in which the institution under scrutiny is embedded. In other words, the institution has a role in the development of the wider system, which in turn causes the growth of the institution. The latter justifies further expansion and consequent potential institutional consolidation. Functional explanations assume according to Mahoney (*Ibid.*: 521) the existence of self-regulating systems, and thus institutional

change usually requires an exogenous shock that puts pressure on the system as a whole. Change occurs as the existing function(s) of the institution become(s) obsolete and the reasoning behind the transformation required is the need to preserve the system in an emerging setting. Functional explanation's 'weak link' is the apparent reversibility of the self-reinforcing sequences that they seek to explain.

(c) Power explanation

In line with utilitarian explanations of self-reinforcing sequences, power explanations assume that actors' decision-making is based on a weighing of costs and benefits. The difference lies in the fact that, unlike utilitarian explanations, in the 'power' explanation it is argued that institutions display an uneven distribution of costs and benefits. In a power-focused analysis, an institution can persevere despite the will of either individuals or groups to change it provided "that an elite that benefits from the existing arrangements has sufficient strength to promote its reproduction" (*Idem*).

In terms of its genesis, this is not to say that one can associate it with pre-existing power arrangements. Rather, what this approach argues is that as the institution evolves, its development is predictable by analysing existing power-dynamics. The most influential group uses its 'additional' power to expand the institution, and the expansion of the institution reinforces the power of the most influential group. This circuit is repeated endlessly, creating a self-reinforcing pattern.

What about the end of the cycle or the dismissal of the loop? Power-focused analysis takes on board the notion that institutional reproduction is a conflict-process where one can identify winners and losers in terms of power of influencing the institution's development. A critical threshold point can be reached when internal conflict forces change. Some theorists add that even within winners, or elite groups, divisions may arise which will enable possible further changes of institutional arrangements, or even their demise.

(d) Legitimation explanation

A legitimation-based explanation relates institutional reproduction to the actor's subjective orientations and beliefs about what is appropriate or morally correct (*Id. Ibid.*: 523). The self-reinforcement of the institution derives from its perceived legitimacy, which encompasses a range of beliefs from active moral approval to passive acquiescence in the face of the *status quo*. Regardless of the degree of support, legitimation explanations assume that the decision of actors on institutional reproduction depends on their self-understandings of the 'right' thing to do, rather than from a utilitarian, functionalist or power-based rationality.

The self-reinforcing nature of this explanatory framework resides on the fact that an initial set of assumptions about what is 'appropriate' forms a basis for making future decisions about what is appropriate. The cycle then reinforces itself through standards of legitimacy,

meaning that the institution is reproduced because it is seen as legitimate; henceforth the reproduction of the institution further reinforces its legitimacy. Mahoney (*Ibid.*: 525) highlights the fact that “legitimation explanations locate institutional transformation with inconsistencies in the multiplicity of cognitive frameworks that are predominant in society, providing a basis for actors to adopt new subjective evaluations and moral codes concerning appropriateness”.

An existing institutional legitimation arrangement ceases when events introduce mutually incompatible conceptualisations of appropriateness. The events responsible for such a change in perception may hold multiple origins: a rise in institutional structural isomorphism with rationalised myths, a decline in institutional efficiency or stability, or the introduction of new political ideas by political leaders. In sum, change develops through the contradiction between prevailing cognitive perceptions and those suggested by an emerging alternative form of institutional reproduction. Institutional transformation results therefore “from changes in actors’ subjective beliefs and preferences, not changes in the power distribution of actors or changes in the utility functions that are assumed to have constant preferences” (*Idem*).

In this section we have justified institutions as the research focus in this study. We have explained how institutions shift in terms of their behaviour and culture. In addition, we have discussed how to interpret change in an institutional context and we have identified patterns of institutional reproduction. This section provided the necessary information to characterise the institutional culture change process embodied by the PNPT, the planning policy process used as a case study in this investigation.

2.5 Final Remarks

The concept of a ‘planning culture’, although it unquestionably adds value to the contemporary planning studies toolbox, is far from being a systematised concept. Nevertheless, recent developments tend to suggest that it is becoming increasingly organised as a research approach. For the purposes of this dissertation, in order to determine whether the Portuguese National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPT) represents an example of planning culture change and the characteristics of that change, the purpose of this chapter was to develop a conceptual framework that would allow as many avenues of interpretation of planning culture change as possible.

Accordingly, Chapter 2 has been organised around three main units: planning culture (Section 2.2), culture change (Section 2.3), and institutional culture change (Section 2.4). Now we address how the specific contents of each section will shape the development of the empirical analysis to be conducted on the selected case study in this research: the PNPT.

The first of these units, Section 2.2, revolves around the concept of planning culture. It defines it and introduces the culturised planning model to develop a workable system that

increases the integration of culture into planning research and helps understand planning practices in different contexts. This model articulates a set of distinct elements that allow to determine how a planning culture evolves. These elements are anchored in *values*, beliefs, and attitudes, a fact that is of paramount importance in terms of the selected research design. The emphasis on values implies a very specific research philosophy (*Phronesis*), but it is also instrumental in confirming the suitability of the selected case study and defining the kind of data we must empirically collect in order to infer whether or not culture change has taken place.

Another key feature of planning culture is its *context*-dependency. This characteristic will guide part of the empirical data collection process so that the necessary contextual background is available to justify how the observed policy process constitutes evidence of culture change. An organising structure to set up this background can be found in the culturised planning model, which is structured around the interaction between planning artefacts, the planning environment and the societal environment.

If Section 2.2 helps characterise the chosen case study as an example of a planning culture, then Section 2.3 allows us to understand whether the PNPO^T constitutes culture change, the kind of change that it embodies, and the learning dynamics and power interactions that were central to its process of change. The emphasis on the role of knowledge and learning processes, and the exercise of power is central to the interview design and selection of interviewees that make for the core unit of the empirical data collection process. In other words, we will look into who influenced the development of the PNPO^T, what values and beliefs supported that influence, and how were these informed, meaning via what sources and type of knowledge. Section 2.4 focused on institutional culture change, providing the main tools with which to analyse the empirical data. This last section supplies us with a set of categories that permit us to categorise the dynamics of change present at the institutional level in the PNPO^T.

In conclusion, this chapter has identified that in any process of culture change there are contextual influences, obstacles, and enabling factors, but also that there is often an identifiable catalyst of change. In the following chapter we will explore a specific context of influence that of the process of Europeanisation of planning as a challenge to the prevailing planning culture. And, as a potential catalyst of change, we will review the process of institutionalisation of European spatial planning in general and the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) in particular.

3

Europeanisation as Culture Change

It is not a solution (...in the sense of providing off-the-shelf explanations).

It is a challenging, exciting problem.

Radaelli (2004: 16)

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we deconstructed the notion of planning culture change. Against the backdrop of the culturised planning model, we defined planning culture as a concept and explored its constituent elements, how these intertwine and evolve. We also considered different typologies of culture change and further explored two specific types of culture change: as a learning process, and as an exercise of power. Finally, I justified the focus of this research at the institutional level as being the most appropriate window into the dynamics of planning culture change.

In the present chapter, we will review the Europeanisation of planning as a challenge to existing planning cultures and as a catalyst of culture change. In order to do so, the present chapter is structured into two main units: the first will break down, at the conceptual level, Europeanisation as a research agenda, and the second will focus, at the empirical level, on the Europeanisation of planning *per se*. The first section therefore implies systematising Europeanisation as a concept, outlining its key themes and identifying the mechanisms through which it takes place, while the second section will involve discussing the different meanings, mechanisms and dynamics of Europeanisation in the context of planning. In addition, we will also review the role of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) as the main catalyst for the Europeanisation of planning, and we will systematise its impacts at the member-states level. Finally, we will advance a set of guidelines to help review the selected case study in light of the hypothesised link between Europeanisation and planning culture change.

So the ultimate purpose of this chapter is fourfold. First, it must provide the necessary information to allow us to certify that the selected research case study has, in fact, been influenced to some degree by the Europeanisation of planning. Second, it must enable us to characterise the evidence of Europeanisation embodied in the case study (*i.e.* by what

mechanisms it happened, and what were the key influences, etc.). Third, it must provide an empirical overview of the impacts that the Europeanisation of planning has had in other countries to allow us to draw comparisons with the Portuguese case. Finally, it must enable us to verify whether the current depiction in the literature of Portugal's reaction to the Europeanisation of planning is accurate, or if it is in need of an update.

3.2 Europeanisation as a Research Agenda

Europeanisation is, to put it somehow crudely, a matter of degree. It also has a dynamic quality: its structural effects are not necessarily permanent or irreversible... The impact of Europeanisation is typically incremental, irregular, and uneven over time and between locations, national and subnational. Profound disparities of impact remain – it is inherently an asymmetric process – and the attraction for researchers is to account for them.

Featherstone (2003: 4)

Featherstone's observation should put the reader in the right frame of mind to make sense of what the concept of Europeanisation might entail. As outlined in the introductory chapter, this research builds on the proposition that influences at the European Union level are affecting, in various ways and to varying degrees, the domestic planning environment of EU member-states. This dynamics of influence is what we have termed 'Europeanisation', and this chapter examines Europeanisation as a research framework with which to inquire into planning culture change.

This choice should raise relatively few eyebrows because change – or more precisely a focus on processes of change — lies at the heart of the research into Europeanisation (Olsen, 2002). Yet Olsen also warns us that there are many ways to approach Europeanisation, and that these depend on the academic discipline or line of inquiry adopted (*Id. Ibid.*: 921). One must then tread with caution, and let me highlight two common misconceptions: first, the suffix *isation* induces a normative bias towards a perception of Europeanisation as a 'standardisation' of European origin; and second, there is a widespread confusion between the concepts of Europeanisation and European integration. The next section will address the second of these misconceptions, while the following one will clarify the operative definition of Europeanisation.

3.2.1 Europeanisation or European Integration?

The focus of attention of Europeanisation studies is clearly being extended beyond the scope of traditional European integration research.

Gualini (2004: 19)

Gualini is of the view that “the term Europeanisation refers, at large, to the responses of actors and institutions to the effects of European integration processes” (*Id. Ibid.*: 4). The author’s point of view suggests – through the words *integration processes* and *responses* – a symbiotic action-reaction cycle between the domestic and European levels. These cycles, or processes (Goetz, 2002), are built around dynamics of mutual adaptation and co-evolution, but they are not necessarily ones of convergence, nor are they solely of a top-down unidirectional nature. In other words “at the domestic level, Europeanisation is both a cause and an effect of action” unveiling by their mode of reaction the importance each member-state “attaches to Europe as well as the understanding of what Europe is” (Featherstone and Kazimias, 2000: 1). In fact,

the closer we look at what is actually happening in the EU, the less often it appears as a process by which a benign and coherent European model of governance with clear and distinct values, modes of operation, and standards, is reaching down into the politico-administrative systems of member-states and bringing them into line with that model. (Hine, 2003: 7)

According to Hine, top-down research frameworks fail to take into account the indirect influences, seen at the member-states level, that come from elements external to EU policies or regulations. These indirect influences account for many of the changes that have occurred even where there was no formal requirement for member-states to conform (Spanou, 1998; Scott and Trubek, 2002). A bottom-up line of inquiry based on domestic politics and policy-making is thus better suited to factoring in such indirect influences and to looking for the “missing link between (EU level) pressures for change and the perceived (domestic) substantive adaptations” (Goetz, 2000: 222). In other words, the research design places the investigator in a favourable position to observe when major alterations of the logic (of interaction of domestic actors and institutions) are produced endogenously at the domestic level or by more global pressures (Radaelli, 2004: 5). This fact lies at the heart of what differentiates the concept of Europeanisation from that of European integration.

A swift glance at theories of European integration will show that some of the puzzles they aim at solving are *why* and *how* member-states actually construct such integration. Is the EU either shaping up into an inter-governmental arena where nation-states cooperate on matters of common interest without questioning their individual sovereignty, or is it becoming a supra-national construction where “states may be obliged to do things against

their preferences” (Nugent, 1999: 502). The issue of the balance of power between states and supra-national institutions has even led some to predict the “hollowing out of the State” (Rhodes, 1997).

In contrast, Europeanisation assumes little and seeks to avoid specific predictions, providing instead “more open answers to convergence and divergence” (Radaelli, 2004: 3). The research agenda is not organised around the shifts of power within the EU; rather, the object of inquiry is the way in which member-states adapt to Europe. In this way, it dismisses the “hollowing out of the State” argument, recognising that although “domestic institutions are supposed to be malleable to different degrees, they are not withering away” (*Idem*).

3.2.2 Defining Europeanisation

As subset of the interdisciplinary research field of European Studies (Radaelli, 2004: 1), Europeanisation bears “all the hallmarks of an emergent field of inquiry” (Hix and Goetz, 2001: 15). In fact any bibliometric examination of the concept (Featherstone, 2003: 5-6) will show “research on Europeanisation as an academic growth industry” (Olsen, 2002: 921). However, and to put it in Gualini’s (2004) terms, it is legitimate, “if not trivial”, to ask why such growth occurs. Might it truly constitute an emerging field of theory to be used to explore an increasing number of different aspects of European Studies, or is it that it “simply reflects the faddish popularity of the term” (Radaelli, 2004: 1)?

Either way, those exploring the concept are bound to come across the “many faces of Europeanisation” (Olsen, 2002: 921). This metaphor captures Olsen’s view that “there is no single grand theory of Europeanisation that can help us understand how institutions co-evolve through processes of mutual adaptation. Nor is there a single set of simplifying assumptions about change, institutions and actors that will capture the complexity of European transformations” (*Id. Ibid.*: 944). The research focus of Europeanisation can vary between government structure and policy-making (Ladrech, 1994; Ioakimidis, 1996; Majone, 1997; Featherstone, 1998; Lawton, 1999; Cole and Drake, 2000; Cope, 2001), administrative structure (Spanou, 1998), spatial planning traditions (Faludi, 2004), economic policy (Dyson, 2000), political parties (Ray, 1999), and culture and identity (Hedetoft, 1995). To try to get to grips with this ever-expanding number of Europeanisation-related research programmes, several authors (Adcock and Collier, 2001; Featherstone, 2003, 6-12; Radaelli, 2004: 6) have attempted to systematise the field.

To this end, Featherstone contributed a fourfold typology highlighting the most common trends in the usage of Europeanisation as a concept. From his perspective, the term may be understood either as (a) an historic phenomena, or (b) a transnational cultural diffusion,

or (c) an institutional adaptation, or (d) an adaptation of policies and policy processes. More succinctly, Europeanisation as *historic phenomena* concerns the “export of European authority and social norms: imperial control, institutional organisation and practices, social and cultural beliefs, values and behaviour”. In the realm of *transnational cultural diffusion*, Featherstone highlights Europeanisation’s use in exploring “an increasing transnationalism” that refers to “the diffusion of cultural norms, ideas identities and patterns of behaviour on a cross-national basis with Europe”.

The dominant usage of Europeanisation to date, however, has been in relation to *institutional adaptation* and to the *adaptation of policies and policy processes*. The former addresses the “domestic adaptation to the pressures emanating directly or indirectly from EU membership”; the latter relates to the specific impacts of EU membership on public policy inclusive of a series of different approaches, such as constraints due to EU regulation or the indirect effects of the EU’s role on national policy (Featherstone, 2003: 6-10).

For the purpose at hand, we can draw on a similar conceptualisation, which is more attuned with exploring culture change in domestic planning contexts. This alternative system is rooted in the work of Adcock and Collier (2001) who distinguish between Europeanisation as *either* a background concept *or* a systematised concept. As a background concept, their investigation takes an encyclopaedic approach, “reporting on all major meanings associated with a concept” (Radaelli, 2004: 2). But for a community of specialists pursuing specific lines of inquiry, one must look for a systematised concept. Moreover, given the impossibility of exhaustively reviewing all studies on Europeanisation, the best way to proceed is to identify the key themes of the Europeanisation process. Radaelli (*Ibid.*: 6) outlines three: *governance*, *discourse* and *institutionalisation*. Later in this chapter we will return to these to debate how to better identify evidence of Europeanisation.

To summarise, research on Europeanisation as a concept can be characterised by a multiplicity of approaches depending on the different disciplinary contexts in which it is used as a framework for inquiry. Hence, pinning down a specific definition of Europeanisation *per se* is problematic. Indeed, if one agrees with the view that “the conceptual challenge is not primarily that of inventing definitions” (Olsen, 2002: 944) but to explore “the relevance of the concept for inquiring into change” (Gualini, 2004: 4) within a specific policy field, one may conclude that setting a deterministic definition is counterproductive. In reality, the greater potential of Europeanisation is to be understood as a multi-faceted phenomenon “in search of explanation, not the explanation itself” (Radaelli, 2004: 2).

To expand on Radaelli’s point it is necessary to briefly introduce the reader to two schools of thought present in debates about Europeanisation. The first, mainly developed in the 1970s and 1980s, adopts a top-down approach and takes as its investigative springboard “the pressures from the EU on member-states, and by considering intervening variables [targets] the

identification of reactions and change at the domestic level”. The search for “unidirectional changes and narrow impacts”, which characterised the research prior to the 1990s, was principally dedicated to “tracking down the implementation of European policies” or, alternatively, to understanding “how member states organised their European business” (*Id. Ibid.*: 4).

The second approach, commonly called the ‘second generation’ of Europeanisation studies (Featherstone, 2003; Gualini, 2004; Radaelli, 2004), is predicated on a completely different bottom-up research design. The starting point in this case is the system of interaction of actors and institutions at the domestic level. The research aim is to identify “temporal causal sequences” (Radaelli, 2004: 4), to clarify when and how – and, critically, if at all – the EU provokes change in any of the components of the domestic interaction system. The focus is therefore on change at the domestic level.

By attacking assumptions left unexplored in earlier Europeanisation studies, second generation studies provide, in our view, legitimate lines of inquiry into how domestic change occurs. A critical line of inquiry here is how do we know if observed domestic patterns of change are really generated by Europe instead of by some other pressure? It has been argued that “strong movements in Europeanisation as well as strong adaptational pressure do not necessarily translate into domestic change” (Cowles *et al.*, 2001: 2). So it may just be that the endogenous logic of domestic interactions between actors and institutions creates an independent dynamic of change even if the implementation of EU directives occurs.

At a theoretical level, this second generation of Europeanisation studies has taken on board several new paradigms. For one, Europeanisation is held up not as a new piece of theory *per se*, but as an ‘orchestration’ (Radaelli, 2004: 5) of existing concepts and research frameworks mainly from “comparative politics and theoretical policy analysis” (Featherstone and Radaelli 2003: 340). In addition, initial considerations of Europeanisation as an *end state* have in later studies been replaced by the notion of Europeanisation as a *process* (Goetz, 2002). Henceforth, instead of trying to determine if a member-state has been *Europeanised* or not, the purpose is to investigate what actually goes on within the process of Europeanisation in its own right.

Another characteristic of bottom-up Europeanisation studies is that they cover not only the vertical dimension, from the EU to the domestic level, but also the horizontal dimension. In Radaelli’s words (2004: 5) “the EU may provide the context, the cognitive and normative *frame*, the terms of reference, or the opportunities for socialisation of domestic actors who then produce *exchanges*” (of ideas, power, policies, and so on), one with another. Finally, this new generation of studies draws a careful line between the definition of Europeanisation and its potential outcomes in terms of convergence or divergence. This means that Europeanisation is not automatically conceived as a homogenising process. In fact, later in this chapter we will see distinct empirical examples of domestic changes in spatial planning that will help to illustrate this point.

To recapitulate, Europeanisation is not a new theory, but a combination of existing research programmes: it is “something to be explained” and not “something that explains” (Radaelli, 2004); it is a process and not an end in itself; it is a problem and not a solution; and an *explanandum* and not an *explans* (Gualini, 2004). All things considered, Europeanisation is a “framework for analysing difference and variation in processes of mutual adaptation and change (and of resistance to change) affected by new patterns of transnational-national relations: it (...) puts the explanatory burdens on the factors, mechanisms and dynamics of mutual adaptation and change (as well as of resistance to adaptation and change)” (*Id. Ibid.*: 24).

So although there is no one definitive meaning for Europeanisation, it is nonetheless, for the purpose of the research design, necessary to pin down a definition that links up with the other theoretical body in the thesis: planning culture. Only then can we explore the full potential of the empirical case study selected in this research. Therefore, we understand that the chosen definition of Europeanisation should comprise an emphasis on: (a) the factors, mechanisms and dynamics of mutual adaptation and *change* between the EU and the domestic level; (b) the institutional dimension; (c) not only the discourse but also values, beliefs and practices; and (d) *process* rather than *end state*. With this mind, in this doctoral research we understand that:

Europeanisation consists of processes of a) construction, b) diffusion, and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, “ways of doing things” and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies. (Radaelli, 2003: 30)

3.2.3 Themes of Europeanisation

This section focuses on the three previously identified, non-mutually exclusive themes, through which we can explain the process of Europeanisation: (i) governance, (ii) discourse and (iii) institutionalisation. Here, by themes we understand the main arenas where the effects of Europeanisation materialise, and in accordance with the emphasis placed in the preceding chapter on the institutional level and its importance to the research design (Section 2.4), we will explore the last of these themes in greater detail.

(i) As the first theme asserts, Europeanisation is “eminently about governance” (Radaelli, 2003: 6; Scharpf, 1999; Gualini, 2004). Europeanisation has modified shared notions of governance in EU member-states (Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999) and has further incorporated regions into a complex multi-level matrix of governance (Goldsmith, 1993). However, if we take for granted that Europeanisation is in fact producing qualitatively new

governance (instead of just re-shaping existing forms) then we must tackle the normative dilemma: “is Europeanisation producing good and legitimate governance in Europe?” (Radaelli, 2004: 6).

(ii) The second theme holds that discourse is one of the principal tools used by policy-makers and other actors to construct Europe. We should, of course, cast a brief glance over what is understood by ‘discourse’, mainly to appreciate that it references not only language but also a set of ideas and an interactive process. As a set of ideas, discourse embodies both a cognitive dimension (where actors make sense of reality based on, for example, knowledge or policy analysis) and a normative dimension (where actors assess and judge reality based on norms and values).

As an interactive process, discourse refers to the relations between policy-makers at the stage of policy formulation and how policies are communicated to the public. Schmidt (2002) has examined discourse at the institutional level, developing the notion of discursive institutionalism. The principle here is that discourse has a transformative power in EU policy and politics, but that if one wishes to understand if and when Europeanisation actually produces change then one must situate discourse in institutional riverbeds.

(iii) The third and last theme of Europeanisation is institutionalisation (Cowles *et al.*, 2001; Olsen, 2002; Radaelli, 2003; Börzel, 2004). Here the paradigm is that what is first experienced at the EU level is then later institutionalised “inside the logic of behaviour of domestic actors” (Radaelli, 2004: 6). Concurrently, the role of domestic actors and agency is also in the spotlight, and some authors highlight the fact that “institutional design and change do not take place in an institutional void, or only through the sway of actors’ preferences and material resources” (Caporaso and Stone Sweet, 2001: 225). To put it more bluntly: “institutions do not change institutions, actors do” (Cowles *et al.*, 2001: 229).

There are alternative approaches to Europeanisation within the institutionalisation framework umbrella. Cowles *et al.* (2001) address institutionalisation as the emergence of distinctive structures of governance. The uniqueness of their approach is their view that the only trigger of domestic change is “the misfit between the domestic and the EU level”. In other words, these authors suggest that for domestic change to happen, domestic institutions must feel somewhat uncomfortable with Europe. This causal phenomenon is identified as adaptational pressure. According to Radaelli (2004: 7) there are at present two different pathways to proceed: one is based on resource redistribution and the role of actors in an opportunity structure subject to pressure by EU variables; the other is based on a rather more social constructivist path centred on processes of socialisation consisting of a three-step framework based on adaptational pressure, mediating factors and domestic change (Börzel and Risse, 2003).

The key criticism to this take on institutionalisation is the fact that this is not the only way in which these processes might take place. In fact, traditional narratives of Europeanisation

placed a strong focus on EU policies that are framed by law and hierarchy and otherwise known as policies of positive integration (*i.e.* common rules being provided by a higher authority to iron out regional and other inequalities) and negative integration (*i.e.* barriers between countries being removed) (Knill and Lehmkuhl, 1999). However, as new modes of governance emerge within the EU, there has been a consequent greater scrutiny of the domestic impact of Europe in policy areas where the dominant patterns of governance are neither dependent upon regulatory competition, nor upon coercion. In tune with this approach, Radaelli (2004: 10) suggests that “Europeanisation is change both in the sense of responses to EU pressures and in the sense of other usages of Europe which do not presuppose pressure”.

In fact, examples of Europeanisation can be found in the absence of any major adaptation pressures. As Radaelli (*Ibid.*: 7) illustrates, domestic actors can adapt domestic policy and produce change independently of pressures arising out of a poor institutional fit (Knill and Lehmkuhl, 1999). In this context, some policy debates held domestically entail another characteristic of this process of institutionalisation: while some actors will argue that domestic policies are in line with European constraints, some will support the idea that the “fit between domestic policies and Europe” is insufficient and that, henceforth, additional reforms are in order. But as Radaelli underlines, the ‘goodness of fit’ framework is excessively structural since, while not disregarding the actors’ role, it leaves little room for agency and implies that they act solely in response to external pressure. One must consider that actors can also “choose and *learn* from Europe outside adaptational pressures” (Jacquot and Woll, 2003: 3).

The mechanism of Europeanisation in this policy process is *learning*. The literature highlights a distinction between ‘thin’ and ‘thick’ learning (Checkel, 1999; Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004; Radaelli, 2008), and between institutional learning and social learning. Institutional learning occurs when policy actors acquire information and alter strategies without changing preferences. As Schmidt and Radaelli (2004) argue, this type of learning is limited to copying EU-generated ideas, concepts and mechanisms at the domestic level. In the same category we can include the creative references to the European Union as an instrument of increasing domestic actors’ capacities or legitimating domestic reforms (Jacquot and Woll, 2003). In contrast, social learning happens when actors, through exposure either to new norms or to new discursive forms, change their interests and preferences. Social learning may lead to the reformulation of policy problems and actions, and thus to deeper transformations in the construction of public policies and, consequently, institutional culture change.

With regard to the Europeanisation process, the two types of learning generate different directions and degrees of potential domestic culture change. These can occur simultaneously, but to all intents and purposes they are independent of one another. Institutional learning entails changes in the form of ‘absorption’ or ‘accommodation’ (Börzel and Risse, 2000; Radaelli, 2000). In these cases, member-states incorporate concepts and ideas developed at the European

level or adapt their discourses, processes and institutions without modifying their essential characteristics and the underlying collective understandings attached to them. Social learning, on the other hand, is associated with situations of ‘transformation’ where substantial changes take place in the collective values, beliefs, and attitudes (*i.e.* the societal environment - see Section 2.2.4) and/or in the existing policies, processes and institutions at the domestic level (*i.e.* the planning environment and artefacts - see Section 2.2.3) where a ‘paradigm shift’ may appear. The latter is a key condition for culture change.

In retrospect, the institutionalisation approach has developed multi-conceptual research programmes that illustrate its potential to bring further dynamism into the Europeanisation conceptual debate. A good example is Gualini’s (2004) intermingling of multi-level governance and institutionalisation, expanding on how policy change may provoke significant institutional transformation. Unlike Börzel and Risse (2003), who separate policy, polity and politics, Gualini investigates “the dynamic relations between policy change and macro-institutional structures” (*cit. in* Radaelli, 2004: 7), paving the way for further research on how policies determine politics.

The Challenges for Europeanisation

In sum, Europeanisation is about change, governance and processes. It can have both a vertical and horizontal dimension and it can exist independently of EU policies. Europeanisation is not a spatially, or temporally even phenomenon, and different domestic policies are more permeable to its influence than others. There is no necessary fusion, but “if Europe becomes the grammar of domestic political action”, and if the external environment (*i.e.* EU-influenced practices) becomes endogenous (*i.e.* accepted as the norm at the domestic level), the European, national and regional levels may collapse in one dimension of Europeanised political action (Radaelli, 2004: 14). Nevertheless, we must keep in mind the fact that Europeanisation is not synonymous with convergence, and that even when it emerges in the form of convergence ‘clusters’ (Börzel, 2002a; Goetz, 2002) it is not a sign of a uniform process occurring across Europe.

Future challenges for Europeanisation as a conceptual research framework lie at two levels: first, the creation of indicators that would allow further operationalisation and a greater number of transnational comparisons; and second, the development of more systematic forms of data collection at the domestic level in order to substantiate the application of the aforementioned indicators. Europeanisation is not a ready-made ‘solution’, it is a challenging, exciting ‘problem’ (Radaelli, 2004: 16), and in the next section we explore the Europeanisation of planning.

3.3 The Europeanisation of Planning

The second part of this chapter is organised around a single question: have the “heroic efforts of an epistemic community” in advancing the “sound concept” of European spatial planning (Gualini, 2005: 1) actually kick-started a process of culture change? If we presuppose a positive answer to this query then we are assuming the existence of an ongoing process of Europeanisation of planning. Academics have already begun to detail the causal relationship between the European Union (EU) policy arena and culture change in the policies and practices of domestic planning in its member-states, but this endeavour is far from straightforward. To begin with, the debate about the Europeanisation of planning is something of a discursive labyrinth, and the overlap of causes, mechanisms, catalysts, etc. is such that a pre-emptive effort must be made to clarify the line of reasoning selected for the following sections.

In order to do so, we will commence with a systematisation of the differences between the two major overlapping narratives of the Europeanisation of planning: hard regulation/compliance and soft coordination/learning. Against the backdrop of the latter, we will then expand on the process of institutionalisation of European spatial planning in general and on the ESDP in particular, as catalysts of a unique dynamic of voluntary domestic culture change. Our focus is not on the content of the ESDP and EU-led planning policies *per se* but on how these have directly or indirectly influenced change in member-states’ planning systems, practices, and perceptions of their territories within the wider European Union context. In the following sections we will look into the nature, mechanisms, drivers and dynamics of such change.

3.3.1 Which Europeanisation of Planning?

Although there is an acknowledged scarcity of systematised empirical evidence about the effects of Europeanisation in the field of planning, as a concept it has nonetheless garnered significant attention as an instrument with which to inquire into the ongoing processes of change simultaneously affecting, in various ways and to varying degrees, the domestic planning systems and spatial planning policy-making of the member-states of the European Union. In other words, even though it is not an indigenous concept to European spatial planning, Europeanisation is rapidly becoming endogenous to it (*e.g.* Börzel, 2002a; Gualini, 2004; Faludi, 2004; Jensen and Richardson, 2004; Böhme and Waterhout, 2008; Mourato and Tewdwr-Jones, forthcoming). In fact, the last few years have witnessed an increasing number of attempts, both hybrid in nature or directly

focused on planning, to explore Europeanisation as an explanatory concept for a series of changes taking place throughout the multitude of planning environments within the territory of the EU.

In this sense, the existing literature on the topic can be organised into four non-exclusive groups. First, we have the set of reflections that focus their attention on the origins, emergence and development of the EU spatial development agenda itself. In this case, the objects under review are the concepts, structures, institutional dynamics, governance solutions and instruments of the development of the European spatial agenda (*e.g.* Faludi and Waterhout, 2002; Kunzmann, 2006; Faludi, 2007). Second, there are those authors that, through a more sociological approach, zero in on the mechanisms of policy transfer and the dynamics of joint learning and institutional innovation within EU-sponsored networks of transnational and interregional cooperation (*e.g.* Dühr *et al.*, 2007; Colomb, 2007; Jong and Edelenbos, 2007; Hachmann, 2008).

Third, a growing number of critical audits of the impacts at the domestic level of exposure to the EU spatial development agenda are taking place (*e.g.* Tewdwr-Jones and Williams, 2001; Shaw and Sykes, 2003, 2005; Dabinett and Richardson, 2005; Janin Rivolin and Faludi, 2005; Giannakourou, 2005; Zonneveld, 2005; Nadin, 2007; Waterhout, 2007; Adams, 2008; Faludi, 2008; Nadin and Stead, 2008). These can range from the macro-level transformations of national planning systems and policies (rules, procedures, instruments, techniques, policy styles and modes of governance) as a result of the influence of the ESDP (ESPON, 2007) to broader transformations in domestic institutions and policies, either by the diffusion of new instruments and procedures of policy making at different levels of government (*e.g.* Janin Rivolin, 2003; Giannakourou, 2005) or through the shift from land-use planning to a spatial planning approach (*e.g.* Böhme, 2003; Shaw and Sykes, 2003, 2005; Nadin, 2007). Finally, a minority of researchers home in on power and legitimacy frameworks to explore a more “contested view of European spatial planning” (*e.g.* Richardson and Jensen, 2000; Dabinett and Richardson, 2005).

Clearly these groupings are not mutually exclusive, and this investigation can be characterised as a mix of the second and third groups. This work fits the second group because it develops a sociological approach that emphasises joint-learning and institutional innovation, not within EU-sponsored networks, but as the result of exposure to the EU spatial development agenda. And because it emphasises the macro-level impacts on national planning policies (*i.e.* the Portuguese National Spatial Planning Policy Programme), this research fits the third group as well.

3.3.2 Mechanisms of the Europeanisation of Planning

As argued earlier in this chapter, there is no one mechanism of Europeanisation. Broadly speaking, the latter may occur through goodness of fit, competition, or learning in transnational networks (Section 3.2.3). All three imply different processes of potential institutional culture change at the domestic level. The reality, nevertheless, is that when we review empirical examples of EU governance in practice none of these classifications can be found in their pure form. What we do come across are the 'hybrid constellations' of Europeanisation (Knill and Lehmkuhl, 2002; Knill and Lenschow, 2005) that feature a mix of the different mechanisms listed above. This is without a doubt the case of the process of Europeanisation of planning, and in this light a twofold typology can be identified: Europeanisation by hard-regulation and compliance or by soft coordination and learning.

Europeanisation by Hard Regulation and Compliance

The Green Paper of the Commission on Territorial Cohesion (CEC, 2008), states that EU sector policies may have important implications for national level spatial planning. These implications do not concern only the patterns of settlements or the location of economic activities, but they may refer also to domestic planning institutions (rules, administrative structures, policy instruments, etc.), as well as to planning styles and practices. Bache and Marshall (2004) classify EU sectoral policies as arising either from a 'direct' Europeanisation of national planning (*e.g.* EU environmental policy, CAP, etc.) or from an 'indirect' spill over effect from other policy areas (*e.g.* EU competition policy). The EU environment policy is the most prominent case of this type of Europeanisation, affecting *inter alia* national planning systems and policies. Due to its mandatory directives, nearly every member-state has been affected by EU environmental legislation but there is no clear evidence available to indicate that this has resulted in, or had an impact upon, domestic planning culture change.

Europeanisation by Soft Coordination and Learning

Even though it is not a formal competency of the EU, planning-related concerns for the future of the European territory have gradually entered the European policy agenda. In fact, the development of the European spatial development discourse as we know it today rests upon a process of awareness development, lobbying and consensus construction. As far as Community institutions are concerned, an apprehension with European planning was raised by the 'Europe 2000' (CEC, 1991) and 'Europe 2000+' (CEC, 1994) reports. These were envisaged to promote awareness on the territorial implications of the European integration process and the spatial impacts of Community policies, but also to make a case for the idea of an enhanced coordination of spatial policies within the member-states and across the EU implemented through forms of transnational cooperation (Drevet, 2008). Alongside these efforts, a special

Community initiative, under the acronym of INTERREG, was designed to foster cooperation across national borders. If nothing else, these “have resulted in a stronger awareness among planners and decision-makers of the need for improved horizontal, vertical and geographical coordination in an integrated Europe” (Dühr *et al.*, 2007: 293).

Throughout the 1990s, intergovernmental efforts sought to foster better multi-level cooperation around sectoral policies and their spatial impacts. After a lengthy development process, the adoption of the ESDP in 1999 (CEC, 1999) began a process that would ultimately lead to the approval of the Territorial Agenda of the European Union by the ministers for spatial planning of the member-states of the Union in May 2007. Meanwhile, territorial cohesion was recognised as a formal objective and shared competence of the Commission and EU member-states alike in the recent Lisbon Treaty. Thus, we can agree with Faludi (2009) that the EU has developed an ‘implicit territorial agenda’.

The ‘hard’ hierarchical “top-down Europeanisation through EU sector policies” (Böhme and Waterhout, 2008: 233) constitutes one type of Europeanisation of planning, and it is clearly as important as the ‘soft’ coordination and learning that constitute the other. But at the core of this thesis sits the type of Europeanisation that developed out of European Spatial Planning (Williams, 1996; Faludi, 2001, 2002) and the desire for ‘planning for Europe’ (Böhme and Waterhout, 2008). This type of Europeanisation, ‘soft’ in its nature, fits with the coordination and learning-based mechanism earlier identified (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004). In fact, the EU, whether via intergovernmental cooperation (*i.e.* ESDP, Territorial Agenda of the EU) or through the Community initiatives (*i.e.* ESPON, INTERREG, European Territorial Cooperation), provides a multi-level platform for the exchange of ideas, values, policy concepts and informal rules and, consequently, potential culture change at level of the domestic planning policy-making and practices. The mechanism behind this cross-national policy transfer is learning. In this sense, European spatial planning can be thus understood as a ‘learning machine’ (Faludi, 2008).

3.3.3 The Dynamics of the Europeanisation of Planning

We have so far explored the mechanisms of the Europeanisation of planning and the multitude of lines of inquiry that fit under the conceptual umbrella of Europeanisation. In this section we will turn to a comprehensive systematisation of the dynamics of the Europeanisation of Planning.

Böhme and Waterhout (2008: 23) summarise that there are four types of processes that characterise the Europeanisation of planning (Figure 3.1): the first is the top-down influence of EU policies; and the second is organisational learning and refers mainly to INTERREG co-operation projects and the mutual learning processes that they foster between stakeholders. In

these scenarios we can speak of horizontal processes of Europeanisation, *i.e.* between delegates of cooperating member-states or between delegates of cooperating regions. Analogous types of horizontal processes take place in the various EU governance committees where representatives meet to discuss EU policy proposals. The third type of Europeanisation, which is also horizontal, is what Williams (1996) has called spatial positioning, and this refers to the ability to view one's position in a larger spatial context. This type of Europeanisation is easily recognisable in national and regional spatial strategies as these often include a chapter or section on the region's position in a transnational or European context. The fourth and last type of Europeanisation process is discursive integration (Böhme 1998; 2002; 2003). Such integration results from domestic policy communities interacting through network governance at EU level in a sort of roundabout-process and forms the main explanation for the application of the ESDP (Böhme 2002; Böhme and Waterhout, 2008).

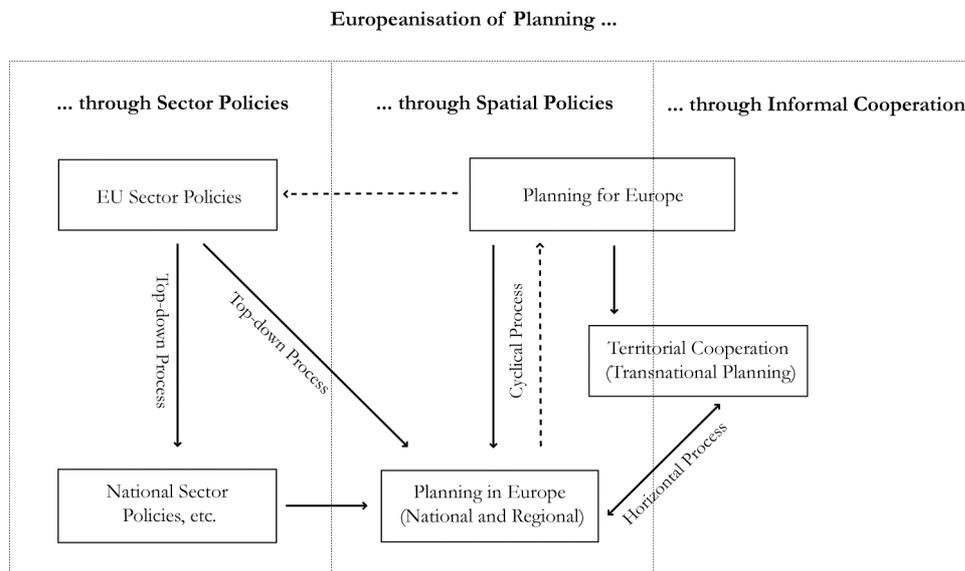


Figure 3.1 – Processes and Influences Underlying the Europeanisation of Planning (Böhme & Waterhout, 2008)

The application of the ESDP will be the focal point of the next section, and we will briefly highlight the underlying rationale of that choice. From the outset, we aimed to anchor the present study to the most independent of examples of Europeanisation of planning. In other words, we looked for a causal relationship that had no mandatory nature, normative framework or associated resources. The core idea was to centre the research on the most voluntary of interactions between the EU level and the domestic level policy arena, hence the choice of the ESDP as the test tube of Europeanisation.

3.3.4 The ESDP as a Catalyst of Europeanisation of Planning

What fuels the dynamics of the Europeanisation of planning? From the outset we can assume that any process of change requires a policy environment that challenges the *status quo* and can act as a catalyst for change. As catalysts we should understand singular or multiple agents, or specific circumstances that accelerate processes of change. Such an environment can be argued to exist insofar as changes in the European spatial development agenda and the hypothetical repercussions at the domestic level are concerned.

Indeed, the assumption in this case is that the whole European integration process helped to provide a riverbed through which these changes in spatial planning could flow. In this sense we can highlight as crucial catalysts the creation of the single market, the development of a multi-level governance framework, specific sectoral legislation and policies (*e.g.* TEN-T Trans-European Network, the Community Environmental Directives, the Community regional and cohesion policy, the ESDP, the Community initiative INTERREG) and the enlargement process. Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine the nature and degree of the influence that each of these has had in shaping both the overall European spatial planning agenda and the domestic planning systems and practices. None of these catalysts, however, had the scope and ambition of the ESDP.

There is already excellent literature critically analysing the making, contents and application of the ESDP (*e.g.* Faludi, 2001, 2003; Faludi and Waterhout, 2002). Also available is a systematised in-depth assessment of its impacts at the member-state level (Bengs and Böhme, 1998; Faludi, 2001, 2006; Böhme, 2002, 2003; Shaw and Sykes, 2003, 2005; Sykes, 2004; Jensen and Richardson, 2004; Giannakourou, 2005; Janin Rivolin and Faludi, 2005; Sykes and Motte, 2007; ESPON, 2007). Notwithstanding the interest in the application of the ESDP, literature stressing its placebo nature can also be readily found, the latter no doubt a result of the enormous political consensus-building between member-states with strongly divergent agendas underlying its creation. Indeed the ESDP has also been branded a “set of labels for desirable things, indubitably good but vague and wide open for definition” (Bengs, 1999: 9).

However, this vagueness might not necessarily constitute a problem if we consider that the spatial concepts’ flexibility helps bridge different interests and pave the way for cooperation. It is not exactly earth shattering to note that theoretical concepts in the field of planning studies tend to be somehow ‘imprecise, vague, ambiguous and opaque’ (Taylor, 2003: 92). In fact, this perception of conceptual fuzziness is not at all exclusive to the field of planning studies (on this topic see Lagendijk, 2003; Hudson, 2003; Markusen, 2003). However, backtracking to the issue under analysis here, our focus is not on the content *per se* of the ESDP and EU-led planning policies but how these have directly or indirectly influenced change in the member-states’ planning systems, practices and perception of their individual territories within the wider European Union context.

A detailed analysis of the individual role of these catalysts in influencing change has only recently begun. On the contrary, the search for frameworks of analysis with which to better understand the multidimensional implications of the emerging concept of European spatial planning is not new. This search has run in parallel with the making of the ESDP and the conceptual emergence of European spatial planning. In the early 1990s, the development of a European spatial planning agenda was far from certain, but even in 1994 some envisaged that “the future for planning in Europe (...) lies in the growth of mutual learning and cooperation at the regional and local levels of government out of which will come a gradual convergence of planning policies and practices” (Davies, 1994: 69). This view was not widespread at the time, but it marked a turning point towards that would be echoed in Williams’ seminal book *European Union Spatial Policy and Planning* (1996).

The emerging European spatial planning field with its “new policy processes, instruments and techniques” (Giannakourou, 1996: 608) provoked further transformations at the national and regional levels. In fact, the author later advised that European spatial planning could be perceived neither as a federal-like reproduction of national practices at the European level, nor as a simple exercise of intergovernmental bargaining that would leave national spatial planning policies, where they existed, untouched (*Ibid.*, 1998: 27). Furthermore, while addressing the “Europeanisation of national spatial planning practices”, Giannakourou highlighted the “need to consider other conceptual possibilities which match the nature of the European integration process in the field of spatial planning” (*Idem*). Regardless, as far as the ESDP was concerned, the meaning of Europeanisation seemed *prima facie* straightforward:

The Member States [...] take into consideration the European dimension of spatial planning in adjusting national spatial development policies, plans and reports. Here, the requirement for a ‘Europeanisation of state, regional, and urban planning’ is increasingly evident. In their spatially relevant planning, local and regional government and administrative agencies should, therefore, overcome any insular way of looking at their territory and take into consideration European aspects and interdependencies right from the outset. (CEC, 1999: 45)

Here, the way Europeanisation is portrayed reflects the imperative within the European Union for different territories to see beyond their own borders and respond to interdependencies between them and Europe as a whole when setting their planning agendas. Some authors have concluded that “making and applying the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) is part of the wider process of Europeanisation” (Börzel, 2002b). Faludi (2004: 155) summarises Europeanisation as the “outcome of the interaction between actors with various motivations”. But here one must ask what are the motivations and how do they influence the process of Europeanisation. Jensen and Richardson (2004) have taken these thoughts further:

When a policy language is created, and it becomes institutionalised by the constructions of framework and measures, which spread and apply its core ideas, we are seeing Europeanisation at work. Conceptually, we are talking here partly about the ability of a policy discourse to create the conditions for its own survival and reproduction – the active promulgation of the European project – and partly about the ways that a hegemonic discourse is ‘naturally’ reproduced through practices which absorb its policy ideas - the passive adoption of the EU spatial policy discourse into policy making across scales and places. (Jensen and Richardson, 2004: 179)

This view is not without its critics: some have critiqued what they perceive as the hegemonic nature of the process of change being analysed, and they evoke “the silent development of a discourse of monotopia across the new multi-level field of spatial policy” (Graute, 2002 *cit in*: Jensen and Richardson, 2004: 179). Being neither a utopia (positive future), nor a dystopia (negative future), monotopia is the idea of a homogenous future where there is little critique – and what critique there is, is weak – when adapting to a European spatial development discourse at the domestic level. This perspective is undoubtedly ground for further research as the suggestion of ongoing homogenisation has been challenged:

The Europeanisation of spatial planning in the Mediterranean countries neither follows uniform mechanisms nor produces homogenous domestic structures and spatial planning identities. (Giannakourou, 2005: 229)

We support Giannakourou in the sense that, even if a certain degree of convergence among member-states occurs, that is not enough to substantiate a claim of uniformity in Europe. In other words, we have to understand whether there are similarities in the adaptational processes that different countries undertake; not only in terms of how the principles of the ESPD are translated into national and regional policies, but also as regards the extent to which they have an actual impact. In fact, whereas some EU directives have had a major impact on planning in some countries, this is not at all the case with others. So has the European spatial planning discourse in some cases ‘kick-started’ an entire sequence of new developments at the domestic level, but in other cases has merely been slipped into national policies without the stakeholders even noticing (ESPON, 2007)?

Furthermore, conventional cluster structures based on planning traditions may not apply when we research dynamics of Europeanisation. The ESPON 2.3.1 project, which included an explicit hypothesis concerning the converging application of the ESDP and planning cultures, had to conclude that cultures did not influence the way in which the ESDP was translated into national and regional planning (*Idem*). So how do we systematise the phenomena of Europeanisation of planning so that we can, in the future, engage in further comparative research into adaptational patterns amongst member-states? A structural contribution can be found in the work of Böhme and Waterhout (2008) via a matrix that relates the means and effects of the Europeanisation of planning (Table 3.1).

Effects (☒)	rather long-term influence ...		☒	... rather short-term influence
Means (☒)	- Change in self perception - Change in one's position in Europe	- Change in laws, daily practices, procedures, co-operation patterns (organisational learning)	- Change in the use of terminology - Temporary application of new terms and concepts	- Implementation of single concrete actions which would not happen or would happen differently without the influence of the EU
Implementation of directives and regulations	- Environmental directives in the long run	- EU regulations in various sectoral fields - Structural Funds regulations	- Formal terminology put down in regulations	- Application of EU directives in general
Use of EU funding as incentive	- ESDP application - INTERREG	- Structural Funds - LEADER - Organisational learning through INTERREG	- Structural Funds - INTERREG	- Infrastructure projects co-funded by the EU - INTERREG
Following a (hegemonic) discourse set at the European level	- ESDP application - ESPON use	- ESDP application at national level in rare cases	- ESDP application - ESPON	

Table 3.1 – Towards a Typology of the Europeanisation of Planning (Böhme and Waterhout, 2008)

An interesting exercise would be to apply this matrix to the Europeanisation experiences of the 27 EU member-states and see what emerges. Nevertheless, we can see that the existing dissemination and influence of the European spatial planning discourse clearly feeds the emerging paradigm of Europeanisation in the field of planning studies. The theoretical implications of this are yet to be systematised:

Apparently, we are facing here a 'theory of spatial planning in Europe' aimed at generalising existing practises to a transnational context, rather than a 'theory of European spatial planning' aimed at understanding how spatial practices change in a post-national environment. (Gualini, 2005: 3)

To recap, our focus is not the content of the ESDP and EU-led planning policies, but how these have directly or indirectly influenced change in member-states' planning systems, practices and perception of their individual territories within the wider European Union context. Change often generates scepticism, so it may not be surprising that some suggest that “academics still appear to consider European spatial planning as a separate field of analysis and discussion within planning studies, as if it was of interest only to a restricted circle of eccentric amateurs” (Janin Rivolin and Faludi, 2005: 196).

Yet there is growing agreement in the literature (e.g. Waterhout and Stead, 2007; Waterhout, 2008) that the European spatial planning agenda is having some sort of impact. To this date, the sole attempt to develop a transnational comparative analysis of these impacts was taken forward by the European Spatial Planning Observation Network (ESPON). Seven years after the final version of the ESDP was released, ESPON project 2.3.1 set out to assess the application and impact of the ESDP in the member-states. The assessment focused on identifying specific evidence of the ESDP influence at national, regional and local levels in all EU member-states as well as neighbouring countries that also take part in the ESPON programme.

The Domestic Dimension of Change

The direct impact of the ESDP was very limited even in those countries that had played a leading role in its development. On the other hand, there are a number of countries where a 'European influence' can be observed in national plans and policies and where it has had a catalytic function or in some cases where it has directly influenced the development of new spatial systems.

ESPON (2006: 187)

As illustrated by the ESPON 2.3.1 report, the making of the ESDP brought together at the same table a wide range of different planning cultures. It was hypothesised that “like in the European Monetary Union, in planning, too, we perhaps need to accept a Europe of variable speeds” (Zonneveld and Faludi, 1996: 59). Fully understanding such differences and how they would interact suggested the need for further systematisation, and so the European Commission designed the EU Compendium of spatial planning systems and policies (CEC, 1997). This Compendium helped to create the basis for better understanding not only planning traditions individually, but also the existence of potential regional clusters based on cultural similarities. Yet, to avoid blinding generalisations one must appreciate that “European planning traditions do not of course correspond automatically to identical perspectives on European spatial planning” (ESPON, 2005). From the outset, the existing literature points out that European spatial planning symbolises mainly a Northwest European perspective (Faludi and Waterhout, 2002). However, further research helped to identify five transnational but regional clusters of change or ‘macro-regional perspectives’ (ESPON, 2006) and adaptation within European spatial planning: the Northwestern, British/Irish, Nordic, Mediterranean, and Eastern perspectives (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 – Perspectives on European Spatial Planning (Adapted from Janin Rivolin and Faludi, 2005)

The Northwestern perspective is based on the assumption that if European spatial planning is to have an institutional future, it must be supported by progressive cooperation amongst EU member-states, and between these and the European Commission. The British/Irish approach places a greater emphasis on the complex and critical link between land use planning and spatial planning. As a result, this approach opens the door to the idea of European spatial planning as part of a multi-level governance system encompassing everything from the supranational to the local levels. In contrast, the Nordic perspective underlines the discursive nature of European spatial planning and provides a functional explanation of how a multi-level governance system works, demonstrating that the impact of European spatial planning is closely tied to the quality of the interactions between decision-makers and territorial policies at the Community and national levels.

Unlike the Nordic discursive emphasis, Mediterranean countries stress that European spatial planning evolves through progressive and complex changes in planning practices: “even if EU-led, this is an eminently local and diversified process and therefore less visible at the continental scale.” (ESPON, 2006: 68). Finally, there has been no evaluation of the impact of European spatial planning in Eastern European countries, but there is evidence that these countries are aware of the ESDP discussion. There are also indications that the ESDP has had some influence in the development of new planning systems and institutions, mostly in the context of EU accession processes rather than as a direct guidance document.

Of course, even within each ‘cluster’ there are different degrees of domestic change. Furthermore, some countries (*e.g.* France), due to their geographical position, display characteristics of more than one ‘cluster’. In addition, the new member-states might potentially constitute a typology of their own, or develop into a blend of the existing ones. For example, the Baltic countries may be integrated into the Nordic group. There is therefore a need for “further research in order to explain in depth the extent and the direction of change in each domestic system and refine actual comparative observations” (Giannakourou, 2005: 329).

Furthermore, the reaction to the ESDP, and to a large extent to the dynamics of the Europeanisation of planning as well, are dependent upon a series of additional contextual factors. For example, the pre-existing cultural affinities between the EU spatial development agenda and the planning tradition of the member-state may enhance the effects of Europeanisation. Alternatively, at the institutional level there may be embedded practices, legal frameworks and other cultural factors that may either facilitate, or create obstacles to, Europeanisation. And beyond the planning environments and institutional cultures of each member-state, the societal environment (Section 2.2.4) prevailing in each member-state will have an influence on the extent of Europeanisation.

Research to date has mainly focused on the process of developing a European planning discourse, rather than on its domestic impacts. This situation may have arisen solely because empirical evidence requires time (1) for events to take place, and (2) for these to be noted and accounted for. The need for more detailed research is directly linked to the validity of Europeanisation as a concept in the field of planning studies, and further research may have to leave to one side for the moment the overall European perspective and first engage in detailed analyses of each individual EU country. We may then be able to identify at the level of individual member-states evidence that will support or contradict conceptual explanations for Europeanisation processes. If so, it will be possible to develop a EU-wide systematic comparative framework with which to analyse the outcomes of Europeanisation and how they may affect planning cultures.

3.3.5 The Emergence of a European Planning Culture?

Healey (2006: 526) asks if Europeanisation creates a common cultural riverbed for planning in Europe. In order to elaborate an answer, let us briefly revisit Gualini's pertinent insight of whether we are "facing a 'theory of spatial planning in Europe' aimed at generalising existing practises to a transnational context [or] a 'theory of European spatial planning' aimed at understanding how spatial practices change in a post-national environment" (Gualini, 2005: 3). If we transfer this reasoning to Healey's query then are we facing the Europeanisation of national planning systems, or the Europeanisation of spatial planning as a practice?

As far as the former is concerned, the articulation of a common language is perhaps the greatest achievement of the ESDP (Kunzmann, 2003), and a set of communal influences and a 'voluntary' (*i.e.* as in the result of free choice) policy environment may arguably develop into some kind of common European planning culture. Healey (2006) states that the entrenchment of new forms of behaviour may eventually lead to changes in the culture of policy communities or, in this specific case, to a planning culture change. This is where this dissertation fits into the ongoing debate.

Will we witness a further Europeanisation of planning? The recently adopted Territorial Agenda of the European Union and its Action Programme as well as its background document the Territorial State and Perspectives of the European Union have perpetuated the dynamic of Europeanisation triggered by the ESDP. In addition, the ESPON II programme of 2007-2013 will continue, if nothing else, to strengthen the EU spatial discourse and provide an additional common frame of reference for domestic planners, much in the line with what the ESPON 2006 programme supplied. For example, countries like Austria, Ireland, Germany and the Netherlands are in a process of scrutinising ESPON results in order to find out more about themselves and to reflect upon and understand their position in a wider EU spatial context. Moreover, the European Territorial Cooperation strand of the structural funds will mimic the INTERREG IIB programme. Therefore, unless something unexpected interrupts the reaction some time after 2013, the catalysis of the planning environment seems inevitable. Whether this will result on further dynamics of Europeanisation leading to long lasting culture changes at the domestic level or solely to temporary adaptations remains to be seen.

3.4 Final Remarks

The Europeanisation of planning is a reality, but it is one thing to prove that it exists, and another to clearly depict the extent of its effects. To suggest that the dynamics of Europeanisation have had no effect on national planning systems and cultures is just as farfetched as to overestimate its influence on planning in order to sustain a specific research and

policy agenda. The truth of the matter is that, whereas we are able to identify the main drivers and mechanisms behind Europeanisation, our detailed knowledge of the causal relationship between the specific catalysts of change and the subsequent effects, or lack thereof, at the level of the domestic planning systems and policies is still limited.

Nevertheless, we can still agree that Europeanisation has been an important source of influence in the transformation of national planning systems and policies mainly through (a) the creation of a community of discourse, (b) the re-conceptualisation of the domestic agendas of planning, and (c) the provision of added legitimacy for domestic institutional developments. These are some of the dimensions of analysis that we will use to critically review the hypothesised influence of Europeanisation in the development of the Portuguese National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT).

However, we cannot forget that the role of Europeanisation in this thesis' research design is to serve as a tool with which to investigate whether planning culture change is occurring. In this sense, it is relevant to briefly address the overlap between the key issues present in both Chapters 2 and 3 since both chapters place significant emphasis on processes of adaptation, socialisation and learning. These are seen as mechanisms for changing the values and beliefs of specific actors, and this then contributes to the dynamics of institutional culture change. Despite the fact that we can identify these commonalities, they do not immediately translate into a workable analytical framework that will help to guide the case study analysis.

For that purpose we must ask, before all else, how we can determine that such a process of culture change is actually occurring and whether we can establish a causal link between the observed changes and Europeanisation. The latter may become more elusive at the domestic level when political actors camouflage local politics under the cover of Europeanisation, either by constructing "blame-shifting" strategies, or by retrieving from Europe extra legitimacy for domestic decisions. Therefore, the key question is: 'How do I know it when I see it?' (Markusen, 2003: 702)

One way to try to minimise uncertainty is by outlining from the start a few checkpoints. Europeanisation, in order to be responsible for domestic change, must therefore precede that change. This may seem obvious, but it is hard to prove empirically. Europeanisation sometimes consists of slow processes of socialisation – such as of domestic elites into European policy paradigms – but these processes may overlap with paradigm shifts occurring internally at the national level. The situation is therefore highly complex: has Europeanisation overtaken "domestic processes or just added to them" (Radaelli, 2004: 9)? A second checkpoint occurs when analysing a specific policy, we may ask if the change that we detected would have occurred regardless of Europeanisation. One specific process can precede another without being necessarily correlated with it or, obviously, being the cause of it. A third checkpoint concerns competing mechanisms of change: by this we mean the formulation of alternative hypotheses that also provide viable explanations for a process of change. For instance, if we are looking into

the interaction between policy and politics at the domestic level then we must seek to understand what else might be influencing this interaction.

A set of additional lines of inquiry for tracking down adaptational pressures and presence, or lack thereof, change can be found in Radaelli's work (2004):

- There is Europeanisation when the logic of domestic political actors changes. This happens when elements of EU policy-making become a cognitive and normative 'frame of reference' and both the logic of action and the logic of meaning are guided by Europe. Think of Europe as the 'grammar' of domestic political action.
- Europeanisation is change both in the sense of responses to EU pressures and in the sense of other usages of Europe, which do not presuppose pressure.
- Europeanisation is a process consisting of complex sequences and time patterns. Only the analysis of time patterns in processes of change can help determine causality.
- The presence of fully-fledged European policies in a certain domain is not a precondition for Europeanisation. Europeanisation does not require the formulation of EU policies.
- It is only when socialisation to Europe is followed by domestic change that one can speak of Europeanisation. Socialisation is neither sufficient, nor necessary condition for Europe.

As Chapter 3 reaches its end so does the discussion of the theoretical framework of this thesis. The following chapter will introduce the chosen methodological approach for tracking down institutional culture change. In Chapters 5 and 6 I will outline three interpretative narratives of the Europeanisation of planning in Portugal. The first of these will focus on the evolution of planning as a public policy in Portugal, the second will analyse Portuguese participation in the construction of the European spatial development agenda from the ESDP to the Implementation Programme of the Territorial Agenda, and the last will deconstruct the making of the PNPOP for evidence of Europeanisation and as an embodiment of institutional planning culture change.

4 Tracking Down Institutional Culture Change

4.1 Introduction

In retrospect, Chapter 1 outlined the research agenda of this thesis around a straightforward initial assumption and subsequent queries: *A culture change in planning-related public policy-making in Portugal is, in fact, occurring: Why and How?* Chapter 2 engaged a conceptual discussion of what such a culture change *de facto* is and how it can be interpreted through a focus on its key values, use of knowledge, agents, catalysts and mechanisms. In other words, Chapter 2 laid out the conceptual framework that will, later on, structure the analysis of the gathered data and subsequently inform a conclusion on whether an institutional culture change, in terms of territorial governance in Portugal, has in fact been occurring and, if so, how did it develop. In turn, the core of Chapter 3 was the presentation of a hypothetical answer to *why* such culture change is taking place, namely as an offset of a process of Europeanisation. Contextually, the purpose of the present chapter is to inform what was the reasoning underpinning the test of the aforementioned hypothesis, how was the necessary information gathered and analysed, and how were the subsequent results presented.

Methodologically, this dissertation is an exercise in phronetic planning research. To put it briefly Aristotle reckoned rational humans are moved by a sense of proper order among the ends we pursue (Flyvbjerg, 2004: 287). According to Taylor (1998: 125-132) this sense of proper order is seized by *phronesis*. Organised around two distinct frameworks, a conceptual and an operational one, the following sections will expand on what *phronesis* is, in order to justify its methodological suitability to inquiry into the research problem under scrutiny, and detail how a phronetic planning research exercise is operationally carried out.

4.2 Planning Research against the Backdrop of a ‘Science Wars’

Let us start by a swift return to basics and briefly address what can be easily agreed on as a fundamental issue in planning theory: Is planning a science? Anyone exploring the field of planning studies has at some point faced this query. Somewhat rhetorical in nature, it is difficult, if at all possible, to provide a single all encompassing answer to this question. The underlying reason for this is, in my opinion, deeply rooted in the nature of planning itself. The constant

discussion, ideological or otherwise, of what planning can/could be used for in societal development places this activity/policy field permanently sitting at a crossroads. Concurrently, planning theory is, in my opinion, at a permanent crossroads too. Why? One approach to this question is to swiftly take a step back and start by focusing on the very premise of planning as a social science. Traditionally, this fact alone, that planning can be perceived as social science is bound to be questioned, as ‘competitor’ scientific/epistemic communities repetitively remind us. But perhaps the issue here has less to do with planning, or planning theory to be precise, but rather more with what is generally perceived as social science. What do I mean by this?

Natural sciences and social sciences have unquestionable fundamental differences rooted deep in their essence. These differences stand at the core of what has been titled the ‘Science Wars’. The term emerged from a special issue of *Social Text*, a journal published in 1996 (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 1) in which a mock article by physicist Alan Sokal suggested, by reflecting on the political and philosophical implication of physics research in cultural studies, that anti-rationalism and relativism impregnate social science. Despite the fact that the argument supporting such claim was based on a questionable analytical rationale, the fact to be highlighted here is that it is ‘fairly common practice for natural scientists to review social science whereas the opposite is less common’ (*Ibid.*: 2). This very issue is at the core of an emerging intellectual trend referred to as the Third Culture.

In 1959, a book named *The Two Cultures* (Snow, 1960) explored the notion of a divide between ‘scientists’ and ‘intellectuals’. The book targeted mainly the monopoly non-empirical ‘literary’ intellectuals claimed to have as the people that shaped the thoughts of their generation. Snow frowned upon the ‘intellectuals’ as he saw their scientific contribution largely a result of ‘comments on comments, a swelling spiral of commentary eventually reaching the point where the real world gets lost’ (Brockman, 1995). A second edition of *The Two Cultures* forwarded the idea that a bridge could emerge linking ‘scientists’ and ‘intellectuals’: a Third Culture (Snow, 1963).

The contemporary reality is somewhat different. It can surely be argued that the Third Culture does exist, simply not in the mould predicted by Snow. In this sense rather than building and crossing a ‘bridge’ towards the ‘intellectuals’, the ‘scientists’ are growingly communicating directly to the wider public. And their case is quite a strong one to say the least. If we consider the way in which environmental, health and genetics-related issues and so forth have come to be mainstreamed in our everyday life we can conclude on the growing influence of ‘traditional’ science and scientists in the definition of contents in ‘public culture’ (Brockman, 1995).

Planning is, in this sense, not much different. If we look into the array of contemporary planning literature, in particular into concepts such as complexity theory, complex adaptive systems, cellular automata, mobile communication networks, artificial intelligence, *autopoiesis*, etc. we find obvious evidence of an emerging third culture in planning itself. In this spirit, the underlying approach of this thesis reads almost like a return back to basics.

The *episteme* tradition has carried the ‘modern’ scientific ideal since Socrates and Plato, throughout the Enlightenment period and still remains the dominant scientific ideal. Embodying a rather deterministic vision of science, *episteme* neared to be considered the only legitimate form of genuine science and knowledge. Planning, if one accepts it as a branch of social science, has struggled with the fact that it “is not, never has been, and probably never can be, scientific in the (...) epistemic [sense]” and it has been left to “strive for and justify itself in terms of this Enlightenment ideal” (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 25). The contours of this struggle are worth reflecting on.

Let us highlight what one could call the apparent collapse of the positivist model⁴ in planning research. In fact the desire to seek generic laws or truths, replicable in a controlled fashion in the field of planning has led most planning-related research in the 60’s and 70’s. Some authors argue the relegation of positivism to a secondary role in planning debates overtaken by communicative planning theory (Innes, 2002). A counter-argument, as held by Fisher (2002) forwards that the dismissal of positivism is reduced to a discourse dimension only while in practice little has in fact changed (Morcol, 2001):

In short, the ideology wanes, but the practical practices remain embedded in our educational and governmental institutions. And, because they still play a powerful ideological role in determining what is considered important and what is not, all the more so because they are hidden, it is unlikely that they will simply go away if we ignore them. (Fisher *cit. in* Flyvbjerg, 2004)

Fisher’s insight stands out as a warning for the forthcoming analysis. Notwithstanding the fact that superficial layers of both discursive integration and even procedural mimicking may pass on an image of behavioural change we must anticipate the resilience of deeply embedded institutional traditions. Therefore, when we investigate the full extent of the institutional culture change conveyed through the Portuguese national spatial planning policy programme (Chapters 5 and 6) we need to look beyond the more tangible evidence of change and delve into the ethos of those engaged in the process. Only through a shift in values will culture change effectively take place (Chapter 2). However, processes of a change in values are hard to dissect through a positivist research approach, in true epistemic tradition. A possible alternative may lie with the Aristotelian concept of *phronesis*. The question whether Aristotle’s practical wisdom (*phronesis*) makes for a suitable gateway, from a methodological point of view, to inquiry into power and

⁴ “Key positivist ideas were that philosophy should be scientific, that metaphysical speculations are meaningless, that there is a universal and a priori scientific method, that a main function of philosophy is to analyse that method, that this basic scientific method is the same in both the natural and social sciences, that the various sciences should be reducible to physics, and that the theoretical parts of good science must be translatable into statements about observations.” (Kincaid, 2005: 826)

institutional culture change in planning-related public policy-making lies within the work of Flyvbjerg (2001) as the present chapter will further illustrate. Consequently, this dissertation evolves as an exercise in phronetic planning research. The core objective of the following sections is to explain what this means exactly and how it is carried out.

4.3 *Phronesis* as a Research Philosophy

We may grasp the nature of prudence (phronesis) if we consider what sort of people we call prudent. (...) it is thought to be the mark of a prudent man to be able to deliberate rightly about what is good and advantageous... But nobody deliberates about things that are invariable... So... prudence can not be a science or art. Not science (episteme) because what can be done is a variable (it may be done in different ways, or not at all), and not art (techne) because action and production are generically different. For production aims at an end other than itself; but this is impossible in the case of action, because the end is merely doing well. What remains, then, is that it is a true state, reasoned, and capable of action with regard to things that are good or bad for man...we consider that this quality belongs to those who understand the management of households or states.

Aristotle (N.E.: 1140a24-b12⁵)

There are two great attractions to Aristotle's practical philosophy: the image of human excellence it outlines and the idea that this image is 'projected by a theoretical philosophy - of nature, of logic and of being - that is awesome in its magnitude and influence' (Knight, 2007: 1). A few remaining die-hard supporters aside it can be agreed that Aristotle's theoretical philosophy has somehow been discredited. The conceptual evolution of the notion of nature, as introduced by Newton and Darwin, not only largely contradicts Aristotle's but has also secured its complete replacement. Aristotelian metaphysics have been deconstructed and his logic substituted. However, his *arete* the image of excellence, of moral and intellectual virtue lingers on. If one develops an inquiry into the nature of and the making of public policy the lure of Aristotle's *arete* is undeniable. Arguably idealistic in its nature it stands for a political community 'sharing in discourse and in active pursuit of their common good' (*Ibid.*). The question is therefore if it is possible, or even desirable, to project such image of excellence onto

⁵ The style of reference used here reflects the numbering used in the original manuscript. As translations vary on style of edition the usage of the original numbering, rather than pages numbers of the translation itself, provides a clear identification of chosen quotations regardless of what working language the researcher uses. This style will be kept on all references to Aristotle's *The Nicomachean Ethics* (N.E.) This research used the Portuguese translation 'Ética a Nicómaco' by Caeiro (2006). When not found elsewhere in the revised literature, all translations into English and interpretation errors from the used version are of my entire responsibility.

contemporary society and politics. The desire to do so is ultimately a matter of personal choice/belief, the possibility of doing so is on the other hand far more questionable.

Aristotle's conception of a life of excellence was not without fault. In line with the Marxist critique on Aristotelian logics, it should be highlighted that the supreme form of existence in *theoria* (theory) as a self-sufficient reflexive contemplative state that Aristotle argues for was only possible if others undertook the *poesis* (production) and dealt with the *praxis* (action) inherent to communal existence. However if we look beyond the potential clash between Aristotle's views and our own his theoretical philosophy of logics does present a valid framework for better interpreting public policy processes such as the one at the core of this thesis. Aristotle's defined the split between *theoria* and *praxis* on the basis of the close link of the former with what is immutable and of the latter with what is humanly changeable, however Aristotle's social utopia depended in fact on a desired proximity of *theoria* and *praxis*. In this sense, he regarded politics as the 'highest non-theoretical activity or type of *praxis*' (*Ibid.*:17).

However and despite the clarity that Aristotelian logics put into the dichotomy *theoria* (that produces nothing beyond itself and leaves everything as it is) and *praxis/poesis* (both holding an operational dimension which often results in material outcomes) the distinction between *praxis* and *poesis* was not as clean cut. The nature and definition of this distinction has been at the centre of a long lasting debate by Aristotelian scholars and I believe there is yet to be a definite answer. As Knight (*Ibid.*: 18) summarises, Aristotle perceived craft (*poesis*) as a capacity rather than a virtue thus opposite to both theoretical wisdom (*theoria*) and also practical wisdom (*praxis*) because of its direct pursue of objectives 'commended by the moral virtues' (*Ibid.*: 18). Here some proximity between *praxis* and *poesis* can be argued for. If taken strictly practical wisdom (*praxis*) does not imply deliberation. Aristotle (N.E.: 1112b12-16), true to his idealistic perception of excellence, exemplified his reasoning by highlighting that 'a doctor does not deliberate whether to cure any more than a politician whether to produce good order' but solely about the means required to do so. Such views are possibly limited in the sense that they refer exclusively to the virtue and ethics in the use of knowledge from a professional deontological standpoint and do not include actions out of a personal virtuous character since Aristotle perceived an almost absence of any other behaviour than the ethical one.

In sum, according to Aristotle the key requirement to define the superiority of philosophers (*theoria*) over politicians (*praxis*) and of these over producers (*poesis*) is rooted in the nature of the knowledge used by each. In this sense, there is a distinction between *sophia* (the intellectual virtue of those pursuing *theoria* and thus leading to a body of scientific knowledge - *episteme*) and *phronesis* (the intellectual virtue of those pursuing political and ethical *praxis*) and to a

further extent a distinction between these two (*episteme*⁶ and *phronesis*) and *techné*⁷ the craft activity of those dealing with production. In other words, ‘whereas *episteme* concerns theoretical know why and *techné* denotes technical knowhow *phronesis* emphasizes practical knowledge and practical ethics’ (Flyvbjerg, 2004: 287). A comparative systematisation of the main features of Aristotelian virtues is now introduced:

Aristotelian Virtues	<i>Episteme (theoria)</i>	<i>Techné (poesis)</i>	<i>Phronesis (praxis)</i>
Core Meaning	Scientific Knowledge	Art/Craft	Ethics/Values
Main Features	Universal Invariable Context-Independent	Pragmatic Variable Context-Dependent	Pragmatic Variable Context-Dependent
Rationality Regime	Analytical-Rationality	Instrumental-Rationality	Value-Rationality
Contemporary Equivalent	Epistemology	Technology/Technique	None

Table 4.1 – Comparative Summary of Aristotle’s Virtues (Flyvbjerg, 2004)

However, it should be highlighted that despite the fact that for Aristotle an all well-functioning society was dependent on the effective performance of all three intellectual virtues: *episteme*, *techné* and *phronesis* he nonetheless argued for the additional significance of *phronesis*, as ‘the single virtue that would carry with it the possession of them all’ (N.E.: 1144b30-33 and 1145a1-20). At the current stage of this dissertation the key point to retain is the existence within Aristotle’s image of human excellence of a dimension of practical wisdom, *phronesis*, an intellectual virtue supporting the political and ethical *praxis*.

⁶ Aristotle on *episteme*: “We all assume that what we know cannot be otherwise that it is, whereas in the case of things that may be otherwise, when they have passed out of our view we can no longer tell whether they exist or not. Therefore the object of scientific knowledge is of necessity. Therefore it is eternal (...) induction introduces us to first principles and universals, while deduction starts from universals (...) thus scientific knowledge is a demonstrative state (*i.e.* capable of demonstrating what it knows) (...) a person has scientific knowledge when his belief is conditioned in a certain way, and the first principles are known to him; because if they are not better known to him than the conclusion drawn from them, he will have knowledge only incidentally” (Aristotle, N.E.: 1139b18-36).

⁷ Aristotle on *techné*: “building in an art (*techné*) and is essentially a reasoned productive state, and since there is no art that is not a state of this kind, and no state of this kind that is not an art, it follows that art is the same as a productive state that is truly reasoned. Every art is concerned with bringing something into being something that is capable of either of being or not being. (...) For it is not with things that are or come to be of necessity that art is concerned (the domain of *episteme*) nor with natural objects (these have their origins in themselves) (...) art operates in the sphere of the variable” (Aristotle, N.E.: 1140a1-23).

4.4 *Phronesis* as a Research Agenda

Philosophy of science and Epistemology typically pose questions such as: What is knowledge? ; How can we know? ; Under what conditions can we know what we know? ; Here we will approach the question of knowledge by asking the more dynamic question: How do people acquire knowledge and skills?

Flyvbjerg (2001: 9)

Fundamental to the contemporary interpretation of *phronesis* in social sciences is the question of ‘power’. In my opinion, essentially speaking, the principal objective for social science with a phronetic approach is to carry out analyses and interpretations of the status of values and interests in society aimed at social commentary and social action, *i.e. praxis*. Very interestingly, so theorists of change, either societal or cultural, anchor their epistemological analyses around the concept of social action or re-action.

As suggested by Flyvbjerg the starting point for a ‘classical’ phronetic research can be outlined by the three value-relational lines of inquiry: (1) Where are we going? (2) Is this desirable? (3) What should be done?

Narrowing it down to phronetic planning research, its central task is to forward specific examples and detailed narratives of the ways both power and values work in planning-related policy making and with what consequences to whom, and furthermore to shed some light on how power and values could be changed to work with alternative consequences (Flyvbjerg, 2004: 283).

The main difference between phronetic approach and other approaches in planning research lies precisely in the understanding of power: ‘*Phronesis* concerns the analysis of values (...) as a point of departure for planned action’ (*Id. Ibid.*: 288).

In other words, if one strips bare the argument forwarded by Aristotle, *phronesis* comes across nearly as the sense of doing what is ethically practical rather than a scientific approach to decision-making. Inherent to this reasoning is Aristotle’s belief that, unlike Plato’s cosmic-related influence on human rationality, humans are in fact ‘moved by a sense of proper order among the ends we pursue’ (*Id. Ibid.*: 287). Despite the fact that this value-led rationality is often labelled unsuitable for what can be referred to as ‘modern’ scientific forms of inquiry, one can not dismiss the fact that such ‘scientific inappropriateness’ does not undermine its value in better understanding the reasoning processes behind decision-making in public policy.

Nonetheless, Flyvbjerg highlights a significant point. One cannot assume from the start that the values and choices leading to a specific decision are good. The rationale here is to reflect on choice together with the set of values that have informed and influence it. The meaning of good and bad choice/decision is pointless if the latter is reviewed detached from the *ethos* framing it. Therefore, and despite all arguable limitations if examined from a positivist

standpoint phronetic research, in my opinion, unlocks the moral and ethical dimension of the cultural evolution of the relationship between decision-making and the decision-makers themselves.

Phronetic research places a strong emphasis on example. Philosophically, a phronetic approach proposes a more pragmatic rather than normative or even utopian stance within planning research. In Flyvbjerg's view it is much about letting go of rationalism. And by letting go of rationalism the author meant, in my opinion, a wider review of the paradigms that have ruled planning research in recent times (*e.g.* knowledge/action theory, communicative planning, etc.). That exercise, although of extreme usefulness does not fit into the scope of the research at hands.

Lets simply refer that the main difference between planning research based in a phronetic approach and that sustained by more common theoretical constructs, such as for example the Habermasian communicative rationality, lies within the key focus of analysis. If we aspire to take into account the *Realpolitik* and power/value-based judgments witnessed in planning policy-making, we should focus not only in developing appreciative assessments in terms of values beckoning a specific policy or decision but also understand the practical political realities of any of the latter as part of an integrated understanding of the policy process under scrutiny.

4.4.1 Context-Dependency and the Single Case Study

Sciences are supposed to concern themselves with the explication of universals, and conventional wisdom is that one cannot generalize from a particular case. Moreover, the ultimate goal of scientific activity is supposedly the production of theory. Aristotle is anti-Socratic and anti-Platonic. And if modern theoretical science is built upon any body of thought, it is that of Socrates and Plato. We are dealing with a profound disagreement here. In Aristotle, "the particular and the situationally dependent are emphasized over the universal and over rules. The concrete and the practical are emphasized over the theoretical" (*Id. Ibid.*: 289).

Throughout this thesis it is argued that culture change in public policy-making reflects the ethos and ethics held by those in power, both when we refer to the intent to change and to the implementation of change. This places an added value in Aristotle's practical wisdom virtue as an inquiry tool, especially if we consider that the main objective for planning research with a phronetic approach is to clarify values, interests and power relations in planning as a basis for praxis (*Idem*).

So *phronesis* focuses on the analysis of values. Values that in turn are the starting point for action, making *phronesis* the intellectual reflection most significant to *praxis* (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 57). *Phronesis* builds on what is variable, what is unsuited for universal rules, what is specific.

Phronesis requires interaction between the general and the concrete; it requires consideration, judgment and experience. *Phronesis* is about value judgment on specific situations, not about producing things (Flyvbjerg, 2004: 288).

So, in terms of research strategy, why abandon the epistemological inquiry in favour of a phronetic one? The key to answer this question can be found at the core of *episteme* itself. In an epistemic sense it should be possible to systematize, to a degree of theoretical predictability, the exercise of the practical rationality involved in decision-making. Such theoretical exercise would lead to a theory of practical judgment as refers Ferrara (1989: 319). This author highlights this theoretical construct, or lack thereof, as one of the “unaccomplished tasks of critical theory”. In line with the Habermasian reasoning⁸ Ferrara, as argued by Flyvbjerg (2004: 288), justifies the necessity of such a theory of judgment so as to circumvent contextualism. Contextualism is here understood as the dependence on context to establish validity claims for a hypothetical theory of judgment. Depending on the context of a certain sequence of events to justify the way in which these events take place denies the eventual impact of the own experience and *ethos* of the decision-makers with an enabling role within the sequence of events under scrutiny. In other words what is being highlighted here is that the decision-maker’s individual judgment and *ethos* cannot be brought into an epistemological ‘formula’.

“Context is central to understanding what social science is and can be”, argues Flyvbjerg (2001: 9). But instrumental rationality, a form of reason motivated by the belief that knowledge can be independent of context, is a major impetus behind the processes of commodification and codification. On the one hand, instrumental rationality eliminates ambiguity and fosters predictability, obviously beneficial when it comes to such things as market exchange. However, instrumental rationality also obscures practical, embodied knowledge (Bourdieu, 1998), that truly local knowledge that can neither be fixed by formulae nor expressed in words (Cooper, 1992). Manifest in the processes of commodification and codification, instrumental rationality submerges value systems and authenticity, judgment and experience, character and place. All of these things are deeply rooted in time and space, that is, context. Instrumental rationality neglects these fundamental elements of Aristotle’s *phronesis* in favour of Plato’s fundamental elements of *episteme* (Flyvbjerg, 2001).

Philosophers of science have differing views on what constitutes explanation. Yet there is one point on which there exists agreement: namely, that if all those factors which comprise a theory remain unchanged while the resulting activity, *i.e.* the activity to be explained by the

⁸ Communicative rationality refers to the capacity to engage in argumentation under conditions approximating to an [egalitarian] ideal [speech] situation (‘discourse’ in Habermas’ terminology), with the aim of achieving consensus” (Dews, 2005: 130).

factors, varies, then the theory has not provided a comprehensive explanation of the relevant behaviour (*Id. Ibid.*: 45).

The conventional normal science ideal has been somehow repealed in social science. The loss of faith in the possibility of theory and epistemology as argued by Flyvbjerg has opened the door to a series of explanatory agendas. Cognitivism, functionalism, relativism, structuralism and neopositivism have not succeeded in such endeavour.

If one deconstructs the traditional, or conventional, scientific ideal for the social sciences with its emphasis on theory and context-independence, one might come to the conclusion that focusing on the particular, the non-rule-based and on context is to dismiss scientific knowledge, and that scientific knowledge is precisely the victory of the general, of rules, over the particular (*Id. Ibid.*: 49).

From a methodological standpoint a phronetic approach to planning research aims not only at mirroring the values associated with the ‘exercise’ of planning but also to inquiry into what follows next, and if necessary what to do about it. And these phronetic inquiries are limited in depth and certainty as the researcher himself is ‘no more astute or ethical than anyone else’ (Flyvbjerg, 2004: 290).

Flyvbjerg (2006: 221) identified and addressed five common misunderstandings about the nature of case-study research in order to depict case study as the most adequate method for phronetic planning research. The table below summarises his arguments:

Misunderstandings	Flyvbjerg’s response and reformulation
General, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Predictive theories and universals cannot be found in the study of human affairs. Concrete, context dependent knowledge is therefore more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals. - ‘Social science has not succeeded in producing general, context-independent theory and has thus in the final instance nothing else to offer than concrete, context-dependent knowledge, for which production the case study is well-suited.’
One cannot generalise on the basis of an individual case; therefore, the case study cannot contribute to scientific development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One can often generalise on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalisation as supplement or alternative to other methods. But formal generalisation is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas ‘the force of example’ is underestimated. - ‘Formal generalisation is only one of the many ways by which people gain and accumulate knowledge.’ - Case study research can allow for ‘generalisability’ subject to certain decisions in the choice and ‘strategic sampling’ of cases: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘Generalisability of case studies can be increased by the strategic selection of cases (...) when the objective is to achieve the greatest possible amount of information on a given problem or phenomenon, a representative case or a random sample may not be the most appropriate strategy. This is because the typical or average case is often not the richest in information. ‘Atypical or extreme cases often reveal more information because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied.’

<p>The case study is most useful for generating hypotheses, that is, in the first stage of a total research process, while other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory-building.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The case study is useful for both generating and testing of hypotheses but is not limited to these research activities alone. - Case studies are a form of ‘narrative inquiries’, which cannot start from explicit theoretical assumptions. ‘Instead, they begin with an interest in a particular phenomenon that is best understood narratively. Narrative inquiries then develop descriptions and interpretations of the phenomenon from the perspective of participants, researchers and others.’
<p>The case study contains a bias towards verification, that is, a tendency to confirm the researcher’s preconceived notions.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The case study contains no greater bias towards verification of the researcher’s preconceived notions than other methods of inquiry. On the contrary, experience indicates that the case study contains a greater bias towards falsification or preconceived notions than towards verification. - Researchers who have conducted intensive, in-depth case studies typically report that ‘their preconceived views, assumptions, concepts and hypotheses were wrong and that the case material has compelled them to revise their hypotheses on essential points.’
<p>It is often difficult to summarise and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It is correct that summarising case studies is often difficult, especially as concerns case process. It is less correct as regards case outcomes. The problems in summarising case studies, however, are due more often to the properties of the reality studied than to the case study as a research method. Often it is not desirable to summarise and generalise case studies. Good studies should be read as narratives in their entirety. - Flyvbjerg recommends leaving a case study ‘open’ first by telling a story in its diversity - including the complex and conflicting voices from different actors, secondly by not embedding the case study too closely within the theories of one academic specialisation. For Flyvbjerg, this is crucial for the reader to appropriate himself the case study: ‘in addition to the interpretations of case actors and case narrators, readers are invited to decide the meaning of the case and to interrogate actors’ and narrators’ interpretations in order to answer that categorical question of any case study: what is this case a case of?’

Table 4.2 – Five Key Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research Identified by Flyvbjerg (Colomb, 2008)

4.4.2 Research Design Guidelines

What does it mean to practice social science as *phronesis*? Bent Flyvbjerg presents a set of methodological guidelines, which should be appropriated as cautionary indicators of direction rather than imperative rules (*Idem*). Basically, there is no one-size-fit all prescriptive approach to a phronetic methodology.

The main bearing to keep in mind is that it is not the method itself that defines an exercise of phronetic research. This may sound confusing as we will now argue for a methodological framework that translates phronetic principles. However *phronesis* is not method-driven rather it is problem-driven. In this sense, if the ‘scientific’ commitment is to try and ‘solve’ a specific problem the choice of method is subdued to a ‘best-fit’ logic that can be applied to the full extent of the research or solely to specific constituent parts. We will now outline what a problem-driven set of guidelines can look like. These are a close adaptation of those presented by Flyvbjerg, with the exception of the exclusion of the author’s ‘polyphony argument’ and the addition of a topic concerning ‘policy spaces’ for cultural evolution, and another one regarding the impact of context.

A	Focus on values / evaluative judgments
B	Outline 'policy spaces' for cultural evolution
C	Place power at the core of analysis
D	Get close to reality / crisscross
E	Emphasize little things
F	Look at practice before discourse
G	Study cases and contexts
H	Ask 'How?', do narrative
I	Move beyond agency and structure
J	Define the impact of context

Table 4.3 – Methodological Guidelines for Phronetic Planning Research (Adapted from Flyvbjerg, 2004)

(A) Value-focused analyses explore the shortcomings of traditional instrumental-rationality based research. Led by the 1970's discussion that focused on the shortcoming of positivistic research, there was an increase on the value-rationality content of planning research. Using value-rationality in planning is not without risks. According to Flyvbjerg, a key risk, in terms of academic robustness in phronetic research is the debate of foundationalism versus relativism. This relates to the nature of values: so as there is the view that there are values that can be universally accepted and justified, hence foundational in character, there is also the view that values are impossible to universalize hence 'one set of values is as good as another' (*Id. Ibid.*: 291). The answer to this 'dilemma' lies at the emphasis on context, or 'situational ethics'.

(B) Outline 'policy spaces' for cultural evolution. It is to the advantage of the researcher to examine the planning policy process as a potentially uneven reality in terms of innovation possibilities. There are 'policy spaces', specific processes or projects that hold a greater potential for innovation and subsequent culture change. At times, these policy spaces may exist within larger policy processes.

(C) There can be no adequate understanding of planning without placing its analysis within the context of 'power', here understood as the use of knowledge. According to Flyvbjerg, the analysis of power in a phronetic planning research exercise should follow specific conceptual guidelines. Power is perceived as a dense network of relations, being dynamic and productive. It is not localised in organisations or institutions, nor is it something one can possess. It is something, which is constantly being transmitted, appropriated and re-appropriated in dynamic movements within the relationships of strength, tactics and strategies. Power is intrinsically connected with knowledge, truth, and rationality, and cannot be analysed apart from

that relationship. Finally, ‘the central question is *how* power is exercised, and not merely *who* has power and *why* they have it; the focus is on process in addition to structure’ (*Id. Ibid.*: 293).

(D) In order to study any particular community, organisation, group or phenomenon, the researcher endeavouring in an exercise in phronetic planning research must remain close to the object of study during the different stages of data collection and analysis, and feedback, which will grant a greater validation of the conclusions withdrawn from the research (*Id. Ibid.*: 294).

(E) Opposing conventional wisdom about the need to focus on ‘big questions’ and ‘important problems’, phronetic planning research focus on the ‘little questions’, *i.e.* on the micro-practices of planning rather than on the major problems and generalised dynamics within it. Flyvbjerg sustains that small questions often lead to big answers and shall not be dismissed as unimportant. Nietzsche and Foucault already emphasised that a comprehensive research requires ‘patience and a knowledge of details’ (*Id. Ibid.*: 295).

(F) The focus should thus be on planning practice rather than on discourse, text or theory. What people actually do is more fundamental than what they say. By focusing on practical activity and knowledge, the researcher can begin to understand the roles played within the contextual relations where they develop. Besides the specific context of relations, tactics and strategies, the researcher has to look into a wider one: the historical, social and political context. A fundamental step for grasping the roles and meanings of actual empirical practices is to ‘bracket’, or neutralize the researcher’s own horizon of meaning and *a priori* assumptions (*Id. Ibid.*: 296).

(G) In order to understand the nature of conflict and difference, and generate ideas and propositions that can inform planning practice, the researcher should focus on in-depth case studies, precedents, and exemplars. ‘*Phronesis* functions on the basis of practical rationality and judgement.’ And ‘practical rationality (...) is best understood through cases, whether experienced or narrated, just as judgement is best cultivated and communicated via the exposition of cases’ (*Id. Ibid.*: 298). The latter must be seen through their contexts: both the local context, which gives them their immediate meaning, and the larger and global context, which help appreciate their conceptual significance (*Idem*).

(H) The point of departure for phronetic planning research, as for social research in general, should be the question of ‘how?’. In connection to the structural ‘why?’, it will enable us to interpret the outcomes of planning in relation to the dynamics of planning processes practices. (*Idem*). Furthermore, using narrative as a method of analysis, with its key actors and events, will give a meaningful form to the planning processes, and envisage alternative proposals for the future.

(I) The researcher should focus on actors and their practices, in relation to the structures to which they belong. Agency and structures shape each other and should not be studied as a dichotomy.

(J) Define the impact of context. When reviewing the selected case study there is the necessity to examine the key contextual factors that shape planning processes. At points what may appear to be underwhelming example of innovation in planning practices is in fact a far more structural change. The inertia that contextual factors often press upon innovative approaches has to be understood in order to clarify the real meaning and extent of the identified innovation. In other words, an apparent small change when it takes place against a deeply embedded contextual tradition must be valued accordingly.

In sum, *phronesis* emphasises duality: the collective (State) and the individual: control and circumstance; directives and deliberation; sovereign power and individual power. This assumption lies at the core of the justification for this dissertation's methodological research framework. In this case the nature of the object of study so determines it, as it encompasses the individual decision, even if collectively legitimised and the collective outcome resulting from a national spatial planning policy programme at one level; the sometimes random sequence of events that strongly defines the final policy outcome at another level; the nature of the European-level influence previously described and the intake at the national level.

4.5 Phronetic Research in Practice: Issues and Limitations

The previous sections illustrated the conceptual propositions supporting this study. The present section details and justifies the operational side of the research design. We will review: (a) the case study selection; (b) the research timeline; (c) the data collection process encompassing the documental analysis, direct observations and interviews performed as well as the issues concerning the access to power; and (d) the role of the researcher. In addition, throughout the section we will discuss identified shortfalls of the research design and how these were minimised.

4.5.1 The Case Study

Conceptually, a phronetic research design does not forcefully imply the requirement for a single case study-based investigation. Section 4.4.1. already expanded on this issue from a theoretical standpoint. In practice, as long as the methodological guidelines followed by the researcher target “deliberation, judgement and *praxis* in relation to power and values” (Flyvbjerg,

2004: 302), there is not a single deterministic way to carry out a phronetic planning research exercise. In this sense, the option for a single case study as a method was strictly the result of a deliberate preference to replicate key examples in the literature (*e.g.* Flyvbjerg, 1998, 2002; Jensen and Richardson, 2004). The fact that these authors have developed similar research approaches as the one this dissertation aims for, allowed the drawing useful methodological parallels beneficial for both the research design, and the build up of the analytical framework and overall thesis structure.

Portugal

As the geographical scale is concerned, the aforementioned key examples range from an urban level policy initiative (*e.g.* Flyvbjerg, 1998 - Aalborg) to a transnational project (*e.g.* Jensen and Richardson, 2004 - Oresund Bridge). In this sense, there are no methodological constraints in terms of what scale of analysis the case study must comprise for a phronetic analysis to be performed. In fact, a key factor underpinning the choice for a phronetic methodological framework, whilst inquiring into Europeanisation processes, is that it can be potentially applied anywhere in the territory of the European Union. The author being a Portuguese national was the determinant factor to specifically focus the research on Portugal. This decision reflected, above all a matter of personal choice, which could legitimately be advocated as a methodological weakness. However, the relevance of Portugal as an example for delving into Europeanisation and institutional culture change in planning can be easily argued for from a strictly methodological standpoint. On top of the author's fluency in Portuguese and consequent ability to conduct primary research, two additional facts help support this claim: (i) the gap in the literature, and (ii) timing.

(i) The gap in the literature: it has been argued that "the Europeanisation of spatial planning in the Mediterranean countries" is far from homogeneous and that there is "need for further research in order to explain in depth the extent and the direction of change in each domestic system" (Giannakourou, 2005: 329). An overview of existing research and publications, focused on the links between Europeanisation and spatial planning, portrays a debate that is largely based on the experiences of Central and Nordic European countries. However, Giannakourou's assessment highlights the relevance of focusing this investigation on the yet underexplored Europeanisation effects in the Portuguese planning system (Mourato and Rosa Pires, 2007). This research, through its research line A (See Section 1.2), will therefore address an existing gap in the body of knowledge, not only in a domestic context but also at the wider European level. This point will be further illustrated in Chapter 7.

(ii) Timing: As far as a phronetic planning research exercise is concerned, power is at the centre of all inquiries (Section 4.4.2.). This fact solidly grounds the purpose of the current

investigation. The work proposition here is that Portugal is a country breaking away, as far as its institutional planning culture is concerned, from its path-dependency (See Chapter 6) as it experiences a broad identifiable structural change within its planning system (See Chapter 5). This suggests a window of opportunity to inquire into the dynamics of institutional culture change as targeted by the investigation's research line B (See Section 1.2).

The National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT)

Having chosen Portugal as the wider geography of research the problem of finding a suitable case study *per se* nonetheless remained. After a first observation, a selection based solely on the existence of evidence of the influence of the process of Europeanisation of planning was inconclusive because several different policies and plans in Portugal fitted such bill at the discursive level. The PNPOT however added an apparent policy innovation factor, which enhanced its potential as a research object. The next step was to understand how the PNPOT would fit a phronetic research approach namely in terms of its strengths and weaknesses as a case study.

Giannakourou (2005: 329) underlined the need for greater depth in understanding the extent of culture change in domestic systems as a result of Europeanisation processes. A review of the strategy for case systematisation developed by Flyvbjerg (2001: 78) highlights that if the researcher wishes to produce the greatest possible detail on a given problem the use of the typical representative case study or sample of that problem may not be the best way forward. This author advocates that these cases are often not the richest in detail and that if the researcher aims to 'maximise the utility of information' he must firstly reflect on the specificities of the selected case study as a determinant of its suitability for the research in hand. The subsequent question is what specificities are these and how do we interpret them in order to validate or negate a potential case study? Preemptively underlining that cases are picked on the 'basis of expectation about their information content', no doubt a warning for the researcher to avoid a deterministic reading of the matrix presented below, Flyvbjerg classifies 'information-oriented' case studies as:

Extreme/deviant	To obtain information on unusual cases, which can be especially problematic or especially good in a more closely defined sense.
Maximum variation	To obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome; <i>e.g.</i> cases which are very different on one dimension: size, form of organisation, location, budget, etc.
Critical	To achieve information which permits logical deductions of the type, 'if this is (not) valid for this case, then it applies to all (no) cases.'
Paradigmatic	To develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain which the case concerns.

Table 4.4 – Type and Purpose of 'Information-Oriented' Case Studies (Flyvbjerg, 2001)

These categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive. A case can fit two or more groupings and that will make its study the richer (*Id. Ibid.*: 81). This argument seems to fully validate the PNPO'T as a case study. Firstly, it can be argued that the PNPO'T is an extreme/deviant case since it is the first policy ever of its kind in Portuguese planning history. I believe this uniqueness alone would suffice to justify its relevance as a case study, but it becomes even more significant when we address one of the thesis initial assumptions, the relevance of critical events on the understanding of shifts in path dependency scenarios (See Chapter 2).

Secondly, the PNPO'T can be understood as an example of a maximum variation case because never before has a set of strategic guidelines for spatial planning in Portugal encompassed the whole of the national continental territory. In other words, never before was there a planning policy of a binding nature that was, in legal terms, hierarchically placed in such a fashion that it could influence all others. This feature, in itself an innovation and a potential catalyst for culture change, sets the PNPO'T apart from other potential suitable case studies.

Thirdly, Flyvbjerg points out that the critical case can be defined 'as having strategic importance in relation to the general problem' (*Id. Ibid.*: 78). The 'problem' being culture change, if we interpret the PNPO'T from a procedural innovation point of view we can highlight its critical nature. For example, as later detailed in Chapter 6 and 7, both the processes of inter-ministerial consensus and multilevel public participation integrated into the PNPO'T were novelties in the Portuguese planning context. The sheer number of actors involved supports the hypothetical claim that if these processes were applicable at the national level then they can be scaled down to be applied at the regional and local levels. To this effect, the PNPO'T strategic significance justifies its classification as a critical case. Finally, the paradigmatic nature of the PNPO'T results, loosely speaking, from the aggregate of all of the above. Due to its hierarchical status, policy-wise, within the planning system it can be argued that it has the potential to establish 'a school for the domain' (*Id. Ibid.*: 79).

In addition, other contextually significant facts helped substantiate the choice of the PNPO'T as the case study to focus on. For example, the suggestive chronological overlapping between the late stages of the ESDP process and the development of the Law 48/98, the legislative framework of the PNPO'T, further detailed in Chapters 5 and 6, made for an excellent springboard to hypothesise whether the Europeanisation of spatial planning in Portugal was in any way occurring. We must also highlight the fact that the PNPO'T is a central government-led policy process. Why is this of significance? If we take into account the over-controlling influence of central administration in the Portuguese institutional panorama (Santos, 1993; Ruivo, 2000; Breda-Vasquez and Oliveira, 2008), it could be argued that, in Portugal, an institutional culture change, if it did take place, would have a higher chance of prevailing if it was centrally driven, reinforcing the value of the PNPO'T as case study.

4.5.2 The Research Timeline

After a set of exploratory interviews conducted in late 2005, this research developed around a core data collection period that lasted between 2006 and 2007 in addition to a series of subsequent non-systematic additional interviews, from 2007 onwards the last of which took place already in 2010. In sum, the data collection process lasted for the best part of five years. In this section, we shed some light over the different stages of this process, in order to better illustrate how the final research design took shape.

The initial research plan met several additional challenges, these were largely related to the somewhat unexpected unfolding of the policy process under review: as described in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6, several severe delays occurred. The nature of these delays was either: (a) political (*e.g.* unexpected political shifts in government, postponed parliamentary examination and approval, etc) or (b) procedural (*e.g.* government-induced changes to the final technical document, extended public consultation period, etc.). Interestingly, as the analysis unfolded these delays became themselves evidence to help characterise the institutional culture change under review in this thesis. Investigating the reasons behind these delays became, in itself, a fruitful line of inquiry and these postponements became instrumental in justifying the institutional innovation that, as the thesis concludes, the PNPO^T *de facto* encapsulates.

Therefore, rather than committing to the initially planned chronological bracket, 1986-2006⁹, a deliberate decision was made to extend it to include the policy process as a whole until parliamentary approval of the PNPO^T was in effect in late 2007. In terms of the research design, this option entailed, nonetheless, a potential methodological handicap. This has to do with the overlapping of the empirical data collection stage and the ongoing development of the policy process itself. This may potentially hinder the capacity of both the interviewees and the researcher himself to fully grasp the impacts and implications of the PNPO^T policy process, hence risking an over speculative analysis. In order to minimise this fact some adjustments to the research design were made in order to provide some ‘critical’ distance to the case study observations. This meant that an additional waiting period was observed between the conclusion of the PNPO^T policy process in late 2007 and the subsequent contact with the interviewees. After the expected first PNPO^T monitoring report failed to be produced (expected late 2009) a choice was made to close the research time bracket and write up the dissertation (2010).

⁹ The date referring to the official entry of Portugal to the then denominated European Economic Community (1986), and the date coinciding with the end of the ESF 2000-2006 funding period, QCAIII.

4.5.3 The Data Collection Process

I have now introduced and justified the philosophical approach to this investigation and discussed the subsequent methodological implications on the research design. In addition, I have justified the case study selection and chosen research timeline. In sum, I have, empirically speaking, determined ‘what’ we will use to explore the working hypotheses earlier postulated in Chapter 1. This section focus on the ‘how’ to carry out such task and report its findings. The data collection process was based on three research methods: (a) a documental analysis; (b) direct observation and (c) face-to-face interviews.

Documental Analysis

This type of data source was instrumental to the research process. Initially it was used to illustrate the policy environment where the PNPOT developed and to perform a retrospective analysis of its policy ancestry. Later on it was via the analysis of the PNPOT policy process meeting-minutes and interim reports that substantial detail was added to the subsequent research analysis and to the interviews’ prompt sheets. Almost the entirety of reviewed documents is either existent official government technical reports, minutes of work-meetings and legislation or non-governmental literature (*i.e.* academia or professional associations). The latter will be gradually introduced in Chapters 5 and 6. The core of the official documental sources used is listed below.

Key Documents	
Legislative Framework	
Law 48/98, 11 th August 1998, Planning and Urbanism Act (LBPOTU)	<p>These documents were essential to clarify not only the legislative framework of the PNPOT, but also to determine the key steps in its making of.</p> <p>Of particular importance were the descriptive introductions presented in each piece of legislation. These were the first clues to understand why the PNPOT stood as a policy innovation within the Portuguese planning environment, namely in terms of the governance solution adopted and participatory strategy.</p> <p>In addition, these documents also provided direct evidence of the influence of the Europeanisation of planning.</p>
Decree-Law 380/99, 22 nd September 1999, on the instruments of territorial management	
RCM nr. 76/2002, 11 th April 2002	
Executive Decision nr. 3335/2003 of the MCOTA	
RCM nr. 162/2004	
RCM nr. 41/2006 and Legal Notice nr. 5104/2006 (2 nd series)	
Law 58/07, 4 th September 2007, National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT)	

PNPOT Policy Process (Minutes of)	
Harmonisation meetings at a governmental level (x4)	These documents were fundamental to understand in detail the step-by-step process of coordination of the different entities included in the making of the PNPOT. They allowed and insight into the clashing agendas of different groups and the solutions found to enable an agreement.
Meetings of the Focal Points Group (x7)	
Meetings of the Consultative Commission (CC) (x3)	
Harmonisation meetings of the GPNPOT and DGOTDU with the entities in the CC, Civil Society Section (x5)	
Progress Reports of the GPNPOT (x5)	These documents include both the interaction between selected groups and the technical team leading the policy development process as well as the interaction between the team and central government and the interaction between different sectors within central government.
PNPOT Report and Action Programme (5 drafts)	
Report of the Consultative Commission, Civil Society Section	
Key Government Reports	
‘ESDP: Portuguese National Report’ (MEPAT, 1999a)	Government reports were the cornerstone of the PNPOT-related literature review. The first two references (1999) were fundamental to understand the Portuguese position throughout the making of the ESDP process. Of the remaining documents one (2007) is the final version of the PNPOT that has obvious significance in the context of this research. The other two (2006) however are of great relevance to understand the participatory process surrounding the PNPOT policy process. In fact, they aggregate all the information collected from the web-based participatory platform, the regional seminars that were undertaken, and also the advisory statements that were requested to a series of selected stakeholders (<i>i.e.</i> professional corporations, NGOs, universities, etc.)
‘PNPOT: National Seminar’ (MEPAT, 1999b)	
‘The Making of the PNPOT. From Elaboration to Public Discussion: chronology and advisory statements’ (MAOTDR, 2006a)	
‘Public Discussion Results: Assessment Report’ (MAOTDR, 2006b)	
‘PNPOT: National Spatial Planning Policy Programme’ (MAOTDR, 2007)	

Table 4.5 – Key Official Documental Sources

As far as the use of data is concerned, in retrospect, official documents were found to be a good source of information to learn ‘what’ had happened in the policy-making process under scrutiny, as well as to identify ‘who’ the actors involved were and ‘what’ formal responsibilities they had. However, these documents were also found to be insubstantial to understand ‘why’ events happened the way they did and to identify the actors with a real responsibility, rather than a solely formal one, in determining the course of events. In other words, there was little in the literature that illustrated the interests, attitudes, relationships, values and perceptions of the actors involved throughout the PNPOT policy process. The overall goal of the interviews was therefore to perform a fact-finding exercise in order to cover this explanatory gap.

Direct Observation

This method of data collection came into play in the period ranging from the beginning of the public participation process of the PNPOT up until its parliamentary approval. Its added value was twofold: it allowed a larger perception of what the PNPOT meant for a larger audience, namely actors that were not institutional representatives of any sort; and it allowed for a comparative assessment of the behaviour of specific key actors in the PNPOT process.

In other words, the several preparatory meetings for the development of the PNPOT were off limits to anyone alien to the process. So the only access to the participation of an individual actor was either through the reading of the minutes or via a direct interview. However, minutes have to be agreed upon before validated, interviews are controlled environments that put little pressure upon the interviewee and many key actors sat on the work meetings of the PNPOT as institutional representatives therefore somewhat limited to express their personal views. But when engaged in a public debate under the pressure of questions by members of the public or fellow discussants I observed that the same key actors tended to have a less crisp discourse often distinct from the one registered in an institutional environment or in the conducted interviews. This was particularly evident with political actors. A comparative analysis of these differences allowed me to calibrate my perception of these actors' views on the PNPOT in terms of their values, beliefs and assumptions. This fact was a significant contribution to inform the research analysis (Chapter 6).

As for the observed events, in the public participation period ranging from the 17th May to the 31st October of 2006 I witnessed two (Lisbon and Alentejo) of the five regional public presentation and discussion seminars of the PNPOT held by the Directorate-General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development (DGOTDU), and I sat in the national seminar held by the Ministry for the Environment, Spatial Planning and Regional Development (MAOTDR), held in Lisbon. On top of this, I attended nine non-governmental public discussion seminars, held by different professional associations, *i.e.* OA (architects), OE (engineers) APG (geographers), AUP (urbanists), and APPLA (planners), by three distinct think-tanks, *i.e.* AdUrbem (urban development and planning law), SEDES (social and economic development), and GEOTA (environmentalists), and by the Portuguese Association for Regional Development (APDR). In addition, I attended five public discussion seminars held by the Faculty of Engineering (University of Porto), the Faculty of Architecture (Technical University of Lisbon), the Centre for Geographical Studies (University of Lisbon), the National Laboratory for Civil Engineering (Lisbon), and the Faculty of Law (University of Lisbon).

At the political level, and during the same period, I directly observed the discussion meetings held by four political parties: the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the

Democratic Union Coalition, and the Left Bloc¹⁰. The remaining political party with parliamentary representation (Democratic and Social Centre¹¹) held no public discussion of the PNPO. Furthermore, I sat in parliament through the official submission of the PNPO and its first parliamentary debate period (16th February 2007) and the final session of debate and parliamentary approval (5th July 2007). Finally, in 2007 I observed two of the preparatory meetings for the EU informal ministerial meeting on territorial cohesion and regional policy that took place in Ponta Delgada, the Azores.

Interviews

The choice of method to report the analytical findings of this thesis was instrumental in defining ‘how’ to interview the selected actors. In this dissertation, the narrative is perceived as a cognitive process that organises human experiences into temporally meaningful episodes (Polkinghorne, 1988: 1). This method is not an exclusive tool of phronetic planning research; whether as a standalone tool, or as part of a methodological toolkit, interpretational narratives, also referred to in the literature as ‘storytelling’ or ‘narratology’, are often used in social science to tackle the explanation of the political and power dynamics at stake, for example, in planning policy processes (*e.g.* Forrester, 1989; Rein and Schön, 1994; Kaplan, 1996; Flyvbjerg, 1998, 2002; Campbell, 2002; Hillier, 2002; Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; Sandercock, 2003).

In operational terms, a straightforward view has been adopted of what an interpretative narrative is. In this sense, the reconstruction of the story of the PNPO follows the three step process (Hermanns, 1995: 183; Kaplan, 1996: 167): a beginning, ‘how everything started’; a middle, ‘how things developed’; and an end, ‘what happened next’. This threefold structure organises the narratives presented in Chapters 5 and 6 and partially informs the epilogue in Chapter 8. By recounting, interpreting and organising these three steps we are organising what the literature refers to as *episodic knowledge*, which is associated with specific circumstances such as time, space, persons, events or situations (Flick, 1997).

However, for an interpretative narrative to be as robust as possible, an additional type of data must be taken into account: what is called semantic memory, all information that is not ‘situationally anchored’ (Strube, 1989: 13). For example, the *conceptual knowledge* held by a specific interviewed actor or even the awareness that interviewees may have of alternative schema of planned events that never took place, etc. The selection process of the type of interviews to be

¹⁰ The Socialist Party (PS) is a centre-left party; the Social Democratic Party (PSD) is a centre-right party; the Democratic Union Coalition (CDU) is a coalition formed by the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and the Green Party; and the Left Bloc (BE) is a far-left party.

¹¹ The Democratic and Social Centre (CDS) is a right-wing conservative party.

undertaken aimed for the inclusion of both types of knowledge. Three key conditions were set to decide on which interviewing method to utilize in order to maximise the collection of data from the interviews. The selected method had: (i) to allow the interviewee to mention the episodes or incidents that he or she thought were the most significant to include in his or her narrative of events; (ii) to allow enough leeway for interviewees to expand their narrative; and (iii) to allow room for the interviewees to develop their own interpretation of events.

From the multiplicity of available methods to carry out an interview-based interpretative narrative, three types were identified as suitable: the episodic interview, the critical incident technique and the narrative interview.

2	The episodic interview	The critical incident technique	The narrative interview
Indication for using the interview	- everyday knowledge about certain objects or processes	- comparative studies of problematic situations	- biographical processes
Openness to the interviewee's viewpoint by	- the selection of the situations to recount - giving room for narratives	- asking for detailed accounts of incidents	- giving room for a comprehensive narrative
Structuration of the data collection by	- the interview guide - types of questions (for definitions and for narratives)	- the focus of critical incidents - the orientation on facts in the events	- generative narrative question in the beginning
Technical challenges	- explication of the principle - handling the interview guide	- reduction of the data to categorisation of (many) incidents	- to maintain a narrative once begun by the interview - problems in directing the narrative to the issue - big masses of hardly structured data
Constraints	- the limitation on everyday knowledge	- restricted to problematic situations	- more case sensitive than ready for comparisons

Table 4.6 – Interviewing Methods (Adapted from Flick, 1997)

Unquestionably, the three methods have a strong transversal overlap. The differences help to optimise the use of each method for data gathering purposes: the narrative interview was used as the main data gathering method; the episodic interview was used to gather additional details on the key episodes identified; and the critical method technique was set in place mainly for the purpose of triangulating information concerning the key episodes.

The first interviews were, naturally, all narrative interviews. However, as the data collection process developed, concerns arose with regard to the robustness of the method. Among these, I underline the lack of detailed information aggregated after the first interviews as well as the total dependency on single sources to validate the thesis' interpretational claims.

Sound research principles call for the researcher to, whenever possible, triangulate the information obtained from interviews with additional sources. As the first interviews offered little in terms of triangulation possibilities, an additional step was added to enhance the reliability of the data used to support the main argument of the thesis. This was delivered through Flick's (1997) 'communicative validation' in which selected interviewees were confronted (in some cases more than once) with my interpretation of their own interview as well as with the key messages emerging from the overall set of interviews so that they could reject, comment or add to what had been said. This additional data collection step proved a valuable contribution for the research process.

Reflecting the chosen approach for conducting the interviews described in the previous section, the rationale for the selection of interviewees was threefold: (i) actors that had a defining role in the crucial events of the policy process; (ii) actors that were the key to better understand background events prior to the beginning of the policy process proper (events which the existing literature did not fully review); (iii) actors that were interviewed with the main purpose of triangulating information.

Once the PNPO policy process had been selected as the case study to focus on, naming the key interviewees was straightforward, (i) because there were so few actors with decision-making power involved in the whole process; (ii) because of the small size of the planning policy community, both within and outside of public administration, actively involved with national level spatial planning issues in Portugal; and (iii) because of the ease to access those in power throughout the last stage of the PNPO policy process (as explained later in this section). All 18 contacted interviewees agreed to participate (See below for a full list of interviewees and interview details).

The data collection process adhered to the ESRC guidelines presented in their Research Ethic Framework (ESRC, 2006: 23-26). In greater detail, all interviews were audio recorded and all interviewees were asked to vocalise their permission for all the information given to be later used exclusively for this doctoral research and all exceptions to this rule to be clearly voiced. Respecting the request of the interviewees for confidentiality was of paramount importance to allow a relationship of trust to take place between interviewer and interviewee. This fact allowed for a series of follow-up meetings with selected actors that eventually became highly relevant in the analysis. All interviews and follow-up meetings were conducted from as early as 2005 (exploratory stage) up until as late 2010 (retrospective analysis and detail clarification).

In practical terms, detailing the list of interviewees and the prompt sheet used to conduct the interviews provides a comprehensive depiction of the interviewing process. As for the prompt sheet let us just briefly revisit the three pre-emptive conditions underpinning the interview process as stated earlier in this section. The prompt sheet should (i) allow the interviewee to mention the episodes or incidents that he or she thought were the most significant to include in his or her narrative of events; (ii) allow enough leeway for interviewees

to expand their narrative; (iii) allow room for the interviewees to develop their own interpretation of events.

But at the same time the interviews were instrumental to inform the two previously defined research lines: (A) the impact of the Europeanisation of planning in Portugal, and (B) the dynamics of culture change in planning in Portugal (Section 1.2). In this sense, all interviews were conducted in a semi-structured way. General questions were used to start the interview or redirect it when a particular account of events terminated. The prompt detailed questions were introduced throughout the conversation when deemed appropriate and in the most suitable order as to create as little interference to the interviewee's narrative of events as possible. Furthermore, and although we present a single prompt sheet, not all interviewees were asked all the indicated questions. Their role either in the PNPO'T policy process in particular or in the Portuguese participation in the process of the Europeanisation of planning in general determined what part of the prompt sheet to emphasise.

Prompt Sheet

Research line A – Key research questions

What overall influence do you think that joining the European Union has had in the Portuguese planning context?

How do you perceive the concept of Europeanisation in the planning context?
Does it really take place?

Are you familiar with the Europeanisation of planning concept?

Do you consider it to have had an impact in the Portuguese planning environment?
And if so, why?

What are your main references as sources of Europeanisation in the context of planning in Portugal?
Is the Europeanisation of planning the main source of influence to the Portuguese planning context or are there other processes of Europeanisation of other policies (Environmental, Cohesion, etc.) that have a stronger impact?
Is it possible to tell the difference?

Where can we see the effects? *i.e.* process, policy content, governance solution, nature of actors' involvement, values, attitudes and behaviours, etc.
How do you think these came to be?

In your opinion how 'open' is the Portuguese planning environment to external influences?
Who are the main promoters of such exposure? Who opposes? Why?
Are there any expectations / reserves to Europeanisation?

Are you aware of the Portuguese participation in the making of the Europeanisation of planning policy environment?

If so did you (your institution) play a role in that process? Which role?
Which where the political guidelines given throughout your participation?

In retrospect how would you see the Portuguese planning environment today had the process of Europeanisation in general and Europeanisation of planning in particular not occurred?
What would be the main differences, if any?

Research line B – Key research questions

How would you describe the Portuguese institutional planning culture?

In terms of: thickness of the legal framework, institutional interaction, public participation and engagement, ‘real’ decision-making power, etc.

In the last 30 years what were the key areas of innovation and improvement and what were pre-existent problems that prevail up until today?

Why were these not tackled?

Where is institutional innovation most needed in your opinion?

And what would that imply?

In your opinion how can we induce institutional change?

And if so, why?

If you revisit your professional experience what examples can you name of what you consider institutional innovation? *i.e.* policy content, policy design, governance solutions, etc.

If we are able to identify the mechanisms through which Europeanisation has influenced institutional culture change at the domestic level, can we identify similar structures within the domestic level itself?

In other words, can we anticipate that a catalyst for culture change developed at the national level will have a cascade effect down to the regional and local level?

What are the main drivers and obstacles to institutional culture change in planning in Portugal?

List of interviewees

The present list includes: (a) a note on the professional status of each interviewee at the time of the interview, (b) a brief reference to the rationale that supported the selection of each interviewee, (c) where the interview(s) took place and (d) the date(s) of the interview(s). Some key actors (*) were included in this list because despite the fact that they were not subject to a formal interview *per se*, they were instrumental in the research development having provided invaluable support throughout the full length of the investigation. For a comprehensive explanation of all the events referred to below (*e.g.* participatory rounds, workgroups, parliament voting, etc.) please refer to Chapters 5 and 6.

Albina Martinho

(a) Senior Public Official at the IFDR (former DGDR) a unit of the MAOTDR.	(c) DGDR Head Office, Lisbon
(b) Acted as one of the Representatives for the Focal Points Group (Public Administration Entities) in the participatory round for key stakeholders of the PNPOT.	(d) 15.01.2008

Alexandre d'Orey Cancela d'Abreu

(a) Professor at the Biophysical and Landscape Planning Department (Departamento de Planeamento Biofísico e Paisagístico), University of Évora, Portugal.	(c) BLPD, Évora
(b) Responsible for one of the mandatory assessment reports on the final draft of the PNPOt prior to its submission for debate at the Parliament.	(d) 18.01.2008

António José Mendes Baptista

(a) Professor at the High Institute for Economics and Management (ISEG), Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal.	(c) MAOTDR, Lisbon
(b) Member of the work group that elaborated the first draft of the PNPOt. Permanent advisor at the SEOTC, MAOTDR, during the review process of the PNPOt prior to parliamentary scrutiny.	(d1) 31.10.2005 (d2) 03.05.2006 (d3) 23.05.2008

Artur da Rosa Pires

(a) Professor at the Centre for Social, Judicial and Political Sciences (Secção Autónoma de Ciências Sociais, Jurídicas e Políticas), University of Aveiro.	(c1) CSJPS, Aveiro (c2) Palácio de Belém, Lisbon
(b) Junior Minister for the Environment and Spatial Planning, MCOTA, XV Constitutional Government of the Portuguese Republic. National Expert on European Spatial Planning.	(d1) 05.12.2005 (d2) 26.09.2006 (d3) 20.04.2007 (d4) 06.07.2010

On top of the indicated interviews, there was an ongoing e-mail exchange throughout the making of this dissertation.

Fernando Gonçalves

(a) Senior Researcher at the National Laboratory for Civil Engineering (LNEC), Lisbon.	(c) LNEC
(b) Member of the work group that elaborated the 48/98 Law for the XIII Constitutional Government of the Portuguese Republic; Member of ADURBEM, a NGO that held an active role in the promotion of the public discussion of the PNPOt; Representative of the Architects Guild (OA) at the Consultative Commission in the participatory round for key stakeholders of the PNPOt.	(d1) 02.02.2006 (d2) 24.04.2006 (d3) 10.11.2006 (d4) 09.03.2007 (d5) 07.04.2009

Francisco Cordovil

(a) Professor at the High Institute for Labour and Entrepreneurial Sciences (ISCTE), Lisbon.	(c) MAOTDR, Lisbon
(b) Permanent advisor at the SEOTC, MAOTDR; directly working on the PNPOt process within the SEOTC.	(d1) 07.08.2006 (d2) 13.02.2007 (d3) 29.05.2007 (d4) 06.02.2008

On top of the indicated interviews, there was an ongoing e-mail exchange throughout the making of this dissertation.

João Cravinho

(a) Representative of the Portuguese Republic at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, London.	(c1) National Parliament, Lisbon (c2) EBRD, London
(b) Minister for the Equipment, Planning and Territorial Administration, XIII Constitutional Government of the Portuguese Republic - Oversaw the elaboration of Law 48/98 determining the inclusion of the PNPOT in its content.	(d1) 17.01.2007 (d2) 28.03.2008

João Ferrão (*)

(a) Senior Researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences (ICS), University of Lisbon.	
(b) Junior Minister for Spatial Planning and Cities, SEOTC, MAOTDR, XVII Constitutional Government of the Portuguese Republic. Oversaw the changes performed on the PNPOT submitted to the SEOTC prior to parliamentary scrutiny.	
<i>This interviewee had a close interaction with the research process throughout the full length of this investigation (see Access to Power).</i>	

João Guerreiro

(a) Professor of Economics, Dean of the University of the Algarve.	(c) Forum Picoas, Lisbon
(b) Former President of the Coordination Commission for Regional Development of the Algarve (CCDR Algarve); Member of the National Council of Sustainable Development (CNADS).	(d) 20.09.2005

João Teixeira

(a) Head of the Board of Directors at the Public Urbanisation Company of Lisbon (EPUL).	(c) EPUL, Lisbon
(b) Acted as representative of the Engineers Guild (OE) at the Consultative Commission in the participatory round for key stakeholders of the PNPOT.	(d) 28.01.2008

Jorge Gaspar

(a) Professor at the Centre for Geographical Studies (CEG), University of Lisbon.	(c) CEDRU Offices, Lisbon
(b) Leader of the work group that elaborated the technical proposal of the PNPOT.	(d1) 21.03.2006 (d2) 25.09.2006

Margarida Queirós

(a) Professor at the Centre for Geographical Studies (CEG), University of Lisbon.	(c) CEG, Lisbon
(b) Liaison between the different sections of the work group that elaborated the technical proposal of the PNPOT.	(d1) 11.01.2008 (d2) 15.06.2009

Maria José Festas

(a) Senior Adviser at the Directorate General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development (DGOTDU).	(c) DGOTDU, Lisbon
(b) Senior Public Official that accompanied the Portuguese participation in the ESDP and Territorial Agenda processes.	(d1) 16.05.2006 (d2) 19.05.2008 (d3) 12.01.2009

On top of the indicated interviews, there was an ongoing e-mail exchange throughout the making of this dissertation.

Mário Vale (*)

(a) Professor at the Centre for Geographical Studies (CEG), University of Lisbon.	
(b) Member of the work group that elaborated the technical proposal of the PNPO.	

There was an ongoing e-mail exchange throughout the making of this dissertation.

Paulo V. D. Correia

(a) Professor at the Higher Technical Institute (IST), Technical University of Lisbon.	(c) IST, Lisbon
(b) Coordinator of the Regional Spatial Strategy for the Algarve (PROTAL).	(d) 20.07.2005

Romeu Reis

(a) Coordinator of the working group for the EU Portuguese Presidency in the Ministry of Public Works Transport and Communications, Sits in the administration board of the High Speed Rail Network Company (Rede Ferroviária de Alta Velocidade, S.A.).	(c) GAERE Offices, Lisbon
(b) Senior Public Official that accompanied the Portuguese participation in the ESDP process.	(d) 02.09.2005

Rui Azevedo

(a) Consultant at the Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions (CPMR).	(c) CCB, Lisbon
(b) National Expert on Cross-border and Transnational Territorial Cooperation.	(d) 28.07.2006

Vítor Campos

(a) Senior Researcher at the National Laboratory for Civil Engineering (LNEC), Lisbon.	(c) DGOTDU, Lisbon
(b) Head of the Directorate-General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development (DGOTDU).	(d1) 06.06.2006 (d2) 18.02.2008

Access to Power

Unlike an epistemological approach, a phronetic planning research exercise does not perceive replication as a requirement for validation. Even so, a deliberate effort has been made to follow the methodological guidelines outlined by Flyvbjerg (2001). The research at hand has, nonetheless, a series of specific characteristics that would make a methodological replica of this particular study nearly impossible. As addressed in the first part of this chapter, power is central to a phronetic analysis. In this context, we refer to the exercise of power as the capacity to directly implement or obstruct both conceptual and procedural changes in the policy cycle (See Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3 for a full explanation).

The issue of access to power is perhaps one of the hardest challenges any researcher will face. However, and as a result of a sequence of events alien to the project at hand, just over one year into the research, one of the author's main contact points, João Ferrão, stepped into public office as the Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities of the XVII Constitutional Government of the Portuguese Republic. Henceforth, and as one of his direct responsibilities, he was to see through the PNPO'T elaboration process and its submission for parliamentary review and approval (See Chapters 5 and 6 for further details). In a nutshell, events exogenous to the research paved the way for a direct communicative channel to power. This fact would strongly influence not only the remaining development of the research design and operationalisation but also the methodological choice of a phronetic approach.

4.5.4 The Researcher

There is no mandatory set of skills that a phronetic planning researcher must have and nowhere in the literature is this issue addressed in detail. However, in the context of the present thesis, one could easily make the case that the interpretational capacity of the researcher is central to his role. Here, by interpretational capacity, I mean the degree of understanding of the formal and informal discursive codes being used by the actors associated with the selected case study as well as its contextual background. In this light, an initial self-assessment on my capacity to develop a phronetic planning research exercise revealed a structural shortfall: with no prior background as a researcher, no professional experience in a policy-making environment and no direct role in any of the procedures of the PNPO'T process it was regarded as essential to devise from the start a strategy that would help me build up the abovementioned interpretational capacity alongside the development of the research itself. In the end, and as a result of a heuristic process, this capacity-building exercise can actually be regarded, to a certain extent, as a constituent part of the research design itself.

In operational terms, three key gaps were selected as a priority:

(1) the lack of topic-specific research experience – addressed through the joint development of the Portuguese National and Regional Case Study report of the ESPON 2.3.1 Project on the assessment of the Application and Impacts of the European Spatial Development Perspective on the European Union Member States (Mourato, 2006);

(2) the lack of experience within a European/National level policy environment – addressed through acting as a junior consultant for the Directorate General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development of the Portuguese Republic working on the joint elaboration of the first resolution ‘Polycentric Development: Promoting Competitiveness, Enhancing Cohesion’ of the Lisbon Declaration on Networks for sustainable territorial development: Bridges over Europe, approved at the 2006 14th Conference of CEMAT held in Lisbon; and finally

(3) the lack of understanding of the interpersonal ‘mechanics’ of the planning policy community involved in the PNPO process. This last point was particularly difficult because of the informal ‘outsider’ status of the researcher, which I addressed by volunteering to organise and contribute to a special issue of the journal *Sociedade e Território*¹² specifically dedicated to the PNPO. This initiative, the first of its kind in Portugal, explicitly examined the PNPO and produced two main outcomes: Firstly, written material was published by key actors both insiders and outsiders of the policy process, reflecting on the PNPO, which helped bridge the gap in the literature referred to earlier in this chapter and provided additional information for triangulation purposes. Secondly, the ‘outsider’ status that I held, as a researcher, was to some degree dissipated, enabling greater access to the interviewees during the data collection process.

4.6 Final Remarks

Chapter 4 outlined the chosen research design to test the set of hypotheses and research questions (Chapter 1). In other words, Chapter 4 outlines the rationale that underpins the verification of the aforementioned hypotheses: how was data gathered, analysed, and how were the subsequent results presented. Chapter 4 covers two distinct frameworks: a conceptual one and an operational one. At the conceptual level, this chapter introduced the concept of phronetic planning research, briefly explaining what *phronesis* is, why it is suitable for the research problem under scrutiny, and how it translates into an operational framework. At the operational level, we have addressed the basic issues and limitations of the research design, discussed the case study selection, the data collection process, documental analysis, direct observation, interviewee selection, interview design, and data validation strategy.

¹² The *Sociedade e Território* Journal is a key reference in the Portuguese planning literature. Existing for over 20 years it caters for both academics and professionals alike.

5 Planning Culture in Portugal

5.1 Introduction

The Portuguese planning system is undergoing a process of structural reform. In this context, the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT) bares the hallmark of a critical event in the evolution path of planning as a public policy in Portugal. As detailed in Chapter 1, this thesis evolves around the PNPOT as a hypothetical example of planning culture change, as a consequence, to a yet undefined extent, of the process of Europeanisation of planning.

To explore the aforementioned causal relationship offers a series of practical problems. Two of these are instrumental to structuring the present chapter: (i) the context-dependent nature of planning culture as a research concept (Chapter 2), and (ii) the characteristics of the dynamic process central to this research: Europeanisation (Chapter 3).

(i) If we are to argue that a specific policy stands for a major cultural innovation amidst its policy environment then we must clearly depict that policy environment in enough detail to have something with which to compare our research object. However, the scope and scale of the PNPOT – the first national level spatial planning policy ever designed in Portugal as a platform to coordinate all sectoral policies with spatial impacts – implies a huge contextualisation effort. To be able to appreciate the degree of institutional innovation implied by the PNPOT, the reader must become familiar with the Portuguese planning system, its development, legislative framework, institutional architecture, culture and prevailing ethos. In other words, we must present a concise yet comprehensive depiction of the Portuguese planning environment and main planning artefacts, as defined by the culturised planning model (Section 2.2.2). This is by any measure no easy task.

(ii) If we understand Europeanisation as a symbiotic action-reaction cycle of influence, mutual adaptation and co-evolution between member-states and the European level (Section 3.2.2), then how can we identify the bidirectional nature of Europeanisation in the Portuguese planning environment? And, consequently, how do we determine whether the observed culture change embodied by the PNPOT does in fact take place as a result, to some degree, of the dynamic of Europeanisation of planning? In other words, answering the first question allows to test the existence of Europeanisation; answering the second question allows to test the causal

relationship between the Europeanisation of planning and the observed culture change embodied in the PNPO.

To address these issues, we have organised the present and following chapters around a set of three interpretative narratives. These will be sequentially presented in Chapter 5 (the first two narratives) and Chapter 6 (the third and final narrative), and their content will be a mixture of contextual information and interpretational analysis. Their scope will narrow progressively and they will have some degree of overlap in terms of the facts covered, something that is impossible to avoid as these are three critical perspectives of the same research object.

The first narrative will provide a concise introduction that depicts the Portuguese planning environment and main planning artefacts. This will require to place the PNPO within the evolution of planning as a public policy in Portugal, and to illustrate how the Portuguese planning system works and what position the PNPO occupies in that same system. The second narrative will highlight the Portuguese role in the creation of the dynamic of Europeanisation central to this research. This will require a review of the Portuguese part in the process of institutionalisation of European Spatial Planning, with emphasis on the shift seen in the Portuguese participatory stance from the early days of the ESDP process throughout to the Territorial Agenda Action Programme. The final narrative (Chapter 6) will critically review the PNPO as the embodiment of institutional innovation and culture change, in part as an outcome of the dynamic of Europeanisation of planning.

The interpretative narratives presented in this chapter are largely based on the documental analysis of key legislation and governmental reports, supplemented with references from the available literature and in very specific cases (second narrative) the use of direct observations and interviews (See Section 4.5.3).

5.2 The Evolution of Planning in Portugal

Although we still argue about the degree of convergence between different planning systems throughout Europe, in the context of the historical evolution of these planning systems we can see that they have never been so similar to each other. Nevertheless, or perhaps due to that very factor, any contemporary depiction of a planning system that does not address its origins will not allow a just comparative insight into its evolution. In other words, if we are set on critically understanding the present we must, even if briefly, revisit the past. There is no one history of planning *per se* in Portugal (Ferrão, 2010: 2), but what we can see in the Portuguese contemporary planning system, practice and culture is the fusion of three main influences: *urban planning* or urbanism; *regional planning*; and *environmental planning*. This narrative will build on the evolution of the relationship between planning as a public policy and these three influences.

Figure 5.1 provides a snapshot of how this evolution took place. In the following sections we will detail and justify how the process depicted happened.

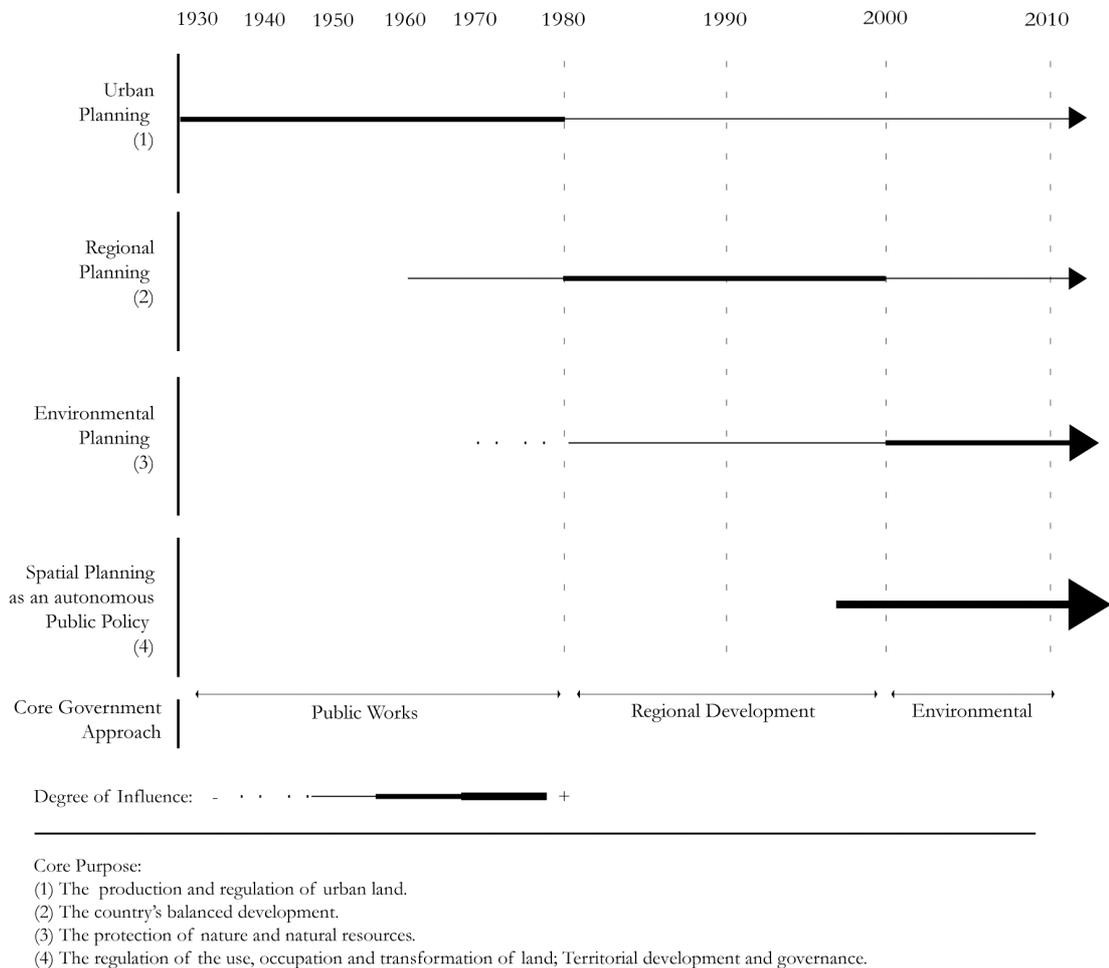


Figure 5.1 – The Development of the Portuguese Planning Environment
(Adapted from Ferrão and Mourato, 2010)

5.2.1 Key Contextual Influences

Different European planning systems have had distinct foundational purposes. In North and Central European countries that have experienced the post-war reconstruction dynamic, the concept of planning evolved as part of a modern conception of society and economy. The underlying philosophy is that once we envisage the society we aim to become then space should be organised accordingly. In contrast, Portugal did not experience a post-war process of this sort and the need for territorial planning is rooted in the necessity to provide a response to the urban-industrial modernisation process (Nunes, 1964). The latter led to two very distinct spatial dynamics: a galloping unstructured urbanisation, and a strong increase in regional

disparities (both in terms of number of population and economic activities) throughout mainland Portugal. Geographically, the spatial translation of the above was the fast growth of the main urban centres and an exodus to coastal areas, mainly around the two major cities of Lisbon and Oporto. These two key effects impact two out of the three main bodies of contextual influence that have shaped planning as a public policy in Portugal.

Urban Planning

As far as urban planning is concerned, its significance in the Portuguese territorial administrative system grew as the country faced an unavoidable problem: how to manage unplanned urban expansion. Since the 1940s and throughout the 1950s and 1960s, through to the end of the Portuguese colonial war in the early 1970s, Portugal experienced a series of unanticipated migratory flows within its territory. This was due in part to the rural exodus towards the main urban centres of people drawn by the expectation of an increase in the quality of life and better employment opportunities. But it was also due to the massive inflow of former inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies fleeing from the expected negative consequences of the collapse of the colonial empire. For the greater part of four decades there was a grave shortage of urban land for development and an overall difficulty in accessing suitable housing (Lobo, 2001; Galvão, 2002). The unmet demand in terms of dedicated allotments for housing developments and public facilities, alongside real estate speculation, illegal allotments and clandestine construction became a permanent contextual feature of the evolution of planning throughout this period.

Planning here evolved in a reactive fashion: instead of planning ahead, the core issue to be addressed was to quickly set in place enough instruments to allow for the regulation of land use, occupancy and development (Ferrão, 2010: 2). This reactive stance is embodied in the early urbanism legislation from the 1940s and 1950s (Gonçalves, 1994: 27), the Lisbon Regional Director Plan from the 1960s, and the first Land Act of 1970¹³. The cumbersome approval procedures and political context meant that very few plans were approved until the 1970s (*Ibid.*, 1989). However, informally approved plans, when available, were used to guide urban expansion. At the institutional level, the political recognition of the necessity to create a coherent urban management approach to the country's main cities can be traced as far back as 1944 with the creation of the Directorate-General of Urbanisation Services (DGSU). In sum, out of the necessity to contain the negative effects of unexpected demographic migrations came the opportunity for urban planning to strengthen its role in public policy.

¹³ Decree-Law 576/70, 24th November 1970

Regional Planning

As previously indicated, alongside the significant demographic migratory movements there was also a greater unevenness in terms of the location of economic activities. The III Economic Development Plan (1968-1973)¹⁴ issued the first clear sign of acknowledgment by the country's dictatorial government that the ongoing industrial modernisation had paved the way to an increase in regional disparities. This plan hoped to rebalance the network of mid-sized towns and reshape the location of industrial activities. From a critical standpoint even if there were obvious territorial planning concerns in this policy document, these were not given much attention in what was, after all, an exercise in economic planning and regional development. Nevertheless, the III Economic Development Plan did issue, although always as a background matter, a call for a general plan that would cover the entirety of the country's territory.

Interestingly, the IV Economic Development Plan (1974-1979)¹⁵ highlighted territorial planning as one of the main objectives, and it was to be achieved alongside the rectification of regional disparities. Nevertheless, the 1974 Revolution that ended a 48 year long dictatorship had the unintended consequence of halting any and all plans that were about to be put into practice. So, in this sense, planning as a public policy faced another setback in terms of its emancipation within the Portuguese policy environment. To all effects, regional planning, just like urban planning, developed as a form of correctional reaction to the negative outcomes of the urban-industrial development dynamics in Portugal. And just like as in the context of urban planning, one public institution stood out as a leading influence: the Technical Secretariat of the Presidency of the Council (1962-1974).

Under the scope of regional planning, territorial planning is to all effects perceived as an instrument for economic planning as a whole and regional development in particular. In retrospect, prior to the 1974 Revolution, planning in Portugal did not exist *per se* as a full-bodied public policy. Nevertheless, we cannot argue its total inexistence. Although in a secondary role, it evolved against the backdrop of both urban planning and regional planning, these had, to a certain extent, both conceptual and mission statement overlap. However, the articulation between these two never surpassed the bare minimum, mainly due to different geographical scales of intervention, different institutional frameworks, and distinct policy communities (Ferrão, 2010: 4). All in all, and despite the 1970 report by the Technical Secretariat of the Presidency of the Council that focused on producing a national scale planning policy, we reach

¹⁴ III Plano de Fomento, documents and reports available at:
http://www.dpp.pt/arquivo_historico/III_Plano.htm.

¹⁵ IV Plano de Fomento, documents and reports available at:
http://www.dpp.pt/arquivo_historico/IV_Plano.htm.

the mid-70s with no epistemic community in planning as such and no consistent planning policy framework, let alone planning as an autonomous public policy.

Environmental Planning

Alongside the two previously identified bodies of contextual influence, throughout the 1960s a growing concern related to both environmental protection and natural resources conservation started to gain weight. The latter statement can be substantiated based on the 1970 Environmental Act¹⁶ or the first Environmental Protection Zone, the National Park Peneda-Gerês, set up in 1971¹⁷. To different degrees these two make a good case for the growing influence that environmental issues were developing in the Portuguese planning policy arena. In other words, we have identified our third body of contextual influence: environmental planning.

In the following sections we will illustrate how these influences intertwine with the three stages of the evolution process of planning as a public policy in Portugal: the setup process (1974-1984), the emancipation process (1985-1999) and the coming of age (2000+).

5.2.2 The Setup Process (1974-1984)

The early years of the Portuguese III Republic were not, in more ways than one, kind to planning. To begin with, the 1976 Constitution of the Portuguese Republic had no clear references to planning as an autonomous and relevant objective to be pursued as a responsibility of the State. In this sense, planning as a public policy is framed amidst a series of development goals, which clearly mirror the development constraints previously described. For example, there is a constitutional reference to the right to housing, to the narrowing of the differences between the city and the countryside, to the harmonious development of all of the national territory, the protection and promotion of the natural and cultural patrimony, to environmental protection, etc, etc. All of these are labelled as key tasks of the State. Planning, however, is not.

Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, environmental planning matured at a steady pace. On top of the creation in 1974 of a governmental post for a Junior Minister of Environment and the 1976 Environmental Protected Areas Act¹⁸, which introduced the concept of a Natural Park, but mainly with the legislative framework of the National

¹⁶ Law 9/70, 19th June 1970

¹⁷ Decree-Law 187/71, 8th May 1971

¹⁸ Decree-Law 613/76, 27th July 1976

Agricultural Reserve (1982)¹⁹ and the National Ecological Reserve (1983)²⁰, environmental planning not only matured as a field of public policy but also set the foundation for increasing political clout.

We have underlined that planning as an autonomous body of policy is rather recent in the Portuguese public policy context despite the fact that its roots date back as early as the mid-1940s. We have covered the three main bodies of contextual influences – urban planning, regional planning, and environmental planning – that have to a large extent hindered planning's development into an autonomous public policy. The ministerial organisation of the IX Constitutional Government²¹ (1983-1985) sheds some light on how planning related to its three contextual influences. Planning, alongside environment and natural resources were under the wing of the Ministry for the Quality of Life; housing and urbanism fell under the responsibility of the Ministry for Social Equipment; and economic and regional development were to be delivered by the Ministry of the Interior Administration. This organisational structure played a structural role in defining the cultural perception of planning in Portugal that persists until today. As a consequence of the ministerial distribution of policy competencies, planning became almost exclusively identified as a tool for the regulation of the land use, occupancy and transformation.

The post-revolution administrative decentralisation process, which reinforced municipal powers, stressed even further this regulatory side of planning. Against the backdrop of illegal urban development and edification, which peaked in 1976, a first batch of decentralisation²² empowered local authorities to take legal possession of any illegal allotment or housing project. Later on, the Local Authorities Act (1977)²³, which defined the remit of the power of local authorities, namely in terms of territorial planning, created the Municipal Director Plan (PDM). The latter embodied several conceptual innovations: it covered the whole of the municipality (rather than only the urban areas); it required an explicit socio-economic strategy to which land use proposals should relate; and it established rights and mechanisms for public participation (Rosa Pires, 2005: 239). Soon after²⁴, it became mandatory for all the 308 municipalities in Portugal (Ferrão, 2010) as central government aimed to intensify planning activity at the local level in order to ensure that, by the end of the decade (1990), Municipal Director Plans (PDMs) would cover the whole country, a demand which to some extent emanated from Brussels. A

¹⁹ Decree-Law 451/82, 16th November 1982

²⁰ Decree-Law 321/83, 5th August 1983

²¹ PS and PSD coalition. For further information on all political parties referenced from this point onwards, refer to Section 4.5.3 The Data Collection Process - *Direct Observation*.

²² Decree-Law 275/76, 13th April 1976

²³ Law 79/77, 25th October 1977

²⁴ Decree-Law 208/82, 26th May 1982

few years later, a renewed Local Authorities Act (1984)²⁵ was issued and a revision was carried out in terms of the competency of local authorities as far as urban planning and land use policy were concerned. Through the Act, a key cultural feature of planning in Portugal was defined: the link between planning, land use regulation, occupation and transformation, plan making and local authorities. In a nutshell, the responsibility to prepare and approve the PDM was given to local authorities, although central government retained the right to ratify the plan (Rosa Pires, 2005; Pardal, 2003: 8).

Nevertheless, at that time most of the local authorities were technically ill-equipped to develop their plans, and this led to just four out of the 308 municipalities having their PDM in place with the necessary central government ratification by the early 1990s. As Rosa Pires (2005) indicates, new legislation was produced, simplifying both the technical requirements and the approval procedures in order to speed up the process of plan development. Concurrently, fines were issued to the municipalities that failed to prepare the plans in the following years. By the mid 1990s over 200 PDMs were in place, but only in early 2003 was the final PDM ratified by the central government. In sum, it took the best part of two decades to set up the planning system at the local level.

In the early 1980s the three contextual bodies of influence (urban planning, regional planning and environmental planning) were repositioned. This occurred through a more explicit form of planning, which built on both urban planning and environmental planning and embodies a regulatory approach, but also through a rather more implicit form of planning, which, under the umbrella of regional planning, aimed to achieve a more cohesive, competitive, and balanced country, a territorial development approach. In sum, the post-revolution decade can be summarised as a period of democratisation, decentralisation and strengthening of the regulatory role of planning.

5.2.3 The Emancipation Process (1985-1999)

In the period between 1985 and 1999, the evolution of planning was strongly influenced by three factors. Firstly, the integration of planning in a series of variations of ministries of economic planning; secondly, the growing policy autonomy and political weight of environmental planning; and thirdly the increasing exposure to external influences, namely from within the European Union, which would reflect on the emergence of a strategic and proactive approach to planning. The mixture of these factors largely explains the evolution of planning as

²⁵ Law 100/84, 29th March 1984

a public policy during this period. In this process, three political actors played a pivotal role: Luís Valente de Oliveira, Jorge Sampaio and João Cravinho.

1985-1995: The European Momentum

Throughout this period, Luís Valente de Oliveira served as the sole Minister for Economic Planning and Territorial Administration for a whole decade (X, XI and XII Constitutional Governments - PSD). Previously head of the Regional Coordination Commission of the Northern Region, Valente de Oliveira had had a unique experience at the regional planning level, in the period leading to the Portuguese accession to the then European Economic Community. In this sense, he was knowledgeable about the European policy arena dynamics and the demanding nature of the European integration process and the impact it would have in Portugal. He was also aware of the domestic state of affairs in terms of the then embryonic Portuguese planning system and of the expected difficulties in structuring a whole territorial management system (*e.g.* legislative framework, planning instruments, planners' capacity building, etc.) while undergoing the necessary institutional adaptation process required by the accession process. In this sense, Valente de Oliveira's background had an unquestionable influence on this stage of development of the Portuguese planning environment. Furthermore, as referred, he held a ministerial office for a decade. This rare continuity of both policy approach and political leadership had an unquestionable structural impact in the development of planning as a public policy. This can be explained through a series of events.

Firstly, the integration of planning in a Ministry of Economic Planning, in which the issues of regional development found additional political weight as a consequence of the accession of Portugal to the European Economic Community in 1986. The underlying rationale is that, bound by the Structural Funds rules, there was growing demand for the production of territorially based development strategies, which made for a substantial boost to the implicit dimension of planning. In this sense, central government attempted the introduction of a regional level of planning through the Regional Spatial Strategy (PROT)²⁶. However, very few plans were approved and their preparation gave rise to many conflicts between local and regional administrations. In short, they tended to adopt a blueprint approach and failed to provide any principled and strategic guidance to the municipal level of planning (Rosa Pires, 2003). In this sense, and mainly due to the European context, regional planning became again a significant driver of the evolution of planning as a public policy. The political and technical perception of planning began to move away from an exclusively regulatory instrument to include the articulation and coordination of sectoral policies with a territorial impact.

²⁶ Decree-Law 176-A/88, 18th May 1988

Concurrently, the 1989 constitutional revision states for the first time the need to secure *correct* planning as a constitutional imperative and a fundamental task of the State (Simões, 2003).

In parallel with this process, environmental planning grew more autonomous and reinforced its political clout. In 1987, the Fundamental Environment Act²⁷ was approved. Alongside the Brundtland Report on sustainable development (WCED, 1987), this triggered the institutionalisation of environmental policy as a community policy under the banner of the European Single Act. In 1991, the Ministry for the Environment and Natural Resources was created, hijacking a series of policy domains previously integrated in the Ministry for Economic Planning and Territorial Administration. This political strengthening process culminated in 1995 with the approval of the National Plan for Environmental Policy²⁸. The increasing autonomy of environmental planning weakened the link between environment and territorial planning, and induced an instrumental approach in the latter as a mere tool to achieve the objectives of environmental policy.

Finally, we have to take into consideration the process of Europeanisation of planning and its impacts on both planning systems as well as planning cultures. In particular we have to highlight the role of the nearly decade long process of development of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), which was completed in 1999. Through the introduction of a more strategic approach to planning, by outlining a clear set of priorities, and by inducing a new lexicon, all of which are voluntarily taken on board by the then 15 member-states of the European Union, the ESDP process not only updates but also reinforces regional planning as a body of influence. But perhaps the most important impact of the ESDP on the emancipation of planning in Portugal is that it provided a springboard for planning in terms of domestic validation, gave it political weight and, in theory, provided it with the legitimacy to call for a more central role as the coordination mechanism for all collaboratively developed policies with a spatial impact.

In practice, this can be seen in the early experiments of the Community initiative of integrated spatial development, such as the LEADER programme (1991) for rural areas and the URBAN programme (1994) for urban areas, as well as policy platforms for transnational territorial cooperation such as INTERREG (1991). All of the aforementioned contributed to questioning not only the deeply entrenched divide between territorial planning and regional planning but also, significantly, the solely regulatory role commonly associated with planning policies. In this sense, the exposure of the Portuguese planning system to wider European influence changed the way in which planning was not only perceived in the policy communities but also put into practice.

²⁷ Law 11/87, 7th April 1987

²⁸ RCM 38/1995, 21st April 1995

A Botched Attempt and a Learning Process

In 1995, during its final months in office, the XII Constitutional Government circulated a draft Planning Act (LBOT) that attempted to initiate a profound reform in the Portuguese planning system. The contents of the proposed legislation demonstrated a strongly interventionist approach with an implicit challenge to the planning powers of Local Authorities as previously discussed in this chapter. Interestingly, there was a provision for what was initially called the National Planning Plan (PNOT) later to become the National Planning Scheme (ENOT) (Gonçalves, 2007: 95). The latter held an explicit message, to certify not only at the internal but also at the external level the determination of the government to secure an operative planning framework that covered the entire country.

Although substantiated only by hearsay, it appears that part of the motivation behind this legislative venture was to demonstrate to Brussels that a lingering local planning system would not endanger the impact of structural funds on the ground. There was also an implicit message to the Local Authorities: The Special Plans (PEOT) indicated that if central government saw fit to replace the Municipal Director Plans (PDM) it would do so. The underlying rationale was to have a mechanism to apply pressure on the local authorities that fell behind in terms of the design and implementation of their PDM (*Id. Ibid.*: 96). The overall reaction to the proposed legislation was vehemently negative across all sectors. There had been no public debate during or after the drafting of the Act, local authorities were excluded and the public exposure of the proposal prior to its parliamentary debate was minimal. Consequently, the government in office, although holding a parliamentary majority and, hence, an assurance that if submitted to a vote in Parliament the draft Act would be approved, decided to back down. Had it been approved, there would have been a radical change in the process of emancipation of planning, however not necessarily for the best. On a positive note, this botched attempt at reform highlighted the need for an all-encompassing planning act to structurally organise the evolving planning system.

And out of Europe Comes Strategic Planning

From the late 1980s onwards, within the planning epistemic community and among decision-makers, there was a growing feeling of frustration with the overly complex, slow and rigid nature of the available instruments for land use, occupation and transformation regulation. The limits of the rational and technocratic modern approach to planning began to be questioned in terms of their suitability allowing for planning to fulfil its role. As a result, a far more strategic and proactive approach began to gain support: we should highlight the groundbreaking decision taken by Jorge Sampaio, Mayor of the city of Lisbon, to create a strategic development plan for

the capital (CML, 1992). Sampaio, a lawyer, had no planning-related background. However, he embodied a pro-strategic planning approach to the development of the city of Lisbon. We can only assume that he drew inspiration from the then emerging territorial marketing discourse and inter-city competition. As Mayor, Sampaio envisaged Lisbon as a key city at the Iberian level, and a gateway city from South America into Europe (*Id. Ibid.*). For a six years long period ending in 1996, a series of procedural innovations in the process of planning policy-making were put into practice. Taking stock of the experience that Barcelona had gathered in the context of the 1992 Olympic Games, planners introduced the use of collaborative and participatory frameworks that envisaged the shared development of not only a strategic vision for the city, but also of the identification of key intervention guidelines.

In hindsight, as Ferrão (2010: 7) highlights, there was a voluntary mimicking process throughout the country, which resulted in a growing number of strategic territorial planning initiatives, not only at the city level but also at the municipal and inter-municipal level. However, as the author outlines, much like the spatial visions delivered by the ESDP and other community initiatives, this new trend in Portugal seemed to develop while detached from the regulatory planning approach that prevailed still at the local and central government levels.

1995-1999: Autonomous Public Policy

In 1995, João Cravinho was appointed Minister of Equipment, Planning and Territorial Administration (XIII Constitutional Government - PS). Cravinho had been a junior member of the Technical Secretariat of the Presidency of the Council – the governing structure during the dictatorship period in Portugal – while the IV Economic Development Plan was being drafted and the concept of a national level planning policy discussed, and held a unique knowledge of the planning dynamics in Portugal. He was a clearly pro-planning Minister and proved instrumental in the emancipation of planning from its contextual influences.

During his ministerial appointment, in 1998, the Planning and Urbanism Policy Act²⁹ underwent parliamentary approval (LBPOTU). The latter is, by any measure, a cornerstone in the institutional and political emancipation of planning in Portugal. In brief, it established the duty of the State in securing planning, it defined the principles, purposes and objectives of territorial planning, and it established a coherent territorial management system. Shortly after, in 1999, a new decree-law³⁰ defined the legislative identity of each of the instruments of territorial management that constituted the aforementioned system.

²⁹ Law 48/98, 11th August 1998

³⁰ Decree-Law 380/99, 22nd September 1999

The institutional and functional innovation that the LB POTU introduced is key to understanding the contemporary dynamics of planning as a public policy in Portugal. For one, the LB POTU (Figure 5.2) sets out the difference between what are *territorial development instruments* (PNPOT, PROT and PIOT) and what are *territorial planning instruments* (PMOT, PDM, PU and PP). In addition, it outlines a clear difference between what are municipal plans, special plans and sectoral plans, within the wider territorial planning framework. In doing so, the LB POTU provides an integrative legislative platform within which coexist the explicit regulatory planning approach and the implicit strategic development approach. In addition, it includes the legislative equivalent of a coordination agreement between the three main bodies of contextual influence identified throughout this chapter (*i.e.* urban planning, regional planning and environmental planning). But above all it introduces the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT).

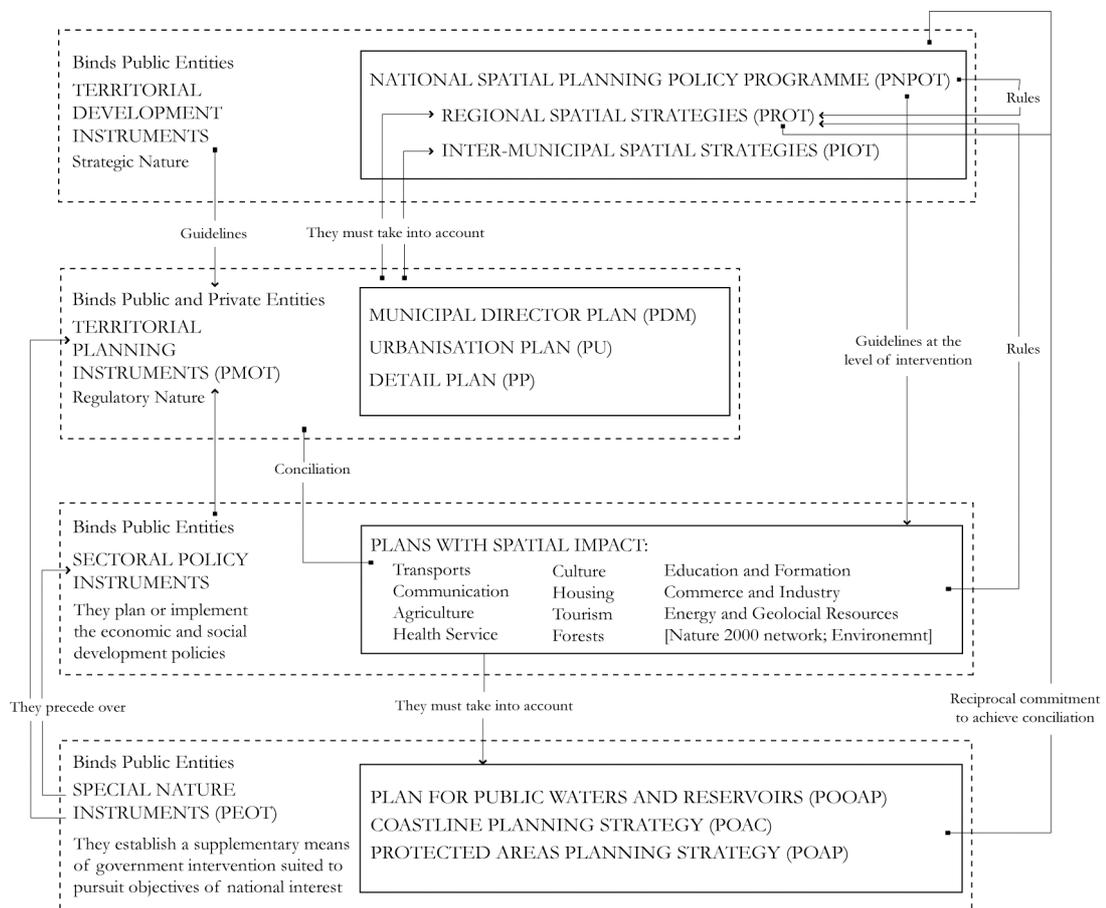


Figure 5.2 – Law 48/98: The Portuguese Planning System

The PNPOT sets out one of the key missing elements necessary for a coherent territorial management system: it identifies both the territorial and sectoral instruments (yet with a spatial impact) that will be the cornerstone of the implementation of national planning policy, regardless of their administrative, legislative, financial, or tax-related nature. In other words, the

PNPOT is a national instrument of policy coordination and a platform for actor cooperation. In retrospect, and in the context of the evolution of planning as a public policy in Portugal namely in its relationship with the three main contextual influences (*i.e.* urban planning, regional planning and environmental planning) the PNPOT provides not only a platform for the fusion of the three bodies but also an outline of the coordinative role of planning and makes for a substantial claim for its autonomy as a public policy (further detailed in Chapter 6).

5.2.4 The Coming of Age (2000+)

With the coming into office of the XIV Constitutional Government (PS) in 1999, a new political/institutional cycle began. From that moment onwards, and despite the unsettled political period between 2002 and 2005³¹, the evolution of planning can be described along three main lines of reasoning. First, the institutional tradition of the Ministries of Economic Planning previously addressed was replaced by a set of alternative governative solutions that built on the concept of a mixture of distinct policy areas. In this new cycle, planning has always been included in the ministries that also supervised environmental policy.

Second, at a political level a priority was made to make fully operational the instruments of the territorial management system that had been outlined in the LBOTU. Furthermore, and as far as the whole territorial management system is concerned, an additional effort was set in place in order to simplify, decentralise and qualify not only its design but also its implementation. In this context, the parliamentary approval of the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT)³² is without a doubt the most relevant fact.

Third, a series of theme-focused planning initiatives emerged, and two of these would develop into systematic and cohesive policy agendas. These emphasised the need for swift action in terms of urban rehabilitation, and the need to tackle global warming effects in coastal areas. As far as urban rehabilitation is concerned, the POLIS programme (MAOT, 2000), despite the limited success it achieved on the ground in terms of promoting local dynamics of

³¹ During this period, Portugal experienced three governments, in what was the most unstable governmental scenario since the 1975 post-revolutionary period. After the resignation of António Guterres, following his party's landslide in the local elections (December 2001), José Durão Barroso became Prime-Minister (April 2002) but was appointed President of the European Commission shortly after (July 2004). The President of the Republic appointed Pedro Santana Lopes as his replacement, skipping a new election, in order to swiftly close the gap left by Barroso. But a growing resentment towards the appointed and not elected Prime-Minister led to the dismissal of the Parliamentary Assembly, and consequent anticipated general elections, won by José Sócrates (March 2005).

³² Law 58/07, 4th September 2007

urban regeneration, did reflect a main direction of change in Portuguese planning policy and practice that would later evolve, in 2007, into the POLIS XXI cities policy (MAOTDR, 2008). A positive side to the POLIS programme is the visibility that some associated planning initiatives have acquired either in terms of specific interest groups and/or through media coverage. Indeed, as Rosa Pires (2005: 249) highlights there are now many more agents involved in the debate about the approaches and social usefulness of the spatial planning system. As far as coastal areas are concerned, and after an unsuccessful first initiative in 2003, a series of projects were set in motion with approval from the Council of Ministers of the XVI Constitutional Government³³ of the National Strategy for the Integrated Management of Coastal Areas³⁴.

The message to highlight in this context is how these initiatives mirror to a large extent the policy learning dynamics within the planning policy environment. In this sense, it can be seen that there is a trend for the development of specific tailored policies to fit very particular spatial issues on the one hand, and on the other hand it can be understood that these policies do not limit themselves to a specific program or set of guidelines. In fact they encompass a wider coherent set of instruments, of either a strategic, administrative, legislative, financial or tax-related nature, as well as new systems of governance, consensus building, involving both public, private, and civil society actors, which in the long run are decisive for these policies to achieve their underlying goals. Finally, not only does the evolution of the Portuguese planning system, culture and practices experience further effects of the process of Europeanisation, but also these become more prominent.

The Challenges of a Late Institutionalisation

Planning is still a fragile field amidst the Portuguese public policy environment. The late coming of age of planning policy is to a large degree the core reason for this fragility. The latter results from a series of both domestic and international factors. To begin with, there is no cohesive community of planners or a planning policy community. In addition, there is a lack of social credibility associated with the mission of planning as a public policy. This is due in a large part to the socially unpopular over-regulative role planning had to play throughout the 1980s and it is also a result of the paradox between an emerging planning system (to some extent reflecting growing social expectations about the contribution of planning to qualify development trajectories) and a common disillusionment with the practical achievements of planning activity.

Furthermore, the hard-won inter-sectoral coordinative capacity enclosed in the PNPOT clearly clashes with the predominant political and institutional culture of Portuguese public

³³ PSD and CDS coalition.

³⁴ RCM 82/2009, 8th September 2009

administration. Finally, the contemporary socio-economic trend of increasing economic deregulation and shifts in the patterns of spatial development dynamics calls into question the core assumptions of several bodies of influence on planning as far as the role of the State, the way in which to define and secure the public interest, and the way in which the legitimacy of decision making processes is secured are concerned. Planning in Portugal faces therefore a twofold challenge. On the one hand, it must build on its newfound competencies and further engage its institutionalisation process. On the other hand, and simultaneously, it must provide a set of responsive measures to an increasing complex, diverse, and unpredictable policy environment.

In this first interpretative narrative we have reviewed the process of emancipation of planning as a public policy in Portugal through the lens of its major contextual and competitor influences. As a summary, Figure 5.3 maps chronologically the key events, addressed in this chapter, that were instrumental to this process of emancipation.

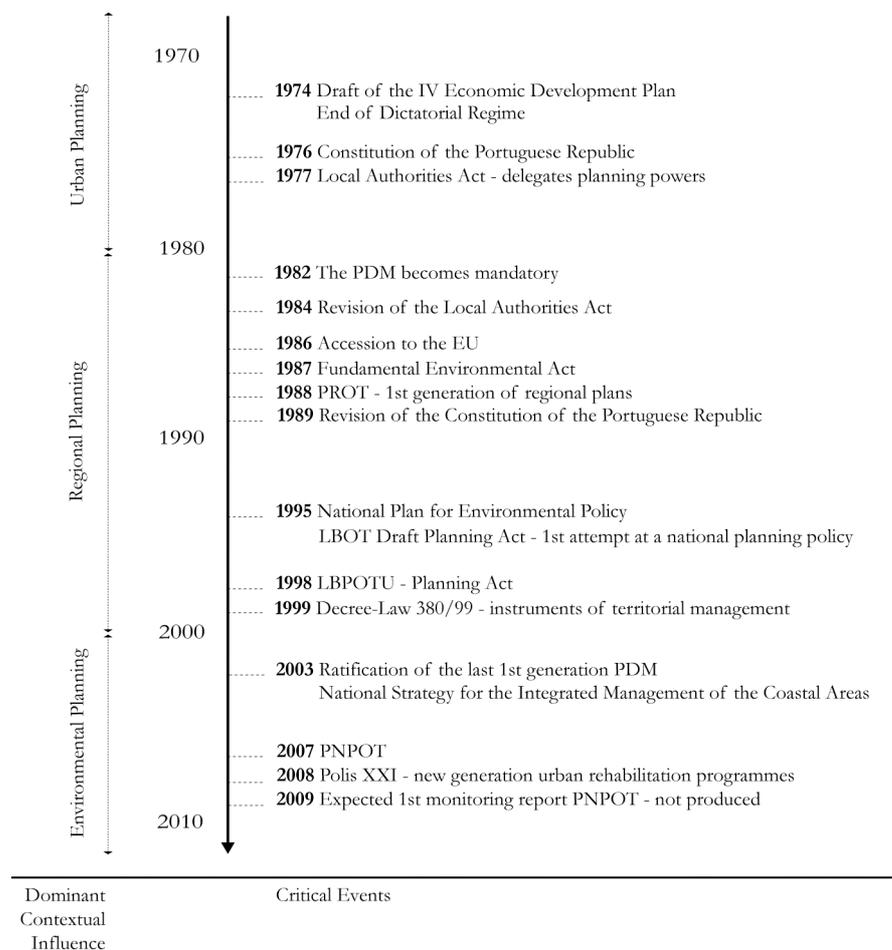


Figure 5.3 – Planning’s Path to Autonomy as a Public Policy: Critical Events

In sum, we have examined how the dynamics of Europeanisation in general have made for the provision of a springboard for planning in terms of domestic validation, political weight

and, in theory, the legitimacy to call for a more central role as the coordination mechanism for all collaboratively developed policies with a spatial impact. The purpose was to, on the one hand, illustrate the influence the wide process of Europeanisation has had as window of opportunity for an increased autonomy of planning within the Portuguese policy environment, and on the other hand, to highlight how fragile the process of institutionalisation of planning in Portugal still is. Against the backdrop of the aforementioned narrative, the introduction of the PNPOP was outlined via its legislative framework and overall position and mission in the Portuguese planning system.

5.3 Portugal and the Europeanisation of Planning

The first interpretative narrative in this chapter has reviewed the role played by the dynamics of Europeanisation in the development of planning policy in Portugal. Next, a second interpretative narrative will review the Portuguese contribution to the creation of the dynamic of Europeanisation of planning in general and the institutionalisation of European Spatial Planning in particular. The following sections reflect the dominant behaviour of the Portuguese government at different stages of the Europeanisation of planning process: the hidden agenda (1986-1999); uncertainty (1999-2005) and voluntary action (2005+) periods.

5.3.1 The Hidden Agenda (1986-1999)

At face value, Portugal had, from the outset, a strong vested interest in the conceptualisation and development of the ESDP. The document, produced to support the 1992 work meeting hosted by the Portuguese Presidency in Lisbon, expressed the “necessity for a concept of spatial development on a Community scale” and a “coherent vision of the whole Community’s territory”. As stated, the “goal is to introduce this territorial dimension into the various Community policies and to have a permanent framework of reference for Community, national and regional interventions and actions” (Portuguese Presidency, 1992: 1-5). The Lisbon meeting, the first after the Committee for Spatial Development (CSD) was set up, and of which Portugal was the first chair, raised two other matters that are critical to better explaining the positioning of Portugal throughout the ESDP process: first, the issue of the creation of a spatial vision; and second, the relationship between the notion of an emergent spatial development policy and European regional policy.

In spite of a public display of support, there was some scepticism among Portuguese officials and there was a broad consensus that the concept of an EEC-wide strategy was worth debating, mainly because of the negative effects its non-existence could entail; these included as

former minister Cravinho (2008: interview) referred the “potential lack of control concerning the spatial impacts and coordination of *competitor* interests vested in the regional, transport, competition and common agricultural policies”. In addition, according to a senior official at the time, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 had paved the way for early discussions about a future enlargement of the Community, and this raised among Portuguese officials a concern that a shift in the criteria of the Community’s cohesion policy could occur. At the official level the shadow of the structural funds over the ESDP had taken root.

It was understood to be strategically important for Portugal to actively participate in the discussion of the ESDP since there was a growing perception that it would influence the future allocation of structural funds. Another ground for interest in the idea of an ESDP, as one of the senior officials in the Portuguese team highlighted, was the “self-discipline” it provided (Reis, 2005: interview). This insight may be explained if we take into consideration the domestic scenario, at that time, in terms of the stage of development of the Portuguese planning system. In hindsight, in the early stages of development of the ESDP, Portugal had no overall spatial vision and the process of development of the PDM at the local level was still far from complete. In this sense, it is understandable that there was “an expectation that the ESDP, as an external reference framework, could provide an added layer of consistency to [a maturing] planning system” (Gonçalves, 2007: interview). In sum, the prevailing stance of the Portuguese at this point was therefore of active involvement in the preparation of the ESDP but withholding of full commitment until the real impact and reach of the document was clearer.

We can also highlight three key issues that the Portuguese delegation stressed throughout the making of the ESDP. First the trans-European networks (TEN-T): There was a belief among Portuguese officials that the construction of major nation-wide infrastructures and equipment would play a strategic role in regional development and help to tackle the “negative effects of Portugal’s geo-peripherality” (Reis, 2005: interview). Second, the approach to the concept of the ESDP: It was held that this should be one of promotion of greater social and economic cohesion rather than one of territorial competitiveness. As Rosa Pires (2005: 242) concludes, this comes as no surprise if we consider that Portugal was then, and still is, one of the key beneficiaries of the EU’s cohesion policy and, to some extent, feared an unfavourable shift of EU sectoral policies and/or the possible post-enlargement reduction of structural funds. Third, the prospective issue of visions/scenarios building: the Portuguese delegation kept returning to “the issue of scenario construction” (Reis, 2005: interview), both exploring existing tendencies and volunteering alternative approaches. One can only speculate that this could be understood as a way in which, by achieving consensus on a common spatial vision, undesirable shifts in the guidelines for the Community structural interventions could be staved off.

1997: Noordwijk Calling!

The Noordwijk draft of the ESDP in 1997 was a turning point in the way the ESDP was perceived in Portugal. As agreed with the European Union Ministers of spatial planning, the Portuguese national administration promoted a wide discussion of the first official draft of the ESDP. Prior to this date, policy Community members with a developed awareness of the ESDP were conspicuously few: a limited number of governmental officers and an even more restricted handful of external professionals were involved in the process leading to this draft. The composition of the intra-governmental delegation that represented Portugal included senior public officials from the Directorate-General for Regional Development (DGDR) and the Directorate-General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development (DGOTDU) (Mateus, 2002).

Significantly, the DGDR directly linked itself to the allocation strategies for structural funds in Portugal, and largely secured the Portuguese representation in the CSD. This was only to change in 1999 as the whole process came to a close. We can but speculate on the reasons why the DGDR was finally replaced by the DGOTDU, which was, after all, the main public administration office of planning policies. Maybe the shadow of the structural funds had by now dissipated. From then onwards the DGOTDU established a more active involvement in the European spatial policy agenda, as we will detail later. Unfortunately, the consequences of this conspicuous institutional dichotomy lasted through the ESDP dissemination stage up until the Action Programme for the implementation of the Territorial Agenda. This considerably undermined the potential impact that the ESDP and the European spatial planning discourse could have on the domestic planning environment.

After the release of the 1997 Noordwijk draft, a series of debates were organised in Portugal throughout the first half of 1998. This comprised one event in each of the five Portuguese administrative regions, the two autonomous regions and one national seminar hosted in Lisbon. The ESDP was then exposed to a wider group of actors including the Regional Coordination Commissions (RCC), the National Association of Portuguese Municipalities, the National Social and Economic Council to name but a few. Furthermore there was a one-off interministerial workgroup meeting and a coordination meeting between the RCCs (MEPAT, 1999a: 36-38). These debates, convened in 1998, coincided with the discussions about the 2000-2006 CSF. This factor strongly contributed to the common view among participants that the ESDP was a document with a strategic character, geared towards policy-making at European level, which “may affect the priorities and the management of the structural funds and, consequently, likely to affect national and regional policies” (Rosa Pires, 2005: 242). A further view emerging from the individual regional reports resulting from these seminars (MEPAT, 1999a: 41-54) was the collective call by participants for a more empirically grounded document in which regional differentiation and pre-existent regional policy orientations could be taken into consideration when defining key principles.

On top of this, there was a direct acknowledgement of the ESDP in the National Plan for Socio-Economic Development PNDES 2000-2006 (MEPAT, 1998), which embodied the Portuguese strategic guidelines on the application of the 2000-2006 CSF. Under the secondary title of ‘A Strategic Vision for the XXI Century’, the PNDES embraced to a large extent the overall ESDP ethos, if seldom referring to the document explicitly. We must underline that the PNDES was produced at the same time as discussions on the 1997 Noordwijk draft were underway in Portugal, amidst a climate of apprehension that the upcoming 2000-2006 CSF would be the last significant structural funding package for Portugal. In fact, there was a clear policy concern with the capacity to absorb EU funds, sometimes overriding the parallel concerns with (national) spatial and sectoral imbalances (Madureira Pires, 1998: 124). The shadow of the structural funds over the ESDP was not widespread through the community of development actors, as it had been institutionalised.

The (Framed) ESDP

In February 1999, prior to the approval of the ESDP, a National Report (MEPAT, 1999a) was produced which incorporated the results of the debate around the 1997 Noordwijk draft and included a summary of the main ideas discussed in each of the seminars. In a nutshell, the ESDP was regarded basically as a process and a document aiming to establish a strategic framework for the spatial development of the EU (*Id. Ibid.*: 22). However, the fears over “a possible masterplan for structural funds distribution were far from gone” (Festas, 2006: interview). On top of a call for a more in-depth analysis of spatial differentiation and clearer policy guidance (MEPAT, 1999a: 3-5) there was a clear message that the ESDP should not move beyond an indicative status, since “the necessary institutional, technical and political conditions were not yet mature” and the ESDP should keep the character of “a guiding but not a binding document” (*Id. Ibid.*: 22-24). There is hardly any doubt about the underlying rationale at stake and similar approach can be found in most of the summary reports from the regional seminars, all grouped as part of the final national report (MEPAT, 1999a: 41-54). The prevailing notion was that although the ESDP was acknowledged as a relevant spatial planning initiative it was irreversibly framed by a CSF-led inward looking rationale.

And What of Planning?

As illustrated above, the most significant concern amongst the policy community towards the ESDP was its ‘potential’ influence on the following CSF. This focus shifted the spotlight away from another potential innovation for Portugal embedded in the ESDP: namely, its instrumental focus on new forms of spatial planning, an approach that, as mentioned in the

introduction, breaks with tradition in Portuguese planning practice (Vaz, 1999: 28). In addition, the ESDP/CSF-focused debate was addressing a mainly national and regional policy arena; significantly, this alienated the municipal level where the vast majority of planning practices actually materialise. This meant that, despite recognition of the ESDP's innovative approach to planning hardly any pressure was brought to bear on the planning community at the operational level to "challenge the dominant practices in relation to the preparation, the content and the way to use municipal or urban spatial plans" (Rosa Pires, 2005: 242). This fact was instrumental in determining the weak impact of the ESDP in Portugal, mirrored in the noticeable absence of papers about the ESDP among the journals of both the academic and the planning epistemic community. The 'Europeanisation of planning' that was gaining momentum in the analyses and debates in other countries would have to wait.

5.3.2 Uncertainty (1999-2005)

In Portugal, the post-ESDP period can be characterised by an absence of a clear agenda to follow-up on the ESDP. In 1999, the DPP, a prospective studies institute that is part of the Portuguese public administration, produced a document entitled 'Long Term Scenarios for the Portuguese Mainland: An Approach on the European Spatial Development Perspective' (Ribeiro, 1999). This exercise in scenario building at the level of infrastructure networks, urban systems and territorial organisation analysed and debated several of the ESDP policy guidelines and aims and their potential application. The DPP report set off a trend fuelled largely by the interest the ESDP, and in particular the issue of spatial positioning (Rosa Pires, 2005: 243). Perhaps the latter can be justified in light of the peripheral geographic nature of Portugal. However, not soon after, more insightful analysis followed: 'Study on the Construction of a Polycentric and Balanced Development Model for the European Territory' (Azevedo and Cichowlaz, 2002), 'The Lisbon and the Tagus Valley in the Europe of Regions', (Ferrão *et al.*, 2003) and the 'Portuguese Metropolitan Regions in the Iberian Context' (Rodrigues *et al.*, 2002).

Out of this group one example stands out: The joint study prepared as a follow-up to the ESDP, promoted by six countries (Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Norway, and the United Kingdom) and the CPMR (Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions). The rationale of the study was to test the concept of polycentrism and its operationalisation in Europe (Azevedo, 2002; Azevedo and Cichowlaz, 2002). As far as Portugal is concerned, and despite the fact that "the idea of a more polycentric European space can be critical to a small, peripheral territory like Portugal", the reality is that "the concept of polycentrism is unknown to the majority of the interviewees" and there is "a more far reaching problem: the lack of culture of strategic territorial thought among many private and public agents" (*Id. Ibid.*). Moreover, it can be argued

that Portugal needs to replace the question “what can we get from Europe?” with a rather different one: “how can we contribute to the European project?” (Ferrão, 2002; 2003).

As far as the more ‘traditional’ mechanisms of perpetuation of the ESDP agenda are concerned, the overall scenario was rather uneven. The overall assessment of the impact of the Tampere ESDP Action Programme (TEAP) in Portugal was frankly negative: the information gathered from senior officials suggests that the TEAP was initially “agreed upon and there was some consensus about it and willingness to carry it out” (Festas, 2009: interview). However, the Portuguese officials perceived it as a “very ambitious programme for such a short execution time” (*Id. Ibid*). At the same time, the Commission’s positioning was changing with the end of the CSD and the outlining of the objectives concerning the Working Group on Spatial and Urban Development (WGSUD). In the two actions where Portugal had a particular commitment³⁵, 1.1 failed mainly because the project was thought to be extremely complex to set up and it struck the Portuguese officers that there would be a significant overlap with ESPON concerning aims and financing of the two initiatives (TEAP/ESPO). This faulty resource allocation strategy led to a political backing of ESPON over TEAP. Regarding the 1.4 action, the key issue was related to a lack of consensus concerning the authorities responsible for transport in the member-states; as far as the Portuguese understood, many authorities were not willing to fully cooperate in working towards the objectives of the project. Having failed to reach a participatory consensus, the project was not taken forward.

On a more positive note, the national focal point of ESPON at the time, the DGOTDU, confronted with an apparent lack of interest of the domestic academic community, decided to contact several universities and research centres as well as some private (planning) consulting firms to encourage them to become “partners in the programme” (Festas, 2009: interview). This open method of participation has further supported the dissemination of information, in particular as regards the tendering process and/or the search for partners, and has provided some positive results. Portugal has been involved in several studies (*e.g.* Gaspar, 2001), several of them coordinated by the one same person – Jorge Gaspar – curiously the academic who also coordinated the Portuguese participation in the SPESP (Study Programme on European Spatial Planning) and would later lead the PNPOT workgroup. We will return to this point in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Last but not least the INTERREG experience and in particular the way that INTERREG IIIA paved the way for what is probably the most measurable impact of the ESDP

³⁵ Action 1.1 addressed the *ESDP policy orientations in Structural Funds mainstream programmes*. All member states participated and Portugal was the lead partner responsible for reporting on experiences/prospects. Action 1.4 addressed *Spatial impacts of Community policies*. The participants were the Commission and Portugal as the lead partner responsible for reporting on the link ESDP/transport.

in Portugal. We will not get into great detail in terms of the INTERREG initiative but let us just highlight the fact that in the 2000-2006 CSF the Portuguese-Spanish border was the most active of the whole then EU15 (Caramelo, 2007; COOPTER, 2010).

5.3.3 Voluntary Action (2005+)

If we recall Tanja Börzel's 'sitting on the fence' metaphor (2002b) to describe the member-states that, like Portugal, held back throughout the ESDP process, then this period could be characterised as Portugal no longer sitting on the fence. In fact, with the coming into office of the XVII Constitutional Government (PS) in 2005 a considerable shift can be seen in the Portuguese approach to the European spatial development agenda. This shift can be summarised as a move from a reactive to a proactive stance. In this sense, and after the period of domestic political instability previously described (2002-2005) (Section 5.2.4), Portugal overhauled its public administration top leadership in the field of planning.

From late 2005 a work group was assembled to prepare what was to be the 14th section of the European Conference of Ministers Responsible for Spatial/Regional Planning (CEMAT), and whose presidency was held by Portugal at the time. The recently appointed Junior Minister for Spatial Planning and Cities – João Ferrão, as well as the newly appointed Director-General of the DGO'TDU – Vítor Campos, took on board the mission of providing a more proactive Portuguese contribution to the European spatial development discussion. A set of two working papers was produced to stimulate the discussion to be carried out at the conference: (i) "polycentric development: promoting competitiveness, enhancing cohesion" and (ii) "territorial governance: empowerment through enhanced co-ordination". In my opinion as a direct participant in this process, at the time acting as a consultant for the DGO'TDU, both of these papers, on enhancing territorial governance and the development of polycentric territorial networks, were clear echoes of the ESDP ethos.

In other words, there was a clear support to the ongoing discursive integration. The obvious intention was to further align the guiding principles for sustainable territorial development held by CEMAT (2002) with the spatial development agenda of the EU. In particular, in the Resolution on Polycentric Development "promoting competitiveness and reinforcing cohesion", adopted at the 14th CEMAT session (Lisbon, 2006), it is clear that all countries need to engage in more strategic planning processes, and territorial governance mechanisms, as an indispensable condition for an integrated and balanced development of the whole of the European continent (Council of Europe, 2009). Utopian in its essence perhaps, but what the CEMAT 2006 attempted was to extend the core principles of the ESDP to the near totality of the European countries (47) that hold a seat in CEMAT.

Later, in mid-2007, an informal ministerial meeting on territorial cohesion and regional policy took place in Ponta Delgada, the Azores. The preparation for this meeting is a unique window of opportunity to not only understand the Portuguese stand on the European spatial development agenda, but also to illustrate how the latter reflects to a significant extent the outcome of the process of emancipation earlier described in this chapter. The following section will clarify this statement through a brief critical analysis of the preparatory work for the Azores meeting.

As a recap, let us revisit both the first part of this chapter and the key message of the previous sections. By this we wish to highlight the influence regional development/structural funds have had both in terms of shaping the emancipation process of planning as a public policy and in restricting the impact of the ESDP as an influence on a planning culture change in Portugal. With this in mind, one additional element is necessary for the following interpretation to be clear: in 2007, the makeup of the XVII Constitutional Government included the Ministry for the Environment, Regional Development and Spatial Planning. As its name indicates the Ministry was subdivided into three units each led by a Junior Minister. The Regional Development and Spatial Planning units, as Faludi put it, “two separate parts of one and the same Ministry, each with different outlooks and traditions” (2009: 4) would prepare the two days of the Azores meeting.

The first of these days was dedicated to the First Action Programme of the Territorial Agenda that Portugal, as part of the France-Portugal-Slovenia-Troika, had the responsibility to prepare. The First Action Programme outlined as a central objective the ambition to create a reference framework for the implementation of the territorial agenda, which in turn would supply ministers a structure for the formulation of common initiatives and recommendations, strengthening the outcomes of the ESDP and the CEMAT guiding principles (DGOTDU, 2008b: 11).

As Faludi observes, this was “the province of spatial planners, a small group of old hands in dealing with European spatial planning, animated by a Junior Minister, João Ferrão, with an academic background and experience in European planning research. This team approached its task with great enthusiasm” (2009: 4). Faludi then proceeds to highlight the “remarkable professionalism with which the planners had developed their side of the Agenda, especially when compared to the less well structured yet as relevant discussion on cohesion policy and its future” (*Idem*). Though admitting that there is no “information about any power game within the Portuguese Ministry”, Faludi goes on to infer that “spatial planners were seeking to bolster their domestic position (...) a strategy under which international recognition is seen as a resource in bureaucratic struggles” (*Id. Ibid.*: 5). As a direct observer to some of the preparatory meetings prior to the Azores and in tune with some of the interviewees’ comments I can advance an alternative interpretation.

It was not the international performance and consequent recognition that planners were using for a domestic purpose. Rather it was a sense of “validation and purpose” (Festas, 2008-Interview) that planners felt at the domestic level, namely and foremost through the then nearly approved PNPO that mirrored on the European arena. In this sense, it is not farfetched to say that it was a process of Europeanisation that allowed the emancipation of planning in Portugal, which in turn allowed for a more proactive role for Portugal in the perpetuation of that same dynamic of Europeanisation. Either way, we can state that there was an institutional innovation that sprang from the First Action Programme of the Territorial Agenda (DGOTDU, 2008b). This relates to the setting in motion of the National Territorial Cohesion-related Contact Points (NTCCPs), as a sounding board, and as well as the constitution of a series of working groups to address each of the actions listed in the Programme. The NTCCPs do to some extent resemble the Committee on Spatial Development formed at the time of the ESDP; however, these do not depend on the Commission as member-states have taken upon themselves to support the initiative.

In addition let us also highlight two other initiatives that are a good illustration of the dynamisation imposed by the Portuguese Presidency on the European spatial agenda (DGOTDU, 2008a). To begin with, the First ESPON 2013 Seminar in Évora not only addressed the matter of the spatial scenarios and the territorial dimension of sectoral policies, as well as the future ESPON 2013 research agenda, but also restated the need to proceed with the territorial impact assessment (TIA) of European policies. In addition a clear effort was developed in order to assess potential contributions of ESPON 2013 to the implementation of the First Action Programme of the Territorial Agenda (DGOTDU, 2008b). Last, but not least, an urban development group meeting took place in Lisbon in order to address the implementation of the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities (German Presidency, 2007).

5.4 Final Remarks

In this chapter we have explored the emancipation of planning as a public policy in Portugal. We have argued that this can be partially understood as the result of an intertwined process of Democratisation and Europeanisation. Concurrently, we have examined what Europeanisation has meant in terms of a platform for the emancipation of planning in Portugal and in turn we have reviewed the role that Portugal has had in the construction of that very same dynamics of Europeanisation.

However, there is no one single tale of the Europeanisation of Planning in Portugal, nor is there a definitive account of the effects derived from its influence in terms of institutional culture change or otherwise considered. The fluidity of the process and its context-dependent

nature requires that we overlap a series of snapshots of Europeanisation if we are to build up a wider picture.

To begin with, the Portuguese participation in the ESDP process mirrors to perfection the domestic power dynamics of different policy-making bodies. The hijacking of the process by the regional development policy group has, in hindsight, retarded the evolution of planning as an autonomous public policy in Portugal for at least a decade. This was a result of denying planners the access to the platforms of socialisation of the European policy arena, and of failing to properly disseminate the contents and process of the ESDP at the domestic level. Therefore, the most important impact of the ESDP on the process of emancipation of planning in Portugal is that it provided a springboard for planning in terms of domestic validation, political weight and, in theory, the legitimacy to call for a more central role as the coordination mechanism for all collaboratively developed policies with a spatial impact.

However this impact had a substantial delay in relation to the ESDP process itself, which may lead to conflicting interpretations. Thus, to state that the ESDP has had a limited effect in terms of aiding a planning culture change in Portugal is a time-dependent clause. If we look into the period prior to the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT) we can consider that statement true. However, as Chapter 6 will detail, the PNPOT became a communicational amplifier to the message enclosed in the ESDP thus rendering the initial statement false.

In conclusion, we have so far depicted the predominant planning culture in Portugal, and the influence of Europeanisation in the development of the Portuguese planning environment. In addition, we have described the Portuguese stance towards and participation in the process of Europeanisation of planning. The following chapter will introduce the third and final interpretative narrative of this dissertation. This will begin by outlining what the PNPOT is and how it fits within its planning environment. Next we will examine the PNPOT as a material example of institutional culture change in planning and query into the drivers, mechanisms and contextual enablers and obstacles that were fundamental in the production of the policy artefact. Finally, in retrospect, we will review the PNPOT under the scope of planning culture change (Chapter 2) and as evidence of the impact of Europeanisation (Chapter 3).

6 PNPO - The National Spatial Planning Policy Programme

6.1 Introduction

The National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT) bears the hallmark of a critical event in the evolution path of planning as a public policy in Portugal. We claim that it embodies an institutional culture change influenced, to some degree, by the Europeanisation of planning. This chapter will substantiate this claim. Figure 6.1 summarises the rationale of Chapter 6. In the spirit of the culturised planning model (Section 2.2.2), we review the PNPOT policy-process and advance an interpretation of the dynamics and impacts of Europeanisation in the Portuguese planning environment. Contrastingly, we will not interpret the PNPOT against the backdrop of the Portuguese societal environment, as this falls out of the remit of this dissertation. This topic will nevertheless be briefly addressed in the thesis' epilogue (Chapter 8).

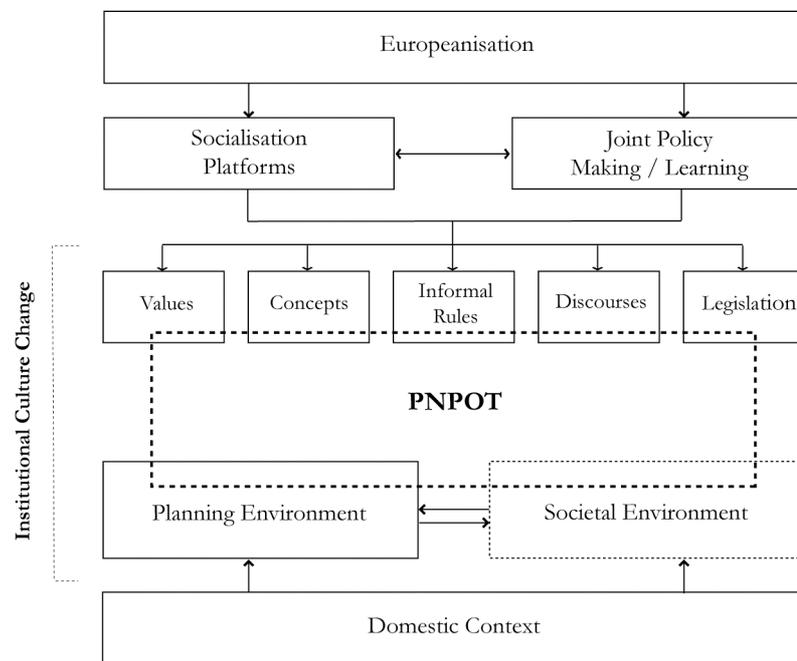


Figure 6.1 – The PNPOT as Institutional Culture Change

In overview, the outputs of the empirical data collection process of this thesis are three interpretative narratives: the first explored the influence of the process of Europeanisation in

the evolution of the Portuguese planning system and of planning as a public policy in Portugal (Section 5.2); the second reviewed the Portuguese participation in the construction of the dynamics of the Europeanisation of planning (Section 5.3). The present chapter encloses the third and final interpretative narrative (Section 6.2).

In other words, we have so far depicted the predominant planning culture in Portugal, and the influence of Europeanisation in the development of the Portuguese planning environment (first narrative). We have also described the Portuguese role in the process of Europeanisation of planning (second narrative). In the present chapter (third narrative), we examine the PNPOP, its policy background, legislative framework and policy-making process, as a material example of institutional culture change in planning in Portugal. This implies a query into the drivers, mechanisms and contextual enablers and obstacles that were instrumental in its production. Finally, we review our findings under the light of the thesis' theoretical discussion: we critically discuss the PNPOP as a reflection of the Europeanisation of planning (Section 6.3) and as the materialisation of planning culture change (Section 6.4).

6.2 The PNPOP as Institutional Culture Change

Each of the first two interpretative narratives in this thesis was developed around the chronology of events it depicted. The present narrative follows a slightly different structure. It does build on a chronological sequence of two separate periods in the PNPOP policy process: (a) the sequence of events that led to the government's official decision to produce the PNPOP (Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2), and (b) the making *per se* of the PNPOP as a planning artefact (Sections 6.2.3 to 6.2.6).

On top of this chronology-based structure, we have drawn from the previous theoretical discussion (Chapter 2) an additional layer of systematisation. The concept of planning culture highlights (i) a context-dependent nature and (ii) a focus on the issue of values and beliefs, either held individually or collectively (Section 2.2.1). Thus the first two sections of this narrative draw attention to the influence of context, *i.e.* the impact that the Europeanisation of planning has had in the 'genealogy' of the PNPOP. In detail, we emphasise the impact of chronological coincidences and discursive integration. The sections to follow narrow down the narrative's focus on the making of the PNPOP *per se*. We review the interaction of key actors, governance solutions and institutional innovation. However, these are not mutually exclusive analyses. What we do is to simply emphasise what the predominant type of evidence of planning culture change is in each of these two stages of the making of the PNPOP.

6.2.1. Policy Predecessors

In Portugal, the idea of a national-level planning instrument precedes the PNPO by more than thirty years (Chapter 5). In fact, as early as 1974, still during the dictatorial period, in the context of the IV Economic Development Plan, “a national-level planning policy, although of unknown scope in terms of contents and exact legal framework, was being considered” (Cravinho, 2008: interview)³⁶. However, the 1974 change of regime halted this process and a national-level planning instrument was out of the political agenda for the twenty years to follow.

In 1995, near the end of its term in office, the XII Constitutional Government (PSD) attempted to overhaul the existing planning system with a Planning Act (LBOT). This policy initiative was, although indirectly, strongly influenced by the European Union. Gonçalves (2006: interview) reports that:

The generalised idea amidst senior public officials was that a significant drive behind the idea of the LBOT was to demonstrate to those in Brussels that the [Portuguese] government had a strong control over its territory and that no obstacles would emerge to hinder the proper use of structural funds.

This quotation illustrates the prevailing nature of the relationship between Portugal and the EU during this period: one of compliance. In other words a series of adaptive policy measures were set in place at the domestic level in order to acquiesce to EU requirements, even if these were not of a mandatory nature. It was in this spirit of compliance and reassurance to the EU that the predecessor of the PNPO emerged: the National Planning Plan (PNOT), later to evolve into the National Planning Scheme (ENOT) (Gonçalves, 2007: 95).

The development process of the ENOT had nevertheless a series of pitfalls. As Gonçalves illustrates (2006: interview):

[Although] the idea of a national-level planning instrument gathered significant consensus among technical advisers, senior public officials, and political decision-makers (...), the concept of what the ENOT should be proved to be a dividing factor between those that advocated a strategic policy document and those who wished a national-scale regulatory instrument.

And he adds:

But as far as government was concerned, there were two ideas on the table: show control to Brussels on the one hand, and show control to all local authorities that were falling behind in sorting out their municipal development plans on the other. The strong word was control.

³⁶ Note on translation: In the translation of all quotations drawn from the interviews and all direct quotes from the selected legislation we have valued content over form. In other words, the chosen guiding principle was to translate as literally as possible, even if it meant a sub-par use of English.

Furthermore, as Ferrão³⁷ highlights, the ENOT was “a *bluff* of a parting government”: A *bluff* because the ENOT (i) did not undertake the proper preparatory work, (ii) it was obviously being rushed to parliamentary discussion to make the most of the majority the Social Democrats held, and (iii) it did not even gather consensus amidst the Social Democrat members of parliament. And, in Ferrão’s(*) words: “as a bluff it flopped”. In fact, the Social Democratic government, despite its majority in parliament, decided in the end against the submission of the ENOT to parliamentary approval.

When questioned about what were the key lessons from the ENOT failure, Gonçalves highlights the over centralised approach to the policy design. As this interviewee details:

Hardly anyone was brought in to discuss the policy before its draft legislative framework was presented. There was no involvement of the local authorities, there was no sort of public debate, [and] even some of the Social Democrat that belonged to the parliament’s Commission [on Planning and Regional Development Affairs] were not up-to-speed with what the government was planning to do. (Gonçalves, 2006: interview)

In retrospect, we cannot argue that there is a link between the Europeanisation of planning and this attempt at a national-level planning policy in Portugal. There is an unquestionable European influence, but one that has nothing in common with the European spatial development agenda being discussed throughout the 1990s. Another critical insight is the lack of consensus on what the nature of a national planning policy should be: a regulatory framework or a strategic document.

There were nevertheless lessons drawn from the ENOT process that would, in my opinion, later influence the development of the PNPOT. The two quoted actors (Gonçalves and Ferrão) emphasised in their critical assessment of the ENOT process the lack of both a broad group of contributions from different actors and a widespread public and technical discussion prior to its parliamentary debate. In this sense, it is fair to assume that the failure of the ENOT helped shape the understanding these actors had of how such a policy should be developed. This is particularly relevant since these two interviewees would later be instrumental to the PNPOT process.

³⁷ Although a formal interview was never conducted, this actor had a close interaction with the research process throughout the full length of this investigation (See Section 4.5.3 The Data Collection Process, *Access to Power*). All direct quotations refer to notes taken during the multiple face-to-face discussions or e-mail exchanges. From this point onwards, all use of these quotations will be identified as Ferrão(*).

6.2.2 Legal Framework

Law 48/98: Planning and Urbanism Policy Act

In October 1995, the XIII Constitutional Government (PS) came into office. Later that year an unexpected series of events paved the way for what was to become a turning point in the evolution of planning as an autonomous public policy in Portugal.

At the start of the legislative term, the XIII Constitutional Government had among its multiple ministries a Ministry for Social Equipment (public works), and a Ministry for Planning and Territorial Administration. By the end of 1995, the then Minister for Social Equipment, Henrique Constantino passed away unexpectedly due to sudden illness. His replacement, Francisco Murteira Nabo, sat in office for less than 24 hours, resigning after his property tax evasion was exposed in the media.

This unexpected turn of events and the need to find “a fast solution that would minimise the damage done to the government and leave little room to criticism by the opposition” (Gonçalves, 2007: interview) forced the then Prime-Minister António Guterres to turn to João Cravinho – Minister for Planning and Territorial Administration – and suggest that he should oversee both ministries. In the words of Cravinho (2008: interview), “Guterres was adamant on sorting the problem with the maximum possible speed and my political weight within the PS and my previous governmental experience offered him a safe, maybe not ideal, but safe solution”. Regardless if António Guterres’ intention was to quiet the parliamentary opposition and eventual dissident voices within his party, the key fact to highlight in this situation is that it created a window of opportunity for planning to evolve as a public policy in Portugal. By hosting public works and planning under the same institutional umbrella, the new ministry’s political weight amidst its governmental peers was extremely significant. This scenario was a first in the Portuguese political environment and João Cravinho was adamant to make full use of this window of opportunity. And, on the top of his priorities was:

(...) to make a piece of legislation that would organise the existing planning instruments, sharpen [their] purpose (...), provide planning policy with a clear set of objectives, (...) clarify the role of the State in terms of the use of the national territory. To put it bluntly, Cravinho wanted to get the [planning] system working and ‘restore order in the house’. (Gonçalves, 2006: interview)

Cravinho’s idea was to evolve into the first Portuguese Planning and Urbanism Policy Act (LBPOTU - Law 48/98). In 1997, as the first draft of the ESDP was being released, in Portugal the development of the future Act was in full tilt. At face value, this chronological overlap is not by itself proof that the two policy processes were in any way connected. However, in accord with the research hypothesis central to this dissertation this was a possibility to be

explored. With this in mind, the contents of the final version of the LB POTU (Law 48/98) published in August 1998 proved to be a paradox. More precisely, there was a certain contradiction in terms when allusion to the wider European context was made. In fact, right from the start, we stumble upon an explicit reference to Europe. In its first article (scope):

*The Planning and Urbanism Policy Act defines and integrates the actions promoted by the public administration, to secure an adequate organisation and use of the national territory, namely within **the European space**, in view to an integrated, harmonious and sustainable socio-economic and cultural development of country, regions and urban agglomerates. (Law 48/99, nr. 1)*

However, there is no other reference to the European spatial development agenda in the remaining of the document. So if, on the one hand, in a key point in the legislative piece – the determination of its scope – we have a clear link to the European context, on the other hand, there is no suggestion on how that link could materialise and what planning instruments should be used to do so. When asked to comment on this fact, Cravinho (2007: interview) admitted that in hindsight the identified reference read “somewhat disconnected” of the remaining contents of the LB POTU (Law 48/98). But he also stated that:

We had this idea, I mean, we were mainly focused on the necessity, which we anticipated to become stronger in the future, to articulate our planning framework with the Spanish [planning] framework. We had the high-speed train problem in common³⁸, we had a series of water management disputes over the years³⁹ (...), to be fair there was in the back of our minds the notion of wider European spatial concerns, but since we were at this stage trying to restructure our own planning system, those [concerns] were not a top priority, (...) this is not to say that their relevance was not acknowledged and accepted. (Cravinho, 2007: interview)

It is nevertheless probable that the acknowledgement and acceptance Cravinho refers to has had some influence, even if indirectly, in the making of the LB POTU. For example, the inclusion of the principle of *subsidiarity* (Law 48/98, nr. 5) had no previous inscription into any planning policy in Portugal, nor was it of common use within the national planning community. But examples such as this are too scarce to substantiate the existence of a direct impact of the Europeanisation of planning on the LB POTU. Fernando Gonçalves, a member of the work group that elaborated the LB POTU, has his own take on the single direct reference made to the

³⁸ The Trans-European Transport Networks (TEN-T) include a high-speed train network that links the Iberian Peninsula to the remaining European rail network. However, disputes concerning timing, cost, and in particular the border-crossing and future stations’ locations have hindered the implementation of the project.

³⁹ The three main Portuguese rivers originate in Spain and they host a series of multi-use dams throughout their course. These have been a source of conflict due to unmatched expectations of both governments in terms of water flux control.

wider European context. In his opinion, the complexity and purpose of the LB POTU was a probable justification for this fact.

You cannot have a black and white reading of this process. You have to understand how encompassing [the LB POTU] had to be: we are talking about articulating existing planning instruments, introducing new ones (like the PN POT), redefining their nature, including an enhanced participatory framework into all [planning] levels, creating a monitoring and assessment system of planning policy, defining public and private responsibilities under the new planning system, determining the scope of action of each planning level, outlining territorial action programmes, systems of political accountability, etc., (...) and all this would mean a huge redesign of the existing legal framework in order to put all this system in practice. (Gonçalves, 2006: interview)

In retrospect, the LB POTU constituted a major overhaul of the Portuguese planning environment at that time. Its key objectives were: (i) the definition of the planning and urbanism policy framework, and the designation of the territorial management instruments to implement it; (ii) the regulation, in the context of planning and urbanism, of the relationship between the different levels of the public administration, and between these and the population and the representatives of the different social and economic interests (Law 48/98, nr. 2).

There were several innovations that characterised the LB POTU: among these two are particularly relevant to this dissertation. First, the new generation of planning artefacts would be organised in four main categories: (i) territorial development instruments – of a strategic nature; (ii) territorial planning instruments – of a regulatory nature; (iii) sectoral policy instruments – to manage the implementation and territorial impact of sectoral policies; and (iv) special nature instruments – to serve as a supplement to other instruments in the pursuit of objectives of national interest and to work as a safeguard of the fundamental principles of the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PN POT) (Law 48/98, nr. 8).

The second was the introduction of the PN POT itself. Unlike any other legal framework previously developed in Portugal, the LB POTU introduced a national level in the territorial management system, where “a set of guidelines to steer both regional and municipal level planning instruments” would be introduced; “different sectoral policies with spatial impacts” attuned; and “when necessary, special nature instruments” created (Law 48/98, nr. 7). In sum, the LB POTU entailed a new instrument of territorial development at the national level, the PN POT:

The National Spatial Planning Policy Programme principles and fundamental guidelines outline a spatial organisation model that should take on board the urban system, networks, infrastructures, and equipments of national interest, as well as national interest areas in agricultural, environmental and heritage terms. (Law 48/98, nr. 9)

The creation of national level planning policies has been outlined in the literature as a visible effect of the Europeanisation of planning (Chapter 3). However, and despite the importance of the PNPOT within the evolution of the Portuguese planning environment, its creation is not, by itself, evidence of a European influence. On this topic, Cravinho – who Gonçalves (2006: interview) identifies as “the author of the PNPOT” – has very clear views:

Sure the ESDP process had brought to the table [the notion of] a network of competitive territories within the European Union space. And at the same time, it was intuitive to believe that national level policies could become instruments of spatial coordination. At this stage [1997/1998, while the LBOTU was being developed] we were not sure how the ESDP would turn out. So, if you ask me if the PNPOT was a pre-emptive move (...) in anticipation of how the ‘European scenario’ could evolve, I would say that (...) the idea of a national planning policy was fuelled by the idea of securing national sovereignty, (...) the fundamental purpose of the PNPOT was to structure our system. Of course, you can argue that it was influenced by the European context, to some measure it was, but above all it was a matter of national sovereignty. (Cravinho, 2007: interview)

Cravinho’s views help clarify the extent to which the Europeanisation of planning has in fact influenced not the PNPOT itself as a planning instrument, but the concept of the PNPOT within the Portuguese planning environment. Interestingly, the 1990s widespread theory that the European Union would provoke the hollowing out of the national State does not seem to fit in this case. In retrospect, the process of Europeanisation of planning did provide a window of opportunity for the emancipation of planning as a public policy in Portugal (Chapter 5) but, as far as the PNPOT is concerned, Cravinho clarifies that the ethos underpinning such process was above all “a matter of national sovereignty”, in other words, it was a voluntary exercise of sovereignty of a State over its territory.

To all effect, the LBOTU hints a European influence, but as far as concrete evidence are concerned, it fails to deliver. If we are looking for more explicit links, if these exist, then we have to examine the legislation that depicts in detail the scope of each of the territorial management instruments that the LBOTU encompasses, in particular the PNPOT.

Decree-Law 380/99 on the Instruments of Territorial Management

One year after the LBOTU was approved, the anticipated additional legislative framework (Law 48/98, nr. 35) followed suit. The mission of the Decree-Law 380/99 was to complement the LBOTU with particular emphasis on: (i) the definition of the coordination regime of the national, regional and municipal territorial management levels; (ii) the outline of the land use regime; and (iii) the definition of the procedures for the elaboration, approval and

evaluation of the territorial management instruments. Procedure wise, the Decree-Law 380/99 introduced a public participatory dimension (Articles nr. 5 and 6) in the multiple levels of the system and outlined the mandatory procedural matrix for all planning instruments (*i.e.* concept definition, objectives setting, material and documental content elaboration, monitoring, policy harmonisation, public discussion and participation and approval).

Decree-Law 380/99 contribute to this research is twofold: (A) First, it clarifies the degree of influence the PNPOT would have on the remaining of the territorial management system; (B) Second, it adds more explicit evidence of the impact of the Europeanisation of planning.

(A) Earlier in this dissertation (Sections 1.4 and 4.5.1) we have justified the added value of the PNPOT as a case study to test a hypothetical culture change in planning in Portugal. We argued that the hierarchical position of the PNPOT within the Portuguese planning system made it the perfect test tube. We claimed that if there was in fact an institutional innovation within the PNPOT process and policy design then the latter would cascade down to the lower tiers of the planning system. The Decree-Law 380/99 substantiates this claim (Figure 6.2).

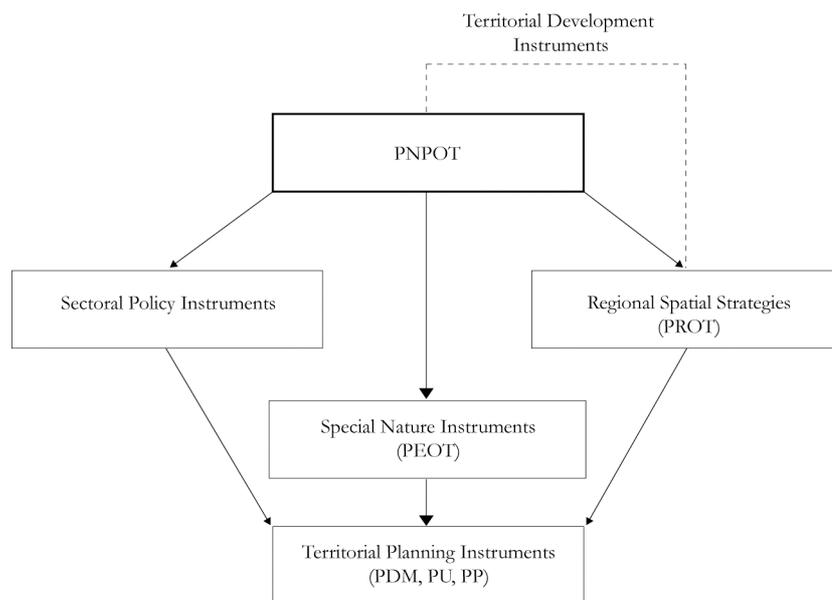


Figure 6.2 – The Relationship between Territorial Management Instruments (DL 380/99, nr. 23/24)

In detail, the Decree-Law 380/99 states the mandatory compatibility between all territorial management instruments. On top of this it states that the PNPOT: (i) “sets the guiding principles and rules that assist the development of new special nature instruments”; (ii) “stipulates the conditions to be met by sectoral policy instruments”; and in addition (iii) “regional spatial strategies must integrate the spatial options defined in the PNPOT and the pre-existing sectoral policy instruments” (DL 380/99, nr. 23); and (iv) “the PNPOT and the regional

spatial strategies define the strategic framework of all territorial planning instruments” (DL 380/99, nr. 24).

(B) As referred, the discursive evidence of the impact of the Europeanisation of planning is, in comparison with the LB POTU, more explicit. Article nr. 26 of the Decree-Law 380/99, which outlines the concept of the PN POT, states that:

The National Spatial Planning Policy Programme defines the major options for the organisation of the national territory, outlines the reference framework for all instruments of territorial management and constitutes an instrument of cooperation with fellow member-states in view of the organisation of the territory of the European Union.

And as far as the reasons behind this fact, Article nr. 27 provides additional clarification as it outlines the objectives to be met by the PN POT, the first of which is:

(...) to define the unitary framework for the integrated, harmonious and sustainable territorial development of Portugal, taking into account the identity of its different constituent units, and its positioning in the European Union's space.

At this stage of the development of the PN POT, although we can find explicit evidence of the impact of Europeanisation of planning in its legal framework, these are nevertheless scarce. Consequently, we should draw our focus elsewhere.

During the process of elaboration of the Decree-Law 380/99, João Cravinho, Minister for the Equipment, Planning and Territorial Administration (MEPAT), was keen to promote a broad discussion on what the PN POT should be, and how its inclusion in the recently restructured planning system (LB POTU - Law 48/98) would work out. Consequently, in April 1999, an international two-day seminar was organised by MEPAT in Oporto under the title “Territory for the 21st century – Planning, Competitiveness and Cohesion”.

The objective of this seminar was threefold: first, to discuss the concept of the PN POT; second, to analyse experiences in wide scale planning policies in other European countries; and third, to understand how the PN POT would coexist with sectoral policies and the different Portuguese regions’ development expectations (MEPAT, 1999b). The selection of national speakers and discussants aggregated a relevant sample of the elite of the Portuguese planning community. The choice of international speakers mirrored the traditional major influences in Portuguese planning from the 1990s onwards – Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom – and of particular significance was the attendance of a politically relevant representative of the Spanish government, its Junior Minister of the Environment.

Although not a legal document, the proceedings of this seminar provide a relevant illustration of the key issues under debate concerning the inclusion of the PN POT in the future Decree-Law 380/99. Moreover, they supply unquestionable evidence of the influence of the

Europeanisation of planning in the making of the PNPOT. Right from the outset, in the opening session, José Augusto de Carvalho, then Junior Minister of the Local Administration and Planning, addresses the PNPOT as an:

(...) essentially strategic instrument to guide territorially based interventions, its general objectives in tune with the European Spatial Development Perspective, the ESDP: social and economic cohesion, sustainable development, and balanced competitiveness. (MEPAT, 1999b: 1)

This view is shared by Rui Azevedo (CPMR) that in direct reference to the ESDP highlights the need for the PNPOT to “bet in a polycentric development model as a necessary condition for the regulation and maximisation of the desired effects of the new economic growth model⁴⁰” (MEPAT, 1999b: 57). Furthermore, Azevedo emphasises the need to anticipate the conflict between the *competitiveness* and the *cohesion* principles subjacent to the objectives of the PNPOT. Similar emphasis was used by the Spanish government representative, Claro Fernández Carnicero, when reflecting on the relationship between Portugal and Spain, namely with concern to the “general interest infrastructure [TEN-T], the management of the public water domain, in particular the rivers that are inter-communitary, and also the overarching environmental directives” (MEPAT, 1999b: 66).

Luís Braga da Cruz, President of the CCR Norte, had a different take on the connection between the PNPOT and the ESDP. His point was that the PNPOT had “to secure equal opportunity of access to infrastructure and knowledge to any citizen on national territory, and a prudent management of the natural and cultural heritage as stipulated in the ESDP” (MEPAT, 1999b: 120). His reasoning goes on to emphasise the need of change at the institutional level in order for the PNPOT to achieve its goals. In particular, Braga da Cruz underlines the necessity to rethink the role of the State in view to “better organise the framework in which the different territorial actors interact” (*Idem*). This would imply, according to Braga da Cruz, a greater “power of influence over existing [actors’] behaviours (...), an effective power of coordination [of territorial actors] (...), and a power to disseminate information to [them] and serve as the middle man in the necessary strategic harmonisation processes” (*Id. Ibid.*: 121).

The representatives of the Centro, Algarve and Lisbon and the Tagus Valley regions had similar spatial positioning approaches to their regions’ relationship with the EU territory. The exception to outline is the Alentejo. The Regional Coordination Commission representative was adamant on the fact that “the development of Alentejo cannot be dissociated of the European reality, especially with concern to a desired territorial organisation that secures cohesion and minimises regional asymmetries within the European space” (MEPAT, 1999b: 178). In addition,

⁴⁰ The economic growth model Azevedo refers to is the one enclosed in the National Plan for Socio-Economic Development (PNDES). The PNDES was used as a negotiation platform with the European Commission in view of the structural funds framework for the 2000-2006 period.

the Alentejo was the only region that made a clear reference to the transnational spaces in inter-regional cooperation present in the process of the Europeanisation of Planning. In accord, Carvalho, the Junior Minister of the Local Administration and Planning, stressed that:

The added value of the Portuguese territory depends on its geo-economic insertion in wider spaces (...), the Iberian and European dimensions have to be taken on (...), we must harmonise the PNPOT with the PNDES and the ESDP. (MEPAT, 1999b: 220)

Carvalho goes on to highlight that:

*(...) as a pillar of the LBOPTU [Law 48/98] the PNPOT must support the marriage between planning and development, a coherent, sustainable marriage (...) this depends on all of us, and on the **culture** we can nurture in some decision-making arenas and in our citizens in general. (MEPAT, 1999b: 219)*

João Ferrão, the seminar's rapporteur, systematised the main issues addressed and left some words of warning about the perils the PNPOT would surely come across. Because Ferrão would later on become the Junior Minister for Spatial Planning and Cities (2005-2009) directly responsible to see the PNPOT process through and submit it to parliamentary approval, it is important to review in detail his take on the two-day discussion.

Ferrão structured his overview under three main headings: *what* the nature of PNPOT should be, *who* should elaborate it, and *how* it should be done. As far as *what* it should be, Ferrão began by highlighting the existence of different outlooks on territory as the object of planning policies. These differences that according to Ferrão “fuel misunderstandings (...) among those who (apparently?) discuss the same issue” emphasise four main ideas of what territory is: (i) a resource; (ii) a problem; (iii) an opportunity; and (iv) a framework for intervention (MEPAT, 1999b: 209). When perceived as a *resource* the concept of territory perpetuates the traditional environmental and urban planning approaches that stress land use regulation (See Figure 5.1). When understood as a *problem* it reflects the need to tackle socially unacceptable territorial disparities. These two takes to territorial interventions share “a common defensive and reactive nature, defined by the need to stop, minimise or solve existing or predictable problems” (MEPAT, 1999b: 209). Contrastingly, there is also a proactive role for territory to play in the definition of wider national development strategies, in other words, territory is also a source of *opportunities*. The fourth and final idea conveyed during the seminar was that territory was also a *framework for intervention*:

As Ferrão states,

more than to harmonise and articulate planning instruments this implies the discussion of what territorial governance solutions we seek. (...) [These refer to] inter-ministerial relationships, multi-level governance solutions, decentralisation, subsidiarity, the relationship between State and the civil society, and a revision of the role of institutions: the challenge is to find a governance

solution that adds value to the planning process and breaks away from the deeply entrenched sectoral and national logics. (Ib. Ibid.: 211)

These four perspectives reflect the multiple cultures that coexist and complement each other within a planning culture (See Section 2.2.1, *Values*).

Having reviewed *what* the nature of the PNPO should be, Ferrão went on to reflect on *who* should develop the national policy programme. His reasoning was structured around the question of what entities should be directly involved in the making of the programme and who should lead it. As far as who should be mandatorily involved, Ferrão was adamant that:

It is naïf at best to believe that the PNPO may be materialised if from the start it does not spring from a shared vision between the ministries that have a greater influence on the agents and processes, which contribute directly to the permanent construction, destruction and reconstruction of territories (...): Equipment, Planning and Territorial Administration; Environment; Agriculture, Rural Development and Fisheries; and Economy. (MEPAT, 1999b: 211)

Ferrão went on to reflect on *how* the PNPO would be achieved by outlining a series of potential obstacles to the process (*Id. Ibid.*: 212): first, the need to take into account that the PNPO would “challenge entrenched institutional behaviours” therefore an excessively fast implementation process could backfire and “render the programme unachievable”; second, the prevailing institutional and professional split between environmental issues, spatial planning and regional development as source of “difficulties to the achievement of an integrated vision and an articulated policy intervention”; third, the PNPO must take into account that there is an uneven degree of professional experience throughout the Portuguese territory. If the contents of the policy programme are too ambitious in terms of the necessary expertise for their implementation the PNPO may create an additional layer of problems to the planning system it is expected to organise. In other words,

[in face of] an absence of a consolidated culture of planning of both citizens, public administration and economic agents to move to fast or to ignore what has already been done (practices and instruments) may prove to be to strong a blow to a policy programme that is intended to be as ambitious as feasible. (MEPAT, 1999b: 212)

One other key message that Ferrão introduced was that to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of the PNPO it would be necessary to develop a participative process in the definition of its very basic ‘terms of reference’ (*Id. Ibid.*: 211). However, no other public debate took place in the years to follow.

Later in September 1999 the Decree-Law 380/99 obtained parliamentary approval and consequently the PNPO was one step further into its development process. Soon after, in October 1999, the XIII Constitutional Government’ term in office reached its end and João

Cravinho, Minister for the Equipment, Planning and Territorial Administration, and so far the most significant actor in establishing the roots of the PNPOT, left office.

The newly elected XIV Constitutional Government (PS), again under the leadership of António Guterres, returned to a more traditional institutional architecture and consequently the political economy surrounding planning was once more redefined: the Equipment (*i.e.* public works such as hospitals, schools, etc.) became once more an independent Ministry; Territorial Administration was included in a new Ministry for the State Reform and Public Administration; and a new Ministry of the Environment and Planning emerged.

With Cravinho out of the picture and with no proper political drive to move the PNPOT forward, a two-year long hiatus followed. In 2001, the national census, held every ten years, was carried out. Ferrão(*), Festas (2008: interview) and Cordovil (2007: interview) agree on the fact that the certainty of updated statistical information detailing a wide array of areas from demographics, employment, housing, patterns of urban sprawl, etc., was instrumental in rehashing the PNPOT's policy-process. In addition, many PDMs and PROT's were reaching the end of their ten-year validity period. It would be extremely important that their revision process soon to follow would take into account the strategic guidelines outlined in the PNPOT (See Figures 5.2 and 6.2).

However, once again, it was a series of unexpected crucial events that ended up setting the tempo in this process. In December 2001, António Guterres, following the Socialist Party's landslide in the local elections, handed in his resignation from the office of Prime-Minister. In accord to the Portuguese Constitution, new elections were scheduled for March 2002 and in the meantime, Guterres would be acting Prime-Minister in what is referred to as a transition government. It is in this context that in February 2002, a few weeks before leaving office that Guterres signed the Resolution of the Council of Ministers nr. 76/2002 determining the production of the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT).

RCM 76/2002 on the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme

The first relevant fact about RCM 76/2002 is what happened immediately before its approval. As mentioned before it was under a government of transition that the RCM was issued. Arguably this was far from ethical because the PNPOT a series of political choices concerning the strategic development perspective for Portugal, which would have to be implemented by whoever won the upcoming elections. But the then Minister of the Environment and Planning, José Sócrates (future Prime-Minister in the XVII and XVIII Constitutional Governments) was "someone keen to gain as much political clout as possible and being associated with the advance of the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme fitted his political ambition perfectly" (Gonçalves, 2009: interview). However, to this research, the key

fact is not who pushed forward the approval of RCM 76/2002, but who contributed the most to its formulation.

João Ferrão, a geographer and senior researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon, had at that time already accumulated substantial experience in regional and national level development policies. He was also fully aware of the dynamics of the Europeanisation of Planning. In fact, he was one of the few Portuguese authors who had published on the topic of the European spatial development agenda and in particular on the impact of transnational spatial strategies at the domestic level. These publications illustrated a pro-European spatial planning stance (e.g. Ferrão, 2002). In respect to his contribution to the RCM 76/2002, although Ferrão declined to clarify whom the invitation came from, he admitted having submitted a draft that became, to his own surprise, the cornerstone of the contents of RCM 76/2002, indubitably as a result of the last minute legislative frenzy of the departing government:

(...) upon submission I referred that what I submitted was in draft form. It was confusing to see how they moved on from the submitted draft hardly changing anything and created the different constituent points of the RCM, some of which out of listings I had introduced as examples to illustrate this or that point. João Ferrão()*

RCM 76/2002 determined the production of the PNPOU. Furthermore it delegated on the Directorate-General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development (DGOTDU) the task to produce the policy programme. In addition it detailed the guidelines concerning both contents and procedures that were to steer the development of the PNPOU. The RCM 76/2002 is the perfect ground to test whether there was a reinforcement of the Europeanisation of planning via discursive integration identified in the LBPOU (Law 48/98) and Decree-Law 380/99.

From the outset, the RCM states that the PNPOU must take into account the “international and European Community commitments held by Portugal, in particular the European Spatial Development Perspective” (RCM 76/2002: 3533⁴¹). In its preamble the Resolution outlines the main strategic options to be included in the PNPOU, namely to “secure adequate integration [of Portugal] in wider spaces, specifically the Iberian [space] and the European Union” (*Idem*). Further on, point nr. 9 outlines that the PNPOU must take on board the strategic objective to:

(...) structure the national territory in accord to the socio-economic sustainable development strategy [PNDES], promote a greater social and territorial cohesion, and provide for the adequate

⁴¹ Unlike Laws and Decree-Laws, not all RCMs have an article-based structure. Therefore references to the RCM 76/2002 include the page in the Official Journal of the Portuguese Republic where it has been published.

integration [of Portugal] in wider territories taking into account cross-border, Iberian, European and trans-Atlantic dimensions (RCM 76/2002: 3534).

In sync, point nr. 10 of the Resolution states that the configuration of the Portuguese territory, as far as a national planning policy is concerned, must adopt two guidelines:

- (i) “a supra-national vision that respects the balanced and sustainable development principles agreed to the European Union’s space and that envisages a more competitive international spatial positioning for Portugal and its regions”;
- (ii) “a polycentric growth model based on a strict coordination between the urban system, transport structural networks, energy, information, communication, etc.” (RCM 76/2002: 3535).

This second guideline illustrates that the evidence of discursive integration is not limited to spatial positioning references but that the core principles of the ESDP also found their way into the Resolution. Further examples include the need for: “an urban-rural relationship strategy”; “a rational and coherent territorial distribution of the main infrastructures in order to secure territorial cohesion”; “the safeguard of both cultural and natural heritage”; and “the provision of both vertical and horizontal coherence between administrative levels and sectoral policies (...) in tune with the principles of subsidiarity and reciprocity” (RCM 76/2002: 3534-3536).

In retrospect, this thesis builds on the hypothesis that *institutional culture change in planning in Portugal is happening as a result of a process of Europeanisation*. As detailed in Section 1.2, this hypothesis can be broken down into a series of questions that can be organised under two main lines of research. One line of inquiry seeks to characterise (A) the impact of the Europeanisation of planning in Portugal, while the other seeks to illustrate (B) the dynamics of culture change in planning in Portugal. The evidence presented so far in Section 6.2.2 helps characterise the impact of the Europeanisation of planning in Portugal. However RCM 76/2002 holds additional information that allows us to inform the dynamics of culture change in planning in Portugal, in particular in its institutional dimension.

In particular, RCM 76/2002 introduces two permanent consulting bodies that would closely follow the PNPOT as it developed, acting as both source of information and monitoring entity. These two bodies grouped a series of public administration entities under the name of Focal Points Group (SPF) and a series of civil society entities under the name of Consultative Commission (CC). This was an innovation in terms of procedural guidelines in planning policy-making in Portugal. How this innovation materialised will be addressed in the following sections.

6.2.3 The Making of the Draft PNPOT

In retrospect, five and a half years passed from the moment RCM 76/2002 ordered the making of the PNPOT (April 2002) until its parliamentary approval (September 2007). Table 6.1 introduces the key moments in this process (further details available in Appendix A). The present and follow-up sections place particular emphasis on: (i) the making of the draft PNPOT (first technical proposal); (ii) the policy harmonisation process; (iii) the public discussion process; and (iv) the political debate and parliamentary approval. In addition, we will in accord with the thesis' research objectives centre our attention on the impact of particular actors in this process and the dynamics of institutional interplay throughout the policy-making process.

	April 2002	RCM 76/2002 ordered the making of the PNPOT
<i>The Making of the Draft PNPOT</i>	February 2003	Setup of the PNPOT work group (GPNPOT)
	November 2004	First draft of the PNPOT submitted to the DGOTDU
	February 2005	Second draft of the PNPOT submitted to the DGOTDU
	July 2005	Third draft of the PNPOT submitted to the DGOTDU
	October 2005	Final technical proposal (fourth draft revised) of the PNPOT submitted to the SEOTC Dismissal of the GPNPOT
<i>Policy Harmonisation</i>	November 2005	Beginning of the policy harmonisation process by the SEOTC
	March 2006	Government approval of the version of the PNPOT to be submitted for public discussion and to the CC
<i>Public Discussion</i>	May 2006	Beginning of the public participation process
	October 2006	End of the public participation process
	December 2006	Government approval of the PNPOT Law-Project
<i>Political Debate and Approval</i>	February 2007	Beginning of the PNPOT Law-project parliamentary appraisal process
	July 2007	Parliamentary approval of the PNPOT
	September 2007	Law 58/2007 sanctions the PNPOT

Table 6.1 – Succinct Chronology of the Making of the PNPOT

Political Instability

In April 2002 the XV Constitutional Government (PSD) came into office. However it was only in early 2003 that the PNPOT was brought back into the political agenda. In January that year the then Minister of Cities, the Environment and Spatial Planning, Isaltino Morais, asked João Biancard da Cruz, at that point Director-General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development to draw up a list of five names to take charge of the development of the PNPOT. Out of this list, in which interestingly João Ferrão was included, the name of Jorge Gaspar was

picked. One of the interviewees, under the condition of anonymity, justifies this choice as “a matter of political affiliation. It was common knowledge that Professor Gaspar was close to the PSD and that must have been why he was picked”. This direct appointment by the Minister in charge attracted transversal criticism from a significant number of interviewees. The issue being that there was no public application process for the selection of both coordinator and team. We can infer that the Minister’s choice may have been based on a matter of political trust, but this episode played as a dark omen for the transparent and inclusive nature that the PNPOT process was expected to embody.

However, regardless of the flaws of the selection process, there is no doubt about the ability of Jorge Gaspar to coordinate the production the PNPOT. One of Portugal’s most renowned geographers, Gaspar was at that time Head of the Centre for Geographical Studies of the University of Lisbon. He had over thirty years experience in both local and regional planning, and a strong knowledge of the ESDP agenda, having been one of the national focal points in the Study Programme on the European Spatial Planning (SPESP) and a participant in several ESPON projects.

In February 2003, Gaspar was officially empowered as the coordinator of the GPNPOT, the work group of the PNPOT. According to what had been established in RCM 76/2002 (point 17: 3536), the PNPOT should take one year to draft. However in the end it took twice that much. The reasons behind this delay have mostly to do with a unique period of political instability that Portugal experienced until April 2005.

In short, after the resignation of António Guterres in late 2001 and a three month period under a transition government, José Durão Barroso became Prime-Minister in April 2002 (XV Constitutional Government - PSD/CDS). In July 2004 he handed in his resignation in view to become President of the European Commission, which he did later that year. In face of this unexpected event, Jorge Sampaio, then President of the Republic, opted for one of the constitutional solutions available and he appointed Pedro Santana Lopes as Prime-Minister (XVI Constitutional Government - PSD/CDS). However, a growing public and political resentment towards the appointed and not elected Prime-Minister led Sampaio, in November 2004, to dismiss the Parliamentary Assembly and call for anticipated general elections, scheduled to take place in March 2005. Therefore, after four months of a governmental transition, in April 2005, José Sócrates became Prime-Minister (XVII Constitutional Government - PS) and in the newly created Minister for the Environment, Regional Development and Spatial Planning, João Ferrão was appointed Junior Minister for Spatial Planning and Cities.

On top of this already extremely unique sequence of events, planning as a public policy had to endure an additional level of instability. In fact, during the period in office of Durão Barroso (April 2002 - July 2004) there were three Ministers of the Environment and Planning. In fact, the first appointed Minister, Isaltino Morais was forced to resign in April 2003 under suspicion of tax evasion, and his replacement, Amílcar Theias was fired in May 2004 by Barroso

when he attempted to decentralise public water management and create a series of regional companies. His replacement, Arlindo Cunha had been less than two months in office before Barroso's resignation in July. Interestingly, Arlindo Cunha had chosen Artur da Rosa Pires as his Junior Minister for Planning. Rosa Pires, one of the top Portuguese experts on European spatial planning, commented on the state of affairs of the PNPOT when he began his period in office:

the PNPOT was just one file in a stack of files. (...) to the best of my knowledge none of my predecessors [during the XV Constitutional Government] had taken any action beyond the necessary administrative procedures to initiate the [making of] process. (Rosa Pires, 2007: interview)

This was the political environment surrounding Jorge Gaspar, the coordinator of the work group of the PNPOT, throughout the production of its technical proposal (February 2003 to October 2005). The implication of this political instability was that there was little political guidance and support available during that period. According to several interviewees (*e.g.* Festas, 2006; Queirós, 2008) Gaspar is to be credited with both avoiding the process to come to a halt, and successfully managing the difficult mandatory consultation procedures as set by RCM 76/2002. As Francisco Nunes Correia, Minister for the Environment, Spatial Planning and Regional Development of the XVII Constitutional Government, summarised during the submission of the PNPOT to parliamentary approval:

This document [the PNPOT] it is not technical, it is political, and at the political level you [PSD] failed completely. Professor Jorge Gaspar's work group and the DGOTDU performed well, but the political steering of the whole process was a disaster and we [PS] picked up the pieces and gave the deserved political weight to a technical document that was undervalued and in danger of failing to materialise. (DAR, 2007a: 22)

The Setup of the PNPOT Work Group

In February 2003, Executive Decision nr. 3335/2003 of the Ministry for Cities, Planning and the Environment (MCOTA) officially created the PNPOT work group (GPNPOT) and outlined its mission.

Under the institutional umbrella of the Directorate-General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development (DGOTDU), the team led by Jorge Gaspar would include, according to the Executive Decision, a maximum of six people. This steering group, based at CEG⁴²,

⁴² CEG - Centre for Geographical Studies, University of Lisbon.

would work alongside an additional team, the SIG-PNPOT, responsible for the creation of a support geographic information system, thematic cartography and infography. In addition, and in accord to the guidelines set by MCOTA ED nr. 3335/2003, the work group was required to include specialists in the fields of transports, economics, planning law and nature preservation. In order to comply, Gaspar widened the PNPOT team to include experts from IST (transports), ISEG (economics), FDUC (planning law) and ICN (nature preservation)⁴³. In sum, the overall team included over thirty people, hailing from four universities, and one public administration body.

Alongside the GPNPOT and the SIG-PNPOT, two permanent consulting and monitoring bodies were set up. These grouped a series of public administration entities under the name of Focal Points Group (SPF)⁴⁴ and a series of 17 civil society entities under the name of Consultative Commission (CC)⁴⁵. The SPF was to provide all required collaboration to the development of the PNPOT, and the CC was expected to present proposals, or amendments to the work reports and draft versions produced by the GPNPOT throughout the process (RCM 76/2002: 3534).

At the time of its establishment, the GPNPOT and the DGOTDU agreed on the strategy to make the best of the SPF and CC collaboration. It was decided that after every progress report the GPNPOT should schedule plenary meetings with both bodies, and report

⁴³ IST - Higher Technical Institute, Technical University of Lisbon (Centre for Urban and Regional Systems); ISEG - High Institute for Economics and Management, Technical University of Lisbon (Centre for Regional and Urban Research); FDUC - Law School, University of Coimbra (Centre of Planning, Urbanism and Environment Law Studies); ICN - Nature Conservancy Institute.

⁴⁴The SPF included: the Regional Directorates of the Environment and Planning, the Regions Coordination Commissions, representatives from the autonomous regions (*i.e.* the Azores and Madeira), representatives from sectoral public administration bodies (*i.e.* industry, energy, tourism, commerce, agriculture, rural development, forestry, fishing, harbour administration, transports, telecommunication, housing, geological resources, nature conservation, archaeological and architectonic heritage, education, health, sport, security, civil protection and national defence), all officially designated to the SPF by an Executive Decision of the respective supervising Minister.

⁴⁵The CC included: the National Association of Portuguese Municipalities, the National Association of Boroughs, the Portuguese Industry Confederation, the Portuguese Commerce and Service Confederation, the Portuguese Entrepreneurial Association, the Portuguese Farmers Confederation, the National Agricultural Confederation, the Portuguese Tourism Confederation, the Portuguese Workers General Confederation, the Workers General Union, the Portuguese Public Works and Building Industry Federation, the Architects Guild, the Engineers Guild, the Portuguese Urbanists Association, the Landscape Architects Portuguese Association, the Geographers Portuguese Association, the Environmental Defence Associations Portuguese Confederation, the Professional Archaeologists Association.

back the outcome to DGOTDU. It was also agreed that the GPNPOT could ask for additional work meetings with some or all of the entities that were part of the SPF or the CC.

In sum, the role of the GPNPOT is defined by nine guidelines:

- (1) to determine the necessary studies to substantiate the draft PNPOT;
- (2) to engage the collection, analysis and treatment of information concerning all specific interests of the SPF;
- (3) to promote the collection and treatment of statistical indicators necessary for the elaboration of the PNPOT;
- (4) to secure the harmonisation between the draft PNPOT and all other territorial development instruments, sectoral policies, and special territorial plans;
- (5) to request the DGOTDU to organise meetings with all or some of the public entities in the SPF;
- (6) to request the DGOTDU to arrange meetings with the CC;
- (7) to carry out those meetings and produce the subsequent reports;
- (8) to request the DGOTDU additional studies by external entities, if necessary;
- (9) to present to the DGOTDU bi-monthly progress reports, the last of which should be the final technical proposal of the PNPOT (See Table 6.1).

In theory this setup would provide for a multi-disciplinary policy environment and with the inclusion of the SPF in particular it would facilitate sectoral policy coordination. In practice, things did not play out entirely as expected, as we will see in the following section.

Institutional Interaction

There were over fifty entities involved in the making of the PNPOT and more than twenty coordination meetings involving all institutional actors. The depth of the participation and the range of institutions involved are the most immediate evidence of the innovative nature of the PNPOT process within the Portuguese planning environment. The chosen approach has enhanced the coordination of different sectoral policies, and allowed for the planning process to be as participated and consensual as possible (Queirós, 2007: 576).

Most of this institutional interaction took place during the two main stages of the production of the technical proposal of the PNPOT: (i) the progress reports and (ii) the subsequent PNPOT drafts that evolved into the final technical proposal.

(i) In the period ranging from September 2003 to July 2004, the GPNPOT produced five progress reports (MAOTDR, 2006a: 2)⁴⁶. These can be organised in three groups: (a) the first three reports, which provided an introduction to the PNPOOT outlined the chosen work methodology, information sources and developed a diagnosis of the Portuguese territorial dynamics; (b) the fourth report, entitled “Portugal 2020/2030”, included a series of development scenarios for Portugal in tune with the objectives set by RCM 76/2002; (c) the final progress report outlined the methodology to develop the final technical proposal of the PNPOOT (Report and Action Programme).

(ii) From November 2004 to October 2005, the GPNPOT produced five drafts of the technical proposal of the PNPOOT (MAOTDR, 2006a: 6)⁴⁷. These fit one of three groups: (a) the first version presented the draft PNPOOT proper, structured in a Report (*i.e.* geo-strategic positioning; territorial performance and development trends; regional spaces, perspectives and options; and ‘Portugal 2020’, a spatial development vision) and an Action Programme (*i.e.* sectoral policy programme; regional policy programme; territorial governance and management); the second, third and fourth versions resulted out of the inclusion in the first draft of the multiple changes advised by the CC and SPF; finally, the fifth version was the final technical proposal of the PNPOOT submitted by the GPNPOT to the Junior Minister for Spatial Planning and Cities (SEOTC).

As established from the outset, after each progress report and draft version of the PNPOOT, there had to be a round of consultation meetings with the CC and SPF. Furthermore, the GPNPOT when it felt necessary could interact on an individual basis with one of these two groups of actors or with some specific actors within each group. The dynamics of institutional interaction were quite different during the two main stages of the production of the technical proposal of the PNPOOT.

(i) From September 2003 to July 2004

The plenary meetings, but in particular the many individual work meetings with some of the entities belonging to both the SPF and the CC, would be decisive for the development of the policy programme. The grounds for this statement lie in the fact that: “the plenary meetings were often argumentative, less clear and a stage for disputes that went on beyond the point under discussion” (Martinho, 2008: interview). In accord, Margarida Queirós, who was the person in the GPNPOT in charge of setting up all necessary meetings, states that:

(...) it was just difficult to engage any sort of a fruitful dialogue. Some actors [namely] those from the ‘strong’ policy sectors [i.e. energy, transport, economy] would just not concede any change to

⁴⁶ For further information on each progress report refer to the chronology in Appendix A.

⁴⁷ For further information on each draft refer to the chronology in Appendix A.

what their ministries' line of action was. I don't know if it was because that was the instructions they were given or because they had no authority to propose anything different, the fact is that some [individuals] were not open to commit. (...) plus you had the traditional mistrust between the different sectors. (Queirós, 2008: interview)

We can interpret the fact that actors often played institutional loyalty over the purpose at hand, creating substantial difficulty in the debate, was largely part of a planning culture yet underdeveloped as far as consensus construction and actor accountability are concerned. However, these were not the sole hindrances to the plenary meetings. Three additional obstacles can be identified: (a) the large number of entities involved (Baptista, 2006: interview); (b) the lack of clear political guidance (See *Political Instability* in the present Section); and (c) the fact that “many of the public officials present in these sessions did not have the authority to make any decisions” (Festas, 2009: interview). These last two points in particular are a good example of the deficit of legitimacy that some entities had throughout the PNPOT drafting process.

Unlike the plenary sessions, the individual meetings with the actors of either the SPF or the CC that had strong issues with the progress reports⁴⁸ were seen as fruitful contributions to the improvement of the policy programme. In sum, through a process of trial and error, and taking stock of a well-drafted framework for institutional interaction, an institutional culture change in planning began to materialise.

(ii) From November 2004 to October 2005

In November 2004, the GPNPOT submitted to the DGOTDU the first version of the technical proposal of the PNPOT. Simultaneously the Council of Ministers made one political decision that would prove a turning point in the dynamics of interaction between the two consulting and monitoring bodies (*i.e.* SPF and CC). RCM 162/2004⁴⁹ brought together the SPF and CC under the same institutional umbrella. The new setup would carry on with the name Consultative Commission but a Civil Society Section would be created within it to host the former CC entities. The implications of this decision would soon be felt. According to what had been established in Articles 32 and 33 of Decree-Law 380/99 (See Section 6.2.2) the CC would have to produce a mandatory advisory report on the submitted technical proposal of the PNPOT. Among the different entities in the CC, the divide could not be clearer: if there were

⁴⁸ In accord to Decree-Law 380/99, nr. 32, in the case of a discord the DGOTDU had to attempt an agreement with the dissenting entities.

⁴⁹ RCM 162/2004, 11th November 2004.

several critiques⁵⁰ hailing from the Civil Society Section on the one hand, there was unanimous approval of the proposal among the remaining entities (former SPF). João Teixeira, the representative of the Engineers Guild in the Civil Society Section of the Consultative Commission, offered his hindsight on why this divide occurred:

The way I see it, this was a two-step manoeuvre [the government] made in order to finish the PNPOT as a problem-free process: first, we know they control the SPF, who are higher in numbers than we [Civil Society Section] are (...) By joining us all together I think they just tried to muzzle us. And if you think about it, according to the rules [set by the 380/99] only the Consultative Commission would get to issue [advisory] reports on the [technical] proposals [of the PNPOT], (...) if they join the SPF and the CC what they achieve is basically to have the members of the SPF to have a voice in a process they should not be part of, according to the rules that is. (Teixeira, 2008: interview)

On the topic of the (re-)creation of the CC, a member of the SPF commented, on the condition of anonymity:

I do not know why [the fusion of the SPF and the CC happened], but at the time of that advisory report [on the first technical proposal of the PNPOT] our main focus was on the negotiations for the [structural funds] 2007-2013 period. The idea at this stage was to speed-up the PNPOT.

It is impossible to determine whether the fusion of the SPF and the CC under the same banner was a government-led attempt to avoid any unmanageable opposition that could emerge throughout the policy-making process. But if we entertain this hypothesis the reason provided by the senior official quoted above is without a doubt plausible. In other words, it may have been the desire to engage the 2007-2013 structural funds discussion with a fully defined national spatial development strategy that drove the government to merge the SPF into the CC.

In February 2005, an amended version that took on board the feedback of the Consultative Commission was handed in to the DGOTDU. Later in March and April 2005, two plenary meetings of the CC took place to debate the amended version. These meetings were also very important because they discussed the necessary methodology to reach a common position on the PNPOT that would accommodate both the former SPF and the civil society section's expectations. Interestingly, and unlike the first version of the technical proposal of the PNPOT, the entities of the former SPF did not react in a homogenous way. This fact, although it delayed the process somewhat, was an unquestionable contribution to the validity of the

⁵⁰ e.g. the omission of some contextual reference documents; the large number of policy measures and the broad scope of some of these; the lack of a clear hierarchy of priorities; and the under-representation of some policy sectors such as water management, nature conservancy, and bio-diversity protection.

PNPOT policy process. Above all, it dismantles the idea of the instrumentalisation of the entities of the public administration (former SPF) in order to push forward the government's agenda. Consequently, a third plenary meeting had to be held (April 2005) to discuss and approve the CC final advisory report that included the agreed critiques (by all entities involved) on the second version of the PNPOT's technical proposal.

6.2.4 Policy Harmonisation Process

In May 2005 the policy harmonisation process began. It was designed to last sixty days and it envisaged to solve any disagreement with any entities in the Consultative Commission by holding individual meetings "in order to establish consensus" (DL 380/99, nr. 32). Leading this process alongside the GPNPOT and the DGOTDU was the recently appointed⁵¹ Junior Minister for Spatial Planning and Cities (SEOTC), João Ferrão (See Section 6.2.2, RCM 76/2002). The former two entities would engage (i) the civil society section and the SEOTC would dialogue with (ii) the public administration representatives in the CC.

(i) During June and July 2005, the GPNPOT and the DGOTDU held a series of meetings with nine different civil society entities that had expressed their disagreement with specific points of the proposed technical version of the PNPOT⁵². About seventy percent of the suggested changes were accepted (MAOTDR, 2006a: 10-11).

(ii) As for the public administration entities, the SEOTC developed a coordination and consensus building process based on an intense exchange of information with the cabinets of other members of government and public administration bodies. In Ferrão's (*) perspective:

We opted to engage the harmonisation process in a way that would avoid an excessive bureaucratic load. By getting different minister's cabinets and strategic public administration entities to exchange information and discuss it both in group sessions or on an one-to-one basis, we avoided the formality of official information requests, etc. At this stage, excessive bureaucracy would not only slow down the process but, in my opinion, put off senior officials to engage the harmonisation process with an open spirit.

⁵¹ The XVII Constitutional Government (PS) came into office in April 2005.

⁵² *i.e.* the Portuguese Farmers Confederation, the Portuguese Tourism Confederation, the Portuguese Public Works and Building Industry Federation, the Architects Guild, the Engineers Guild, the Portuguese Urbanists Association, the Landscape Architects Portuguese Association, the Environmental Defence Associations Portuguese Confederation, the Professional Archaeologists Association.

The outcome of this series of inter-ministerial meetings was a series of recommendations for improvements in the technical proposal of the PNPOT, systematised in a report handed in via the DGOTDU to the GPNPOT. In August 2005, the sixty-day harmonisation period ended and the GPNPOT produced a new version of the technical proposal of the PNPOT (*i.e.* Report and Action Programme). After a few amendments suggested by the SEOTC, the GPNPOT submitted in October 2005 the final technical proposal of the PNPOT. Two and a half years after it was assembled, the GPNPOT was dismissed.

From this point onwards, the PNPOT policy process would be led by the SEOTC. What followed was a reformulation process of both the structure and contents of the final technical proposal in view to secure its coherence with the wider strategic policy guidelines of the recently appointed government (April 2005). After this revision was completed in March 2006, the technical proposal of the PNPOT was approved in the Council of Ministers⁵³.

6.2.5 Public Discussion Process

Following the government's approval of the final technical proposal of the PNPOT (RCM 41/2006), the public discussion process began, led by the DGOTDU. Its initial length would be of three months (17th May - 9th August 2006) but it was later extended until the 31st of October "in order to allow for a wider dissemination of the proposal of the PNPOT and the greater possible number of critical inputs" (MAOTDR, 2006b: 4).

The chosen public discussion strategy built on a very clear brand name: "Território Portugal" [Territory Portugal]. Widely disseminated in the media, the opening session of the public discussion process was presided by the then Prime-Minister, José Sócrates on the 17th May 2006. This political endorsement boosted the initial outreach of the discussion of the PNPOT. The latter was structured around four key elements: (i) a web-based interactive platform; (ii) a network of public participation offices; (iii) a string of public sessions; and (iv) a set of academic advisory reports.

(i) The specifically designed website (www.territorioportugal.pt) provided the backbone to the public discussion process and was instrumental in securing procedural transparency. It made available the full PNPOT proposal as well as the constituent parts of its legislative background. It provided an online discussion and participation platform: any individual that would register in the website could either participate on the online live discussions or submit a written recommendation for either amendments or additions to the policy programme. The website was planned to be active throughout the duration of the

⁵³ RCM 41/2006, 27th April 2006

PNPOT (*i.e.* twenty years) as a repository of the most significant documents and updates in the policy programme.

During the public discussion process, the website had 27.929 visits and there were 189 online submitted contributions (MAOTDR, 2006b: 12). Among these, two facts stand out: first, only one political party participated (the Green Party) and second, out of the 308 municipalities in Portugal only 28 contributed. This is particularly relevant given the fact that local authorities must play a central role in the implementation on the ground of the guiding principles enclosed in the PNPOT.

(ii) Throughout the country, both mainland and autonomous regions (*i.e.* Azores and Madeira), the DGOTDU, the five CCDRs and the Azores and Madeira's Regional Planning Directorates distributed physical copies of the final technical proposal of the PNPOT. In the different locations, appropriate forms were made available for any citizen to submit a critical comment or propose amendments or additions to the policy programme.

(iii) A series of public debate sessions were carried out in each of the five NUTS II regions⁵⁴, with a total attendance over 600 people (*Idem*). The Junior Minister for Spatial Planning and Cities, João Ferrão, presided all of them. The Minister of the Environment, Spatial Planning and Regional Development, Francisco Nunes Correia also attended the session held in the Algarve. The reports produced after each public debate session would later on be aggregated in the "Public Discussion Results: Assessment Report" (MAOTDR, 2006b). In addition, some non-governmental initiatives also contributed to the debate⁵⁵. Interestingly, only one public discussion session was held by a municipality (Loures). This is particularly relevant by the same reasons we referred to in (i): the fact that local authorities must play a central role in the implementation of the PNPOT, by including its guiding principles in their Municipal Director Plans (PDM).

On top of these events there was an array of public interventions in the media by different actors linked with the PNPOT process. According to the DGOTDU's records, there were over one hundred newspaper articles about the PNPOT between May and October 2006 (MAOTDR, 2006b: 6).

(iv) In accord with Articles 33 and 34 of Decree-Law 380/99, "during the public discussion the government [had to] submit the technical proposal of the PNPOT to the

⁵⁴ Norte Region - 25th May; Lisboa e Vale do Tejo - 1st June; Algarve - 14th June; Centro - 22nd June; and Alentejo - 10th July.

⁵⁵ Municipality of Loures - 26th May; Fundação Antero de Quental - 3rd July; Centre of Planning, Urbanism and Environment Law Studies (FDUC) - 7th July; and Lisbon's Geographical Society - 18th to 20th July.

critical review of at least three national universities or scientific institutions with a relevant track record in planning-related research”. The DGOTDU requested advisory reports from the National Council of the Environment and Sustainable Development (CNADS) and ten universities that were not part of the GPNPOT nor were they directly involved in the development of the technical proposal of the PNPOT. Six universities⁵⁶ and the CNADS replied positively.

Institutional Learning

In November 2006, after the end of the extended public discussion period, the SEOTC and the DGOTDU began the preparation of the PNPOT Law-Project to be submitted for parliamentary discussion and approval. This implied the analysis of the contributions that sprang from the public discussion process. Methodologically, the multiple contributions were classified as one of three possible types: (a) corrections related to concepts and vocabulary with no structural implications; (b) corrections concerning the relationship between the PNPOT and other strategic documents/key legislation – these resulted in the re-write of paragraphs/policy measures; and (c) observations that were structural in their nature, namely with concern with insufficient detail of the technical proposal of the PNPOT (*Id. Ibid.*: 11). This methodology allowed for a successful incorporation into the final version of the PNPOT of the outcomes of the public discussion process. According to the available assessment report (*Id. Ibid.*: 18), sixty percent of all recommendations were partially or totally accepted.

In broad terms, the response to the PNPOT was very positive. The CNADS advisory report⁵⁷ characterises the policy programme as “a very significant improvement (...) in the hierarchical articulation of the planning normative structure” and “a unique opportunity for a democratic debate”. Similarly the Universities of Aveiro, Évora, Minho and Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro highlight the coherence and technical quality of the proposal, both in terms of contents and in terms of structure. However, most advisory reports share a series of concerns about some of the options included in the proposed policy programme, namely the lack of: detail concerning the inclusion of the autonomous regions (*i.e.* Azores and Madeira) in the overall national development strategy; issues concerning rural development; a strategic outlook beyond national borders; financial mechanisms that secure the implementation of the PNPOT clear strategy of integration and articulation of sectoral policies and the existing territorial management instruments, in particular at the municipal level.

⁵⁶ *i.e.* the University of Algarve, the University of Aveiro, the University of Évora, the University of Minho, the University of Porto and the University of Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro.

⁵⁷ All advisory reports were consulted at www.territoriportugal.pt.

Finally, some concerns were raised that are of particular significance for the present research. These refer largely to the monitoring, evaluation and revision of the PNPOT. Alexandre Cancela d'Abreu, the author of the advisory report of the University of Évora, highlights:

(...) the real question is to find out at the institutional level, (...) I mean is it the government or is it the parliament that will make use of the anticipated bi-annual monitoring reports? Who will be in charge to assess if there is a proper integration of the sectoral policies into the wider development strategy? (Cancela d'Abreu, 2008: interview)

On this topic, Rui Ramos, author of the advisory report of the University of Minho⁵⁸, adds that it is important to understand who will produce the bi-annual reports, and that “the Observatory for Territorial Planning and Urbanism (OOTU) has a fundamental role to play in this matter”. Artur da Rosa Pires, co-author of the advisory report of the University of Aveiro, concurs. In addition he highlights that:

The PNPOT lacks a critical analysis of planning as a practice, something that is instrumental for [it] to be successfully implemented. Plus it does not outline the necessary strategic partnerships between State institutions, nor does it pay sufficient attention to the professional and institutional competencies necessary amidst the planning community to carry out the PNPOT. (...) there is a lack of a clear chronogram for the implementation of the necessary changes in the planning system to accommodate the PNPOT. (Rosa Pires, 2007: interview)

These critical issues are instrumental to characterise the dynamics of institutional culture change within the Portuguese planning environment. We will analyse them in greater detail later in this chapter.

In December 2006, after working the aforementioned recommendations into the final document⁵⁹, the SEOTC submitted the PNPOT Law-Project to the Council of Ministers for approval. This moment signalled the end of a long interactive policy development process unlike any other previously attempted within the Portuguese planning environment.

6.2.6 Political Debate and Approval

On the 17th February 2007 the PNPOT was submitted for parliamentary discussion, and later on the 5th July the final vote took place and the National Spatial Planning Policy

⁵⁸ *Idem.*

⁵⁹ A full list of amendments can be found in “Public Discussion Results: Assessment Report” (MAOTDR, 2006b).

Programme was approved and later issued as Law 58/07 (September 2007). Based on the transcription of the two aforementioned parliamentary sessions, this section summarises the key points in the political debate preceding the approval of the PNPO'T. These refer to: (i) the political authorship; (ii) the political ownership and (iii) disagreements regarding the contents of the policy programme.

(i) The debate about the political authorship of the PNPO'T fuelled a blame game between the Social Democrats (PSD) and the Socialists (PS). The Social Democrats, in power during the making of the PNPO'T (See Section 6.2.3, *Political Instability*) claimed credit for the development of the policy programme, a process, which was made “particularly difficult by the last hour submission of the RCM 76/2002” (DAR, 2007a: 18). The Socialist counter argument was that RCM 76/2002 provided a clear set of guidelines, in accord with Decree-Law 380/99 and Law 48/98, all approved by Socialist governments, and that critical changes were included in the PNPO'T after the first technical proposal was submitted to the SEOTC (PS).

In my opinion, neither party can claim authorship of the PNPO'T, because the policy programme was not in any moment part of their political agenda. In my view, the authorship resides in three key actors: João Cravinho (Section 6.2.1), Jorge Gaspar (Section 6.2.3, *Political Instability*) and João Ferrão (Section 6.2.2, RCM 76/2002 and Section 6.2.4). As underlined throughout this chapter, these actors were instrumental in the development of the necessary legislative framework, technical implementation, policy harmonisation and public participation processes that validate the PNPO'T as an innovative policy programme.

(ii) The issue of the political ownership of the PNPO'T was addressed in length during the parliamentary debate. In its concluding speech, João Ferrão provided a valuable clarification:

[The PNPO'T] does not belong to the Ministry of the Environment, Spatial Planning and Regional Development, it belongs to the whole government. That is why the Prime-Minister himself approved the proposal of the PNPO'T to be submitted to public debate. The government is clearly committed to the PNPO'T but that is not to say that we have governmentalised the PNPO'T. Why? Because the PNPO'T is and it should be a strategic document that goes beyond any governing cycle. That is why the PNPO'T is a Law of the Republic's Parliament. (DAR, 2007a: 36)

This innovation is clear evidence that the PNPO'T represents an institutional culture change in the Portuguese planning environment.

(iii) The remaining issues raised by the members of parliament mirrored in its entirety what the public discussion process had outlined. Concurrently, there were questions raised with concern to: the financial framework for the implementation of the PNPO'T (CDS, PSD, BE); the administrative reform of the Portuguese territory (PCP, Green Party, BE); the impact of large public infrastructures such as the future Lisbon international airport and the high-speed train connection between Madrid and Lisbon (CDS, PSD, PCP, Green Party, BE), and the lack

of relevance given to the issues of rural development (CDS, PCP, Green Party) (DAR, 2007a: 32-37).

Finally, on the 5th of July 2007 the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme was submitted to parliamentary vote and approved with the votes in favour of PS and PSD, the votes against of PCP, Green Party and BE, and the abstention of CDS (DAR, 2007b: 46).

Law 58/07: National Spatial Planning Policy Programme

So far in this chapter we have developed a detailed interpretative narrative of the PNPOT policy process. In this section we briefly describe the outcome of that process, *i.e.* the PNPOT itself. The National Spatial Planning Policy Programme consists of two parts: (i) a diagnosis report and (ii) an action programme.

(i) The diagnosis report is structured in four chapters:

- (1) the first contextualises Portugal at the Iberian, European, Atlantic and global level;
- (2) the second outlines the main issues, trends, conditions and territorial development scenarios of the Portuguese territory. As a synthesis chapter 2 outlines the 24 problems considered to be the main obstacles that planning would face in its implementation timeframe (*i.e.* twenty years)⁶⁰;
- (3) the third chapter introduces a strategic diagnosis of the different Portuguese regions and their territorial sub-units;
- (4) the fourth and last chapter takes the 24 problems into account and proposes a spatial development vision entitled *Portugal 2025*.

The PNPOT's territorial model is illustrated by a set of three maps depicting: (i) risks and natural hazards; (ii) natural, agricultural and forestry systems; and (iii) the urban and accessibility systems in mainland Portugal (MAOTDR, 2007: 176-180). The scope of this thesis does not include the discussion of the spatial development options included in the PNPOT. Our focus is solely on whether these embody evidence of the influence of the Europeanisation of planning. For this purpose, let us briefly review the contents of (iii) the urban and accessibility systems map (See Appendix C). According to Vale (2007) its main features include:

- the reinforcement of the latitudinal road corridors linking mainland Portugal to Spain and the strengthening of the two inner longitudinal road corridors in order to enhance mobility throughout the hinterland;
- a substantial addition to the maritime logistic infrastructure;

⁶⁰ For a full list See Appendix B.

- a polycentric development approach to the central region (*i.e.* the cities of Aveiro, Viseu, Coimbra, Leiria) in view to counterbalance the dichotomy between the Lisbon and Oporto's metropolitan areas;
- the reinforcement of Lisbon's Iberian and European "centrality" through the construction of a new international airport and the conclusion of the high-speed rail network;
- the enhancement of the development potential of the North-West metropolitan region capitalising on the already existing connections with the Spanish region of Galicia, and the expected link to Vigo via the high-speed rail network;
- the allocation of urgent economic investments along the inner longitudinal corridors in order to reinforce the employment provision and development capacity of the mid-size cities network.

These are a sample of the key messages enclosed in one of the territorial model's maps. It is not difficult to find evidence of the influence of the Europeanisation of planning, namely via a process of discursive integration. There are clear references to: polycentric development as a spatial planning concept; wider spatial positioning strategies relating Portugal's capital Lisbon with both the Iberian and European spaces; the potential of cross-border regional strategies and the urgency to rethink urban-rural relations. All these are messages that hail, in essence, from the European spatial development agenda.

(ii) The action programme consists of the policy programme and the guidelines for the instruments of territorial management. The policy programme is structured around six strategic objectives, each of these has a set of specific objectives, which in turn include detailed priority measures⁶¹. The six strategic objectives include (MAODTR, 2007: 185):

- (1) *To preserve and value biodiversity, natural resources and the natural landscape and cultural heritage, to use in a sustainable way the geological and energy resources, and to monitor, anticipate and minimise natural risks;*
- (2) *To reinforce Portugal's territorial competitiveness and integration in the global, Atlantic, European and Iberian spaces;*
- (3) *To promote territorial polycentric development and reinforce the necessary infrastructures to achieve territorial integration and cohesion;*
- (4) *To secure territorial equity in the provision of infrastructures and collective equipments, as well as a universal access to series of general interest, in order to promote social cohesion;*
- (5) *To expand advanced information and communication networks and infrastructure, and to promote its use by citizens, businesses and public administration;*

⁶¹ The approved version of the PNPOT entails a total of 178 priority measures, in contrast to the 273 included in the first draft of the technical proposal (See Section 6.2.4).

(6) To enhance the quality and efficiency of territorial management, promoting informed, active and responsible participation by citizens and institutions.

In addition to the priority measures, the policy programme includes a set of guidelines to help coordinate the PNPO T with the sectoral policies with a spatial impact (e.g. the National Strategic Reference Framework - QREN, the National Planning for Climate Change - PNAC, etc.) as indicated in Law 58/07, Article nr. 5 (See Figure 6.3).

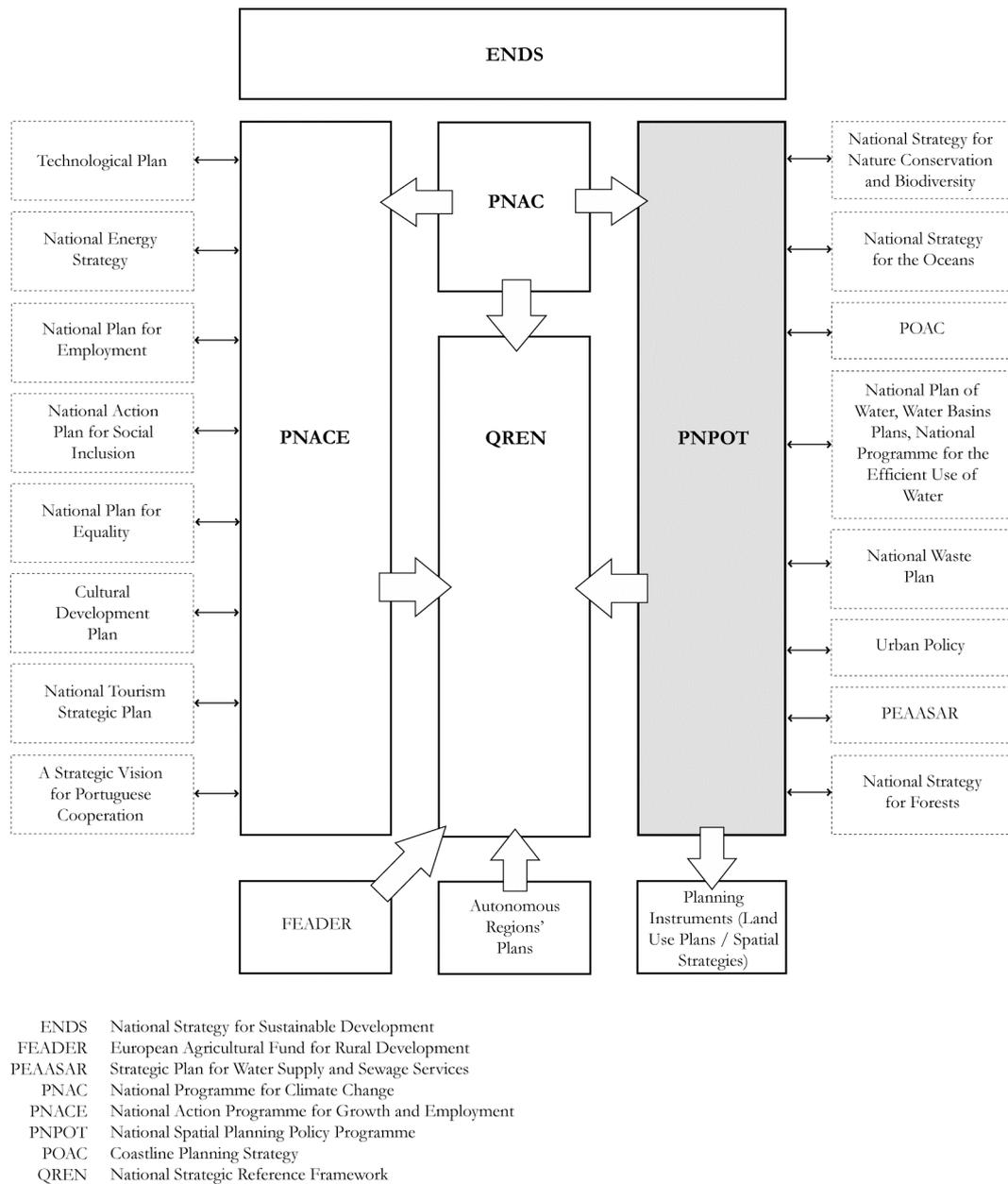


Figure 6.3 – The Coordinative Role of the PNPO T

The action programme also includes a set of guidelines for the coordination of the PNPO and the remaining territorial management instruments. In particular, a set of directives was specifically designed to secure the monitoring, evaluation and revision of the PNPO (MAODTR, 2007: 234). These determined that in accord with Law 48/98, the government must submit to parliamentary approval a bi-annual planning report in which an assessment of the implementation of the PNPO will be made. Furthermore, this bi-annual report must restate the validity of the guiding principles of the policy programme and the adequacy of the coordination mechanisms for the sectoral policies with spatial impacts. In order to produce these reports, Strategic Objective 6 of the PNPO outlines as its first priority measure the creation of “the Observatory for Territorial Planning and Urbanism [OOTU] as a structure responsible for monitoring and evaluating the territorial dynamics and instruments of territorial management” (*Id. Ibid.*: 235). The role of the OOTU is to coordinate with both national and international entities (*e.g.* host the ESPON contact point), to develop a system of indicators to support the monitoring and assessment process of the PNPO, and to produce the necessary bi-annual report for parliamentary debate.

Aftermath

Over three years have passed since the parliamentary approval of the PNPO. However the first bi-annual monitoring report was not been produced nor, for that matter, has the OOTU been setup. This is a crucial issue. If we take into consideration that in the meantime the economic and social contextual settings have changed dramatically then it is even more important to understand what has been done so far in terms of the implementation of the PNPO, and to introduce the necessary amendments to adapt the policy programme to the socio-economic contextual changes.

6.3. The PNPO as Evidence of Europeanisation of Planning

As outlined in Chapter 1, this research builds on the proposition that an influence at the EU level is affecting in various ways and degrees the domestic planning environment of EU member-states. This dynamics of influence is embodied in the concept of Europeanisation:

Europeanisation consists of processes of a) construction, b) diffusion, and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, “ways of doing things” and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU

policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies. (Radaelli, 2003: 30)

Drawing from what we have learned through the making of the three interpretative narratives presented in Chapters 5 and 6, we will now revisit the theoretical debate introduced in Chapter 3 in order to justify the PNPO as evidence of Europeanisation and depict “what kind of Europeanisation” does it embody.

The making of the PNPO falls into what we addressed in Section 3.2.2 as the dominant use of the concept of Europeanisation (*i.e.* as institutional adaptation and the adaptation of policies and policy processes). In fact, in the depiction of the process of emancipation of planning as a public policy in Portugal (Section 5.2) and in the detailed account of the development of the PNPO (Section 6.2), there was ample evidence of a dynamic of domestic adaptation to pressures emanating, mostly indirectly, from the EU.

In terms of research approach this investigation falls into what is referred as the second generation of Europeanisation studies (Section 3.2.2). These emphasise the interaction of actors and institutions at the domestic level as the core engine of Europeanisation. In addition, they stress the significance of time and temporal causal sequences to clarify when and how, and critically if at all, the EU provokes change in the domestic policy-making dynamics. As described in Section 6.2.2, there was a chronological overlap followed by clear evidence of *discursive integration* that substantiates the claim that there was a direct influence of the ESDP process (*i.e.* the 1997 Noordwijk draft) in the development of Law 48/98 (*i.e.* the PNPO’s overarching legislative framework). This is a clear example of the impact of Europeanisation on the development of a domestic national policy.

Throughout the depiction of the PNPO, we have highlighted the fundamental role played by three specific actors: João Cravinho (Section 6.2.1), Jorge Gaspar (Section 6.2.3, *Political Instability*) and João Ferrão (Section 6.2.2, *RCM 76/2002* and Section 6.2.4). All had previous knowledge and even a direct participation in the process of construction of the European spatial development agenda. This fact brings us back to the argument introduced in Chapter 3 that the EU provides the context, the cognitive and normative frame, the terms of reference, and the opportunities for *socialisation of domestic actors* who then produce exchanges. These actors are fundamental to the *institutionalisation* of Europeanisation because they serve as an instrument of introduction of the European discourse into the logic of behaviour of domestic actors. In fact, as highlighted in Section 3.2.3: *institutions do not change institutions, actors do.*

At this point we must take one step back and underline the non-mandatory nature of the European Spatial Development Perspective. This is particularly relevant because it helps us to determine the nature of the actors’ agency. Because there is no mandatory framework, we must consider that actors chose to *learn* from Europe outside adaptational pressures, even in the

context of a matter of national sovereignty such as the PNPOT (Section 6.2.2). This fact draws attention to a crucial process in the dynamics of Europeanisation: *learning*. The PNPOT, as introduced in Section 3.2.3, embodies a process of social learning. This happens when actors, either through the exposure to new norms or discursive forms, change their interests and preferences. The making of the draft PNPOT, the follow-up process of policy harmonisation and the public discussion period provide multiple examples of social learning (Sections 6.2.3 to 6.2.5). Social learning may lead to the reformulation of policy problems and actions and thus to deeper transformations in the construction of public policies and consequently institutional culture change. This grounds the argument that the influence of the process of Europeanisation of planning in the PNPOT provokes institutional culture change.

In retrospect, and with the typologies of Europeanisation of planning in mind (Table 3.1), the PNPOT includes evidence of a shift in terms of spatial positioning, a change in laws, procedures and cooperation patterns (organisational learning) and a change in the use of terminology. Beyond the different types of evidence introduced throughout Chapters 5 and 6 with concern to the making of the PNPOT (process), the PNPOT itself (planning artefact) offers additional proof of the impact of the Europeanisation. In fact, we could nickname the PNPOT as ‘the Portuguese ESDP with a twist’. In terms of its underlying planning philosophy, and the formal structure of the document, the similarities are unmistakable; content wise, equally so (Section 6.2.6). The ‘twist’ is that the PNPOT not only possesses a mandatory influence over other planning instruments but it also influences the coordination of the sectoral policies with spatial impact.

6.4 The PNPOT as Planning Culture Change

As introduced in Chapter 1, this research builds on the premise that a culture change in planning is occurring in Portugal. Conceptually:

Planning culture is (...) the way in which in some historical moments a (situated-national, regional or urban) society has institutionalised planning practices and discourses. In other words, values, ways of defining problems, rules, instruments, evaluation criteria, professional/expert roles and knowledge, and the relations between institutions and actors, and among State, planners and civil society. (Vettoretto, 2009: 189)

In Chapter 1 we determined that, in order to investigate the dynamics of planning culture, we should centre this research on institutions. Because they are usually understood as stable, socially valued and characterised by a recurring pattern of behaviour, institutions can be perceived as the optimal focal point to determine whether a dynamic of culture change is taking place.

Concurrently:

Institutional culture is a pattern of shared assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (Schein, 2004: 17)

Drawing from what we have learned through the making of the three interpretative narratives presented in Chapters 5 and 6, we will now revisit the theoretical debate introduced in Chapter 2 in order to illustrate why the PNPOP process embodies an institutional culture change and consequently is evidence of planning culture change.

In Section 2.2.2 the culturised planning model assumes an inter-dependency between its three tiers (*i.e.* planning artefacts, the planning environment and the societal environment). As the former two are concerned, planning culture is the underlying reason for the differences in institutions and practices at the local, regional and national level. The PNPOP (Section 6.2.6) and its legislative framework (Section 6.2.2) challenge the existing planning system typologies. Unlike what is indicated in Section 2.2.3 (See Table 2.2), the Portuguese planning system is shifting from a strictly *regional economic* and *urbanism* ethos to an increasingly *comprehensive integrated* nature. In addition, there is also an evolution of planning as a practice. The key evidence that supports this fact is the inclusion in Decree-Law 380/99 (Section 6.2.2) of a clear split between territorial development instruments (spatial plans) and territorial planning instruments (land use plans). And the production of the PNPOP as the overarching spatial planning policy programme provides the framework for the articulation of these two planning perspectives. This example of evolution of planning as a practice can be understood as a form of cultural expression.

Furthermore, the relationship between the three tiers of the culturised planning model constitutes an indicator of the probability of culture change taking place. If the relationship between any of these elements changes – regardless of whether it comes about through either intended or unintended pressures – then a culture change is likely to occur (Section 2.3.1). This reasoning is key to illustrate the double role played by the PNPOP in the dynamics of planning culture change in Portugal. If on the one hand we have argued (Sections 5.2 and 6.2) that the PNPOP, as a planning artefact, materialised to a significant extent as the result of a shift in the planning environment (*i.e.* influence of Europeanisation), we can on the other hand argue that the PNPOP, as a *paradigm shift* (See Section 2.3.1), can itself provoke a culture change in its planning environment. In other words, the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme is a multidimensional evidence of planning culture change: it is simultaneously an *outcome*, an *embodiment*, and a *catalyst* of a process of culture change.

Institutional culture change is not a straightforward process and it can result from any one of several possible combinations of intention, evolution and accident. The critical event is

when institutions (*i.e.* hegemonic discourses) are challenged by agents, both internal and external, who call into question, whether deliberately or inadvertently, the existing hegemonic logic of the institutions' existence (Sections 5.2.3 and 6.2.2). When this window of opportunity opens, there are three factors that must be present in order to institutional change to materialise: (i) external developments must place the existing institutional arrangement under severe strain (Section 3.3); (ii) there must be some kind of internal institutional reflection that challenge the prevailing discourse with alternative ideas and actions (Section 6.2.2), and (iii) effective leadership must be in place (Sections 6.2.1; 6.2.3, *Political Instability*; 6.2.2, *RCM 76/2002* and 6.2.4). Leaders must expect resistance to change and exploit informal and unofficial opportunities rather than stick to strict procedural rules. This fact emphasises the significance of *learning by doing*. In fact, in the absence of a window of opportunity, institutional change cannot begin, but in the absence of a learning capacity of agents, institutional change will not occur. In the case of the PNPO, this reasoning proves that although Europeanisation has contributed to secure a window of opportunity, it is the cultural change and learning process, which developed amidst the community of actors involved in the policy process that ground the claim that an institutional culture change has in fact taken place.

6.5 Final Remarks

The National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT) bares the hallmark of a critical event in the evolution path of planning as a public policy in Portugal. It is simultaneously an *outcome*, an *embodiment*, and a *catalyst* of a process of institutional culture change.

Chapter 5 included a first interpretative narrative of the influence of the process of Europeanisation in the evolution of the Portuguese planning system (Section 5.2); and a second interpretative narrative of the Portuguese participation in the construction of the dynamics of the Europeanisation of planning (Section 5.3). The present chapter introduced the third and final interpretative narrative: the PNPO as institutional culture change (Section 6.2).

Chapter 6 concludes with two sections that analyse the findings of the investigation against the backdrop of the thesis' conceptual framework outlined in Chapters 2 and 3.

Next, Chapter 7 will revisit the thesis' key hypothesis, research aims and objectives; outline the most significant conclusions of this dissertation; and advance a set of recommendations for future research.

7

Conclusions

7.1 Europeanisation and Institutional Culture Change in Portugal

This investigation explored the hypothetical causal relationship between an existing set of stimuli for change to which a group of subjects was equally exposed to and the consequent adaptational repercussions felt at the individual level. In practice, and against the backdrop of the emergent EU spatial development agenda, the present study focused on the dynamics of Europeanisation as a potential catalyst for a planning culture change in its member-states. The chosen scope of analysis homed in on the case of Portugal. To begin with, the research emphasis was to determine before all else whether the aforementioned causal relationship did in fact occur. Once this was empirically possible to substantiate then the focus of inquiry moved on to examine how exactly it happened. This meant to investigate not only how key domestic actors and institutions fared under the adaptational strain but also to determine the role contextual societal factors played. The end result is a three-part narrative that addresses the complex interplay between the different actors involved and the power relations that shape up the way in which the influence of Europeanisation actually induces real culture change.

Concurrently, we have characterised the extent to which Europeanisation as a process has worked as a gateway to challenge the dominant planning culture in contemporary Portugal and helped substantiate the call for a culture change enclosed in the PNPOT. The latter sets an ambitious agenda that targets not only the planning epistemic community but also the society as a whole.

In Chapter 6, we have reviewed the culture change process enclosed in the PNPOT against the backdrop of the theoretical framework of this thesis (Chapters 2 and 3). Here we revisit the original hypothesis and research questions that kick-started this investigation (Section 1.2). These conclusions follow the structure provided by the two research lines and their corresponding research questions and objectives. Consequently, we introduce our conclusion on the characterisation of the impact of Europeanisation on planning in Portugal (Research Line A), and we advance our explanation of the dynamics of culture change in planning in Portugal (Research Line B).

Research Line A: The Impact of the Europeanisation of Planning in Portugal

There is no one single tale of the Europeanisation of Planning in Portugal. Nor is there a confined outline of the effects derived from its influence, in terms of institutional culture change or otherwise for that matter. We can underline that the ESDP played a key role in the process of emancipation of planning as a public policy in Portugal, as it provided a springboard for planning in terms of domestic validation, political weight and, in theory, the legitimacy to call for a more central role as the coordination mechanism for all collaboratively developed policies with a spatial impact. The PNPOOT has embodied that coordinative role. In retrospect, the emancipation of Planning in Portugal is itself evidence of culture change.

The Portuguese participation in the ESDP process mirrors to perfection the domestic power dynamics of the different bodies of public policy. The hijacking of the whole process by the regional development policy community has held back the evolution of planning in Portugal for at least a decade. The latter comes as a result of on the one hand the denying planners the access to the platforms of socialisation of the European policy arena and on the other hand the failing to properly disseminate the contents and process of the ESDP at the domestic level. However, the PNPOOT also constitutes a shift in the domestic power dynamics to the extent that through the coordinative role it was assigned via its legislative framework it was, after a long process of emancipation, levelled with its former overpowering contextual influences.

The PNPOOT represents a case of Europeanisation-led planning culture change. Europeanisation-led in the sense that, as evidence shows, it is the most accomplished embodiment within the Portuguese planning environment of the principles subjacent to the European Spatial Development Perspective.

Research Line B: The Dynamics of Culture Change in Planning in Portugal

The PNPOOT as an institutional challenge: The interpretative deconstruction of the PNPOOT as a policy process, alongside the trail of the discursive and the procedural evidence of Europeanisation, provided a clear picture of the dominant planning culture in Portugal. The latter highlighted fragilities of the planning-related policy learning dynamics and capacity-building processes. It also outlined the deeply entrenched sectoral beliefs that hinder the construction of an epistemic community proper. In particular, it revealed an inter-institutional coordination deficit, and drew attention to the existence of structural shortcomings in terms of the communicational capacity and the adaptational ability of institutions and practitioners in an evolving public policy context.

However the making of the PNPOOT also illustrated how these shortfalls can be overcome and that there is no such thing as an immutable path-dependency. This is why the PNPOOT embodies a planning culture change in Portugal. Because it succeeded in taking

forward a new approach to planning policy-making that challenged some of the most deeply entrenched features of the Portuguese planning culture.

The PNPO as institutional innovation: The greater evidence of institutional innovation, policy learning and consequent institutional culture change concerns the complex process of coordination, policy harmonisation and consensus building that was performed with an unusually large number of actors involved. The culture change embodied in the PNPO is in fact multi-dimensional: it happens at the policy content level, in the policy design options, in the governance solutions for the steering of the process, inter-ministerial coordination, and in the sheer number of actors and entities involved.

The PNPO as a mechanism of democratisation: The PNPO not only strengthens the democratic nature of its elaboration process by including an enlarged public participatory process, but in particular because it is a policy document that belongs to the national parliament and not a specific government. This means that throughout its timeframe, whoever decides on what changes and implementations priorities there may be is the parliamentary majority, which has been democratically elected and not a government that has a limited time in office.

“Institutions don’t change institutions, actors do”

Ultimately institutional culture change seems to depend on the right actor and the right set of circumstances. This reflects to a significant extent an institutional weakness. Rather than policy traditions and principles, it is the political leadership that has a greater impact on the outcome of policy design. In fact, what we see is a personification of policy. Hence rather than knowing how a given policy was developed, we should know who decided and steered its development.

What we are trying to illustrate is that rather than a collectively assumed objective at a governmental level, the fact of the matter is that it is due a string of individual with strong beliefs in not only the role of planning but also in the concept of a overarching European spatial development vision that Europeanisation of planning in Portugal materialises. This is by no means a dismissal of the role of the processes of socialisation to which Portuguese senior officials have been exposed. What we do want to highlight here is the influence that a strategically placed individual can have in promoting culture change.

Research Contributions and Limitations

Finally, as far as the wider European debate on the symbiotic relationship between processes of Europeanisation and change in domestic planning cultures is concerned this thesis represents an addition to the growing number of available interpretative narratives of Europeanisation at the domestic level. However, when we centre our attention on the ongoing

debate in Portugal about planning reform then this dissertation has a far more structural contribution. In this sense, this study adds volume to the yet undersized number of investigations that draw attention to the need to better understand the cultural traits underpinning the making of and implementation of planning as a public policy in Portugal.

The limitations of this research concern both scale and timeframe. Scale-wise, this is an investigation at the national level. Although we can in theory extrapolate that similar dynamics may potentially take place at the regional and local level, in practice that is impossible to prove. As far as the timeframe is concerned, we must highlight that the focus of this research is the policy-making process and that the real test for in terms of culture change sits with the implementation stage. Therefore we will recommend that future research analyses how the institutional culture change tested in the PNPTOT trickles down the planning system onto the regional and local levels, and in addition it would be necessary to repeat this research exercise after sufficient time has passed that the practical effects of the implementation of the PNPTOT on the ground can be seen.

7.2 Future Research Agenda

A future research agenda should take stock of the limitations identified throughout this study and set its future emphasis on better understanding the mechanisms and the extent to which socio-cultural contextual factors influence the development and implementation of planning as a public policy. The more we know about the dynamics of culture change the better we can inform the design of policies that aim to steer it. The following sections outline two sets of recommendations, distinct in their nature, and scope. These two sets mirror the seminal dichotomy perpetuated in the academic debate between what is *planning in Europe* (domestic level) and *planning for Europe* (EU level).

Planning Culture in Portugal: Addressing the Gap

There is little reference to planning culture within the Portuguese planning academic community. Consequently the gap in the knowledge is substantial. Mirroring the limits to the research design of this dissertation, we can outline a few future research lines. These emphasise (i) the timeframe of culture change; (ii) the vehicles of culture change; and (iii) the planning epistemic community.

(i) Timeframe: we suggest that a second edition of this investigation should be performed in ten years time. The current reform of the Portuguese planning system makes for a

window of opportunity for the effects of Europeanisation to trickle down the Portuguese planning system from the national to the regional and possibly to the local tier. In addition, a substantial chronological distance from the parliamentary approval of the PNPO'T in 2007 would allow to query whether the procedural and institutional innovations the PNPO'T embodied prevailed or if these never materialised beyond the discursive remit.

(ii) Vehicles of culture change: Still in the context of the causal relationship between Europeanisation and domestic culture change, future research lines should focus on the vehicles of Europeanisation that have been deliberately left out of the scope of this thesis (*e.g.* INTERREG, INTERACT, URBAN, EUKNET, etc.). In the long run, these would contribute to a more detailed account of the impact of the Europeanisation of planning in Portugal and subsequent culture change.

(iii) Culture change is all about values and context. However there is little knowledge in Portugal about the perception that those who on the ground play a crucial role in the mechanics of the planning system, have of the system itself, of themselves as a community of practice and of the principles and institutions that support planning policy. In other words there is a need for more research into the attitudes, values and aspirations of planners as an epistemic community.

In sum, the critical interpretation of the making of the PNPO'T not only supplied a snapshot of the contemporary challenges faced by planning as a public policy in Portugal, but it also outlined a clear window into future research possibilities. In this sense, the inquiry into the impact of Europeanisation on the Portuguese planning culture unveiled a series of gaps in the existing body of knowledge about the contextual socio-cultural factors that determine the design, implementation, assessment and social acceptance of planning policies.

European Planning Cultures: The Comparative Challenge

All in all, in the context of the wider European debate on the symbiotic relation between processes of Europeanisation and change in domestic planning cultures this thesis is, in a nutshell, an add-on. In other words, via the examination of the case of Portugal, a EU member-state that is still significantly underrepresented in the contextual academic literature, this study contributes to help close a gap on an already existing research agenda. At this level, the contribution of this investigation is to help generate a finer picture of the dynamics of Europeanisation and the diversity of its impacts on planning practices and institutions throughout the EU territory and to allow better informed future transnational comparative analyses.

Future research should further explore Europeanisation as a lens into understanding the dynamics of planning culture change. This implies that we engage on a systematic EU-wide

comparative exercise focused on the adaptational strain caused by the drivers, mechanisms and impacts of Europeanisation at the domestic level. The objective is to learn what factors enable or obstruct culture change and when the latter is proven to occur what are the values and motivations behind those driving the process forward. It is not only a question of confirming or contradicting the conceptual postulates of Europeanisation but also to map the unexpected consequences that it may provoke. This comparative exercise should then be read against the backdrop of the existing traditions of planning. The result could be a fruitful contribution to the better understanding of the dynamics of evolution of planning cultures in Europe and a challenge to the hypothetical existence of an emerging European planning culture.

8

Epilogue

Planning Culture versus a Culture of Planning

This epilogue goes beyond the narrower scope of this doctoral research to present a critical reflection on the wider topic of culture change in planning in Portugal. This reflection evolved throughout the research process and so, to a significant extent, is in itself an output of that process. We thought it important to look past the institutional aspects of cultural change and to place an emphasis on the dichotomy between ‘planning culture’ and a ‘culture of planning’ (Section 2.2.4). Although the research focus has been exclusively on a change in planning culture often it has been referred how intertwined the two are. In this epilogue we explore that interconnection.

The thesis examined the Portuguese National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (PNPOT) to verify the hypothesised causal relationship between the Europeanisation of planning and institutional culture change in Portugal. The evidence suggested important innovations in terms of policy discourse, conceptual paradigms, legal framework and practices at work in the Portuguese policymaking arena, and we sought the domestic drivers, mechanisms, key actors and their motivations, enabling factors and obstacles to institutional culture change that would account for these changes. The findings confirmed the impact of Europeanisation as both a challenge to the existent Portuguese institutional planning culture and a catalyst for its change. And the details observed informed the portrait that we presented of the contemporary challenges faced by planning as a public policy in Portugal; in particular, we saw both strengths and weaknesses in the planning-related policy learning dynamics and capacity-building processes, with a notable inter-institutional coordination deficit and structural shortcomings in communicational capacity and adaptational ability amongst institutions and practitioners.

One of the cornerstones of this research has been the culturised planning model (Figure 2.2). The systemic nature of the latter suggests that just like the planning and societal environments inflict their influence into the development of planning artefacts, so do planning artefacts challenge the course of evolution of both planning and societal environments. This thesis focused largely on the impact that the societal and planning environments have on planning artefacts but here in the epilogue we would like to point to the existence of the

opposite effect as well: Figure 8.1 shows how planning artefacts can challenge the dominant culture through the planning and societal environments.

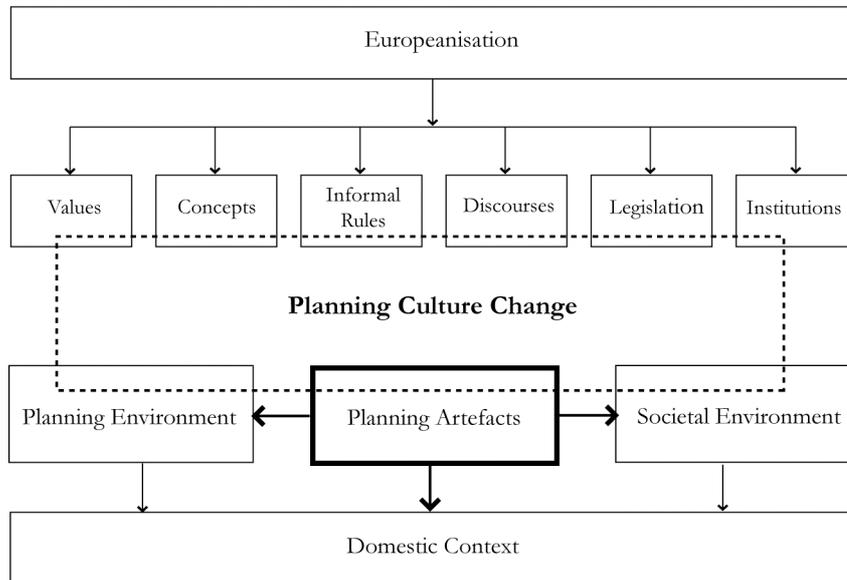


Figure 8.1 – Planning Artefacts as Challenges for Culture Change

The PNPO as a Challenge for Culture Change

*Territorial quality (...) is not achievable solely with the political will of decision-makers nor with the administrative impositions through the management of the territory (...), beyond this will and capacity to implement (...) it is indispensable that an **underlying collective culture** exists **that values the territory** (understood as a geographical space with identity, history and shaped by society) and a **planning culture** that does not limit itself to imported concepts, and technologies.*

Soares (2009: 174)

*The PNPO (...) will (...) require **duties and new behaviours from citizens** in their relationship with the territory. The new **culture of Planning** should fight ‘nimbyism’. Especially we should address the need for the accountability of the privileged players that are the professionals who deal most directly with Planning at different scales and in different, more or less integrated, areas. Just with all can we aspire to reach (...) Portugal 2015+.*

Gaspar (2007: 86)

As these two quotes help to illustrate, the PNPO is an example of planning culture change, but it is also a challenge to the prevailing culture of planning in Portugal. At the level of the ‘societal environment’ there is a need for “an underlying collective culture (...) that values the territory” and that requires “duties and new behaviours from citizens in their relationship with the territory”; while at the planning environment level there is a need for “a planning

culture that does not limit itself to imported concepts and technologies” together with a “need for the accountability of the privileged players who deal most directly with planning”. In other words, the PNPT embodies both a call for a change in the prevailing culture of planning, and a call for a change in planning culture (Section 2.2.4). The following sections will review the impact of this call for change, first from the societal environment perspective and then from the planning environment standpoint.

Societal Environment

Space is the expression of society.

Manuel Castells

Problem 21. As outlined in Chapter 6, the diagnosis report of the PNPT identifies ‘24 major issues for territorial planning in Portugal’ (MAOTDR, 2007: 107); these are organised into six groups (See Appendix B), and the last of those, titled *Civic Culture, Planning and Territorial Management* lists as key issues:

21. *Absence of a civic culture that values planning, and that is based on a thorough knowledge of the problems, on the participation of citizens and on technical capacity building of the institutions and agents most directly involved;*
22. *Lack of the essential technical expertise for territorial planning, namely in the fields of geo-referenced information on territorial resources, certified cartography, cadastral information and online access to the contents of existing plans;*
23. *Difficulty in coordinating the main institutional public and private players, who are responsible for policies and interventions with territorial impact;*
24. *Complexity, rigidity, centralism and opacity of the legislation and of the procedures for territorial planning and management, which affects their efficiency and social acceptance.*

There is widespread agreement with this diagnosis (See for example Partidário, 1999; Gaspar, 2000; Ferreira, 2000, 2005; Pires, 2001; Correia, 2002; Condesso, 2005; Costa *et al.*, 2006; Alves, 2007; Catita, 2009; Oliveira, 2009), but note that three of the four problems place unquestioning faith in the State for their resolution: technical issues (22), institutional and organisational issues (23), and legislative issues (24) are all predominantly institutional in nature. Common to all of them are the unquestionable responsibilities of the State in the promotion and the steering of the processes that lead to its resolution.

Problem 21, however, is rather different: “the absence of a civic culture that values territorial planning” (MAOTDR, 2007: 107). There is no technical formula or technocratic procedure to ensure the creation of a ‘culture of planning’ by a population (*Ibid.*: 29). Furthermore, the PNPT – on its very first page, and in its very first paragraph – clearly states

that: “Portuguese territorial planning depends (...) *not only* on the will of planners and politicians, *but also* on the contribution of all citizens” (*Idem*). So although the ‘call to citizenship’, and the requirement for ‘active participation’ by citizens is an obligation of the State enshrined in Article 9 of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic (1976), the response to this appeal is wholly dependent on the will of the individual citizen and not the State.

On this point people have real power, while the State can be very nearly powerless. In formal terms, one cannot argue that there is a lack of supporting mechanisms for democratic citizenship in Portugal: the State has at its disposal the tools of direct democracy (*e.g.* referendum, public consultation, etc.) and of representative democracy (*e.g.* representatives of national, regional, sectoral, etc.). And the PNPO’T, as a process of development of a public policy, made a substantial use of these mechanisms (See Chapter 6). But the question I wish to pose here is this: from the citizen’s point of view what meaning does this call for citizenship entail?

Citizenship. The PNPO’T advises that a “strong sense of citizenship requires more knowledge, more openness and cosmopolitanism, and greater participation and accountability: (...) Citizens will have to be better informed, more interested and responsible, assuming that what is at stake is mainly the need to explore the margins of progress and economic growth in each region, regardless of its degree of development, rather than the maintenance of redistributive mechanisms” (MAOTDR, 2007: 152).

However the ‘citizens’ that the paragraph refers to are not a uniform group, nor is the expression of their citizenship geographically homogeneous. The same country may host a variety of different perceptions of what the exercise of citizenship means as a direct result of different territorial identities. In other words, perceptions of citizenship will vary with the individual citizen, his local community, her regional community, or even with their nation as a whole. There are also factors such as historically grounded social stratification, heterogeneity in access to formal education, etc., which play a role in the exercise of ‘citizenship’.

Furthermore, there are citizens who bear greater responsibility for shaping the vision of ‘a better planned country’ (*Ibid.*: 29). Elected politicians (at multiple levels), those who technically embody the State, Local Authorities, etc., and members of various professional corporations that operate within planning, all face the ethical dimension of deontological codes they have agreed to abide when they assumed duties or joined that corporation. Although corruption, or lack thereof, in the exercise of these ‘additional responsibilities’ will also be a factor, our aim here is to underline the fact that there is no explicit deontological dimension in the exercise of citizenship that subjects the individual citizen to specific ethical conditions and a certain degree of accountability.

The PNPO’T indicates that: “Spatial planning should be based on more knowledge, research, dissemination, monitoring and evaluation. A more evident consultation and

conciliation of the interests at stake regarding land use, simpler, clearer and fairer rules for the housing and work of everyone, best landscape and a greater enjoyment of patrimonial values by all, are goals to be taken on by the Portuguese society” (*Ibid.*: 152).

But what if Portuguese society does not wish to take on such goals? What if this normative vision of how things should be comes into conflict with the way things actually are? This is not to be pessimistic, but rather to remind the reader that this is one possible scenario that must be anticipated. In particular, we should take into account the fact that what the PNPOT suggests is entirely conditional on the Portuguese society’s action or inaction: “The responsible and informed participation is not only a right of democracy and an obligation of citizenship, it is also an essential requirement to overcome hindrances at the most distinct levels” (*Idem*, highlighted by the author).

There is nevertheless a strong difference between words and their meaning, namely what the exercise of citizenship means to Portuguese citizens. Similarly much of the culture changes the PNPOT calls for lie at the level of ‘implicit meaning’. In particular, what does the PNPOT’s call for ‘a better planned country’ mean for the individual citizen?

We don't see things as they are. We see things as we are.

Anais Nin

Meaning. How do individual and collective meanings change? To begin with, not all members of group share the same set of values, nor do all values experience the same processes of change. To undertake an in-depth reflection upon the evolution of communal beliefs in any given society will, from a philosophical standpoint, open Pandora’s box. We can nonetheless argue that, although in theory all societal beliefs may have similar processes of entrenchment in, or uprooting of the socio-cultural fabric, in practice this is far from true. Some values materialize as a result of the exposure to, and the assimilation of, new regimes of rationality while others seem hostage to complex networks of biases, which in turn mirror other deeply held beliefs.

Hence the next logical question is what exactly are we discussing when we discuss deep-rooted change in a culture of planning? There are indisputable universal values, many of these constitutionally framed as duties of the State, that most of us can surely agree on: to secure social justice; to bring about the common good; to assure the prevalence of public interest in the public domain. Ideological or political influences aside, these values are key to defining the scope and role of planning as a public policy (Section 2.2.4). However the real culture change we find ourselves considering is whether planning is a societal value at all and, if not, can it or should it become one?

At first glance, different societies hold different answers to this question. It is nearly impossible to untangle the many social, historical, and economic threads that help to explain why some communities came to value planning in a different fashion than others. However, a great deal of responsibility for this evolution can be pinned on the ways in which distinct contemporary models of society evolved. A historicist approach that traverses legal, religious, political, and socioeconomic causes can provide valuable insight into the path dependency dynamic that defines the current societal ethos. But is it enough? Does this mean that societies that share a common background will necessarily develop a similar value system? If so, what can we expect in the long term from the European Union, for example, if it is to prevail as a political and administrative construct? Will the gradual emergence of a shared legal, political and socioeconomic 'ground' blur the distinctions between the value systems of the societies of its member-states? Or, in other words, will Europeanisation produce a European model of society? And will this, in turn, impact planning as a public policy?

So how soluble is problem 21? It is effectively impossible to rank in terms of importance the 24 problems that the PNPO outlines (MAOTDR, 2007: 107). But we can say with reasonable certainty that the 'resolution' of problem 21 would contribute to resolving the other 23. The converse, however, is not necessarily true. In addition, problem 21 has one other distinctive feature that sets it apart from the rest: the control that the State has over the set of values of its citizens is virtually non-existent. The State can ensure neither the exercise of citizenship by its citizens, nor the creation of the required 'critical mass'. The State can only be assessed by the degree to which it facilitates or hinders the processes of formation of our personal values and beliefs.

Problem 21 stresses an interdependence: to review the role of the State necessarily implies to review the role of the citizen. The potential decentralisation of decision-making structures and the redefinition of its governance model as well as the creation of extended participatory platforms in the preparation and implementation of public policies, all anticipated in the PNPO, are public arenas where this interdependence is most evident. All measures to enhance citizen empowerment will strengthen the causal link between a change in the culture of citizenship and State reform.

However, broad participation by citizens is a means, and not an end. Moreover, citizen empowerment is not a universally applicable principle since an exercise of a strategic nature is ultimately a political decision, while that which is technical in nature typically requires specific training. Both situations can create serious logistical obstacles to broad citizen participation. All in all, the inclusion of citizens in both policy design and implementation has by now surpassed the *simple* provision of adequate participatory schemes.

In sum, there is not a single factor that can secure the culture change called for by the PNPO. In reality, there is a wide array of issues to take into consideration and there are no absolute guarantees that the anticipated outcome will be achieved, regardless of the political

support, budget allocation, quality and scope of the implementation policy framework. In truth, the way in which both planners, as a community of practice, and society as a whole will react to stimulus for culture change and consequently reform their beliefs, biases, values and assumptions, is highly unpredictable.

In Portugal, planning suffers from a lack of political clout and of social recognition (Chapters 5 and 6). To shift this state of affairs and to advocate for planning as a societal value would require a clarification of what planning is, and whom it is for as a public policy, together with an analysis of the factors that are structurally weakening its social impact. The PNPO sought to address this with its twenty-four key problems that presently hinder the impact of planning as a public policy, and nearly all of the interviewees called for a movement away from critical idealism and towards material action as far as a cultural turn in planning is concerned. Hence, if we can agree that a culture change encompassing the epistemic planning community, developers, politicians and society as a whole is fundamental to maximising the capacity of planning as a public policy to deliver and fulfil its role, then the next question is how such an objective ought to be achieved?

Planning Environment

We cannot determine with exactitude how deeply embedded cultural traits, beliefs, social attitudes and values are until they are challenged. And without this information we cannot engage an attempt at culture change. So how to proceed? To begin with we should highlight the fact that culture change seems to be traditionally looked at as a consequence of an evolving policy framework rather than an objective to pursue on its own. This argument may suggest that the way forward may simply depend on an upgrade on policy-design skills and focus. However, when confronted with such a scenario, most interviewees homed in on the fact that a policy-based strategy and institutional redesign alone would prove ineffective in both catalysing and sustaining culture change. The end line is that there must be additional mechanisms in place if a cultural turn is to prevail.

So what can these mechanisms be? Pre-emptively speaking, if we assume that any given process of social change is met with some degree of resistance then if we are to succeed we must above all else make sure that those who will be either affected by, or be part of, the implementation of such change: (1) are integrated in the overall process from as earlier as possible and (2) are clear about the underlying principles behind the proposed change and subsequently value the desired end results. In this sense, rather than a deterministic exercise in control, the assumption here is that the chances for a culture change to succeed increase in a communicative power framework (Chapter 6).

If all of the above addresses the reasons why to engage culture change and how to do so, once we revisit the interpretative analysis of how culture shifts develop (Section 2.3) the next

logical question is: who should provide for the vital momentum behind such a process? Ideally, the strengthening of the societal value of territory and its planning should emerge from the grassroots citizen level. However, if we recall the outline of the contemporary public image of planning in Portugal (Chapters 5 and 6), then we will easily conclude that this is a most unlikely scenario.

The next intuitive answer is that central and local Government should take the lead role, but if one of the key factors undermining planning in Portugal is its lack of political clout then how strongly driven would this culture change be? We could claim that a political culture change is also in order, which is by all means accurate, but to expect it to materialize would be somewhat farfetched. Next in line would be clearly planners as an epistemic community. However, in all fairness, to expect planners to be a major driving force for an enhanced social recognition of planning falls far from any realistic portrait of the Portuguese reality. In fact, if we visualize the set of contextual features that may hinder an attempt at a planning culture change, one ranks above all else: the lack of a cohesive community of planners.

Historically, Portuguese planners never moved beyond a rather disaggregated community of practice held hostage on the one hand by professional corporations and on the other by pointless divisions fuelled by the debate of what exactly planning is. In more ways than one, in Portugal, planning as a cause has no champion.

So how do we break this gridlock? It all boils down to a matter of possibility versus probability. In theory, there is the possibility that any of the three drivers for change identified may shift their stance towards planning. However, if we consider the probability of that to occur then one of the three drivers stands clearly out. Consequently, it is my opinion, possibly utopian or even naïve in nature, that although a policy-steered process, any planning culture change in Portugal, if to succeed, depends on the mobilisation of the community of planners. To depend on Government as the sole catalyst of change is, given its track record on this matter, an unconvincing alternative. Hence, planners have here a potentially decisive role to play and an opportunity to seize further empowerment and political weight. However to mobilize a community of practice is no easy accomplishment. In fact, it is in itself a manifestation of a culture change. But if it is to happen, in order to succeed it must bridge over the disciplinary divisions that professional corporations have helped perpetuate and promote a more integrative definition of what constitutes a planner. Furthermore, planners must acknowledge that they will not be a standalone catalyst of change. In the context of a communicative power framework they must play their role alongside central and local government and citizens in an inclusive spirit of mutual learning and partnership. After all, for a culture change in planning to have any effect in shaping places, it must first shape minds.

Final Thoughts

*Hope is not the conviction that something will turn out well,
but the certainty that something makes sense regardless of how it turns out.*

Havel (1991: 181)

I have hope in a greater societal role for planning as a public policy. Optimistically, so do planners, because the unvarnished truth is that as far as the political and social *status quo* of planning as a public policy is concerned, the chances of change are slim at best. Nevertheless, planning in Portugal stands at a crossroads, and where to go next rests largely in the hands of planners; they must champion the value of planning as a public policy and seek its political emancipation if it is to become part of the societal ethos. That is the crucial culture change challenge lying ahead.

The ball is in the planners' court.

The end.

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Law 11/87	Law 11/87, 7 th April 1987, Fundamental Environment Act
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Law 48/98	Law 48/98, 11 th August 1998, Planning and Urbanism Policy Act (LBPOTU)
DL 380/99	Decree-Law 380/99, 22 nd September 1999, on the instruments of territorial management
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MCOTA ED nr. 335/2003	Executive Decision nr. 3335/2003 of the MCOTA, defining the makeup of the GPNPOT, and authorising DGOTDU to establish sectoral protocols.
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APPENDIX A

PNPOT: THE MAKING OF - KEY DATES AND EVENTS⁶²

Year	Date	Actions
2002	11 th April	RCM 76/2002 decided the production of the PNPOT
2003	18 th February	Executive Decision 3335/03 of the MCOTA defined the makeup of the PNPOT work group (GPNPOT), and authorised DGOTDU to establish sectoral protocols.
	10 th July	Establishment of the protocols between DGOTDU and: - Centre for Geographical Studies (CEG), University of Lisbon - Sectoral Team SIGPNPOT, Geography Department, University of Lisbon
	30 th September	1 st progress report of the GPNPOT
	9 th October	Establishment of the protocols between DGOTDU and the sectoral teams at: - the Centre for Urban and Regional Systems, IST - the Centre for Regional and Urban Research, ISEG - the Centre of Planning, Urbanism and Environment Law Studies, FDUC
	29 th October	1 st meeting of the Focal Points Group (SPF)
	12 th November	1 st meeting of the Consultative Commission (CC)
	30 th November	2 nd progress report of the GPNPOT
	2004	21 st January
9 th March		3 rd progress report of the GPNPOT
31 st March		3 rd meeting of the Focal Points Group
21 st April		2 nd meeting of the Consultative Commission
13 th May		4 th progress report of the GPNPOT
15 th June		4 th meeting of the Focal Points Group
18 th June		3 rd meeting of the Consultative Commission
31 st July		5 th progress report of the GPNPOT
4 th November		Addenda to the initial protocols: GPNPOT; SIGPNPOT; IST; ISEG; FDUC
11 th November		RCM 162/2004 determined the integration of the SPF in the CC
30 th November		1 st draft PNPOT submitted to the DGOTDU
6 th December		5 th meeting of the Focal Points Group
		4 th meeting of the Consultative Commission
29 th December	Advisory report of the Civil Society Section of the CC	

⁶² Adapted from MAOTDR, 2006a: 12-13.

2005	19 th January	6 th meeting of the Focal Points Group
	24 th January	5 th meeting of the Consultative Commission
	25 th February	2 nd draft PNPOT submitted to the DGOTDU
	2 nd March	1 st plenary meeting with the new makeup of the Consultative Commission
	5 th April	7 th meeting of the Focal Points Group
	6 th April	2 nd plenary meeting of the Consultative Commission
	28 th April	3 rd plenary meeting of the Consultative Commission: approval of the advisory report
	20 th May	Beginning of the harmonisation stage: Submission of proposal to the members of the Consultative Commission who had formally disagreed of the technical proposal of the PNPOT submitted for appraisal. Attached to this new submission were the original CC and a guide for coordination and consensus.
	June/July	Harmonisation meetings of GPNPOT and DGOTDU with the entities in the CC, Civil Society Section
	July	Harmonisation meetings at a governmental level
	15 th July	3 rd draft PNPOT submitted to the DGOTDU
	17 th August	End of the 60 day long stage of harmonisation
	9 th September	4 th draft PNPOT submitted to the DGOTDU
	11 th October	PNPOT Report and Action Programme (4 th draft revised) - GPNPOT Final Technical Proposal submitted to the SEOTC
2005/2006	November/March	Policy harmonisation process and adaptation of the structure and contents of the final version of the draft PNPOT by the SEOTC team.
2006	16 th March	Approval of the final technical proposal of the PNPOT at the Council of Ministers
	27 th March	Presentation of the final technical proposal of the PNPOT to the CC, Civil Society Section
	27 th April	RCM 41/2006 and Legal Notice 5104/06 (2 nd series) approved the final technical proposal of the PNPOT by the government
	17 th May	Opening session of the public discussion process
	31 st October	End of the public discussion process
	28 th December	Government approval of the PNPOT Law-Project
2007	16 th February	PNPOT Law-project presented to Parliament
	5 th July	Parliamentary approval of the PNPOT
	4 th September	Law 58/2007 sanctions the PNPOT

APPENDIX B

PNPOT: THE 24 PROBLEMS OF TERRITORIAL PLANNING⁶³

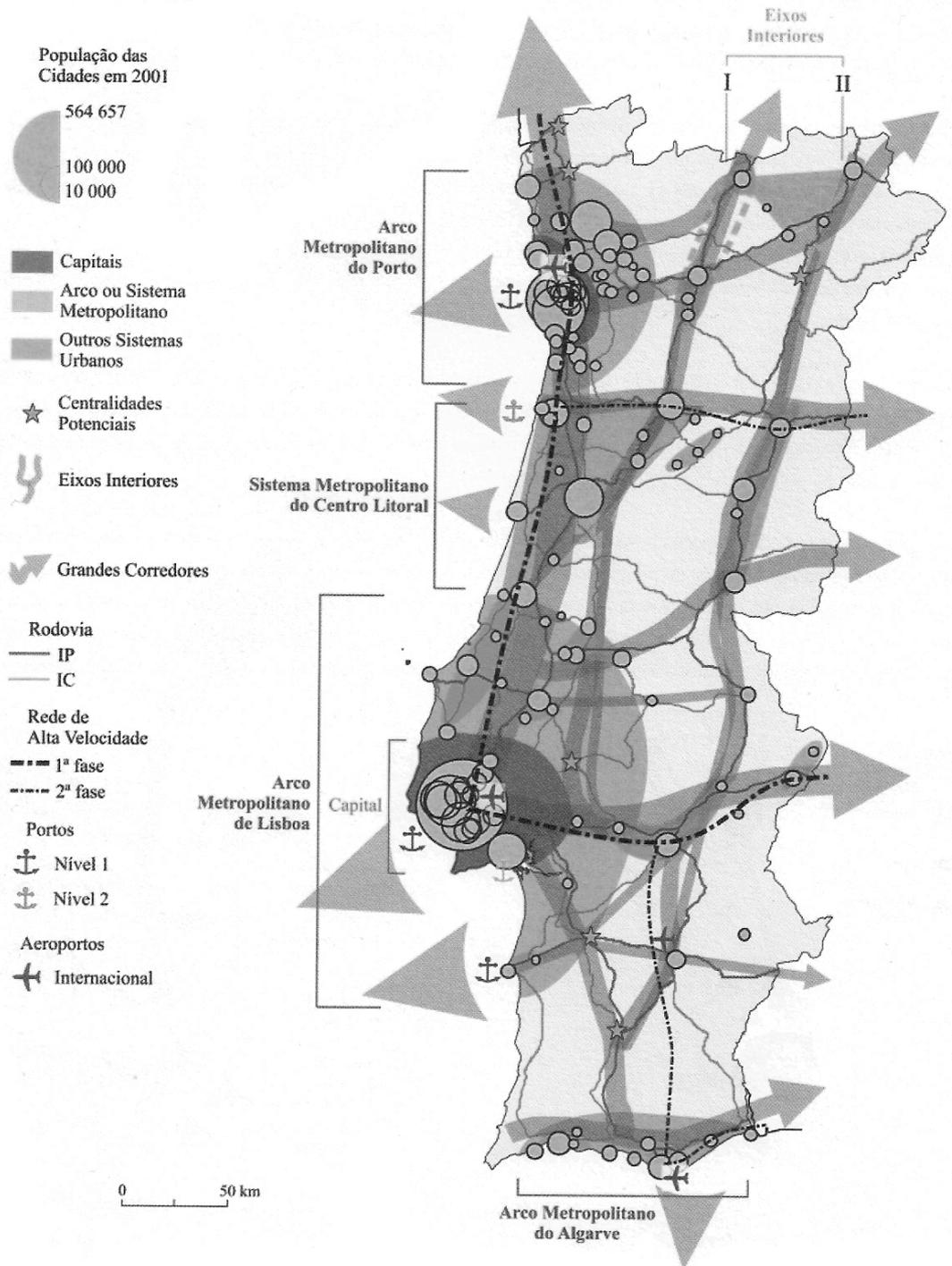
(a)	Natural Resources and Risk Management
1.	Soil degradation and desertification risks, aggravated by climate phenomena (drought and torrential rains) and the extension of forest fires.
2.	Deterioration of water quality and poor management of water resources.
3.	Insufficient development of planning and management instruments for integrated classified areas in the Fundamental Network for the Conservation of Nature.
4.	Insufficient risk consideration in actions of land occupation and transformation, with particular emphasis on earthquakes, forest fires, floods and the erosion of coastal zones.
(b)	Urban and Rural Development
5.	The disorderly expansion of metropolitan areas and other urban areas, intruding and fragmenting open spaces, affecting their ecological, landscape and productive quality and potential, hinders the development of infrastructure, raising its expenses, and obstructs the provision of collective services.
6.	Depopulation and demographic and socio-economic fragility of vast areas and underdeveloped non-metropolitan urban systems and its relationship with the surrounding rural areas, which weakens the competitiveness and territorial cohesion of the country.
7.	Degradation of many residential areas, especially in the suburbs and in the historic city centres, and persistence of major segments of the population with no access to decent housing, which exacerbates social disparities within cities.
8.	Failure of public policies and civic culture in welcoming and integrating immigrant populations, which stresses spatial segregation and social exclusion within urban areas.
(c)	Transports, Energy and Climate Changes
9.	Underdevelopment of airport, port and rail transport systems that serve the international connectivity of Portugal, at the Iberian, European, Atlantic and global levels.
10.	Weak transport intermodal-networks, with excessive dependence on the road networks and the use of private vehicles, and inadequate development of other means of transportation, notably the rail system.
11.	High energetic and carbonic intensity (low efficiency) of economic activities and mobility and consumption patterns, with low use of renewable energy, which leads to a close association between the rhythms of economic growth and the increase of energy consumption and emissions of Greenhouse gases.

⁶³ MAOTDR, 2007: 173.

12.	High dependency on imported primary energy sources (oil, coal and natural gas), with a strong concentration of their geographical origins and high implications regarding the external deficit, strained by the volatility and natural structural rise in prices of these non-renewable strategic resources.
(d)	Territorial Competitiveness
13.	Strong geographical dispersion of economic infrastructure and tertiary equipments, with losses of scale and atrophy of the relations of specialisation and complementarity that are able to generate greater social and economic profitability.
14.	Absence of a global logistics system that takes into account the requirements of various activity sectors and the inclusion of territories in global markets.
15.	Low external projection of the economic functions of the main urban agglomerates, hindering the participation of Portugal in international investment flows.
16.	Reduced extension of the chains of value and insufficient capitalisation on the most differentiating territorial conditions and resources, and the corresponding weakness of economic inter-institutional and inter-regional relationships within national economic space.
(e)	Infra-structures and Collective Services
17.	Expansion and deep structural change in the social demand for collective services and of general interest, due to the combined effect of demographic (aging, immigration and internal migrations), economic and cultural changes.
18.	Unevenness of the territorial distribution and quality of provision of collective infrastructure and general interest services as a result of the expansion and structural change of social demands.
19.	Inefficient operational planning of public investment in infrastructures and community facilities, with inadequate consideration of regional impacts and operating and maintenance costs.
20.	Under-development of territorial cooperation at the supra-municipal level regarding the operational planning and management of infrastructures and community facilities, jeopardizing the creation of economies of scale, and the efficiency gains based on association and complementarity relationships.
(f)	Civic Culture, Planning and Territorial Management
21.	Absence of a civic culture that values planning, and that is based on a thorough knowledge of the problems, on the participation of citizens and on technical capacity building of the institutions and agents most directly involved;
22.	Lack of the essential technical expertise for territorial planning, namely in the fields of geo-referenced information on territorial resources, certified cartography, cadastral information and online access to the contents of existing plans;
23.	Difficulty in coordinating the main institutional public and private players, who are responsible for policies and interventions with territorial impact;
24.	Complexity, rigidity, centralism and opacity of the legislation and of the procedures for territorial planning and management, which affects their efficiency and social acceptance.

APPENDIX C

PNPOT: PORTUGAL 2025 - TERRITORIAL MODEL⁶⁴



⁶⁴ The territorial model encompasses three maps. The one above refers to the urban system and accessibilities in mainland Portugal (MAOTDR, 2007: 162).

APPENDIX D

PNPOT: STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE 6 ⁶⁵

To enhance the quality and efficiency of territorial management, promoting informed, active and responsible participation by citizens and institutions

	Specific objectives
6.1	To produce and disseminate knowledge about spatial planning and territorial development.
6.2	To update and strengthen the capacities of territorial management
6.3	To promote civic and institutional participation in spatial planning and territorial development processes.
6.4	To encourage positive and responsible behaviours towards spatial planning.
6.1	To produce and disseminate knowledge about spatial planning and territorial development
	<p>A good territorial management requires the availability and widespread dissemination of information and updated knowledge on existing resources and the dynamics and prospects for development at national, regional and local levels.</p> <p>In order to monitor the policies and to increase the efficiency of the instruments of territorial management it is essential to supervise and evaluate the processes of spatial organisation and of land occupation, use and transformation.</p> <p>In this sense, the Territorial, Planning and Urbanism Act provides forms of continuous monitoring and technical evaluation of territorial management and the existence of a national system of data regarding the territory. It further establishes that the government shall present to the Parliament a report on the state of territorial planning every two years. The latter shall include an assessment of the implementation of the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme, and a discussion about the guidelines and the forms of articulation of sectoral policies with a territorial impact.</p> <p>It is thus crucial to ensure efficient devices and systems of production and dissemination of knowledge about the spatial planning and territorial development.</p>
	Priority measures
(1)	To create the Observatory for Territorial Planning and Urbanism as a structure responsible for monitoring and evaluating the territorial dynamics and instruments of territorial management (2007-2008).
(2)	To create a website about spatial planning in order to organise and share information between public and private services, including online access to all existing plans (2007-2009).

⁶⁵ MAOTDR, 2007: 221-224.

(3)	To develop a National System for the Operation and Management of Cadastral Information as an instrument to support public administration and improve the quality of the services provided to citizens and businesses (2007-2013).
(4)	To promote the development of infrastructures for the consolidation of the geodesic grid, in order to improve the production of cartography (2007-2013).
(5)	To develop the National System of Geographic Information (SNIG) and the National System of Territorial Information (SNIT) (2007-2013).
6.2.	To update and strengthen the capacities of territorial management
	<p>A good territorial management requires innovative approaches and a sense of respect towards the following principles:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - relevance and effectiveness: fulfil immediate needs based on clear objectives and correct assessments, adjusted to the appropriate territorial level; - accountability: clearly identify the responsibilities of the institutions and make them accountable; - transparency: active communication and language accessible to all; - participation: monitor and evaluate processes from conception to implementation, in an open and inclusive perspective; and - consistency: between sectoral and territorial policies. <p>In this context, one shall pursue a continued agenda of decentralisation of competencies, according to the principles of subsidiarity, simplification and flexibility of procedures in spatial planning and territorial management, safeguarding nonetheless the public interest and making life easier for citizens and businesses.</p> <p>It is also vital to continue the systematic updating, training and scientific and technical capacity building of the agents of spatial planning and development at the national, regional and local levels.</p>
	Priority measures
(1)	To update and simplify the legal framework and the administrative procedures affecting planning and urbanism, by promoting their efficiency and a better coordination between the various public authorities involved (2007-2008).
(2)	To simplify the relationship between citizens and the entities in charge of the licensing of projects with a territorial impact, by streamlining services (2007-2009).
(3)	To expand the duties and powers of local governments, to improve the process of administrative decentralisation; to review the legal framework of the Associations of Municipalities and Metropolitan Areas, reinforcing their territorial competencies, and making the Local Authorities accountable for the quality of the plans, their accordance with the territorial instruments of higher tier, and its timely implementation (2007-2008).
(4)	To value the role of the CCDRs in mainland Portugal, in the monitoring of the competencies of municipalities, and in the promotion of concerted strategies of development at the regional and sub-regional levels (2007-2013).
(5)	To consolidate the resources and the response capacity of sectoral inspections and of the Inspectorate-General for Environment and Spatial Planning (IGAOT), in particular so that the latter is effectively able to monitor and assess the legal requirements in the environmental and spatial planning domains, particularly regarding the safeguard of the patrimony, the natural resources, the water resources, the coastal zone and the maritime public domain (2007-2013).

(6)	To develop a coherent programme of updating and specialised training in the field of territorial planning and urbanism, primarily directed to agents from the decentralised public administration and the local governments (2007-2013).
6.3.	To promote civic and institutional participation in spatial planning and territorial development processes
	<p>Sustainable development of territories requires the consultation of the wishes of interested parties, through the adoption of participatory methodologies.</p> <p>The principles of procedural participation and participatory democracy are enshrined in the fundamental law. Their implementation should be ensured through the access to information and the effective intervention in the preparation, implementation, evaluation and revision procedures of instruments of territorial management, in order to strengthen active citizenship and improve the quality and efficiency of those instruments.</p> <p>The right to participation has as its corollary the right of individuals to information, from the early stages and throughout the course of the elaboration of the instruments of territorial management, so that decision-making reflects the actual collective public interest.</p> <p>In this process, monitoring and active cooperation of government entities that represent different public interests is also important for achieving agreed solutions that may increase the capacity to deliver integrated policy development.</p>
	Priority measures
(1)	To strengthen the mechanisms of access to information regarding the preparation and dissemination of instruments of territorial management, namely through the use of ICT, to achieve further accountability and to engage civil society (2007-2008).
(2)	To integrate the principles and guidelines of the Local Agenda 21 in the instruments of territorial management and to encourage the cooperation at the local and regional levels, namely using the institutionalisation of partnerships, the contracting and the implementation of Territorial Action Programmes (2007-2009).
(3)	To review the models of monitoring, participation and consultation enshrined in the legal regime of instruments of territorial management, in order to ensure a greater involvement of public authorities and economic, social, cultural and environmental organisations, from the initial stage of definition of the content and the main options of such instruments (2007-2008).
(4)	To encourage the organisation and qualified participation from civil society in the provision of services of general interest, promoting partnerships and territory-based networks (2007-2013).
6.4.	To encourage positive and responsible behaviours towards spatial planning
	<p>Spatial planning should be a mobilising instrument for the responsible intervention of the Portuguese society in its own development path.</p> <p>Well-informed citizens are an interested and capacitated agent to participate in territorial decisions and problem solving. It is therefore essential to promote an updated view of these problems, using scientific knowledge and modern information and communication technologies, and incorporating the issues of spatial planning and urbanism in various areas of education and cultural formation.</p>

	Priority measures
(1)	To develop awareness raising initiatives, education and mobilisation of citizens for a culture that values territorial planning, urbanism, landscape and heritage in general (2007-2013).
(2)	To introduce and strengthen the programs of various levels of education, from primary to secondary education, with the guiding principles of good practice for the development and qualification of the territory (2007-2013).
(3)	To encourage the contribution and participation of young people in actions of spatial planning, particularly under the National Programme for Youth and Youth Volunteering Service, with the necessary adaptations to the Autonomous Regions (2007-2009).
(4)	To foster research and innovation in the area of spatial planning and urbanism, namely through the establishment of scholarships and special awards (2007-2013).
(5)	To disseminate good practices in territorial planning and urbanism and encourage participation in competitions for international awards (2007-2013).