

**GREENSCOM
COMMUNICATING URBAN GROWTH AND GREEN**

**WORK PACKAGE 9
EVALUATION OF THE CASE STUDIES**

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FORS RECHERCHE SOCIALE

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PREFACE

This work package 9 is part of a series of publications of the Greenscom project. The Greenscom project on Communicating Urban Growth and Green aims to improve and develop policy instruments for governance and communication in view of the integration of green space in urban development.

After two theoretical studies on communication and governance, a manual for comparative research was developed that brought the themes and the research questions together and suggested a common set up for the case studies. Then cases studies were conducted in the five countries (Sweden, Finland, The Netherlands, Denmark and France) that participate in the project. Each case study report analyses the planning context, the use of planning and communication instruments and their effectiveness in contributing to the integration of green space and urban growth. Together the 14 cases cover experiences in the seven partner cities of the Greenscom project : Aarhus (Denmark), Houten and Utrecht (The Netherlands), Cergy-Pontoise (France), Tampere and Helsinki (Finland), and Gothenburg (Sweden).

This report presents an evaluation of these case studies. In this work package, the conclusions of the cases will be compared, focussing on the fundamental governance and communication issues and on the planning instruments and communication tools. As a result it will be possible to acquire a better understanding of communication processes related to the role of green areas in urban development.

This evaluation of the case studies forms together with the previous work packages 4-8 and the theoretical studies, the basis for the development of the final product of the Greenscom project, a toolkit for urban planners, where the tools will be further presented and analysed.

We wish you a pleasant reading.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Object of the report

This report presents an evaluation of the case studies conducted in the previous work packages (WP 4-8) of the Greenscom project. The object here is to perform a transversal analysis of the main outcomes of these 14 case studies, and to examine the findings concerning the two main issues of the research related to communicative planning and to green issues in urban development. The assessment of the case studies enables to elaborate some general conclusions and to high light the lessons learnt related to the planning instruments and to the communication tools. The recommendations will be further defined in a toolkit of concepts and planning instruments for urban practitioners, which will be developed in the following and final work package 10 of the Greenscom project.

2. Methodology for WP9

The evaluation of the case studies is essentially based on the outcomes of the 5 case study reports written by the Greenscom teams, together with the theoretical frame elaborated in the two reports WP1 and WP2, and the methodological frame of the WP3 report. The conclusions of the discussions of several Greenscom meetings have also been used for this report (Gothenburg Conference in March 2002, French-Danish meeting in Denmark in July 2002, Cergy-Pontoise Conference in October 2002, and scientific panel meeting in Wageningen in March 2003). The regular comments and contributions exchanged between the Greenscom researchers have also been introduced into this report.

3. Presentation of the structure of the WP9 report

This report counts four chapters. In the first chapter, a transversal presentation of the 14 cases examines the main features of the countries and of the cities, and then defines the principle characteristics of the cases, with a description of the themes, the planning situations and the tools analysed in the cases.

The second chapter discusses the main outcomes addressing communicative planning. A specific attention is given to the main actors involved and to the communication situations analysed in the cases, and in particular the communication between the planners and the inhabitants on one hand, and between the planners and the sector experts on the other hand.

The third chapter presents the findings related to green issues in urban development. The analyses concern the different definitions of green, the question of green structure planning and of the balance between urban growth and green.

The final chapter concerns more directly the planning instruments and the communication tools. The discussion focuses first on the definition and characteristics of the tools analysed in the cases, and then an assessment of the tools is conducted according to communication and sustainable development criteria. The chapter ends with the presentation of a series of lessons learnt from the case studies.

I. FIRST PART : A TRANSVERSAL ANALYSIS OF THE GREENSCOM CASES STUDIES

Introduction

The object of this chapter is to present the main characteristics of the 14 different cases which have been studied in the former work packages (WP4-8). To compare the outcomes of the cases and to understand their context, it seems crucial to first examine the principles features of the countries and towns where the case studies were conducted (section 1). Then, in section 2, we will explain how the 14 cases were chosen, and in section 3, we will present the cases themselves.

I.1 The countries and cities selected for the Greenscom project

I.1.1 Main characteristics of the 5 countries (table 1)

Five countries were engaged in the Greenscom project : The Netherlands, France, Finland, Sweden and Denmark. The main features and trends were analysed in depth in the case studies. So only the principle characteristics of these countries will be presented in this section. The five countries participating in the Greenscom research present important differences so as to their size, population and density : the size varies indeed from 544 000 km² for France to 41 526 Km² for the Netherlands. Moreover, the 58 million inhabitants living in France contrasts with the 5,2 million in Finland, and while the density reaches 468 inhabitants per square kilometre in the Netherlands, it only attains 17 in Finland. These variations have of course major consequences in terms of urban pressure.

The features of the land use present also big contrasts from one country to another : one can note the significant presence of agriculture land in Denmark, the Netherlands and France, while in Sweden and Finland, the forests occupy a large portion of the country, and these large areas of forests have a strong economic, cultural and symbolic dimension. In addition, it is interesting to mention the importance of the elements related to water and/or swamps in most of the countries : the characteristics of the coast line, the number of lakes, canals or rivers appear as major features of the countries, but also as crucial issues in terms of planning and nature protection.

Most countries have been facing similar evolutions even though not all at the same time and at the same speed : the massive urbanisation movement which has made them change from rural to urban societies during the XX's century, has mainly taken the shape up till now of suburban development. Some countries however, such as Denmark for instance, have tried to prevent this phenomenon of urban sprawl by voluntary planning policies. The urban pressure that several countries, such as France or the Netherlands, have gone through after the Second World War is now affecting more strongly Finland and in particular the south of the country and the Helsinki region. This late urbanisation which also concerns Sweden to a certain extent, can partly explain why the cultural identity of these countries is still very much tied to the countryside and to nature, forest and lakes. Denmark is also facing some movements of population towards the east of the country with an increase of urban pressure in the Aarhus region. However the urban patterns are changing in most of the countries, in particular with the promotion of sustainable development concepts which tend to valorise more compact cities. However this approach often goes against the wishes and expectations of the inhabitants (conflicting interests between necessary urban developments to fulfil the needs for new housing, and the preservation of existing green areas).

Indeed, the social and housing trends have a strong impact on the patterns of urban development : the increase of individualisation and emancipation, the decrease in the size of the households, the increased demand for living space per person and the growing interest for living in the countryside or at least close to green areas for recreation, have lead to the

expansion of monotonous suburban development in several countries. Moreover, the improvement of the individual transport infrastructures has reduced travelling time. People spend the same time per day but are able to live at greater distances. In many cases, the green countryside is therefore pushed back by suburban development, and fragmented by road construction. However many European countries are today trying to promote public transport systems (such as the creation of tramways in several French cities), and also the development of cycle tracks. But the awareness of the population regarding environmental issues which appears quite strong in the north of Europe and especially in the Scandinavian countries does not seem so strong in France yet, for instance.

So these differences in the “environmental consciousness” appear also clearly in the legislation and national and local policies conducted in each country. Furthermore, this diversity of situations is reinforced by some variations concerning the administrative setting of each country. The countries participating in the Greenscom project all present 3 main levels of administration (the national level, the provinces/regions/counties and the municipalities), except for France which has 4 levels, and most of these countries have gone through a decentralisation process which has given more power to the local institutions. But the main difference appears in the number of municipalities with a very particular organisation in France which counts more than 36 500 municipalities while Sweden, for example, only counts 284 of them. This situation has of course important consequences in terms of local democracy and in particular concerning representative democracy and the number of local politicians.

Table n°1
Main characteristics of the countries

	THE NETHERLANDS	FRANCE	FINLAND	SWEDEN	DENMARK
Territory	41 526 km ²	544 000 Km ²	338 000 Km ²	450 000 Km ²	43 100 Km ²
Demography					
Population in 2000	16 millions	58 millions	5.2 millions	9 millions	5,3 millions
Density in 2000 (People per km ²)	468	100	17	20	123,7
Population living in urban areas	63%	76%	81%	85%	85%
Households living in single family houses	67%	56%	41%	50%	54%
Land Use					
Agriculture	69% (of the land)	60%	8%	8%	71%
Forest	9%	27%	68%	54%	11%
Other areas	4% (other natural areas)		10,5% (wetlands and open areas)	16% (mountains)	
Built up areas +roads	14%	12%	3,5%	3%	7%
Water and swamps	18%		10% (for water only)	20%	7%
Institutional setting					
Levels of government	3 levels: - national level - provinces (12) - municipalities (573)	4 levels : - national - regions (22) - departments (96) - municipalities (36 500)	3 levels: - national - provinces (6) - municipalities (450)	3 levels : - national - counties (24) - municipalities (284)	3 levels : - national - counties (14) - municipalities (275)

I.1.2 Main characteristics of the cities (table 2)

In three of the countries, only one city was selected, Gothenburg in Sweden, Cergy Pontoise in France and Aarhus in Denmark, while two cities were selected in Finland, Helsinki and Tampere, and two also in The Netherlands, Utrecht and Houten. These 9 cities analysed in the case studies were selected for various reasons (see the Description of Work). Several elements make these cities relevant for the study of communicating urban growth and green. They are all medium size cities with between 180 000 and 600 000 inhabitants (except for Houten which counts 30 000 inhabitants), and with both valuable green areas inside and outside the city. They have all realised urban renewal and expansion schemes and also have strategic plans for future development. They represent different socio-cultural contexts and different planning traditions, related to their country and to local conditions. Important also are pragmatic considerations : the participating researchers knew these cities, had good contacts with the local partners and thus had access to formal and informal documents. So all the local officials were interested in taking part in the research programme and actively cooperated during the different phases of the research.

The characteristics of these cities have been analysed more in depth in the case studies so in this section we will just present some of the main features. All the cities studied in the Greenscom project have an important economic role and place in their country, either as the capital city (Helsinki) or the second largest city (Aarhus, Gothenburg, Tampere), or as cities or new towns which have been the frame for many urban experiences in the last decades (Utrecht and Houten, and Cergy Pontoise). They are all integrated in fast growing urban areas, which mean that the “green and red” issues appear particularly crucial for them. So in many towns, such as Helsinki or Utrecht for instance the population growth puts great pressure on the open spaces. The local authorities react by paying attention to sustainability aspects and landscape features in the planning of recent urban districts.

As it was said previously, most of these cities present important green spaces inside and outside the urban settlements. Several of these cities, such as Aarhus or Cergy Pontoise have even developed their image and identity on the existence of these green areas. Only Utrecht presents a somewhat different situation as there are little open spaces inside the city apart from the parks and gardens, so the more distant agricultural and forested land in the region is becoming increasingly important especially for urban recreation. All the cities are however facing the same types of problems addressing the balance between growth and green, and according to the countries the issues concern densification projects, urban fringes planning, or maintenance and management of existing open spaces. New forms of governance are also being experienced in these towns, which aim at developing cooperation between the sectors and increasing the participation of the inhabitants in the planning processes.

**Table n°2
Main characteristics of the cities**

City	Presentation	Population of the municipality	Population of the urban region	Urban area	Green areas and open spaces	Institutional setting
Utrecht	Old city situated in the heart of the Dutch traffic network, on the eastern border of the "green heart"	234 000 inhabitants	596 000 inhabitants in the Utrecht region	64 km ²	Approximately 10%	One municipality
Houten	New town, developed since the 70's ; situated at 15 km from Utrecht	30 000 in 2000 and 50 000 expected in 2010		5905 ha		One municipality
Cergy Pontoise	New town developed since the 70's situated at 30 km to the northwest from Paris	180 000 (for the 11 municipalities of the new town)	12 millions inhabitants in the Paris agglomeration	8000 ha	25% of the territory	11 municipalities
Helsinki	Capital and the largest city of Finland, located on the south coast	555 000	1 million inhabitants (for the urban areas with Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen)		1/3 of the territory	One municipality (+3 for the urban area)
Tampere	Second largest city in Finland	193 000	230 000 for the urban area		¾ of the territory is occupied by rural areas	One municipality (+4 for the urban area)
Gothenburg	Second largest city in Sweden located on the west coast	460 000	750 000 for the region	199 km ²	Formal green about 25% of the territory, actual green about 50% of the territory	One municipality
Aarhus	Second largest city in Denmark, one of the oldest cities in Denmark, located on the east coast	285 000		120 km ² for the city and 470 km ² for the municipality	33% of the municipality is protected natural areas (1800 ha of forest and 500 ha of parks and gardens)	One municipality

I.2 The selection of the cases

Three principle criteria were used in order to select the cases : the objectives presented in the Description of work, the main issues which interest the local practitioners in each city, and the relevance of the tools and instruments applied in the cases.

- **Cases framed by the objectives defined in the DOW**

The selection of the cases, according to the DOW, aims at choosing in each of the five countries various “situations” that enable to analyse the main issues of the Greenscom research, focusing on the balance between urban growth and green, on one hand, and on communicative planning, on the other. The analyses are also framed by the more global context of sustainable urban development. The case studies are therefore supposed to focus on :

- the governance of the balance between urban open spaces and built up areas, that contributes to the quality of life of citizens and the conditions for urban nature,
- the strategies and tools used for communication and participation in decision-making.

- **Cases that meet the preoccupations and expectations of the local practitioners**

Another important element that oriented the selection of the cases is related to the “operational” dimension of the research. It was indeed essential to select cases that appear “interesting” or “significant” for the practitioners themselves. The whole research process is, in fact, based on a close cooperation with the local planners, experts and politicians of the cities, who have been involved since the beginning, and then at the different stages of the research. The final outcome being the production of a “toolkit” for urban professionals, it was crucial to select cases that illustrate the existing issues in different cities. This explains the great diversity of situations studied in the cases. It appeared necessary to stick to this approach, even if for methodological matters, this diversity can at times make the evaluation trickier.

In consequence, in some cities it seemed more relevant to analyse the difficulties or limits meet when applying specific measures or policies, while in others it seemed interesting to study the conditions which guarantied the success of some operations. Several “symbolic” operations also showed significant outcomes for the research. Furthermore, this “practical” approach explains that the selected situations address, accordingly, either ongoing processes, future projects, or operations which have already taken place.

- **Cases that enable to assess the use of planning instruments and communication tools**

The general objective of the Greenscom research is to improve and develop planning concepts and policy instruments for sustainable urban development, so in all cases the analyses have focused on the planning instruments and communication tools, on their implementation, and on the conditions of success or reasons of their limits.

I.3 The main characteristics of the case studies

Three cases have been chosen in each country, except in Sweden, where only two were selected. Several elements enable to characterise these 14 cases :

- the theme related to the practitioners' classification of the cases
- the planning "situation" or "issue"
- the planning setting, the specific planning instruments and communication tools

I.3.1 The themes related to the practitioners' classification of the cases

During the preliminary discussions concerning the main planning issues which faced the different cities, many questions were raised out of which several "common themes" seemed recurring. A simple classification was thus elaborated in order to facilitate the analysis. The themes are either related to a geographical situation or to a planning policy. Some cases combine several themes at a time, while the definitions also change from one country to another. In addition some themes do not concern all cities. Therefore, even if these various factors limit the relevance of the themes as part of the analysis, they are nevertheless useful as a way to structure the evaluation of the cases. Moreover, the acknowledgment of these common themes enables to highlight the principle planning issues that the cities are actually dealing with.

Table n° 3
The practitioners' classification of the case studies

	Densification	Urban fringe	Management/ maintenance	Introduction of a "blue" element	Green structure planning
Houten tree cutting			x		x
Utrecht contracts			x		
Utrecht, Green Structure Plans		x			x
Neuville, Cergy Pontoise			x		
Urban fringe, Cergy pontoise		x			
Liesse district Cergy Pontoise	x				
Haaga case Helsinki	x	x			
Broända Valley Helsinki	x	x			
Iidesjärvi lake Tampere	x				
Uggledal Gothenburg	x	x			x
Lärje valley Gothenburg		x	x		x
Opening of the river, Aarhus	x			x	
Aarslev meadow lake, Aarhus		x		x	
Hasle hillscape, Aarhus	x	x	x		x

So, finally, five main themes have been defined in order to classify the cases (**table n°3**)

- densification projects in existing urban areas
- planning operations in the urban fringes
- management and maintenance of green areas
- introduction of a “blue” element
- green structure planning.

- **Densification projects in existing urban areas**

A first group of cases concern “densification”. Densification is here understood as new urban projects comprising the building of new dwellings, services and equipments, with also, usually, some changes in the transport and road infrastructures. The use of the term densification also induces the fact that the projects are situated in urban areas, inside the cities or at least close to urban districts, and that, therefore, they have a strong impact on the surrounding neighbourhoods. The projects imply bringing new populations and activities in open areas which were not built on before (farmland, forests, parks or open spaces, streets...), and so where the existing inhabitants can be opposed to the changes in their environment. This densification theme was dealt with in Cergy-Pontoise (Liesse district), in the three finish cases (Haaga case, Broända valley and lidesjärvi lake) and in Gothenburg (Uggledal). The “green and growth” issues are very clearly expressed in these cases, as the projects raise the question of a good balance between the needs for new dwellings in these developing cities, the current requirements for more compact cities and the expectations of the population concerning the protection of nature and of green spaces.

- **Planning in the urban fringes**

Another group of cases deals with “planning in the urban fringes”. This theme addresses the question of how to fix clear borders to the cities and to limit urban sprawl, and how to define, with the various actors involved, the “contact line” between urban districts and green areas, and so to preserve natural landscapes. This theme is explicitly studied in Cergy-Pontoise (the case on the northwest fringes of the city); however some of the densification cases mentioned previously appear also very relevant for this theme, owing to the specificity of the urban patterns in the cities of Gothenburg and Helsinki for instance, where large parts of forest and natural areas exist inside the cities. Indeed, in these towns, the question of densification often occurs in areas that can also be defined as urban fringes. In addition, the Aarhus Hasle hillscape case can also be related to the urban fringe theme, as it concerns the creation of a greenbelt on the border of the city, on a strip of land previously planned as a motorway. So this theme also relates directly to the “green and red” issues.

- **Management and maintenance of green areas**

A number of cases have been grouped under the theme defined as “management and maintenance of green areas”. Under this general theme, the specific questions differ from one city to another. The cases are related to various issues, such as financial difficulties, ecological problems or a greater participation of the population... They address various questions such as how to cope with green areas located inside the city’s boundaries, how to improve the quality of urban green, how to reduce maintenance costs, and how to involve inhabitants or other actors such as farmers in the maintenance of these areas. This theme is either studied at a small scale, such as the cases concerning tree cutting in Houten and the different maintenance contracts created in Utrecht, or on a wider scale such as the cases of the Neuville land park in Cergy Pontoise, the Lärje valley in Gothenburg and the Hasle hillscape in Aarhus.

- **Introduction of a “blue” element**

Two Danish cases, the opening of the Aarhus river and the Aarslev meadow lake, illustrate a specific theme which also appeared interesting for the Greenscom research : the introduction or reintroduction of a “blue” element inside and at the fringe of the city. These operations,

which have a strong symbolic dimension, enable to develop more “nature” (the river being considered as “natural” element) in the dense urban districts of the town, or to prevent further urban development in green areas. Obviously, these cases also highlight the tension between urban growth and green.

- **Green structure planning**

Finally, the last theme which in fact covers, to a certain extent, all the cases concerns “green structure planning”. This theme is specifically studied in Utrecht, with a comparison of the different green structure plans applied at different scale levels. However in all cities the selected cases, owing to the very object of the research, are framed by the green structure planning policies. Depending of the countries, the measures and procedures differ, as some cities have explicit green structure plans while in others, the green issues are dealt with, in a more transversal way in the regional or municipal plans... Hence, the three Cergy Pontoise cases for instance are directly related to the regional plan, whereas the three Aarhus cases are linked to the Green structure of the municipal plan.

I.3.2 The “planning situation” : what is the main problem or what is the main issue analysed in each case?

As it was mentioned previously, the cases express a great diversity of “planning situations”. Indeed, the approach chosen for the case studies was to highlight various problems or issues which appear particularly significant in each city, exemplary operations as well as planning processes which face difficulties. Even though all the cases focus on the communication procedures, the various issues examined can be grouped into 4 categories : the investigation of measures to solve or avoid conflicts with the inhabitants, the experimentation of new management and maintenance solutions, the research of procedures which enable a greater participation of the population, and the development of new planning instruments and policies (**table n°4**).

Table n°4
The main problems or issues analysed in the cases

	Solutions for handling or preventing conflicts with inhabitants	Solutions for maintenance and management issues	Interaction with the inhabitants	Planning policies and practices
Houten tree cutting	Conflict with the population on tree cutting issue	New modalities for the maintenance of the district	Creation of neighbourhood offices	
Utrecht contracts		Cuts in the green municipality's management expenses	Creation of self management contracts	Right of initiative
Utrecht, Green Structure planning			Development of a greater participation of the residents	Changes in the green structure planning policy in order to improve transversal approach
Neuville land park, Cergy Pontoise		Project concerning management for a green area in the centre of the town		Search for new planning policies based on a wider cooperation with public and private actors
Urban fringe, in Cergy pontoise				Planning group with various actors concerned by the urban fringe planning
Liesse district In Cergy Pontoise				Analysis of the changes from an open team work to a formal closed procedure
Haaga case In Helsinki	Solving a planning conflict with the population		Participation of the chairmen of two associations in planning group	Assessment studies for the best localisation of new urban projects
Broända Valley In Helsinki	Wish to develop participation of the population to avoid conflicts		Participation of the population with 2 questionnaires	Balance between urban development and preservation of a green area (green finger)
Iidesjärvi lake In Tampere	Wish to develop participation of the population to avoid conflicts		Creation of an internet game for the inhabitants	Balance between urban development and preservation of a green area (shores of a lake)
Uggedal In Gothenburg	Wish to develop participation of the population to avoid conflicts	Self management of common land	Creation of local forums to involve inhabitants	Balance between urban development and preservation of a green area
Lärje valley In Gothenburg		New means for the maintenance of the cultural landscape	Creation of contracts with farmers	
Opening up of the river, in Aarhus	Preventing conflicts due to closing street that covered the river		Public debate initiated through "installation", ie the hole in the street	Planning by opportunity : development of a new idea after the digging of a hole in the road
Aarslev meadow lake, in Aarhus	Preventing conflicts by pro active measures	Finding a solution for the problems of an agriculture area	Negotiations and contracts with local farmers	Planning by opportunity : use of ecological and financial measures
Hasle hillscape, in Aarhus		New means for the planning and maintenance of the green belt	To follow after this first stage	Planning by opportunity : integration of a motorway reserve into a greenbelt, use of financial opportunities

- **Preventing or solving conflicts with the inhabitants**

Some cases illustrate particular procedures that were used to solve problems or to prevent conflicts with the inhabitants. In Houten, a conflict regarding tree cutting matters opposed the inhabitants and the city's public work department. Different measures were experienced (maps, joint visits...) which finally lead to a common agreement. In Sweden (Uggeldal) and in Finland, specific communication procedures based on neighbourhood forums, questionnaires or an Internet game were initiated with the population or with groups of inhabitants in order to discuss the choices and options concerning the construction of new dwellings. The aim seemed to be for the population a better understanding of the planning issues, and for the city planners to avoid or solve an opposition of the inhabitants. In Uggledal the search for local knowledge to improve the plan was an important challenge of the planner. Sivuu: 16

- **Finding new solutions for maintenance issues**

Other cases focus on innovative measures which have been experienced in order to find solutions for the maintenance of green areas as well as to increase the participation of inhabitants. The involvement of residents or other categories of actors such as farmers in the maintenance of open or green areas can represent a financial advantage for the city if it actually leads to a decrease in the public maintenance's expenses, but it also has a social dimension, as it can develop social links and promote citizenship values among the population.

In Utrecht, the self management contracts (as well as the Right of initiative procedure) signed with groups of inhabitants for the maintenance of the public gardens and parks was seen as a way of reducing the costs and as a means for involving the population in the upkeep of their neighbourhood. In a similar way, the contracts already signed with the farmers in Aarhus and in Gothenburg, or the Neuville land park project also based on cooperation with the farmers, illustrate new methods for land management. In another field, the contracts signed with private companies in Aarhus, for the development of the Hasle hillscape appear also as innovative management procedures. In Uggledal, Gothenburg, the local plan gave the new dwellers responsibility and power to maintain a large common green area that cannot be built upon and is thus preserved for the future as a green open space.

- **Increasing the participation of the inhabitants**

According to the Greenscom Research objectives, many cases focus on issues related to the development of interaction with the inhabitants in the planning projects and policies, such as - as we have just seen in the preceding section – most of the cases related to the management issues, and, obviously, all the cases that address conflicts or risks of conflicts with the population (in Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands). Political ideals often form the basis of this aim of a greater participation of the inhabitants.

In Cergy-Pontoise and in Aarhus, however, the main issues examined in the cases do not concern so much the communication with the inhabitants as the planning policies, in a more transversal way. In that regard, it is interesting to stress that these two cities express very different or even opposite situations. In Aarhus, there seems to exist a common understanding and shared values between inhabitants, politicians and civil servants on the importance of green in the city (a "holy alliance"), which does not require systematic negotiations with the population for each planning project. The cases therefore focus on other innovative instruments or procedures. In Cergy Pontoise, on the contrary, both the rather weak awareness concerning environmental issues, in general, and the little experience of communication with the inhabitants can explain that the issues studied in the cases illustrate mostly the "challenges" related to an increase in the number of actors

concerned by the planning projects, and therefore the possible improvement of the planning procedures.

- **Initiating new planning policies**

A number of cases highlight new planning procedures that have been initiated – or at least that are intended – by the cities, in order to develop a wider cooperation between the different private and public actors concerned, to obtain a relevant balance between new constructions and the preservation of natural areas, or to use the different opportunities to initiate innovative projects. So the aim is often to promote planning policies characterised by a greater articulation between the sectors, and therefore by a more transversal and integrated approach.

The analysis of the consecutive green structure plans elaborated in Utrecht focuses on the qualitative changes and the intended improvements brought to these plans, marked by a greater participation of the population, and new criteria for the choice and localisation of the protected green areas. The improved green structure plan also serves an important role in the communication and cooperation between different sectors and departments within the municipality. Cergy Pontoise, the three cases framed by the recent regional plan concern mainly the development of new relations between the local actors. The planning of the northwest urban fringe appears quite successful, while both the Liesse district case and the Neuville land park case highlight various types of difficulties.

In addition, some cases illustrate planning operations which are the result of unexpected events, and therefore appear as original examples of the success of “planning by opportunity”. In Aarhus for instance, the cutting a hole in the road to make the covered river visible to the public led several years later to the opening of the Aarhus river, whereas a financial opportunity – a donation – led to the project of the Aarslev meadow lake, which simultaneously solved problems of the agricultural land and created a new wide nature park at the fringe of the city.

I.3.3 What are the main communication tools and planning instruments analysed in the case studies ?

Since the objective of the Greenscom research is to examine and promote planning concepts and tools which can be used to balance urban growth and green, the analyses conducted in the case-studies obviously focus on the new or innovative measures applied in the different cities, but they also look at the regular planning settings, and at the changes that are brought to the more “traditional” policies.

The aim of the present classification is more to extend the analysis of the characteristics of the case studies themselves (WP9 being the evaluation of the cases), than to begin a discussion on what is a tool, how and when to use it, or even to proceed to a systematic inventory of all the potential tools. Indeed, the tools themselves will be analysed in the following sections, and then presented and discussed in WP10. In fact other typologies can be elaborated, using various criteria or dichotomies : formalized instruments versus ad hoc instruments, or planning instruments (government oriented) versus policy instruments (governance oriented). In addition, it appears that during the works, the researchers highlighted a number of complementary “elements” or “conditions” which frame and enhance the use of these tools and instruments, such as ideas or personal skills...

So beyond the wide diversity of procedures and measures which have been examined in the cases, five main categories of “tools” can be identified here (**table n°5**):

- the regional, municipal and local plans
- the green structure plans¹
- the specific studies and surveys
- the maintenance contracts
- the communication tools.

¹ May be part of the municipal plan, e.g. in the Danish cases.

Table n°5
Planning instruments and communication tools analysed in the cases

	Regional, municipal and local plans	Tools related to Green structure planning	Specific studies	Contracts	Communication tools
Houten tree cutting		Municipal green structure plan			Maps, meetings, joint visits with the inhabitants
Utrecht contracts		Green categories (architect, utilitarian, and ecological green)		Self management contracts	Right of initiative
Utrecht, Green Structure planning	Utrecht Regional plan	Utrecht GSP, Leidsche Rijn Master plan, Overvecht local district GSP			
Neuville land park Cergy Pontoise	Cergy Pontoise Regional plan		Studies for the management of the land park		
Urban fringe, Cergy pontoise	Cergy Pontoise Regional plan	Vexin Regional Nature park	Studies for the planning of the urban fringe		Planning group with various private and public actors
Liesse district Cergy Pontoise	Cergy Pontoise Regional plan, Liesse local plan	Ile de France Green belt	Studies for the environmental planning of the new district		
Haaga case Helsinki	Municipal plan and Local plan		Assessment studies addressing green areas		Exhibitions, meetings, planning group
Broända Valley Helsinki	Local plan	Green finger concept	Studies for the environmental planning of the new district		Exhibitions, meetings, questionnaires
Iidesjärvi lake Tampere	Regional plan, Municipal plan	Green area network	Studies on ecological values of the area		Internet game
Uggedal Gothenburg	Municipal plan, district plan and local plan	GSP	Local studies of the area		Local forums
Lärje valley Gothenburg	Municipal plan	GSP	Studies on ecological values of the area	Contracts with the farmers	
Opening of the river, Aarhus	Municipal plan	GSP	Studies on the opportunity of opening of the river		Catalogue of ideas
Aarslev meadow lake, Aarhus	Municipal plan	GSP	Studies on the ecologic and economic consequences of creating a lake	Contracts with the farmers	Organisation of meetings
Hasle hillscape, Aarhus	Municipal plan	GSP	Economic calculations (cost/benefit)	Contract with private contractors	Development plan

- **The regional, municipal and local plans**

These kinds of plans are the legal planning documents which exist in the five countries of the Greenscom research, even if the names, procedures and scales sometimes differ. However, all the cases are framed by the regional, municipal plans and/or local plan established for the cities. These formal documents define the main axes for the land use, and the long term planning policies which concern the city. They are usually elaborated according to standard communication procedures (public meetings, exhibitions, public enquiries...). As for the local plans, they are the up-to-date operational planning instruments, which are related to specific urban projects; they also determine legal communication procedures.

- **The green structure plans**

Several cities such as Gothenburg or Utrecht have elaborated green structure plans, which fix the main orientations and principles for the planning of green areas, and set the conditional frame to the maintenance, whereas in other cities, like in Cergy Pontoise and Aarhus, these measures are integrated into the municipal or regional plans. In Aarhus, the green structure plan is part of the municipal plan, in the same way as the infrastructures, commercial centre structure or institution structure. In Cergy Pontoise the planning policies are also framed by regional green elements, such as the Vexin Regional Nature Park and the Ile de France Green belt. For Liedsche Rijn the green open space was included in the master plan, a new approach for the Netherlands.

- **The specific studies and surveys**

In many cities, some specific studies or surveys have been conducted to prepare or to accompany planning projects. According to the type of operation, they can address the green areas themselves, ecological issues, housing or transports matters... Several studies appear as a basis for the promotion of a new cooperation between the different actors involved, while other studies simply produce more knowledge in a particular field. Moreover, several operations have led to undertake landscape assessments in order to examine the various possible areas for further urban development.

- **The contracts**

Different types of contracts have been examined in the cases, such as the Utrecht contracts with inhabitants for the maintenance of urban gardens and parks, the contracts with farmers signed in Gothenburg for the management of open or agricultural land, or with a private contractor in Aarhus for specific urban operations.

- **The communication tools**

Among the communication tools described in the cases, many are part of the legal procedures applied when establishing planning documents, such as the organisation of public meetings or exhibitions, etc. More original or innovative are the "planning groups" which are sometimes set up for specific projects, and the various measures such as the neighbourhood "councils", "forums", or "committees" created for a particular operation, or permanently. Furthermore, specific tools such as maps, questionnaires, joint visits, a catalogue of ideas or an internet game, etc. have also been identified and studied in the cases.

After this presentation of the main characteristics of the 14 cases analysed by the different teams, we will now examine in chapter II the principle outcomes of these cases, which address the two main issues of the Greenscom research : on one hand the questions related to communicative planning, and on the other hand, questions concerning the green issues in urban development.

II. SECOND PART : ABOUT COMMUNICATIVE PLANNING

Introduction

The object of chapter II is to examine the main questions analysed in the cases, addressing communicative planning. Based on the outcomes of WP1 and WP2, several concepts have been used in the cases to identify the actors concerned by the planning projects, to study the communication processes and to evaluate the level of interaction with the inhabitants. For each case-study, a “communication map” was therefore elaborated, in order to present as a synthesis the actors concerned and the main relations established during the planning process.

So the aim of the following sections is to undertake a transversal analysis of the findings of these cases studies, so as to define the types of partners concerned, to classify the role and position of the various actors involved in the projects, to characterize the interests or values they represent, and consequently to define the “actors”, “actants” and “agencies” in the processes². Beyond the specificities of each project, the evaluation of the 14 cases highlights two principles communication relations which appear important in all the planning processes : the relation between the planners and the inhabitants, on one hand, and between the planners and other sector experts, on the other hand. These two types of relations will therefore be analysed in the two last sections of the present chapter.

II.1. Who are the main actors involved?

This first section presents the actors that have been identified in the cases, and analyses the position they seem to occupy in the planning processes³. It is possible to group them into 7 main categories. However, beyond the simple inventory of the actors concerned, it seems important to put emphasis on those who appear as the most significant in the planning projects (**table n°6**).

² Actors : are those who have been involved in the cases studied; actant : is something or somebody appearing in the case represented by one or more actors acting as their spokesperson; agency : is contained in a planning instrument or communication tool, and offers each actor more or less limited space of action (see WP2)

³ The order of the actors presented in this section does not induce a whatsoever level of importance in the communication process.

Table n°6
Main actors involved and studied in the cases

	Local politicians	Different level administrations	Planners	Sector experts	Developers	Local groups	Inhabitants
Houten Tree cutting			Planners of the municipality	Maintenance services of the town			Residents of the district
Utrecht contracts			Planners of the municipality	Maintenance services of the town		Several Residents groups	
Utrecht, Green Structure planning			Planners of the municipality	Different Services (roads housing...)			Inhabitants of Overvecht district
Neuville land park, Cergy Pontoise		Different structures as owners of the land	Planners from the SAN and the EPA				
Urban fringe, Cergy Pontoise			Planners from the SAN and the EPA			Farmers, environmental associations, private actors	
Liesse district Cergy Pontoise	Major of Saint Ouen L'Aumône		Planners from the SAN and the EPA	Private consultants	Private builder		
Haaga case Helsinki			Planners of the municipality	environment expert, landscape architect, maintenance service...			Residents of the district, two owners association
Broända Valley Helsinki		European commission and regional environmental centre	Planners of the municipality	environment expert, landscape architect...			Residents of the district
Iidesjärvi lake Tampere	Local bodies and political parties	Ministry of environment	Planners of the municipality	Different services (environment department of the city...)		Residents' association, Steiner School activists, nature activists	Citizens of the city and local residents
Uggledal Gothenburg			Planners of the municipality		Private developer and architect	Groups of women, horse riders, school children...	Residents from the neighbourhood
Lärje valley Gothenburg			Planners of the municipality	Landscape and biological experts and real estate managers		Farmers	
Opening of the river, Aarhus			Planners of the municipality ⁴	Road and traffic services, architects, etc.			
Aarslev meadow lake, Aarhus		Ministry of Environment, and Regional Council	Planners of the municipality	Nature protection and other nature experts		Farmers and local council	
Hasle hillscape, Aarhus	Members of the municipal council		Planners of the municipality	Landscape architect	Developer	Resident board	

⁴ Planners include landscape architects, in the three Aarhus cases

II.1.1 The local politicians

Though the role of the politicians is obviously crucial and determinant for the planning projects and more generally for the development of the cities, they are not – or else very rarely and indirectly - presented in the case-studies as major actors. Their apparent absence can induce some ambiguities.

The local politicians represent theoretically the whole population of the city, and they are therefore those who are supposed to guarantee the “general interest” versus the individual interests. Their “power” has been given to them through the municipal elections, but in some cases only for a determined and relatively short period of time (for 6 years in France for instance). They are generally concerned about obtaining a broad consensus and avoiding conflicts with the population. The politicians are in charge of fixing the main options and principles for the planning policies and also, in a broader way, for the quality of life in the city. Still, in terms of the urban development, their role is often reduced to approving the plans and options elaborated by the “technicians”, that is to say the planners or other experts.

It seems however that in some towns, such as in Tampere for instance, there still exists “an old way of doing things”, where the politicians and other planning officials fix the main options for the development of the city, ignoring the opinions and oppositions of the citizens and their organisation.

It is important to underline the different situations that exist depending on the countries. In France, for instance, there are more than 36 000 municipalities, and therefore the mayors are elected on detailed local programs, whereas most of the other countries participating in the Greenscom research – and more generally in the whole of Europe – have a much smaller number of municipalities. One of the results of this situation is that in France the mayors can appear somewhat “closer” to the population, and that they can lose or win an election on their planning policy. However, in other European countries, specific administrative settings do exist, which can lead to a greater “proximity” between the politicians and the inhabitants, such as the district committees in Utrecht for instance.

The analyses show that the role of the politicians is often somewhat ambiguous. In some cases it seems that the politicians do not make their values, objectives or principles clear enough, and that a more explicit expression would help the planning process and especially make the communication procedures with the population easier. Sometimes, the planners appear in fact in a tricky situation, as the inhabitants take them for responsible of the choices that are defined - or that should be - by the politicians.

II.1.2 The European, national and regional administrations

Several administrations at the European, national or regional level seem to be concerned, to different degrees, by the planning processes which have been studied in the cases. The European administration does give recommendations and rules for environmental policies and for protected areas : some impact assessment studies were conducted for the “Natura 2000 areas” in Helsinki, for instance. However, the European administration does not usually appear as a major actor.

The national and regional administrations seem to play a more important role in the cases. In most countries, the general planning orientations and the current “values” are framed by these administrations, such as for instance the concern for compact cities and densification, promoted by sustainable development approaches. These administrations can also be involved for particular planning projects, when environmental issues are raised. Hence, they play a more active role in the process, as they represent the authorities which can give the agreement or rejection for specific projects. This situation is illustrated, for example, by the

opposition given to the Iidesjärvi lake planning project, in Tampere, by the Ministry of environment. The role of these administrations in the urban processes is usually defined by a setting of legal rules and procedures.

II.1.3 The planners

Consistent with the scope of the Greenscom research, the planners are quite logically the main actors in all the Greenscom case studies. They are usually in charge of elaborating the regional, municipal or local plans. The scales and definitions of these planning documents change from one country to another, but they usually address the same type of issues. Often the planners also define, in a broader way, the city's general planning strategy. This means that they are most of the time in charge of planning the different elements covered by urban development, that is to say not only matters concerning nature, parks and open spaces, but also economic activities, housing, schools, equipments and services, transport infrastructures, etc. The planners generally talk in the name of the city, and take into account the future potentialities as well as the current issues. Thus, they represent the interests of the existing population but also of the future inhabitants, taking into consideration the specific expectations of some categories (the elderly people or the children, for instance...).

The position and role of the planners in the city varies according to the countries. In some cases, such as in the Aarhus cases for instance, the planners seem to have a strong position which appears partly as the result of the institutional setting, and partly as the result of their personal experience and length of service in the town. In other cases and countries, such as in France for example, the planners seem to have a different position, the main decisions being tackled by the politicians themselves. The relation between the politicians and the planners is therefore essential as to have clear goals defined for the city. Yet, this does not seem to be the case in all cities, and this kind of confusion can lead to tricky positions for the planners. Sometimes it appears in fact that the planners are more or less "trapped" in a situation between the inhabitants who consider them as responsible of the planning choices, on one hand, and, the politicians who do not always have sufficiently explicit strategies, on the other hand.

The human resources management policy applied for the city's planning staff has therefore an important impact on the planners' situation. A long experience and practice built up by the planners in a city, and long lasting acquaintances developed with various local or regional stakeholders, lead usually to a better understanding of the strategies and objectives of the local politicians, but also of the needs and expectations of the inhabitants.

II.1.4 The different "sector experts"

In all the cities which have been studied, various experts are concerned by the green planning issues : we can mention for instance the landscape architects, green planners, urban green managers, biologists or environmental experts, who collaborate with the planners on specific questions related to green issues. But addressing city planning questions taken in a broader way, we can also mention the existence of different experts working in the fields of roads, traffic, water or other urban infrastructures. In addition, there also can be experts of other departments such as social services, when associations or specific groups of inhabitants are concerned, such as in the Utrecht contracts case. The relation between planners and sector experts can sometimes be full of tensions, and that is why most of the cases show the importance of promoting a close collaboration between the different experts and planners for good planning processes.

The list of sector experts identified in the 14 cases is very large, but the real involvement of these experts as actors in the communication processes varies from one case to another. In accordance with the Greenscom research objectives, a special attention was given to the "green experts", in the cases. These sectors experts who are in relation with the planners, often work in other municipal services, or even in different administrations; but they can also

be private consultants hired for a specific project. They represent the “green” or “ecological” values, such as nature protection or landscape preservation. This is why it can be said that “green” is often an “actant” in the communication processes. In addition, these sector experts speak in the name of the inhabitants in general, or of the future population.

II.1.5 The developers and architects

The situation concerning these actors differs from one country to another. In France for example, the developers and the building architects are two different types of actors, with different expertise, values and professional functions, but they usually work close together, as a team, and occupy a similar position in the communication process. This is why we can consider them here as part of one same category. The architect can be member of the building company or hired by the company, after competition, for a specific operation. Whereas in Finland for instance, architects may be designers, private consulting planners or public planners, but they still have a common professional identity. Thus they do not work as a team with developers but do projects commissioned by both developers and municipalities.

The developers are usually linked to the municipalities by specific contracts. So the private developers are, obviously, very important actors in the planning process, but in terms of communication, their role and position do not appear significant and do not seem to raise major issues in most of the cases.

However, the Liesse district case does illustrate to a certain extent the failure of a open communication and planning procedure, which ended up with a single negotiation developed between the local politicians and the private builder, which left out most of the environmental recommendations elaborated in the previous steps of the process. The “power” of the builder in this case seems related to financial arguments. Conversely, the Uggledal case is an example of a constructive relation between the developer/architect and the local groups. In the contract between the developer and the city the prize of the land (owned by the city) was not fixed, but related to the number of dwellings in the final plan. This made adjustments of the original design according to the ideas of the local groups possible.

The negotiations with the builders are nevertheless quite often led out of the public sphere. It is often the planner who is in charge of presenting the operation prepared by the developers and architects. It does appear a crucial problem when, such as in the lidesjärvi case, the developers are not part of the public process.

Nevertheless in some case, the developers or the architects do take part in the communication procedures, by the participation in public meetings for instance. The developers and architects have mainly professional and financial interest in the projects and in the processes. They can, however, be personally or “institutionally” concerned by environmental or sustainable development issues, and adopt a “favourable” attitude when green issues are discussed such as in Gothenburg for instance.

II.1.6 The local groups and associations

This category of actors, called here the “local groups”, covers different types of structures such as residents groups, interest groups or associations. They appear as important actors in the communication processes, in many cases. These local groups are more or less institutionalized. In some cases the inhabitants and users are invited to join a “planning group” or different formal or informal meetings. In other cases, the population is represented in the communication process, by local associations. These groups talk in the name of the inhabitants of a particular neighbourhood concerned by a new urban project or by maintenance issues. They can also represent a particular category of inhabitants or users with specific social, leisure or economic interests and knowledge (horse riders, fishermen, shopkeepers, farmers, schoolchildren...).

In some cases, environmental groups or associations are also involved in the communication processes. They represent ecological values, and defend nature conservation. According to the local situation and context, the level of trust and shared understanding between the actors can vary, and therefore these local groups act with a more or less cooperative approach, when they are involved in the planning process. In some cases, when there are conflicts, the associations or local groups act as “lobbies” or as protest activists. In Aarhus the green planners have established a good relation with the nature conservation associations through regular meetings and this made them part of a “holy alliance”. In this way they have a negotiation platform and avoid conflicts

II.1.7 The inhabitants

The inhabitants form evidently an important “element” of the communication process, as they are directly concerned by the planning projects. However the inhabitants appear quite rarely as active participants in the procedures, and this is why they are frequently identified in the cases as “actants” in the process and not as “actors”. Often, the local residents are only involved in the communication procedures, if they are members or even chairmen of local groups or associations. In Aarhus, the local councils provide an opportunity for non-organised citizens to participate ad hoc in the planning process. The citizens may in this way influence the planning process without one by one addressing the planners. Also the citizens’ message is much stronger when they appear as a group and moreover it is less time consuming for the planners.

In many cases however, the inhabitants are invited to public meetings and exhibitions organised for the urban operations planned by the city, and they are “informed” according to the legal planning procedures which are scheduled by the regional, municipal or local plans. Different measures and “tools” are nevertheless implemented in the different cities, in order to develop the participation of the population, with a range of communication procedures that stretches from simple information given to the population, to joint decisions taken by the authorities (the politicians or the planners) with the inhabitants.

This typology presents the principle actors identified in the cases studies and classified into 7 main categories, although in the cases other actors have sometimes been examined. So more details on the various actors can be found in WP4 to 8. The following section examines the characteristics of the communication situations such as they have been analysed in the maps established for the 14 cases : these maps describe the communication between the different actors.

II.2. The “communication situations” presented in the cases

According to the Greenscom research hypotheses, improving communication in the planning process means the organisation of a coherent combination of formal and informal relations, which enables a large number of actors to participate, at different levels of interaction, in the planning procedure, and leads to shared understanding. This is why the analyses conducted in the case studies focused on the communication situations.

However the great disparity in the methods used by the 5 teams for elaborating and analysing the “communication maps” which illustrate, for each case, the relations developed between the actors, makes the comparison and evaluation extremely tricky. Indeed, some teams have, in an extensive form, identified all the actors involved or potentially concerned, and then examined each relation, whereas some teams have focused on what appeared as the most important relations of the process. Nevertheless, the transversal analysis of these 14 communication maps brings to light the main characteristics of the communication processes, and stresses a number of elements which seem essential for successful communicative planning:

- the number of relations, which determines a kind of “density” of the communication situation
- the type of relations (formal/informal, explicit/hidden...) : relations framed by legal measures or experimental actions, formal procedures or unofficial contacts...
- the articulation between the public and private sphere
- the timing of the communication procedures.

II.2.1 The number of relations and the “density” of the communication

A first criterion that can be used to analyse the communication situation is related to the number of relations developed in the process. Indeed, the number of “relations” varies from one case to another : some projects induce a complex setting of relations between a great number of actors, while other projects present a more simple communication pattern, with less actors involved. Though the qualitative dimension of the communication process is, of course, more significant than the quantitative dimension, it nevertheless appears that in many cases, the situations based on the participation of a greater number of actors, contribute to a better understanding between the different stakeholders, and finally can improve the projects. Nevertheless consensus may have successful results with few active participants and many “dormant” participants who just agree.

The north-western fringe case in Cergy Pontoise for instance shows the advantages of a cooperation between the various private and public actors concerned by the development of the area, in order to come out with a coherent planning project. The Leidsche Rijn green structure plan case (Utrecht) illustrates also the development of a more transversal approach based on a broadening of the disciplines and a greater participation of the different sector experts, compared to the previous green structure plans. The Tree cutting case in Houten also shows how progressively the participation of different actors helped to solve the conflict with the inhabitants.

On the contrary, the Liesse case illustrates the changes that occurred in a project which at first had been elaborated and discussed by various experts acting as a team, taking into account the different dimensions of the project, until the last phase, when the communication was reduced to a negotiation between the local politicians and the private developers, where the environmental issues were finally left out.

II.2.2. The different types of relations

Another general criterion which can help to characterize the communication situation is related to the “type” of relations which exist between the actors. Various dichotomies have been highlighted in the cases and analysed by the researcher : formal or informal, official or non official, explicit (open) or hidden, etc. In spite of the diverse definitions and concepts used by each team, which makes the comparison and evaluation of the 14 cases very complex, it seems that all the cases illustrate the co-existence of two different types of relations, that we can define, to simplify, as the “formal” relations on one hand, and the “informal” relations, on the other hand. Several elements determine these types of relations : the existence or legal procedures, the establishment of contracts with various actors, the development of new and innovative measures...

Indeed, the communication between the actors can be more or less formal, and often the two kinds of relations exist in parallel. Many projects are framed by the legal planning procedures, which are usually based on a set of formal relations between the various administrations, and also on top down information given to the population, through public exhibitions, meetings, and enquiries, such as for the regional, municipal and local plans for instance, while, at the same time, a number of more informal contacts and collaborations have also been developed between these actors, and seem to play an important role in the process.

In addition, the position of the actors involved is, of course, a major element which determines the type of relation : naturally, the attitude and function in the communication situation varies between a politician, an expert of an administration, a private consultant, a chairman of a local association, or a inhabitant. Thus, the relations are framed by the function of each actor.

A number of cases stress the advantages of stepping out of the traditional planning strategies, and developing new approaches based on “planning by opportunity”. The three Aarhus cases illustrate the conditions and the outcomes of such approaches, which induce informal procedures and relations, and underline the importance of flexibility and innovations in the planning procedures. Actually, the communication maps of the Danish cases underline the existence of three different levels of relations : the formal and explicit relations developed between the different actors of the projects, an informal strategic network between these same actors, and an ongoing debate concerning the local environment.

II.2.3 Articulation between the private and the public sphere

Though the analyses did not all focus on this dichotomy, it seems important to stress that the articulation between the private and the public sphere is a significant element which characterises the planning projects and the communication situations. Depending on the countries and the cases, these two main categories of actors either work in close cooperation or, on the opposite, still occupy separate positions in the process.

The comparison between two of the Cergy Pontoise cases illustrates this diversity of situations : in the Neuville land park case, the process which is very slow, and the existing relations are still limited to the public sphere (politicians and planners), while in the north-western fringe case, many public and private actors (farmers and other private landowners) are involved in a close cooperation which has led to a precise development plan.

Moreover, according to the period and degree of progress of the project, this opposition is more or less accentuated. In Aarhus for instance, the opening of the river case shows that for a long time the project was supported by the planners only (with relations limited to the public sphere), and that it is only later, that the politicians and the private actors joined the process.

II.2.4 The timing of the communication procedures

In spite of the great diversity of the 14 cases, it seems that a good timing of the different phases of the communication procedures is particularly crucial for the success of the planning project. However, this “timing” depends on various elements such as the kind of actors concerned at each stage (politicians, planners, experts sectors, inhabitants...), the nature of the urban project (a consensual project, or an operation which can induce some conflicts), or to the planning context (legal procedures or innovative measures...). This element of time contains in fact two important dimensions : “timing”, on one hand, and “taking time”, on the other.

According to the planning project itself, it can be necessary to start rapidly a communication procedure with the different actors concerned. It appears useful to develop quite rapidly in the planning process the negotiations between the different sector experts, or between the partners of the different administrations, in order to avoid delays due to misunderstandings. Some cases, such as the Swedish cases, seem to show indeed that the earlier the contacts are taken, the better the planning processes develops, as it gives more time to develop mutual understanding between the various actors. However, it also seems necessary sometimes to take time, when the projects are complex and need some “maturation” before finding consensus, such as for the meadow lake in Aarhus. The motorway case in Aarhus also shows the importance of taking time to convince the different partners of a project and the possibility taken to delay some decisions until the actors are “ready” to agree on the project. In Aarhus, there is an ongoing debate on green issues between the citizens and the planners partly due to the local councils, and partly due to the revision of the municipal plan and the green structure plan, every four years. Also, regular meetings with e.g. nature protection and other groups support the informal contacts positively.

In some cases it seems that the project can be hindered if the communication process with the population starts too early, that is to say before the definition of the main axes or guide line of the project. It can in fact be useless, time consuming and confusing to develop a communication procedure on a project which still needs to be developed. In the Cergy Pontoise land park case, very little communication with the local actors (the residents and the farmers) has yet been developed on the project. According to the planners it is too early, and the project is still too vague and imprecise to start a discussion with the local actors.

II.2.5 The importance of “human” criteria in the communication process

A number of cases highlighted the fact that the communication is also very much framed by several “human” criteria, that is to say various elements linked to the persons themselves, which influence the communication processes :

- the professional values and positions of the different actors have an impact on the relations : there can exist a common interest for nature and ecological matters or, on the opposite, divergences between the proponents of urban development versus the proponents of nature conservation...
- the accumulated knowledge and competences of the actors can lead to a better understanding of the context and of the strategies of the other stakeholders
- the individual “attitudes” and competences are also determinant for the quality of the relations, such as trust, mutual respect and understanding between the actors
- the social networks, and especially the informal ones, that appear powerful factors in planning and development.

Thus, the Danish cases stressed the importance of the individual competencies for the establishment of specific relations, these “holy alliances which guaranty the success of the operations. Also the Uggledal case shows how the competence of the individual planner can support a productive communication situation within a traditional planning procedure.

Among the diversity of relations presented in the communication situations of the 14 cases, many seem relatively complex, such as the relation between planners and politicians, and the relation between planners and developers. Although these relations are crucial for the planning processes, in general, they did not appear essential elements for the Greenscom cases.

The analyses presented in the case studies have mainly focused on two relations, which appear particularly significant: the relation between the planners and the inhabitants, on one hand, and between the planners and other experts, on the other hand. These specific relations will therefore be analysed in the two following sections.

II.3. The communication between planners and inhabitants : conditions, difficulties and success of the communication procedures

In the Greenscom cases the planners occupy naturally a major position in the projects. The selection of the cases was in fact framed so as to chose different planning situations, and to examine the communication processes induced by these situations.

The cases highlight the fact that the inhabitants often consider the planner as responsible for the city planning, he is seen as representing the authority for all those matters. So as he is considered as in charge of the whole planning process, he is the one who informs and he is to blame in case of problems and difficulties. The planners therefore can experience the uncomfortable situation of being between the politicians on one side, and the inhabitants on the other. The communication procedures organised by the planners and addressing the inhabitants are all the more important.

The different situations examined in the cases raised a number of questions addressing the participation of the inhabitants. These main issues will be examined in the following sections.

II.3.1 Why? What is the aim of developing the communication with the inhabitants?

Although this question can seem ambiguous, it does appear interesting to first examine the objectives of this type of communication. The cases give some answers to this basic question. Indeed, as it has been said previously, the cases analyse different procedures implemented in order to solve specific problems or to avoid conflicts with the population. But more generally, the cases illustrate various policies which address directly the reinforcement of local democracy and therefore a greater participation of the inhabitants in the planning processes. This approach is linked to the questions of governance, which is an important element of sustainable development. Indeed, for the last ten years, at least, the principles and concepts related to sustainable urban development valorise a greater participation of the inhabitants in the planning processes and try to promote projects in which the population takes part in the choices and decisions. The aim of the Greenscom research is in fact to identify tools which can contribute to sustainable development.

However other questions can be raised. Aren't the politicians and planners in some cases the best judges when taking decisions? Is the population sufficiently aware of the characteristics of the context to be able to participate in a constructive way. The opening of the river case in Aarhus shows indeed that an idea, quite "original" for the city, proposed at first by the planners can take some time to "mature" before becoming a possible theme or object of discussion with the population and local actors concerned. When a consensus seems possible, the discussion can take place.

So what are the advantages and the risks of involving the inhabitants if their choices are not followed? The Haaga case, in Heksinki, and the strong resistance of the population to the project illustrates the difficulties of the communication process in a densification project. The inhabitants were indeed invited to give their opinion on the operation by the means of exhibitions and public meetings. The first meeting on the general axes of the project did not lead to many remarks, whereas during the second meeting which presented the details of the program, many expressed the feeling that the operation was too dense, too high and that it hides the forest... Part of the problem here seems to be the lack of arguments presented to the inhabitants to “justify” the project and to overcome the natural “nimby” reactions.

What is the real “efficiency” of the communication procedures? Communication is time consuming and therefore expensive, so how to determine the most relevant procedures for a project? In some cases, such as in Uggledal (Sweden), the planners seem to admit that the communication process initiated for the project, which was based on the organisation of several regular local forums with different groups of residents and users, had been time consuming and that they did not consider – for the moment – repeating the same procedure for other planning projects.

II.3.2 How? What are the different “levels of interaction” with the inhabitants, in the projects presented in the cases?

Consistent with the Greenscom concepts (developed in WP1 and WP2), the situations can be based on four levels of communication , instruction, information, consultation, negotiation or cooperation, according to the local planning issues and to the tools applied. All the planning projects have, of course, some interaction with the population, and most of the legal instruments which frame the 14 cases, such as the regional, municipal and local plans, provide some basic top-down communication procedures, which can be categorized as “instruction”. However, beyond these institutional approaches, the cases focused on more “innovative” measures and have highlighted different levels in the participation of the inhabitants in the planning processes and projects, that we have grouped under the four categories (**table n° 7**) :

Table n°7
The different levels of interaction with the citizens

	Information	consultation	negotiation	cooperation
Houten tree cutting		Discussion with specific maps. Regular meetings and joint visits with the residents	Creation of neighbourhood offices	
Utrecht contracts			Bi-annual meetings, district committee with residential groups, district bureaux	Self management contracts; Right of initiative
Utrecht, Green Structure planning	Exhibitions and public meetings for the first GSP	Public meetings and discussions with the residents on the GSP options (in Overvecht and Leidsche Rijn)		
Neuville land park, Cergy Pontoise	Legal exhibitions and public meetings for the regional plan			
Urban fringe, Cergy Pontoise	Legal exhibitions and public meetings for the regional plan	Creation in Cergy of five neighbourhood offices	Workshop with different public and private partners for the planning of the area	
Liesse district Cergy Pontoise	Legal exhibitions and public meetings for the local plan			
Haaga case Helsinki	Legal exhibitions and public meetings for the municipal plan	Two local groups invited to the planning committee (regular meetings)		
Broända Valley Helsinki	Legal exhibitions and public meetings for the municipal and local plans	Two questionnaires distributed to the population at the meetings		
Iidesjärvi lake Tampere	Legal exhibitions and public meetings for the municipal and local plans	Internet game : information given on the project and main issues		
Uggedal Gothenburg				Organisation of forums with several local groups to develop the options of the urban project
Lärje valley Gothenburg				Contracts with farmers for the maintenance of the open spaces
Opening of the river, Aarhus	Information given as a "Catalogue of ideas" which circulated among the population	Ongoing debate with the citizens e.g. through local councils, on the GSP and on the city's planning options		
Aarslev meadow lake, Aarhus		Ongoing debate with the citizens e.g. through local councils, on the GSP and on the planning options for the city	Negotiations with the farmers for compensation measures related to the creation of the lake	
Hasle hillscape, Aarhus		Ongoing debate with the population, on the GSP and on the planning options for the city		Contracts with private contractor for the development of the area

- **information** : top down information given to the inhabitants, this information being more or less detailed. Information is usually given through exhibitions and public meetings. The projects presented are more or less detailed, so the real knowledge on the project varies a lot. In the Neuville Land park case, in Cergy Pontoise, the only information given up till now is related to the main axes of the regional plan, while the details of the project has not yet been proposed to the population.
- **consultation** : precise information given with the possibility for the inhabitants to react and give their opinion on the project or on various parts of the program. The local forums in Uggledal (Sweden) were also developed by the planners in order to obtain more information on the ways of life, needs and expectations of specific groups of population. The use of specific maps and joint visits in the Houten case shows how the population was consulted on the choice of the trees to be cut in the district. In the urban fringe case in Cergy Pontoise, the planning work shop enabled the various private and public actors to express their different points of view as well as their own project and their expectations. The questionnaires and Internet game used in the Broända valley case and the lidesjärvi case (in Finland) also illustrate new means for the consulting the population.
- **negotiation** : exchange of information (top down, but also bottom up) and possible discussions through occasional meetings, or regular local forums; which lead to negotiations on the choices, and a participation of the inhabitants in the final decisions. The “right of initiative” created in Utrecht demonstrates the possibility given to the population to develop negotiations with the municipality on various topics. The neighbourhood offices that have been created in many cities, such as in Houten, Utrecht, Helsinki, or in Cergy for instance, illustrate the more institutionalized form of these measures.
- **cooperation** : various forms of collaboration addressing different measures or stages of a project. Also several cities have developed diverse collaborations such as Utrecht with the self management contracts for the maintenance of the parks and garden of the city, or the Right for initiative procedure, which promotes discussions on the projects proposed by the inhabitants themselves. If the proposal of the residents is approved, the residents have to cooperate in the realization of the plan together with other stakeholders. In Gothenburg, the contracts with the farmers for the maintenance of the Lärje valley, and the organisation of forums in Uggledal with several local groups to develop the options of the urban project by exchange of knowledge, and by shared learning illustrate this cooperation, as well as the contract with a private actor for the construction of the Hasle hillscape in Aarhus.

Some overlapping often seems to exist between these categories of situations, which make the analyses more complex. Indeed, the information on the lidesjärvi project, for instance, given to the inhabitants through an internet game, can be seen as a means to promote the participation of the population and lead to a real consultation concerning the localisation of the new constructions, even though it can also be considered mainly as information approach, as the inhabitants have no power or influence on the final decisions. Nevertheless, it seems that this procedure can also improve the general knowledge and awareness of the inhabitants concerning urban planning issues. Hence, the communication situations should not only be evaluated regarding their impact on the precise project, but should be examined in a broader way, taking also into account some long term positive effects. For example, in the evaluation of the Uggledal case (Sweden) it was stated that the local forums set up had

empowered some people involved and created relationships with impact on other parts of the local life.

II.3.3 When, and on what subject?

What is the best time or moment for communicating with the population? This question is directly related to the question of the “object” of the communication. There can indeed be different ways, subjects and periods for developing a communication process with the inhabitants, and the communication analysed in the cases illustrate this great diversity of situations. However the communication can, to simplify, be divided into two main categories : on one hand, the communication procedures which address the main concepts, principles of axes of the plans or the projects, and on the other hand, the communication procedures which are related to the specific details, scenarios or alternatives of the projects and operations (**table n°8**).

Table n°8
Theme or subject of the communication with the citizens

	General principles of the plans and concepts	Details of the urban projects and operations
Houten tree cutting		Negotiation with the residents concerning the selection of the trees to be cut and to be kept in the neighbourhood
Utrecht self management contracts	Right of initiative to suggest plans for district, neighbourhood or street that are negotiated with city council	Definition of the rules and principles for the maintenance of the parks and gardens (choice of plants and products used...)
Utrecht, Green Structure planning	Increase of the participation of the inhabitants in the GSP (discussion on the general options and preservation of green areas for the Overvecht GSP)	Playgrounds and local green areas are adapted to the wishes of the residents (in Leidsche Rijn)
Neuville land park, Cergy Pontoise	Legal information procedure concerning the revision of the regional plan (presentation of the main options)	
Urban fringe, Cergy pontoise	Legal information procedure concerning the revision of the regional plan (presentation of the main options)	
Liesse district Cergy Pontoise	Legal information procedure concerning the new local plan (presentation of the main options)	
Haaga case Helsinki	Legal information procedure concerning the municipal plan (presentation of the main options)	Consultation on precise alternatives for the urban project
Broända Valley Helsinki	Legal information procedure concerning the municipal and the local plan (presentation of the main options)	Consultation on precise scenarios for the urban project
Ilidesjärvi lake Tampere	Legal information procedure concerning the municipal and the local plan (presentation of the main options)	Consultation (internet game) on the localisation of the new urban project
Uggledal Gothenburg		Discussions of the ways of life of the local groups and their expectations of the population concerning the new urban project having impact of the plan and design of the area
Lärje valley Gothenburg		Definition of principles and contracts for the maintenance of the area, with the farmers
Opening of the river, Aarhus	Information and pictures concerning the future district with the river opened up	
Aarslev meadow lake, Aarhus		Negotiation with the farmers on compensation measures for the creation of the lake
Hasle hillscape, Aarhus	Ongoing debate with the population on the general concept and principles of the green structure plan including the green belt	Communication with the citizens will follow at a second stage of the development, supported by funds from the EU Urban programme and a national funding

- **Communicating on general principles and concepts**

Some cases illustrate the communication developed with the population on general options. In the three cases of Cergy Pontoise, for instance, the communication with the inhabitants, framed by the legal procedures, concerns the main options of the regional plan which has been revised in 2000. Several of the new principles are related to a greater balance between urban development and preservation of nature, and to environmental issues. In Finland also, the three cases are framed by the procedures related to the elaboration or revision of the municipal plans, which stress the importance of the preservation of green areas (with the concept of the green fingers in Helsinki, for instance). In the Haaga case, the communication is also linked to more informal tools, the “planning principles” which define a kind of green policy. In Utrecht, the Green structure planning case examines the increase of the participation of the population in defining the options of the GSP (which presents the green areas to be created or maintained in specific neighbourhoods).

All these types of communication are usually developed far ahead of the precise projects, and stay at a quite general level ; they mostly take the shape of basic information given with a top down approach. If the concepts and principles do not seem to raise much opposition from the population, at that stage of the process, the situation seems however to change quite frequently when it comes to defining the details and localisation of the projects. Nevertheless, this common information and the discussions on green issues that take place at these early stages, seem to contribute to a certain “awareness” of the population, and to a certain extent to “prepare” the inhabitants for the future projects. In Aarhus for instance, the option of opening the river in the middle of the city stayed for quite a while as a general “idea” until a consensus was found. The project itself was then carried out with very little opposition. Indeed, in Aarhus, there seems to exist now a general consensus on the main principles, and debates only on specific local issues such as for the Hasle hillscape for instance.

- **Communicating on precise projects**

Several cases analyse the communication procedures developed for a specific project or a particular operation. In the three finish cases, a communication procedure was developed with the population for specific densification projects. In the lidesjärvi case, the inhabitants were invited through an internet game to visualise the various planning options related to the project and to simulate themselves the localisation of the new constructions. In the Haaga case, two alternatives were proposed to the inhabitants, who were invited to participate in defining the options for the sports park of the new urban district. However in both cases, the decisions seem finally to have been taken at a “higher” level, without the population. This type of communication does appear risky, as it can induce some disappointment and even some conflict, if the opinions of the inhabitants are not followed or respected. Indeed these cases illustrate the difficulty of informing precisely the population on the complexity of the technical aspects of planning, and on the sometimes contradictory issues (necessity of densification, and necessity of nature protection...).

In some situations, the communication does not only focus on the details of the project itself but addresses the way the new project can be integrated into the local context and accepted by the existing population. This approach induces specific communication tools and a level of interaction which enables to gather information on how the inhabitants actually live in their neighbourhood. In the Uggledal case for instance, the communication with the population was developed for a precise project concerning the densification of a district located on the south of the city of Gothenburg. The local forums which were organised with different groups aimed at creating a space and time for discussions concerning on one hand, the ways of life, the needs and expectations of the existing population, and on the other hand, the precise options and localisation of the future constructions.

Another type of “object” of communication is related to the contracts signed with the inhabitants or with local groups, which are, by definition, tools which present more or less precise rules and obligations for each stakeholder. The contracts with the farmers of the Lärje valley in Gothenburg for instance determine the orientations for the management of this area, and the self management contracts in Utrecht fix the rules for the maintenance of the parks and gardens of the city. However, in this last case, the analyses underline the complexity of this tool, and the difficulty to find the right level of “flexibility” in the definition of the rules. After an initial period with strict rules, more flexibility was introduced, based on negotiations. The success of this procedure has led to the signature of 600 contracts, which became a burden for the management department. The department does no longer dispose of the required capacity and finances to support and monitor the individual contracts. The municipality has recently mentioned the necessity to fix more clear and precise orientations for this policy. A balance must therefore be found between maintaining some autonomy and a voluntary approach for the inhabitants on one hand, and clear guidelines fixed by the municipality to keep some control on the maintenance of the public spaces.

These questions on the right “object” of communication concern all the cases. Indeed, the different tools experienced in the cases try to find a balance between a “simple” and “accessible” communication for the population with, nevertheless, explicit, complete and detailed information. The aim of these communication procedures is also to make the population aware of the contradictory issues of each context. In Cergy for instance, after one year of debates with the residents in the neighbourhood committees, the municipality decided to organise training courses for the members of these committees, in order to give them the main “keys” to understand the possibilities and limits of the municipal policies, and therefore to improve the discussions with the population and make the dialogue more constructive and efficient.

It appears indeed important to choose the “right” object for the communication, that is to say to avoid useless discussions on topics which cannot be directly taken in charge by the planners or by the municipality. It seems in fact important to decide precisely on what matters will the communication be based on, in order to make the process as efficient as possible and to limit the risks of frustrations. The choices in the argumentation and in the topics presented for the discussion are therefore crucial. The tree cutting case in Houten, for instance, shows how a simple change in the object of the discussion by the municipal services can clearly improve the communication process: instead of examining the trees to be cut in the district, the residents were invited to determine the trees to be kept. In Aarhus, the opening of the river process started by the promotion of a general idea, such as the positive image of a pleasant district along the river, with cafés, restaurants and public spaces. This idea was the object of a long term communication process that progressively interested a growing number of actors, whereas precise discussions concerning the impact of the project on the urban organisation and on the transport system would, no doubt, have provoked strong oppositions.

II.3.4 With whom?

Who is concerned by the communication process, and who is missing? Those are crucial questions which have been raised in the all cases. Even though the communication procedures developed in the different cities aim at a greater participation of the population, the tools do not manage to involve the whole population, and some categories with specific needs seem often absent, such as the young people, the children, the women, the future population, or the immigrants... Frequently the traditional communication procedures, such as exhibitions or public meetings, are designed for all citizens, but only in reality a minority of the inhabitants or people truly concerned by the projects get involved. The residents who participate or who attend these meetings or other communication actions, are either persons who belong to the most well educated or informed categories, or are “activists” from particular groups or associations (and often these two categories are the same, that is to say

local groups and associations are generally composed of persons belonging to the most advantaged social categories). So some questions still remain such as what about the “silent groups” and how to avoid the communication process being monopolised only by the activists or the well educated?

Some cases focus on innovative procedures which have tried to overcome these limits. The local forums in Uggledal, for instance, were precisely organised in order to invite specific groups into the discussions. A group of women met regularly during the elaboration of the project in order to express their particular expectations, while a workshop was organised with the children of a school. A similar process was intended with a group of residents retired but this group only met once. Some groups or categories are indeed more difficult to involve. Several of the Swedish and Danish cases underlined for instance, the difficulty of involving immigrants in the communication processes.

So the aim of the internet game developed in Tampere was to “touch”, at home, people who usually would not participate in the traditional communication procedures. However, in this case it is difficult to evaluate precisely which category of persons felt effectively concerned and who in reality tried this game. Moreover this tool does imply having the adapted technological equipment and knowledge to be able to participate, and this does probably leave out part of the population.

It therefore appears that the inhabitants are in many cases only “actants” in the communication procedures, and that they frequently represented by other actors such as the politicians or the planners, for instance. In those situations, are they well represented, and are their needs taken into account? When the planners talk in the name of the inhabitants, they usually take into account not only the present population but also the future needs, and this is why some conflict seem to arise. How to convince the present population of the necessity of new constructions in their neighbourhood? The complexity of these issues, related to the NIMBY phenomenon has been underlined in many cases ⁵.

II.3.5 General interest versus individual interests, or how to cope with the “Nimby” phenomenon?

The problem of a good balance between general interest versus private interest is linked to the NIMBY phenomenon, and this often occurs in environmental matters : indeed how to articulate the needs for new housing and infrastructures for future population (dwellings with elevators, or for large families for example), and the expectations of the present inhabitants which are usually against all changes in their neighbourhood, and especially against projects which concern the destruction of green and open spaces. In Houten for instance, the inhabitants do not want the trees to be cut even though the general interest, of the residents, requires such a decision. Many of the communication procedures analysed in the cases tackle these questions, that is to say how to explain to the existing population the necessity of urban development or specific management measures, which arguments should be developed and what methods can be used by planners to avoid or solve conflicts?

Moreover, this situation does raise another question : does the NIMBY phenomenon help inhabitants in becoming actors of the planning process? This could appear as the positive aspect of this phenomenon. Deeply concerned by the eventual changes in their district, the inhabitants can become actors of the process as they are willing for more information and discussions.

In many cases, the inhabitants seem indeed to have a strong attachment to their district and to its identity, and the quality of life in the neighbourhood is frequently dependent on the

⁵ Nimby: Not in my back yard

social links that have been developed, on the ways of life and habits of the population which participate in building a community feeling. The challenge for the communication procedures is therefore to maintain and respect these reactions while bringing progressively relevant arguments into the discussion. The local forums organised in Uggledal appear as a efficient way to achieve this goal.

However, in a general way, the present concepts and principles of sustainable urban development, which within the official EU discourse, promote densification and compact cities seem to induce automatically some risks of conflict with the population, such as in the Haaga case. Indeed how to avoid an increase in the number of conflicts with residents as most inhabitants disapprove densification projects, or any project close to their house? New argumentations need therefore to be developed, even though the communication is of course strongly dependent of the geographical and economical local contexts.

The challenge could be not to avoid conflicts but to turn conflicts into positive resources. How to see in a conflict an active user and not an adversary to be silenced in the most effective way? This does evidently demand openness and will to change, from the planners and official actors. A conflict can indeed constitute positive resources if it leads to negotiation, communication, and mutual learning.

Thus the different case-studies highlighted a number of important conclusions related to the communication between the planners and the inhabitants, concerning the objectives of this relation, the different levels of interaction, the best moment and the subject of the communication processes and also the characteristics of the groups or the citizens involved. The tools used for this type of communication and the lessons learnt from the cases will be further analysed in chapter IV.

The following section will now examine the outcomes of the cases related to another important relation, the communication between planners and sectors experts, which appears today as a crucial element for the success of the planning processes.

II.4. Communication between planners and sector experts : towards multidisciplinary planning?

The cases highlighted the changes that are progressively taking place in the field of planning, marked by the increase in the number of actors involved in the planning operations. City planning, by definition, has always covered several sectors, such as housing, transport, economic development or open spaces, etc., which means that different experts have always had to work together. But concerning green issues, new actors seem to play an increasing role, such as the biologists, botanists, zoologists, ecologists, or sociologists... and this often modifies the organisation of the planning and the communication procedures.

In fact, the relations between the planners and the various sector experts seem to become an important element of the communication situation in most of the cases analysed in the Greenscom research. Indeed, the planners have different types of relations with the sectors experts : some are formal and framed by the legal procedures, but some are informal and based on opportunities, acquaintances or personal contacts. In addition, the communication between the planners and other experts can be related to general planning options or principles, or focus on the details of the projects. The case studies seem to show that nowadays, all these actors tend to work more closely together, even if there are still some subjects of divergences or conflicts. However, the cooperation between the actors does require more attention.

II.4.1 Some divergences...

- **Tension between the “designers” and the “managers”**

An important issue raised in several cases concerns the conflict between the planners or landscape architects, considered as the “designers” of the green areas, and the managers, who are in charge of the maintenance of these areas once they are created. One of the difficulties is defining together and right from the beginning the principles and practical solution for the maintenance of the green areas. So the issues are often related to financial problems, as the maintenance of urban green represents important costs for the municipalities. However there also can be “technical” problems to be tackled.

In Houten, for instance, the landscape architects who designed the new town decided the plantation of a great number of trees which have now grown very dense and should partly be cut down. This situation has caused a conflict with the population but it is now the services in charge of the maintenance of the green spaces which have to cope with this problem. The solution for solving the conflict was found in the use of various communication tools such as the organization of joint visits with the different experts and with the population.

In Aarhus, this tension does not appear as the planner is himself a landscape architect, and has knowledge of design as well as of maintenance.

- **Tension between the “builders” and the “environmentalists”**

Some cases highlighted planning situations with disagreements on the objectives and values, such as the caricatured conflict between the planners “who want to build everywhere” and the environmentalist “who want to protect everything”.

Indeed there are some cases, such as the Lärje valley case in Gothenburg, where there have been some complex debates among the experts, with conflicting positions between the advocates for the conservation of the natural area and its protection as farmland, and the proponents for urban development which defend the necessity of new road infrastructures. For the moment, it seems that the recent decisions are in favour of the conservation and protection of the valley.

The Liderjärvi case in Tampere also stressed the opposition concerning the planning options, between the municipality who wants to build new constructions close to the lake, and the Ministry of environment who is opposed to the project, for ecological reasons. The divergences appear as well in the various planning documents: A particular study on the green areas of the region defined the concept of a “green area network” for the city; and proposes the protection of the shores of the lake which present some particularly valuable species of birds, whereas another study suggested the urbanization of these shores as a densification measure. One of the difficulties seems to be the absence of collaboration between the different experts in charge of the preliminary studies, as the regional plan and the municipal present contradictory options.

II.4.2 How to promote new collaborations

So the analyses developed in the cases raised several questions such as how to improve the relations between the different sector experts, to avoid misunderstandings and promote mutual trust and respect? How to move from official and formal communication based on one way exchanges of information, to genuine collaboration between experts? It seems that in some cases, such as for the maintenance contracts in Utrecht, the citizens themselves can play an active role in promoting collaboration between experts or between different municipal departments. Indeed, the inhabitants often ask for clear principles and need precise guidelines, which can only result from a genuine collaboration between the services. Moreover, the head of departments and the politicians can also play a role in stimulating cooperation between actors.

- **Defining the appropriate themes and subjects of communication (Table n°9)**

The communication between the planners and the sectors experts covers at least two parts which should be articulated according to the characteristics of the planning context : the communication on general principles and concepts on one hand, and the communication on the details of the project or the operation, on the other hand. Both are important, but appear at different moments.

Table n°9
Theme or subject of the communication between the planners and sector experts

	General principles and concepts	Details of the project or the operation
Houten tree cutting		New cooperation between different municipal services on problems and issues related to maintenance of green areas
Utrecht self management contracts	New organisation of the municipal services with "district bureaux" (civil servants) and district committees (politicians) for various aspects of life in the neighbourhoods	
Utrecht, Green Structure planning	Development of a transversal approach for the GSP with a greater collaboration between the services	New cooperation between municipal departments in the project bureau Leidsche Rijn
Neuville land park, Cergy Pontoise	Definition of the main axes of the future land park framed by the revision of the regional plan	
Urban fringe, Cergy pontoise		Collaboration between the different actors for the planning options of the districts located on the urban fringe (housing, transport, agriculture land and green areas issues)
Liesse district Cergy Pontoise		At the first stage of the process, several studies and discussions between the actors on the precise environmental elements of the project
Haaga case Helsinki	Cooperation of many actors for the definition of the general "planning principles" of the municipal plan	Discussion and opposition between the actors on the green areas to be preserved
Broända Valley Helsinki		Negotiation between the actors on environmental options (Natura 2000)
Iidesjärvi lake Tampere	Classification of the lake as a national bird water and preserved area.	Discussion and opposition between the administrations on the green areas to be preserved
Uggedal Gothenburg		Cooperation of many actors for the definition of the urban project (localisation and size of the buildings)
Lärje valley Gothenburg		Discussion between the different services and administrations on the different means for the preservation of the valley
Opening of the river, Aarhus	Development and spreading of an "idea" which progressively was adopted by the different actors	Negotiations on specific technical design solutions and traffic measures
Aarslev meadow lake, Aarhus	Consensus between the actors on the green planning options for the city ("holy alliance")	Discussion between different sectors and experts on the ecological outcome
Hasle hillscape, Aarhus	Consensus between politicians and planners to protect the greenbelt area against building threats	Negotiation of specific contracts with the different partners involved in the planning, development and maintenance of the greenbelt

- **Finding a balance between formal and informal relations**

The traditional communication procedures which are, as a rule, framed by the national legislation are often quite formal : the sector experts are in charge of producing specific studies or giving written comments and recommendations on the documents which are presented to them by the planners. This type of exchange of information, developed in one-way approaches without real debate or negotiation, seems to lead sometimes to some misunderstandings or oppositions between the municipal services or between the municipality and other administrations.

It seems essential to promote a clear basis and precise guidelines for the communication between the experts, in order to avoid tensions between the stakeholders. Moreover a too large “connivance” between the experts can lead to relations developed out of the “normal” communication procedures and without public discussions. Some cases indeed highlighted the problems related to “political” or “ideological” acquaintances among planners and experts with the risk of turning away the communication from the public sphere. The decisions are therefore taken in “small spheres” on the basis of particular criteria which are not defined democratically.

In several cases, new procedures have been launched or at least intended in order to develop public “spaces” for discussion between the actors. In Uggledal, for instance, a proposition was made to create a specific “reference group” with various experts, quite early in the planning process. However, this idea did not come about which caused some disappointment among the local actors. On the opposite, the planning workshop created in Cergy Pontoise for the urban fringe, enabled several actors to meet regularly and to work together on the project, and this ended up by the publication of a document which grouped all the analyses and recommendations produced in common.

- **The development of multidisciplinary planning**

Some cases, such as the Aarhus cases, illustrated the development of new types of relations between the actors, with the creation of informal strategic network of experts, which collaborate on a long term basis and not only for specific projects. So creating a team appears an interesting way to overcome the divergences that can occur between different sectors experts. This means promoting genuine exchange of expert knowledge between the actors, valorising the experiences of the planners and other experts, who know the history of the city, and who can evaluate in advance the controversial issues. An additional asset is the practice of “holy alliances”, i.e. informal contacts with persons or groups who may supplement with local wishes and opportunities ahead of the formal planning procedure. Trust building in this way may prevent many conflicts at the planning level and support right timing, but also may provide additional expert knowledge to be used by the planers.

In Helsinki, the Haaga case showed the effect of the assessment studies on the communication between the actors. In fact, these studies enable various experts to collaborate in order to elaborate a hierarchy and determine which green areas can disappear and what compensation measures should be taken. These studies induce large scale analyses, and the combination of various criteria. They are also supposed to reach a balance between the elements in favour of urban development and densification on one hand, and the arguments in favour of nature protection (point of view related to the more or less valuable natural and recreational green areas).

The green structure planning case, in Utrecht, illustrates the establishment of new collaborations between the sector experts, and focused on the transversal approach developed in Overvecht. An important element concerns the interesting combination right from the start between the “technical” aspects of the green areas (issues related to the

design and creation of green areas) and the “financial” aspects (issues linked to the maintenance of these areas).

Although there are still sometimes certain oppositions between the planners and other sector experts, the case studies show a general trend for a greater communication between these actors, which in fact benefits usually to the whole planning process. A question remains of how can these new relations be defined? Is it multi-disciplinary planning, or inter-disciplinary planning or trans-disciplinary planning? Different definitions exist which each give some precisions on the actual actors involved, their background and professional position, and the way they effectively work together. We shall not in this section start an analysis of these different approaches which in fact were not developed in the cases, but in chapter IV, the lessons learnt will nevertheless address this important challenge.

In chapter III, we will now examine the outcomes of the case-studies concerning the second important topic for the Greenscom research, the question of green issues in urban development.

III. THIRD PART : GREEN ISSUES IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The object of this chapter is to present the principles outcomes of the 14 cases related to the “growth and green” issues in the context of sustainable urban development. This is of course one of major topics for the Greenscom research. Indeed, as it was mentioned in the DOW, balancing growth and green is often seen as a competition between urban development and protection of green areas. The analysis conducted in the case studies show how the use of different policies, procedures and instruments, and in particular a structure of multifunctional urban green areas, can contribute to sustainable economic, social and ecological development and therefore to the quality of urban life.

In section 1 we will start by analysing the different meanings of “green”, such as they appear in the cases; section 2 will then examine the findings related to green structure planning, and section 3 will stress the main conclusions concerning the balance between urban growth and green.

III.1. What is urban “green”?

A crucial issue for the Greenscom research is naturally to examine the different meanings of “green”, such as they are developed in the cases. Indeed there are various values, significances and senses related to the term “green”. It is possible to use geographical, physical or functional classifications, to apply the concepts developed in social sciences or in natural sciences, and also to examine the symbolic values accorded to green.

III.1.1 The geographical characteristics of green

A first feature is related to the localisation of green areas, with the existence of a simple opposition between green inside the city and green outside the city. Though the urban pressure is generally high inside the city, green seems quite often less “exposed” or endangered inside the town, than on the fringes of the city. Indeed, green structure plans and municipal plans take into account mainly the green areas located inside the boundaries of the city. There often seems to be a kind of consensus on the necessity to protect urban green areas which contribute to the quality of life and to the image of the city, whereas the open spaces on the outskirts, and especially agriculture land, are particularly threatened by suburbanization. Also this means that the “contact line” between the urban districts and the countryside, which has been named in this research as the “urban fringe” is also an element to be taken into account in the green planning policies, as it appears as particularly fragile .

However the localisation of green is an element which has not the same significance in all countries. In some cities such as in Gothenburg and in Helsinki and Tampere, there is a very strong mix of the built up and non built areas, with the existence of important stretches of forests or open land inside the urban districts. Whereas in Utrecht or Cergy Pontoise, most of the green areas in the city - except for the central Neuville recreational park - are “traditional” urban green areas, such as urban parks, public garden, little woods or open spaces which have been designed for public uses. Very often the urban green is mainly considered as “cultivated green” in opposition to “real nature”. However the image of the green areas can change progressively: in Aarhus for instance, the trees - still small - planted on the green belt will become a forest, which may, in several years, be considered as “nature”.

This dichotomy between the “urban inside” and the “natural outside” has been highlighted in several cases. In Aarhus, the concept of “Aarhus surrounded by forest” seems to be an important factor which has been used by the planners and local authorities to support their green policy and to achieve their goals. In the same way, “Cergy-Pontoise, a town in the country side” was a significant part of the good image of the town right from the start. In both

cases these “catch phrases” which have become concepts have been the guiding principles for all new expansion projects and transformations of the cities. So that means that the outside green can also be a noteworthy factor for the development of the city itself : “ the value of nature is the value it adds to the value of the land and of the city” (lidesjärvi case).

III.1.2 The different elements designed as “green”

The cases illustrate the various elements that are designated under the term green. In some countries (Finland, Sweden), forests cover important superficies of the countryside and therefore have a crucial position in the planning policies, whereas in others (France, Denmark, Netherlands) the cities are mostly surrounded by agricultural land, and the protection policies focus on that specific type of open land.

In addition to the forests and agriculture land that can be found inside some towns, green inside the cities is mainly composed of urban parks and public gardens. But other elements also contribute to the green image and structure of many towns, such as the trees on the side of the roads : they appear particularly important in the new towns like Houten and Cergy Pontoise. In addition, the lakes, rivers and other elements related to water are generally integrated into the green structure policies, and represent an important “natural” element. Thus, several cases illustrate the importance of “water” in or for the city : in Aarhus (the two Aarhus river cases), in Tampere (the lidesjärvi case), in Cergy-Pontoise (the Neuville case)...

III.1.3 Green in social sciences and green in natural sciences

In the Greenscom cases, green areas seem to be regarded either for their ecological values, within a natural sciences approach, or for their recreational, cultural and social values within a social sciences approach, but often the two approaches are linked.

Among the ecological values of green, several factors have been mentioned, such as the contribution of the green areas in the environmental structure of the city, and the link with the other sectors like the water system or the transport infrastructure (in terms of energy consumption and environmental impact), and the bicycle tracks. This dimension has been particularly illustrated in Houten for instance. Green is often considered as part of “nature”, which means that special attention is given to the plants, animals and habitats of the green areas. In fact, in some cases specific protection policies and measures are applied at local, national or European levels, such as the European directive defining the “Natura 2000” areas, or the French “ZNIEFF” areas (natural areas of ecological, faunal or floral interest). In Tampere, the existence of a specific water-bird living on the shore of the lidesjärvi lake is a significant factor in favour of the protection of the area, and against the urbanisation of a “unique and valuable natural environment of national value”. These ecologic elements are also an important issue for the Aarslev meadow lake

Another way of considering green is to consider the green areas for their functions and their social uses, i.e. for the cultural and social values they represent for the population. The analyses are based on the ways of life and expectations of the citizens, whereas in the natural sciences approach, the analyses are mainly based on the potentialities of “green” itself. Indeed, the main difference in the meaning of green between the social sciences and natural sciences is between a human-based approach and an ecological-based approach.

Inside the cities, but also in the surroundings, the main values of green are related to the recreational activities that the green areas offer to the citizens in the urban districts. As the cities keep growing, the needs for recreational areas grow also and more nature and scenic landscapes have to be preserved. Among the social and cultural values, the possibility for the inhabitants of growing their own vegetables or keeping animals is also mentioned as a positive element.

In certain cities such as in Gothenburg, green areas are considered both with regard to recreation values and to biodiversity. Though it often seems quite difficult to articulate the two dimensions in planning documents, it could be integrated in practice in the local communication process of the Uggledal. In Utrecht, some divergences seemed to lie between the actors in favour of a more ecological design and management of green (design closer to natural features, no use of pesticides, etc.) and those in favour of “nice and tidy greenery, or colourful parks with flowers”.

III.1.4 The symbolic meanings and values of green or blue

The symbolic meaning of green is a very significant element for the citizens as well as for the planners, the economic actors and the local politicians. It varies from one country to another. In Finland and Sweden for instance, the strong attachment to the forest by the citizens seems to be linked to a cultural and historical phenomenon. Indeed, many inhabitants care for the experience of “silence and nature” that only forests can provide.

Expanding, creating or protecting green – or other elements related to nature – sometimes represent a very symbolic dimension for the city. It either contributes to the valorisation of the history and heritage of the town, or to developing some essential urban and architectural figure crucial for the image of the town. In Aarhus, for instance, the opening of the river allows the citizens to rediscover the original landscape of the city, on one hand, and it creates a new connection between the harbour and the green landscape, on the other hand. The river is part of both the natural and cultural heritage of Aarhus. It is also regarded as the symbol of the union between the past and the future, and more generally a symbol of sustainable development.

In Cergy-Pontoise, it was decided right from the start of the new town to protect the area inside the loop of the river and to make it progressively one of the key elements of the new town's green structure. This area is situated in the prolongation of the "Major Axis", a symbolic architectural design concept, that is emblematic of the new town. It is expressed as an urban “pathway” that is structured with various architectural and landscape elements (the Belvedere Tower, the Twelve Columns, the Impressionists' orchard, the Human Rights garden, etc.). This axis is intended to extend across the recreation center to the future Neuville land park and to increase the symbolic value of green in the city.

III.2. Green planning

All the Greenscom cases have focused or at least dealt with issues related to the question of “green structure planning”, and though the urban and institutional contexts appear very different from one country to another, and from one city to another, a number of common analyses can be highlighted. Therefore, in this section we will not undertake a theoretical discussion on the definition of green structure planning or of a green structure plan, but we will examine the characteristics of the various policies applied in the cities concerning specifically green issues, on the basis of the main findings presented in the case studies.

III.2.1 Sector versus transversal approaches

A first question addresses the articulation between general planning policies and documents, and specific measures concerning the creation, protection or management of green areas. Some cities like Aarhus and Gothenburg have developed strong green structure planning policies and have now a long practice of this type of specific planning. The green issues in these cases appear in a central position, and the green areas usually benefit of a strong protection. In Houten also, the green structure plan seems well integrated in the overall urban plans concerning the new town (with the water infrastructures, the cycle paths, etc.).

In other cities, like Helsinki, Tampere or Cergy-Pontoise, even though a strong attention is given to green areas, the planning policies are still mainly framed by the urban development options. In those towns, the place of green in the planning issues does not appear as a priority, or at least it does not always appear as consensual among all partners.

The complex challenge seems indeed to be to find the most appropriate balance between a specific green structure plan which is disconnected from the general plan, and a single comprehensive plan where the green is just one element among other issues. In the first case, the risks are that the green plan does not follow the main development rules and principles, with the existence of some contradictions and conflicts : the impact can then be that the green policy does not get enough financial resources and political support to be thoroughly applied. In the other case, the risks are that the green issues are not well positioned in the hierarchy of the planning priorities, and that the protection of green areas cannot “compete” with the urban development forces.

In Utrecht, the planning policy has, in fact, changed progressively in order to find a better position for the green issues, moving from the previous juxtaposition of two separate policies, urban planning on one side and green planning on the other, towards one single planning policy where the green plays nevertheless an important role.

III.2.2 Designing and evaluating green areas

Another important issue raised in many cases is related to the principles used for designing and evaluating green areas. These questions are linked both to the characteristics of the various elements concerned by green structure planning, and to the modalities applied for assessing these areas.

What are the elements comprised in a green structure plan? “Green” has different meanings, as we have seen in a previous section, but beyond these differences, the elaboration of a green structure plan induces the transformation of green elements into “concepts” such as the “green fingers” in Helsinki, the “green belt” in Aarhus, the network of green areas for playing and recreation in Houten, or the “green corridor” in Cergy-Pontoise (St Ouen-l’Aumône municipality), etc. Generally, different concepts are indeed mobilised and the green structure plans (but also the regional and municipal plans) articulate several of these elements. This process enables to gather green elements or areas which are often disseminated in the town, and to give them a specific meaning and a particular position in the planning options, which may guarantee a better protection. In Utrecht for instance, it appears that with the green structure plan, the green areas in the city are indeed regarded as a coherent whole and not as scattered spots. The small areas of green may not be significant in themselves, but together they can form the important links in a “chain of green”.

Though in many cases, these design concepts appear strong enough to resist densification pressure, however, the question of the future of the other green areas still remains. In Helsinki for instance, the protection of the green inside the green fingers seems well established whereas the protection of the green areas located in between the fingers is decided case by case, and the planning system allows for designating them for recreational or ecological purposes. The green finger is not a juridical term but surely it helps as a governing concept. Nevertheless, these areas can sometimes be designated by the planners as areas for new infill development.

Another process related to green structure planning concerns fixing priorities and hierarchies for the protection of green areas, which means defining and using landscape assessment criteria and procedures. The Haagaa case illustrates an assessment procedure applied in Helsinki, “the Haagaa model”, which is used in a densification strategy in order to select the green areas to be protected and those which can be built on. The most valuable are preserved and the less valuable areas can be used for urban development. The loss of green

areas is compensated by increasing the quality of the preserved areas, and in particular by creating centrally located high quality parks in every district. In Utrecht, the green structure plan provides an overview of the most important green facilities, and therefore the areas with the highest priority are tackled first. This way, the available funds are spent where they are the most needed.

The question of the articulation between quantitative criteria and qualitative criteria appears in fact in many cases. In Utrecht, for instance, the changes in the green structure planning policy aimed at a better integration of qualitative criteria : the intention was in particular to combine the social aspects that is to say the expectations and wishes of the inhabitants with the other criteria. Indeed, in many cases new approaches are applied in order to analyse the green areas, which use cultural, historical or archaeological values. These values can even then become guiding principles.

III.2.3 The cost of urban green

The question of how to finance the creation and protection of green areas in the cities, and of how to cope with the general increase in the costs of maintenance and management of the existing green areas appear as important issues. Indeed, several cases illustrate procedures or operations framed by economic and financial considerations. The self management contracts in Utrecht were in fact partly created to find solutions to the cut in the green management budget of the municipality. The leasing contracts with the farmers of the Lärje valley in Gothenburg support the care of the valley at a reasonable cost, as well as they contribute in improving public access to green areas and strengthening the attraction of the whole district. The contract signed with a developer for the Hasle hillscape was an economic way to develop the green belt by using the area as a soil deposit in order to create a recreation park, a win-win situation where all parts had economic benefit.

In a broader approach, the complex question of financing the whole green policy was also raised in several cases. Today many actors seem to become aware that the presence of green improves the quality of urban life, but that means that more funds must be allocated to green policies. In many cities, green is now perceived as vital for improving the quality of life : the quality of “red” is boosted by the quality of “green”. Nevertheless, the focus on green strongly depends on the economic and political climate. Thus, it appears that the principles and options addressing the financial aspects are determinant for the success of the green planning policies. In Utrecht, the difficulties of the first GSP seem to be linked to the absence of connection with the investment program. It has now been decided that the new Leidsche Rijn Green Structure Plan is to be financed from the total land development and that no specific funds are to be allocated to the GSP.

III.2.4 Planning by opportunity within the framework of a green structure plan

An interesting issue that was raised in several cases concerns the question of how to develop long term planning, and secure crucial principles, and at the same time keep some flexibility. Green structure planning is indeed generally considered as a means to design, create and protect open spaces in and around the city, and to define precise principles which should be applied in the long term. This type of procedure however does not always guarantee the best preservation of green areas, as it was mentioned in the previous sections. If for instance, there is little connection between the design and the management aspects, or if the economic or institutional context is modified, the green policy can also be transformed and the protection of green areas can be threatened.

Nevertheless, some interesting procedures which combine precise design principles and flexibility in the management can be mentioned. In Utrecht, for instance, the categorization of green into three types, architectural green, utilitarian green and ecological green, has helped to set guidelines while keeping flexibility for concrete plans.

Besides, fruitful outcomes appear when taking advantage of various administrative, financial or technical opportunities, and it seems important to keep some “suppleness” in the planning policies. The Aarhus cases illustrate particularly well this approach : indeed, the city planners have at several occasions, been able to valorise some unexpected “events” in order to launch a new idea or to develop an innovative project, such as the creation of the Aarslev meadow lake, after a donation, or the opening of the river after the digging of a hole in the road above the river.

In a general way, many cases have highlighted the advantages of innovative procedures which are not conventional planning instruments, but “ad hoc” tools chosen to perform the special task of the process. Therefore the challenge for the planning policies seems to be to manage a combination of conventional planning tools and non conventional tools, in order to reach their goal.

III.2.5 The importance of the “precaution” principle

One of the main principles of sustainable development, the “precaution principle”, seems to be usefully applied to urban development and especially for green policies. Indeed, various kinds of “safety measures” can be taken by the planners in order to secure the planning options defined. To a certain extent one can even consider that green structure planning in itself contributes to preserving open areas from future potential damage. By classifying open spaces as areas to be protected (such as defining a green belt or green fingers...) it is thus possible to conserve these areas to a certain degree even if unknown development projects occur in the meantime.

In addition, some specific “prevention” procedures can sometimes be applied. The flooding of the Aarslev meadow in Aarhus and the creation of a lake is an example of growth of the “green” instead of growth of the red. Indeed, as the city keeps growing, the pressure on the open spaces increases and some valuable areas are “endangered”. Even though the agriculture meadows were already part of the Green structure plan, with the creation of the new lake, this area is upgraded biologically and recreationally, and will obtain a higher degree of protection against urban pressure

III.3 The balance between urban growth and green

The whole focus of the Greenscom project lies in this axiom, and the case studies analysed various issues linked to the governance of the balance between green and red. Indeed, the interaction between urban development and the protection of green areas is often perceived as a competition. The cases examined a number of experiences where several planning instruments and communication tools were applied in order to attain this balance. A good articulation is supposed both to improve the quality of urban life and to valorise natural spaces, and in a broader way to contribute to sustainable development. However in many cities this balance still appears as a complex objective to reach.

III.3.1 Densification versus nature and open space protection

The opposition between a densification approach and the protection of nature and open spaces can appear as a conflict between contradictory principles. But generally, the planning options are not so radically opposed, and urban projects often combine different approaches, or at least “compensation” measures can structure the operation and make it satisfactory for the various stakeholders. In order to achieve a coherent articulation between these options, an important communication procedure is necessary. In Finland the compensation is related to social acceptance, and in Haaga, what is compensated is the loss of urban green through densification. Indeed, the citizens are generally in favour of protecting as much as possible all the elements related to nature.

In Gothenburg, for instance, the Uggedal case illustrates a procedure organised in order to work together with the citizens on a densification project, which induced the diminution of the green spaces of the area. The exchange of knowledge enabled the actors (the local groups on one side, and the planners on the other side) to reach an agreement and local acceptance for the construction of new housing. The specific protection of the Kroga brook located close by, and the attention given to the ways of life and expectations of the citizens made the project “acceptable”.

This issue raises again the complex question, already analysed in section I.3.5, of the balance between local democracy and general interest. How to overcome the opposition between the advantages of densification and the advantages of the wishes and expectations of the inhabitants for space, nature, green, both in terms of sustainable urban development. The Haaga case also illustrates the difficulties of densification projects when they mean, as they often do, a decrease of open areas. The strong urban pressure in Helsinki as a result of high migration from other parts of the country has led to a lack of “raw” land inside the boundaries of the city. Yet, in Finland, the tradition was for a long time to build new districts more or less outside the existing urban structure, that is to say in natural surroundings, so that balancing urban growth and green inside the urban districts is a quite new issue, which consequently requires specific planning and communication tools.

In many cases, the planners propose various types of “compensation” measures to overcome or to prevent oppositions. It can mean finding the most relevant localisation for the urban development such as for in the Broända valley, in Helsinki, or increasing the quality of the existing urban parks such as in the Haaga district, or operating the selection of the spaces to be preserved with the inhabitants on social and cultural criteria such as in Utrecht (Leidsche Rijn) or Gothenburg (Uggedal).

III.3.2 What is the real “power” of green against urban growth interests?

Even though there are definitely important differences among the five countries studied in the Greenscom research, concerning the level of awareness of environmental issues (section I.4), green does appear today to have gained a stronger position in the planning policies. This seems mainly linked to the reinforcement of the sustainable development concepts, which have enabled to broaden the values of green and to add to the environmental dimension, other aspects such as economic, social and cultural meanings. Indeed, no city authorities nowadays are liable to instigate urban policies which would not take into account these elements – at least in the objectives if not in the actual operations. Green is now considered in a more transversal and multidisciplinary way. And indeed, the cases do show that the establishment of a spatial structure of multifunctional urban green areas can contribute significantly to the social, economic and ecological development of urban districts. So, what is actually the real power of green against red, in the urban policies? Several elements seem capable of ensuring the power of green, such as, naturally, the legal status of green, but also financial arguments, technical and institutional measures, as well as particular social contexts.

The legal status of green, which is usually defined in most of the municipal plan, is the first “technique” of empowerment, but a specific protection can also be due to preservation measures established at the European or national level (“Natura 2000” areas, “Habitats” natural areas...). The establishment of a green structure plan can also, obviously, be considered as an element in favour of green, even though it is not sufficient as we have mentioned previously. However, a strong concept for the green structure plan may become an accepted common denominator for all actor groups, as in Aarhus.

When green constitutes an important part of the image of the city, as it is the case in the new towns of Cergy-Pontoise and Houten, or in Aarhus for example, the urban planning policies are bound to take into account this important feature of the city and therefore to grant green

issues a certain power with regard to “red”. In addition, the number and quality of the local and regional studies which focus on the green issues can, naturally, reinforce the position of green in the city policies. In Cergy-Pontoise for instance, the specific studies concerning the protection of the urban fringe appear as a strong element for the preservation of the green areas located in the north-western part of the agglomeration.

Financial arguments also appear significant for the preservation of green. In Utrecht, for instance, the creation of the Griffpark was very expensive, and the soil cleaning required a high budget, so that no actor would dare today question the relevance and the very existence of this park. Moreover, the good articulation between design aspects and management aspects appears as another crucial element: indeed, when the green structure policy is correctly budgeted and supported by adequate financial instruments, it has naturally a much stronger power.

Another important financial argument is of course the value of the green for the surrounding real estate and eventually for the whole city, even though this element was not explicitly analysed in the cases.

The green issues must also gain support by a great number of stakeholders to be able to occupy a strong position in the planning policies. That is why green designed as multifunctional green areas can get support from different sector planners, and also by different users. Indeed, when adequate communication between the various actors leads to consensus on the main issues, it induces in turn long lasting cooperation in favour of green. This can be illustrated by what is called in Aarhus the “holy alliance”. And last but not least, the involvement and participation of the residents in the preservation and management of green areas appears of course as a strong incentive for placing green issues in the spotlights of urban policies. The self management contracts policy of Utrecht is a good example of this social dimension. So here again, the promotion of bottom-up strategies, the strengthening of citizens participation and the reinforcement of local democracy are approaches which are framed by sustainable development policies.

IV. FOURTH PART : PLANNING INSTRUMENTS AND COMMUNICATION TOOLS FOR THE BALANCE BETWEEN URBAN GROWTH AND GREEN

Introduction

The object of this last chapter is to examine the principle outcomes of the 14 cases related to the planning instruments and communication tools. The following work package (WP10) will, on the basis of these findings, elaborate a toolkit defining the concepts and tools which can be used by the practitioners, with concrete suggestions and recommendations.

In the two first sections, we will mention the difficulties in defining the tools and propose some possible classifications. Section 3 and 4 will present an assessment of the tools according to communication criteria and according to sustainable development criteria. In the last section, we will propose a series of lessons learnt from the cases.

IV.1 The complexity in defining “tools”

Defining what a tool is appears a complex task. Indeed, in the description of work (DOW), it is mentioned that the Greenscom research, entitled “communicating urban growth and green”, aims at the improvement and development of planning concepts and policy instruments for integrated urban planning and management. Most of the analyses conducted in the cases present a first distinction between these two main types of tools : the “planning instruments” on one side, and the “communication tools” on the other.

However, many other “elements” have been examined, and can also be considered as means for improving urban policies, such as innovative ideas or professional experience. But the “innovative” criteria is also a tricky element as the diversity of contexts can make a tool innovative in one country whereas it is already considered as a usual and standard tool in another country.

Moreover the relevance of this opposition between planning instruments and communication tools can be argued. Indeed, the objective of the research is to promote communicative planning, by increasing the communication values of the various planning instruments, or introducing communication tools. The planning instruments analysed in the cases were also examined on their communication dimension. And moreover, communication tools can also be used as planning instruments. Indeed, the Utrecht GSP for instance can be considered alternatively as a planning instrument or as a communication tool.

Another debate addresses the very definition of tools, since some elements can be considered more as “conditions” than as authentic “tools”. Indeed what is the real function in a planning process of elements such as an idea (the creation of a lake), a technical opportunity (a hole in the road) or a financial opportunity (a donation), trust and mutual understanding, professional experience and practice, expert knowledge, personal contacts and acquaintances...? Some cases focused more on these aspects than on the formal and standard planning instruments, and highlighted their importance for the success of the operations. They can however also be defined as the circumstances, the setting, or the contextual surroundings of the planning process.

IV.2 Characteristics of the tools

Several criteria have been used in the different cases, in order to analyse and classify the tools. After a presentation of these various elements we will focus on two principle criteria.

- **Different potential classifications**

The tools studied in the cases can first be classified into four categories :

- the plans (green structure plans, municipal plans, etc.)
- the tools for interaction (posters, web games, questionnaires, landscape assessments, etc.)
- the networks (self management contracts, forums, planning groups, neighbourhood councils, etc.)
- the skills (holly alliances, joint visits, events and opportunities, contracts, etc).

A second opposition can appear between the “formalised instruments” on one side and the “ad hoc instruments” on the other side. Another opposition seems to exist between the “planning instruments” applied with a “government” approach on one hand, and the “policy instruments” applied with a “governance” approach on the other hand. However, the two dichotomies the most frequently used by the researchers in the cases are the couple “formal-informal” and “strategic-operational”.

- **Formal-informal**

The “formal” tools usually design the legally based tools or at least established practise in the city. So the formal tools appear as the standard planning instruments such as the regional and municipal plans, but also specific nature protection measures (Natura 2000 or “Habitats” areas.), which are framed by a legal setting, whereas the informal tools are the means which have been mobilised for a unique occasion and elaborated for a particular operation, even though some of them can be conducted regularly. The “catalogue of ideas”, for instance, was specially made in Aarhus to communicate on the potential qualities of a city with an open river stream in the very centre of the city.

- **Strategic-operational**

The strategic tools are usually designed for long term planning processes, and define the main axes of the planning strategy : the cases mention the regional and municipal plans, including green structure plans, other comprehensive documents such as Agenda 21, landscape inventories or traffic structure plans... These strategic tools present the main options for the city, such as in Gothenburg for instance, where the importance of sustainability and local democracy was underlined. For the Lärje valley for example, a common message was delivered relating the qualities of nature. The strategic plans contain both large areas reserved for future urban development and various “green” documents that present many general arguments in favour of protection and maintenance of these areas. A contradiction not yet solved!

Conversely, operational tools present precise and detailed planning principles, often at a local level and for short term development. The local plan of Uggledal for instance contains several measures for the expansion of the area and fixes the exploitation contract with the developer. For the Lärje valley, the main operational tools are the leasing contracts with the tenant farmers who have to follow the fixed options for the management of the valley.

IV.3 Assessment of tools according to communication criteria (table n° 10)

Among the different tools analysed in the case studies, some of them were more specifically selected, and evaluated according to various criteria, among them communication criteria. Naturally, in the frame of the Greenscom research, most of these tools were in fact chosen for their communication dimension, since they aim at promoting shared understanding and developing interaction. The assessment approach intended to answer several questions such as what type of communication do these tools induce, what level of interaction do they promote, who are the actors who are actually involved, do these tools enhance local democracy... The analysis leads to distinguish four main categories of tools.

- **The regional and municipal plans, and the GSP**

The strategic green planning instruments (regional plans, municipal plans or green structure plans) which have been implemented in the cities seem usually to find a general consensus among the inhabitants. Indeed, the strength of the concepts and the image of a green city are important elements which create a sense of common identity and an approval of the residents concerning the green strategy. These policies are defined from the start, for instance in the case of the new towns such as Cergy Pontoise or Houten, or are established progressively, such as in the towns of Aarhus, Utrecht or Gothenburg. The inhabitants (for the Overvecht GSP, in Utrecht) or the local associations (e.g. for the regional plan of Cergy Pontoise) are sometimes invited to participate in the elaboration of the options. However it seems that in some cases, such as for the Helsinki municipal plan, there has not been any real debate on the important growth and green issues, or on the densification strategy itself.

- **The operational communication tools**

Several communication tools have been applied for specific urban projects with the intention of developing the communication with the residents. Some tools such as the joint visits in Houten or the local forums in Uggledal seem to manage to create a climate for mutual trust and learning, to offer possibilities for face to face discussions, and more generally to promote local democracy.

However, in some cases, when the real decisions and options are taken beforehand or at least at another "higher" level by small groups of deciders, such as for the Internet game in Tampere, or for the questionnaires in Helsinki, the communication process appears reduced to a one way information strategy. Actually, the original aim of the Internet game was never clearly précised. It could rather be described as an artificial way of creating a choice situation for the citizens (or whoever visited the site), and at the same time giving information about planning thought and criteria (could it even be indoctrinating them to "think like a planner"?). The problem with the game was its unofficial nature which is why it was also not taken very seriously by the planners or the citizen activists.

Frequently the wishes and expectations of the citizens are not entirely integrated in the detailed projects. Besides, one of the limits of many of these tools lies in the fact that many categories of population still seem to stay out of these communication procedures. The problem not yet solved is to manage to involve all the inhabitants and not only the most well educated and most active. These tools offer nevertheless the advantage of presenting to the citizens the city's planning issues and developing environmental and ecological awareness.

- **The contracts**

The contracts signed with residents or with farmers, which have been assessed in the cases (in Utrecht and in Gothenburg), appear as interesting tools, both for planning and for communication. They seem indeed to allow close cooperation between the services of the city and the users for the management of open spaces and therefore to develop interaction between the municipality and the residents. However, the success of these contracts seems

to depend on mutual trust. The trust of the residents in the local government is a first condition, since difficulties appear when the contact person of the municipal authorities changes too often, or when the rules and principles are modified, but also when the real goals are not explicitly presented. But the contracts also depend on the trust of the services in the residents themselves; there can indeed be problems of “annexation” of the green areas by some residents or departure of involved residents, or complications when the managers move or lose interest in the management tasks

This is why it seems important to establish written contracts and to choose thoroughly the residents or partners with whom the contracts are signed. It is also crucial to make it a real responsibility for the residents, and necessary to find a good balance between dominance and stimulation. The challenge is thus to develop a type of control that however does stimulate initiatives and voluntary actions.

- **The tools for cooperation between local actors**

Several tools aim at developing the cooperation between the local actors. The relations are often established for a specific project, but they usually manage to enlarge these new collaborations and develop long lasting relations based on trust and shared understanding among the different stakeholders. The Aarhus cases illustrate the establishment of these holy alliances which enable the various local actors to rapidly find agreements on all the new urban projects that arise. These tools can be informal processes such as the organisation of a planning group in Cergy Pontoise for the north-western urban fringes, which gives the opportunity for actors to work together for the first time, or more formal tools such as the relations developed with the creation of the Vexin Regional Nature park and the Gate Town agreements, which enable to define a general frame but then to experience different actions.

In addition, a number of tools used for communicating with the residents, offer opportunities of interaction between various actors. In Uggledal, the informal forums led to constructive exchange of knowledge and arguments, and to the improvement of the practice of the different actors involved. So these tools appear particularly valuable when they allow the reunion between the planners and other sector experts, or between the designers and the managers.

An important condition for the success of all these tools seems to be the combination of a number of fixed principles with certain flexibility. These issues are related to the new “governance” concepts, valorised by the sustainable development approach.

IV.4. Assessment of the tools according to sustainable development criteria (table n°10)

The assessment of the tools was also undertaken according to sustainable development criteria, which means examining more specifically in which degree the tools can contribute to the social, economical and environmental sustainability of the cities. According to the tools considered, these three dimensions are however sometimes complex to analyse, so it appears not always possible or relevant to undertake systematically such a task. Moreover, the evaluation itself presents some major differences from one case to another, according to the meaning given to these criteria.

IV.4.1 Environmental criteria

This dimension, in the structure of the Greenscom research, was one on which focused quite naturally all the case studies. Indeed this question relates directly to the green and red issues, and the tools analysed in the case studies were chosen for their capacity to promote the environmental values of the city (see chapter III). The various tools present several interesting characteristics regarding environmental issues, even though some limits have been underlined.

The first element concerns the possibility offered by most of the tools to develop an environmental and ecological awareness among the inhabitants. The various procedures appear indeed as means to inform the residents or users on the ecological aspects of the city. Moreover, a number of these tools seem able to promote a general commitment from different local actors in favour of the preservation of green areas and of environmental protection. So many tools manage to reinforce the values of green as a way of improving the quality of urban districts and of the city as a whole. These tools promote indeed green planning strategies with concepts strong enough sometimes to resist urban pressure and to guarantee the protection of the most valuable open spaces, such as in Gothenburg and in Aarhus.

Several tools and in particular the strategic planning instruments such as the green structure plans, seem capable to operate connections between different environmental aspects : the protection of the open spaces are indeed often linked, such as in Houten, to the promotion of public transport infrastructures, to the development of cycle tracks networks, to flow management or ground water resources policies... These tools also valorise densification strategies against urban sprawl. This clearly appears in Cergy Pontoise for instance with the new Regional plan.

These different tools seem also related to sustainable development methods by the multidisciplinary and transversal approach they present (see section III.1). Indeed, these tools usually promote the different functions of green and not only the environmental dimension: so the ecological, but also social and economic functions are valorised. Moreover, they take into account a wide scope of green "elements" : open spaces inside and outside the cities, and different categories of green (farmland, forests, parks and gardens, trees, etc.). This broad approach of green generally gives more strength to the protection policies. However if a consensus generally exists concerning the main axes of the green policies, such as they are presented in the strategic tools, it appears sometimes more delicate to integrate the protection of green spaces in the detailed projects, and other interests and in particular financial interests can weaken the original strategy aimed at by the tools. The Liesse case in Cergy Pontoise illustrates the weakening of the environmental dimension of a project.

Besides, while the design of green areas seems frequently to take into account the ecological aspects, conversely, the management policies often seem to be lacking this

dimension. However, changes are taking place progressively and specific tools can already today promote more ecological management. Indeed the self management contracts in Utrecht or the leasing contracts with the farmers in Gothenburg, for instance, can fix rules for ecological management of green spaces (concerning the use of pesticides, etc.), and the self managers and farmers become responsible for the environment. The categorization of green by the municipality of Utrecht forms the basis for the management of the ecological green category.

IV.4.2 Social criteria

The evaluation of the tools according to social criteria appears a more delicate task. That is why it was not possible, in the frame of the Greenscom research, to systematically perform an assessment of all the tools on that dimension. Besides, several meanings were given to the term "social". Interesting findings are however highlighted in the following section, concerning the empowerment of the inhabitants and the social equity of the tools. So there are mainly two questions which appear significant.

The first question examines who is able to participate in the communication procedures established in the cities. Several informal tools such as the joint visits, the questionnaires or the internet game induce indeed possibilities for citizens to participate in a larger way than in the context of standard procedures, where it can be difficult sometimes to give ones opinion. For instance, with the internet game organised in Tampere, everyone, at any time of day or night can participate anonymously, but it does remain a tool only for those who have access to a computer or internet. During the joint visits in Houten, the possibility is given for everyone to walk, speak and give their opinion, but it still excludes those who do not have the skills or the cultural background to get involved in such procedures.

The other question concerns the impact of the planning instruments on the "social development" of the city. What do these measures really bring to the population, what are the advantages in terms of quality of life, or of social cohesion? The self management contracts in Utrecht for instance, integrate the resident's wishes, give access to gardening and leisure activities to people who have no gardens; they also promote social cohesion. However, house renters are less motivated to participate, and cultural or language problems, the lack of skills to write or talk in public, or the lack of knowledge of public administration appear as essential obstacles. Several planning instruments improve the quality of life of the whole population by promoting safe cycling as in Houten for instance, or by offering a large access to public green spaces for leisure and recreation, as a result of the green planning strategy. An interesting outcome also concerns the feeling of local responsibility for one's "own" environment and the sense of belonging that may come from the contracts.

In a more general way, many tools contribute to an improvement of local democracy. It is based on several elements : the search for local knowledge (related to the ways of life, the needs and expectations of specific groups of population) and shared learning, the empowerment of some inhabitants or users, which in turn induces new relationships among the population and changes in the local life.

IV.4.3 Economic criteria

The assessment of the tools has been conducted either at a macroeconomic level or a microeconomic level. First of all, most of the analyses underline the economic issues raised by urban pressure. The more the cities grow, the more the economic interests are inclined to take over the environmental interests. However, while the cities develop, the needs for open spaces increase also. So this raises two challenges for the cities : to find arguments in order to preserve the open spaces from urban development, and to find solutions to face the increase in the spending related to green areas. The tools analysed in the cases seem to bring some answers to these issues.

The strategic green planning instruments appear as means to reinforce the role of the open spaces for the very development of the city : the regional plan and even more so the green structure plans can present the open spaces as an important element for the image and attractiveness of the town, and therefore as a real support for the increase of economic activities. In Houten, for instance, the GSP confirms the central role of green areas for the new town. Indeed, the attractiveness of the city is strongly linked to the existence of this important network of green areas and appears as an economic asset for the town. Therefore the green qualities are less likely to be sacrificed to other interests. Nevertheless the success of these policies and tools means a good connection between the design and the management cost. The difficulties of the first GSP in Utrecht for instance seems partly related to economic problems and the weak evaluation of the real cost of green spaces, in the long term.

At another level, other tools appear useful for the cities for establishing profitable ways of maintaining and managing green areas. Indeed, the Gothenburg contracts with the farmers seem an economic solution for the management of open spaces. This, in turn, creates market incentives for building new housing areas in the surroundings. It also appears an interesting economic measure for the farmers who do not have to pay for the repair of their farm, and who are able to work with farming at a scale otherwise impossible in today's market situation. However there seems to be limits to these measures. Indeed, even though the self management contracts in Utrecht allow cutting public spending on the maintenance of green, they appear time consuming for the municipal services who must assist the resident's groups when they ask for services and funds.

Finally, all these issues concern directly the establishment of sustainable development policies, since they underline the necessity of a good articulation between the social, economic and environmental dimensions, and the need to make them complementary and not in opposition.

Table n°10
Assessment of the tools

	Communication criteria	Environmental criteria	Social criteria	Economic criteria
Houten Joint visits	Create climate for mutual trust and learning; promote communication between designers and managers	A way to inform the inhabitants on the ecological aspects of the city	Possibility for everyone to walk, speak and give their opinion	
Houten GSP	New town built with strong concepts shared by the population	Concept strong enough to resist densification pressure; special link with network of cycle tracks; impact on flow management; but weak on ecological management of green	Enhances safe cycling; large public access to green (central green zone with connected green finger)	Crucial role of green for the new town's image and attractiveness; economic asset
Utrecht Self management contracts	Depend on the trust of the residents on the local government, and on the trust of the services in the residents	Fix rules for ecological management of green spaces	Integrate the resident's wishes, and develop social cohesion; but lack of participation by certain neighbourhoods or groups	Allow reduction of public spending on the maintenance; but time consuming for the municipal services
Utrecht GSP	The residents now codetermine how green is developed in their district (Overvecht)	Green is now perceived as vital to improve the quality of the city	Difficult to bridge the gap between abstract issues of the GSP and the specific wishes of the residents in each district	Problems at first as no link between GSP and investment program, but now better connection
Utrecht Right to initiative	Induces communication between residents and officials		Integrates public space wishes of groups of entitled voters into policymaking	
Cergy Pontoise, Regional plan	Specific participation of local associations Planning group with various local stakeholders	Protection of the green areas in the city but also on the fringes (ecological and recreational values), framed by a global densification strategy	Search for a better balance in the social development of the new town (localisation of economic activities, housing and open spaces)	Crucial role of green for the new town's image and attractiveness ; economic asset
Cergy Pontoise Vexin Regional nature park, and Ile de France regional green belt	New relations developed with various local actors (Gate town agreements with the park)	Protection of the open spaces on the outskirts of the city (ecological, economic and recreational values)		Search for a balance between protection of nature and economic growth (sustainable development strategy)
Cergy Pontoise Local plans and operational projects	Weak participation of the citizens (legal setting only)	The green options fixed in the regional plan are not always integrated in the operational projects		Economic interests can take over ecological interests

Helsinki Haaga model	Communication between the planner and the board of association, but main goals fixed beforehand	Includes assessment of the green areas with ecological values	Contributes to the empowerment of the inhabitants in planning, but several categories do not participate	
Helsinki Municipal plan	No large debate with the citizens on the choices of densification and on urban growth and green issues	Uses ecological potentialities of the local landscape. Densification strategy promotes existing public transport and limitation of urban sprawl	The municipal plan is prepared openly and is decided by the city council, but as in all strategic comprehensive tools, direct possibilities of affecting the plan by the citizens is rather minimal	Urban pressure induces strong economic interests in favour of densification
Tampere Internet game	The principles and options are fixed before so no real discussion possible	The ecological values of the green areas are analysed. It can be seen as a means for ecological education	Everyone, at any time, can participate anonymously, but only a tool for those who have access to a computer or internet, but as an unofficial tool, it does not have direct influence on the plans	
Göteborg Informal forums	Constructive exchange of knowledge and arguments, improvement of the practice of the different actors involved	Opportunity to solve the different commitments among all the local actors in balancing the green and growth	Greater democracy at the local level : participation of local groups, but real influence only on detailed aspects of the design	The approach made new development possible in an attractive area of the city and self-management of green space
Göteborg Leasing contracts	Interaction between the farmers and the municipality and with the users	Raise the level of awareness about environmental issues. The farmers have also some ecological measures to follow	Offer the possibility for the farmers to take an active part in the management of the valley; offer public access to green spaces to all citizens	Economic way for the city to manage green areas, and also economic solution for the farmers activities
Aarhus Municipal and Green structure plans	Large consensus of the inhabitants on the green strategy of the municipality	Strong concept in favour of green protection, which frames the whole development of the city	Offer easy access to recreational areas from all residential areas	Crucial role of green for the town's image and attractiveness
Aarhus Informal planning tools	Long lasting exchanges and cooperation between different stakeholders	Use all occasions to reinforce environmental policy	Offer possibilities and enough time to inform progressively the citizens and to obtain their agreement	Natural elements can be included into dense urban districts as long as they support economic activities
Aarhus Partnership economically based	Weak participation of the residents, up till now, but is to follow in the second stage of the development	Creation of a biological green corridor, with the protection of ground water resources by reforestation	Offers recreation amenities for local residents and access for all inhabitants, through the green structure web	Economic way to develop the green areas through contract with private partner

IV.5 Lessons learnt

This last section of the report presents the main lessons learnt from the 14 cases and some general recommendations concerning the different strategies and tools examined in the case studies, whereas the toolkit that will be further developed in WP10 will more specifically analyse the necessary conditions and methods for an efficient use of the tools.

A series of concepts and research questions, elaborated in the previous work packages (WP1, WP2 and WP3) structured the case studies, so that all the lessons we learnt from the cases are therefore directly related to these questions addressing the actors, the communication situations and the tools.

- Who are the actors involved? Why are they involved? What is their background? What is their relationship to urban growth and green (intentions, expectations)? Who is excluded? Who are the spokespersons, for whom and for what?
- How is the communication organised and conducted between the different actors (procedure, agenda, setting, initiative)? How do the actors experience the communication situation (barriers, dominance, learning process, trust or mistrust, common language, hidden agendas, etc.)?
- Which are the tools used? Are they formal or informal? Are they traditional or new? Are they strategic or operational? How do the tools enable actors to participate? Do the tools help to connect sectors and disciplines? Do the tools help to connect public to politicians? Do the tools help to connect practitioners to inhabitants?

The lessons can be grouped under three categories, even though many of them have a more transversal scope : the lessons related to the planning instruments, those concerning the communication tools, and finally those addressing local policies in general. These main lessons are presented with the conditions under which they can be applied, presented in the column "ifs", and illustrated with examples taken from the case studies.

IV.5.1 Lessons learnt related to the planning instruments

Lessons learnt	ifs	Examples
Multidisciplinary approaches to green planning insure that the policies are embedded in the municipal organisation and guarantee agreement of the different stakeholders	If the communication is built on respect for different knowledge and support of common language for learning and shared action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The second stage of GPS planning in Utrecht with the Leidsche Rijn case, demonstrates how multidisciplinary planning for the public green space insured the engagement of the other sector departments - The self management contracts case shows that cooperation between the city development, city management and social development within the district bureau responds to the fulfilment of citizens needs related to the local green environment - The urban fringe case in Cergy Pontoise illustrates the success of this type of cooperation between different actors (planning group)
Visions and discourses accepted by the local authorities and by citizens can support the awareness and protection of the green values in balancing city growth	<p>If the discourse is found relevant and kept alive by working with different actors</p> <p>And if the vision and the discourse are both clear and open enough to involve different interests and actions</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Gibsons landscape analysis of the Lärje valley proved to be accessible to both the public and the experts - The Houten case illustrates the strength of a concept, the “Vlinderstad” (butterfly shape city), with its combination of a main green structure with pedestrian and cycle paths - The concept of “green town” is a strong element which has helped to protect and valorise the green areas of Cergy Pontoise and of Aarhus
A proactive approach in planning giving time to find consensual options in early stages seems to be more effective than a reactive approach with time consuming conflict management	<p>If all actors are involved in early stages and if they have a corresponding agency</p> <p>If the communication situation supports that different expressions of knowledge are listened to and that the actors can learn from each other</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The informal forums of Uggedal case illustrate this strategy. - The Utrecht self management case shows how management offers a permanent opportunity for communication between municipal authorities and local residents - The three Aarhus cases also illustrate this approach
Balancing environmental, social and economic issues seems important to develop approaches related to densification which analyse who benefits, who suffers, who pays, etc	<p>If these analyses are processed in an open communication with all relevant stakeholders</p> <p>If the form of the results is open and inclusionary</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Haaga model with its compensation idea would have benefited from this kind of approach - The Liesse case illustrates how the initial comprehensive approach was progressively given up and how only financial considerations were considered in the final project and how the environmental issues were left out
Considering all the functions, values and meanings of green enables a more inclusionary basis for the planning process	<p>If all actors are involved in early stages and if they have a corresponding agency</p> <p>If the communication situation supports that different expressions of knowledge are listened to and that the across can learn from each other</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The self management case of Utrecht shows that although many respondents praise the integrated benefits of the tool, the absence of a financial estimation makes it hard for the actors to defend the policy - The Land park case in Cergy Pontoise shows how the different meanings and functions of green are now being considered, although the project is not yet launched

<p>It appears important to strengthen the management concepts and to better link design and management in particular on ecological functions and financial considerations</p>	<p>If instructions are possible to be transferred into actions and understood by actors involved</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The farmers contracts in Lärje valley and the local plan in Uggledal illustrate this approach - The Houten case shows how lack of cooperation between green management experts and designers caused problems in maintaining the desired quality of the green space, and problems in the communication between municipal green managers and residents - The Land park case in Cergy Pontoise shows how difficulties related to management and financial considerations can slow down a strongly designed project
<p>It seems crucial to define clear principles and guidelines particularly for the inventory of the green values, and for the choice of the criteria used in the assessment of the green areas : this can increase the harmonisation in the policies but also make them easier to understand fore the residents</p>	<p>If all actors are involved in early stages and if they have a corresponding agency</p> <p>If the communication situation supports that different expressions of knowledge are listened to and that the actors can learn from each other</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In Utrecht, the classification of public open space in the categories “utilitarian”, “ecological” and “architectonic” worked out in clear guidelines , guides the interaction between residents and civil servants on the design and management of green space accordingly - In the Haaga case, the process aimed at having a comprehensive view on local green values, but included inhabitants’ view only very haphazardly
<p>Combining fixed rules with flexibility can help to adjust the policies to the local characteristics and to take into account the differences among the districts, neighbourhoods and social groups</p>	<p>If the procedures are adapted to the actors : choice in the social setting, style and language used</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In Utrecht the readily available funds per district with the general label “liveability “ provides flexibility and stimulates local initiatives if compared to the traditional approach where only on forehand defined and describes plans and activities are budgeted - The three Aarhus case also illustrate this combination between fixed rules and ad hoc instruments

IV.5.2 Lessons learnt concerning communication tools

Lessons learnt	Ifs	Examples
<p>It seems important to meet citizens on a regular basis and not only when there are complaints</p> <p>It also appears useful to invite regularly the residents to think about the issues of their neighbourhood and increase their motivation to get information on the projects for their district</p>	<p>If there are corresponding agencies or interest to shape new agencies, and interest to learn from each other</p>	<p>- The Houten case shows that regular meetings at short intervals are more effective than the odd meeting</p> <p>- The Uggledal case and especially the women forums, the third stage of GSP in Utrecht, and the Neighbourhood forums in Haag also illustrate this approach.</p>
<p>The development of participation can help to know more about the ways of life, needs and expectations of the citizens but also about the different meanings and values related to green</p>	<p>If there is corresponding agency</p> <p>If mutual learning is promoted, otherwise there is a risk of contra productive reactions, disturbing future mobilisation of the same actors</p>	<p>- In Utrecht, the self management contracts between city management experts and residents pertaining to the public green in the neighbourhood accelerates the adaptation of the public green open space to the changing wishes of the inhabitants, because changed need are more quickly expressed and considered</p>
<p>It is useful to involve new groups of residents and especially schools, and to create new measures and procedures in order to get into contact with the silent groups</p>	<p>If they are listened to and given agency</p>	<p>- The forums in Uggledal and especially the school groups linking also the parents to the planning process illustrate this strategy</p>
<p>It is important to stimulate active groups without fear of criticism and consider discussions and debates as a constructive participation</p>	<p>If there are strong partners among the citizens which can contribute to the productivity of the partnerships</p>	<p>- The self management case illustrates how civil associations have contributed to the improvement of the municipal performance in managing public space and green open space</p>
<p>It appears necessary to establish open discussions with the inhabitants on the advantages and limits of densification policies and on the various possible compensation measures</p>	<p>If corresponding agencies are provided and if negotiation moves towards open interaction</p>	<p>- In the Haag case this process was started but needs to be further developed</p>

IV.5.3 Lessons learnt addressing local policies

Lessons learnt	Ifs	Examples
New methods of governance can be used to develop the urban projects, with the increase of different types of local democracy	If links are made between formal arenas local and forums (representative democracy) and informal arenas and forums (direct democracy)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Uggledal case shows that the method was not fully successful in a governance perspective as some of the official experts did not use their agency in the informal arenas, and the case is not recognized as a basis for long term learning but only as an experimental case for open interaction -The Haaga case illustrates this approach: in Haaga and Helsinki in general local politicians could have used their agency for stronger policy line discussions
It appears important to promote a competent leadership in the procedures : the skills of the actors and especially the planners seems crucial, but it is also essential to maintain a continuity of the actors and municipal staff	If the process leader has a clear mandate from the formal decision-maker and recognises the interests of all actors involved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The planning procedures in Aarhus and in Uggledal show the importance of a skilled planner in forming both a dialogue and necessary documents - The Broända valley case shows the importance of a skilled planner in finding possible win-win locations for densification - In Utrecht the frequent change of contact persons at a city management district bureau was very badly appreciated by the resident's association and prevented the development of trust
It seems crucial to increase the transparency about decisions already taken beforehand	This is relevant for any communication situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Uggledal case illustrates this strategy adopted by the planner - The Haaga case shows that this lack of transparency was named by the inhabitants representatives as one of the biggest problems
The combination of fixed rules with flexibility enables to adjust the policies to the local characteristics and to take into account the differences among the districts and social groups	<p>If agency is provided and mutual learning searched for in order to increase the reach and range of the actors (knowledge and actions)</p> <p>If long enough time is provided to let new actors and agencies evolve</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Aarhus cases and the Uggledal case illustrate this type of strategy adopted by the planner
It seem interesting to combine several tools and procedures , such as formal planning instruments with informal tools supportive to the specific situation	<p>If links between the formal decision making and informal learning are established and open</p> <p>If agency and related space for action are provided within the formal instruments</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Uggledal case and the Aarhus cases show the success of this type of approach - The Haaga case illustrates this approach with the compensation idea and the neighbourhood forums - The urban fringe case in Cergy illustrates the interesting complementary of formal and informal tools (the regional plan and a local working group)

General Conclusions

In this last section we will present some general conclusions.

These lessons and recommendations concerning policies and appropriate approaches to planning can be valid in the whole of Europe, if the cultural and contextual differences are identified and accepted. The specific strategies and tools however may vary from one country to another.

Indeed, as “green” has various meanings in different countries, the issue of balancing growth and green is a contextual challenge, which differs according to several elements : if urban and agriculture land is dominating, or if woodland is dominating, but also if the cities have more or less open spaces. It is also related to the social and cultural context : if people appreciate deep forests or parks, or if people are interested in cultivation and management of green, etc.

So all the examples presented in the Greenscom research can be useful if they are described in context helping the observer to understand the relevant processes, and provide inspiration for what is possible.

CONCLUSION

Together with the problems of urban sprawl, congestion and social segregation, the loss of public and private green spaces is a major issue in many European cities. It therefore appears urgent to promote and find the ways to valorise a “prudent management of the urban ecosystems including the protection and development of urban open spaces and green belts (...), in order to contribute to the sustainable development of the cities (Commission of the European Communities, 1997). Thus, among the aspects of the quality of life in urban environments, the presence and functioning of green areas play an increasing role.

The Greenscom case studies present various experiences where local actors have developed strategies in order to integrate the planning of green structures and open spaces into the overall city development policy. Most of these cases have also focused on the procedures which aim at developing the participation of the inhabitants in the decision-taking. Although the success of these experiences is diverse, the lessons learnt are interesting as they highlight the conditions of success as well as the existing problems and difficulties which many cities are facing in this balance between urban growth and green.

These cases confirm a certain number of hypotheses that were formulated in the DOW. Indeed, in order to improve integrated urban planning and management, and to promote “good governance”, it appear crucial to support a strong cooperation between the various actors and to develop mutual trust and learning, to articulate the ecological objectives with social, cultural and economic objectives, and not only to take into account the opinions and wishes of the citizens but also to involve them in the process. The cases show that different tools and instruments exist and can under certain conditions be used to reach these goals, but what appear important is to adapt them to the specific local contexts.

GLOSSARY

GOVERNANCE AND COMMUNICATION CONCEPTS

Actors

are those who have been involved in the cases, and thus those who should be mentioned in the map of communication situations (WP1).

Potential/missing actors

are stakeholders excluded from the communication situations through their own choice or by not being thought of; or because they have they have no agency.

Actants

some people (potential actors) or some things (important issues) appearing in the case, represented by one or more actors acting as their spokesperson. In this Greenscom research, we are especially interested in who speaks for the actant “green” and how they speak about it. Also relevant are those social groups and potential actors that are not present in the process but are referred to as stakeholders (e.g. future inhabitants, children)

Agency

is contained in a planning instrument or communication tool, and offers each actor more or less limited space of action. It is interesting to analyse the way the agency is used or not used by the actors.

Tools in action

are tools which are part of specific practices, professional as well as related to everyday life.

Tools for interaction

are tools facilitating processes of interaction at different levels. The intended interaction may involve more or less actors and actants, and the tools provide more or less agency to these actors.

Level of interaction	criteria
Instruction	Promoting a precise and clear message in reach of the well defined receiver
Information	Promoting intended attention within a certain range of the receivers; reaching a wider audience, in particular the potential actors
Consultation	Same as for information but two ways. From the stakeholders' point of view, creating better access to persons in charge
Negotiation	Promoting an agreement within given frames; creating new agencies for stakeholders to negotiate, in particular the weaker groups; creating new actants in case they have not become actors
Open interaction	Promoting mutual learning sufficient to support shared action in a certain situation, built on respect; reaching new actors, giving them new and extended agencies that they can use in practice
Reframing interaction	Promoting long term learning processes, where practices are continuously changed and adapted to new situations, built on trust and shared power

PLANNING INSTRUMENTS

Regional plan

Plan which covers the whole agglomeration, and usually several municipalities, and define the main principles for the urban development of the area.

This plan used to be called in French schéma directeur (SD) and now is called schéma de coherence territorial (SCOT). In Finnish it used to be called "seutukaava" and according to the new legislation "maakuntakaava".

Municipal plan

Term used in the Greenscom research for planning instruments which are general frameworks for the land use and development of the municipality. Typically this type of instrument is a comprehensive land use plan covering usually the whole area of the municipality, and sometimes called master plan, comprehensive plan or general plan, according to the countries. In some countries, more detailed plans can be elaborated for some parts or districts of the municipality.

This municipal plan is called in Finnish "yleiskaava", in French : "plan local d'urbanisme (PLU)", in Swedish : "översiktsplan, ÖP", in Dutch "gemeetelijkstructuurplan" and "master plan Leidsche Rijn"

Local plan

Term used in the Greenscom research for more detailed planning instruments which guide land use regulation and implementation. Typically these regulatory instruments, sometimes called detailed plans, indicate detailed site specific zoning for land use and infrastructures, building regulations for developers, etc. They cover only areas to be developed in the near future and are obligatory when developing a new area.

This plan is called in Finnish "asemakaava", in French "plan d'aménagement de zone, PAZ", in Swedish "detalplan, DP", in Dutch "bestemmingsplan".