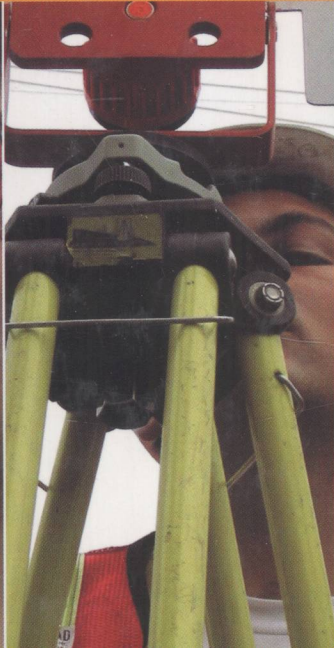




CLASSICS IN PLANNING 4

REGIONAL PLANNING

Edited by David A. Plane • Lawrence D. Mann • Kenneth Button • Peter Nijkamp



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Regional Planning

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Series Preface

Perhaps one of the most obvious traits of human beings that distinguishes them from other animals is the desire to influence their own destinies. Rather than accept the notion of social Darwinism, they try to twist or control the way the world works. Of course whether this is ultimately for their own good is not always certain, but nevertheless the instinct to control or 'plan' seems to be ingrained.

Planning of human affairs goes back to antiquity and almost certainly beyond. The hunting and killing of large animals at the very least required planning, and agricultural society could not have developed without planning. Urban society could not exist without planning, and at the other extreme, humans would be nowhere near as efficient at killing each other without military planning.

This planning involves hierarchies. There is inevitably some higher authority that sets down the broader, macro plans, be this a democratically elected government, an oligarchy, or dictatorship. Beneath this there are layers of groups and individuals that must themselves plan to ensure the success of the larger plan. This coordination of social actions and the subjugation of the individual to the needs of society are all part of the planning process. Even private sector companies that supposedly function in free markets, as the US political economist Galbraith pointed out, must plan in order to achieve the objectives of the system.

Whether planning actually enhances social welfare, or whether Herbert Spencer was right to think in terms of the survival of the fittest rather than concerted coordination of agents, is unclear and, anyway, probably not a very helpful way to view things. It is clear at the macro level from the recent demise of the centrally planned economies of central and Eastern Europe that planned systems do not always succeed. Equally however, there is ample evidence from places such as Somalia that anarchy can be far worse. This issue would seem to come down much more to interrelated matters involving the optimal degree of planning and the form that this planning takes. Indeed, if one looks at education programs and at much of the academic and political debate that takes place regarding planning the question of the validity of planning *per se* is very much secondary to interest in its nature and extent.

Planning, in its variety of forms, has also become an established part of many disciplines, and plays a prominent role in many educational programs and scientific research activities. For example, land use planning is no longer a stand-alone planning action, but is to be positioned in a broad set of spatial manifestations of human behavior. In some cases it takes a central role, as is generally the case with areas such as urban planning, financial planning and military planning, but even in other areas such as social administration, economics and general management science, planning issues cannot be avoided.

Planning is concerned with a rational and systematic analysis of alternative courses of action, and with ways of implementing an appropriate course of action to meet relevant aims, goals and objectives. It has gained a particularly important place in the public domain, although it continually enters private decision-making from the level of individuals deciding on how to plan family activities to large multinational companies seeking to deal with uncertainty. To formulate

and carry through plans is, at the micro level of the individual or family, often an intuitive process, but as more actors become involved and coordination of various plans becomes a practical issue so a plethora of formal planning devices and institutions has been developed. Planning at this 'formalized' level has become a cross-cutting initiative across many disciplines.

Modern, formalized planning has shown a remarkable development trajectory in western society. While in the distant past it was largely defined and implemented by monarchs, emperors and despots intent on meeting personal objectives of wealth acquisition, it evolved with democratic institutions into normative and policy-instigated activities aimed at influencing citizens' behavior. More recently, it has moved toward a rationally-oriented quasi-scientific approach aimed at tracing and shaping the conditions under which human behavior in a complex democratic environment at various scale levels may lead to socially acceptable outcomes. Planning is no longer seen as a 'control and command' system in a deterministic setting, but serves to cater for human well-being in a dynamic, uncertain and multi-actor system. Planning is often focused on the role and competence of the government sector, but it is increasingly recognized that in a civil society the real driving forces often originate from the private sector or from society at large. Consequently, planning may be seen as studying societal change in the context of good governance.

The changing nature of the scope and direction of planning has exerted a profound impact on the formalized approach to planning within each of the major disciplines where it has a central role; military studies, manpower allocation, management science, land-use studies, regional science, macroeconomics and so on. It has in many cases largely lost its top-down orientation and has now its roots in an ever-changing societal constellation. But there remain very different approaches to planning, in part determined by the context of the domain in which it is done. Communications between a financial planner and a land-use planner for example are, at best, rudimentary; they use different jargon, different techniques, and generally have very different objectives. Communications between these formalized planners and the psychologists and others concerned with the way individuals plan their actions and lives may even be inarticulate. This is because planning is much more than a discipline in the traditional sense of physics, biology, or history; it is very much broader.

It is against this backdrop that this series on *Classics in Planning* has evolved. It was felt that the time has come to take stock of achievements and to offer a constructive critical assessment of the real potential of planning across a range of fields. The scientific body of knowledge in the field of planning has exhibited a rapid growth pace in the past decades. There is a perceived need in many quarters for a comprehensive research synthesis addressing major issues and themes in the planning field that center around the concept of space. This contribution is a series of systematic volumes containing classic articles in the various fields of planning. The aim is not to offer entirely new perspectives, but to evaluate the performance of the planning discipline on the basis of its past publications that are regarded by the volume editors as landmarks in the respectable history of planning.

Kenneth Button

Peter Nijkamp

Introduction

Regional Planning: Scoping the Scene

David A. Plane, Lawrence D. Mann, Kenneth Button and Peter Nijkamp

The task facing us in assembling a set of classic papers representative of the current state-of-the-art of regional planning was somewhat different and at least as difficult as the efforts undertaken by the editors of other volumes in this series of books on the current status of the field of planning. This is because two previous compendia of papers have been published that – at the time they appeared – rather spectacularly and successfully set forth the landscape of regional planning.

In our judgment, no clear case can be made, at present, for a fundamental rearrangement of the landscape of regional planning so well defined by the John Friedmann and William Alonso collections of 1964 and 1974, *Regional Development and Planning: A Reader* and *Regional Policy: Readings in Theory and Applications*, as well as by Friedmann's 1979 monograph co-authored with Clyde Weaver, *Territory and Function: The Evolution of Regional Planning*. Nevertheless, the past quarter-century has seen some remarkable progress in this subfield of academic endeavour. Significant advances have occurred both in the theoretical underpinnings and in policy experiences and experimentations in the areas of regional planning and economic development.

We would characterize this volume, scoping the current regional planning scene, as a collection of works representative of a 'Neo-Modern Regional Planning'. As such, we sought papers for the current assemblage that would provide some of the most interesting sequels and complements to what we would term 'The Late 20th Century Modernist Consensus'.

In adopting this stance, we are cognizant of employing a rather more specific definition of 'regional' planning than the whole broad spectrum of academic research and applied planning practice that sometimes is lumped under such a classification. Like Friedmann and Alonso, we define our purview to be the interface between regions, economic development, and planning. As for methodological orientation, we are very much 'regional scientists' in terms of the types of works we have deemed worthy for inclusion. We carry on the beliefs expressed by the founders of that multidisciplinary enterprise more than a half century ago that there continues to be a need for solid, rigorous, quantitative, and analytical theory to inform the regional planning enterprise – and to help shape and evaluate policies aimed at promoting economic development.

John Friedman and William Alonso's 1964 *Regional Development and Planning: A Reader* brought together a number of important articles from the post-World War II burgeoning theoretical literatures on the functioning of the space-economy. These papers that had been initially published in the new regional science and longer established geography journals of the time were matched with a number of more policy-prescriptive papers focusing on the problems of regions and on national policies for regional development.

The concluding section of the seminal Friedmann and Alonso collection consisted of an annotated bibliography called 'A Guide to the Literature'. The editors began their organization of the extant literature with references to works labelled 'Regional Science and Planning', stating:

Regional science is the awkward name under which scholars from many disciplines have rallied. ... Its unifying concern, as in the case of geography, is space as a variable determining human behaviour, but its style is strongly analytical and abstract, including advanced forms of quantitative analysis. Regional planning, on the other hand, derives its basic orientation from regional science and is concerned with the normative ordering of activities in space.

Thirty years after those words were written, regional science would go through a period of introspection (if not crisis, as some were perhaps overly quick to dub it). The focus of a number of the critiques was the relevance of so much abstract theorizing. At the same time, however, new theories and methods have garnered an unprecedented level of respect for regional work within the mainstream discipline of economics, albeit perhaps not within the currently fragmented domain of post-modern geography. After a period in which many national governments lost interest in regional policy, new interest has become attached to the nature and problems of regions as the forces of globalization result in new relationships between local and transnational scales of space.

The forces of political unification, and the ongoing renegotiation of the role of the nation-state within a unified Europe, have also served to focus new attention on long neglected regions – both in terms of spotlighting the problems of peripheral, economically lagging subnational areas, as well as leading to the revival of formerly marginalized local cultures. Several recent strands of theoretical regional research have played a role fostering such new attention to the old concept of the region.

The early dominant paradigm of 'Isardian regional science' – on quantifying the important general roles played by space, distance, and spatial relationships in economic and social phenomena – has given way to a modified purview in which not only space, but geography – the whole spectrum of unique place attributes – really do matter as catalysts for economic and social development. As such, the first part of that awkward name, regional science, has matured into a less ungainly descriptor.

The recent soul-searching within regional science has been also about the science part of the name; as such, it reflects a more general post-modern angst about the scientific method being touted as the end-all-and-be-all paradigm for societal organization. During the 40 years since the first seminal assessment of literature on regional planning, there is greater scepticism about the ability of analytic methods alone to provide answers within the policy arena. And yet, since that first systematic attempt to assemble pieces from the regional science literature that help inform regional planning policy, it seems that the connections between theory and practice have actually been considerably strengthened. Much regional research today, perhaps more so than during the salad days of the regional science movement, explicitly or implicitly serve to undergird or assist in the evaluation of regional planning policy.

There is now a longer record of policy experimentation. A number of early regional development policies did not meet the initial, perhaps overly naïve expectations or the predictions of the simple, early, highly abstract and geometrically based models. As a result of some of those failures, as well as some successes, we have perhaps gained a greater appreciation for the complexity of the interrelationships of variables across space.

Sophistication is, in part, the ability to recognize nuance. While rereading many of the papers included in the early Friedmann and Alonso collections, one has to be struck by the clarity with which they illuminated ‘the big picture’ – how stridently they sought to make the case for the importance of the spatial dimension in human affairs. We hope the current collection of works impresses equally much by virtue of how much more detailed and nuanced is the neo-modern recognition of the many messy divergent tendencies of the real-world planning ‘milieu’ in which spatial processes operate. Whereas the operative word in early regional science was ‘space,’ today that hoary oldtime concept – the region – has garnered new appreciation and respect.

Before proceeding to give our overview of the organization and contents of the current tome, it might be useful to look back at how the two seminal readers were structured around the problematic interface between theory and practice. Because that interface remains the topic for lively debate, we adopt a very similar scheme.

The first Friedmann and Alonso collection featured articles organized into four parts. The papers were grouped under the headings ‘I. Space and Planning’, ‘II. Location and Spatial Organization’, ‘III. Theory of Regional Development’ and ‘IV. National Policy for Regional Development’. The initial section contained three pedagogic overviews: Perroux’s ‘Economic Space: Theory and Applications’, Rodwin’s ‘Choosing Regions for Development’, and Friedmann’s classic ‘Regional Planning as a Field of Study’. The second and third sections contained a sampler of theoretical advances – Section 2 consisting of general treatments of location theory and regional structure (with a heavy emphasis on concepts about systems of cities), whereas Section 3 was composed of sub-parts on three more specific topics: ‘Resources and Migration’, ‘The Role of Cities’, and ‘Problems of the Rural Periphery’. The fourth and final grouping of papers were those more explicitly addressing policy, with sub-parts on ‘Organization for Regional Planning’, ‘Objectives and Evaluation’, and ‘Regional Development Strategies’.

The second, 1975, Friedmann and Alonso collection was organized substantially the same as the first. Rather than beginning with any pedagogical overviews, however, it was launched with a first set of theoretical works marshalled under the rubric ‘Concepts of Space and Development’. A first subsection of Part I focused on ‘Location and Spatial Structure’, a second on the role of ‘Spatial Systems in Economic Development’, and a third on ‘Growth in Subnational Regions’. Part II, also theoretically focused, was an entire section devoted to ‘The Role of Cities in National Development’.

After the era of major governmental interventions in economic development during the 1960s, in this second collection Friedmann and Alonso thought it appropriate to devote two rather than a single major section to policy pieces. They divided these more applied works into a Part III on ‘Formulating the Issues in Regional Policy’, and a Part IV ‘Case Studies of Regional Planning’.

In assembling the current collection of papers, we continue the Friedmann–Alonso format for organizing selections from what has now become a much more vast regional planning literature.

As in the first Friedmann and Alonso collection, we lead off with some pedagogical overviews, beginning, in fact, with Friedmann’s own 2001 paper from a special memorial issue of the *International Regional Science Review* devoted to the memory of William Alonso. Looking backwards, John Friedman (2001, Chapter 1) notes the different changes in circumstances in which regional planning now finds itself in a world ‘that has gone global’ and pervaded by

'new constellations of power, new passions, and a new sense of time and place'. At the end of the piece, he muses about whether, given all that has changed, Alonso would have agreed to have attempted the compilation of a third collection, and states that he would eschew such a task himself!

Also included in our first section on the 'State-of-the-Art and Evolution of the Epistemology and Practice of Regional Science, Regional Policy and Regional Planning' is Cheshire and Malecki's piece (Chapter 2, this volume) from the Golden Anniversary Issue of *Papers in Regional Science* (a celebration and assessment of the first 50 years of regional science). They treat the history and future prospects of studies focusing on regional growth and development. We conclude the first section with Polèse's thoughtful overview of the interface between academic research in regional science and regional policy.

Part II contains papers that we believe to constitute some of the most significant 'Advances in the Theory of Regional Development Processes'. As was the case with the two Friedmann and Alonso collections, we have chosen clusters of papers in areas of lively and rapidly developing research.

Section A, 'Growth and Convergence', takes up topics at the crux of regional planning – what causes economic growth and how does it spread – or fail to spread – spatially? Reprinted here (in Chapter 5) is the pioneering work by Barro and Sala-i-Martin (simply titled 'Convergence') that spawned the development of an endless series of cross-sectional tests: of a virtual 'convergence industry', as Cheshire and Malecki have dubbed it! Key components of regional growth are the roles played by the migration of labour and regional 'fixed effects'.

The papers in our section B are studies focusing on certain of the key conditioning variables of regional growth: amenities and other contributors to quality of life. The valuation of non-economic variables has become a topic of central concern for regional planning and economic development.

Section C, the third and largest grouping of theory papers is composed of those that have extended and, in several ways, helped to fundamentally reshape our thinking about cities – their formation, relationships to one another, and roles within regional, national, transnational, and global economies. In this section we reprint Krugman (Chapter 11, this volume) and Fujita's (Chapter 12, this volume) path-breaking papers that led the development of the 'new economic geography' and the revitalization of classical location theory. In addition, we've picked out a variety of more empirical papers that have greatly extended our understandings of urban economies and the structure of cities.

Parts III and IV of the book delve into the more applied end of regional analysis. The first cluster of these papers was chosen to highlight 'neo-modern' ways of looking at regional policy and policy evaluation, whereas the second set are more explicitly case studies of 'Neo-Modern Regional Planning Practice' – practice as it has been applied in diverse areas of the world.

Since the time of the second of the two Friedmann and Alonso collections, a quarter century of policy experimentation has led to a much better appreciation of what government programmes reasonably can and cannot be expected to accomplish. The papers included here tackle the task of assessing a variety of different approaches and policy arenas. Disparate in their range of applications, they share a common methodological stance in that they attempt to analytically assess the relative contribution of interventions by the State – i.e., policies undertaken by either national or more local scale units of government.

Assembling a relatively compact collection of works representative of a broader literature has become more and more problematic as research on the topics of regional planning and economic development has proliferated. Necessarily many truly deserving candidates for inclusion had to be omitted. Copyright restrictions, the need to avoid overlap between this volume and others in the series, and page constraints eliminated several of the articles we had originally planned to include.

We hope you enjoy reading these neo-modern classics and trust you'll agree that they constitute at least some of the many recent highlights from the ever-expanding research literature on regional planning. The true test, however, will be coming back to reread them forty or fifty years from now. Will these papers strike us as 'classic' works – important in their own ways – as do many of the articles Friedmann and Alonso chose to reprint back in 1964 and 1975? We're betting many of them will!

We were aided both in the selection task and in framing the structure of the book by the thoughtful suggestions of a number of our colleagues. We are extremely grateful for the keen insights and pragmatic suggestions provided us by Ann Markusen, Koichi Mera, John Carruthers, Adrian Esparza, Adelheid Holl, and Andrew Isserman.

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