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Borderlands

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BORDERLANDS

THE JOURNAL OF SPATIAL PLANNING IN IRELAND



Borderlands is the name the International Centre for Local and Regional Development (ICLRD) has chosen for its journal because its work crosses borders in Ireland and abroad, aiming to be cross-border, cross-jurisdictional and cross-disciplinary. It is also based in Armagh in the Irish borderlands, and much of its activity takes place in this complex and contested region.

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Local government working across borders - a key theme of the January 2014 joint ICLRD / CCBS Annual Conference. Speakers from Scotland sharing their experiences of working across borders included: (from left to right) Mr. Gavin Stevenson, Chief Executive, Dumfries & Galloway Council; Mr. Keith Winters, Executive Director - Environment, Enterprise & Communities Directorate, Fife Council; and Mr. Ross Martin, Chief Executive, Scottish Council for Development and Industry.



BORDERLANDS

The Journal of Spatial Planning in Ireland

A WORD FROM THE CHAIRMAN, DR. TIM O'CONNOR



I am delighted to contribute to the fourth edition of *Borderlands: The Journal of Spatial Planning in Ireland*. The International Centre for Local and Regional Development (ICLRD) is very proud of *Borderlands* and the contribution it is making to the understanding of spatial planning and regional development on the island of Ireland, particularly in the context of the continuing journey of peace and reconciliation which we are on together. Since the last edition (No. 3, January 2013), a landmark date was passed in that regard – the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement became 16 years old, a milestone it reached on 10 April 2014. Another way of looking at it is to see the Agreement as having become a fully-fledged teenager – lots of promise and potential for the future, but still a work in progress.

We have indeed made a lot of progress in Northern Ireland and in relations between North and South and Ireland and Britain in recent years; but the truth is we are still at a relatively early point of the journey when one looks at the historical context in which the conflict was framed. I make that point both as an attempt to put some context on the issues and challenges that remain for the Process, and also as an encouragement to keep going with the daily work of peace-building and reconciliation - work like we do at the ICLRD.

For the ICLRD, our task is to be facilitators of the quiet task of closer collaboration between practitioners and communities engaged across borders and boundaries - of all kinds - in regard to regional development and spatial planning. It is,

as I say, quiet work, low-profile work perhaps (not many headlines there), but nonetheless vital in the context of ensuring that the 'New Beginning' of the Belfast/Good Friday and St Andrew's Agreements turns into long-term success.

Much of the ICLRD's work over the past few years have been undertaken under the auspices of the **Cross-Border Spatial Planning Development and Training Network (CroSPiAN)**, a sub-programme of the Centre for Cross Border Studies led Ireland-Northern Ireland Cross-Border Cooperation Observatory (INICCO). These suite of projects are funded under the EU INTERREG IVA programme which is administered by the Special EU Programmes Body.

Under the current CroSPiAN programme, running from February 2013 to April 2015, the ICLRD is continuing its work in strengthening the policy and operational linkages between central and local policy-makers and among officials and practitioners involved in spatial planning in the Irish border region. There are three core elements to this:

- developing and delivering professional education programmes which are responding to the priority needs and objectives of local government in the Irish border region during this period of reform;
- identifying opportunities, and operational frameworks, for progressing a shared services agenda across local government that improve the delivery of public services; this will occur through action research and two pilot initiatives to demonstrate practical models for cooperation in delivering front-line or specialised services;
- supporting the principle of evidence-informed planning by mapping the compatible 2011 census data from the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, and developing an updated all-island deprivation index in an on-line,

user-friendly format to support collaboration among central government departments across the island.

Meanwhile, we also continue to support evidence-informed planning through our sister organisation, the All-island Research Observatory (AIRO). This work programme has led to new technical approaches to developing compatible and accessible data for cross-border analysis in housing, accessibility to services and measuring deprivation.

The ICLRD conferences and workshops continue to be well-attended and recognised networking events, bringing a whole range and mix of practitioners together in the cross-border space who perhaps otherwise would not gather under the one roof – a simple achievement in itself, but vital in terms of the journey described above.

Speaking of “gathering”, it was my privilege in the last year to have been Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Gathering Ireland 2013, a unique project by the Irish Government aimed at mobilising communities around Ireland to issue invitations to their kith and kin overseas – the great Irish diaspora – to gather in Ireland in 2013. It was a tremendous success. Over 5,000 Gatherings were held all round Ireland, with hundreds of thousands of our people from around the world responding to the call and the invitation and visiting Ireland. The heroes of the project were the thousands of communities who spent months preparing the warmest welcome for our people around the world, and the outcome was a re-affirmation of the profound bond that continues to bind those of us who live in Ireland – the ‘Home Place’ as it were – and those who had to leave.

I want to pay particular tribute to the role played by the Local Authorities in ensuring the success of the Gathering. They did a tremendous job in supporting communities, and in coordinating efforts on the ground. It brought home to me again, in personal terms as somebody not involved in the space, how important the contribution of Local Authorities is –

they are the arm of the State that is closest to the people and to communities on the ground. I have long believed they have a vital role also to play in consolidating peace and reconciliation, and that is why an organisation like the ICLRD is so important in supporting them in that work. The Gathering has served to further underline the value of their role and the need to continue to support them.

In closing, if I could add a brief personal comment.... I will shortly be stepping down as Chairman of the ICLRD. Over the years, I have been involved in different roles around the organisation since its formation was first tabled back in 2002. It has been a privilege to see the organisation grow over the years, a growth driven by its partner members – the School of the Built Environment at the University of Ulster, the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis (NIRSA) at NUI Maynooth, the Centre for Cross Border Studies in Armagh, and the Institute of International Urban Development in Cambridge Massachusetts – and today its contribution across various strands and spaces is rightly hailed by many. The ICLRD was invented as a response to new questions being asked by the Peace Process in terms of cross-border collaboration which were not being addressed in precisely this way by anybody else. In the ten years or so in-between, the ICLRD has quietly built its reputation as a facilitator, supporter, honest broker, trainer, safe and neutral space – a unique mix for a unique situation.

It has been a privilege to have been involved in that journey and I look forward to supporting the next Chairperson, the Executive (and in that regard I pay tribute to the terrific work over the years of John Driscoll and Caroline Creamer), the Advisory Board, the partner and affiliate organisations, and the Secretariat at the Centre for Cross Border Studies (much thanks to Andy Pollak and now Ruth Taillon, Mairead Hughes, Eimear Donnelly and their colleagues) as the voyage continues.

I thank all the contributors to *Borderlands*, a critical piece of the overall offering of the ICLRD, with a

special word of appreciation to Caroline Creamer, who has undertaken the editorial role as a great labour of love.

Since the last edition of *Borderlands*, we lost our wonderful Nobel Laureate, a true son of both parts of Ireland, the great Seamus Heaney, who understood this journey we are on better than most. His loss is felt by all of us but we have the continued consolation of the remarkable and enduring insights and wisdom of his writings and poems. I leave the last word – of encouragement – to him:

*“So hope for a great sea-change
On the far side of revenge
Believe that further shore
Is reachable from here”.*

The ICLRD and our partners are proud to be part of the voyage toward that further shore.

Dr. Tim O'Connor
Chairman
**International Centre for Local and Regional
Development**



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INTRODUCTION



Mr Padraic White

Regional development has fallen down the pecking order of Governmental and political priority in recent years in both jurisdictions on the island of Ireland in the face of the severe economic recession and cutbacks in public spending. To an extent, this was an understandable reaction as the administrations struggled with the intensity of the recession, and the challenge of meeting public finance spending or deficit targets. However, without reasserting the need for positive regional development policies and actions - as one strand of an agenda for a fairer and less divided society - the lack of focus on regional issues can easily become the default position for both Governments. Why? Because regional development requires effort; it requires a proactive approach by Governments and a more joined-up approach by the Departments and agencies of State to specific regions and locations.

The concentration of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the cities of Dublin and Belfast contrasts with the plight of the smaller towns and rural areas where core economic and social institutions - shops, banks and pubs - have closed on an unprecedented scale during the recession. There is a growing public reaction against these trends in the Republic of Ireland (heretofore referred to as 'Ireland') which in turn is forcing a political response. For example, IDA Ireland which has successfully maintained a high national level of FDI during the recession has consistently failed to achieve the modest target of locating 50% of investments in regions outside

Dublin and Cork – it achieved only 30% in the most recent year (2013). The Irish Minister for Jobs, Mr. Richard Bruton T.D. has acknowledged these concerns and is exploring initiatives to *“ensure we have a better approach to enterprise development in regional locations”* (Response to Parliamentary Question, 23 January 2014). The plight of the people and economies outside the five main cities in Ireland (Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Galway) was graphically set out in the final report of the Commission for the Economic Development of Rural Areas (CEDRA) which was published in April last. It found that unemployment, emigration of young people, and poverty had hit these areas much worse than the city areas during the recession.

The 'Border Zone' of the District Councils and County Councils along the Irish border comprises about 1 million people and represents a special regional development challenge. The zone reflects many of the social and economic characteristics of areas outside city-regions, but their border location presents even further challenges. Geographically, they are “peripheral” in both jurisdictions and, in my opinion, are somewhat “peripheral” in the mindset and preoccupations of the key central Government administrators. In addition, they face more directly the trade and business distortions resulting from movements in currency exchange rates between Sterling and Euro and from tax changes, particularly in VAT and excise duties, by either administration which can swing in business from one jurisdiction to another.

A current example is the imposition of a carbon tax on solid fuel in Ireland in the past year and the absence of such a tax in Northern Ireland; this is severely distorting the solid fuel trade along border areas.

A pioneering analysis of the challenges and opportunities along the Border Zone was contained

in the 2012 report, *Cross Border Economic Renewal - Rethinking Regional Policy in Ireland* which was written by Dr John Bradley and Professor Michael Best and published by the Centre for Cross Border Studies (CCBS). They advocated the need for a new development strategy for the border regions because these areas are caught between the conflicting perspectives of national agencies, with a remit that legally obliges them to focus on their own jurisdictions, and of local government administrations in the border areas which do not have the resources to overcome the problems. The authors concluded that

"The central organising framework of such a strategy is likely to be a cross-border Border Development Zone the rationale for whose existence stems from the twin disadvantages of peripherality and "border" policy and institutional fault lines that demand a uniquely targeted approach, different from and more serious than challenges facing other peripheral regions of the island".

I have strongly supported the advancement of the 'Border Development Zone' and am currently Chairman of an interim steering group to advance the concept which includes local authority, regional, and cross-border interests.

The Centre for Cross Border Studies commissioned in 2013, with EU funding support, five action research studies into the institutional and sectoral aspects of a border development zone:

- Overall Border Development Zone strategy and structure;
- SME enterprise with an export potential;
- Tourism and recreation;
- Agriculture, food and fish processing;
- Low Carbon initiatives, energy saving and renewable energy.

The findings of the five studies were presented and discussed at the Annual CCBS/ICLRD Conference in

Cavan on 30-31 January 2014. Such was the level of interest in the concept of a Border Development Zone or Corridor that both CCBS and ICLR, in association with the interim steering group, were tasked with further exploring the potential of this concept over 2014.

Advancing the Border Development Zone concept

Following the recent local elections, there is now an opportunity for the newly elected Councillors in the new District Council and local authorities to take the initiative to promote cross-border economic development and achieve better outcomes for the people in their areas. The reforms to local government in both jurisdictions envisage local authorities being more actively involved in the economic advancement of their areas. There is certainly an opportunity for the local authorities on both sides to press their Governments for greater commitment to the regional development of the border areas.

The 2013 policy document, *The Framework for Co-operation: Spatial Strategies of Northern Ireland & the Republic of Ireland*, by both Governments is explicitly stated to be "a means of co-operation" to address economic challenges in both jurisdictions. It encourages decision-makers in the public sector to take account of the wider impact of their work and to recognise and exploit opportunities - including on a cross-border basis - as and when they arise.

The Border Development Zone concept is one such opportunity. The aforementioned interim steering group is currently finalising a 'Solidarity Charter' or Common Development Agenda which the newly elected local authorities along both sides of the border might support in the interests of the greater economic progress of the border zone. This Charter will be a 'living' document that will evolve with the changing needs of the region. Further information on the Border Development Zone and the emerging Charter/Agenda is available from both the Centre for Cross Border Studies (CCBS) and the ICLR.

Mr Padraic White is Chairman of the Louth Economic Forum which brings together representatives of the business community, state agencies, Dundalk Institute of Technology and local authorities to advance economic development and job creation in that county. He is chairman of eight SME companies. He has a longstanding interest in job access for the long-term unemployed and is Chairman of the West Belfast and Greater Shankill Employment Services Board. Padraic was Managing Director of the Industrial Development Authority of Ireland (IDA Ireland) in the decade to June 1990 when Ireland endured and then emerged from the last prolonged recession. During his tenure, IDA negotiated the initial location in Ireland of some of today's leading multinationals such as Microsoft, IBM and Intel. He is a native of Kinlough, County Leitrim and is married to Senator Mary White, co-founder of Lir Chocolates.

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A decorative graphic consisting of a grid of plus signs (+) in two shades of blue. The plus signs are arranged in a pattern that tapers to the right, with some larger plus signs interspersed among smaller ones.

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Iontas Building, NUI Maynooth, Kildare, Ireland +353 1 7086157 airo@nuim.ie

PLACE-BASED LEADERSHIP: A NEW AGENDA FOR SPATIAL PLANNING AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE



Prof. Robin Hambleton

Study an example of bold and imaginative planning and you will encounter leadership – probably inspirational leadership. Planning professionals understand this well enough. In contrast, planning theorists have paid very little attention to the importance of leadership in public policy making and this would appear to be a serious weakness in planning scholarship. This article aims to encourage planning academics and practitioners to give more attention to the nature of public leadership in modern spatial planning and local governance.

When viewed from an international perspective the evidence suggests that successful spatial planning is closely intertwined with imaginative place-based leadership. This article discusses evolving debates about local governance and leadership, and sets out a new conceptual model for understanding place-based leadership. The political space within which place-based leaders operate varies across countries and over time. With the rise of globalisation place-less forces have gained momentum, and these forces constrain local agency. This article argues, however, that place-less power cannot extinguish community-based initiatives and local public service innovation, nor can it erase progressive planning. By drawing on recent international research on place-based leadership, the article points towards new possibilities for spatial planning and local

governance, and encourages universities to participate more actively in place-based leadership.

Introduction

This article starts out by exploring two propositions. First, it will be suggested that effective spatial planning and local governance depend on good leadership. Indeed, it will be argued, for purposes of intellectual challenge, that all examples of successful spatial planning demonstrate leadership in action – that effective planning without leadership is a chimera. Second, it will be claimed that planning theory says virtually nothing at all about leadership. This is troubling as a core quality in the nature of successful spatial planning – leadership – is being neglected.

In the last issue of *Borderlands*, Paddy Harte offered a perceptive analysis of the work of the International Fund for Ireland. Interestingly, he points to the importance of valuing and encouraging civic leadership:

The Fund recognised the need to develop effective community leaders in marginalised areas. Leadership is a very illusive thing and it is easier to recognise it in retrospect than it is to predict it. However, it is also possible to recognise it in action and to nurture its development. I have worked with some remarkable community leaders and without them no real change would have been possible (Harte, 2013:17).

Harte is surely on solid ground in making this claim – it is beyond doubt that community leaders have made a remarkable contribution to the Peace Process. This article explores what Harte describes as this ‘very illusive thing’ called leadership and, in particular, presents a case for advancing the cause of place-based leadership.

The argument unfolds in the following way. First, this article presents evidence to support the argument that leadership matters in spatial planning and governance¹. Second, a scan of the literature on planning theory suggests that leadership barely features. Stepping away from academic planning debates, the paper then considers the shift from government to governance, and notes that this has important implications for local leadership. This is followed by a discussion of the power of place in modern societies. Here, the view that globalisation has all but erased the ability of local leaders to advance the quality of life in the communities they serve will be contested.

This paves the way for the presentation of a conceptual framework for understanding place-based leadership – one that highlights the role of local leaders in facilitating public service innovation. The closing section returns to the ongoing debate about how to improve approaches to spatial planning and local governance. It will be suggested that the notion of place-based leadership can, perhaps, provide a way of injecting leadership theory into planning theory to the benefit of planning scholarship and practice. More broadly, the discussion suggests that the notion of place-based leadership can provide useful intellectual underpinning for politicians, professionals and community activists as they strive to strengthen the power of local governance in a rapidly changing world².

The central importance of leadership in spatial planning

Our first proposition is that spatial planning depends on good leadership. Evidence to support this claim can be drawn from two sources: the history of urban and regional planning, and present practice in spatial planning.

Sir Peter Hall, in his classic study of the intellectual history of urban planning and design in the 20th Century, identifies many examples of influential planners who have exercised remarkable civic leadership (Hall, 1988). In *Cities of Tomorrow*, Hall discusses the achievements of, amongst others,

Patrick Abercrombie, Jane Addams, Daniel Burnham, Patrick Geddes, George-Eugene Haussman, Ebenezer Howard, Jane Jacobs, Robert Moses, Janice Perlman, and Clarence Perry. In important ways these individuals have made significant contributions to the theory and practice of urban planning. By exercising bold civic leadership they, and others like them, have influenced large numbers of planning professionals, urban designers and social reformers. Few would deny that most, if not all, these figures influenced the trajectory of urban planning and ideas relating to place-making. How did they make an impact? Three dimensions can be identified: first, the imaginative, even visionary, quality of their thinking; second, their ability to communicate their ideas and to persuade others of their merits; and third, because they applied their ideas in the real world. Like successful leaders in other fields, these high profile planners practiced what they preached. They reshaped attitudes and practices – they attracted followers, they exercised leadership.

Turning to a second source - the current practice of urban planning - we can identify numerous examples of cities where planners have exercised bold civic leadership. These examples demonstrate that successful city planning is driven by people with passion and commitment, people who are comfortable seeing themselves as civic leaders, people who deliver results on the ground. By way of illustration, here are just four examples of inspiring civic leadership. In all these cases, planning has had a beneficial impact not just on the cities themselves but also on international thinking relating to planning and urban design.

- *Freiburg, Germany*. In November 2009, the British Academy of Urbanism gave the award of 'European City of the Year 2010' to Freiburg. In the following year, the Academy made Wulf Daseking, Director of Planning in the City, an Honorary Member of the Academy in recognition of his outstanding contributions to city planning and urban design. At the same time, the Academy launched *The Freiburg*

Charter for Sustainable Urbanism to draw out guiding principles for urban planning and design (Academy of Urbanism, 2011). The nature of civic leadership in Freiburg has been examined elsewhere (Hambleton, 2011) and, more recently, Peter Hall has produced a detailed analysis of planning practice in the city (Hall, 2013:248-274);

- *Malmö, Sweden.* In the three-year period 1992-94 the City of Malmö lost a third of its jobs. A decade or so later and Malmö is lauded as one of the most far sighted cities in Europe for sustainable development. In an astonishing turn around, the city has reinvented itself as an eco-friendly, multi-cultural city. Malmö has an array of imaginative environmental initiatives delivering new ways of responding to climate change, and provides an inspiring example of urban planning allied to innovations in urban governance. Like Wulf Daseking in Freiburg, Christer Larsson, Director of City Planning in Malmö, will be the first to say that many leaders have contributed to the achievements of the city and that leadership is multi-level (Hambleton, 2009a). As with Freiburg, Hall's recent book provides useful evidence on Malmö's urban planning achievements (Hall, 2013: 238-247);
- *Melbourne, Australia.* In the early 1980s the city centre of Melbourne was, by all accounts, a dump. Private interests, concerned only with urban development profits, were busy taking advantage of weak political leadership and poor planning policies to manufacture a boring 'could be anywhere' town centre. Leap forward to 2013 and we find that the *The Economist* identifies the city as being the 'most liveable city in the world' for the third year running (Economist, 2013). Indeed, Melbourne, has now established itself as an international leader in how to create a people friendly public realm at the heart of a major metropolis. Local leaders, and Rob Adams, the Director of Design and Urban Environment for Melbourne deserves great credit, having transformed the city centre into a delightful, liveable and attractive district for residents,

workers and visitors (Gehl Architects, 2004; Hambleton, 2008); and

- *Portland, Oregon.* It is possible to argue that the City of Portland is the best example of metropolitan urban planning in the USA. The city has a long established reputation as a pioneer in the field of sustainable urban development. Leaders in the metropolis have, and this is very unusual in the US context, developed an effective metropolitan approach to urban planning and governance (Ozawa, 2004). The city has a robust spatial plan and there are numerous examples of imaginative urban development taking place in the city. For example, Portland State University (PSU) has worked with various stakeholders to develop an Educational Renewal Area (ERA) bringing together a range of local stakeholders. Many leaders have contributed to this recent initiative but it is interesting to note that Wim Wiewel, President of the University, is making an important contribution to the planning of the city. This illustrates how effective urban leadership can involve actors outside city hall working alongside political leaders and community-based organisations.

In summary, evidence drawn from the history of urban planning and from the present practice of some of the most innovative cities in the world suggests that successful urban planning is inextricably linked with good civic leadership. It can even be suggested that good urban planning is improbable without good place-based leadership. It follows that a detached observer might expect planning theory books to be brimming with insights on leadership in planning practice. However, as the next section explains, this particular observer will be disappointed.

The neglect of leadership in planning theory

The second proposition is that, despite the central importance of leadership in successful urban planning practice, planning theory pays virtually no attention to it. Peter Hall's book, *Cities of Tomorrow*, is a *tour de force* (Hall, 1988). His analysis of the history of urban planning is both imaginative and

meticulous, and it is full of valuable insights relating to planning theory. Yet, and this is somewhat surprising, this volume does not refer to theories of leadership at all - even though it is crammed with examples of bold civic leadership. In fairness, Hall's neglect of leadership theory is consistent with the approach adopted by other planning theorists. It would seem that leadership - theories of leadership and scholarship relating to leadership - is an intellectual 'no-go' zone for planning theorists.

Consider for a moment the contents of a dozen or so planning theory books, published in the last forty years: Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002); Faludi (1973a; 1973b); Forester (1989); Hall (1988); Healey *et al* (1982); Healey (1997; 2010); Hillier (2007); Marris (1987); Rydin (2011); and Taylor (1998). This is not a comprehensive list of planning theory books but each has, at one time or another, made a valuable contribution to planning theory. Yet, unless I am mistaken, none of these books discusses the role of civic leadership in the shaping of localities, cities and city regions. The word 'leadership' does not appear in the index of any of these books. Scant, if any, attention is given to theories of leadership and to the roles of various kinds of leaders in shaping urban development. This is puzzling. While the aim here is not to attempt to undermine the value of these books - they are all respected works and have enhanced the understanding of urban planning - it must be asked why is there so little discussion of leadership and the role of planning and planners in place-based leadership?

Fainstein (2005) provides, perhaps, one possible clue to understanding the absence of a discussion of leadership themes in planning theory. She draws a distinction between planning theory and urban theory. She notes that much of planning theory discusses what planners do, with little reference either to the socio-spatial constraints under which they work or the purposes they wish to achieve. She suggests that:

... a narrow definition of planning theory results in theoretical weakness arising from the isolation of process from context or outcome (Fainstein, 2005:121).

Stated simply, she argues that planning theory has tended to focus on processes of decision-making. She contrasts this approach with the different approach encountered in urban theory. Here, scholars are concerned with the substance of public policy as it affects the quality of life in the city. By engaging actively with scholars in the fields of urban sociology, urban political science and environmental sustainability, those concerned to advance urban theory have highlighted the distributional impacts of planning policies.

Fainstein makes a plea for future developments in planning theory to bridge process and substance and, in her view, a focus on the creation of the 'just city' will repay dividends (Fainstein, 2010). Her analysis can be seen as a contribution to a neglected topic - equity planning. In an influential American book, *Making Equity Planning Work*, Krumholz and Forester (1990) highlight the role of urban leadership in bringing about progressive change. It is one of the few planning books to draw attention to the importance of public leadership. It is encouraging to note that John Forester has returned to leadership themes in his more recent work. For example, his edited volume on *Planning in the Face of Conflict* provides a useful collection of essays examining the way facilitative leadership can contribute to community building and peace-making (Forester, 2013). We can suggest, then, that scholars concerned with urban theory pay at least some attention to leadership themes and theories. Indeed, urban political scientists have made significant contributions to our understanding of city leadership (Judd, 2000; Stone, 1995).

The distinction between planning theory and urban theory might be seen as providing a reasonable explanation of why planning theory books tend to neglect leadership. It could be claimed that these books focus on the process of planning, and that

these authors do not pay attention to leadership because this is a topic more than adequately covered by their colleagues working in the field of urban theory. This, however, is not a convincing argument. First, even the urban theorists have given relatively little attention to leadership themes. The literature on leadership within the field of urban theory is expanding but it is still not that well developed. Second, and this is a key point to emphasise, any analysis of the process of planning that neglects to consider leadership is a weak analysis in its own terms. The world of planning practice shows us that leaders shape planning processes to achieve public purpose. To discuss planning theory without discussing leadership is startling – it diminishes the usefulness and relevance of planning theory. The next section steps away from debates about planning theory and adopts a different perspective – one that is familiar to students of government, public management and urban politics.

Evolving debates about governance and leadership

The shift from local government to local governance is a familiar theme in modern debates relating to the governance of place (Goss, 2001; Denters and Rose, 2005; Haus *et al*, 2005; Heinelt *et al*, 2006; Davies and Imbroscio, 2009). In broad terms, local governance refers to the processes and structures of a variety of public, private, and community and voluntary sector bodies at the local level (Hambleton and Gross, 2007). It acknowledges the diffusion of responsibility for collective provision and recognises the contribution of different levels and sectors. As Peters argues:

Governing has never been easy, but it has become all the more complicated... The process of governing now involves more actors, more policy areas that impinge upon one another, and most importantly involves a wider range of goals. With the multiplicity of targets being pursued by public action, designing programmes and processes becomes all the more difficult (Peters, 2011:11).

The UK Coalition Government, elected in May 2010, advocates the development of a 'Big Society' (HM Government, 2010a; HM Government, 2010b). The central idea is to encourage communities to help themselves, rather than rely on a continuing expansion of state-run services (Norman, 2010; Tuddenham, 2010). The emerging national policy is, then, clearly aligned with a governance approach. Ministers argue that the state can only do so much. Indeed, they go further and argue that, because of the structural deficit in the national accounts, the state must do less. Some observers detect an anti-state philosophy in the approach the government has adopted thus far. Certainly, the scale of the cuts in public spending is unprecedented in recent times and many consider these reductions to be seriously misguided.

The implications of the shift from government to governance for local political leadership are significant. Firstly, just as approaches to governing have evolved, so too have approaches to leadership in general and local leadership in particular. Changes in society and culture are constantly reshaping the meaning and nature of leadership, and theories of leadership are, not surprisingly, evolving and developing (Burns, 1978; Grint, 1997; Keohane, 2010). Explanations of the evolution of leadership theories are contested. At risk of oversimplifying, we can highlight four major elements or approaches:

- Personal qualities of leaders;
- Leadership and institutional design;
- The nature of the leadership task; and
- The context for leadership.

The 'Great Man' theory of leadership of the 19th century placed the emphasis on the characteristics of the individual leader – 'heroic' figures, with the right personality traits, were the focus of attention. This way of thinking was challenged in the early 20th Century by the notion of scientific management. This approach – exemplified by the Taylorism and Fordism of production line management in large factories – stressed the important role of leaders in designing procedures and practices in order to establish

control over the workforce. In scientific management, roles and relationships, as well as tasks, are carefully defined and the monitoring of performance is central. Morgan (1986) suggests that the scientific approach envisages the organisation as an instrument of domination. This approach was, however, challenged by a third strategy. Human relations theories gave more attention to the motives and feelings of workers, albeit often with the continuing aim of exploiting them. A fourth theme – one that cross cuts the other three – is the recognition that leaders need to tune into the context both within and outside their organisation:

The size and culture of an organisation, the expectations of followers, the purposes the organisation is intended to pursue, and its history and traditions are all relevant in considering what kind of leadership is most likely to succeed. Behaviour by a leader that seems perfectly appropriate in some contexts may appear quite out of place in another (Keohane, 2010:10)

These four themes all find expression in modern leadership theory and practice. Thus, some leadership writers focus on the development of the leadership skills of individuals by drawing lessons from inspirational leaders (Adair, 2002). Until relatively recently, this biographical approach dominated the discussion of urban leadership within political science (Stone, 1995). The high profile planners identified by Hall (1988) in his history of urban planning could be said to fit within this mould. Some writers have highlighted the role of leadership in shaping strategy, and driving organisational performance through the development of, for example, 'joined up' government, and the imposition of measurable performance targets on public servants (Mulgan, 2009). An updated version of the third theme, that of human relations, is now deservedly receiving much more attention as both scholars and practitioners have come to recognise the importance of the emotional dimension of leadership (Goleman *et al*, 2002; Heifetz and Linsky, 2002; Haslam *et al*, 2011).

As part of this, there has been growing interest in the important distinction, made by Burns (1978), between 'transactional leadership' and 'transformational leadership'. In the former, leaders engage in a process of exchange with their followers – for example, a pay rise for outstanding work. Burns argues that the latter is both more complex and more potent – the transforming leader tunes into the feelings and emotions of followers, and seeks to stimulate enthusiasm and commitment through a process that is more like bonding than bartering. The fourth theme of developing context sensitive approaches to leadership, including developing the role of leaders in both responding to and reshaping organisational cultures, is now mainstream thinking in modern leadership programmes in both the private and the public sectors (Sashkin and Sashkin, 2003).

These four themes have influenced debates about local leadership in the UK and in other countries. It is possible that all these themes feature boldly in undergraduate and postgraduate planning courses. But, given the absence of leadership themes in the planning literature, it is conceivable that they are not given the attention they deserve.

Local leadership debates in the UK

The UK government interest in 'community leadership' can be traced to a government report produced twenty years ago. Revealingly, this report focussed on the 'internal' – not the external – management of local authorities (HM Government, 1993). There was an implicit belief in this report that the institutional design of local government could help - or hinder - effective community leadership, and it set out various ways of strengthening the political executive. Prime Minister Tony Blair, in a remarkable intervention, built on this earlier work and wrote a pamphlet urging local authorities to develop a highly visible, outgoing approach to community leadership (Blair, 1998). Again, the underlying theory was that institutional redesign could bolster improved approaches to local leadership.

The Labour Government was quick to pass legislation creating not just a new directly elected

mayor and strategic authority for London, but also opportunities for all English councils to develop new leadership models (Hambleton, 1998; Hambleton and Sweeting, 2004). The London reforms have undoubtedly strengthened the political leadership of the capital. Few voices are now raised arguing that the strategic model for governing London by means of a Directly Elected Mayor (DEM) and an assembly should be discarded, even though many in local government opposed the idea at the time³.

Research on the impact of the UK *Local Government Act 2000* suggests that the institutional design of councils does, indeed, influence the way they operate and that thoughtful redesign can have a positive impact on public service performance (Gains *et al*, 2009). Sullivan (2007) notes, however, that 'community leadership' is an elastic term that contains multiple meanings – she rightly seeks to sharpen the debate about what this term actually means. Other scholars have added to this critique and argued that relatively little attention has been given to the challenges of managing the tensions that now arise in the new governance spaces created by the various moves to 'partnership' working (Howard and Miller, 2008). Research by Purdue (2007) supports this view – he examined the role of community leaders in neighbourhood governance and shows how neglect of capacity building often leads to burnout for the individuals involved.

Three important points relating to planning theory emerge from the discussion in this and the previous section. First, as emphasised by numerous scholars, the debate about local leadership is first and foremost a **political debate** (Leach and Wilson, 2000; Leach *et al*, 2005). The managerial literature on leadership can offer prompts and suggestions to discussion of the politics of place, but much of it is of limited value because it does not engage with politics. While the leadership powers of senior councillors in English local authorities have been strengthened by the legislative changes introduced since 2000, research on the changing roles of councillors in England suggests that many are

finding it difficult to adapt to the new political structures (Copus, 2008). Planning theorists have been relatively slow to contribute to this debate about the restructuring of local power, even though one of the key powers of 'DEMs' is strategic spatial planning.

Second, the shift from government to governance places a premium on facilitative leadership skills. American experience is relevant in this context as governance models have been in use for a longer period of time in the USA than in the UK. Various US urban scholars have shown that traditional notions of 'strong' top-down leadership are unsuited to situations in which power is dispersed (Svara, 1994, 2009; Stone, 1995). Recent research on collaborative leadership in UK local governance supports this argument. For example, Williams (2012: 100-109) outlines helpful ideas on the leader as 'boundary spanner'. Planners often operate as boundary spanners, and the shift from government to governance should provide opportunities for planners to develop their potential as facilitative leaders. Professor Deborah Peel explores this idea of spanning boundaries and encourages spatial planners to take on the mantle of the new reticulist (2013). She discusses the importance of developing community resilience and suggests that:

... planners actively assume a professional leadership role and facilitate development of stronger conditions to support a new civic infrastructure (Peel, 2013:72).

Lastly, it seems clear that much of the UK local government literature on leadership has concentrated on the internal operations of the local government system – on the roles of political parties, councillors and officers. A relatively small amount of research has been carried out on the leadership contribution of locality leaders operating outside the local state, and this would seem to be an area that would repay further study.

Framing the power of place

As mentioned in the introduction, civic, or place-

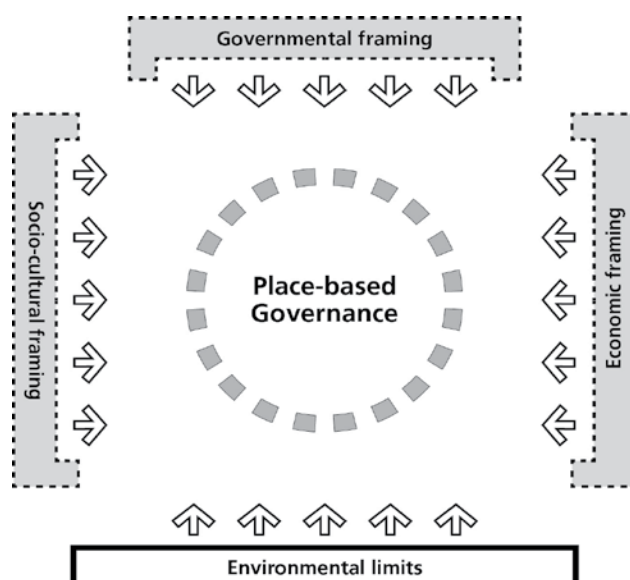
based leaders, do not operate in a vacuum. On the contrary, various powerful forces shape the context within which civic leaders operate. These forces do not disable local leadership. Rather they place limits on what civic leaders may be able to accomplish in particular places, and at particular moments in time. Figure 1 provides a simplified picture of the forces that shape the world of place-based governance in any given locality.

Let's run through this Figure. At the bottom of the diagram are the non-negotiable environmental limits. Ignoring the fact that localities are part of the natural ecosystem is irresponsible, and failure to pay attention to environmental limits will store up unmanageable problems for future generations (Boone and Modarres, 2006; Girardet, 2008; Jackson, 2009). This side of the square is drawn with a solid line because, unlike the other sides of the square, these environmental limits are non-negotiable. On the left hand side of the diagram are socio-cultural forces – these comprise a mix of people (as actors) and cultural values (that people may hold). Here we find the rich variety

of voices found in any locality - including the claims of activists, businesses, artists, political parties, entrepreneurs, trade unionists, religious organisations, community-based groups, citizens who vote, citizens who don't vote, children, newly arrived immigrants, anarchists and so on. The people living in any given place will have different views about the kind of place they wish to live in, and they will have differential capacity to make these views known. Some, maybe many, will claim a right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996)⁴. We can assume that, in democratic societies at least, elected leaders who pay little or no attention to these political pressures should not expect to stay in office for too long. Expression of citizen voice, to use Hirschman's term (1970), will see them dismissed at the ballot box.

On the right hand side of the diagram are the horizontal economic forces that arise from the need for localities to compete, to some degree at least, in the wider marketplace - for inward investment and to attract talented people. Various studies have shown that, contrary to neo-liberal dogma, it is possible for

Figure 1: Framing the political space for place-based governance



(Source: Author)

civic leaders to bargain with business (Savitch and Kantor, 2002). Recognising the power of economic forces, including the growth in global competition between localities, does not require civic leaders to become mere servants of private capital. On the top of Figure 1 we find the legal and policy framework imposed by higher levels of government. In some countries this governmental framing will include legal obligations imposed by supra-national organisations. For example, local authorities in countries that are members of the European Union (EU) are required to comply with EU laws and regulations, and to take note of EU policy guidance. Individual nation states determine the legal status, fiscal power and functions of local authorities within their boundaries. These relationships are subject to negotiation and renegotiation over time.

It is clear that Figure 1 simplifies a much more complex reality. This is what conceptual frameworks do. In reality, the four sets of forces framing local action do not necessarily carry equal weight, and the situation in any given locality is, to some extent, fluid and changing. The space available for local agency shifts over time, and a key task of local leaders is to be alert to the opportunities for advancing the power of their place within the context of the framing forces prevailing on their area at the time. The figure indicates that place-based governance, shown at the centre, is porous. Successful civic leaders are constantly learning from the environment in which they find themselves in order to discover new insights, co-create new solutions and advance their political objectives.

Note that the four forces are not joined up at the corners to create a rigid prison within which civic leadership has to be exercised. On the contrary, the boundaries of the overall arena are, themselves, malleable. Depending on the culture and context, imaginative civic leaders may be able to disrupt the pre-existing governmental frame and bring about an expansion in place-based power. Having outlined the frame within which place-based leadership is exercised, the paper will now explain in a little more detail what place-based leadership means – and, in

particular, the critical role of leadership in bringing about public service innovation.

Place-based leadership and innovation zones

This section provides a brief presentation of a conceptual framework developed to enhance understanding of place-based leadership and, in particular, the role of leadership in promoting public service innovation. It draws on recent research carried out at the Centre for Sustainable Planning and Environments⁵. Civic leadership is place-based, meaning that those exercising decision-making power have a concern for the communities living in a particular place. Some of the most powerful decision-makers in modern society are place-less leaders in the sense that they are not concerned with the geographical impact of their decisions. Following Stiglitz, the view is taken that an unfettered market, especially in the context of globalisation, can destroy communities (Stiglitz, 2006). There is now a substantial body of literature on 'social capital' and the role that it plays in fostering a caring society (Putnam, 2000; Gilchrist, 2004). There are different kinds of social capital and sometimes this capital can be used to exclude groups – the creation of social capital will not necessarily reduce socio-economic inequalities. However, with the right kind of civic leadership it may be possible to encourage the bridging of social ties between different social groups.

As discussed earlier, there is a large body of literature on leadership – on leadership theories, leadership styles and alternative perspectives. In previous work, leadership has been defined as 'shaping emotions and behaviour to achieve common goals' (Hambleton, 2007:174). This implies a wide range of activities aimed at generating both new insights and new ways of working together – it prizes respect for the feelings and attitudes of others as well as a strong commitment to collaboration.

The approach to the analysis of place-based leadership, presented in this article, is informed by this perspective. The feelings people have for 'their' place, have, in my view, been seriously neglected in

both the leadership literature and the public service innovation literature. Following Hoggett (2009:175), the view is taken that approaches to leadership need to develop a form of 'passionate reason'. How we feel is not a distraction from reason – on the contrary:

Not only are our feelings essential to our capacity for thought but they are themselves a route to reason (Hoggett, 2009:177).

Civic leaders are found in the public, private, and community/voluntary sectors and they operate at many geographical levels – from the street block to an entire sub-region and beyond. It is helpful to distinguish four realms of place-based leadership reflecting different sources of legitimacy:

- **Political leadership** – referring to the work of those people elected to leadership positions by the citizenry. These are, by definition, political leaders. Thus, 'DEMs', all elected local councillors, and Members of Parliament are political leaders. Having said that, we should acknowledge that different politicians carry different roles and responsibilities, and will view their political roles in different ways;
- **Managerial/professional leadership** – referring to the work of public servants appointed by local authorities, central government and third sector organisations to plan and manage public services, and promote community wellbeing. These officers bring professional and managerial expertise to the tasks of local governance;
- **Business leadership** – referring to the contribution made by local business leaders, who have a clear stake in the long-term prosperity of the locality, and to trade union leaders who are committed to advancing the prospects for their members in the locality; and
- **Community leadership** – referring to the work of the many civic-minded people who give their time and energy to local leadership activities in a wide variety of ways. These may be community activists, social entrepreneurs, voluntary sector leaders, religious leaders, higher education

leaders and so on. The potential contribution to civic leadership of an independent and engaged voluntary and community sector is important here.

These roles are all important in cultivating and encouraging public service innovation and, crucially, they overlap. The areas of overlap between these different realms of leadership can be described as **innovation zones** – areas providing many opportunities for innovation (see Figure 2). This is because **different perspectives are brought together** within these zones, and this can enable active questioning of established approaches. Heterogeneity is the key to fostering innovation. Civic leadership has a critical role to play in creating the conditions for different people to come together – people who might not normally meet – to have a creative dialogue, and then to follow up their ideas. The circles in Figure 2 are presented as dotted lines; thus seeking to emphasise the connectivity, or

Figure 2: Realms of civic leadership



(Source: Author)

potential connectivity, across the realms of civic leadership.

It can be claimed that the areas of overlap identified in Figure 2 are 'conflict zones', not 'innovation zones'. It is certainly the case that these zones often provide settings for power struggles between competing interests and values. And it is important to acknowledge that, within these settings, power is unequally distributed. It is possible that formalised partnership settings can operate as innovation zones, but this is often not the case. Research on public service innovation suggests that it is the more informal, open-ended, personal interactions that matter in a creative process (Hambleton and Howard, 2012). This creativity can be cultivated if leaders step out of their own 'realm' of authority and engage with the perspectives and realities of others. This means going into what one public service leader described as one's 'ZOUD' – or Zone of Uncomfortable Debate. Here, different approaches, values and priorities collide, and leaders need to be prepared to work in this zone and to support others to do so⁶.

Wise civic leadership is critical in ensuring that settings of this kind – sometimes referred to as the 'soft spaces' of planning (Illsley *et al*, 2010) – are orchestrated in a way that promotes a culture of listening that can, in turn, lead to innovation (Kahane, 2004). Inventive place-based leaders can reconfigure conflict zones into innovation zones and, indeed, this is one of the main challenges that they face.

In sum, leadership capacity in modern society is dispersed. Recent work in the UK by NESTA supports the findings of research carried out at the University of West of England (UWE)⁷. Facilitative leadership skills are becoming increasingly important:

In more open, emergent systems, with many players operating in more fluid environments, and where the task is to create solutions rather than repeat tasks, then successful leadership will be more like leading a community of volunteers, who cannot be instructed. Leadership is likely to be far more interactive and distributed rather

than concentrated and instructional
(Leadbeater, 2013:50).

Our systems of local governance need to respect and reflect that diversity if decisions taken in the public interest are going to enjoy legitimacy. Further, more decentralised approaches – both across localities and within each realm of civic leadership – can empower informal leaders to be part of the dialogue.

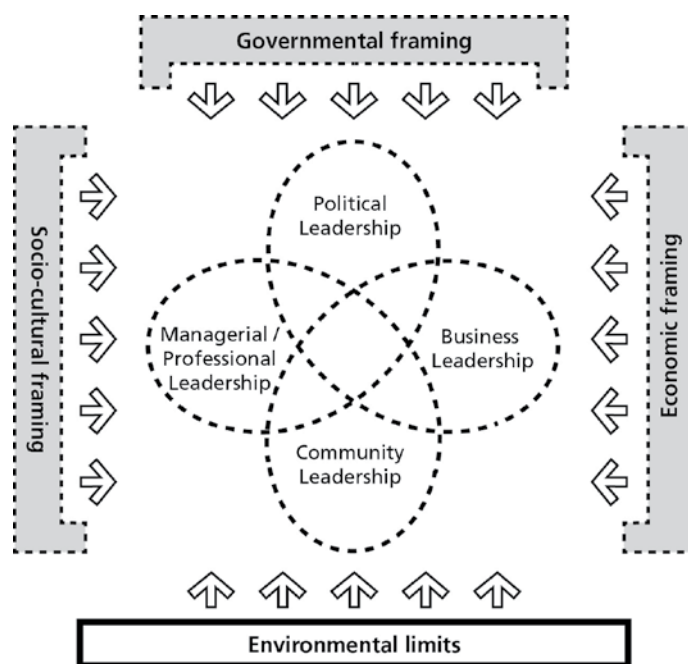
Figure 2 represents a drastic simplification of a more complex reality. It is not intended to show how the dynamics of local power struggles actually unfold. The relative power of the three realms varies by locality and this would imply different sized circles, whereas in this Figure, they have all been kept the same size. Moreover, the realms shift in influence over time. The interactions across the realms are also complex and, of course, there are many different interests operating within each realm. Nevertheless, the notion of three different realms – with leadership stemming from different sources of legitimacy within each realm – provides a helpful way of framing discussion about civic leadership.

Place-based leadership in context

Earlier in this article it was explained how various forces shape the context within which place-based leadership is exercised, and this was set out in diagrammatic form in Figure 1. Having now explained the three realms of place-based leadership it is possible to advance the discussion by locating the three realms within this broader context (see Figure 3).

Skelcher *et al* (2013:24) provide an interesting framework, a kind of flow chart, for the analysis of governance transitions. In their model, they argue that, aside from the imaginative agency of individuals and groups, governance change is driven by two factors – the big ideas that take hold within a community of actors (the ideational context) and the normative logics inherent in the institutions of government (the institutional legacy). An attractive feature of their model is that they show how

Figure 3: Place-based leadership in context



(Source: Author)

emergent practices can, in turn, reshape the big ideas and the institutional legacy.

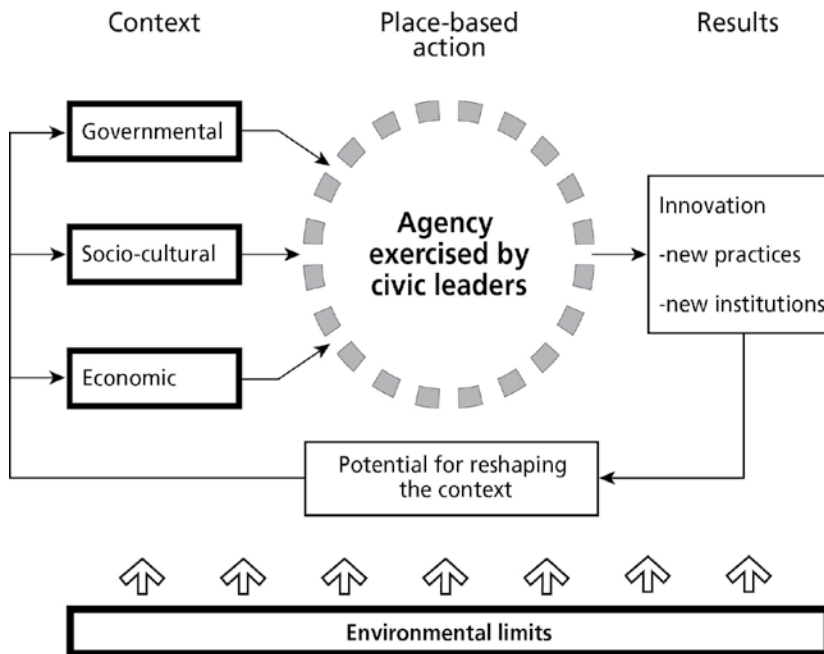
The following model is closely aligned with their approach (see Figure 4). The main differences are that four forces, not two, shape the space for local action. The associated analysis suggests that environmental limits are critical, while also noting the tensions between the political and the economic drivers of local change (rather than collapsing them into one 'ideational' driver). Figure 4 has the benefit of highlighting the dynamic possibilities for place-based leadership.

In the next section attention is drawn to two important matters – the purpose of place-based leadership and the need for local leadership to transcend parochialism.

Purpose-driven local leadership

Leadership is inextricably linked with purpose. Stone (1995) examines modern urban politics and observes that aimless interaction requires no leadership. In contrast, in cases where a compelling vision emerges from an inclusive process, and is then articulated by a leader or leaders, the results can be inspiring. A clear statement of purpose (or mission) can provide a formative experience, shaping the identity of group members, and articulating shared values and aspirations. In the mid-1990s, Sir Steve Bullock, who is now the directly elected mayor of the London Borough of Lewisham, and I were commissioned by UK local government to develop national guidance on local political leadership (Hambleton and Bullock, 1996). In carrying out this research, leading figures in UK local government were asked what they thought constituted successful local authority leadership, and the indicators of good political leadership that emerged are summarised in Figure 5.

Figure 4: A process model of civic leadership



(Source: Author)

Figure 5: Indicators of good local political leadership

- *Articulating a clear vision for the area:* Setting out an agenda of what the future of the area should be and developing strategic policy direction. Listening to local people and leading initiatives.
- *Promoting the qualities of the area:* Building civic pride, promoting the benefits of the locality and attracting inward investment.
- *Winning resources:* Winning power and funding from higher levels of government and maximising income from a variety of sources.
- *Developing partnerships:* Successful leadership is characterised by the existence of a range of partnerships, both internal and external, working to a shared view of the needs of the local community.
- *Addressing complex social issues:* The increasingly fragmented nature of local government and the growing number of service providers active in a given locality means that complex issues that cross boundaries, or are seen to fall between areas of interest, need to be taken up by leaderships that have an overview and can bring together the right mix of agencies to tackle a particular problem.
- *Maintaining support and cohesion:* Managing disparate interests and keeping people on board are essential if the leadership is to maintain authority.

(Source: Adapted from Hambleton, R. and Bullock, S. 1996).

There is no suggestion here that the indicators listed in Figure 5 are comprehensive or appropriate in all settings. Rather, they are offered as a possible set of aspirations for local political leadership and to stimulate fresh thinking.

Transcending parochialism

Back in 1975, US Senator Mark Hatfield (Republican – Oregon) advocated the introduction of neighbourhood government legislation in the USA – the *Neighbourhood Government Act 1975*. His aim was to bring about a massive transfer of tax monies from higher levels of government to the neighbourhood level. The legislation went nowhere, but it provides us with a warning note. This Act was intended to make rich neighbourhoods formidably wealthy at the expense of less well off areas. Advocating a much stronger role for place-based leadership in urban governance does not equate with seeking to promote this kind of selfish, parochial behaviour. Rather, following George Frederickson (2005), place-based leaders should be guided by ‘instincts of appropriateness’ and what is understood to be right and fair. Place-based leadership calls for the ability to hold onto the ethical purpose of governance while also containing the uncertainties and complexities inherent in the leadership role.

Frederickson, as well as grasping the importance of facilitative leadership in the modern city, also makes a strong case for leaders to transcend the geographical limitations of municipal boundaries:

Although they are working from the vantage point of particular jurisdictions, leaders practicing ... governance see the big social, economic, and political context in which they are embedded... To serve a city well, its leaders must transcend the city (Frederickson, 2005:6).

It follows that civic leaders must be able to build strong grassroots relationships alongside their horizontal and vertical relationships. Local leaders need to be able to see the bigger picture, but at the same time remain connected with people across the city, in ways that empower them to take action.

Reflections and pointers

In this closing section, four pointers for future scholarship and practice are offered.

First, this analysis raises some challenges for planning theory. Forester suggests that: ‘Planning is the guidance of future action’ (Forester, 1989:3). If this definition is accepted, it suggests that planning is very closely allied with leadership, and this makes the absence of leadership theory in planning theory all the more mystifying. Perhaps scholars interested in examining the core purposes of planning could consider more actively the core purposes of leadership, and consider how alternative theories of leadership can illuminate the development of new theories of planning. This could be approached in a number of ways – as a philosophical enterprise, as a way of generating hypotheses or as a way of examining planning practice in particular places. Fainstein (2005) suggests there is merit in conjoining insights drawn from planning theory and urban theory. In fact, it would be desirable to add a third leg to this stool – leadership theory.

Second, places are not helpless victims in a global flow of events. In recent years, global economic forces have resulted in an erosion of the power of place in modern societies, but these place-less forces cannot extinguish community-based initiatives and local public service innovation. There is an important and ongoing struggle underway between place-less power that is unconcerned with the fortunes of particular communities, and place-based power that seeks to advance the quality of life of communities living in particular places. This struggle has been visualised in Figure 1. The political space available to place-based leaders in any locality is, to some extent, malleable. Spatial planning can play a critical role in helping to expand the reach and influence of place-based leaders.

The article has set out a conceptual framework for understanding place-based leadership. It is a very simple framework, with the realms of leadership set out in Figure 2 needing to be contextualised. The framework does not pretend to provide a way

of analysing the detailed dynamics of the power system of a given city or locality – other theories can assist with this. But an attraction of the model is that it connects to the 'lived experience' of urban leaders and practitioners. The distinctive realms of leadership help practitioners 'make sense' of local leadership activities and assist in clarifying roles and responsibilities. The model enables a contrast to be drawn between place-based leaders (who care about the communities living in a particular place) and place-less leaders (who do not care about the impact of their decisions on specific localities).

Third, the world is changing rapidly and this puts a premium on developing the innovative capacity of localities and the institutions of governance. The model of place-based leadership presented in this article represents a contribution to innovation theory. Much of the literature on innovation is managerial or technological. In this article, it is suggested that successful public innovation is more likely to stem from changing political dynamics than managerial fixes, and that place-based leadership can play an influential role in creating spaces for innovation and experiment. Perhaps there is an implication here for planning theory. This is not a cry for yet more enterprise zones in which anything goes. Rather, it is a plea for new kinds of civic leadership bringing together place-based activists to invent new possibilities. In an Anglo/Dutch research report on public sector innovation and local leadership, it is suggested that successful place-based leadership involves the 'orchestration of social discovery' (Hambleton and Howard, 2012:32-43). Perhaps new thinking on the relationship between planning theory, local leadership and public innovation is called for.

A final pointer concerns the trajectory of research in universities. In many countries, higher education performance management regimes are skewing research away from policy relevance and away from active engagement with the challenges faced by local communities. Despite the recent increase in interest in assessing research impact in some countries, the thrust of university promotion procedures and research council funding priorities

is to promote esoteric research. Learned journal articles are highly prized within these performance regimes, and it is certainly important to strengthen the quality of peer reviewed scholarship in the field of urban planning and local government studies. But it is also essential that universities reconsider the nature of modern scholarship to bring it into line with the expectations and requirements of modern society.

Ernest Boyer has provided a valuable start to this task by mapping out a holistic vision of scholarship (Boyer, 1990). A growing number of universities are following this model – particularly public funded universities in the USA – but there is much more to do on this front, and this could be of immense benefit to planning theory and local governance. It is encouraging to note that engaged scholarship is, at last, starting to receive serious attention in British social science circles (Flinders, 2013). The notion of place-based leadership can, perhaps, contribute to the development of engaged scholarship. It can certainly embrace the role of students and faculty in the governance of their city or locality. This can, in turn, help to generate new ways of building approaches to planning theory that engage with the lived experience of local residents.

In conclusion, scholars, policy-makers and practitioners who wish to improve the performance of spatial planning and local governance might find it helpful to pay more attention to the notion of place-based leadership.

Robin Hambleton is Professor of City Leadership at the University of the West of England, Bristol. He worked in local government in England for four different local authorities before becoming an academic. He has been an Advisor to UK local government ministers, a consultant to Select Committees of the UK House of Parliament, and has worked on change management with local authorities in many different countries. He co-wrote the UK national guidance on local government reorganisation,

Shaping Future Authorities, in 1995 and has assisted many councils through radical change.

He has worked in four universities – Bristol, Cardiff, University of the West of England and University of Illinois at Chicago – and he has held five different professorial positions - in City and Regional Planning, City Management,

Urban Planning and Policy, Public Administration and City Leadership. He was the Dean of the College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois at Chicago (2002-07) and was founding President of the European Urban Research Association (EURA). He founded a company – Urban Answers - to assist city leaders in 2007: www.urbananswers.co.uk

Endnotes

¹ It may be helpful to clarify the way various planning terms are being used in this article. The following phrases are used interchangeably – spatial planning, urban and regional planning, urban planning and city planning. These approaches to planning differ from traditional land-use planning. Stated simply, the traditional approach – sometimes described as master planning or development planning – designates zones for particular kinds of activity and sees planning as controlling what developers do. Spatial planning focuses on coordinating and integrating the actions of different agencies and actors in a locality in order to achieve political objectives. For further discussion of the changing nature of spatial planning, see Morphet (2010) and Rydin (2011: 22-33).

² A book providing a more extended analysis of the arguments presented in this article is forthcoming: Hambleton R. (2015). *Leading the Inclusive City. Place-based innovation for a bounded planet*. Bristol: The Policy Press

³ Debate about whether or not Directly Elected Mayors (DEMs) can improve local leadership is, once again, on the public policy agenda in the UK. The *Localism Act 2011* provided the twelve largest cities in England, outside London, with the opportunity to introduce DEMs. Three English provincial cities have decided to introduce DEMs in the period since 2011: Leicester, Liverpool, and Bristol. Arguments in favour of this reform have been set out by the Institute for Government (Swinney and Blatchford, 2011), and research on the prospects for Mayoral governance in Bristol has appeared recently (Hambleton *et al*, 2013).

⁴ For the purpose of this discussion, we can note that the ‘right to the city’ does not have to relate only to urban areas. It is a right to liberty and freedom in the place where you live (Whitzman *et al*, 2013).

⁵ I would like to acknowledge the contribution of Joanna Howard to the development of these concepts. The framework was first created in work carried out for the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (Hambleton, 2009b), further developed in a scoping report for the Local Authority Research Council Initiative (LARCI) (Hambleton *et al*, 2009) and then tested out more thoroughly in an Anglo-Dutch research project. Thanks are due to Bas Denters, Pieter-Jan Klok and Mirjan Oude Vrielink for their major contribution to this Anglo-Dutch study which applied these ideas in specific localities – they participated in our international workshops, helped to develop the model and also wrote Chapter 4 of the research report (Hambleton and Howard, 2012).

⁶ I am grateful to Katherine Rossiter, then Managing Director of the Society of Local Authority Chief Executives and Senior Managers (SOLACE), for this insight, provided at our Anglo-Dutch Workshop on Place-based

Leadership (9 November 2011). SOLACE would like to acknowledge the source of this concept as The Cranfield School of Management. For further information and to read Dr Catherine Bailey's discussion of the 'ZOU'D', go to: <http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/dinamic-content/media/knowledgeinterchange/topics/20110404/Article.pdf>

⁷ NESTA stands for National Endowment for Science Technology and the Arts. Originally set up by central government, it is now an independent charity providing grants to promote innovation in the UK public and private sectors. More: <http://www.nesta.org.uk>

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A PERFECT STORM: PLANNING FOR A MORE SUSTAINABLE STEADY STATE ON THE ISLAND OF IRELAND.



Prof. Greg Lloyd

This paper explores the changing futures for land-use planning on the island of Ireland. There are two different sets of regulatory and forward planning arrangements which raise questions for the management of space on the island and the cross-border axis. There is a move to establish new integrated thinking for planning on the island yet this is taking place at a time of unprecedented uncertainty – around the intellectual basis for planning and new economic and environmental limits. This changes the context for planning for both territories on the island and the future relations between them.

Introduction

The modern world has changed dramatically – in economic, social, political, ideological and environmental terms. Dysfunctional financial environments and unstable market and business conditions have been created following an unsustainable economic boom and collapse. The consequences pose significant challenges for governments, governance arrangements and policy implementation. Indeed, there are deeper psychological and behavioural dimensions to the causes and effects of this recent economic history across the island of Ireland. Deploying a complex set of metaphors to analyse the performance of the Republic of Ireland's (heretofore referred to as 'Ireland') economy, for example, Waters (2012: 128) asserts that "the enforced fatherlessness" of both the private and public realms led to chaos, regressions

and a narrowing of collective horizons to selfish group and individualistic interests, as the siblings set to squabbling about the spoils". The explicit turn to individualism with its attendant implications for government, governance, public policy and the notion of the public interest is not confined to the island of Ireland (Packer, 2013). Such a broad turn, however, suggests the complex and confused states of affairs that are now in place on the island.

This paper explores the challenges to this anticipated new integrated approach - the battle for ideas taking place over the future role of land-use planning in modern societies, considers the new parameters to planning, thinking and practice, and explores the uncertain planning arrangements across the island of Ireland.

Some contextual matters

There are a number of important contextual considerations to be taken into account in seeking to understand the challenges facing planning and governance across the island of Ireland as whole. The first matter relates to the wider economic conditions. The current environment was created by market failures associated (principally) with land and property development activities operating on a very grand scale and uncontrolled manner. In Ireland, for example, but evident elsewhere, as in Northern Ireland, an earlier inflationary spiral of property prices, speculative land trading, and intense rates of building activity in the commercial and retail property sectors took place (McDonald & Sheridan, 2008; O'Toole, 2009). This created a particular type of economic and business bubble with attendant social, economic and environmental spill-over effects (Callan *et al*, 2013). The implications of the property driven economic boom and bust are now fundamental to societal well-being - with unemployment and particularly job losses in the construction sectors, house price deflation and negative equity with significant social and personal

impacts being to the fore. Land and property development was central to the boom and bust and as a result has experienced marked effects. There is a mismatch between demand and supply across national economic spaces.

As a consequence, conventional assumptions about the *realpolitik* of market processes have been questioned and an imbalance between demand and supply in a range of sectors is evident at national and regional scales – as demonstrated by the oversupply of housing in Ireland – vividly described as ‘haunted landscapes’ and ‘ghost estates’ (Kitchin *et al*, 2010). Indeed, at the global scale, questions have been raised about the nature of an oversupply of labour, productive capacity and capital relative to the (deflated) demand (Alpert, 2013). These dysfunctional market conditions are spatially differentiated across economic space, creating distinct sets of challenges for national, regional and local planning and governance arrangements; with planning facing screeds of new vistas.

The second matter relates to the political environment which has been and remains dominated by neo-liberal thinking which has involved an anti-government ethos, pro-business priorities and has rested on a screed of austerity measures in both Ireland and Northern Ireland. This agenda is based on the perceived need to reduce government debt and spending, together with rebalancing policy initiatives to correct the perceived public-private sector imbalances in national, regional and local economies. It has also involved a (re-) turn to de-regulation measures to encourage private sector investment and development, such as the new interest in the possible designation of enterprise zones in Northern Ireland. Enterprise zones were a feature of an earlier phase of neo-liberal economic policy in the early 1980s in the UK and have been reprised to address the economic geography of recession (Squires & Hall, 2013). There is a considerable advocacy for their designation in Northern Ireland as part of wider debates over appropriate rates of corporation tax when compared

to Ireland. The measure involves fiscal relief and simplified land-use planning arrangements to encourage new investment and economic activity. Enterprise zones remain part of the neo-liberal policy portfolio largely on the basis of its rhetoric rather than the reality. *Plus ça change?*

The combination of these economic, ideological, political and practical policy circumstances and conditions has proved to be toxic. The effects of the boom created structural, scalar and spatial effects – leading to a divided economic geography – in both Ireland and in Northern Ireland (as part of the larger UK economy with its evident London centricity and north-south divide). Indeed, Dolphin (2009) argued that when compared to earlier economic cycles the nature of the current cumulative economic recession and austerity is of a different complexity. The political responses operating within this new spatial context may be interpreted as relatively conventional tinged with a neo-liberal bias, and can further serve to exacerbate the systemic divisions in the spatial economies involved. This raises questions for land-use planning and spatial planning and sets new parameters to their role and potential in the future – whether there is a recovery or not.

Moreover, the neo-liberal agenda has served to create an intellectual environment in which the role of the public sector is being questioned with an evident turn to market and business solutions to engineer economic stability and recovery. In this ideological environment the role of land-use planning has attracted considerable opprobrium. On the one hand, land-use planning had faced considerable challenges and difficulties in regulating land and property developments in the earlier boom conditions (Bartley, 2007). On the other hand, land-use planning is now inhibiting steps to economic recovery as a consequence of its delays, costs and uncertainties which are inhibiting private sector investment and development (Morton, 2012). In effect, as Lovering (2010) argued, these new conditions could seriously transform the future spirit and purpose of land-use planning. Will established land-use planning

arrangements – together with their associated regional policy arrangements - remain appropriate in the future?

A battle for ideas

The ideological context in which land-use planning now operates in the two parts of the island of Ireland has changed radically from when the two systems were first introduced. This is perhaps the greatest challenge to economic, social and environmental standards as the particular ideological influence is transforming the regulatory context in which societal decision making takes place. There are two planning systems operating across the island and both have undergone considerable change and maturation – the enthusiastic turn to spatial planning in Ireland is a case in point. The centralisation of land-use planning in Northern Ireland as a consequence of political circumstances in the 1970s offers a different perspective on how land-use planning has evolved over time.

Today, however, a new canvas is apparent - the current changing parameters to land-use planning (and spatial planning) are philosophical, economic, political, social and practical in character. In general terms, there has been a very dramatic shift from a broad articulation of social democratic values to an explicit neo-liberal economic orthodoxy littered with market infused ideas, pro-business stances, limited government and restricted public expenditure. This represents a considerable transformation of the discipline of political economy (Milonakis & Fine, 2009). To illustrate the significance of this new context, the social democratic position tended to assert a case for state intervention such as regional policy, urban regeneration measures and land-use planning to correct market failures in local and regional economies. This included the land and property development sectors whereby any associated spill-over effects could be regulated, infrastructure provided in an efficient manner to support development schemes, and the interests of different groups could be better accommodated. On the basis of this reasoning and value set, land-use

planning was introduced to ensure land and property development served the public interest.

The traditional and conventional view has now being supplanted by claims that planning represents a 'government failure'. The maturation of this alternative, neo-liberal perspective has been in place since the 1980s yet is becoming increasingly evident and strident in both Ireland and Northern Ireland. The latter, as part of the devolved UK, is possibly more implicit than explicit when compared to events in England. The neo-liberal position asserts that the land-use planning process (its decision making, its setting of conditions, and enforcement arrangements) imposes a host of social, economic and environmental costs on the private land and property development sector. Now, based on an assertion of private property rights, and drawing on the ideas associated with new institutional economics and transaction cost economics, a range of alternative market-based approaches has been proposed (Webster, 2005). This intellectual reasoning promotes management approaches which rest on market engagement and incentives to secure a broader public interest. In contrast to the social democratic position, the neo-liberal agenda posits a generic critique of state intervention, advocates a business or market solution to issues, and this has been extended into nearly all aspects of life that have been traditionally governed by non-market arrangements (Sandel, 2012). The permeation of market values into all facets of our lives brings with it new constructions of our perceived conventional ways of doing things. In effect, there has been a shift from a conformative model based on regulatory certainty to a performative model with improved strategic flexibility (Steele, 2011). This suggests that planning was viewed as a state regulatory intervention to ensure that change – in land and property development – conformed with the agreed public interest as set out in strategic planning policy, development plans and political judgements. The shift is now towards evidence-based performance that is delivering private sector activity, investment and development. That shift changes the intellectual,

philosophical and operational context to land-use planning and spatial planning.

Current economic conditions are held to be a significant turning point for conventional understandings of the role of land-use planning, associated state-market-civil relations and the nature of the established state intervention instruments. The battle of ideas over the role of land-use planning in the current state of affairs may be illustrated by selected advocacy documents – drawn from think tanks and professional bodies representing different facets of land and property development. Think tanks, in particular, are highly influential in terms of questioning, informing, and leading government thinking and policy design (Cockett, 1995). Think tanks are active on both the left and right of the political spectrum, but at this time the free market or neo-liberal oriented bodies are increasingly assertive. Think tanks are not necessarily homogenous and often offer eclectic sets of ideas and proposals. In the context of land-use planning, for example, they would not recommend the complete abolition of land and property development regulations but tend to assert that planning represents a 'government failure' and should be replaced by more restricted regulations and alternative market based approaches.

There are a host of positions which take a critical line on government intervention generally and land-use planning in particular and which assert the case for more market-based or business-infused approaches. This position is epitomised by Morton (2011: 7), for example, who argued that a "stunted planning system, a product of a 1940s utopian vision of bureaucratic control has failed us for too long". Such critical views have been expressed for some time – reflecting a deeper rooted critique of public sector and planning. In a similar vein, Mackay (2004) argued that land-use planning acts as a brake on development, and as a consequence works against the wider public interest. Indeed, there has been a relative deluge of such arguments around themes concerning the perceived negative impacts on housing provision, design standards (Evans &

Hartwich, 2005 a, b) and the more responsive and localised land-use planning arrangements elsewhere such as those in Germany and Switzerland.

The broad neo-liberal position not only sets out critiques of land-use planning but promotes affirmative market actions as well. Morton (2011), for example, calls for a full overhaul of the planning system whereby a 'Presumption against Interference' by government should be at the heart of land-use planning. He advocates that business should be free to build as it sees fit – unless 50% of those in the immediate vicinity oppose such development, or in the case of high quality amenity land (e.g. National Parks or Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty). Further, Morton (2011) argues that there should be an emphasis on quality with local people being the arbiters, thereby enabling a democratic check on development plans. Importantly, this line of reasoning asserts the case for financial incentives as the basis for land-use planning regulations as with the reform of green belts to allow some development in the designated areas in return for upgrading the remainder of the belts. He suggests that compensation should go to those in the immediate vicinity of new development. There is also sympathy for alternative governance arrangements – as with the promotion of designating Business Improvement Districts as offering a different business-led approach to providing the required incentives, funding, and governance in town centres (Lloyd & Peel, 2008). These ideas are influenced by the broad neo-liberal thinking of minimal government and regulation and an approach based on private sector and business interests to secure the required performance.

New parameters

There is another contextual change to land-use planning in the future. Whilst neo-liberal market thinking has permeated government thinking to such an extent that it has reinvented land-use planning as a service specific to property owners and interests (Feindt, 2010), there is a further new contextual re-alignment for conventional planning practices. This turns on the question as to whether

economic recovery will lead to the sort of economic growth that can support a land-use planning system. The International Labour Organisation (2014), for example, has argued that the economic recovery may be jobless – with increasing unemployment and inequality across the world even as economies regain some stability. Inevitably, there would be spatial differentiations to this position with different geographies of opportunity emerging. Indeed, it is clear at the present time that economic recovery is taking place in closely demarcated places. In the UK, evidence suggests London dominates economic growth, with the larger English cities demonstrating recovery in employment but with the persistent and widening inequalities between different parts of the country (Centre for Cities, 2014). This has given rise to a marked regional economic geography which creates uneven conditions in which to facilitate recovery and growth. As land-use planning is a national, or in the case of Northern Ireland a devolved regional, state attention may have to be paid to enabling more flexible forward planning and regulatory arrangements to address the variegated economic, social and physical conditions.

Further, it is also the case that a more dramatic scenario may prevail. It could be the case that modern advanced industrial economies – such as Ireland and Northern Ireland – may have to plan and manage for reductions in economic performance and growth – essentially to achieve a more sustainable steady state (Alier, 2009). This may be engendered by changed global trading relations and bargaining positions, under-performing capital, finance and banking sectors as a hangover from the recession, inefficient labour markets as a result of skill leakages, natural resource limitations, energy restrictions and disruptions, and environmental events such as flooding which require a diversion of infrastructure investment to mitigate and adapt to changed circumstances. In this context, the absence of economic growth to require regulation and management and the lack of available resource to fund a planning system, together with new parameters to societal action, would transform the

context for planning (Janssen-Jansen *et al*, 2012). A completely new mind set would be required to plan in a confining and confined world. Indeed, there are arguments that there is a case for a deliberate down scaling in economic activity and with priorities being recast around new energy parameters and ecological sustainability (Alexander, 2012). This would radically realign the very essence of planning and demand new skills and practices to account for such changed conditions.

What happens to land-use planning if economic growth remains absent? What is the capacity of the land-use planning system to continue the appropriate form of state intervention to secure whatever is presented as the public interest? What are the chances of these scenarios setting new limits to economic, social and environmental conditions within which land-use planning might operate? Janssen-Jansen *et al* (2012) argue that the problems for the land-use planning system do not rest solely with the economic recession and resulting dysfunctional land and property development markets, but rather with the systemic weaknesses in the planning and development system itself. This suggests that land-use planning regulations were designed to manage land and property development under specific conditions. There have been some heroic assumptions about the operation of land and property development processes which are not borne out in reality – such as the viability of information and negotiation between interests. In addition, whilst these have not occurred in practice to date, there may be a more marked deterioration in the conditions in which planning operates. More dysfunctional operating circumstances may prevail in which land-use planning would have to concentrate more on increasing sustainability, the stewardship of available resources and maintaining the quality of existing environments. It would also have to become more ‘political’ in that the new world would be characterised by conflict and trade-offs requiring deep skills to ensure that a public interest aspect remains.

Uneven planning on the island of Ireland

In June 2013, the *Framework for Co-operation: Spatial Strategies of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland* was jointly published by the Department for Regional Development and Department of Environment, Community and Local Government (also referenced by P. White, this issue, p.8). The *Framework for Co-operation* is a non-statutory approach to providing advice and guidance at relevant spatial or geographical scales between the two states. It takes the form of a dialogue and guidance about the planning arrangements and priorities in both states, and addresses the island spatial territory and the cross-border question. Such joint working already takes place, for example, in the context of energy infrastructure, but the spatial planning document seeks greater awareness of two different interpretations of planning. In effect, the *Framework for Co-operation* is an optimistic statement of intent in promoting a greater strategic approach to planning and development across the island economy – yet it is taking place in a very uncertain context and a highly febrile time for planning in general and planning across Ireland's spatial economy in particular.



Indeed, over and above the ideological undermining of land-use planning and the possibility of planning in very different conditions, the island of Ireland is undergoing complex institutional change in its planning arrangements. There is considerable uncertainty in both states. Both Ireland and Northern Ireland are putting in place reforms to their planning and governance arrangements. In Ireland, a reform of regional and local government was launched in 2012 (Department of Environment, Community and Local Government, 2012). This is part of a broader agenda for constitutional change to secure both technocratic and democratic improvements in local governance and planning. It involves regional administrative changes, a reduction in the number of local authorities and elected officials, recasting of funding, and new responsibilities for economic development, and sustaining and creating jobs. The intended agenda may yet represent a new understanding of land-use planning – in terms of economic ambitions.

In Northern Ireland, a similar reshaping of local government is in train – the Review of Public Administration (RPA). This will involve a reorganisation of local government in Northern Ireland in terms of numbers of authorities (a reduction from 26 to 11), new boundaries, and new responsibilities. Powers that will be devolved will include land-use planning, roads, urban regeneration, community development, housing, local economic development and local tourism. It will also involve the new responsibility for community planning. The process of reorganisation is anticipated to be completed by April 2015. In Northern Ireland, the reform of local government is bound up with the modernisation of land-use planning. The *Planning Act (Northern Ireland)* secured Royal Assent in 2011 but it has to wait for the Review of Public Administration to take effect to become fully operational. There is some uncertainty associated with this inter-regnum, however, as witnessed by the ill-fated attempt to promote an interim measure – the *Planning Bill 2013* – which failed in the Northern Ireland Assembly. The primary objective of the Planning Bill

was to speed up the implementation of a number of reforms contained within the 2011 legislation. These included furthering sustainable development and enhancing the environment; enabling faster processing of planning applications and securing a faster and fairer planning appeals system; ensuring enhanced community involvement; and providing for simpler and tougher enforcement.

At the consideration stage in the Northern Ireland Assembly there were 34 Amendments tabled addressing a wide range of issues, such as sustainable development. The most controversial Amendment, however, was tabled by the First Minister and the Deputy First Minister to allow the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister, to create "Economically Significant Planning Zones". This would have the effect to grant in relation to the zone, or any part of it specified in the scheme, planning permission for development specified in the scheme or for development of any class so specified. This Amendment essentially challenges the philosophy of the planning reforms and directly confuses consideration of environmental matters. Following legal advice, the Minister for the Environment did not proceed with presenting the Planning Bill to Stormont in October 2013. This does not appear to offer the necessary stability for land-use planning and spatial planning in Northern Ireland to be executed against a broader canvas of change.

The uneven planning and governance arrangements in Ireland and Northern Ireland create considerable uncertainty for the current innovation around strategic cooperation between them. The combination of ambition on the one hand, and the realities of capacities on the other, both taking place in a broader context of ideological and political turmoil with longer term unknowns to be taken into account, must question the potential of the position at this stage.

Conclusions

There is the very real prospect that Ireland and Northern Ireland will be operating in changed

circumstances. The combination of current economic conditions, together with prevailing neo-liberal thinking, the emphasis on market infused ideas and the politics of austerity is changing the context for conventional land-use planning generally, and specifically in Ireland and Northern Ireland. There is a critical intellectual environment which is testing the appropriateness of established land-use planning arrangements. Certainly, whilst not advocating the abolition of planning regulations there is considerable pressure to recast planning arrangements. The on-going reforms to planning and governance in both Ireland and Northern Ireland also create uncertainties – and it is evident that the changes being effected represent variations on the existing architectures of planning – following practices noted elsewhere (Peel & Lloyd, 2007). The future is also highly uncertain with concerns over the appropriateness of conventional planning to deal with a lack of economic growth – and this will be rendered more complex by the inevitable uneven economic geography.

It is important to acknowledge the countervailing thinking. There remains an alternative advocacy with questions being raised about the case for alternative debates and challenges to the neo-liberal logic (Dolphin & Nash, 2011). This comprises a broad array of arguments which generally suggest the retention and strengthening of stronger government, intervention and public expenditure including a land-use planning system. In macro-economic terms, for example, Reed & Lawson (2011) argued for more active government with respect to social investment, reform of constitutional and public services, a low carbon economy and planning for a long-term economic future. Subsequently, Reed (2012) has advocated a strategy of green infrastructure investment, with measures based on the promotion of equality and attention to the needs of regional and local labour markets. The emphasis on alternative or new forms of intervention, such as a proposed Green New Deal to reconcile environment and infrastructure provision (New Economics Foundation, 2009), reflects a broad acknowledgement of the

complex economic, social and environmental trade-offs and priorities that require reconciliation in a modern state. Indeed, attention is paid to the case for stronger intervention by local government (ippr north, 2013) to facilitate appropriate investment in infrastructure, housing and small business development reflecting the specific conditions in individual localities. This broad advocacy is not necessarily arguing for a return to the conventional approaches in place prior to the boom and bust conditions but seeks more appropriate approaches to the specificities of places and spaces.

In this broad line of reasoning, there is support for a positive land-use planning system. The Royal Town Planning Institute (2010), for instance, argued that spatial planning can be a means of promoting economic recovery and wealth creation whilst addressing climate change and enabling better place shaping for communities. Similarly, the Town and Country Planning Association (2010) promoted a case for positive regional strategic planning. Support for land-use planning can be implicit – as shown in the report on securing economic growth by Lord Heseltine (2012). Whilst its focus was on England it challenged the current nostrums of the neo-liberal policies which resolutely rest on London-centricity and trickle-down economics. In contrast, Heseltine advocated public–private relations in enabling regeneration and local economic development, and acknowledged the importance of positive land-use planning. Again, this may be taken that there are arguments recognising that land-use planning will be required but will have to 'change its spots' in the new world of the post-recession. It could be that different forms of land-use planning emerge and may even vary across specific territories to match prevailing needs, conditions and opportunities.

The new co-operative strategic planning framework for Ireland and Northern Ireland will have to proactively address key parameters which raise pan-island concerns such as mitigation and adaptation strategies over flooding and coastal erosion, the onshore developments around offshore energy, the related matters of employability, emigration and

immigration, resource limits and skill leakages and ensuring infrastructure networks which serve the island of Ireland space as a whole. The strategic agenda will need to address not solely the needs of the Irish border area but a catalogue of other planning and governance challenges – associated with, for example, the needs of the other marginal rural areas across the island; urban agendas of social inclusion and regeneration; and the shadow effects of the growth of the larger cities on their commuting and rural hinterlands. Strategic planning will have to be very different in the future.

Greg Lloyd is Professor of Urban Planning and Head of the School of the Built Environment at the University of Ulster. Having started his career at the University of Aberdeen, he subsequently became Professor and Head of the School of Town and Country Planning, University of Dundee. Before moving to the University of Ulster, he was Professor of Planning in the Department of Civic Design, University of Liverpool. Professor Lloyd's research and publication interests include the relations between public policy, planning and real property developments; institutional innovation in strategic planning practices; and the efficiency and effectiveness of new planning and regulatory arrangements. He was Independent Ministerial Adviser to the Northern Ireland Assembly on the reform of land-use planning. He is Patron of Planning Aid Scotland, Member of the Northern Ireland Assembly Advisory Planning Forum and Chair of the Northern Ireland Land Matters Task Force.

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A FUNCTIONAL-BASED APPROACH TO MEASURING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF IRELAND'S PRIMARY URBAN CENTRES: FINDINGS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS FROM THE GATEWAYS AND HUBS DEVELOPMENT INDEX 2012



Ms. Derville Brennan and Mr. Adrian O'Donoghue

This paper establishes a methodological approach to define the functional areas and economic reach of the Republic of Ireland's (hereinafter referred to as 'Ireland') designated Gateways and Hubs¹ to provide a greater understanding of the socio-economic performance of Ireland's primary urban centres and nodes of competitiveness. It argues that the persistent absence of a clearly articulated strategic approach to pragmatically optimise regional economic development is exacerbating a two-tiered economy with widening disparities in the capacity of Ireland's key urban regions to attract investment, people and contribute to economic growth. This paper proposes that policy-makers consider the principles of 'place-making' to enable a more informed approach to managing diverse growth patterns, agglomeration effects and developmental challenges. While acknowledging the definitional contestation of this policy arena, it notes the inherent benefits accruing from adopting an interdisciplinary approach across the panoply of socio-economic factors in its potential to increase the sustainability of our urban centres.

Introduction

Urbanisation is a dominant trend globally, shaping

economies, societies, cultures and the environment. Half of the world's population now live in cities and urban areas, and this pattern is set to grow by as much as two-thirds by 2050 (OECD, 2012). Understanding the functionality of cities and towns is crucial to delivering economic prosperity and improving the quality of life of residents, given the inevitable tension that arises in attempts to attain a balance in the implementation of spatial, economic, environmental and social considerations. Undertaking a process of measuring and monitoring a range of socio-economic urban metrics allows policy-makers to evaluate the merits and the impacts of public policies which ultimately conspire to influence the performance of urban areas.

The Border, Midland and Western Regional Assembly and Southern and Eastern Regional Assembly, Ireland's two NUTS II² level regional bodies, managed the development of the Gateways and Hubs Development Index (GHDI) 2012³ (Border Midland and Western Regional Assembly & Southern and Eastern Regional Assembly, 2013). This involved undertaking a detailed assessment of the socio-economic performance of those cities and towns strategically designated as Gateways and Hubs under the Irish *National Spatial Strategy* (NSS) 2002-2020 (Department of Environment and Local Government, 2002). While causality is not fully established in the Index itself, the implications of the findings are further explored in this paper.

While the NSS was initially envisaged as the considered and systematic response to the commitment to promote more balanced social and economic regional development, it has subsequently suffered from a lack of political commitment (Meredith & Van Egeraat, 2013), as expressed in criticisms of (a) a general absence of

the inclusion of substantial economic analysis of key decisions (Morgenroth, 2013), and (b) a lack of policy coherence across government departments characterised by an unevenness of funding programmes (Moylan, 2011). Nevertheless, the key functional areas under examination represent Ireland's regional economic drivers and merit further analysis as demonstrated by the findings of the GHDI where progress was identified across a number of domains for the designated areas. A wide-range of strategic national, regional and local-level policies has influenced the performance of these designated Gateways and Hubs. Understanding their effects, both positive and negative, is important therefore in terms of informing the future direction of regional policy in Ireland.

Nationally, Gateways are expected to act as strategically selected engines of growth to enable the regions, and by extension the country, to grow to its potential within a national spatial and forward planning framework. The NSS identified nine Gateways cities and towns to fulfil this role: these included Cork, Dublin, Dundalk, Galway, Limerick/Shannon, Letterkenny, a combined Midland Gateway bringing together the towns of Athlone, Mullingar and Tullamore, Sligo and Waterford. At a regional level, Gateways are positioned to guide more balanced regional development; and therefore ensuring their continued development should inform capital investment priority decisions. It was conceived they would facilitate their functional areas to harness their local and regional potential and provide a framework for coordinating local and regional planning (for example, alignment of population targets with Gateways objectives, etc). They also have a role in strengthening the relationship between urban and rural areas, and promoting more sustainable forms of development. The Gateways, supported by nine designated Hubs (namely Cavan, Ennis, Kilkenny, Mallow, Monaghan, Tuam and Wexford, along with the linked hubs of Ballina-Castlebar and Tralee-Killarney) are intended to be the key drivers of the regional and national economy, albeit to different extents (see Figure 1).

Given their prescribed NSS role, and taking cognisance of investment under the European Union (EU) Co-Financed Regional Operational Programmes⁴, the GHDI 2012 study was primarily tasked with measuring and monitoring the economic and social performance of each Gateway and Hub.

The GHDI 2012 is an update and progression of the methodology used in the Gateway Development Index (GDI) 2009 (Fitzpatrick & Haase, 2009) - the original Index having been updated in the GHDI 2012 using data available to year-end 2012 and expanded to encompass analysis of designated Hub towns.

This paper sets out to describe and outline the Index as a methodological approach to understanding Ireland's Gateways and Hubs, and to advocate a greater application of a functional area approach to better inform an agenda of evidence-based policy-making. The findings of the Index are wide-ranging covering 18 urban areas, two geographical zones within each urban area and 20 variables (across 8 domains). It is not the authors' intention to examine all aspects and implications of the Index within the confines of this paper. Instead, the paper will describe the methodology used to define the economic reach of the designated Gateways and Hubs, and discuss some emerging key trends and their implications for policy.

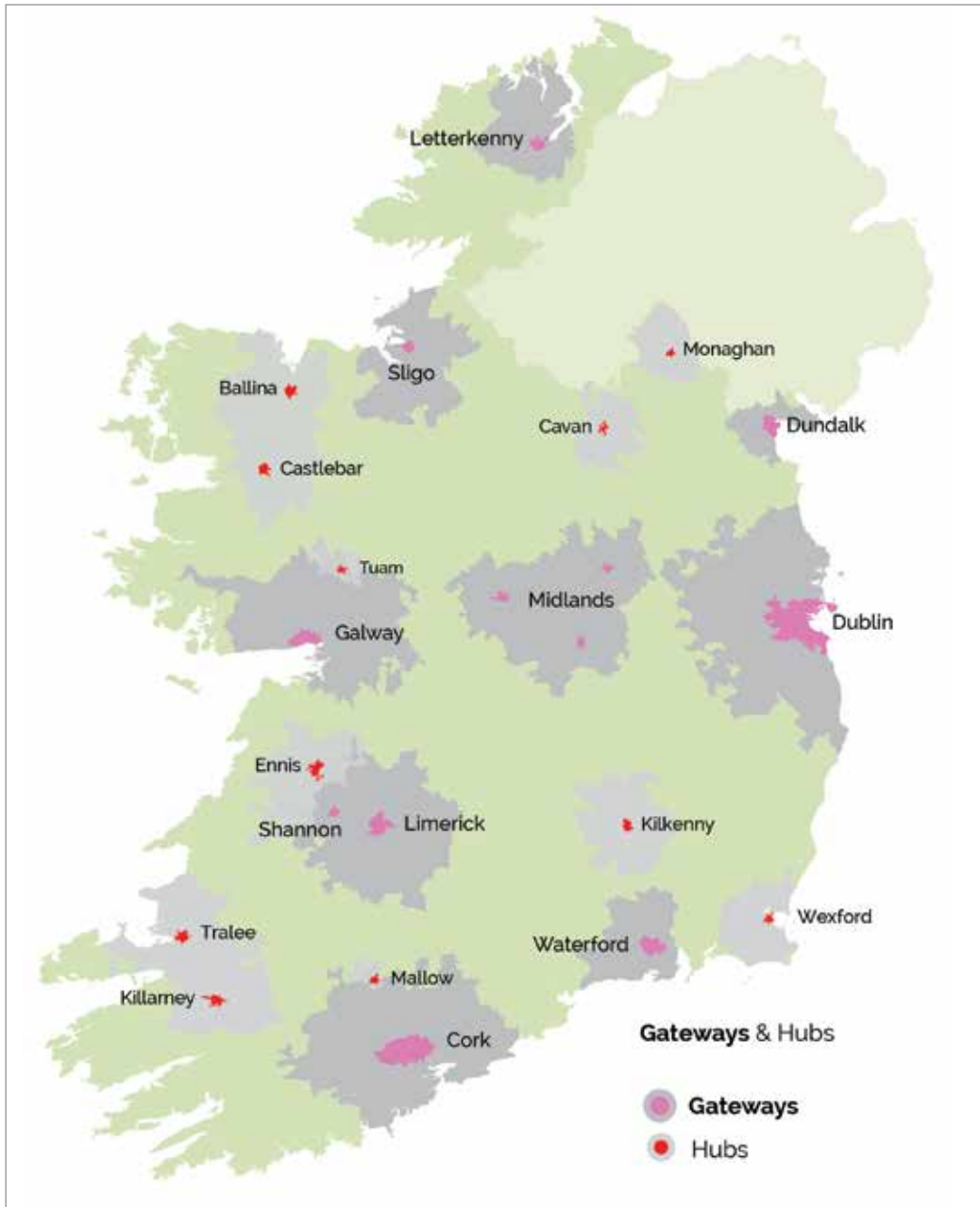
Establishing Functional Areas and Economic Reach

A key finding of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report, *Redefining "URBAN"* (2012), determines that

monitoring urbanisation and comparing the performance of urban areas require new definitions based on economic function rather than administrative boundaries (p.18).

Williams *et al* (2010) defines a Functional Urban Region (FUR) in terms of the space in which businesses operate and where they can access a wide range of infrastructure and services. Antikainen (2005), however, used a broader definition,

Figure 1: Gateways and Hubs in the NUTS II Border, Midland and Western Region and Southern and Eastern Region of Ireland



(Source: Border, Midland and Western Regional Assembly and Southern and Eastern Regional Assembly, 2013a)

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Functional Urban Area (FUA) which includes the application of travel-to-work areas to define these functional areas. He notes that “in many international studies a commuting threshold of 15 – 20% is used to determine whether a municipality is attached to a particular centre or not” (2005:448) and hence defines the extent of the FUA.

The construction of the Index was informed by this need to look beyond the administrative boundary and reflect the economic reach of the respective areas.

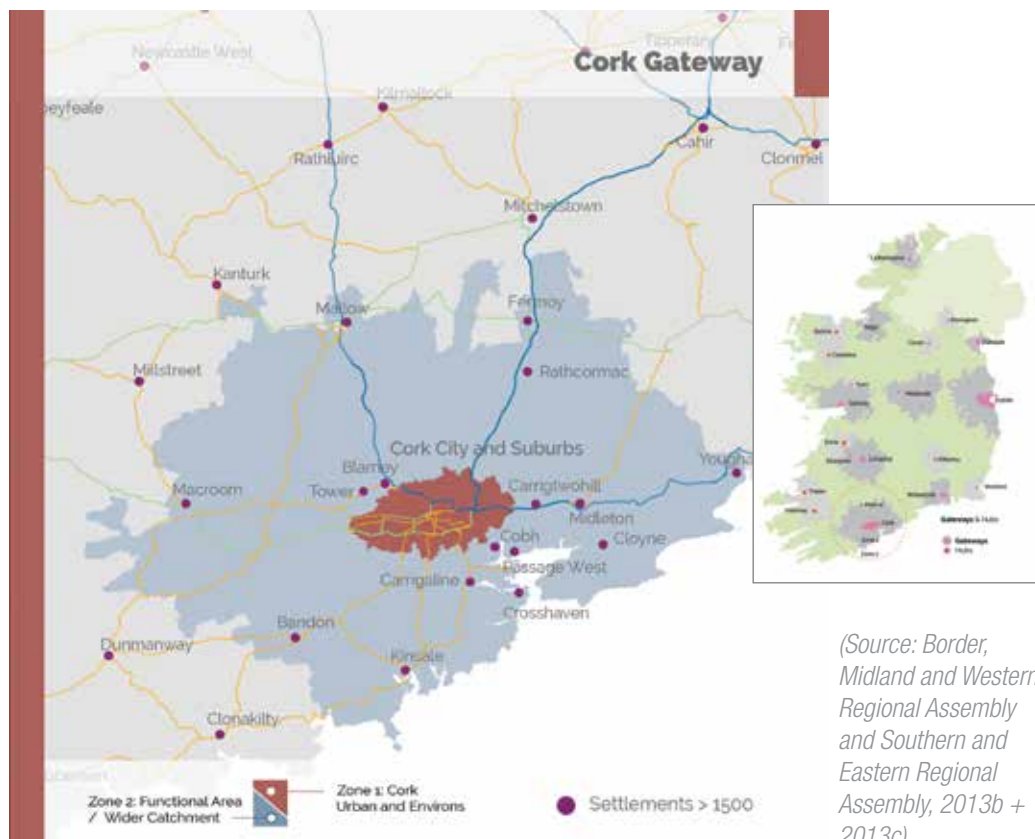
The resulting Index defines the wider catchment or functional area for both Gateways and Hubs as consisting of those District Electoral Divisions (DEDs) where in excess of 20% of the resident population in employment commutes to the urban

core to work (for the purpose of the GHDI the urban core is designated as Zone 1). By using travel-to-work statistics from the 2011 Census⁵, two ‘Zonal’ boundaries were determined. The zones are defined in such a manner that:

- Zone 1 reflects the urban cores, i.e. the relevant cities and towns and their environs as defined by the Central Statistics Office (CSO, 2011)⁶; and
- Zone 2 consists of the wider catchment or functional area (as defined above).

The establishment of the functional areas of Gateways and Hubs builds a clear picture of their respective economic reach (see Figure 2 depicting Zone 1 (pink) and Zone 2 (grey)).

Figure 2: Functional Areas/Economic Reach Gateways and Hubs, and Cork Gateway Example⁷



The functional areas established extend beyond administrative boundaries and in many cases, this has resulted in large parts of the surrounding rural hinterland also being included within the study area. This reflects the influence and economic reach of the Gateways and Hubs⁸. This is illustrated in Figure 2 by the example of the Cork Gateway. Zone 2 encompasses the most densely populated areas of County Cork, and includes most of the larger towns of the county including the Hub Town of Mallow.

Measuring Balanced Regional Development

In order to achieve balanced regional development, it is imperative to develop an understanding of the role of designated growth areas. The GHDI 2012 represents a longitudinal composite socio-economic index across Ireland's primary urban functional areas designed to better inform decisions about their strategic direction. In this way, it can be utilised to inform and support the formulation and implementation of successor regional development policies.

While the GDI 2009 was originally conceived as a method of measuring quality of life (QoL), it became clear that the Index would be more meaningful by capturing a range of domains with QoL factors (Fitzpatrick & Haase, 2009). In addition, a perception survey of residents was conducted to complement the detailed domain analysis; an approach that reflects a growing consensus among policy-makers of the need to move beyond solely traditional macroeconomic indicators of progress in order to guide high quality, policy and business decisions. The emerging and increasing importance of QoL indicators as policy factors not only provide an insight into the question of social equity, but help determine the attractiveness of an area when it comes to location decisions of households and businesses. This is in tune with the EU Commission's *GDP and beyond: measuring progress in a changing world* which aims to complement Gross Domestic Product (GDP) with high level indicators reflecting issues such as environmental protection, quality of life and social cohesion (European Commission, 2009). At the EU level, the continued monitoring

of socio-economic performance is considered fundamental in order to identify lagging regions and for the development of policy and programmes that contribute to socio-economic convergence and that target inequality (European Commission, 2013).

Identifying Characteristics of Successful Gateways and Hubs

In order to develop a robust evidence-based approach to any policy area, agreement is required on what determines successful outcome parameters. While the NSS itself identified preferred Gateway and Hub characteristics (see Table 1), the Strategy did not set out to measure progress (with the exception of population targets) towards these profiles (Department of Environment and Local Government, 2002). Figure 3 provides a useful insight into one of the defining characteristics of a Gateway, namely a population of greater than or equal to 100,000 persons. Taking a strictly functional area approach, Dundalk, Letterkenny, Sligo and Waterford do not fully meet this criterion. Does this mean that they should not be deemed Gateways? Do they not fulfil important roles for their wider regions? This starkly brings to light the need to have a greater understanding of our Gateways beyond a measure of population, notwithstanding its importance, and this is what the GHDI sets out to do.

It is broadly understood that successfully functioning urban areas should be attractive places to live, work, study and ultimately to invest in. While recognising that some areas retain an 'x-factor', an intangible attractiveness that can often not be captured by data analysis, and by examining a number of major international reports such as Blakeley (2004), Parkinson *et al* on behalf of the UK Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004), and Quality of Life in New Zealand Gateway Cities (2007), insights are gained into common threads of understanding what is specifically expected of successful urban growth centres.

This literature identified a broad consensus of the basic hard and soft ingredients of successful Gateways. Reviewing the literature from an Irish

perspective, Bartley and Walsh (2005) highlighted a number of common features necessary for a flourishing urban centre including:

1. Dynamic urban centres require a distinctive and performing city core;
2. The importance of environmental excellence;
3. The extent of the absorptive capacity of new knowledge from elsewhere;
4. Attractive physical settings and desirable social surroundings;
5. The importance of cultural capital and creativity/multiculturalism; and
6. The role of strategic autonomy and decision-making capacity in successful Gateways.

The initial scoping exercise in developing the parameters to construct the Index considered a range of Gateway development and quality of life studies. The review of the literature concluded that notwithstanding variations in terminology, there was a broad consensus on what comprised the essential elements of a successful Gateway (Fitzpatrick and Haase, 2009). Contingent on the consistency and availability of data, the GHDI's approach in measuring the success of the Gateways in the Irish regions attempts to determine the trends across similar features as posited by Bartley and Walsh and others.

Table 1: Preferred Gateway and Hub Characteristics, 2002

Gateways	Hubs
(1) A large urban population ($\geq 100,000$) set in a large urban and rural hinterland.	(1) A significant urban population in the range of 20,000 – 40,000 set in an associated rural hinterland.
(2) Wide ranges of primary/secondary education facilities and national or regional third level centres of learning.	(2) Primary and secondary education facilities with the option of third level or outreach facilities.
(3) Large clusters of national/international scale enterprises, including those involved in advanced sectors.	(3) A mix of local, medium-sized and large businesses serving local, regional and national/international markets.
(4) A focal point in transportation and communications: (a) on the national roads and rail networks; (b) within 1 hour of an airport either with international access or linking to one with such access; (c) adequate, reliable, cost effective and efficient access to port facilities; and (d) effective, competitive broadband access.	(4) An important local node in transportation and communications: (a) on the national road and rail or bus networks; (b) with access to a national or regional airport; (c) having adequate, reliable, cost effective and efficient access to port facilities; and (d) effective and competitive broadband access.
(5) Integrated public transport with facilities for pedestrians and cyclists.	(5) Effective local transport system with facilities for pedestrians and cyclists.
(6) Regional hospital/specialised care.	(6) Local and/or regional hospital.
(7) City level range of theatres, arts and sports centres and public spaces/parks. Cultural and entertainment quarters.	(7) Wide range of amenity, sporting and cultural facilities, including public spaces and parks.

Gateways	Hubs
(8) City-scale water and waste management services.	(8) Effective water services and waste management arrangements.
(9) Integrated land-use and transport planning frameworks.	(9) Strategies for physical, social and economic development.
(10) Phased zoning and servicing of land-banks in anticipation of needs associated with growth.	(10) Phased zoning and servicing of land-banks in anticipation of needs associated with growth.
(11) Strategic Development Zones.	(11) Industrial and local business parks.

(Source: Department of Environment and Local Government, 2002)

Figure 3: Functional Areas by Population by Gateways and Zones - GHDI, 2012



(Source: GHDI 2012 Data Hosted at All-Island Research Observatory, AIRO
<http://airo.maynoothuniversity.ie/data-visualisations/gateway-hubs-development-index-2012/gateway-hubs-development-index-2012>)

Establishing and Measuring a Gateway (and Hubs) Development Index

A key challenge in developing the GHDI was to ensure that it focused on the key characteristics identified (subject to change over time) and which were amenable to policy influence. Based on literature reviewed, a number of common domains were selected to form the framework for the Index. These included:

1. Population;
2. Enterprise and Employment;
3. Knowledge and Innovation;
4. Natural and Physical Environment;
5. Transport and Connectivity;
6. Health and Wellness;
7. Crime;
8. Affluence and Deprivation; and
9. Institutional Capacity.

While the latter point, institutional capacity (or governance), was highlighted as important in many studies, no robust means of measuring its performance in the Irish context was identified and therefore it was not incorporated into the

Index (Fitzpatrick and Haase, 2009). The Index has, as such, evolved since 2009 as a result of newly available data and the removal of a small number of indicators where data is no longer collected. The application of data sources and their availability at the relevant geographical level to fit into the functional areas established was also a key consideration.

Scores and Findings from the Index

The resulting GHDI 2012 is so termed as the date for the final selection of data was determined to be the 31st of December 2012. The eight individual domains or thematic areas, upon which the Index is based, consist of a number of indicators (see Table 2). The 'Population' domain, for example, includes the 'Population Growth' indicator (i.e. the actual change in the number of residents within the defined area) and is supplemented by a second indicator, 'Age Vibrancy', which quantifies the number within the age cohorts of children 14 years or under and adults 65 years and older as a proportion of the total working-age population. The data is set against the two aforementioned geographical zones: Zone 1 (Urban Core) and Zone 2 (wider functional areas).

Table 2: Indicators Informing the GHDI

Domain	Indicator	Description
Population	Population Growth	Actual change in the number of persons resident within the defined area. This figure consists of the population of the CSO-defined urban cores of the Gateway/Hub (Zone 1), and the surrounding area where more than 20% of the resident population in employment commute to the Gateway/Hub (Zone 1) for the purposes of work (Zone 2)(derived from CSO POWSCAR, 2011).
	Age Vibrancy of Population	The number of those within the age cohorts of children 14 years or under and adults 65 years and older, as a proportion of the total working population. As regional growth leaders, Gateways should experience and attract inward migration of those of working age. Therefore increases in the core working age cohorts (here defined as the 15-64 age cohorts) will occur in successful Gateways/Hubs and can be identified by measuring changes in relative age dependency rates.

Domain	Indicator	Description
Enterprise and Employment	New Firm Formation	The number of Value Added Tax (VAT) registrations by new firms per 1,000 of the labour force. Gateways/ Hubs that are developing successfully should experience faster growth rates in new firm formations than the national average.
	Sectoral Base and Provision of Services	<p>Analysis of the sectoral base, as an indicator of economic activity is informed by the quantity of services within all enterprises of the Gateway/Hub, and gives a valuable insight into the economic development of the Gateway/Hub. Results are presented as a percentage of all services within the national economy which occur in this Gateway/Hub (the share of services in the economy), and compared with the percentage of the national population which is present within the Gateway/Hub.</p> <p>The quality of the sectoral base is calculated based on the share of services in the total number of companies using the NACE coding (an EU statistical classification) of businesses in the GeoDirectory 2012 (database of all Irish buildings and addresses).</p>
	Unemployment Rate	This indicator relates to the number of persons defined as 'Unemployed' within the Census 2006 and Census 2011 results. Successfully performing/developing Gateways/ Hubs should experience a lower unemployment rate than the national average (in 2006 Ireland's national unemployment rate stood at 4.3%, increasing to nearly 19% in 2011).
Knowledge and Innovation	Labour Force Quality	This indicator observes the proportion of the Gateway's/ Hub's labour force (within the 15 to 64 age cohorts) with a third level education, thereby demonstrating the Gateway's/Hub's labour force capacity. A skilled and educated workforce is an important element for a successful Gateway/Hub, and an essential factor in attracting inward investment.
	Third Level R&D	This indicator quantifies the amount of research and development (R&D) financial support generated by third level institutions by Gateways; it is expressed relative to the number of third level admissions within the Gateway. Successful Gateways will be drivers of innovation, knowledge creation and technology transfer and therefore should feature higher levels of funding for research and development projects.

Natural and Physical Environment	River Water Quality	This indicator measures the average biological river water quality . River water quality is one method which can be used to measure the level of pollution which may be present within each Gateway/Hub environment. Assessments of river water quality based on biological water quality criteria are primarily undertaken at a national level by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).
	Consumable Water Infrastructure	<p>A successful Gateway/Hub should feature reliable water infrastructure for supply to residents and industry alike. This indicator uses water source catchment data to express the proportion of the population in the relevant Gateway/Hub which occurs within the catchment areas of water sources on the EPA's Remedial Action List (RAL). The types of sources assessed in this manner include public water schemes, public group water schemes and private group water schemes originating from surface water, ground water and springs.</p> <p>Water quality testing is carried out by the Water Services Authorities (WSA) using samples taken from various points on the distribution network for households and industry serviced by each water source. The results are reported to the EPA, with compliance assessed against the standards set out in the Drinking Water Regulations. Water sources are listed on the EPA RAL where the infrastructure does not meet the necessary standard or upgrades are required.</p>
	Waste Recovery	<p>This indicator identifies the percentage of all household generated mixed municipal waste which is diverted from landfill for recycling or biological recovery. Good waste management practice, as evidenced by a high percentage of waste diversion, will have positive environmental effects for all Gateways/Hubs and their surroundings, as well as functioning as a "test of local authority environmental management and responsibility" (Department of Environment and Local Government, 1998).</p>
Transport and Connectivity	Green Transport Usage	This indicator is used to measure the proportion of people who take advantage of the various sustainable transportation modes including public transport, walking and cycling available within the Gateway/Hub . Amongst the key features of a successful Gateway/Hub will be a good quality public transport network, with a high proportion of utilisation amongst residents, and good pedestrian and cycle linkages, allowing for an adequate choice in transportation modes.

Domain	Indicator	Description
	Travel-to-Work Times	This indicator is based upon Census respondents' personal experience of the duration of their journey to work . A successful Gateway/Hub will feature a higher proportion of people who will live within 30 minutes of their place of work.
	Public Transport Availability (Pobal, 2006)	This indicator is used to assess the availability of public transportation modes within the Gateway/Hub . Accessibility and availability of public transport which facilitates ease of movement for residents of a Gateway/Hub is an important consideration.
	Retail Activity	This indicator measures the number of retail outlets, expressing them per 100 households, within the Gateway/Hub . The provision of essential retail services is an important function of a Gateway/Hub, and the resident population should thus have access to same. The retail sector plays a major role in attracting people to urban centres thus contributing to the overall economic vitality of those centres and supporting their role as centres of social and business interaction in the community (Department of Environment, Community & Local Government, 2012a). Given that the provision of essential retail services to the Gateway/Hub population is an important function of a successful Gateway/Hub, by investigating the quantity of retail business availability, a clear contribution to the determination of Gateway/Hub performance within the Transport and Connectivity domain can be derived. In general scores at or above the average for all Gateways/Hubs are satisfactory.
	IT Connectivity	This indicator quantifies the percentage of households within the Gateway/Hub who have (and are utilising) private access to broadband (not including dial up internet access) . A high proportion of broadband accessibility is an essential feature of a Gateway/Hub.

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Domain	Indicator	Description
Health and Wellness	Mortality	<p>This indicator is a measure of premature mortality within a Gateway, and can be used as a measure of the physical health of the population and the quality of life within a Gateway. Therefore a lower Years of Potential Life Lost (YPLL) score is an indication of a healthy Gateway population.</p> <p>Years of potential life lost (YPLL) is a mortality measure. It measures, per 1,000 people, the total number of years below the age of 79.6 (life expectancy for an Irish adult) that a 1,000 person group loses. For example, if a person dies before the age of 79.6 years, they contribute to this sum. If they die after this age, they do not contribute to this sum. The YPLL for each 1,000 group of people, averaged across counties in Ireland is between 21.95 and 95.00 (combining both 2006 and 2011 data). The national average for YPLL has reduced from 59.84 to 55.10 in the period 2006-2011. In terms of comparable EU and OECD equivalents the OECD average is 76.7 and 72.6 (2006-2011) and EU is 80.5 and 72.0 (2006-2011).</p>
	Birth weight	<p>This indicator measures the average weight at birth of children born to parents from the Gateway. The birth weight can be used to provide an accurate indication of the health and well being of mothers within the Gateway, with higher average birth weights seen as being indicative of a healthier population. Low birth weight is a public health concern, primarily because babies who are born with a low birth weight are at a greatly increased risk of death in the first week and the first year of life. Furthermore, low birth weight is associated with a number of adverse developmental, educational, behavioural and socio-economic outcomes in childhood, adolescence and later life (Institute of Public Health in Ireland, 2006). Low birth weight is typically considered to be those babies born weighing less than 2.5kgs.</p>
	Primary Health Care	<p>This indicator quantifies the number of General Practitioners per 1,000 of the population within each Gateway/Hub. This gives an indication of the relative access to primary healthcare for the residents of the Gateway/Hub, and can be used as an indication of the longer-term health of the population.</p>

Domain	Indicator	Description
Crime	Crime	This indicator quantifies the number of crimes per 100 of the population . It contains breakdowns in a number of crime categories. Crime data only includes reported crimes i.e. crimes that become known, or are reported to the Gardaí. Many crimes are not reported (CSO, 2011). Crime negatively affects economic and health systems at the national and regional levels. It has been identified as an impediment to foreign investment and a cause of 'capital flight' and 'brain drain' (UN Habitat, 2007).
Affluence and Deprivation	Affluence and Deprivation	This indicator measures demographic growth, social class composition and labour market strength to compile a single score for affluence and deprivation . The measurement of affluence and deprivation is an effective method of establishing the performance of Gateways/Hubs, with those featuring high levels of affluence viewed as being successful in comparison with those which feature high levels of deprivation. An in-depth overview of deprivation and affluence is available on the Pobal HP Deprivation Index (Haase and Pratschke, 2012).

(Source: Border, Midland and Western Regional Assembly & Southern and Eastern Regional Assembly, 2013b)

From these domain assessments, scores are calculated based on figures for the combined Gateway/Hub and are also presented for the individual zones. The domain level results for the GHDI 2012 are set out in Figures 4 and 5 for both Gateways and Hubs, illustrating the aggregate of Zone 1 and Zone 2 scores. The scoring is tabulated to bring the Gateways and Hubs average to 5.0; with any score above 5.0 meaning the domain is scoring above the national Gateway or Hub average and vice versa for scores below 5.0¹⁰. It is important to note that separate averages at their respective national levels are established for Gateways and Hubs given their different roles expressed in the NSS.

Some Key Trends and Policy Implications

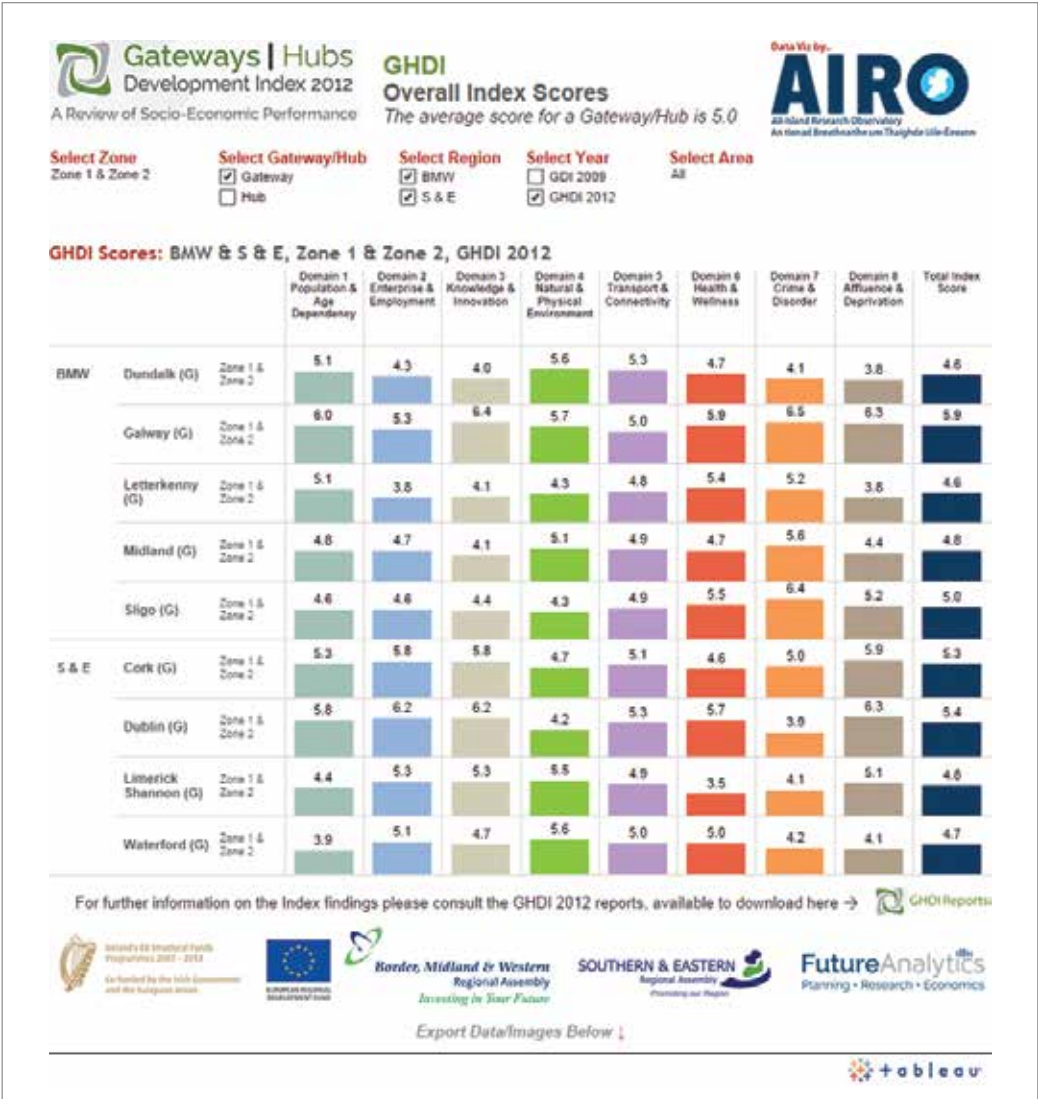
In 2013, the Department of Environment, Community and Local Government (DoECLG) announced their intention to undertake a full review of the NSS to be completed by the end of 2014 or early 2015¹¹. The outcome of this review will have an important bearing on the future development of Ireland's

Gateways and Hubs, and will have implications which will inform Ireland's approach to regional development policy. The GHDI was developed in close cooperation with this Department among others¹², and the findings from the associated reports will feed into the NSS review process. It is important to consider that while the cities and towns selected for analysis was on the basis of their designation under the NSS, the Index equally stands alone as a review of the performance of Ireland's primary urban centres and, therefore, has implications beyond the NSS review. These include:

1. Taking a Functional Area Approach Better Enables Policy Analysis:

The functional areas approach adopted in the GHDI 2012 is a methodological approach which gives key insights into the economic reach and the constituent socio-economic performance of the designated Gateway or Hubs being analysed. It seeks to respond to an identified analytical gap:

Figure 4: GHDI 2012 - Gateway Scores by Domain and Combined Zone 1 and Zone 2



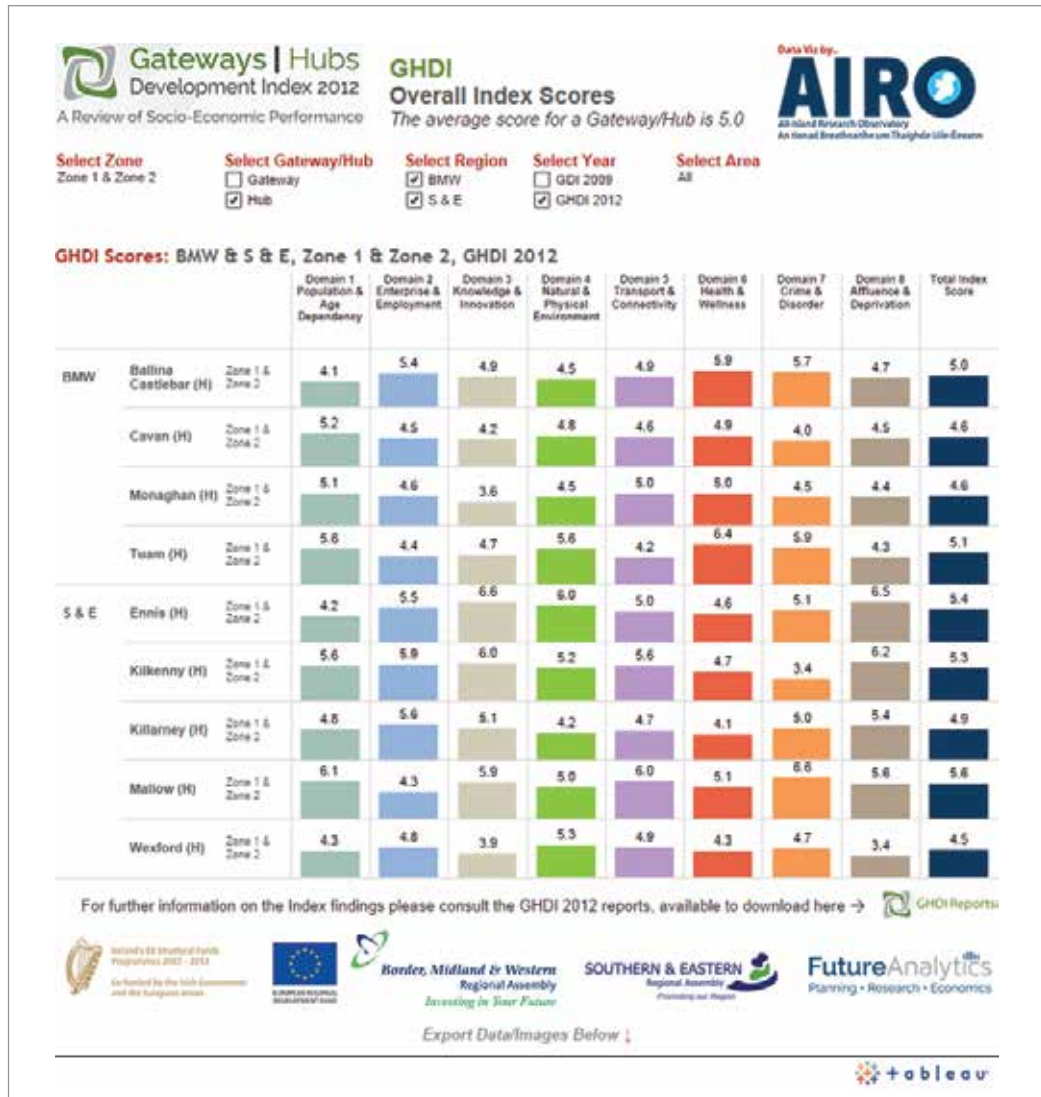
(Source: GHDI 2012 Data Hosted at All-Island Research Observatory, AIRO
<http://airo.maynoothuniversity.ie/data-visualisations/gateway-hubs-development-index-2012/gateway-hubs-development-index-2012>)

it is clear from the analysis of population, housing and travel-to-work trends that existing administrative boundaries in Ireland often fail to reflect the reality of contemporary housing and labour markets, which operate at a regional scale and are characterised by complex intraregional

and urban-rural relationships (Williams et al, 2010: 11).

2. Evidence of a Two-Tier Economy: Established Gateways v 'Newer' Gateways: The overall Index scores (as highlighted in Figure 4) shows that Galway

Figure 5: GHDI 2012 - Hubs by Domain and Combined Zone 1 and Zone 2



(Source: GHDI 2012 Data Hosted at All-Ireland Research Observatory, AIRO
<http://airo.maynoothuniversity.ie/data-visualisations/gateway-hubs-development-index-2012/gateway-hubs-development-index-2012>)

(5.9), Dublin (5.4) and Cork (5.3) are the only three Gateways that are performing above the average (while Sligo sits on the average, 5.0). While it might be expected that Dublin would be the highest scoring Gateway, this Index in taking account of quality of life factors and reflecting a beyond traditional economic

approach to the analysis, identifies weaknesses in the Dublin Gateway (and others) which lowers their overall result. Isolating the economic domains (i.e. Enterprise and Employment; and Knowledge and Innovation) shows that the three best performing Gateways are leading the way in these domains.

Dublin scores well above the Gateway average (6.2) in both domains, as do both Cork (5.8 in both domains) and Galway (5.3 and 6.4 respectively).

While this is not necessarily revealing new trends, it once again brings to the fore the cluster effects of economic activity which serves to reinforce regional output disparities. Regional output from 2011 (Central Statistics Office, 2014b) shows that the Greater Dublin Area (Dublin plus the Mid-East 48.7%) and the South-West (19.0%) accounted for 67.7% of total national output (the West which includes Galway, Mayo and Roscommon had the next largest output of Ireland's NUT III regions, accounting for 8.1% of output). Isolating the Dublin and South-West Regions further illustrates a productivity gap in the rest of Ireland whereby the combined output from these regions of 67.7% is produced with a 54.9% share of the State's labour force and is reflective of a higher added-value economic base (Central Statistics Office, 2014b). As the economy begins to recover, a significant divergence in the location of job creation is emerging. Between the second quarter of 2013 and the same period in 2014, Ireland has experienced employment growth nationally of 31,700 jobs; however, taken from a NUTS II perspective, only 300 of these jobs were created in the BMW region in this period (Central Statistics Office, 2014b) further reflecting the emerging two-tier economic pathway - with regions (and Gateways) being left behind.

Challenges exist for the relatively newly designated Gateways (all in the BMW Region); all of which with the exception of Sligo (5.0) are performing below the average GHDI score (5.0); i.e. Dundalk (4.6), Letterkenny (4.6) and the Midland Gateway (4.8). While these Gateways perform adequately in quality of life and environmental domains, they lag behind across the economic domains and the consequences of this are felt across the rate of unemployment and affluence and deprivation indicators in these three Gateways. In the S&E region, both Waterford and Limerick/Shannon perform below the national Gateway average across a number of domains despite experiencing relative improvements

across a number of domains. For example, high unemployment rates returned for Waterford (22.3%¹³ compared to the national Gateway average of 19.9%) points to structural deficits in this Gateway when the trend is observed over time¹⁴.

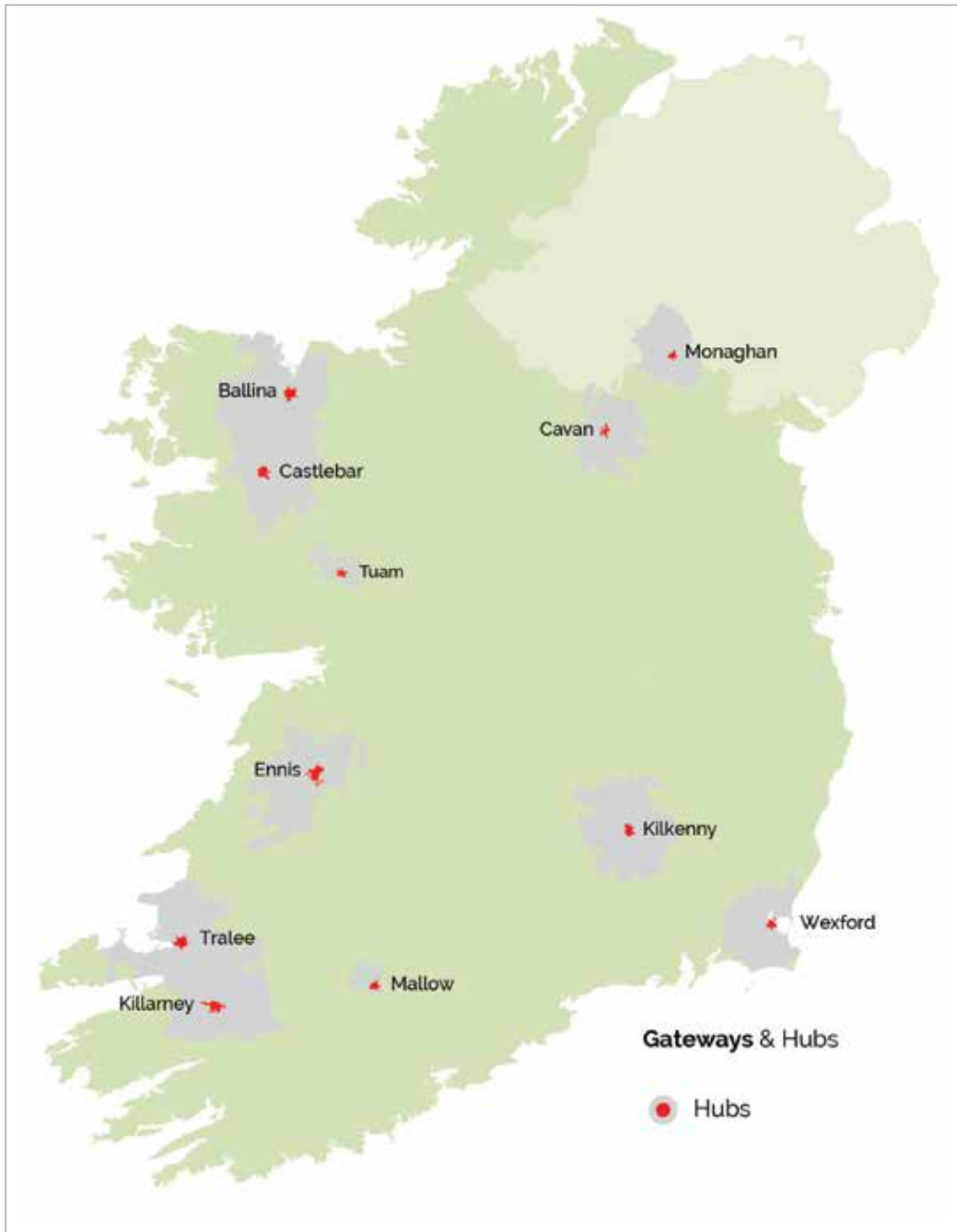
3. The Hubs Question: The nine designated Hubs are comprised of medium to large towns or pairs of towns to "ensure that the positive effect of the Gateways in the regions would be extended to areas between the Gateways, and provide a link to rural parts of the region" (Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2007:3). In reality, there are three different types of functioning Hubs:

- The linked-Hubs (Castlebar/Ballina and Tralee/Killarney);
- The stand-alone Hubs (Cavan, Ennis, Kilkenny, Monaghan and Wexford); and
- Those Hubs which are subsumed as part of their nearby Gateway's functional areas (Tuam by Galway and Mallow by Cork).

The latter raises the question as to whether Tuam and Mallow are simply destinations from which residents interact with the dominant local Gateway given that the economic reach of these towns is relatively small (as illustrated in Figure 6) compared to the other Hubs. The role of Hubs, and the programmes to support their development, should be key considerations of the next generation of Ireland's regional policy. In this context, the socio-economic impact of other county towns on their immediate hinterland is also deserving of further analysis and prioritisation.

4. Quality of Life and Environmental Factors Are Vital Components to Inform Location Decisions and Performance: Analysis of well-being or quality of life variables offers a depth to the results that speaks to the "whole of life" concept (Roberts, 2009: 438) as elaborated upon in the literature. Taking Sligo as an example, a low-crime rate contributes to a more positive outcome in terms of overall score. The modulating effect of a below average score for the 'Health and Wellness' domain for Killarney-

Figure 6: Functional Areas/Economic Reach of Designated Hubs, GHD 2012



(Source: Border, Midland and Western Regional Assembly and Southern and Eastern Regional Assembly, 2013a)

Tralee offsets gains the linked Hub enjoys under the 'Enterprise and Employment' domain. This more holistic appraisal highlights relative strengths and weaknesses, contributing to the body of evidence in tracking the overall sustainability of communities.

5. The Development of National and Regional Data Infrastructure and Harmonisation of Local Authority Data to Inform Policy and the Public Service Reform Plan:

The process of developing and sourcing data for this Index identified gaps in the collection, storage and harmonisation of data. Further engagement with data providers and policy-makers led to a number of suggestions to overcome these prevailing gaps. Central to this was the proposition of the development of a National and Regional Data Infrastructure (now emerging as <http://data.gov.ie/>) comprising three pillars:

- People;
- Business; and
- Business and buildings (commercial and residential).

Each of these registered users could be organised around a single, unique identifier i.e. (i) Personal Public Service Numbers (PPSN) for person register, (ii) a unique business identifier (on the basis of business registers) and (iii) a unique spatial identifier (x and y coordinates). By making it mandatory to apply these unique identifiers when interacting with the public authorities (national and local), regional and local level data could be compiled regularly and at relatively little cost. This would also be necessary to inform the delivery of the Public Service Reform Plan (Department of Public Expenditure and Reform, 2011). This presents a distinct opportunity to agree a set of core Local Authority data-sets (potentially in both Ireland and Northern Ireland) which would greatly enhance regional and local analysis through the sharing of common coding, classification and overall data structure. Adoption would enable more direct synergies through interaction among neighbouring and bordering Local Authorities across a range of disciplines.

6. Border Dynamics

One of the challenges of this Index was the ability to factor in the 'Border Effect' on the performance of the Gateways and Hubs in the Irish border region and, in particular, the implications for the linked Gateway of Letterkenny-(London)Derry. The research explored extending the Index to include relevant impacts from Northern Ireland but, unfortunately, due to the lack of homogenous data collection at both the administrative and statistical levels this was not fully possible. What is clear from the findings of the Index is that the Gateways of Letterkenny and Dundalk, along with the Hub towns of Cavan and Monaghan, are all performing below the national average. A consistent level of under-performance across the border region requires greater analysis to include Northern Ireland which was, however, beyond the scope of this study.

Conclusion

The GHDI 2012 represents an overview of the performance and progression of Ireland's primary urban centres and economic drivers; and offers a contribution to the policy debate on the development of Ireland's regions. It is imperative to continue to monitor, evaluate and re-think the role of place-making in order to achieve a more balanced approach to formulating policy so as to enable regions to reach their potential. If the different speeds of economic and social recovery and development across regions are to be redressed, it is essential that policy-makers embrace a collaborative and interdependent attitude towards achieving this balance. A good starting place is the development and valorising of place-making or place shaping policies:

place-making, or place-shaping is about improving the economic competitiveness, physical infrastructure and social fabric of a city, region or country, in order to increase its appeal as a place to live, work, study, invest in, buy from and visit (Place-making Toolkit for European Cities, see <http://www.yellowrailroad.com/>)

The potential to harness the strength of the power

of place in moving towards a more balanced approach to development will be facilitated through the realisation of the aims of the local and regional government reform agenda (Department of Environment, Community and Local Government, 2012b).

Traditionally, Ireland was characterised as a country with weak local government and no coherent regional government (Hooghe and Marks, 2001:197). The reforms proposed under *Putting People First* aim to strengthen the socio-economic role of local and regional government. A re-orientation of public services to deliver on a vibrant local democracy is required to facilitate local government assuming a leading role in innovation and economic development (Breathnach, 2012). Therefore, the continued pursuance of balanced regional development and the advancement of designated areas to drive regional growth (such as Gateways and Hubs) must be an integral part of national economic policy deliberations.

Yet, sub-national levels of government investment declined significantly in Ireland over the period of the economic crisis (European Commission, 2014:142). The European Commission's Sixth Cohesion Report expands on the economic literature that evidences the importance of public investment as an economic stimulus (European Commission, 2014:141). The OECD sets out some preconditions to ensure a sound framework for public investment at all levels of government including regional government:

- *"Develop a fiscal framework adapted to the investment objectives pursued.*
- *Require sound, transparent financial management.*
- *Encourage transparency and strategic use of public procurement at all levels of government"* (OECD, 2014:10-11¹⁵).

The recent economic crisis, in line with the findings of the ESPON (European Observatory Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion) study on second tier cities (ESPON, 2013) continues to raise

questions in the Irish context as to the Gateways contribution not alone to national but regional competitiveness. To this end, further research is required to determine the effectiveness of policies for enabling growth and harnessing the Gateways (and Hubs) and regions potential.

Derville Brennan is the Research and Communications Officer with the Southern and Eastern Regional Assembly based in Waterford. E-mail: dbrennan@seregassembly.ie

Adrian O'Donoghue is the Policy and Research Officer with the Border, Midland and Western Regional Assembly based in Ballaghaderreen, County Roscommon. E-mail: aodonoghue@bmwassembly.ie

Note: The opinions expressed are those of the authors and not of the Regional Assemblies they represent. From 2015 the Southern and Eastern Regional Assembly will become the Southern Regional Assembly while the Border, Midland and Western Regional Assembly will change to the Northern and Western Regional Assembly. A third Assembly (Midlands and Eastern Regional Assembly) will be created to be cover the Greater Dublin Area and Midland's counties. The Assemblies will have the additional responsibility for Regional Spatial and Economic Strategies as part of changes under reforms to local and regional government.

Endnotes

1. Under the Irish *National Spatial Strategy (NSS)*, the development of a network of nine Gateways is identified as key to stimulating growth in their respective regions, while nine strategically located, medium-sized Hubs were designated with the task of driving development in their catchments - linking out to rural areas - while also supporting the activities of the Gateways.
2. The Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics otherwise known as NUTS, (for the French *nomenclature d'unités territoriales statistiques*), is a geocode standard for referencing the administrative divisions of countries for statistical purposes. There are three levels of NUTS regions in the case of Ireland: NUTS I represents all of the Republic of Ireland, NUTS II Regions are divided between the BMW Region (13 counties) and the Southern and Eastern Region (13 counties) and there are eight NUTS III regions covering the following individual regions - Border, Midland, Western, South-West, South-East, Mid-East, Mid-West and Dublin.
3. The series of 11 reports are available to download at: www.bmwassembly.ie/Gateways%20and%20Hubs%20Report/index.html www.seregassembly.ie/en/info/gateways_hubs. Data Visualisation is available at <http://airo.maynoothuniversity.ie/data-visualisations/gateway-hubs-development-index-2012>
4. Investment occurred across a broad range of projects co-financed by various EU funds under the 2000-2006 Regional Programmes and under the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for the 2007-2013 programming period in both Irish Regional Programmes. A number of flagship projects were co-financed under the Gateways and Hubs Development Fund in the BMW Region (see: <http://www.bmwassembly.ie/gateways/about.html>) and the ERDF Gateways Grant Scheme in the S&E Region (see: http://www.seregassembly.ie/en/newsroom/details/erdf_gateway_scheme_projects), under the Regional Operational Programmes 2007- 2013.
5. Central Statistics Office (CSO) Place of Work, School or College Census of Anonymised Records (POWSCAR). Although the Gateway boundaries were defined from POWSCAR data, for the purposes of this analysis data for travel-to-schools and colleges was not utilised; instead this represents travel-to-work data. This replicates the approach taken in the GDI 2009.
6. <http://www.cso.ie/en/census/census2011boundaryfiles/>
7. The mapping exercise to determine the Zone 2 area is derived from the Central Statistics Office (CSO) Place of Work, School or College Census of Anonymised Records (POWSCAR) which in turn uses data from Census 2011. However, the GHDI is updated on an inter-censal basis and it utilises data, where available, to end December 2012.
8. The CSO derived boundaries of cities/towns (Zone 1) will not always capture the full extent of the influence of the Gateway/Hub as there are instances where a number of large employment nodes are located outside of the defined Zone 1 boundaries e.g., Dublin Airport and Shannon Industrial Zone. While CSO POWSCAR data is used in the Index to ensure and enable consistency of analysis across all Gateways and Hubs, such anomalies do arise.

9. The perception study in 2012 involved a common survey across the nine Gateways, using on-street interviews with a random sample of the adult resident population in each Gateway. All survey interviewing was conducted in October 2012. The research sample included the main urban zones of each Gateway as well as those areas in close connectivity with each urban zone. Importantly, the survey fieldwork was structured so that the sample in each Gateway is as representative as possible of residents at each location. In each Gateway interviewing was spread across at least one full week and was structured so that each day of the week and each time of day were represented in the survey. Over 250 interviews were conducted in each Gateway, with over 2,300 interviews being conducted in total across the full nine Gateways. The statistical margin of error on a sample size of 2,300 is just +/- 2%; the margin of error on a sample of 250 is +/- 6.2% and +/- 0.62 on the 10 point scales. In this survey, any measure for an individual Gateway that is within 6% of the survey average is considered to be 'at the Gateway Average'. The survey questionnaire asked Gateway residents to comment across a range of questions, a number which mirror the domains and others that attempt to elicit the residence awareness or their opinion of the quality of life within the Gateway.
10. Each indicator was normalised to a scale that made comparisons possible. For example in general a Gateway's Population Growth can't be equated to its crime levels. In order to facilitate comparisons between these figures they are normalised to a range of -2 +2 based on the max/min across all Gateways. This way the user can see that any positive deviation from 0 is greater than the average. By contrast, any subtraction from 0 constitutes a below average score. This, in effect, is the first building block in creating the composite index and provides a method of comparing unlike datasets.
11. This announcement was made by Minister for the Environment, Community and Local Government, Phil Hogan T.D, at the Regional Studies Association 'New Regional Governance in Ireland' Conference held on 21st January 2013.
12. The Steering Committee of the GHDI was comprised of representatives from the Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government, the Department of An Taoiseach, the Department of Public Expenditure and Reform and the County and City Managers' Association, in addition to representatives from the Regional Assemblies.
13. Waterford Gateway unemployment rate returned in 2011.
14. <http://www.cso.ie/en/newsandevents/pressreleases/2012pressreleases/pressreleasethisisireland-highlightsfromcensus2011part2/> (The Waterford City and suburbs settlement areas referred to in the CSO press release do not coincide with Waterford Gateway boundaries).
15. The Recommendation was developed by the OECD Territorial Development Policy Committee (TDPC). It was submitted to an extensive consultation procedure within the OECD and externally, and was supported by Ministers at the TDPC Ministerial meeting on 5-6 December 2013 in Marseille.

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REFLECTION: FIFTY YEARS OF NATIONAL AND REGIONAL PLANNING IN IRELAND



Prof. Jim Walsh

The relationship between physical and economic planning for national and regional development in Ireland over the past fifty years is briefly reviewed in this paper. Commencing with a résumé of some contextual key indicators of the scale and complexity of the transition that has occurred in Ireland since the late 1950s, this paper identifies the main features of four distinctive phases in planning before concluding with a synthesis of lessons to be learned and some suggestions on how to improve planning in the future.

This paper is based on a presentation being made to the conference on *Creating the Regions of Tomorrow*, jointly organised by the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis (NIRSA) and ESPON at Maynooth University, 26th September 2014.

Taking a long-term perspective on the Republic of Ireland (heretofore referred to as 'Ireland') over the past fifty years, it is appropriate at the outset to note the following contextual changes:

- A transition has occurred from being a very poor and underdeveloped country to one of the richest in Europe. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in 2013 was the fourth highest in the EU18 and Gross National Product (GNP) per capita was greater than the EU18 average. Linked to this adjustment, there has been a transition from a very closed economy to one that is the most open and globally connected. This has been accompanied by strategic repositioning away from a strong dependence on London to variable locations on a Boston, Brussels and Berlin axis as Ireland became more integrated into the European Union (EU) and global economies. In this context, Ireland received many benefits, especially through the Structural Funds and the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), that contributed significantly to national and regional development. But EU participation has also brought constraints on the range of policy options and instruments that could be used.
- For a significant part of the period under review the civil strife and dysfunctional political context in Northern Ireland impacted severely on the economies of both parts of the island of Ireland and especially on the Border region.
- The period since the early 2000s was first marked by a transition to an unsustainable model of economic development characterised by an economic bubble based on speculative property development and massively increased levels of public and private debt. This was followed since 2008 with the most severe economic collapse experienced in the history of the State which has, in turn, led to a prolonged phase of austerity measures designed to correct the imbalances in the public finances and to restore confidence in the capacity of the government and others to effectively manage the future development of the national economy.
- Over the period since the early 1960s, Ireland has progressed from being devoid of a systematic legal framework to support physical planning to the current situation where there is a highly integrated and comprehensive planning model that is internationally respected. There have of course been significant challenges in implementation which have resulted in outcomes

that are not sustainable, particularly in the area of residential planning.

- At this stage, a little more than fifty years after the commencement of planning as a formal process, the population total is 1.7 million (63% greater than in 1961) greater than in 1961, the share of the population residing in aggregate rural areas has declined from 54% to 38%, and the extent of inter-county disparities in per capita incomes is much reduced. The indications are that Ireland will have the fastest growing economy in the EU in 2014 and 2015, despite a catastrophic economic failure in 2008, and Ireland achieved higher scores than the UK, Germany, France and Spain on OECD *Better Life Index* 2013.

As the country is poised for the next phase of development it is timely to take account of the experience in relation to planning since the early 1960s and to identify how planning for the future might be improved. Four phases in planning for national and regional development are considered.

1. 1960s: Modernisation

The modernisation era began in Ireland in the 1950s. The highly innovative work of a small number of public servants led by T. K. Whittaker was an extremely important catalyst. In his seminal paper on Economic Development Whittaker defined and espoused planning as *"the approach of reason and order as opposed to drift and unrest"*. The Whittaker paradigm laid the basis for the earliest National Economic Plans in the 1960s. Whilst highly innovative these plans had little direct focus on regional aspects of development, other than via sectoral strategies.

The introduction of formal economic planning was complemented by the initiation of a framework to support physical planning. The *Local Government Planning and Development Act 1963*, which came into effect on 1st October 1964, was a major initiative in which planning was viewed as a dynamic process with a close and complementary relationship between physical and economic planning. Shortly

afterwards, Economic Development Committees were set up in each county, and local authorities were required to prepare County Development Plans. A national agency to support physical planning, An Foras Forbartha – the National Institute for Physical Planning, was established in 1964. But the aspirations for a joined-up approach to planning were quickly dissipated as weak coordination and integration became the reality in a context of weak local government and a political and administrative vacuum at regional levels. Physical planning quickly became associated with a regulatory approach to planning and less emphasis on planning for economic development.



TK Whittaker

Throughout the 1960s there was an increasing concern in many countries about the phenomenon of uneven regional development. The conceptual basis of the early expressions of concern frequently presented the issue as one of providing subsidies to weaker regions to overcome higher business costs, but the provision of subsidies risked weakening the efficiency of the national economy. At this stage the debates on uneven development or regional inequalities tended to focus on measures of regional incomes and less on identifying the contribution of productivity differentials to regional performance. The main policy initiative took the form of spatially concentrated interventions in the form of targeted investments in growth centres. As this model gained momentum in many countries, a major report recommending growth centres and investment in upgrading the inter-urban transport infrastructure was prepared by Buchanan and Partners in 1968.

The *Buchanan Report* along with separate coterminous initiatives in relation to the organisation

of the health and higher education systems presented some radical proposals to underpin a new strategy for regional development. However, while in tune with the prevailing international theoretical perspectives and practice, the growth centre proposals were strongly contested and ultimately defeated by a combination of a strong rural backlash to what was regarded as a top-down technocratic approach to planning, and also by weak political leadership unable to accept and promote a radical departure from the prevailing orthodoxy of Ireland as a predominantly rural country. The formal abandonment of the growth centre approach was encapsulated in government statements in 1969 and 1972 that were reiterated in 1975 in one of the first reports of the recently established National Economic and Social Council (NESC).

2. 1970s – late 1980s: New Directions

Ironically in the 1970s, despite the abandonment of the long-term strategic option of balanced regional development based on growth centres, there were significant changes in the 1970s that contributed to a reduction in the disparities in performance across regions. A key factor was the incorporation of Ireland, through an industrial policy heavily dependent on inward investment, into the Fordist phase of international capital accumulation. The pursuit of internationally mobile manufacturing plants became the main driver of a newly articulated regional development strategy. The Industrial Development Authority (IDA) developed a sophisticated and highly successful approach to attracting footloose new investments into Ireland and to dispersing them between and within regions, with the exception of Dublin which was considered to be not in need of special assistance. Simultaneously, there was a short boom period for agriculture associated with the transition to higher prices associated with the CAP of the European Economic Community (EEC) which Ireland had joined in January 1973. The combination of the industrial policy and the more favourable context for farming contributed to a major turnaround in rural Ireland. Out-migration was replaced by substantial net in-migration that included many return migrants, while at the same time regional

differentials in per capita incomes narrowed.

The progress on regional development via sectoral initiatives was complemented by slower progress in the area of physical planning and its integration with economic planning. The physical planning framework was still at an early stage. The first round of county development plans had been completed and adopted and were already being revised. A Regional Development Organisation had been established in 1969 in each region but with very limited functions and scarcely any resources. Some had already prepared regional strategies which tended to be heavily focused on infrastructure planning.

However, the model of the 1970s had inherent weaknesses that quickly became evident following the onset of a global economic recession in the late 1970s. The industrialisation model was severely criticised in a major review by the Telesis international consultancy group which over time resulted in a move away from the dispersal strategy applied to inward investment. The Dublin region endured extensive deindustrialisation leading to high unemployment and out-migration, and in rural areas the implementation of the CAP was leading to increased differentials between the more intensive farming in the south and east compared to the more traditional farming with lower productivity levels in other regions. The combined effect of these adjustments in a context of a weak national economy, exacerbated by the Troubles in Northern Ireland, was deterioration in the position of all regions, especially the Dublin region, which contributed to a downward convergence in key regional indicators.

Following the slow onset of national economic recovery at the end of the 1980s a new geography of development began to emerge. Key drivers of the new model were (a) a refocusing of inward investment in manufacturing towards targeted sectors (especially the ICT and pharmaceutical sectors) which were increasingly attracted to the larger urban centres, (b) a deliberate policy to establish Dublin as a significant node in the

international financial services sector, and (c) new directions in EU support for regional development following the reform of the Structural Funds in 1988. The revised industrial strategy was particularly successful in attracting several blue chip international corporations, mainly to Dublin and Cork with lesser concentrations in Galway and Limerick. The financial services sector expanded rapidly in Dublin and supported the development of many ancillary services. However, the relationship between financial services and property markets and their potential impact on national and regional economies was poorly understood and under estimated.

The influence of the EU on planning for national and regional development was considerable. From 1989 a series of multi-annual National Development Plans (NDPs) were prepared in order to access the Structural Funds. Regional development began to be viewed as primarily about Ireland as a single region pursuing a strategy to achieve convergence towards the EU average on key economic indicators with little regard for physical planning implications. The matter of uneven regional development in Ireland became a lesser concern. This was evidenced by the government's abolition of An Foras Forbartha and of the Regional Development Organisations in 1987, and a regional input to the first National Development Plan that was extremely weak and unworkable through a new set of regions with boundaries that made no sense.

3. Early 1990s – 2008: Unsustainable National and Regional Development

Despite this unpromising start to engagement with the new EU procedures there was much progress in the later National Development Plans (NDPs). The EU objectives brought to the fore the need to find ways of simultaneously addressing economic competitiveness, environmental sustainability, social and territorial cohesion, and the Lisbon Strategy to support the development of a globally competitive European economy. Regional Authorities were established to assist with implementation of the national plans, and they were later assigned responsibility for the preparation of regional

planning guidelines. Two Regional Assemblies were established to oversee the implementation of regional Operational Programmes that were intended to be tailored to the specific needs of each region and also to complement other initiatives funded under the NDPs.

The articulation of more comprehensive and also more coherent national plans was accompanied by significant advances in physical and environmental planning. The Environmental Protection Agency was established by law in 1992. The first National Strategy for Sustainable Development was published in 1997 and followed by the *Planning and Development Act 2000* which was the first comprehensive update of planning legislation since the 1963 Act. The 2000 Act established sustainable development as a key principle, introduced the requirement for Environmental Impact Assessments, and provided a framework for the adoption of Regional Planning Guidelines by each Regional Authority. Other important changes in the late 1990s were (a) the conclusion of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement which opened the way for greater cooperation in strategic spatial planning between the Republic and Northern Ireland, and (b) the publication of the first national strategy for rural development.

Notwithstanding the changes noted above a significant focus of innovation in sub-national planning and development was at the local rather than at the regional level. The implementation of a new model of local development involving strong local partnerships attracted considerable favourable international attention but it deflected attention away from the more strategic issues that need to be addressed at the regional level. The case for a national spatial strategy to directly support a new approach to regional development, and to provide a coherent framework for the hierarchy of local and regional plans was advocated by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI), NESC and others such as the Regional Studies Association from the mid-1990s.

The resulting *National Spatial Strategy* (NSS), published in 2002, introduced a functional spatial perspective with a strong emphasis on rural-urban linkages and the potential of each region which was articulated through proposals for regional gateways and hubs. As many aspects of the NSS were examined in a special issue of *Administration* in 2013 it is not assessed in depth here. It is sufficient to conclude that the eventual publication of the NSS and the articulation of many of the concepts that it contained were a major achievement. It is unfortunate that it had not been commissioned and published earlier. The effectiveness of the NSS was, unfortunately, seriously undermined at an early stage by:

- Weak and inconsistent political commitment which resulted in the absence of a legal framework to support implementation;
- The launch of an ill-conceived decentralisation programme for the public sector; and
- An abrupt termination of the Gateways Innovation Fund that had been established to incentivise local authorities to promote the gateways.

The NSS was also criticised by some for not providing sufficient attention to the areas beyond the Gateways.

Despite the challenges that arose in the implementation of the NSS, the Department of the Environment and Local Government continued to strengthen the legislative framework for physical and environmental planning. In 2006 a planning framework was put in place for complex strategic infrastructure projects of national importance. This was followed in 2010 by a major consolidation and strengthening of all planning legislation via the *Planning and Development (Amendment) Act 2010* which provided statutory support for the NSS, and introduced the Core Strategies as an essential component of all county development plans - thus facilitating the multi-scalar integration of a nested hierarchy of plans spanning local, regional and national levels. Unfortunately, much of the progress in this area was eclipsed by developer-led property

investments supported by political decisions regarding investment incentives, and inadequate resourcing of professional planning in the public sector.

4. Post-2008

A new era in national planning commenced in late 2008 that has been characterised by a prioritisation of fiscal policy, debt management strategies and a wide range of austerity measures impacting on public expenditure. This reorientation of public policy has been accompanied by a concentration of control into the Departments of Finance and Public Expenditure and Reform and a new relationship with the international funding agencies that replaced the partnership model expressed thorough the former Community Support Frameworks. In this context, the objective of balanced regional development in Ireland has been eclipsed. At the same time there has been some weakening of the dynamic in the Northern Ireland peace process with impacts especially in the Border region. Net emigration has resumed particularly from the weaker regions, unemployment has increased and new employment is becoming more geographically concentrated. The gap in regional GVA measures has widened but there has been relatively little change in the regional per capita income differentials.

5. Implications and Conclusions

A number of recurring themes emerge from this brief overview of experience since the early 1960s. These include a disconnect between spatial planning and regional development goals for most of the last fifty years during which there was frequent contestation of fundamental principles. There was on-going ambiguity about the objectives of regional planning and regional development: disparities in well-being measured by per capita disposable incomes continued to be confused with disparities rooted in sectoral productivity differentials that are manifested in measures of differences in regional per capita gross value added. The functional inter-dependence of regions and the role of inter-regional income transfers in the reduction of inter-county disparities in household incomes is not as widely appreciated

as it might be. There has been much scale-based confusion between local and regional development.

The prioritisation of resource allocations between sectors was often driven by the EU through Community Support Frameworks for the NDPs which resulted in too much focus on draw-down of EU funds instead of on the rate of return or the benefits for the economy and society. Strategies for rural development tended to be largely equated with agriculture and forestry with limited direct support for those communities beyond the farm gates and outside the boundaries of the principal gateways. Attempts to strengthen spatial planning at all levels have been frustrated by weak legislative frameworks, lack of consistency in the implementation of government policies, and inadequate resourcing of the professional capacity to evaluate and monitor decisions on planning applications.

There are already early signals of economic recovery, but there is also a high risk of multi-speed adjustments with strong contrasts between cities and other areas. The approach to national planning as expressed through the *Medium Term Economic Strategy 2014-2020* and the *Construction Strategy 2020* lack the comprehensiveness of the former NDPS and the objective of balanced regional development is no longer included as a strategic goal. The linkage between these strategies and the new Ireland-EU relationship mediated through the annual European Semester process and the related National Reform Programmes (NRP) is inadequate as the NRP remains spatially blind.

However, as part of the government's strategy for reform of local government, *Putting People First*, three new Regional Assemblies have been established and assigned responsibility to prepare Regional Spatial and Economic Strategies, that are intended to provide a bridge between the NSS (and from 2016 onwards, the new national planning framework) and Local Economic and Community Plans. This initiative provides a significant opportunity to address the scalar issues noted already. However, there remains a reality of a local government system with a political structure

that is struggling and in much need of support to enhance the capacity of many members to engage with strategic planning matters. The report of the Commission for the Economic Development of Rural Areas (or CEDRA), published in 2014, provides a suite of recommendations to promote rural economic development. Unfortunately, the assignment of political and administrative responsibility for the implementation of the CEDRA recommendations has been misguided and serves only to reinforce the tendency to equate rural with agriculture.

In conclusion, from this brief overview it is evident that over the past fifty years much was achieved, mostly via gradual incremental changes, but there were also some major mistakes. It is necessary to overcome the weaknesses that have tended to recur, to accept the validity of a plurality of approaches to planning, and to reassess how best to adapt to the changed roles of the EU in relation to planning in different spheres of activity. Ireland is now at a critical point at the start of the next phase of economic development which must be accompanied by a firm commitment and support for the implementation of a strengthened national economic and physical planning framework that will include a revised version of the *National Spatial Strategy*. There is an urgent need for a clearly articulated vision and strategy for effective planning over the next twenty years that will be supported by better management and governance frameworks at all spatial scales. There is also a need for sustained investment in capacity building via professional training. Despite the challenges, there is an opportunity for Ireland to become an international leader in the design and implementation of a new paradigm for smart, sustainable and inclusive planning and development at national, regional and local levels.

Professor Jim Walsh is Vice-President for Strategy and Quality at Maynooth University. He was previously Vice President for Innovation and Strategic Initiatives and Deputy President. Prior to his first appointment as Vice-President in 2005, he was Head of the Geography Department for ten years. He is a founding member of

the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis (NIRSA) and the International Centre for Local and Regional Development (ICLRD). He has extensive experience as an advisor in many areas of public policy including membership of the National Economic and Social Council, the Expert Advisory Group for the *National Spatial Strategy*, and the Commission for the Economic Development of Rural Areas. He was also Ireland's first contact point for the European Spatial Planning Observation Network. He has published extensively on spatial planning, rural development and demographic change in Ireland.

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lsd
lesliestannagedesign

71-75 Donegall Pass Belfast Co. Antrim BT7 1DR



**design
web
print
illustration**

tel: +44 (0)28 9022 4455

fax: +44 (0)28 9022 4456

email: info@l-s-d.com

web: www.l-s-d.com

PLANNING TO LIVE WITH DIFFERENCE



Prof. Frank Gaffikin

For the first time in human history, just over half of the earth's people live in cities. While the global is urbanising in this way, the urban is globalising with patterns of migration across the world. Major cities of the world are becoming more diverse. Therefore, the issue of how we live with difference is going to become a major problem of development across the world.

On the island of Ireland, there is a long tradition of having to cope with this challenge. In the case of Northern Ireland, the region has gone through 16 years of a peace 'settlement', following the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement, with many people now believing that we are living in a post-conflict society. Of course, in recent times, the people of this island have been reminded that that optimism is somewhat misplaced - the island of Ireland is not yet a post-conflict society. Rather, its people mostly live in a post-violent conflict society. But the conflict itself remains deep and ever present - particularly in Northern Ireland and along the Irish border.

This paper is a synopsis of a keynote presentation made at the Eighth Annual Conference of the International Centre for Local and Regional Development (ICLRD) in Newry, County Down in February 2013.

Introduction

When we talk about peace we talk perhaps about the guns being silenced, but when we talk about a 'just peace' we often find that, for each side in the conflict, this is achieved 'when we get what we want'. There remains a continued conflict in Northern Ireland and the Irish border region over fundamental issues of identity and sovereignty and these reflect themselves very deeply in socio-spatial segregation, particularly in the most deprived places --- in cities like Belfast for example.

Accordingly, with respect to Belfast, it isn't possible to think of planning the city without understanding that difference. Yet for decades, major planning documents, in reference to the City's development, would not openly acknowledge the relevance of the conflict. Indeed, there's been a tradition of the city planners trying to airbrush out the conflict as if it's something beyond their capacity and remit. But planning is about the social ordering of space, and space lies at the heart of these kinds of discord about territory and identity. It could, therefore, be argued that planning is at the heart of these contested issues. Planners and urban policy-makers cannot escape responsibility to address them as central to their mission.

But, in doing so, they face particular paradoxes and dilemmas; for example:

- One attribute of sound development is connectivity, the need to nurture relational networks, and the need to link the physical with the social, cultural, educational, environmental, and so on. In short, good contemporary planning demands multiple forms of connectivity. But when dealing with a place like Belfast, one is confronted by multiple forms of fragmentation. Instead of visioning the City as one unit to be planned coherently, the tendency has been to parcel it up into different territories and deal

separately with each one. So, we zone the city centre, Laganside, the Titanic Quarter, the deprived areas, and so on, without framing these distinctive interventions within an overall strategic approach to the whole city.

A key example of that concerns decisions about what to do with brownfield sites in an industrial city that has a substantial amount of mature and underused or redundant land. Again, sustainable urban development implies that before stretching out into greenfield sites, we ought to optimise brownfield capacity. But in a city like Belfast, much of the brownfield land is in or near Protestant working class areas, and so as the Protestant population of the City is haemorrhaging and retreating, more and more vacancy and void becomes available in brownfield sites in proximity to those Protestant areas.

Yet, the big demand for expansion in the City comes from the Catholic side. So in practice, many Protestant communities believe that if you pursue new housing on brownfield land, which on the surface appears a reasonable and sustainable thing to do, in practice you're actually making incursions into their former territory. For a community that has seen, in its view, a political retreat in many ways, the physical reflection of that retreat is there on their doorstep in those working class communities. Protestant communities, as a result, feel they're losing actual ground with this response to the sensitive demographic shift.

- Another example comes from the move to what is deemed to be a more democratic form of planning with the transfer of planning to local councils. Many people would say that such a shift in function is a good thing. But in a sense, this is a return to the late 1960s/early 1970s and the start of the civil rights movement when politicians did have such planning and housing powers and were seen, in some cases, to abuse them. One of the key paradoxes faced in the coming years is, therefore, can the politicians of today lead Northern Ireland out of this kind of sectarian geography when the politicians

themselves rely on such 'partisan' arithmetic - particularly since most of them belong to parties that are rooted in an electoral base linked to sectarian geographies? The problem to be faced over the coming years - in terms of the political control of planning - is to what extent this power can be de-sectarianised when politics is still dominated by the structures of a largely sectarian power-sharing.

- Another example is the whole issue of community itself. The word 'community' has a warm appealing side that invites one to endorse its solidarities automatically and uncritically, but *community* in a divided city can often be an exclusive rather than inclusive concept. It tends to be about who you keep out as much as who you have in and, therefore, many of the positive virtues of community can be nullified by the way in which community is ghettoised and set in rival relationships. Over the last 30 to 40 years of conflict in particular, many such communities in the poorest parts of Belfast, that have been undergoing the most violent elements of the conflict, have retreated in on themselves and have fortified themselves by guarding against the 'other'.

The key question to be addressed in the short-term is whether local government - in association with other key stakeholders - go forward with forms of community development and local planning in divided cities like Belfast or Derry/Londonderry. The risk that the approach adopted could inadvertently be accentuating community difference and supporting those in the community that want to fortress their community against the intrusion of the alien other must be borne in mind by decision-makers. Care must be given when endorsing that kind of community development in the context of a divided city.

The Social Impacts of Decades of Deep-Rooted Division

In terms of social inclusion and poverty policies, there is much that still needs to be done to redress

the deprivation and educational under-achievement in many parts of a city like Belfast. Yet, alongside the protests around the flag issue, many working class Protestant areas believe that all of these policies towards inclusion have not benefited them, and the cry has often gone up that 'compared to the other side, we're getting nothing'. How one distributes urban resources in regeneration programmes can often promote positive consequence towards inclusion for some, while at the same time they can inadvertently accentuate the problems of cohesion. In trying to resuscitate deprived communities, one can actually accentuate the division between those deprived communities as they argue with each other about who gets more resources. How to deal fairly with the distribution of urban resources based on relative need, while trying sensitively to cope with the challenge of social cohesion between the two communities, is a formidable policy dilemma.

Over the last four decades, inequality has accentuated considerably, reflected in a more socially and spatially polarised society in the

industrial world. The kind of social polarisation that all industrial countries are experiencing is true for both jurisdictions of the island of Ireland also; albeit in the case of Northern Ireland, there is the additional polarisation linked to a contested inter-communal inequality (see Figure 1). This makes viable intervention even more complicated.

In Northern Ireland, the top 20 least deprived wards are overwhelmingly Protestant in the sense of having a majority Protestant population, whereas if you look at the other end of the spectrum, to the most deprived wards, the majority of them are Catholic (see Figure 2).

Major changes have been made over the last 30 years in Northern Ireland in terms of addressing inequality between the two main communities, Catholic and Protestant. And while the gap between them has been narrowed considerably in the labour market and elsewhere, there is still a discernible difference between the two main communities around issues like poverty and deprivation. This

Figure 1: Inequality Gaps

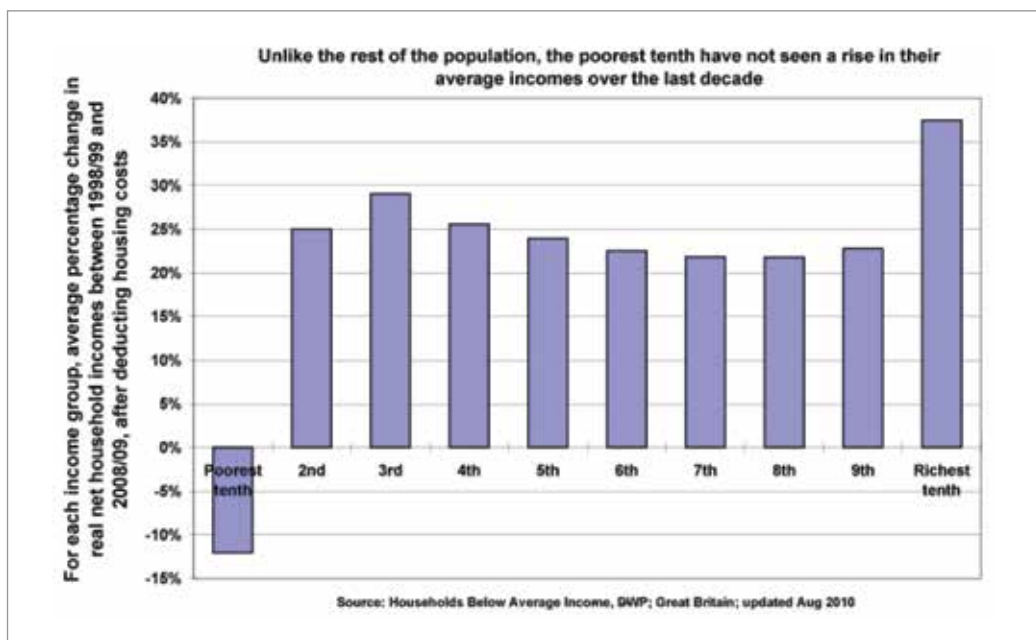


Figure 2: Deprivation across the Wards of Northern Ireland

LEAST DEPRIVED WARDS				MOST DEPRIVED WARDS			
Rank	Ward	Town/City	Majority Population	Rank	Ward	Town/City	Majority Population
1	Wallace Park	Lisburn	P	1	Whiterock	Belfast	C
2	Hillfoot	Castlereagh	P	2	Falls	Belfast	C
3	Cairns Hill	Castlereagh	P	3	New Lodge	Belfast	C
4	Knockbracken	Castlereagh	P	4	Shankill	Belfast	P
5	Glinahirk	Castlereagh	P	5	East	Strabane	C
6	Jordanstown	Newtownabbey	P	6	Crumlin	Belfast	P
7	Stormont	Belfast	P	7	Clonard	Belfast	C
8	Ballymacash	Lisburn	P	8	Creggan Central	Derry	C
9	Bluefield	Carrickfergus	P	9	Ardoyne	Belfast	C
10	Galwelly	Castlereagh	P	10	Twinbrook	Lisburn	C
11	Ballyloughlan	Ballymena	P	11	Upper Springfield	Belfast	C
12	Cultra	North Down	P	12	The Diamond	Derry	C
13	Carryduff West	Castlereagh	P	13	Colin Glen	Lisburn	C
14	Ballyholme	North Down	P	14	Duncairn	Belfast	P
15	Strand	Coleraine	P	15	Greystone	Limavady	C
16	Lisbane	Ards	P	16	Water works	Belfast	C
17	Knockagh	Carrickfergus	P	17	Creggan South	Derry	C
18	Crawfordsburn	North Down	P	18	Ballymacarrett	Belfast	P
19	Malone	Belfast	C	19	Woodvale	Belfast	P
20	Stranmillis	Belfast	C	20	Brandywell	Derry	C

(Source: Nolan, 2013:93)

makes it very difficult to intervene, to deal with that difference without accentuating the division between the two communities.

This can be very clearly seen again in the case of Belfast. East Belfast is largely Protestant with a small Catholic area, Short Strand. West Belfast is largely Catholic with Protestant areas within it,

like Shankill and Suffolk. They've roughly the same population yet have a clear difference in terms of life expectancy for male and female; this tends to be better in East Belfast (see Figure 3). In addition, the percentage of children living in poverty in East Belfast is about half the percentage of that in West Belfast. In terms of education level (schooling situation), there is less of a difference. But, in terms

Figure 3: A Statistical Profile of East & West Belfast

EAST BELFAST & WEST BELFAST STATISTICAL PROFILE			
Indicator	Year	East Belfast	West Belfast
Population Size	2010	90,402	90,758
Life Expectancy (M)	2008-2010	75.5	72.5
Life Expectancy (F)	2008-2010	80.3	78.4
% of children living in Poverty	2010	21.8	42.7
School leavers with 2 A-Levels*	2010/11	52.5	48.6
Invest NI Assistance (£ million)	2011/12	13.27	4.22

(Source: Nolan, 2013: 95)

of major investment from Invest Northern Ireland, East Belfast has benefitted considerably relative to West Belfast.

Yet, as highlighted by the media images from the flag protests, large numbers of young males in the Protestant working class areas of East Belfast perceive their situation to be very different to that. They regard themselves as the victims of an unequal distribution in favour of the 'other community'. And so against what, you might say, is the evidence of the situation, there is a very strong belief among the wider Unionist community that the political tide, and the development investment pattern, has been going against their interests.

The problem of dealing with that kind of division is that there is no prospect for improvement in a region like Northern Ireland that is part of a Europe where there is a drag on future development due to a global economic depression, ongoing fiscal austerity and massive government debt, and related changing policy priorities. Given this difficult economic context, and the related fiscal stringency for a region like Northern Ireland where over two-thirds of its gross domestic product (GDP) is rooted in that public spending, we're facing a very tough prospect.

In looking at the rates of child poverty in the Wards below, it can be seen that some are at over 40%, compared to a UK average of 25% (see Figure 4).

Considering the link between child poverty and educational outcomes, and the fact that education in a knowledge society is pivotal to the prospect of people getting access to reasonable secure, well-paid jobs, the problem facing the region becomes very clear. In terms of educational attainment, there is a close link between poverty, social background, and low achievement, and this pattern is particularly evident in the case of urban Protestant working class males. Their prospect of getting a stable attachment to the labour market is not good.

Figure 4: Different Experiences of Poverty

Local Authority and wards	Percentage of children in poverty
UK	25%
Belfast	28%
Woodvale	36%
Crumlin (Belfast)	43%
Shankill	41%
New Lodge	41%
Duncairn	38%
Water Works	39%
Aedoyne	39%
Legoniel	29%
Ballysillan	24%
Cliftonville	33%

(Source: <http://www.endchildpoverty.org.uk/why-end-child-poverty/poverty-in-your-area>)

Belfast: Spaces of Difference

In dealing with a place like Belfast, there are four main types of space:

- *Ethnic space*, which is where, particularly in the working class areas, over 90% of people living in these areas are of one persuasion or another;
- *Neutral space*, in areas like the city centre and the waterfront, where attempts are made to create secure areas for all communities to shop, work and leisure;
- *Shared space*, places where people from different communities and traditions can come together and be in an engaged relationship across that difference, spaces which are very limited in Belfast; and
- *Cosmopolitan space*, that kind of space given to a more international and multi-cultural

expression that doesn't have a 'reading' in terms of the local conflict, spaces which again are very thinly evident in Belfast.

One of the problems facing Belfast for decades has been the attempt by planners to shape the city along these different kinds of spaces. Belfast's City Council's investment programme for the next period is a brave attempt to allocate very scarce money to good and proper projects. However, whatever the intrinsic merits of those individual projects may be, the overall distributional pattern basically involves sharing out resources across the City, making sure all political sides are happy and equalised. By adopting this 'shared out' approach, it is not therefore able to look strategically at what a 'shared' city needs as a whole. The investment programme is not underpinned by any kind of consensual vision of where the City should go, or able to provide a set of principles or criteria against which good projects can be measured and prioritised.

This approach clearly reflects what has been happening for decades in Northern Ireland. Even worse than that, the response often to situations of immediate intense conflict is to allocate resources to those communities involved, thereby unintentionally appearing to reward bad behaviour.

Where resources and investment are deployed in response to violence, one shouldn't then be surprised that gifting unruly behaviour, as one means of pacifying it, is likely to lead to more of the same. Instead of being able to step back and look at investment allocation in evidence-based terms of where need and opportunity are, policy-makers have tended to repeatedly respond to these kinds of conflictual events - thereby risking accentuation of the conflict.

In the context of 'new planning', sometimes now referred to as spatial planning, there is a prospect of getting away from some of this. Spatial planning is concerned about integrated and inclusive development within a comprehensive strategy. It argues for a more proactive form of planning,

underpinned by the principle that public agencies have the duty to cooperate across departmental boundaries. In the context of a divided society, this duty to collaborate is particularly relevant.

Spatial Planning: Facilitating Living with Difference

Spatial planning is evidence-based. Since it is focused on delivery, it's not just about producing ideas for development. Rather, it's concerned to pin down when these developments are going to happen, what agency is going to deliver them, where the portfolio budget that's going to help fund them comes from, and what the time-scale involved is. In other words, delivery and costing are built in to the process.

It's visionary. That's a very different kind of planning to the physical land-use zoning type of planning that we're all more typically used to, a land-use zoning type of planning that can be used in places like Northern Ireland to divide out the spoils, and to resign to 'the natural grain' of segregation.

To move from this historic shared-out type of approach to a real shared approach, then the potential of spatial planning has to be explored for a more integrated outcome. This is clearly evidenced when you turn to particular places. One very troubled part of Belfast is the north side, an area very much cut off from the main part of the city. It's an interesting area because it shows how a good natural environment, surrounded by hills and Lough, could be potentially integrated with a very difficult built environment (see Figure 5).

Interesting things are happening in North Belfast, possibly pointing the direction of where the City ought to be going. Though small projects in themselves, they are pre-figurative of something more positive. A park in the area, Alexander Park, has a peace wall running through it, which means that only one side of the community can use each divided part of the park. In recent times, with the help of local communities, a gate has been opened in that peace wall. This allows, for most times of the

Figure 5: North Belfast



(Source: map produced by author based on Bing Maps image)

day, people to come through to both sides of the park (see Figure 6).

Another example in North Belfast, on a very difficult interface, is an old factory that has just recently been converted by two housing associations, one

Protestant, one Catholic, into an integrated housing scheme known as the Delaware Project. Tenants from both communities now live right on this peace line. This is a fascinating development when one considers this was once a difficult interface area, requiring constant CCTV cameras to monitor the violence and rioting (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Alexandra Park & Delaware Project



(Source: Author)



These examples demonstrate the many practical and positive things that are happening. Unfortunately, the problem is that when we then try to roll these out into bigger areas and bigger projects, the political will and capacity to deliver can come unstuck. One of those is in the north side of the City known as Girdwood. Located close to the symbolically important Crumlin Road Prison, and due to the closure of army barracks, this site is now available for comprehensive redevelopment. And what is happening in Girdwood is a typical example of how the major political parties, such as the DUP and Sinn Féin, can get together, work out some kind of deal to share out 'zones of influence', while failing to appreciate the full potential for an innovative and integrative development in the city. Current planning proposals for this sensitive area are failing to envision how quality housing, in a mixed-tenure, mixed-use development, could link this area into the rest of the City, and give strong example of the feasibility of people from diverse religious and political affiliations living together.

If we legitimate this kind of politics, carving up territory for a sectarian share-out, then don't be surprised if we're back here in another 10 years looking at the same problems in a city like Belfast. Yet, in North Belfast, over the next 10 years, there's something like £1 billion of potential investment that is being talked about, with a new university campus, a new major development coming up from the cultural quarter in the city centre, Royal Exchange, and so on.

But at the moment, all of those developments are happening separately, rather than being tied into a coherent strategic plan. They're barely taking consideration of each other and this, again, is another example of where good spatial planning, based on connectivity, integration and a comprehensive approach to development, offers a preferable alternative to optimise synergies and add value.

Conclusion

To get serious about the issues of poverty and segregation in the most deprived parts of the City, policy-makers and planners need an approach that gets beyond small geographies of 'local community'. In urban interventions, government ought to be allocating resources in ways that encourage such ghettoised enclaves to link with wider areas that embrace the cross-class, cross-community potential of assets and networks, and the critical mass that offers a more effective economy of scale and scope.

To move to this more comprehensive integrated approach, and shift away from the practice of doing deals with key interests, will not be easy. For every complex problem, there can be a simple solution but, unfortunately, it's often wrong. In the case of Belfast, the situation is very complicated and layered with all sorts of nuances. And while there is no simple intervention that can be made to overturn a historical pattern of behaviour, it is increasingly clear that unless a set of relatively straightforward simple principles and values are set down under which divided cities are planned and developed, these persistent - and often reinforcing - patterns of socio-spatial partition will persist.

People are not always rational. Instead, they can operate by emotion, by intuition, by different kinds of intelligence and knowledge. We, therefore, must be sensitive to some of the visceral emotions that do underpin conflict. A starting point for Northern Ireland and the border region is the need to get a broad range of stakeholders around the table to achieve the optimum consensus about development in the widest sense - and planning is a perfect portal for this. And where consensus cannot be achieved, attention must be paid to what is sometimes referred to as 'agonism'. This means that you don't go for false conviviality's, for constructive ambiguities. You don't try to split the difference. Rather, one makes a difference by arguing candidly that there are real things that matter to everyone, that there are issues that communities and policy-makers disagree on, and that some of these disagreements are not

going to disappear quickly. Instead, an emphasis is placed on those issues/areas where agreement can be reached - while continuing to disagree over certain things. Agonism, as such, involves building on that acknowledgement of difference bit by bit, mutually respecting the integrity of the other, while trying to 'walk a mile in their shoes'. It subjects each position's argument to robust *inspection*, while inviting each to engage in self-critical *introspection*.

In essence, there must be a move away from narrow communalism. Personally speaking, I've spent decades working with local communities in various forms of development, and believe that, at its best, the solidarities generated can be indicative of productive collectivism and civic well-being. But communalism in a divided society can tend to accentuate difference and separation. Creative means must be found of holding on to the solidarities of communalism while at the same time moving to principles of common citizenship; of finding a way of saying that there are certain basic things around citizenship that everybody, as an individual, is entitled to, and that these are encapsulated in the ideas and values of human rights and reciprocal civic responsibility, and are arbitrated in the ultimate by the rule of law and, if needs be, by the police and judicial system. Instead of thinking that the solution to differences in community is building more and more walls, policy-makers and planners have to begin to think of new ways in which local government and other key stakeholders - such as the police - are brought in to areas of conflict and interface. Much provocative behaviour is committed in the name of community culture. But often, it's not really the genuine community voice that validates

these acts of narrow territorialism. It's other political, or even paramilitary, influence that benefits from continued separatism and antagonism.

The role of government must, therefore, be to operate in the public rather than sectional interest, and to recognise that common well-being has to be nurtured in a pluralist civic culture, but ultimately protected in law. It is their role to pursue civic rather than ethnic values and interests, to refuse to respond to violence by throwing money at it, and to judge all interventions by whether they will tighten or loosen the sectarian discord and social polarity. These are the challenges. They are many and daunting. But unless we are serious about shifting towards this sort of transformative agenda, we could be talking about much the same situation over many decades to come. The process of resolving conflict is very different to that of simply *managing* it.

Professor Frank Gaffiken is Professor in Spatial Planning at Queens University Belfast. Prior to his appointment at Queen's in 2002, he worked for 18 years at the University of Ulster, during which he was Co-Director of the Urban Institute. Before that, he occupied other posts such as Research Economist in Birmingham; a community educationalist in an action-research project at Queen's University; and lecturer in further and higher education. Alongside his extensive experience with the community/voluntary sector, Frank has been a long-standing special adviser for government on urban regeneration, city visioning, and regional and metropolitan planning.

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LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND CROSS-BORDER COLLABORATION: INSIGHTS FROM HUNGARY – ROMANIA



Dr. Brendan O'Keeffe

The current border between Hungary and Romania was drawn by the 'Great European Powers' in 1919/1920. Thus, the delineation of these two states occurred at about the same time as the partition of the island of Ireland. Divergence and disconnect grew from the 1920s onwards, and were accentuated by authoritarian communist systems from the late 1940s to 1989. Thus, cross-border collaboration is a relatively new phenomenon for local authorities in both states, and many experiences in Oradea (Romania) and Eastern Hungary over the past fifteen years have parallels with the experiences on the island of Ireland.

This article begins by looking at political and geographical features of the Hungary-Romania border and the impacts it has had on the local economy and society. The communist period (1946-1989) marked the greatest severing of connections and conferred a severe infrastructural and governance deficit on border territories, the legacy of which continues to pose difficulties. The social, political and economic transitions that began in 1989, the aspiration of acceding to the European Union (EU) which occurred in 2005 in Hungary and 2007 in Romania, and newly delegated decision-making powers for local authorities prompted local authority councillors and officials to begin the push towards inter-municipal and cross-border

collaboration. What began as conversations among local politicians soon led to the formation of local authority associations, of which the Oradea Metropolitan Area Association (OMAA) has emerged as the single most significant driver and enabler of collaborative ventures.

This article, therefore, focuses on the initial drivers and technical support that helped launch the OMAA and considers its structure, role and outputs. It looks at its approaches to promoting cross-border collaboration, the types of projects generated and the impacts these have had locally. The article also considers how experiences of cross-border collaboration involving Oradea (Ro), Debrecen (Hu) and the adjoining rural communities may resonate with those involved in promoting collaboration along the Republic of Ireland (heretofore referred to as Ireland)-Northern Ireland border.

Political and Geographical Context

The lack of correspondence between the political/administrative border and the ethnic composition of the population is a feature of the border between Ireland and Northern Ireland, and that between Hungary and Romania. The latter context is also further complicated by linguistic and other cultural factors, and for many Hungarians, the loss of Transylvania to Romania, under the Treaty of Trianon¹ (July 1920), was a bitter blow to national pride (Cartlede, 2011). The post-war period, and particularly the 1960s and 1970s, were marked by tensions between the governments of Hungary and Romania. Although both were members of the Warsaw Pact², they openly disagreed on several issues, and the Transylvanian question was frequently the source of stand-offs between the two regimes (Shafir, 1985; Treptow, 1997). Thus by 1989, as the centrally planned economies in Hungary and Romania began their respective

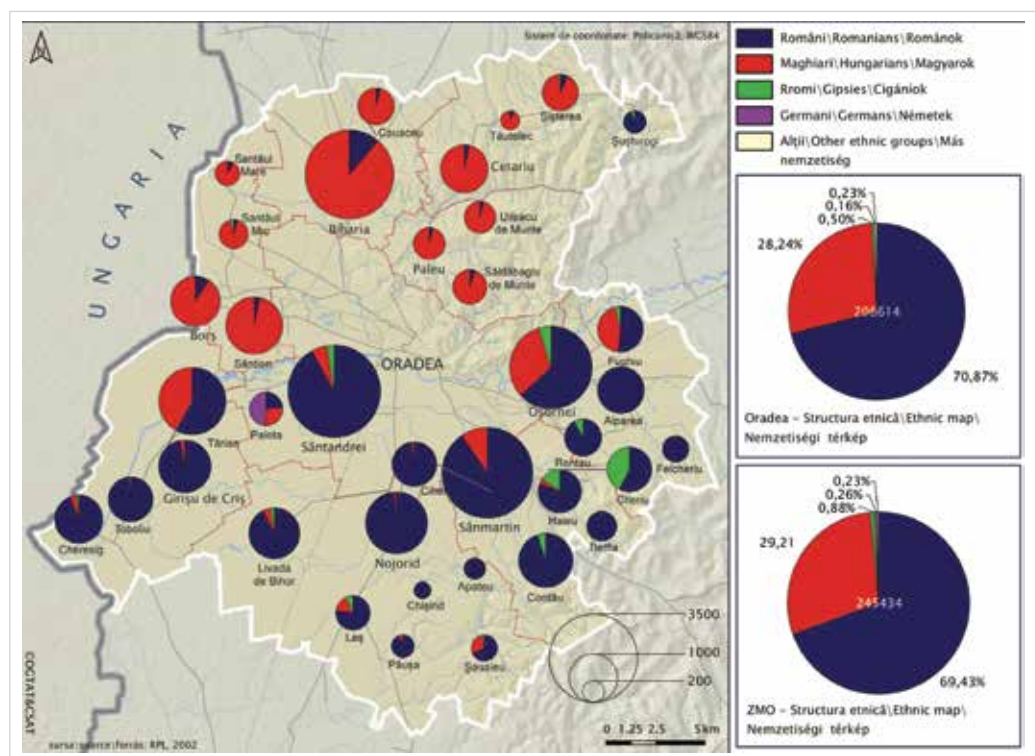
transitions and new democratic structures were introduced, Oradea, Debrecen and their surrounding communities had become severely disconnected from one another in every sense; institutions and the economies in both jurisdictions were very weak, and the context from which cross-border collaborations developed was more challenging than that which pertained on the island of Ireland.

As along the Irish border, political and ethnic considerations play a part in shaping cross-border dynamics. Nationalist communities in Northern Ireland have, understandably, been keener than their unionist neighbours were initially to engage in collaborations with communities in the South (Creamer *et al.*, 2008). Similarly, Hungarians in Oradea and surrounding communes in Romania have been the main political protagonists in initiating

cross-border collaboration. Of the nearly 250,000 people who live in the Oradea Metropolitan Area today, almost 30% are ethnic Hungarian, and Hungarians are the majority population in four of the communes that surround Oradea (see Figure 1).

Most Hungarians are either Roman Catholics or Reformed Protestants, while almost all Romanians adhere to the Romanian Orthodox Church. As in Northern Ireland, ethnicity is associated with voter behaviour; with the vast majority of Hungarians supporting the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania in local and national elections. The Union currently holds 38% of the local authority seats in the Oradea Metropolitan Area. In Eastern Hungary, the ethnic composition of the population is much more homogenous; with Hungarians forming the overwhelming majority - although the lure of lower

Figure 1: Ethnic Composition of the Population in the Oradea Metropolitan Area



(Source: Oradea Metropolitan Area Association and Faculty of History & Geography, University of Oradea (2007: 31))

property prices in Hungary relative to Romania, has, in recent years, resulted in up to 1,000 people moving to the Hungarian side of the border to live, while continuing to work in Oradea. There are significant Roma gypsy populations on both sides of the border and throughout Transylvania. Roma communities suffer greater poverty and insecurity than the rest of the population and their integration into society is generally poor (European Network of Legal Experts in the Non-Discrimination Field, 2012).

Geographically and economically, the city of Oradea (pop. 206,614), which is the tenth largest urban settlement in Romania, is very much at the core of the space in which inter-municipal and cross-border collaborations have emerged over the past decade. The city centre is located just 8km from the border with Hungary, and there is only one official border crossing between the Oradea Metropolitan Area and Hungary. The city's economic base has modernised considerably over the past two decades, and the services' sector now accounts for 80% of total employment. The recent establishment by local authorities of industrial parks has enabled the attraction of external investment, and Oradea and adjoining municipalities now host significant employers in electronics, international transport and energy.

The unemployment rate (6%) is below the regional and national averages. However, underemployment is a problem, particularly in rural communes where agricultural systems are still affected by the legacy of a command economy³, land resources are under-utilised and rural villages have experienced outward migration. Agriculture and food processing predominate the rural economy today, and prior to the establishment of the border, Oradea would have been the main service centre for many Hungarian communities such as Biharkeresztes and Artánd. The City of Debrecen (pop. 200,000 and located 50km from Oradea) is Hungary's second city, and throughout most of its history it has served as a market centre for an extensive and productive agricultural area.

The Post-Communist Transition and the Beginnings of Collaboration

At the same time as the peace process was beginning in Northern Ireland and paramilitary ceasefires were being mooted, the peoples of Hungary and Romania were embarking on profound and extensive political and economic reconstruction, as both countries made difficult, but largely peaceful transitions to market economies and democratic institutions. In the mid-1990s, local government reform transferred competencies to local authorities such as local economic development, urban planning and administration of land, protection of the environment and responsibilities for services including water supply and sewerage, local roads and transport. New legislation in 1998 provided greater fiscal autonomy in generating and using local revenue. This reform of local government was taking place during a period of rapid transition from a public sector-led economy to a market-led economy, and where local authorities became increasingly involved in local economic development and attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to create both employment and local revenue streams. These trends made local governments more aware of opportunities for regional cooperation and competition. In the case of Oradea, with a growing population, the potential of leveraging a key location along a major transportation corridor and a border crossing with Hungary began to open up a dialogue. As travel restrictions were lifted, cultural and religious associations, particularly Hungarian, began to organise social gatherings on a cross-border basis. It was at a social event (a dance) that the mayors from Romanian communes first began to talk to one another about the possibility of developing inter-municipal and cross-border linkages. Later, at a September 2000 Executive Seminar on Urban Planning and Economic Development, co-sponsored by the Harvard Graduate School of Design and the City of Oradea, the Mayor of Oradea and the Chief Architect noted their interest in revisiting the approved Oradea City Development Strategy to identify:

- concrete instruments the City could use to stimulate economic development;
- a clear direction for city growth; and
- regional cooperation opportunities with the communes surrounding Oradea.

Technical assistance and training were provided to Oradea and the neighboring communes to explore key areas and structure for cooperation⁴. A series of seminars among the Mayors and senior staff began to build a mutual understanding of where cooperation would be beneficial, with areas subsequently identified including:

- Economic development;
- Public services;
- Transport and accessibility;
- Quality of life; and lastly
- Community/culture.

Building on a 2001 memorandum for inter-communal cooperation among the local councils, the next step in the process was developing specific projects that both filled an important existing demand and, through cooperation, began to build trust. Projects proposed included:

- A desperately needed new eco-landfill; bringing the national gas network to the metropolitan area;
- Developing a GIS mapping capacity for the entire region;
- Aligning land-use plans along development corridors under rapid growth pressure, including the alignment of a proposed ring road;
- Coordination of regional bus service to better serve residents; and
- Joint applications for EU infrastructure funding.

A Mayor's Council was formed to guide this cooperation, and a secretariat supplied by the municipality of Oradea provided both technical studies and background reports, and coordination of meetings. As these activities evolved through 2005, it became evident that for the Oradea Metropolitan

Area, regional cooperation had evolved to a point where a new structure was required, hence the formation of the OMAA - the Oradea Metropolitan Area Association - as an NGO.

Since its formation by nine communes (local authorities) in 2005, the Oradea Metropolitan Area Association (OMAA) has grown to include the City of Oradea and eleven neighbouring communes (covering an area of 704km² and with a population of 250,000). As well as being the main engine of cross-border collaboration with Hungary, OMAA represents a model of inter-communal collaboration (within Romania) that enables local authorities to plan collectively, implement joint strategies and work collaboratively to lever external funding. The Association's main aim is to secure "the sustainable development of the metropolitan territory... following all the necessary principles for coagulated territorial cohesion" (2012: 6). The OMAA has enabled individual communes to develop partnerships and projects in conjunction with municipalities⁵ in Hungary. Thus, the first step involved the establishment of a cooperative forum for the Oradea Metropolitan Area, with the second and subsequent steps focusing on reaching across the border to Hungary and participating in relevant EU programmes.

The OMAA's governance model emphasises ownership by the local authorities⁶. Regardless of population, all twelve members have one seat each on the Association's Council of Directors. The Council meets monthly to guide and oversee operational matters. The Association's General Assembly is required to meet at least annually, and is responsible for formulating and reviewing the annual work programme and budget. Its membership currently stands at over forty councillors, who are appointed by each commune on the basis of one seat for every 10,000 citizens, with no commune having fewer than three seats. The General Assembly is responsible for long-term strategic planning and governance.

Core funding is provided by the member communes (local authorities) themselves (at a rate of €1 for every person in each commune), while EU funds represent the dominant funding stream through which the Association has managed to finance activities.

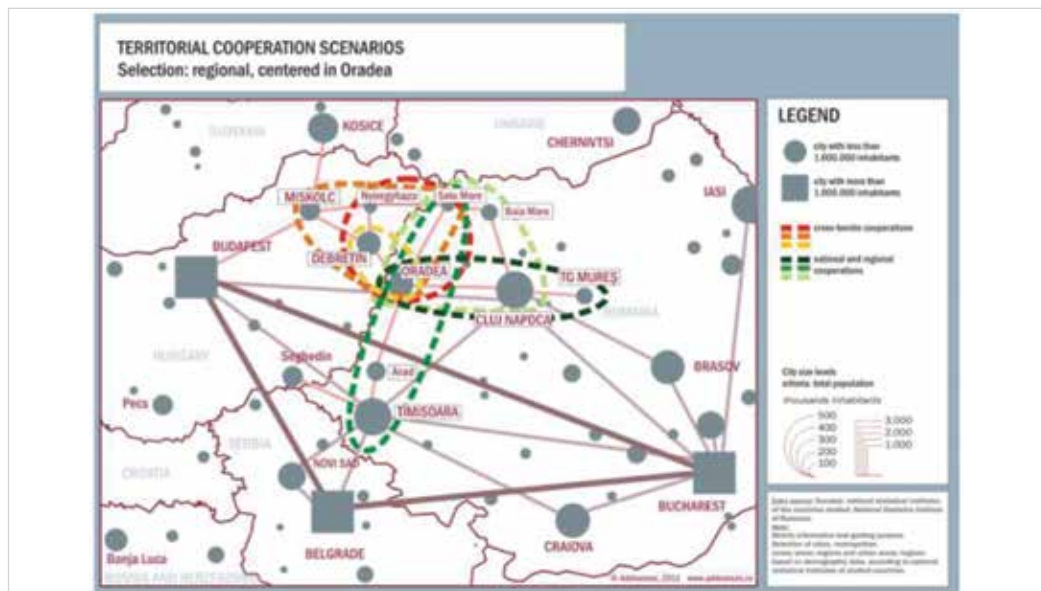
The Association's eight staff members are skilled in the areas of spatial planning, financial management and project animation. Working with the Council of Directors and the mayors and councillors in each of the communes they have formulated multi-annual strategic plans for each commune (all are posted on the OMAA website - see <http://www.zmo.ro>) as well as an overall integrated development strategy for the entire metropolitan area. As the following map shows, polycentrism and inter-jurisdictional collaboration are at the core of the Association's current strategy (see Figure 2).

The OMAA envisages scenarios for inter-regional co-operation within Romania that focus on improved road connectivity to other cities (Timișoara and Satu Mare), and there is strong support among its

membership and among the local population for the completion of the Transylvanian Highway that would connect Oradea to Cluj-Napoca and, ultimately, to Romania's capital - București⁷.

Scenarios with respect to cross-border collaboration envisage bilateral partnership between Oradea and Debrecen, together with a wider polycentric approach involving urban settlements to the north, namely Satu Mare (Ro) and Nyiregyhaza (Hu). This geographical expansion beyond the Debrecen – Oradea corridor marks a relatively new departure for the OMAA, and should redress the reported dissatisfaction with the lack of communication from the Oradea Metropolitan Area perceived by some communes to its north (Interview L). This potential expansion of the collaborative corridor between Oradea and Satu Mare will, if pursued, provide a link to the 'Gate to Europe' EGTC (European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation)⁸ and potentially enhance Oradea's connectivity and institutional standing. The OMAA's advocacy of increased polycentrism and more integrated territorial planning, as outlined in its current strategic plan (published 2013), are

Figure 2: Territorial Cooperation Scenarios as promoted by the Oradea Metropolitan Area Association.



(Source: OMAA, 2013: 104).

considered somewhat ambitious by mayors and councillors in some communes. While keen to support collaborative ventures, they need to be assured of the benefits that can accrue to their individual communes, which continue to need investments in road, water and sanitation (Interviews F, G and H).

The Dynamics of Collaboration

The greatest external impetus towards collaboration has been EU membership and the associated ability of local authorities to attract and lever EU funding⁹. As one mayor observed with regard to funding applications, “alone, I submit for 4,000 people. Together, we submit for 250,000” (Interview I). Consequently, local authorities have been willing to enter into cross-border projects, in which EU funding is a ‘carrot’. The most notable downside with this form of incentive has been that cross-border collaboration tended to focus on single-ticket projects rather than on any long-term territorial development strategy; and once projects (e.g. road building) were completed, contacts have tended to become less frequent.

The fact that local authorities in both countries are responsible for similar aspects of spatial planning, infrastructure provision (road, water and sanitation), elementary/pre-school education, heritage and some aspects of cultural and tourism promotion has enabled them to progress from identifying common problems to being able to propose joint solutions and collaborative projects. Moreover, the leadership provided by councillors and mayors (and vice mayors, of which Oradea has three) in leading communities and guiding council staff has been a further driver of collaboration. Thus, aligned political competencies, a localised approach within public administrative systems, proactive local democratic leadership and the technical support and facilitation roles played by the OMAA have combined to generate a scenario whereby there are more cross-border projects along this part (i.e. Debrecen-Oradea corridor) of the Hungary-Romania border than anywhere else. Moreover, the projects from

this micro-region are also more balanced sectorally and geographically than is the case in other border territories (KPMG, 2013), and as the evaluators noted, Bihor County “is ahead of the pack” (2013: 31).

There are, however, some concerns over inter-urban competition, particularly among city authorities in Debrecen who question the merits of Oradea expanding its airport (owned by Bihor County Council), while Debrecen has an international airport. Notwithstanding these, and considering the low economic base and historical complexities associated with the border, collaboration has been facilitated by a number of factors, some of which emanate from outside the local area. These include similar rates of taxation (income and business) in both countries. Moreover, unlike on the island of Ireland, there are no restrictions on public transport operators and those holding transport contracts dropping and collecting passengers on either side of the border.

Outputs and Achievements

In terms of scale and impact, the cross-border projects in which the OMAA has been involved, either as a facilitator or as the lead partner, are the most significant. Infrastructure projects represent the single largest absorbers of funds invested to date, and the construction and upgrading of roads remains a strategic priority for most councillors and mayors. This is hardly surprising given the area’s long-standing infrastructural deficits. A number of inter-village road projects have been undertaken based on plans formulated by the OMAA and funded by the EU through the HuRo Cross-Border Programme¹⁰ (see Figure 3).

These hard infrastructure projects include constructing and up-grading cross-border roads and minor routes that connect villages to roads that transect the border. The projects are highly-visible and are well-regarded by local citizens (Interviews F, H, I and J). All were delivered on time and local authorities report that they were pleased with the

Figure 3: Acknowledgement of EU Funds in Support of Infrastructure Projects



(Source: Author)

commitment, pace and performance of their partner commune/municipality in delivering the projects (Interviews B, C and M). Thus, while collaboration is reported to be satisfactory at the local level, external factors have conspired against the completion of one of the road projects, namely the construction of a new road between Körösnagyhársány (Hu) and Toboliu (Ro). This project was planned by the OMAA and relevant local authorities and approved by the Hungarian and Romanian governments and by the EU at a time when Romania's accession to the Schengen Area was anticipated. However, subsequent objections from a number of EU governments have caused a slippage in the timetable for Romania and Bulgaria joining the Schengen area. Consequently, their citizens do not yet enjoy the same freedom of movement across EU borders as do those of other EU member states (except Croatia). Romania's exclusion from the Schengen Area obliges Hungary and Romania to maintain border patrols including passport/identification checks at

dedicated crossing points. This obligation carries with it significant costs in terms of the construction, maintenance and staffing of border posts, and neither government (Hungary or Romania) has had the required finances to put such infrastructure in place. Therefore, the newly constructed cross-border road between Körösnagyhársány and Toboliu has never been opened, and a six metre hiatus separates the points where the Romanian and Hungarian tarmacs end.

The capacity and performance of the private sector have benefited from cross-border projects promoted by local authorities, with the OMAA acting as the lead partner. The Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Debrecen and Oradea collaborate with one another and with their respective local authorities and local universities to promote cross-border trade. The Chambers have utilised cross-border funds to construct new buildings with facilities for meetings, conferences, training and hosting exhibitions. They

have also delivered training to SME owners and managers, with equal numbers of trainees coming from the Debrecen and Oradea areas.

The development of free WiFi hotspots at almost thirty locations on both sides of the border has helped to increase the connectivity of rural communities, and while such facilities are not limited to the promotion of cross-border contacts, the ability to maintain relationships using ICT is acknowledged by councillors and community leaders (see Figure 4). This virtual infrastructure has been strategically positioned adjacent to schools and cultural centres, so as to maximise its take-up and to promote digital literacy. The OMAA views this initiative as much more than a cross-border communication mechanism, but as a means of promoting the micro-region's capacity to attract suitable external investment (Interviews A, E, G).

While the development of basic infrastructure (e.g. a ring road for Oradea) will continue to be a high priority for local authorities in Hungary and Romania, stakeholders, and in particular, local authorities along the border are increasingly focusing on the development potential of local resources and the competitive advantages that accrue from focusing

on territorial distinctiveness. In this respect, the physical landscape and local energy resources are being valorised to a greater extent. In the case of Hungary – Romania one photovoltaic park has already been established, and renewable energy centres are planned for Hajdú-Bihar and Bihor (see Figure 4). In Oradea and environs, the focus is on the development of industrial parks to attract external investment and to promote clustering of manufacturing and service industries based on domestic and foreign firms. The tourism sector is also providing a forum for collaboration in Debrecen-Oradea. Trails (walking, cycling and hiking) are being developed and heritage amenities restored. As part of the programme to develop integrated transport in Greater Oradea, a new cycle path has been constructed that extends 30km into Hungary. Such infrastructure will benefit tourists and commuters alike.

The rehabilitation of the rivers Crișul Repede, Barcău, Tur, Crasna and Someș involved activities at 61 locations on both sides of the border. In addition to mobilising local authorities, the various elements of this project including installing booms, organising clean-ups and testing water quality, involved local communities and NGOs. The heightened intensity

Figure 4: Sample Projects Realised through Cross-Border Collaboration



(Source: Author)

and frequency of flooding events in Central and Eastern Europe over recent years have increased the willingness of local and national authorities to engage with one another in cross-border projects to alleviate flood damage and to protect water quality and sensitive natural habitats (Interviews E, K, and L). Therefore the work done to date under the aegis of the OMAA is likely to act as a platform for future cross-border collaboration on environmental initiatives.

Barriers and Challenges

While the similar socio-economic profiles of their catchment areas mean that local authorities on both sides of the border can identify common problems and solutions, authorities in Debrecen have tended to prioritise connectivity with Budapest and with the rest of Hungary over the promotion of linkages with rural municipalities and locations in Romania. This has led to perceptions among some local authority figures in rural areas, that the city is not interested in them, and that they are being marginalised (Interview J). There are also some concerns on the Romanian side of the border that Oradea may become marginalised in the reconfiguration of sub-national government that is taking place. Thus, in both countries, local authorities' perceptions of, and experiences with, other types of government have not always been conducive to cross-border collaboration. This situation contrasts with other examples of inter-municipal collaboration highlighted by the International Centre for Local and Regional Development (ICLRD) (O'Keeffe, 2011).

Governance emerges as a key issue for the OMAA and for local authorities more generally in Debrecen-Oradea. The leadership roles played by mayors and other councillors have been vital in initiating and maintaining collaboration, and councillors must be credited with bringing executives and local populations along with them. However, the nature of electoral politics is such that some councillors are not always keen to confer authority on the OMAA that may delimit their abilities to 'fix' problems for local citizens. Therefore, on-going training and capacity-building of councillors and officials

remains a priority for the OMAA. As on the island of Ireland, the legislative framework (at government and inter-governmental levels) has lagged behind the progress achieved by local authorities and civil society in promoting inter-municipal and cross-border collaboration. Romania still lacks legislation for metropolitan areas that would allow associations such as the OMAA (and its constituent members) the autonomy they desire to make their own decisions regarding their geographical and sectoral remit¹¹. This centrally-imposed limitation is viewed universally among local authorities as a barrier to meaningful collaboration, and a failing to give effect to the principle of subsidiarity.

Future Trajectories

Despite unfavourable economic, political and infrastructural legacies and on-going financial and governance challenges, clear signposts can be identified on the future development trajectory for the Debrecen-Oradea corridor. Mayors are keen to expand the range of actors involved in cross-border collaboration, and they note the merits of enabling greater participation by civil society organisations in governance arrangements, decision-making and project delivery (Interviews G,H and I). Their sentiments echo with those of an evaluation of cross-border programmes throughout Central and Eastern Europe that

the requirement to include civil society actors should be implemented across all CBC programmes... The EU should open funding calls that are suitable for local (small) government participation. Following the model worked out in the LEADER programme might be one route (Demidov and Svensson, 2011: 3).

Mayors and councilors also advocate more socially-oriented projects, and they want to see greater involvement by Roma communities in all aspects of civic life.

The OMAA 'Oradea Metropolitan Area Development Strategy' published in 2013 provides a clear framework for action up to 2020. The strategy

identifies collaboration as an over-riding and under-pinning principle (2013: 98), and it sets out development priorities with respect to improving the quality of public services, making Oradea more attractive for businesses, stimulating tourism and enhancing governance. Significantly, the strategy identifies distinctive and complementary roles for each municipality, so that each capitalises on its strengths. This focus on complementary functions is embellished by a commitment to the knowledge economy and linking Oradea to the 'Gateway to Europe' cross-border Euroregion. This move towards integrated area-based planning represents a considerable advance for Oradea and its environs. Next steps ought to include mechanisms for civil society to input into the evaluation of strategic actions and the expansion of the review to cover governance issues and citizens' perceptions of territorial development. While the strategy is clear on the merits of, and mechanisms for, cross-border collaboration, evaluation indicators in this respect need to be developed. Indeed, in the absence of Hungarian municipalities on the Council of Directors and General Assembly of the OMAA, procedures need to be put in place for more formal consultations with them.

In the absence of legislation to support deeper inter-municipal and cross-border collaboration, and given the limited roles played by county councils heretofore, the onus is on actors at the local level, and on the OMAA in particular, to continue to promote dialogue and trust between local authorities and with the wider society. As local authorities identify the development resources and potential within their own areas, they need to ensure avoidance of competition and duplication. Local authorities will also need to develop their financial capacity as they embark on more extensive and larger-scale cross-border projects, as the regulations governing the disbursement of funds under EU Operational Programmes oblige partners to complete projects (or at least well-defined elements thereof) before drawing down their grants. This will require local authorities to collectively set-aside funds to enable them to bank-roll projects. They may also

look at the European Investment Bank as a source of bridging finance.

Parallel Experiences with the Irish Border

As this case study has highlighted, there are some interesting parallels between the Oradea Metropolitan Region and the Irish border corridor. The transboundary nature of physical spaces such as river catchments underscores the need for cross-border approaches to environmental resource management and landscape conservation, and there are successful examples along both borders, such as the aforementioned Crisul River Rehabilitation Project (Ro-Hu). Rural accessibility and the stimulation of rural economic diversification are essential in the promotion of balanced development, and the need for ongoing investment in rural broadband has been well demonstrated in Oradea and in Ireland (e.g. ICBAN, 2012). Experiences along both borders also reveal the importance of soft supports, and the provision of training to local authority councillors and officials has strengthened the ability of local government to lead, facilitate and enable inter-institutional collaboration, the progression towards collaborative spatial planning and the implementation of projects for the benefit of citizens on both sides of the border.

While both countries have been classified as centralised states relative to other countries in Europe, (Condurache, 2013; Courier *et al.*, 2009), local authorities in Hungary and Romania have similar competencies and structures, and their functional parallels have helped to advance collaboration. Moreover, Hungarian municipalities and Romanian communes have maintained their roles and functions, unlike Irish county councils which have lost power to central government over recent years. Indeed, Romanian communes have consolidated their position within the territorial system, while Irish town councils were abolished in 2014. Thus, while sub-national government has been subject to considerable reforms particularly at the regional and county tiers, the 'fit' between municipal (local) authorities in both countries and their consolidation within institutional systems puts

local authorities in Hungary and Romania in a strong position in terms of ensuring tailored interventions at the micro-regional level to meet local needs and develop local potential. In the case of the Irish border corridor, this institutional void has tended to be filled by an active civil society, and community and voluntary groups in Ireland and Northern Ireland have tended to progress beyond building cultural connections – a key first step in promoting cross-border collaboration (in both contexts), and are responsible for strategically important human resource, social, environment and economic development initiatives.

In addition to convergence between both border contexts with respect to strategic priorities (although from different baselines), similarities can also be observed with respect to the methodologies being applied. Training delivered by the ICLRD over the course of 2013, for example, has enabled local authority elected members and executives from both sides of the Irish border to deepen collaboration and to advance on the structures and achievements of the existing three cross-border networks, so as to promote greater institutional collaboration. Similarly, the OMAA continues to focus on mechanisms to promote collaboration between its constituent local authorities, and while its operating principles are similar to those of the local authority networks along the Irish border, its structures are more formalised and its ability to facilitate, influence and direct the agendas of local authorities is better established. Although the OMAA is firmly established in Oradea and environs, and its activities transcend the border, its formal governance model is, as of yet, exclusive to authorities based in Romania.

Conclusion

As has been the experience on the island of Ireland, collaboration requires trust and leadership. Cross-border contacts between cultural and community organisations provided a stimulus that enabled mayors and councillors in Oradea and Eastern Hungary to come together, and these contacts ultimately led to the formation of the Oradea Metropolitan Area Association (OMAA).

This association has provided a useful structure and mechanism to enable local authorities to work collaboratively across the border to formulate and implement projects. While there is scope for greater integration in the delivery and review of projects, trust has been established and councils have willingly bought into a collaborative model. Collaborative networks also exist along the Irish border through which councils have been enabled to collaborate. The OMAA differs from these in that it has a dedicated technical support unit and benefits from the legal authority associated with the offices of executive mayors and the leadership they have shown.

The national spatial strategies of Hungary and Romania, like that of Ireland and the *Regional Development Strategy* for Northern Ireland include provisions for cross-border collaboration; although in all cases there is greater emphasis on infrastructural connectivity than on integrated territorial development or collaborative governance. Moreover, Ireland, Hungary and Romania all lack a strong tier of regional government. Consequently, local authorities cannot count on the levels of exogenous support that are enjoyed by their equivalents in more decentralised states elsewhere in Europe. Despite the absence of an all-island cooperation framework (up to late 2013) in Ireland and the lack of legislative frameworks to enable subsidiarity in Hungary and Romania, local actors along the respective borders have made progress in establishing fora for collaborative decision-making, although in the case of Hungary-Romania, it is well-recognised that such mechanisms need to provide for greater citizen participation, community development and more formalised cross-border dialogue.

While the tardiness and shortcomings with respect to central government providing active support for cross-border collaboration tend to be negatively perceived by local authorities, there is widespread acknowledgement of the positive role played by the EU. Funding streams, including INTERREG and specific programmes such as HuRo have enabled projects to happen that would otherwise not have

been possible. There are, however, concerns in both sets of jurisdictions regarding the growing bureaucratisation associated with accessing and administering EU funds. The lessons from both border contexts point to the need for on-going emphasis on capacity-building of local actors and multi-level collaborative governance.

As local authorities on the island of Ireland come to terms with, and buy into, the current round of reforms proposed by Dublin and Belfast, they can take heart from experiences in Hungary and Romania, where the alignment of local authority functions proved to be a catalyst for collaboration. The reforms being delivered through *Putting People First* (Ireland) and the RPA – Review of Public Administration (Northern Ireland) will see local authorities on both sides of the border acquire similar competencies and be governed by similar legislation with respect to planning and territorial development. This represents a considerable advance in terms of giving effect to the all-island cooperative framework. In addition to aligning functions and institutions, it is essential that the appropriate geographical scale and

remit be applied, and experiences in Hungary and Romania provide strong evidence that micro-regions comprising economically and socially cohesive units represent the optimum spaces in which to promote territorial competitiveness.

Investing in the capacity of local authority members and civil society bodies, on-going EU support and increased government backing will enable local authorities and other stakeholders in Ireland, Northern Ireland, Hungary and Romania to build on their achievements to date, and progress from delivering projects to ensuring more integrated and sustainable cross-border territorial development.

Brendan O’Keeffe is a Lecturer in Geography at Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick. Brendan has a strong background as a practitioner in community development. He has worked with local authorities, government bodies and civil society in a number of European counties, in promoting citizen participation, social inclusion and sustainable rural development.

Listing of Interviewees

- A. Executive, OMAA (Oradea Metropolitan Area Association)
- B. Elected Member, OMAA
- C. Local Government (Hungary)
- D. Business Representative (Hungary)
- E. Executive, OMAA
- F. City Council (elected member), Oradea
- G. Rural Mayor (Romania)
- H. Town Mayor (Romania)
- I. Village Mayor (Romania)
- J. Civil Society Leader (Hungary)
- K. Executive of Cross-Border Body
- L. Senior Officer, Cross-Border Body
- M. Local Government Executive (Hungary)

Endnotes

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- ¹ Following the conclusion of World War One and the Versailles negotiations, the Treaty of Trianon was signed between Hungary and Romania on 4 June 1920. It formally recognised the incorporation of Transylvania into Romania.

- ² The Warsaw Pact (formally, the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance), was a collective defence treaty among eight communist states of Central and Eastern Europe in existence during the Cold War. The Warsaw Pact was the military complement to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CoMEcon), the regional economic organisations for the communist states of Central and Eastern Europe
- ³ Romania's planned economy was characterised by a high degree of central government control over all aspects of economic activity. While centralised planning was a feature of communist regimes in Eastern Europe generally, Romania was perhaps the most extreme example. For a discussion of this economic model and its impacts on the transition to the free market, please see Van Frausum *et al.* (1994).
- ⁴ Applied research and technical assistance was provided by a joint team of regional and international experts led by the Center for Urban Development Studies at the Harvard Graduate School of Design. The programme, entitled Urban Planning and Local Economic Development (UPLED), was financed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).
- ⁵ Romanian local authorities refer to themselves using the French term 'commune,' while Hungarian local authorities generally refer to themselves (when using the English language) as 'municipalities'. Hungary has 3,152 municipalities – with every traditional village and hamlet having its own municipal authority and functions. Communes in Romania are generally larger, and may contain a number of villages. The largest rural commune in the Oradea Metropolitan Area (after Oradea City) is Nojorid, and this has seven villages. The other communes have between two and six villages each. For further information about territorial organisation and sub-national government systems in both countries; please see www.ola-europe.eu (Observatory on Local Autonomy).
- ⁶ The Association has adopted a Charter of Good Local Governance, which outlines its principles of metropolitan cooperation. These include the principles of partnership, subsidiarity and additionality.
- ⁷ At present only limited sections of the highway have been constructed, and journey times to Cluj-Napoca (150km) can take up to 3 hours, while car and train journeys to Romania's capital – Bucureşti (580km) - generally take 10 to 12 hours. Debrecen is already connected to Budapest by rail and motorway, and were a section of motorway to be constructed between there and Oradea, journey times on the 250km to Budapest would be cut dramatically. While Debrecen is relatively well connected to Budapest, there is no onward direct road or rail link to Oradea (it was severed with the advent of the border) and the two routes most generally used by motorists go through several villages, such that drivers and their passengers are frequently obliged to contend with delays due to horses, tractors, cattle and fowl on the roadway. Train journeys from Oradea to Budapest take 5-6 hours and delays at the border can range from 20 to 50 minutes. The OMAA has formulated plans for a direct rail connection between Oradea and Debrecen.
- ⁸ Further information about the 'Gate to Europe' EGTC can be obtained at <http://www.europakapu.eu/>
- ⁹ Most cross-border projects have attracted EU funding at a rate of 80%. In Hungary, projects were generally funded as follows: EU 80%, National Exchequer 10 -17%, Local Sources 3 -10%. In Romania, the EU contribution tended to be greater, and the mean local contribution was in the order of 2%.

- ¹⁰ This programme has been operational since 1996, and prior to Hungarian and Romanian accession to the EU, it was funded through EU Phare. Between 2004 and 2007, it was supported through INTERREG IIIC. The general objective of the current programme is to bring the different actors – people, economic actors and communities – closer to each other, in order to better exploit opportunities offered by the joint development of the border area. The key areas of intervention are: transport, communication, environmental protection, business cooperation, R&D, health care, skills development/education and community development. The Programme is one of a number of cross-border support mechanisms in Central and South Eastern Europe (Grama, 2011).
- ¹¹ The legislative provisions are contained in Law No. 215/2001. These allow local authorities to form cooperative structures, but do not permit transfers of competencies, financial resources or provisions regarding the limits of public service management.

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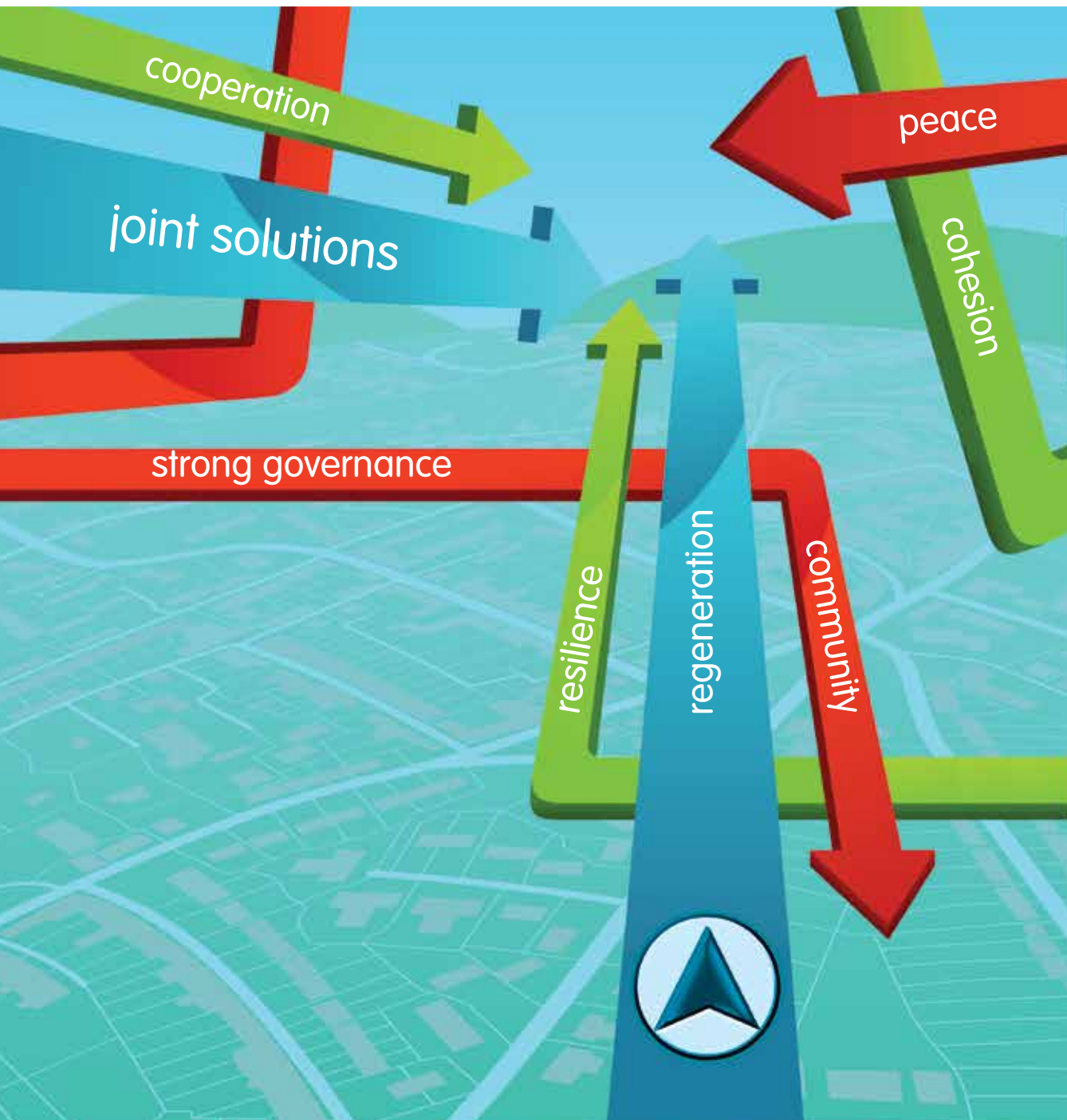


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THE INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The International Centre for Local and Regional Development (ICLRD) is a North-South-U.S. partnership established in 2006 to explore and expand the contribution that planning and the development of physical, social and economic infrastructures can make to improving the lives of people on the island of Ireland and elsewhere. The partner institutions are: the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis (NIRSA) at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth; the School of the Built Environment at the University of Ulster; the Institute for International Urban Development in Cambridge, Massachusetts; and the Centre for Cross Border Studies in Armagh. Each partner brings together complementary expertise and networks on both a North-South and East-West basis – creating a unique, all-island and international centre.

The ICLRD continues to expand its collaboration with other institutions and has built up close working relationships with individual faculty and researchers from universities and research institutions including Queens University Belfast, Mary Immaculate College-University of Limerick, Harvard University, the National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education at the University of Maryland, and HafenCity University Hamburg. In 2013, we also expanded our joint initiatives with other organisations involved in cross-border research and activities including Co-operation Ireland and the Border Regional Authority. The ICLRD is very open to involving other academics and research institutions in its activities.

The Director of the ICLRD is Mr. John Driscoll, the Deputy Director is Ms. Caroline Creamer of NIRSA, NUI Maynooth and the Assistant Director is Dr. Neale Blair of School of the Built Environment, University of Ulster.

In 2013, the ICLRD was supported by the EU's Interreg IVA Programme through the Special EU Programmes Body, the Irish Government through the

Department of Environment, Community and Local Government (DoECLG) and the Northern Ireland Executive through the Department for Regional Development (DRD) and the Department for Social Development (DSD). The ICLRD has, over the years, received funding from the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) as well as commissioned research from InterTradeIreland, the Strategic Investment Board (SIB) and the Irish Central Border Area Network (ICBAN).

The ICLRD provides independent, joined-up research and policy advice on cross-border and all-island spatial planning and local and regional development. The Centre plays a proactive role in peace and reconciliation on the island by bringing together policy-makers, practitioners and academics, North and South, to work on common goals in the areas of coordinated spatial planning and social and economic development at local, regional and national levels. It does this through research, policy advice and publications; professional education and capacity building programmes that assist local governments and communities to translate policy into 'on the ground' action; and active outreach and networking that includes conferences, workshops and international cooperation and exchanges to identify best practices.

Stimulating economic growth and improving the living conditions to alleviate and prevent social conflict is at the heart of the Centre's mission. The ICLRD is focused on building the capacity of regional and local authorities, development agencies, border networks and community and voluntary organisations to identify strategic areas of cooperation.

Through its research and professional education programmes, the ICLRD works with policy-makers and local leaders to improve the environments in which people in Ireland, North and South, live and work, with particular emphasis on the needs of marginalised and divided communities. It combines the promotion of regional planning and development

as a tool for competitiveness, with local planning and development as a way to remedy the continuing problems of social disadvantage.

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

Each year, the ICLRD undertakes *action research* that contributes to a better understanding of the complex all-island and cross-border dynamics and drivers of change in Irish towns and rural areas, including cross-border communities. Since its inception, the ICLRD has organised its work around three spatial scales: EU and all-island; sub-regional, which includes cross-border; and local. Through its activities, the ICLRD is facilitating forums to foster the exchange of experience and best practices. It is also supporting North-South / East-West inter-regional cooperation, including on a cross-border basis, along priorities encouraged by the European Union.

The emphasis of the ICLRD's work programme in 2013 was the delivery of its research programme under the **Cross-Border Spatial Planning Development and Training Network (CroSPlaN)**, an EU INTERREG IVA-funded programme administered by the Special EU Programmes Body. Commencing in February 2013, CroSPlaN II is a programme of research, training and workshops in Northern Ireland and the Southern border counties which operates in association with the Centre for Cross Border Studies as part of the Ireland-Northern Ireland Cross-Border Cooperation Observatory (INICCO).

There are three inter-linked components to CroSPlaN II which will provide sustained support to territorial cooperation in the Irish Border Region. The three elements are:

- Shared Services – to identify opportunities, and operational frameworks, for joint initiatives that improve the delivery of public services; this will occur through action research and two pilot initiatives to demonstrate practical models

for cooperation in delivering front-line and / or specialised services

- Executive Training – building on the successful ICLRD model linking training and animation, to develop and deliver executive training for cross-border councils
- Evidence-Informed Planning – to map the compatible 2011 census data from the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, and develop an updated all-island deprivation index in an on-line, user-friendly format to support collaboration among central government departments across the island

Taken together, these three closely integrated activities will fill an important gap over the next 24 months in improving the effectiveness of public sector cooperation in the Irish border region by providing the necessary tools, models, training and data for mutual benefit.

ADVOCACY AND DEMONSTRATION: EVIDENCE-BASED PLANNING

In 2013, the ICLRD and its partners continued to provide external support to different cross-border activities in local and regional development. These included: the Irish Central Border Area Network's (ICBAN) Spatial Planning Initiative and specifically its Data Capture Project and the development of its *Regional Strategic Framework*; the North West Partnership Board and its potential role in progressing the North West Gateway Initiative; and the data capture and indicators project implemented by the North West Region Cross-Border Group, the SPACEial data capture project.

Providing researchers, policy-makers and practitioners timely access to data and information to better understand the implications of development trends and patterns has been an important part of ICLRD's work since 2007. Under the original CroSPlaN programme, the ICLRD, together with

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its sister organisation, the All-Island Research Observatory (AIRO), completed four applied research activities that provide both mapping tools and recommendations on how data and information can be used to monitor the implementation of spatial strategies. These highly interactive mapping tools are available through both the ICLRD (<http://iclr.org/mapping-tools/>) and AIRO (<http://airo.maynoothuniversity.ie/>) websites and include:

- The *All-Island Accessibility Mapping Tool* (2012) maps levels of access to key services across the island in areas such as education, health, transport and emergency services.
- The *All-Island Deprivation Index* (2012) facilitates, for the first time, a comparative analysis of deprivation at a regional level within areas such as the Irish Border Region. This *Index* can supplement the existing indices used within Ireland and Northern Ireland that are incompatible with each other, and help researchers, communities and programmes to better understand the spatial distribution of deprivation. Both AIRO and the ICLRD will further test this methodology with the 2011 Census data for Ireland and Northern Ireland.
- The *Island of Ireland Housing Monitoring Tool* (2011) provides an interactive mapping and querying tool for housing market indicators, combining for the first time data from both Ireland and Northern Ireland. The mapped outputs assist in understanding the spatial implications and outcomes of policy decisions and interventions over time.

The fourth element of this work programme, the research study *Towards a Spatial Monitoring Framework for the Island of Ireland: A Scoping Study* (see p. 110 for further details) is available to download from the ICLRD website.

ICLRD JOURNAL

Borderlands: The Journal of Spatial Planning in Ireland is published on an annual basis and covers a range of topics of interest to academics, practitioners and policy-makers involved in spatial planning and local and regional development.

The April 2014 edition of the Journal, available online from the ICLRD website, includes articles on: place-based leadership, planning for a sustainable state, the Gateways and Hubs Development Index 2012, a reflection of fifty years of national and regional planning in Ireland, the need to plan for difference in post-violent conflict societies, and cross-border collaboration among local authorities in the Romania-Hungary border region



The third edition of the Journal, launched at the eighth annual ICLRD conference, included articles on: cross-border health data, the work of the International Fund for Ireland from 1986-2011, the regeneration of Limerick, the planners' toolkit and the importance of interdependence to overcome fragmentation of processes and actors, territorial cohesion and *EU2020*, spatial planners as managers of change, transport policy and the role of scenario modelling in determining economic development patterns, a transatlantic exploration of planning frameworks and strategies, and local government in transition.



The second issue of *Borderlands: The Journal of Spatial Planning in Ireland* was launched by Frank McDonald, Environment Editor of *The Irish Times*, in January 2012 at the seventh annual ICLRD conference. Articles included in this issue

focused on: cross-border river basin management, pathways to managing regional growth, modelling infrastructure investments, the development of a cross-border deprivation index, marine spatial planning and its role in the management of ocean resources, reinstating 'kids' into planning policy and practice, and the key links between spatial planning, data and housing policies. Copies of the articles are now available to download off the ICLRD website, www.iclrd.org



The inaugural issue of *Borderlands: The Journal of Spatial Planning in Ireland* was launched at the sixth annual ICLRD conference in Sligo on 20th January 2011. The first issue included articles on the challenges of planning and governance reform on both sides of the Irish Border; planning for sustainable communities; balancing private sector interests with the 'common good' in planning; cross-border planning in the Greater Basel Region between Switzerland, France and Germany; and how NGOs and academics in the Boston Region have pioneered new methods of evidence-informed planning. Contributors to the inaugural issue included Professor Peter Roberts (Homes and Communities Agency), Professor Greg Lloyd (University of Ulster), Charlotte Kahn (Boston Indicators Project), Holly St Clair (Metropolitan Area Planning Council) and ICLRD partners. The journal was launched by Mary Bunting and Anne Barrington, Joint Secretaries of the North South Ministerial Council.

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

As part of CroSPiAN II, the ICLRD has developed an executive training programme aimed at council

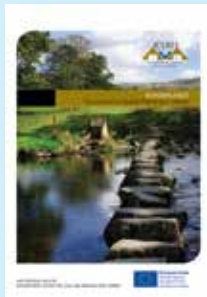
officials, elected representatives and community workers from those councils that make up the three cross-border networks: namely the North West Region Cross-Border Group, the Irish Central Border Area Network and East Border Region. Strand 1 of the programme, involving the delivery of five modules between September and December 2013, consisted of a mix of seminars and working group discussions, with issues such as territorial cooperation, community planning, public sector reform, efficiency agendas and customer-centric governance lying at the heart of the programme. Meeting largely in plenary, the 80 plus delegates were afforded the opportunity to network, debate the ongoing local government agenda and its implications for intra- and cross-jurisdictional working, and emerging shared priority themes. At the end of Module 5, delegates had identified six key themes / projects that they wished to focus on during Strand 2 through a series of tailored focus groups.

The end goal of this ten-month programme is the development of a collaborative action agenda; with the councils involved in these plans understanding the operational structures required to translate policy into practice. Strand 2 of the programme is scheduled to commence in February 2014.

Under the original CroSPiAN initiative, the ICLRD held professional education programmes for council officials, elected representatives and the private sector for three areas in the Irish Border Region:

- Irish Central Border Area Network Region (ICBAN)
- The Northwest Region
- Newry-Dundalk 'Twin-City' Region.

Each programme was tailored to help local governments and the business community to engage with the spatial planning agenda and build an awareness of the benefits of regional cooperation among local governments and other key stakeholders in the border region. Each programme introduced carefully selected case studies of international good practices, external speakers



and facilitated working groups to help participants to: assess their current level of cross-border cooperation; develop suggestions for improvement; and propose institutional mechanisms to promote future collaboration.

ICBAN Region Training Programme:

October 2011 – December 2011

This six-module training programme, *Harnessing diversity in a shared future*, was developed in association with the ten councils that make up the Irish Central Border Area – five North and five South. As with the previous programmes, the modules were delivered through a mix of invited speakers – all with recognised expertise in their field, facilitated working group discussions and wider networking opportunities through additional seminars and workshops. Unlike the previous programmes, this training programme engaged with senior management only from the ten Councils in the region.

The programme has helped local governments in this cross-border region to identify opportunities for potential cooperation in the identified priority areas of shared services; tourism, culture, diaspora and creative industries; and energy and renewables. It provided an intense space (the modules were held at two-week intervals) in which the Councils worked together to research and refine local and regional development issues for the area, as well as activities linked to the ongoing ICBAN-led, INTERREG-funded Spatial Planning Initiative. For example, during 2012, the Councils - with the support of both the ICLRD and ICBAN - fed their conclusions and recommendations into the regional spatial vision plan that was commissioned by ICBAN in late 2011.

Northwest Training Programme:

October 2010 – June 2011

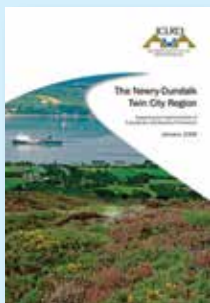
This programme focused on the theme of *Fostering Growth through Cooperation in the Northwest Region*. Donegal County Council, Derry City Council, the ILEX Regeneration Company and representatives



Delegates participating in Module 4 of the CroSPlan II Executive Training and Animation Programme, 7th November 2013 in the Glencarn Hotel, Castleblayney

of the Strabane and Limavady District Councils participated in this programme, which aimed to lead to a deeper understanding of the potential of the North West Region and the role of a cross-border Strategic Partnership Board in furthering strategic cooperation in the linked gateway between Letterkenny and Derry/Londonderry.

The materials introduced through the modules and ideas generated through working group discussions were incorporated into the cross-border activities of the *Donegal County Development Plan*, the NW Partnership Board, and the *One Plan* for Derry/Londonderry. Having won the designation as the U.K.'s first Capital of Culture for 2013, potential thematic areas for cooperation for Derry/Londonderry include tourism, creative industries and cultural programming. Other priority cross-border themes include: enterprise development, vocational training and job creation; and the green economy and sustainable energy. There are also important cross-cutting themes such as greater accessibility to the North West region, transportation and spatial planning.



Newry/Dundalk Twin City Region Training Programme: November 2009 – May 2010

Building on a previous ICLRD initiative, *The Newry-Dundalk Twin City Region: Supporting the Implementation of Cross-Border Collaborative Frameworks* (January

2009), the ICLRD organised a training programme, *Shaping and Managing Cross-Border Development*, for council officials, councillors and private sector representatives from Newry and Mourne District Council, Louth Local Authorities and Down District Council. The training raised awareness of the challenges and opportunities that the region faces, as well as the need for collaborative action, including the creation of stronger links between the communities in the wider Newry-Dundalk Twin-City Region, such as Drogheda and Banbridge.

As a follow-up, the two Councils requested the ICLRD's assistance to develop a cooperation agreement that builds on their existing areas of collaboration, and opens up further opportunities for the sharing of services and joint management of key resources. The ICLRD outlined different types of instruments and institutional structures that could be used to facilitate cross-border cooperation, and worked with the Councils to draft the Memorandum of Understanding that identifies initial areas of cooperation. These included: emergency planning; renewable energy and green technology; tourism and recreation; and sustainable economic growth and job creation. Cooperative structures are also outlined and include: a joint Committee of Elected Members; a joint Senior Management Group; an Advisory Forum; and Project Teams for implementation.

The agreement was approved by the respective Councils in November 2010 and launched in Brussels in March 2011.

COMPLETED RESEARCH REPORTS

Shared Services: Working Together for the Common Good (2013)

This action research report outlines the attributes of shared services and documents current shared service initiatives as it is being pursued across the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. It identifies

the common areas where local government in both jurisdictions on the island of Ireland can adapt a shared services agenda, particularly around those functions and responsibilities which can be classified as frontline and/or specialised services and which are citizen-focused. This report further maps the strengths and responsibilities of local government, North and South and includes an overview of the existing functions of local government as well as future functions as a result of the emerging reform agendas in both jurisdictions.





Briefing Report on Shared Services: Propositions for Local Government Collaboration (2012)

This research focuses on the timely issue of shared services and discusses the emerging shared services agenda for both jurisdictions on the island of Ireland. The

briefing paper, a companion paper to international cases on shared services noted below, synthesises the ICLRD's research to date on this topic, as well as presentations by experts on shared services delivered during the ICLRD executive training programmes; there is a particular focus placed on the Irish Border Region. The paper reflects on potential directions and approaches that could be incorporated into current programmes for providing services in a very constrained economic context.



Shared Services Across Local Government – Sharing International Experiences (2012)

This report explores international experiences in shared services and local government reform in four locations: Glasgow and the Clyde Valley in

Scotland; Mancomunidades in the Asturias Region of Spain; New York's Shared Services Programme; and Local Government Restructuring and Realignment in Ontario, Canada. The cases illustrate the rethinking of cooperation in the delivery of public services within geographical areas that may include more than one local authority, and how both structured and voluntary associations can be used to provide a range of services. The cases also highlight the associated challenges of multi-level governance in the provision of services, and the importance of leadership and trust in paving the way for future cooperation. This research will be of interest to senior management in local government and regional authorities, regional development agencies,

cross-border networks and agencies, and national policy-makers.

Towards a Spatial Monitoring Framework for the Island of Ireland: A Scoping Study (2012)

This report focuses on the application of data for the purpose of informing policy decisions, in particular with respect to the policy objectives and strategic ambitions of the *National Spatial Strategy (NSS)* for Ireland and the *Regional Development Strategy (RDS)* for Northern Ireland. It draws on international experience at the European level and elsewhere in the U.K. The report responds to the need for a joined-up approach to evidence-based planning given the emergence of multiple spatial planning initiatives within the Irish Border Region. International studies and experience indicate the importance of evidence-informed approaches to decision-making, but also the dangers of relying on statistical or quantitative information without taking due account of the underlying processes the data represents. This is often represented as "data rich but insight poor". The study provides a valuable source of expert advice for policy-makers and practitioners at national and regional government levels.



The Elbe River Basin District: Integrated Cross-Border Management in Practice (2012)

This detailed case study focuses on the States of Berlin and Brandenburg in Germany and the Elbe International River Basin District (IRBD). It demonstrates how one catchment area applied both regulatory and non-regulatory measures to integrate water quality improvements with regional land-use plans. This document presents many insights of relevance to International River Basin Districts, and



Water Framework Directive implementation on the island of Ireland more broadly.



The Connecticut River Basin: Integrating Water Quality Improvements with Regional Land-Use Plans (2012)

This U.S. case study demonstrates how one watershed applied both regulatory and non-regulatory measures to integrate

water quality improvements with regional land-use plans. It describes how regional partnerships and, in particular collaboration with civic society, is instrumental to managing river basins that span multiple jurisdictions. It notes that while Directives and legislation are important in setting the regulatory parameters, individual river basins need champions to drive regional partnerships that bring together officials, politicians, civil society, recreational users, environmental organisations, land owners and the private sector to improve water quality and enhance opportunities for (re)connecting with the river through recreational uses.



Responding to the Environmental Challenge? Spatial Planning, Cross-Border Cooperation and River Basin Management (2011)

This study examines the key role that spatial planning should play in the implementation of River Basin

Management Plans (RBMP) under the EU Water Framework Directive (WFD). The study takes an all-island and cross-border perspective and draws key insights through 'good practice' case studies from Germany and the United States.

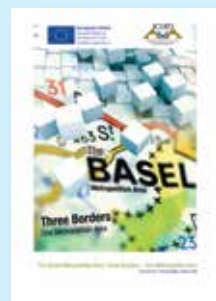
The study sets out strategic options regarding the governance of RBMP and WFD implementation in

both Ireland and Northern Ireland. These options, drawing on research and interviews with key stakeholders, can inform discussions among government departments, environmental agencies and other public sector bodies on both sides of the Irish Border. The case studies pay particular attention to the benefits of joint management of International River Basin Districts. The study raises important questions regarding the role of spatial planning in environmental management and sets out seven key requirements for effective coordination between river basin management and spatial planning. These requirements include recommendations in relation to communication, development of expertise, leadership capacity, allocation of resources and inter-jurisdictional cooperation.

Governance and Planning: An International Perspective (2010)

The ICLRD published a series of international case studies in inter-jurisdictional and cross-boundary governance and planning to complement the recently concluded study *All Change But Any Alignment?* (see below). This research presents examples of innovative practice in collaboration in the following areas:

- *Basel Metropolitan Area* – spanning Germany, France and Switzerland, this case study highlights emerging cross-border cooperation in spatial planning at the sub-regional level;
- *Mancomunidades in Spain* – focuses on provision of services through inter-municipal collaboration at the level of the micro-region; and
- *Boston Metropolitan Area* – provides examples of how to promote regional development through cooperation among local governments, metropolitan planning organisations, the business community and research organisations.



Together, the three case studies provide practical examples of how cooperation in local and regional development can be shaped by collaborative efforts. They highlight how territorial cooperation, particularly in the EU, is moving towards 'placed-based strategies' as promoted in the *EU 2020 Strategy*.



All Change But Any Alignment? The Impact of the Proposed Governance and Planning Reforms Across the Island of Ireland on Inter-Jurisdictional Planning (2010)

Completed in June 2010, this report focuses on inter-jurisdictional planning and

multi-level governance and was published on the ICLRD website. The study considers:

- The various iterations of, and processes involved in, the Review of Public Administration (RPA), specifically as it relates to the reform of local government;
- If and / or how inter-jurisdictional spatial planning policies and operations will be more closely aligned following the various reforms to governance and planning on the island of Ireland; and
- Whether, in the context of the current economic downturn, there is greater political and community support for the alignment of spatial planning policies.



Developing a Strategic Alliance Between Newry and Mourne District Council and the Louth Local Authorities: Background Report (2010)

Louth Local Authorities and Newry and Mourne District Council took a major step in the promotion of cross-

border partnership in the Irish Border Region with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in

March 2011 to cooperate in a number of thematic areas, including: emergency planning, renewable energy and green technology, tourism and recreation, sustainable economic growth and job creation.

In support of this development, the ICLRD report considers a variety of legal instruments to facilitate cross-border cooperation including: Euro-regions, European Groupings for Territorial Cooperation, European Economic Interest Groupings and ad-hoc agreements. It recommends that the cross-border local authorities adopt a legally non-binding Memorandum of Understanding as the basis for cooperation; the agreement can be expanded to include other regional stakeholders in the future.

Following the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding, a new Louth/Newry and Mourne Joint Council Committee was established to progress joint initiatives, and the two Councils are now sharing council officers and staff in a shared office to implement the MOU.

Delineating Functional Territories Across the Island of Ireland: An Initial Scoping (2010)

Published in October 2010, this report considers the various options for mapping functional territories across the island of Ireland. In undertaking a preliminary

analysis of Functional Urban Areas (FUAs) of the Irish / Northern Irish urban systems, this study includes maps of natural catchments, travel-to-work catchments, origin-destination data, gravity models and urban functional specialisations. The focus of Phase I was to explore the various possibilities of mapping functional territories to produce a set of outputs based on datasets that were available to the research team. The resulting report illustrates the contribution that dynamic spatial analysis of urban functions can make in the profiling of the relational status, performance and potential of urban centres



across the island. The research has been carried out by a multi-disciplinary team within ICLRD and funded by the Higher Education Authority (HEA).



Living Together – An Investigation of Case Studies and Strategies for Promoting Safe, Integrated and Sustainable Communities (2009)

This research project investigates initiatives and policies in both Northern Ireland and Ireland to

improve and build subsidised housing in mixed communities through the lens of six case studies, namely Springfarm (Antrim), the Irish Street and Gobnascale interface (Londonderry/Derry) and Carran Crescent (Enniskillen) in Northern Ireland, and Cranmore (Sligo), Mahon (Cork) and Adamstown (Dublin) in Ireland. Together, they provide a cross-section of the challenges faced by communities working to promote or provide mixed housing, the strategies that have helped address these challenges and opportunities to create and maintain housing that is safe, prosperous and open to all. The six case studies were published in association with the Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE) in Belfast and the Housing Agency in Dublin.



Rural Restructuring: Local Sustainable Solutions to the Rural Challenge (2009)

On the 19th June 2009, this report was launched by Minister Michelle Gildernew, Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (DARD) and Andy Pollak, Centre for Cross Border

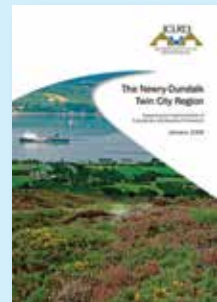
Studies (CCBS). The culmination of a 12-month research project, the research considers the role of rural restructuring and economic diversification, together with the growing importance of the urban-rural interface, in the achievement of balanced

spatial development. The programme of research focused on three rural areas, namely Draperstown, Magherafelt District, Emyvale-Truagh-Aughnacloy on the Monaghan-Tyrone border and Duhallow spanning the Cork-Kerry border.

Both Draperstown and Duhallow have been engaged in the process of rural restructuring for the past 25 years and have built up a wealth of experience over this time. For Emyvale-Truagh-Aughnacloy, the challenges facing this rural community have been further exacerbated by its cross-border location and the impact of decades of back-to-back policy development across both administrations (North and South). Building on over 80 interviews, as well as a wealth of secondary data, the research team also developed a series of working papers on each area and held a one-day conference on the issue of rural restructuring in May 2009 (see p.131).

Newry-Dundalk Twin City Region: Supporting the Implementation of Cross-Border Collaborative Frameworks (2009)

The ICLRD undertook this research initiative in cooperation with Louth County Council, Newry Mourne District Council, Dundalk Town Council and InterTradeIreland. Its objective was to identify (a) potential projects that can bring long-term benefits to the 'Twin-City' Region of Newry-Dundalk and (b) models of cooperation to assist in their implementation.

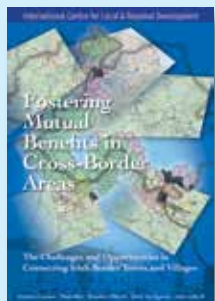


The resulting report was launched on 27th February 2009 by Conor Murphy, MP MLA, Minister for Regional Development in Northern Ireland, and John Gormley, TD, Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government in Ireland, at a special event at the Carrickdale Hotel, Ravensdale, Dundalk, County Louth. The report brings together recent and current research on how to realise the benefits of cross-border collaboration in the Newry-Dundalk Sub

BORDERLANDS

The Journal of Spatial Planning in Ireland

Region through integrated planning and development strategies.



Fostering Mutual Benefits in Cross-Border Areas: The Challenges and Opportunities in Connecting Irish Border Towns and Villages (2008)

This 18-month research programme focussed on the inter-relationships between cross-border towns and

villages in the Irish Border Region. The final report was launched in Blacklion, County Cavan on the 21st November 2008 by renowned journalist and author, Colm Toibin. The research considers the relationship and connectivity that exist between five cross-border settlement groupings and identifies and examines the challenges facing and opportunities within these micro-regions. The Border towns and villages included in the study were:

- Lifford-Strabane
- Kiltyclogher-Cashel/Scribbagh-Garrison-Rossinver
- Blacklion-Belcoo-Glenfarne
- Clones-Rosslea-Newtownbutler-Lisnaskea
- Castleblayney-Crossmaglen.

The key objective of this study was to identify good practices in joined-up planning and regeneration for inter-connected, cross-border areas with a particular emphasis on collaborative efforts that have supported local economic development, social cohesion and mutual benefits. In addition, the study sought to identify factors associated with successful collaboration through review of projects with a history of successful interaction and outcomes, including institutional frameworks for collaboration.

The Atlas of the Island of Ireland – Mapping Social and Economic Change (2008)

On the occasion of the ICLRD's third annual conference on 17th January 2008, the ICLRD and AIRO launched *The Atlas of the Island of Ireland*, a set of detailed full colour maps and cartograms of

varied socio-economic indicators across the island. The Atlas, co-authored by Justin Gleeson, Rob Kitchin, Brendan Bartley, John Driscoll, Ronan Foley, Stewart Fotheringham and Chris Lloyd, was launched by Tommie Gorman, Northern Editor of Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE).



Spatial Strategies on the Island of Ireland: Development of a Framework for Collaborative Action (2006)

This report was prepared by the ICLRD and commissioned by Inter *Tradel* Ireland on behalf of the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government in Ireland and the Department for Regional Development in Northern Ireland. The report outlines measures to better align spatial planning, infrastructure and cross-border projects to support long-term economic competitiveness, and has been endorsed by the Joint Communique of the British-Irish Intergovernmental Conference. Both Governments became committed to developing a framework for collaborative action between the two existing spatial strategies on the Island.



CONFERENCES

Planning Reform on the Island of Ireland: From Policy to Practice

2 May 2013, Canal Court Hotel, Newry, County Down

In conjunction with Co-operation Ireland, this one-day conference *Planning Reform on the Island of Ireland: From Policy to Practice* considered the significant changes being



made to the planning system in both jurisdictions on the island of Ireland as part of the ongoing local government reform programmes. Held as part of Co-operation Ireland's All-Island Local Authorities Forum, the conference was jointly funded by the Department of Environment, Northern Ireland and Department of Environment, Community and Local Government, Republic of Ireland. Issues addressed by delegates and speakers included: the shaping planning policy and practice in both jurisdictions on the island of Ireland; the role of planning in the promotion of economic development at a local and regional level; the importance of local knowledge and public inputs in informing policy and decision-making; the challenges of infrastructure – development alignment; the (growing) significance of renewable energies in sustainable – and economic – development; and the role of data and an evidence-base in informing policy and decision-making.



**Eighth Annual Conference:
Cooperating Across
Boundaries: Resilience,
Imagination, Vision
and Information**
7th February 2013, Canal
Court Hotel, Newry,
County Down

This one-day event considered what type of cooperative models we should be pursuing in the context of ongoing local government reform across the island of Ireland, continued austerity, the increasing availability of data, and the unceasing need for strategic development. The conference addressed these issues through three themed sessions:

- *New Thinking and Ongoing Challenges in Planning for Places and Communities* – exploring the role of planning and regeneration in creating resilient places and connected communities;
- *The Shared Services Agenda: Cooperating Across Boundaries* – considering how to encourage and support shared opportunities in

- providing services and strategic cooperation; and
- *Open Forum – Advocating Strategic Agendas and Pathways to Decision-Making* – debating the extent to which inter-municipal and cross-jurisdictional cooperation is an important factor in contributing to innovation and sustainable development.

Speakers included Ms. Jenny Pyper, Department for Social Development (Northern Ireland); Prof. Frank Gaffikin, Queens University Belfast; John Fitzgerald, Limerick Regeneration Agencies; Prof. Deborah Peel, University of Ulster; Niall Cussen, Department of Environment, Community and Local Government; Siobhan Coughlan, Local Government Improvement and Development (formerly IDEa); Dr. Brendan O'Keeffe, Mary Immaculate College & University of Limerick; Aidan Gough, InterTradeIreland; Prof. Rob Kitchin, NUI Maynooth; Seamus Neely, Donegal County Council; Ciaran Cuffe, Planner, Lecturer and Former Government Minister; and Mary Bunting, Former Northern Joint Secretary, North South Ministerial Council.

**Seventh Annual
Conference:
Planning for a New Future:
Can Planning and Cross-
Border Cooperation Deliver
Change in Ireland and
Europe?**

19-20 January 2012,
Crowne Plaza Hotel,
Dundalk, Co. Louth



Attended by 135 delegates and speakers, the conference was organised as part of our CroSPlaN Initiative funded by the Special EU Programmes Body under the INTERREG IVA Programme. The conference was organised around three main sessions:

- *The Collaborative Framework: Cross-Border Regionalism in Action* – the role of new regionalism in enhancing cooperation within functional regions

- *Leadership through Planning: Demonstrating Leadership in Achieving the 'Common Good'* – debating the role of communities, the private sector, and planners in learning from the past and planning a new future.
- *Planning the Future: Rethinking the Role of Planning, Governance and Community* – bringing together delegates and speakers to consider the role and future of planning and local and regional development, and the opportunities and implications of emerging EU agendas on policy and practice.

The island of Ireland and its European neighbours face similar challenges in terms of the global economic downturn, stagnant development and the legacy of over a decade of sometimes ill-planned development. These challenges have knock-on implications for cross-border cooperation, sustainable development and engaging local authorities, businesses and residents in shaping their communities. The Seventh Annual ICLRD Conference considered models of collaboration across borders, and between local government and other key local agencies. Both presenters and delegates alike were asked to identify workable new approaches to planning and the delivery of services.

Speakers and session chairs included: Caroline Creamer and Tim O'Connor, ICLRD; Jenny Pyper, Department for Social Development, Northern Ireland; Justin Gleeson, All-Island Research Observatory (AIRO); Maria-Jose Doval-Tedin, DG Regional Policy, European Commission; Allan Wallis, University of Colorado, Denver; Ciarán M. Tracey, Leitrim County Council; Anne Garvey, Department of Environment, Northern Ireland; John Driscoll, ICLRD; Colin Stutt, Colin Stutt Consulting; Deborah Peel, University of Ulster; Karina Pallagst, University of Technology, Germany; Alice Charles, Alice Charles Planning; Mary Corcoran, NUI Maynooth; Caitriona Mullan, ICLRD Advisory Board; Vincent Goodstadt, Independent Consultant and University of Manchester; and the Honourable Kelley O'Brien, Chicagoland Tri-State Metropolitan OECD Review.

Sixth Annual Conference: The Changing Business, Community and Spatial Planning Landscape: Doing More with Less

20-21 January 2011,
Radisson BLU Hotel,
Ballincar, Sligo



Attended by 110 people representing central, regional and local government, elected representatives, policy-makers, cross-border networks, community activists, academics and representatives of the business community, this two-day conference was sponsored by the Special EU Programmes Body. The conference was organised around four sessions:

- Planning for Economic Recovery and Sustainable Growth
- Planning for Homes and People: New Challenges, New Agendas
- Planning for Shared Innovation: Infrastructure to Support Innovation-Led Recovery
- A Changing Landscape: Networking, Collaborating and Achieving Greater Efficiencies.

Recognising that the past twelve months had represented a time of significant change for the island of Ireland, the conference focused on the changing budgetary, legislative and policy landscape, and the practical realities of reduced budgets. It debated the need for implementing a period of austerity, and the opportunities this can create for renaissance and resurgence.

Speakers and session chairs included: Nicholas Retsinas, Harvard Business School; Shaun Henry, Special EU Programmes Body; Greg Lloyd, University of Ulster; David Walsh, Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government; Jenny Pyper, Department for Regional Development; Eddy Curtis, Newry and Mourne District Council; Pádraig Maguire, Border Regional Authority; Brian Rowntree, Northern Ireland Housing Executive; Justin Gleeson, All-Island Research Observatory; Joe Frey, Northern Ireland Housing Executive; Rob Kitchin, National Institute

for Regional and Spatial Analysis; Grainia Long, Chartered Institute of Housing Northern Ireland; Aidan Gough, Inter *Tradel* Ireland; Dermot Byrne, Eirgrid; Frank McDonald, *The Irish Times*; Gary McDarby, University College Dublin; Tracy Meharg, Invest Northern Ireland; Feargal McCormack, FPM Accountants; Patricia O'Hara, National Statistics Board; James Cunningham, Centre for Innovation and Structural Change; and Tim O'Connor, former Secretary-General to President McAleese's Office.



**Fifth Annual Conference:
Preparing for Economic
Recovery: Planning Ireland,
North and South, out of
Recession**

21-22 January 2010,
Killyhevlin Hotel, Enniskillen,
Co. Fermanagh

Over 130 people attended this two-day event, which was sponsored by the Special EU Programmes Body under CroSPlaN. Pat Colgan, the Chief Executive of the Special EU Programmes Body, opened the conference; Professor John FitzGerald of the Economic and Social Research Institute gave the opening keynote address; and Declan Kelly, the U.S. Economic Envoy to Northern Ireland gave the closing. The conference was organised around four sessions:

- Health Check on Economic Development, Planning and Infrastructure
- Planning and Economic Recovery – The Social and Community Dimension
- Building the Platform for Economic Recovery
- Recovery through Collaborative Spatial Planning.

The conference addressed questions on how spatial planning can contribute to the process of economic recovery across the island of Ireland in a balanced and sustainable manner. The presentations and discussions over the two days considered: who we should be planning for; how to ensure that the right places receive the right investment and therefore jobs; why we need to ensure that residential

development takes place in places where people will want to live; and the role of infrastructure in improving accessibility and, in the case of broadband, employment opportunities and quality of life.

Keynote speakers from overseas included Charlotte Kahn, Director of the Boston Indicators Project at the Boston Foundation, and Holly St. Clair, Director of Data Services at the Boston-Region Metropolitan Area Planning Council. Other speakers and commentators who provided insights into the role of spatial planning in the process of economic recovery included Pat McArdle, Economist and *Irish Times* correspondent; Conor Skehan, Head Environment and Planning Department, Dublin Institute of Technology; Wesley Shannon, Director Local Government Policy Division, Department of Environment; Hubert Kearns, Manager, Sligo County Council; Patricia Potter, Director of the Dublin Regional Authority; Dr. Celine McHugh, Senior Policy Advisor with Forfás; and Brian Murray, Chief Executive of The Workspace Group.

**Rural Restructuring: Local Sustainable Solutions
to the Rural Challenge**

8 May 2009, Blackwater Learning Centre,
Knockconan, Emyvale, Co. Monaghan

A one-day conference on rural restructuring and development organised by the ICLRD, this event was attended by over 110 delegates from community and local development agencies, local government officials, businesses and business networks, practitioners, policy-makers and academics. Speakers of note included Roger Turner of the Commission for Rural Communities; Geoff Brown of the Carnegie UK Trust; Dr. Kevin Heanue of Teagasc; and Maura Walsh of IRD Duhallow. The event, chaired by Michael Kenny of NUI Maynooth, was an opportunity to present emerging findings from the rural study, and participants addressed and debated a wide range of rural development issues.



Fourth Annual Conference: Achieving Balanced Regional Development: Dynamic Regions, Spatial Strategies and Collaboration.

22-23 January 2009,
Radisson Hotel, Letterkenny,
Co. Donegal

The conference focused on issues of strategic territorial planning and balanced regional development. This was achieved through a focus on specific EU territorial policies and a number of the designated gateways on the island of Ireland, including those that cross borders and jurisdictions: namely the Northwest Gateway, the Newry-Dundalk 'Twin-City' Region, the Atlantic Gateway and the Cork Gateway. Furthermore, presentations from the Department for Regional Development, Northern Ireland and the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Ireland discussed the opportunities that are emerging for inter-jurisdictional cooperation, and the role of gateways and regions within and between the respective spatial strategies. The conference was attended by over 130 delegates, speakers and chairs from Ireland, Northern Ireland, Wales, Scotland, England, Hungary, Germany, the Skane Region in Sweden, and the States of Massachusetts, Maryland and Virginia in the United States.

Keynote speakers from overseas included Steve Quartermain, Chief Planning Officer in the Department for Communities and Local Government in London; Jim MacKinnon, Director for the Built Environment in the Scottish Government; Grant Duncan, Head of the Sustainable Futures Division in the Welsh Assembly Government; Dr. Gabor Novotny, from the European Commission's DG Regio (Urban Development and Territorial Cohesion); Dr. Rupert Kawka from the German Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning; and Professor Gerrit Knapp, Director, National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education, University of Maryland.

Third Annual Conference: Fostering Cooperation for Local and Regional Development through Cross-Border Spatial Planning

17 January 2008, Armagh
City Hotel

Held in collaboration with Inter *Tradel* Ireland, the ICLRD Third Annual Conference focused on how long-term economic success, coupled with high quality of life on the island of Ireland, can be achieved by harnessing the potential of sustainable communities which transcend the Border. Opened jointly by Batt O'Keeffe TD, Minister for Housing, Urban Renewal and Developing Areas, and Conor Murphy MP MLA, Minister for Regional Development, the conference was attended by 143 delegates representing local and central government, cross-border agencies, the private sector and community organisations.

Among the key issues and research papers presented at the all-day conference were how to implement and finance a collaborative spatial framework, proposals and project areas that can deliver on a cross-border sub-regional strategy for Newry-Dundalk, research and recommendations on how cross-border towns can be reconnected and revitalised; and the role of housing in building sustainable communities.

Supporting Evidence-Informed Spatial Planning and Analysis: Towards the Development of All-Island Spatial Databases

15 November 2007, Crowne Plaza Hotel, Dundalk

Organised jointly by the ICLRD, the Regional Studies Association, the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, the National Centre for Geo-Computation and AIRO, this one-day event was attended by over a 100 delegates. The conference presented the findings of two earlier seminars on the kind of spatial indicators needed to assist in high quality analysis for evidence-based



planning and policy. The seminars were held in the National University of Ireland, Maynooth and the University of Ulster.

Presentations by leading academics and researchers were made on all-island indicators, data applications, maps and key issues around the type, scale and form of potential all-island datasets. Senior policy-makers offered comments on how these initiatives can support both policies and specific projects to foster cross-border cooperation in the areas of spatial planning, service delivery, economic competitiveness and investment strategies.



**Second Annual Conference:
Implementing a Framework
for Collaborative Action:
Spatial Strategies on the
Island of Ireland**

9 November 2006, The Canal
Court Hotel, Newry,
Co. Down

A key focus of the conference was an examination of (a) the range of regional and local spatial planning initiatives for key development areas identified in the existing spatial strategies and (b) the role of the business community and private sector in inter-jurisdictional development.

The opening speakers were Mr. Dick Roche TD, Irish Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, and Mr. Gerry McGinn, Permanent Secretary of the Northern Ireland Department for Regional Development. Other speakers included the prominent Dublin architect Mr. Sean O'Laoire, the property developer Mr. Gerard O'Hare, and senior planning officials from both Irish jurisdictions and from the European Commission.

**First Annual Conference: Regional and Local
Development Strategies on the Island of
Ireland – Addressing Key Issues and
Building Capacity**

27 May 2004, Radisson Hotel, Athlone,
Co. Westmeath

This one-day event was opened by the Irish Minister for Education and Science, Mr. Noel Dempsey TD, and was attended by 160 senior figures from central and local government, higher education institutions and the private sector in both jurisdictions. As well as investigating if there was a role for a research centre such as the ICLRD on the island of Ireland, the conference debated whether the many planning and development issues, North and South, were similar in nature. As to the establishment of the ICLRD, there was overall feedback from participants that the Centre should be established.

As well as organising its own conferences, the ICLRD has been invited to present its work at a number of events hosted by other agencies. These have included:

- *Developing a New Way of Thinking about People and Places*, Presentation to Connect 4 Conference, 19 November 2013, Dublin (Caroline Creamer)
- *Potential Roles, Functions and Partnerships for the NWPB*, Presentation to North West Partnership Board, 19 November 2013, Derry (John Driscoll)
- *The ICLRD: Promoting All-Island, Regional, Local and Cross-Border Collaboration in Spatial Planning*, Presentation to the BMW Regional Assembly Board, Ballaghadereen, 21 June 2013 (Caroline Creamer)
- *Cross-border Observation between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland: Building Mutual Understanding*, MOT's First European Seminar on Observation of Cross-Border Territories, City Hall, Nancy, France, 10 December 2012 (Caroline Creamer)
- *Partnership and Local Democracy - Assessing the Role of LEADER in Ireland*, OLA Conference on Local Governance in the U.K. and Ireland, University of Valenciennes, France, 23-24 November 2012 (Brendan O'Keeffe)
- *Data Capture: Information Rich, Insight Poor?*, ICBAN Spatial Planning Conference, Hotel Kilmore, Cavan, 1 December 2011 (Prof. Rob Kitchen and Justin Gleeson)

- *The International Centre for Local and Regional Development: Purpose, Principles and Process*, Presentation on the ICLRD to a South African Delegation from Cadadu Municipality, Armagh City Hotel, 22 November 2011 (Caroline Creamer and Neale Blair)
- *Cross-Border Local Authority Training Across the Island of Ireland*, INICCO International Conference on Cross-Border Training and Impact Assessment, Radisson Blu Hotel, Cavan, 27 October 2011 (Caroline Creamer)
- *Indicator Development and Monitoring for the National Spatial Strategy and Regional Planning Guidelines*, ESPON Ireland Dublin, 28th September 2011 (Jim Hetherington)
- *What is Spatial Planning?* Irish Central Border Area Network Conference on Spatial Planning, Manor House Hotel, Killadeas, 15 September 2011 (Neale Blair)
- *Fixing 'Broken' Government: Functional Territories as an Impetus for Reform*, Regional Studies Association Conference, University of Manchester, 2 November 2010 (Caroline Creamer, Neale Blair and Justin Gleeson)
- *Combating Rural Poverty and Social Exclusion*, Pobal Conference, Drogheda, 21 October 2010 (Karen Keaveney)
- *Community Building through Growing Leadership: the Challenge of the Border*, Presentation to Eisenhower-Loeb Fellows, The Newman Building, Dublin, 5 May 2010 (Caroline Creamer and Karen Keaveney)
- *Inter-Municipal collaboration across Borders: Overcoming Legal and Institutional Differences in the Irish Border Region*, American Association of Geographers Annual (AAG) Conference, 14 April 2010 (John Driscoll)
- *Challenges and Opportunities for Rural Regeneration on the Island of Ireland*, UK-Ireland Planning Research Conference, Anglia Ruskin University, Chelmsford, 7-9 April 2010 (Karen Keaveney)
- *Rural Interfaces: Reconciling Perception with Reality*, Sharing Our Space Event, Killyhevlin Hotel, Enniskillen, 4 March 2010 (Caroline Creamer)
- *Divergence in Policy and Practice: Government and Community Perspectives on Rural Development*, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2 December 2009 (Brendan O'Keeffe and Caroline Creamer)
- *Rural Restructuring: Local Sustainable Solutions to the Rural Challenge*, NSMC Sectoral Meeting on Agriculture and Rural Development, Greenmount College of Agriculture and Horticulture, Antrim, 21 July 2009 (Caroline Creamer, Neale Blair, Karen Keaveney and Brendan O'Keeffe)
- *The Color of Money: The (Changing) Role of Funding in Cross-Border Collaboration*, MOPAN Conference, NUI Maynooth, 18 June 2009 (Caroline Creamer and Neale Blair)
- *Rural Restructuring: an Opportunity within a Challenge*, Conference of Irish Geographers, University College Cork, 16 May 2009 (Caroline Creamer and Brendan O'Keeffe)
- *Understanding and Shaping Regions: Spatial, Social and Economic Futures* Leuven, Belgium in April 2009 (Brendan O'Keeffe)
- *Shaping our Future: Reviewing Northern Ireland's Regional Development Strategy* at the Stormont Hotel in Belfast, 5 November 2008 (Brendan Bartley)
- *Stuck Behind a Tractor! The Celtic Tiger and its Slow Chug towards the Border*, First Irish Social Sciences Platform (ISSP) Conference, Dublin City University, 11 September 2008 (Caroline Creamer and Brendan O'Keeffe)
- *Border Effective: The Economic Competitiveness Challenge Facing Towns and Villages in the Irish Border Region*, ERSA Congress 2008, University of Liverpool, 28 August 2008 (Caroline Creamer)
- *Shared Future – Shaping the Fabric of our Communities*, Cork, 24-25 April 2008 (John Driscoll)
- *Drivers of Connectivity: Understanding the Nature, Challenges and Potentials*, Presentation on ICLRD to Croatian Delegation, Armagh City

Hotel, 2 April 2008 (Caroline Creamer)

- *Northern Europe, Planning Together for a Sustainable Future* in Inverness, Scotland, 11-15 November 2007 (Brendan Bartley)
- *Cooperation in the Twin-City Region*, Ballymascanlon House, Dundalk, 1 November 2007 Dundalk Chamber's Annual Conference Border Vision Gateway, (John Driscoll)

SEMINARS AND WORKSHOPS

During 2013, the ICLRD continued to hold seminars on topical cross-border issues; with a strong emphasis being placed on evidence-informed policy and planning.

Framework for Co-operation: Spatial Strategies for Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland 15 October 2013, Castleblayney

This afternoon event celebrated the long awaited launch of the Framework for Co-operation: Spatial Strategies for Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, a joint publication by the Department for Regional Development (Northern Ireland) and Department of Environment, Community and Local Government (Ireland). This innovative approach to strategic development is the first such spatial planning framework on the island of Ireland, and seeks to influence strategic issues of economic competitiveness, place making, environmental quality, and evidence-based decision making. The Framework, first mooted by the ICLRD in a 2006 study sponsored by InterTradelreland, will be particularly helpful in light of new local government reform policies and the bringing together of local authorities, cross-border bodies and the regional networks in the Irish Border Region who share common challenges and opportunities.

The Framework was launched by Tom Reid of DRD and Niall Cussen of DoECLG as part of Module 3 of the ICLRD's Executive Training and Animation Programme (being delivered as part of the INTERREG-funded CroSPlan II programme).

Shared Services in the Irish Border Region

22 March 2013, Cavan

This afternoon seminar with representatives from local government in the Irish border region considered what is meant by shared services and the range of activities under which a shared services agenda is currently being pursued across the island of Ireland. Drawing on previous research carried out by the ICLRD, the key focus of the event was to debate the potential for local government to be a driver of the shared services agenda, and to consider in what sectors there was the most potential to pursue such a programme.

Informing the Present – Imagining the Future

6 February 2013, Newry

Developed in cooperation with Newry and Mourne District Council and Louth Local Authorities, this technical workshop was held on 6th February 2013 at InterTradelreland. The focus on the workshop was the progress of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between Newry and Mourne and Louth Local Authorities – developed by the Councils with the support of the ICLRD. The workshop included a presentation by AIRO on *Mapping the 2011 Census: What it tells us about the Newry/Mourne-Louth Corridor* and a discussion among key stakeholders in the region on the importance of addressing both economic opportunities and common social and educational challenges.

Local Governance in the UK and Ireland: So Far, So Near....

23-24 November 2012, Valenciennes

As part of the Europe-wide, OLA (Observatory on Local Autonomy) Network, the ICLRD together with the University of Valenciennes, France organised a two-day European symposium on local and regional governance. This event brought together high-level speakers and delegates from Britain, Ireland, Northern Ireland, France and other parts of Europe – including representatives from ICBAN (Irish Central Border Area Network). The Valenciennes

Conference was the first major OLA event to focus on these islands, and the ICBAN intervention served to document and analyse from a practical perspective the now embedded interfaces between the respective governance and planning systems on the island of Ireland specifically, and the evolving collaborations between the Irish and U.K. systems more generally. Other speakers focusing on Ireland included representatives from the Border Regional Authority, Western Development Commission, Institute of Public Administration, and Seán O'Riordáin and Associates.

OLA is a Europe-wide network, with representatives in thirty countries studying and advocating for local autonomy, decentralisation and better local governance. The ICLRD has been affiliated to OLA since 2009, with Caroline Creamer (NUI Maynooth) and Dr. Brendan O'Keeffe (Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick) representing Ireland on the Network. Northern Ireland is represented by Prof. Deborah Peel (University of Ulster), who is also a member of the Executive Board of OLA.

River Basin Management Plans: Cross-Border Cooperation and the Role of Spatial Planning

17 October 2012, Monaghan

Building on a series of reports, including documentation of good practices in cross-border river management by the ICLRD in 2011, the Centre and the Border Regional Authority jointly hosted a half-day seminar on river basin management on the island of Ireland. Attendees included senior planners and representatives from local government in the Irish Border Region, the Northern Ireland Environmental Agency and the Department of Environment, Community and Local Government. As well as considering international good practice for cross-border collaboration in river basin management, discussions and debate also centred on the structural changes being undertaken to improve the implementation of River Basin Management Plans in Ireland, and implementation issues and opportunities in Northern Ireland. The importance of small-scale approaches to water resource management was one of the key issues highlighted. Consideration was also given to local



From Left to Right: Mr. Niall Cussen, Department of Environment, Community and Local Government and Mr. Tom Reid, Department for Regional Development officially launch the Framework for Co-operation on 17th October 2013 in the Glencarn Hotel, Castleblayney

perspectives on the challenges and opportunities for river basin management, with an emphasis placed firmly on the need for a robust evidence-base, as well as effective cross-sectoral and inter-jurisdictional communication.

Should Ambulances Stop at the Border? North-South Cooperation in Health

13 June 2012, Dublin

This evening seminar, held in association with the Institute for British-Irish Studies (IBIS), University College Dublin and the Centre for Cross Border Studies, was attended by over 60 healthcare policy-makers, academics and professionals from across the island of Ireland. Chaired by Dr Maurice Hayes, the seminar addressed questions around an all-island strategy on health, and the desirability of deepening cross-border healthcare cooperation to increase access to specialist services and facilities.

The presentations and subsequent discussion noted the good relations that already exist in terms of cross-border collaboration in the coordination and delivery of healthcare services. In this context, the debate focused on local provision of services, the maintenance of services and issues around funding. In addition, the importance of an up-to-date evidence-base for ensuring coherent and equitable provision of services was emphasised.

Models of Cross-Border and Inter-Jurisdictional Cooperation: Learning from the Experiences of Others

19 January 2012, Crowne Plaza Hotel, Dundalk

Organised under the auspices of the CroSPlaN initiative, this half-day technical workshop was attended by over 30 delegates from central government, local authorities and academics interested in the application of models of cooperation to address common opportunities in cross-border cooperation. Three senior practitioners from local agencies and authorities in Massachusetts, Spain and the Irish Border Region presented cases that illustrated how inter-jurisdictional cooperation

agreements can be applied to different issues including: river-basin management in Massachusetts and securing cooperation and consensus across forty-three communities; how bilateral and multi-lateral associations of local authorities in Spain – known as *mancomunidades* – cooperate to deliver services within functional territories; and the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between neighbouring councils in the Irish Border Region that commits them to collaborating in areas such as emergency planning, tourism and recreation, and sustainable economic growth.

Planning and Local Government on the Island of Ireland

30 September 2011, Dundalk

Organised in association with Cooperation Ireland and Queen's University Belfast, this well-attended seminar drew over 100 delegates from Ireland and Northern Ireland. The emphasis of this event was threefold: looking at the growing territorial agenda and the opportunities this creates for enhanced cross-border cooperation across the island of Ireland as demonstrated by the experiences of others in Europe; focusing on the potential role of elected members in the planning and governance processes of each jurisdiction on the island of Ireland; and considering the role of planners and councillors in decision-making and the extent to which evidence should lie at the heart of decision-making. Delegates commented on the importance of sharing experiences, which was further noted in the contributions from both jurisdictions regarding the impact of new planning legislation and the reform of public administration in Northern Ireland.

Land Banking and Housing Development: The (New) Role of the Planning System

28 April 2011, NUI Maynooth

A jointly hosted NIRSA-ICLRD-Border Regional Authority event, this one-day roundtable discussion focused on *Land Banking and Housing Development: The (New) Role of the Planning System*. Speakers and contributors considered the state of housing

development and the potential of land banking across the island of Ireland with respect to housing need, unfinished estates, the property market, the planning system and emerging programmes of both the Housing and Sustainable Communities Agency (HSCA) and the National Asset Management Agency (NAMA). It examined international experiences of asset disposal and public land development, and explored possibilities and opportunities in the island of Ireland context. Delegates debated the role of local authorities, HSCA, NAMA, housing associations, private developers and other actors in addressing present issues and creating a more sustainable system of development that serves public and private interests. Attended by over 30 people, this event created a space in which key stakeholder agencies were provided with the opportunity to share and learn from each other.

Developing Core Strategies: Adopting a Bottom-up Approach

9 March 2011, Hodson Bay Hotel, Athlone

Jointly hosted by NIRSA-ICLRD-Border Regional Authority, this one-day event brought together over 120 local authority planners, elected representatives, private sector delegates and policy-makers to exchange experiences and lessons in adopting core strategies as required by new planning legislation in Ireland. The case of how Aberdeen City and Shire produced the Aberdeen Strategic Plan with the support of elected representatives highlighted the key role that elected councillors have in adopting longer-term planning policies. Other key issues considered during the day included data and evidenced-based decision-making, annual monitoring, density and appropriate scale development, and the need for integrated planning policy and practice.

The Functionality of Place: Determining and Mapping Functional Territories

16 June 2010, Armagh City Hotel

Funded by the Higher Education Authority, the ICLRD hosted a half-day workshop on the topic of functional

territories. This workshop was organised as part of the ICLRD's ongoing commitment to presenting cutting-edge research into issues of all-island spatial planning and regional development, and AIRO's long-term objective of providing data-users in both policy and practice with an open source 'hub' for spatial data analysis and mapping. Together with ICLRD colleagues, the 50 participants from central and local government departments and cross-border organisations discussed how the functional territories research can be used by planners and policy-makers in their own work. The workshop also considered the issue of data availability and the need for more accessible and relevant datasets to support evidenced-informed planning and the identification of functional territories that can, for example, lead to maintaining or improving the delivery of services.

Evidence-Informed Planning: Making Information Accessible to Build Inter-Jurisdictional Cooperation

21 January 2010, Killyhevin Hotel, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh

Organised under the auspices of the CroSPlan initiative, this half-day technical workshop was attended by 40 people from both the public and private sectors with an interest in evidence-based policy and practice. Best practices from Boston were presented to demonstrate how the Boston Foundation and the Metropolitan Area Planning Council use data and outreach events to shape regional change. The presentations from Boston highlighted the role of various technologies (3D visualisations, highly interactive web visualisations and scenario modelling) in helping stakeholders involved in spatial planning processes better understand the impacts and tradeoffs of development decisions. The discussions concluded that a challenge in the Irish context, both North and South, is to make data and evidence on spatial planning available in a format that is accessible to a wide range of users.

An Introduction to Smart Growth

22 January 2009, Radisson Hotel, Letterkenny, Co. Donegal

This half-day event kick-started a debate on the inter-relationship between spatial planning, economic development and the 'common good', both at a regional and local level. Attended by over 30 delegates including central government representatives from the island of Ireland and the U.K., local government officials, academics and community activists, this seminar considered the experience of 'Smart Growth' in the State of Maryland and catalytic urban development initiatives from Virginia – and the relevance of these initiatives to the Irish context. The programmes from Maryland and Virginia were presented by Prof. Gerrit-Jan Knapp, Executive Director, National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education; and Prof. Judith Meaney, Adjunct Professor and Director Real Estate Development Concentration, The Catholic University of America, Washington.

Supporting Evidence-Based Spatial Planning and Analysis in Ireland: Towards the Development of All-Island Spatial Databases

15 February 2007 in NUI Maynooth; and 20 June 2007 in University of Ulster

The Regional Studies Association (RSA) together with the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, the National Centre for Geocomputation, and the ICLRD hosted two workshops during 2007 on the importance of all-island datasets on key thematic issues in spatial development. The workshops addressed a number of key issues, namely:

- Identifying existing common datasets for the island of Ireland;
- Building on what already exists and considering the type, scale and form of future key all-island datasets; and
- Agreeing on a list of indicators to assist in good quality analysis of evidence-based planning and policy, and the roll-out of a planning research programme.

These workshops were open to those with an interest in spatial analysis and planning data, in particular policy-makers, representatives from regional and local government, state agencies, planning consultancies, and academics.

Exploring the Economic and Social Implications of the National Spatial Strategy

15 April 2005, Athlone, Co. Westmeath

The seminar was organised jointly by the Athlone Institute of Technology and the National University of Ireland, Maynooth. The objective of this event was to present and discuss spatial strategies from European, national, regional and local perspectives; with particular reference to economic and social aspects.

OUTREACH

Armagh-Monaghan Enabling Agreement (2013)

The cross-border councils of Monaghan County Council and Armagh City and District Council have expressed an interest in developing an enabling agreement, such as a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), to strengthen cooperation between these two councils. During Spring 2013, a number of meetings were held between the ICLRD, East Border Region (EBR) and officials and councillors from both local governments to explore both the interest and possible forms of future cooperation.

The International Centre for Local and Regional Development (ICLRD) have been invited to be part of this process given their experiences in cross-border cooperation among local governments, as well as their knowledge of agreements that can be used to strengthen and guide this cooperation - as highlighted by the key role they played in the development of an MOU between Newry and Mourne District Council and Louth local authorities in 2011.

Following these meetings, and a subsequent proposal submitted to both EBR and the councils for their consideration, the ICLRD have been contracted

to work with the councils to jointly develop a suitable enabling agreement. Work will commence on this programme in early 2014.

Irish Central Border Region (2012/2013)

The ICLRD has been closely involved in providing guidance to the Irish Central Border Area Network's (ICBAN's) cross-border spatial planning activities. The Irish Central Border Region Spatial Planning Initiative, which has been partly financed by the EU's INTERREG IVA Programme and is worth over £1.5 million, is a drive by ICBAN to give the region distinctiveness, translating key national plans into local and regional actions. Through a suite of projects, the Spatial Planning Initiative is developing the necessary skills and capacity of its constituent Councils to enable them to engage positively and progressively with central government, North and South. The ICLRD provided technical assistance during the setup period on how the work programme should be shaped and managed to achieve the aims and objectives of the Initiative; while also promoting collaborative activity and skill transfer amongst council and community groupings. The ICLRD has been an active member of the project's Spatial Planning Action Steering Group and, in late 2012, the ICLRD was commissioned by ICBAN to continue in its role as an external advisor to support the programme.

The ICLRD, ably represented by Jim Hetherington, has played a key advisory role in both the data capture project and the publication of the Regional Strategic Framework 2013-2027 (RSF). Since the launch of the RSF in November 2013 in the Slieve Russell Hotel, Ballyconnell, Co. Cavan, Mr. Hetherington has been advising and supporting ICBAN in the dissemination of the key messages in this Framework, including at events held in Stormont and Dail Eireann. This support role continues until March 2015.

North West Gateway Initiative (2012/2013)

Following the ICLRD 2011 training programme in the North West, the Centre has continued to provide

assistance to the local councils and the North West Partnership Board (NWPB) to consolidate initiatives supporting strategic cooperation in the North West Gateway. Activities to date have included undertaking reviews of local policy documents to identify common areas and strategic projects/initiatives for future cooperation; supporting the NWPB in not only presenting on the potential of enhanced collaboration in the North west but also in making submissions around the renewed interest in the North West gateway Initiative by both governments; and engaging with key stakeholders and central government departments in both jurisdictions on the potential of the NWPB developing an Action Plan to strengthen the linkages between the North West Gateway Initiative, and the priorities and programmes for local, regional and national government.

To this end, the ICLRD with the support of aforementioned the key stakeholders in the region were successful in their funding application to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 'Reconciliation Fund' in May 2013. This 12 month funding supports the ICLRD and the Partnership Board in developing an plan for the Board over the short- to medium-term which supports the strengthening of the capability of local stakeholders to become advocates for strategic joint action for the North West. a key emphasis of the work programme is to identify locally-defined, cross-border programmes and projects that are viewed as being central to the development and growth of the North West.

In addition, the ICLRD's sister organisation, AIRO, continues to provides advice regarding evidence-based planning and sits on the steering committee for the Northwest Region Cross-Border Group SPACEial data capture project.

Truagh-Aughnacloy Community Planning (2011/2012)

Since May 2010, the ICLRD has been providing technical assistance to a number of community development associations along the North Monaghan

/ South Tyrone border. The development associations from Truagh, Aughnacloy, Aghaloo, the Bawn, Loughans, Clara and Carrickroe are working together on a community business and social economy plan. This is the first time that these neighbouring associations have formally worked together.

The groups have been working with a consultant on social enterprise development. Initial activities included a household perceptions study of 150 households, a survey of 63 businesses, community-based meetings with civil society and public sector bodies on both sides of the Border and focus groups with younger and older residents. Taking a longer-term perspective, the consultation process has led to the development of a North Monaghan Development Framework study based on a vision of the sub-region as an economically sustainable and outward looking Border catchment area where people and communities are empowered to achieve their best.

The next phase of the groups' work will examine the feasibility of:

- A Blackwater Valley branded Business Development and Marketing Initiative;
- An Independent Living Project providing support services to lone dwellers and older people, in addition to community-based employment opportunities, especially for women; and
- The Implementation of a Youth Employment, Entrepreneurship and Leadership Programme.

In order to consult with residents on both sides of the Border and to gain insights into the types of social economy and community development activities that would be favoured locally, young people from Truagh and the surrounding communities came together in 2012 and undertook a household survey. The ICLRD provided technical support to enable them to formulate a survey questionnaire, and to process the results. The response rate throughout the area was very positive and a wealth of suggestions were advanced, which now need to be progressed. In the meantime, the youth have assumed leadership roles within their own communities, and are bringing a

fresh vitality and energy to local development and cross-border cooperation.

Harvard Joint Centre for Housing (2009)

Within the housing sector on the island of Ireland, there is currently no systematic process or structure for examining and understanding the inter-jurisdictional implications of housing policies and markets. To explore potential means of building cooperation around housing indicators, the ICLRD facilitated academic exchanges for Justin Gleeson, Manager of AIRO, and Karen Keaveney, Lecturer at Queens University Belfast to the Harvard Joint Center for Housing and the Institute for International Urban Development in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Their meetings and research in Boston, and subsequent meetings with senior officials in the Northern Ireland Housing Executive and the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government in Dublin, has led to increased cooperation on the identification of common data which can be incorporated into an accessible web-based data base available on the AIRO website. The ICLRD is also exploring the potential demand and interest for an annual report on key housing trends, issues and markets for the island of Ireland.

Reconstruction and Resettlement Council, Cyprus (2008)

In October 2008, John Driscoll joined a delegation from the island of Ireland that presented at a conference on 'Integrating Transport in a Reunified Cyprus' in Nicosia, Cyprus, the 'last divided capital in Europe'. The conference was organised by the Reconstruction and Resettlement Council (RRC) of Cyprus and Kate Burns (formerly of ICBAN) who was working with the RRC at the time on the lessons that could be learned from cross-border development on the island of Ireland to promote peace and reconciliation in Cyprus between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities. This event was the beginning of an ongoing discussion between the ICLRD and RRC. In July 2009, for example, a two-person delegation from the RRC met with John and Andy Pollak to discuss if there are potential

areas where ICLRD and the Centre for Cross Border Studies could assist the Council in Cyprus.

BRIEFING PAPER SERIES

In November 2009, the ICLRD launched its Briefing Paper Series. This involves the publication of short, timely articles that explore how various forms of planning, enacted at different spatial scales, can contribute to better collaboration on the pressing issues facing both Ireland and Northern Ireland. By considering both jurisdictions on the island and the potential synergies and efficiencies that can be realised through cooperation, the series aims to provide a more rounded view than considering each jurisdiction in isolation. Articles available to date include:

- *Small Island: Big Marine Challenges Ahead for the Blue Economy* by Dr. Heather Ritchie, University of Ulster (December 2013).
- *Implementation of River Basin Management Plans: Current Issues and Future Needs* by Dr. Ainhoa González Del Campo, Researcher, NIRSA, NUI Maynooth, John Driscoll, Director, International Centre for Local and Regional Development, and Pádraig Maguire, Regional Planner, Border Regional Authority (December 2012).
- *Biomass Resources in the Island of Ireland* by Michael Doran, Executive Director of Action Renewables (September 2012);
- *Reflections on the Boom: A Time for Reform* by Dr. Patricia O'Hara, Chairperson of the National Statistics Board and Adjunct Professor at the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis (NIRSA), NUI Maynooth (August 2011);
- *Innovation: The Challenge of Building an Adaptive and Innovative Society* by Dr. James Cunningham, Director of the Centre for Innovation and Structural Change (CISC) and Senior Lecturer at the J.E. Cairnes School of Business & Economics, NUI Galway (May 2011);
- *Doing More with Less: A Business Perspective* by Feargal McCormack, FPM Chartered Accountants

(January 2011);

- *Recovery Scenarios for the Two Irish Economies* by Prof. John FitzGerald, The Economic and Social Research Institute (July 2010);
- *Evidence-Informed Spatial Planning: A Metro Boston Perspective* by Holly St Clair, Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC), Boston (May 2010);
- *ESPON – A New Practical European Research Agenda for Territorial Development* by Cliff Hague, ESPON Contact Point UK and Brendan Bartley, ESPON Contact Point Republic of Ireland (Feb. 2010);
- *The Conditions Necessary for Gateway Development and The Role of Smaller Gateways in Economic Development* by Prof. Jim Walsh, NUI Maynooth and Cormac Walsh, Urban Institute, University College Dublin (Jan, 2010);
- *Linking Spatial Planning with Public Investment: Perspectives from the Island of Ireland* by David Counsell, Planner & Prof. Greg Lloyd, University of Ulster (Dec. 2009);
- *Good Planning Key to Future Success* by Prof. Rob Kitchin, NUI Maynooth & Prof. Alastair Adair, University of Ulster (Nov. 2009).

Further articles will be added on a regular basis.

INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

39 Abbey Street
Armagh BT61 7EB
Northern Ireland

Tel 0044 (0)28 3751 1550
Fax 0044 (0)28 3751 1721
(048 from Republic of Ireland)

Director: John Driscoll (driscoll@iclrld.org)
Deputy Director: Caroline Creamer (caroline.creamer@nuim.ie)
Assistant Director: Neale Blair (n.blair@ulster.ac.uk)
Administrator: Eimear Donnelly (eimear.donnelly@qub.ac.uk)

WEBSITE

The International Centre for Local and Regional Development's website is at **www.iclrld.org**

Administrative support is provided by the Centre for Cross Border Studies

39 Abbey Street, Armagh BT61 7EB (contact details as above)