

POLYNET Action 3.1

Analysis of policy documents & policy focus groups

Northern Switzerland



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1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose

Overall Hypotheses of the Polynet Project in the EMNS

The virtual and physical connections and relationships between enterprises as a part of current economic and social processes cause spatial patterns outside the framework of spatial planning objectives. We refer to this phenomenon and development tendencies as „hidden spatial development“. There is a mismatch between the objectives and strategies for a sustainable spatial development and the actual development tendencies.

The previous quantitative and qualitative analyses of the European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland had revealed components of these actual structures, linkages and flows within and between organizations and their individual members (refer to Action 2 report).

Overall Purpose of the Polynet Project

The overall „Polynet“ Project aims to uncover the functional relations within the region and between regions on EU level based on the interrelations of advanced producer service firms. The selection of these innovative sectors of growing relevance to the national economies serves as a proxy to understand functional relationships and their consequences on spatial development.

Based on these findings, the Project's purpose is to identify current spatial development policies, and, develop policy recommendations for future sustainable management of polycentric Mega-City Regions and transnational networks between European Mega-City regions.

Purpose of the identification of policy responses and key policy issues

The circumstance that actual spatial development tendencies, patterns and flows are often not in accordance with a sustainable management of spatial development, does not imply spatial planning is completely powerless. Thus, the purpose is to understand where and how policy responses have to tie in, in order to unfold problem solving capacity. The principle of polycentricity as it is outlined in the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESPD) serves as the reference framework for the analysis of existing spatial development policies.

The backdrop of the Analyses and discussions: the principle of Polycentricity

Underlying the concept of polycentric sustainable development, as it is adopted in the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) and adopted as a framework for the Polynet Project, are three main assumptions (Davoudi 2003, ESPD 1999, ESPON 2004). In order to focus the analysis of planning documents, policies and informations from focus groups, we started out from taking a critical look at the three assumptions outlined below:

Polycentricity is considered a strategy for spatial development

The Concept of Polycentricity, as it is adopted in the ESPD, is not just a descriptive model to distinct between polycentric and monocentric regions. It is rather considered a suitable strategy to reach a balanced, sustainable spatial

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development.

Polycentricity is acknowledged to lead to stronger regions through territorial cooperation

Territorial Cooperations between medium and smaller size Cities and/ or agglomerations that are within certain proximity will make them stronger, more economically potent in the competition with other larger cities or regions within the EU.

Polycentricity is acknowledged to lead to a balanced, sustainable development through complementary centers

According to the concept of “polycentricity”, a network of complementary smaller and medium size cities relieves the dense centres of concentrated development from some of their burdens (social expenses, traffic). This is supposed to be accomplished through redistributing development to the complementary locations where development is desired in designated focal areas. In return, by taking over some of the development dynamics, smaller and medium size cities are given the chance to participate in the economic advantages by taking over some of the functions of the centres of the larger cities. This strategy is assumed to lead to a balanced, sustainable spatial development.

1.2 Methodology for the Analysis of Policy Responses and Identification of Key Policy Issues

In the policy analysis, we look at Swiss territorial policies – including the institutional framework, policy documents, specific sectoral spatial policies and the “state of awareness” of planning representatives and policy makers. The focus of the policy analysis is given by the principles for a sustainable spatial development drawn from ESDP, especially the aspect of polycentricity.

Based on the Policy Analysis, we compare the results with the actual spatial development tendencies shown from the quantitative analysis of commuter patterns and Advanced Producer Service firms from previous actions.

The conclusions of the policy analysis are drawn from:

Document analysis

An analysis of current policy documents (and documents throughout the last decade), and the current Swiss debate on spatially relevant issues (see bibliography).

Workshops

The Polynet Zurich Team held a first stakeholder workshop in March 2005 with 8 key representatives in order to check the reaction on the empirical results of Polynet and identify relevant topics for an extended workshop.

A Focus Group Workshop with 25 expert participants followed this preparative workshop to develop problem awareness on different levels of planning and develop a vision on future function fulfilment.

The participants were representatives from different institutions and governance levels.

For a list of Workshop participants with their respective functions please see Appendix 2.

Qualitative Interviews

Qualitative Interviews with Policy Makers had been accomplished in order to verify findings on the mismatch between existing policies and actual driving forces for spatial development. In additions, interview partners were asked for their experience and problem solving approaches.

For a list of Interview Partners with their respective functions please see Appendix 2.

1.3 Structure of the report

First (section 2.0), we look at the Political System of Switzerland in respect to institutions with responsibilities for spatial development and at the current debate on governance and spatial development tendencies. We analyse what has been accomplished so far in terms of policy documents as well as attempts towards territorial governance, and discuss it in front of the backdrop of ESDP.

In section 3.0, we summarize the outcome of the policy focus group meeting. In section 4, we provide an overall conclusion of this policy analyses. Finally, in section 5 we outline the key policy issues for future sustainable development of the European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland. We systemize them by the theme of „mismatches between different levels of action“.

2. Analysis of Policy Frameworks for the Mega-City Region

2.1 Spatial Planning and Development

Key policy-making bodies and their responsibilities

The key policy-making bodies need to be understood in the context of the political system of Switzerland. The Swiss administrative system consists of three tiers of the government: the confederation, 26 cantons and about 2800 municipalities, each having its own spatial planning responsibilities. The emphasis for spatial planning related issues is at the cantons “... whose task is to integrate spatial claims by means of structure plans and to collaborate with their neighbours in Switzerland and abroad. The communes are generally responsible for land use planning. Lastly, under the constitution, the confederation is responsible for the legislative framework, for formulating planning principles, for co-ordinating formal spatial policies both internally and with the cantons, for promoting and co-ordinating the efforts of the cantons, and for international relations. The confederation works closely with the cantons and the cantons in turn with the communes” (Wegelin 2001).

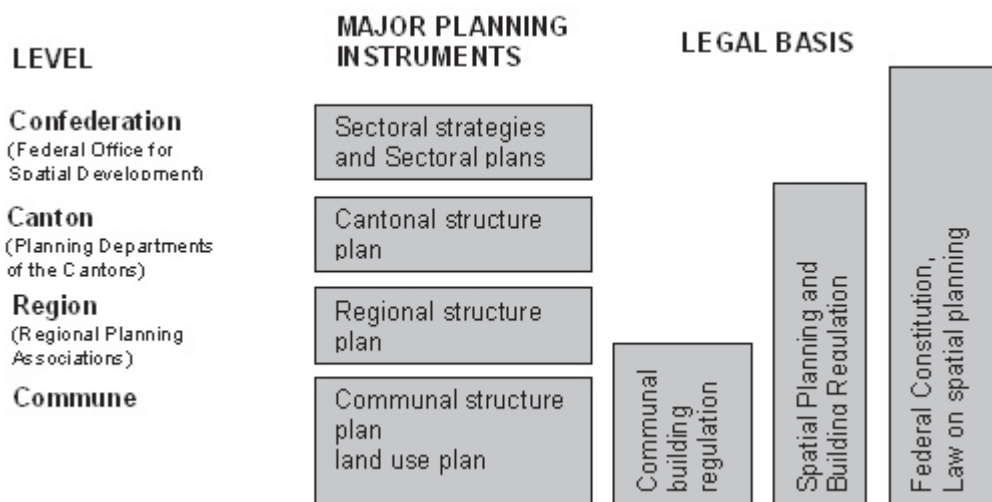


Figure 1: Simplified overview of the institutions, planning instruments and the legal basis in Switzerland (ISoCaRP and ARE 2004: 8, modified).

With economic growth slowing down, structural weakness of rural areas, urban sprawl and social burdens in metropolitan areas and the lack of capacity to manage functional regions, Switzerland joined into the European governance debate, which intensified in the 1990s.

The principle of vertical and horizontal function fulfillments and competence distribution characterizes the efforts

towards spatially related management of the past years. To implement this, the following bodies have been founded throughout the last years:

- The Tripartite Agglomerationskonferenz (TAK) was founded in 2001 as a platform for the promotion of vertical cooperation between the Federation, cantons, municipalities.
- The extra-parliamentary federal committee for spatial development (Rat für Raumordnung) advises the Federal Council and federal administrative units responsible for regional policies and spatial planning (Federal office of spatial development and State Secretariat for Economic Affairs) in principle questions of spatial development policies (horizontal cooperation).
- In the field of spatial planning, large cantons often delegate supramunicipal spatial planning tasks to public-law regional planning associations. In the canton of Zurich, for example, they draw up regional structure plans, which develop spatial planning on the basis of the structure plan for the whole canton.
- Over the last decades, an increasing number of single or multi purpose district bodies (special districts) have been founded on a regional level. For instance each Zurich municipality belongs to an average of six dedicated organizations (Neue Zürcher Zeitung 11./ 12.05.02). The consequence is the jeopardizing of controllability, manageability and integral regional performance as well as the ability to find solutions to problems.
- As a still young attempt, the Federation's 2001 agglomeration policy (see also in the following sections) is aiming to support the cantons and municipalities in their activities and improve horizontal cooperation within agglomerations. In an initial phase the Federation supports and encourages innovative best practice models. It promotes projects for cooperation within the agglomerations or between municipalities and agglomerations.

These policy-making bodies, however, are far from being sufficient in terms of perimeter and competencies in providing problem-solving capacity on the level of the European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland. There is no governance body or level with responsibilities for agglomerations (technically being a statistical category), functional urban areas, let alone the European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland.

This brief glance can only touch the ongoing debate on governance that ranges from voluntary cooperation between cantons or communities on specific issues, to the establishment of a fourth tier of government and to the legal fusion of communities or cantons. The most recent document is a proposal by the Tripartite Agglomerationskonferenz (TAK), based on a governance analysis, proposing intermediate bodies in agglomerations with democratic legitimization (Tripartite Agglomerationskonferenz 2004).

Spatial Planning and development

The time frame of the Polynet project parallels two current strands of debate on spatial development relevant policies. The first strand concerns explicit spatial planning policies, based on a "territorial logic". The second strand deals with sectoral policies such as regional policies and the new financial equations, which have a major effect on spatial issues and the management of spatial development, based on a "functional logic" (section 2.2).

FUNCTIONAL LOGIC:		TERRITORIAL LOGIC:	
Federal Department of Economic Affairs		Federal Department of the Environment, Transport, Energy, and Communication	
	State Secretariat for Economic Affairs	Federal Office for Spatial Development	
	Regional Policies	Spatial Planning Policies	
	Spatial Development Policies (in the narrow sense)		

Figure 2: Hierarchy of Federal agencies responsible for spatial development Policies in Switzerland (own figure ESPON 2.3.2 National Report Switzerland 2005)

Beyond the Agencies displayed in Figure 2 that directly form the Swiss Spatial Development Policies, no fewer than 20 federal agencies have remits which touch upon spatial planning in the widest possible variety of areas: these also include agriculture, transportation, communication, energy, security policy and public buildings and installations. The Federal Office for Spatial Development's (ARE) publication «Overview of Confederation activities affecting spatial planning» (Übersicht über die raumwirksamen Tätigkeiten des Bundes), which has been updated in 2004, describes the tasks affecting spatial planning that the confederation performs independently or in conjunction with the cantons (Federal Office for Spatial Development 2004).

The budget for Spatial Development Policies (the Regional and Spatial Planning Policies, Figure 2) is comparably limited. The Federal office of spatial development and State Secretariat for Economic Affairs do not administrate laws related to spatial development, which have substantial budgets attached. E.g., over the last seven years (1997 – 2003), the Federal expenditures for regional policy averaged around CHF 69 Million (Federal Department of Economic Affairs 2004: 57). The means for other sectoral policies such as education, agriculture, transportation, energy are much higher in comparison.

In the three tier political system, the major share of means for spatial development is located on the level of the cantons. Also, the competencies for business location development or location marketing (Wirtschaftsförderung) are with the canton level.

Current Policy documents

Concerning the first strand of discussion, which is rooted in the territorial logic, the Federal Office for Spatial Development has presented the "Report on spatial development" in March 2005 (Federal Office for Spatial Development 2005). The Report is the follow-up of the 1996 Swiss planning policy guidelines (Federal Office for Spatial Planning 1996). The Guidelines had been a first important step in 1996 to help to identify the significance of the agglomerations for the social and economic development of Switzerland.

Another step was the Federal Council's approval for the "Strategy Sustainable Development" in 2002, an action package elaborated by the interdepartmental commission for sustainability, as a result of the 1996 UN Rio Conference. The Strategy includes 22 measures for the sectors of Economy and competitiveness, financial policies, research, spatial development, mobility, to name just a few. A specific goal for regional policies and spatial planning is the stabilization of the overall use of land use area (footprint) at 400 square meters per person (Federal Council 2002).

The 2005 Report on spatial development will be the basis for discussion of new Swiss planning policy guidelines to be issued in 2007 and the planned modification of Federal law on Spatial Development (Raumplanungsgesetz).

The Report provides an analysis of the status quo of major trends of sustainable development. The authors of the report come to the conclusion that spatial development has not been sustainable in terms of urban sprawl, social and functional segregation in agglomerations, disparities between rural and urban regions, rising number of buildings outside the building zone, and still growing mobility.

In a further step, the authors of the report come up with four scenarios for future spatial development. (Side note: the scenario method of the report is an innovative approach in itself on the part of administration, compared to administrative processes only a few years before). The scenarios range from 1. the rise of few Metropolitan regions that polarize economic development and bypass all other regions, 2. continuing fragmentation of administrative bodies which results in even more urban sprawl, 3. polycentric development with city networks that is multipolar, but results in abandoned areas, and last, the preferred scenario 4., which describes a polycentric network of urban centers which are connected to their hinterlands and profit from each other in territorial solidarity.

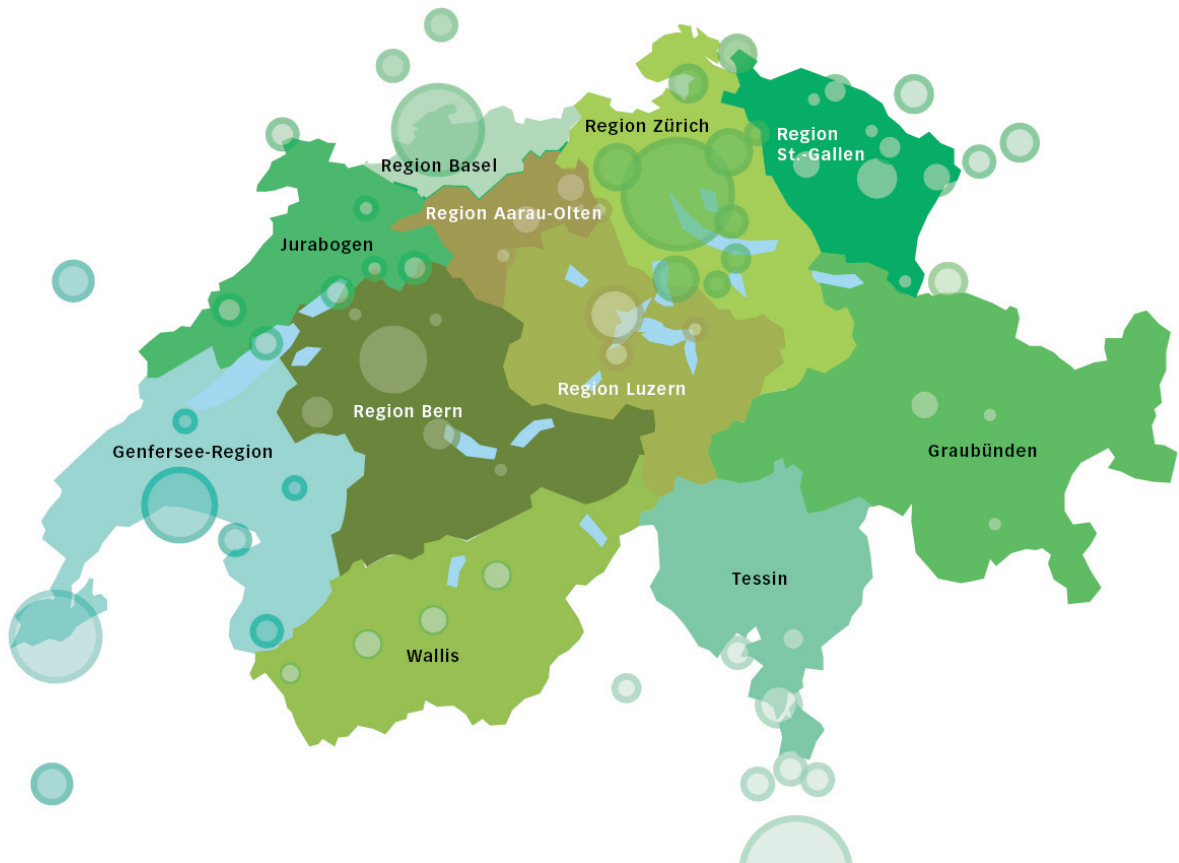


Figure 3: Preferred Scenario, a network of urban centers, which are connected to their hinterlands and profit from each other in territorial solidarity (Federal Office for Spatial Development 2005: 84).

Based on the status quo analysis of the scenarios, the Federal Office for Spatial Development outlines a spatial development concept:

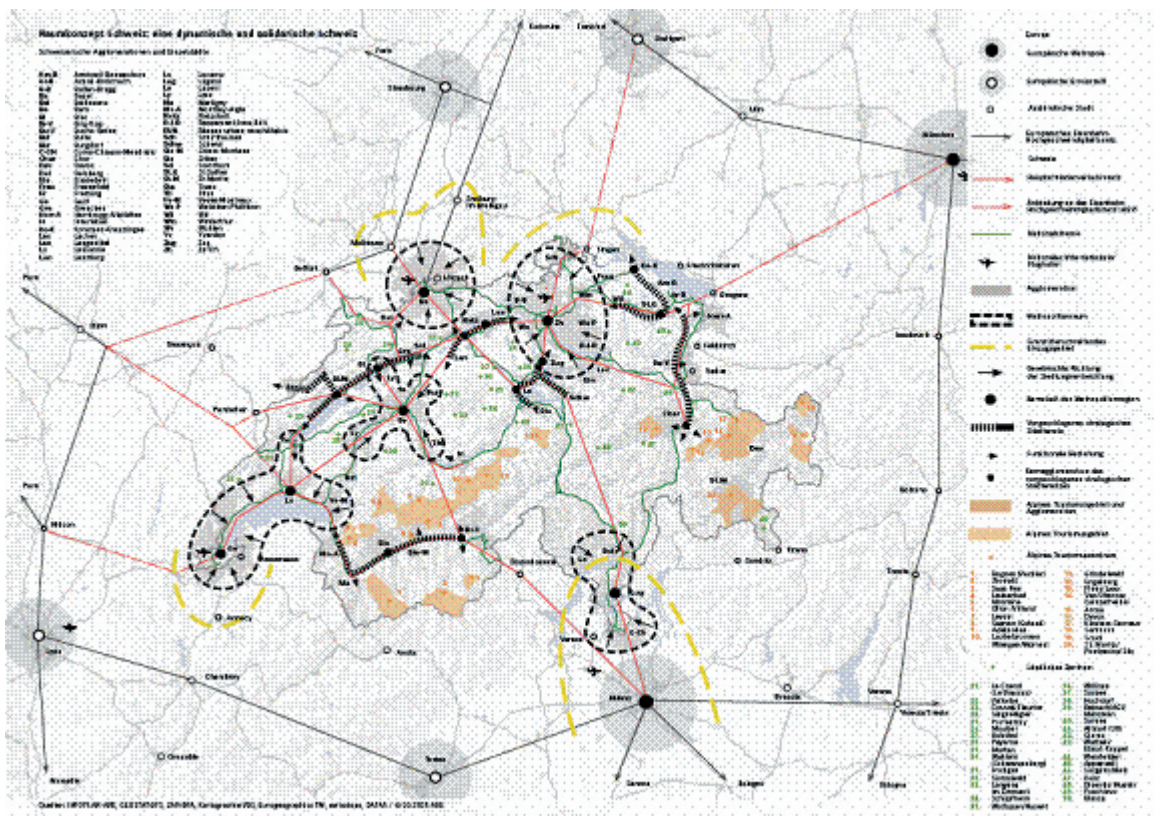


Figure 4: Spatial Development Concept (Federal Office for Spatial Development 2005: 89)

The major integrative strategies outlined in the 2005 Report on Spatial Development relevant to the European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland and Polynet are:

- Maintaining and improving the physical and virtual international connections (by air traffic, roads, highspeed trains).
- Creating two connected networks: The first network comprises polycentric Metropolitan Regions (Zurich, Genf-Lausanne, Basel, Bern, Tessin). The second network is made of the remaining cities and agglomerations.
- Creating Strategic urban networks in areas outside the Metropolitan Regions.

With these strategies, the 2005 Report on Spatial Development maintains the principle of polycentricity, in line with the 1996 Swiss planning policy guidelines and the 2001 Agglomeration Policy of the Federal Office for Spatial Development (Federal Council 2001).

The Agglomeration Policy is another highly relevant policy as the European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland is concerned. The Federal Council has proposed the agglomeration policy in order to emphasize the need to enhance efforts of the Federal Agencies to support cantons and agglomerations in solving their problems.

The goals of the Agglomeration Policy 2001 of the Federal Council tie into the Swiss planning policy guidelines and also explicitly adopt the principle of polycentricity from the ESDP:

„A priority of ESDP is the creation of a balanced and polycentric system of cities. In order to reach that objective, the complementarities of cities are enhanced through cooperation networks. In addition, there are projects and strategies for the integrative development of interrelated urban structures. For cities that are located within further distance to each other, thematic networks need to be established in order to follow common goals. In order to enable swiss cities and agglomerations to play a role in Europe from economic, scientific and cultural perspectives, they need to be connected beyond the national borders with other European cities and integrated in networks of cooperation and infrastructure” (Federal Council 2001: 26).

In sections 2.2 to 2.4, we look at the proposed strategies of the Policy documents on a sectoral level.

2.2 Economic Development, Skills, Regulation

The second strand of the discussion on spatial development policies is rooted in the functional logic and is best represented by the current debate on the new regional policy.

For the past decades, regional policy has been designed to support infrastructure investment in mountain areas and enterprises in economically disfavoured areas through targeted individual support (OECD 2002: 12). Currently, the approval of the new regional policy is on the political agenda. Based on the discussion of the past years, the new regional policy directs emphasis towards the inclusion of agglomerations. The authors of the new regional policy take into account the complementarities between rural areas and agglomerations. They acknowledge the circumstance that the national economy highly depends on the functioning of larger cities, agglomerations and metropolitan regions. However, this focus on the whole country rather than rural areas requires a difficult balancing act. From the overall regional policy budget of CHF 70 Million, 30 Million will be allocated to wide area projects that support cooperation between rural areas and agglomerations. 40 Million will be allocated to support local and regional projects in rural areas. According to critics of this approach, the wide distribution of a comparably small budget will lead to a patchwork of measures that will take away funding from where it is most effective (in the agglomerations) and will prevent self-support where restructuring is most needed (in rural areas). (Federal Department of Economic Affairs 2004; miscellaneous articles in NZZ 30.3.05, 11.4.05). With this broad approach, Switzerland is regarded as one large region or balanced territory, rather than a diverse country with strong economic centers and remote areas with little or no dynamic.

The difficulty to connect agglomeration policy and traditional regional policy shows that political will is not suf-

efficient for inter-sectoral cooperation between spatial planning and economically oriented policies as well as rural and urban policies. For the time being, this makes it difficult to concert efforts for more efficient, sustainable management of spatial planning. The most striking example is the integration of the Agglomeration Policies “best practice models” in the new regional policies. Policy makers have declined to officially link the two policy fields, even though the best practice models would make an excellent start to involve local and regional economies

It becomes obvious, that, in comparison to the discussion on the new regional policy, the efforts of the spatial planning sector have a comparably small impact on economic development and, moreover, on managing the spatial impacts of economic decisions.

However, even more influential than regional policies are the sectoral policies concerning agriculture, transportation (they are not part of spatial development policies in the narrow sense) and the new financial equalization scheme.

The political debate on the reorganization of the new intergovernmental financial equalization scheme parallels the new regional policy debate. At the core of the federal council new financial equalization, which has been approved by the votes in November 2004, is the idea of shifting decision making capacity from the federal to the canton levels for tasks of the core cities that extend over canton borders. For specific intercantonal issues, the cantons are required to cooperate in order to earn and distribute federal funding. This is the case for Universities, specified medical clinics, large-scale cultural infrastructure and transportation projects in agglomerations. The Federation maintains the competences to allocate funding if cooperation among the cantons does not occur.

The second instrument of the new financial equation, which is of consequence for urban regions, addresses the equation of sociodemographic burdens. It shifts financial means to the core cities due to the fact that the core cities of agglomerations have a greater share of socially weaker members of society, causing higher expenses and less tax revenues.

The scrutinizing of respective functions of the Federation and the cantons provides an opportunity to test the fundamental understanding of governance within a federal system. The financial equalization is a preparation for a reform of federalism. Vertical cooperation is to be made possible on a partnership level, and a horizontal equalization of burdens is to help ensure the chance of decentralized development.

2.3 Transport, Accessibility, E-connectivity

Sectoral plans are instruments to realize spatially relevant tasks and fulfil the overall goals of spatial development. The Federal resort for transportation is currently preparing two plans until approximately 2006: air traffic and transport (public and private). These plans provide the Framework for a concerted planning of transportation infrastructure, taking into account the needs of transportation-, spatial development-, environmental- and financial policies. The sectoral plans for the transportation sector are part of a strategy to decrease overall traffic volume, influence the choice of means of transportation toward public transportation, and optimize use of existing infrastructures. According to the Federal law for Spatial planning, sectoral plans are supposed to integrate the three aspects of sustainable development – environment, society, economy (Matthey 2002: 26).

Paralleling the sectoral transportation plan, the Federal Council has acknowledged the necessity to focus on agglomerations and their problems in the 2001 Agglomeration Policy (section 2.2). As one tool, agglomeration programmes have been launched. Their priority is the coordination of settlement development with public and private transport in agglomerations. The goal is to create accessible, organized agglomerations. The agglomeration programmes that contain an integrative approach for settlement and transport infrastructures as well as a project organization comprising one or more cantons, cities, regional planning associations are the prerequisite for federal funding. To encourage use of this tool, the Swiss confederation provides financial incentives: it has pledged to accept a share of the costs for the agglomeration transport system, provided agglomerations can demonstrate the optimum alignment of urban and transport planning within the framework of the agglomeration programme. Over 20 agglomeration programmes are currently being developed, with initial drafts scheduled for the end of 2004 (ISoCaRP and ARE 2004: 13-15).

However, since the budget had not been approved by the required referendum in 2004, the funding is an unsolved

problem up to date. Besides the unsolved financial aspects, the agglomeration programmes contain another flaw. Although they combine horizontal and vertical cooperation with infrastructure problem solving, the project organizations do not outweigh the lack of an institutional body comprising the adequate perimeter for effective solutions for the transportation system. As a result, the scope of the programs and their actors is still too small to cover the system boundaries of the transport infrastructure system, which cover an even larger perimeter. Thus, the danger is, that under the label of Agglomeration Programmes, insufficient and piecemeal solutions are officially approved.

Aside from policies towards an efficient transportation network for persons and goods, another objective is an efficient high-capability telecommunication infrastructure. This concerns the large centres, and is equally relevant for medium size and small agglomerations and cities, especially in regional centres and remote areas (Federal Council 2001 : 33). A study on liberalization of the public sector for net infrastructure has shown, that the provision of telecommunication infrastructure is not a dominant location factor for enterprises. This is not due to the fact that telecommunication is unimportant; in Switzerland it is not a rare good, but taken for granted by entrepreneurs even in remote areas (Thierstein and Abegg 2003).

2.4 Housing and Environment

The 2001 Agglomeration Policy and 2005 Report on Spatial Development propose a range of strategies in respect to housing and environment.

On the superordinate level, they follow the principle of polycentricity as it is outlined in section 1.1:

Settlement development is supposed to follow the principle of inward development. This shall not lead to slowing down economic and cultural development in the cities, thus the following measures are necessary:

- Promoting optimized use of areas within the urbanised areas, sustainable use of infrastructure, land and natural resources.
- Revaluating rural areas, especially near urban regions as structuring elements and creating and preserving their value for agriculture, tourism and recreation.
- Unorganized urban sprawl of agglomerations into the rural areas needs to be replaced by focal points of development and densification within defined open areas.
- This is based on an efficient public transport network (broad and qualitative supply with efficient transport connections). Enterprises that depend on private transport need to be located near nodes for motorways and/ or railroads for the transport of goods.
- An overall concept needs to take into account that the principle for inward development will not occur at the cost of life quality in urban areas (Federal Council 2001 : 33). Alternatives to single family housing and a higher live quality and building quality in urban areas should shift respectively slow down building on greenfields. This includes social and functional diversity in neighbourhoods, natural and park areas and improvement of public space.
- Economic incentives need to accompany land use policies to shift settlement development to designated zones for further development.

Because of their planning autonomy the municipalities in Switzerland play a dominant role in administering building development, planning instruments are mostly on local level, regional planning associations are inexistent or have weak competencies. In this their goals are community-oriented; they are competing for business developments, which will help strengthen their revenue base. The polycentric growth of built-up areas resulting from municipal autonomy does however bring with it the danger of an ultimately insufficiently cohesive aggregation structure.

2.5 Cross-thematic issues (to be discussed more fully in S 4.0)

included in all other sections

3. Outcomes of the Policy Focus Group Meetings

The issues of the Focus group workshop were chosen based on current policy and spatial development debate (section 2). Beyond their interesting contents and their interrelations, they served as a vehicle to discuss the practice in horizontal and vertical cooperation towards the goal of raising awareness on the different levels of problem solving. Accordingly, the workshop had two goals:

First, raising awareness for the interconnections between sectoral policies with direct and indirect impact on spatial development. Second, towards looking at these issues on the different levels (EU-Level, European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland, Cantons, Functional urban areas) and raising awareness for the different, overlapping scopes of problems, depending on the respective perspective of the policy maker or representative from the private sector.

Under five headings, we give an insight in the aspects that had been subject of concern and discussion between the participants of the workshops.

Experience from agglomeration programmes on settlement and transportation development

The respective transportation departments on canton levels mostly carry out agglomeration programs (sect 2.3) for the integrative handling of settlement and transportation problems. Despite the claimed intersectoral approach of agglomeration policy, there is a lack of cooperation and the incorporation of social, environmental and settlement issues in the programmes. In the worst case, the agglomeration programs become a legitimization for more traffic infrastructure, leaving out sustainable development.

An interesting topic concerning traffic congestion problems and settlement development came up from the head of the Swiss homeowner association:

“Homeowners are the most restrictive stakeholders when it comes to further settlement development, they serve as “building-preventers”. As soon as they have built in a given area, they develop a protective attitude and oppose further development. This is also true for communities: they would like to generate a maximum of tax revenues, but the creation of work places should cause zero traffic congestion and disturbing emissions. An example: a small community outside the agglomeration of Bern with a low density and little traffic problems is intending to build a large area retail center. The community does not provide a concept for the handling of private transport. As a result, the neighbouring communities will be affected by the traffic problems, at the same time tax revenues will remain in the small community, since tax transfer does not take place”.

Awareness of these interdependencies needs to be developed. Based on this awareness it will become clear, that intercommunity cooperation is highly necessary.

Inward settlement development with its local and regional implications versus urban sprawl/ Impact of environmental policy in spatial development

In most communities, there are too many reserves of building zones. It is legally and financially almost impossible to rezone them to open spaces.

At the same time there are substantial legal, environmental and ownership related obstacles in the realization of brownfield recycling. In many cases, this makes it unattractive and expensive for owners and investors (even for publicly owned areas), to convert brownfields in urban areas. This makes it more attractive to build on greenfields.

Higher settlement and traffic density in the inner cities leads to the exceeding of environmental restrictions and limit values locally, even if brownfield recycling is preferable from a regional scope. Due to the obstacles on the one hand and availability of building zones, it is not likely at the moment, that recycling of areas in the cities and inner agglomeration belts will be a more highly used alternative in the future. This is not to deny, that there is a whole range of examples for brownfield recycling. At the same time, that does not mean urban sprawl has been reduced as a result.

Location marketing, strategies from cantons and enterprises

Location marketing is carried out on canton and local levels. Cooperation and concerted action towards broad, inter-canton location marketing is rare. Parish-pump policies prevent cantons from cooperation. Exceptions are voluntary regional marketing associations and the Association of the “Greater Zurich area”.

The recent enquiry of a large American pharmacy firm for a production site with 1'200 jobs has triggered a nation wide public discussion. The representatives of one canton offered the firm a vast area of land. The area is located within a perimeter that receives federal funding for economically weak areas based on the regional policy. Concern of the discussion is about two things:

First, one canton possesses power to make a decision on an issue of nation wide concern.

Second, the federal departments do not coordinate their two strands of spatial development policies. Representatives of the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs responsible for regional policies act converse to the objectives of the Federal Office for Spatial Development's spatial planning policies.

(The process and decisions are still ongoing).

Spatial impact of Swiss integration in EU Policies, with focus on freedom of movement and labor mobility

Most issues around Swiss integration in EU Policies have not yet been translated into spatial issues. Thus the opinions and reactions of policy makers are very diversified.

One of the most obvious issues is, that a refusal of Switzerland to agree to freedom of movement within the EU area according to the Schengen/ Dublin Agreement would have a negative impact on tourism regions.

While some fear a negative impact on the Swiss economy due to rising unemployment, others expect economic impulses, especially for the metropolitan regions.

For some it seems clear, that especially the densely populated area in Northern Switzerland will be viewed as an important economic region from neighbors abroad. This also implies, that cooperation between the different institutional levels and small geographic subdivisions will become more and more inevitable in the future.

Spatial driving forces of clustering of tertiary education institutions

The Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs is aware of the high relevance of creating know how for a knowledge based economy: “the brain cells are the most important resource in Switzerland”. Know how and human capital are one of the most important economic factors. However, expenses for education, especially higher education in Universities, is below OECD Average.

Concentration of enterprises of similar branches and other firms within the same value chain does, under certain circumstances and with limitations, promote exchange of experience. Also it fosters cooperation projects with regional universities (Duemmler 2005). The stakeholders of the focus group workshop are highly interested in studies that examine the possibility of spatial concentration of knowledge in certain regions. There is certainly a competition of attracting research institutes and universities.

For the same reason, the centralization of technical colleges at seven locations throughout Switzerland is a much discussed issue.

Territorial Governance and Awareness issues

It has to be taken into account, that the participants of the Focus Group Workshop were selected according to the superordinate approach of the Polynet project perimeter. There were no representatives from the level of small communities who often have a narrower problem scope and mostly work on an unsalaried level in addition to their regular jobs.

The participants showed a high degree of problem awareness and oversight. The Policy Makers were well aware of the lacks of horizontal and vertical cooperation. However, at the same time there was a feeling of powerlessness, respectively an attitude of not feeling responsible for problems on a superordinate level. A large portion of the participants was willing to accept their limited competences (in terms of financial means, political power).

In this, they had the attitude of being as innovative and efficient as possible within their window of opportunity.

Others come to the conclusion, that, even if they did not particularly like the idea of cooperating beyond the scope of their institutions, it would be more profitable to do so.

Afterall, the notion was, that some change is in the air, but obstacles are high and possibly problem pressure not high enough to overcome them.

4. Conclusions of the Policy Response Analysis

The results from qualitative and quantitative empirical analyses and the policy response analysis from documents, focus group meetings and interviews show: The attempts for a sustainable spatial development are widely spread in planning and spatially relevant policies. Sustainability is a commonly understood part of the rhetoric in official policy documents and with policy makers from the fields of spatial development and economy. The principle of polycentricity, as it is outlined in the ESDP, has been fully adopted as a strategy by the Federal Office for Spatial Development. It is also widely understood that there is a need for horizontal and vertical cooperation, for integrative versus sector-related planning approaches. However, despite existing planning instruments, policy documents, technical know-how, knowledge on interdependencies of sectors, access to data on demography, land use and transportation, there are shortfalls in actually handling spatial development.

In the following, we list the key findings:

1. Advanced Producer Service firms are in fact becoming relevant driving forces in influencing spatial development through location decisions, their interrelations and actions, since they are of large importance for economic development in Switzerland. They do have a “Place Making Capacity”, (albeit it must not be overrated as it is limited to a still relatively small share of the national economy). The European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland does actually exist (to a certain degree) in terms of functional relations. (Please refer to the Action 2 reports for the detailed results and respective maps). The functional interrelations have shown to be of great interest to the policy makers.
2. The empirical findings showed, that there is an overlap of opposite development trends, a simultaneous overlay of spatial development tendencies on action levels with different perimeters. We label them as concentration – dispersion and centralization – decentralization. There is a concentration of locations characterized by a specification of similar enterprises in the core cities. The “back offices” are often located in the first agglomeration belts. Other enterprises and logistic firms disperse further into the agglomerations and, depending on their size and number of working places, introduce further dispersion of settlement development. Thus, there is a tendency of dispersion of inhabitants (periurbanization) on the level of the whole agglomeration and the national level, but tendencies of concentration of advanced producer service firms in the core cities and in specified locations within the agglomeration.
3. Despite the described development tendencies, the action fields of institutional bodies responsible for spatial development are largely determined by the awareness of problems on a local, smaller regional or, at most, canton level. Functional interrelations on the MCR, respectively European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland, are not yet sufficiently anchored in the awareness of most policy makers.
4. Sectoral policies such as the new financial equalisation system, due to their larger financial power, have an indirect but substantial effect on spatial development. In contrast the spatial planning policies, even includ-

ing the resorts of spatial development policies, have relatively small financial resources. The intersectoral (horizontal) cooperation between the respective departments proves to be difficult in critical details. Tasks that should be handled integratively, often resolve in fragmented responsibilities.

5. The federal system which has always been based on small entities and a nearly direct democracy has been a driving force in shaping the structure of the European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland as we know it today: It has led to a number of autonomous cities within this Metropolitan Region. Thus, Polycentricity does exist from a morphological point of view as we look at the relatively large number of small and medium sized cities, surrounding the large (for swiss standards) cities of Zurich and Basel, and the medium sized Lucerne, St. Gallen and Winterthur.
6. Although “Polycentricity” has proven adequate as a descriptive model for planners and planning policies, utilizing it as a strategy is far more complex. The “polycentric morphology” of the European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland on the one hand and functional interrelations on the other hand, do not automatically together give birth to the desired effect of a sustainable polycentric development.
7. On the contrary: Spatial development has not been sustainable over the last decades. Settlement development has demonstrable increased, tightly related to the building of transportation infrastructure. For international standards, the modal split between public and private transport is relatively large towards public transport. However, at the same time emphasize on extending regional and national train services (in terms of capacity and the accessibility of remote areas) has been one of the major driving forces for urban sprawl (sub/periurbanization). Thus, it is difficult to distinct polycentricity from urban sprawl in practice. Does polycentricity lead to a sustainable development or rather to dispersion? Where is the distinguishing line between the two?
8. In regions with no or little economic drive (in and outside the European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland) collections of smaller and medium size cities rarely consider themselves, or function as, a network. The smaller cities are oriented towards the larger centers in order to profit from their economic development, rather than towards building cooperation networks between each other.
9. Cooperation does not occur on a normative basis. The prerequisite is problem pressure and/ or economic drive. Because both lead the autonomous institutional units to consider advantages of cooperation. Without economic drive, it is difficult to detect real functional networks. Small cities do not serve as complementary centres to dense and crowded centers without stimulation and economic incentives.

[Report on Action 3.2.1 Identification of Key Policy Issues]

5. Key Policy Issues for the Mega-City Region

Mismatches between different levels and fields of action

Most, if not all of the outcomes of the previous analyses, revolve around a theme we refer to as the “Mismatches between different levels and fields of action”. A major problem underlying the attempts to create adequate strategies for spatial planning policies goes back to a whole set of mismatches.

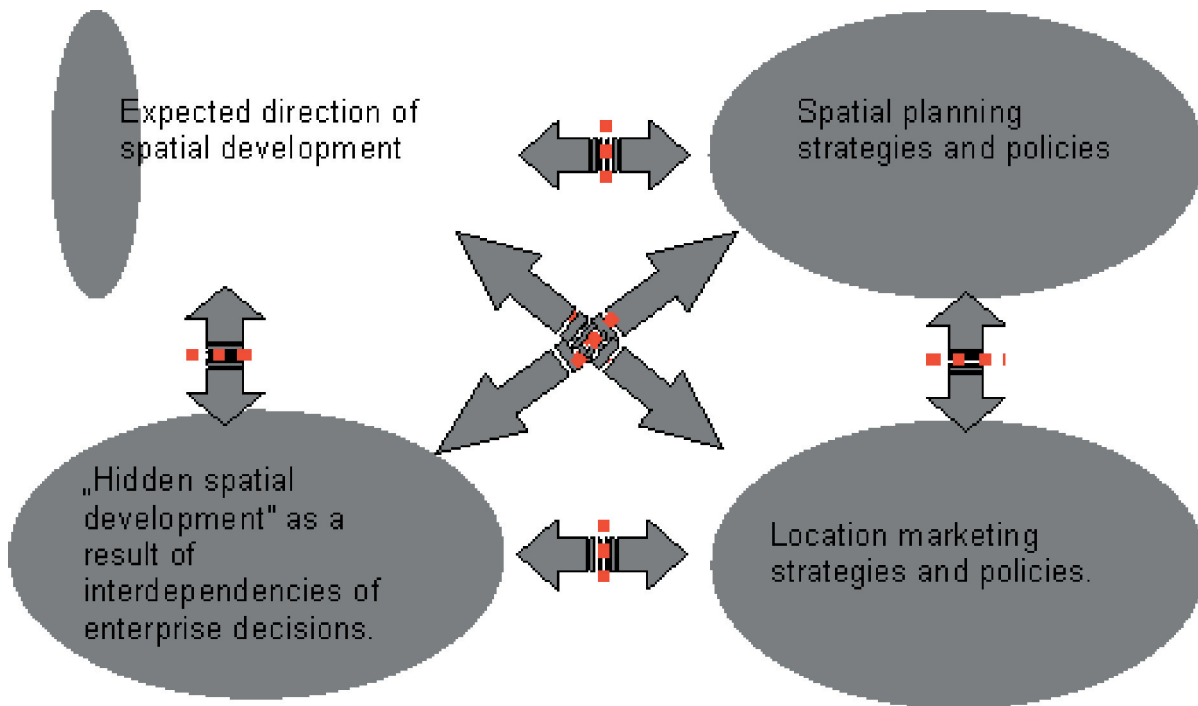


Figure 5: Mismatches between different fields of action.

It became obvious from the conclusions of the policy analyses, that there is a missing link between the principle and strategy of a sustainable polycentric development as it is outlined in the ESDP and adopted by Swiss planning policies on the one hand and the actual spatial development tendencies on the other.

While planning principles go back to a normative, territorial logic, actual spatial development follows the functional logic, which is largely driven by market forces.

Accordingly, the action fields and strategies of the departments responsible for spatial planning and the departments responsible for economic development are not coordinated towards a mutual goal. Thus, in most cases, development towards an undesired direction (in the eyes of spatial planners and the respective policy makers) in Switzerland is not due to a lack of data and tools. It is the result of decisions in politics and enterprises that are not negotiated with the politics for a sustainable spatial development.

Figure 5 gives a simplified overview of the different mismatches:

The mismatch between the expected direction of spatial development and actual tendencies reflects the mismatch between the different departments. This in return means spatial planning strategies do not address the driving forces of the “hidden spatial development”. This also means, spatial planning is not sufficiently outfitted to meet its own expectations.

This simplified figure of course does not imply, that all the interrelations are exclusively shaped by mismatches. Also it does not display the three tiers of the federal system as shown in figure 1, which require additional cooperation of the units and actors responsible for spatial planning and location marketing on all three tiers of the governance

system.

Key Policy issues

Negotiating spatial planning issues with economic objectives

It is not the goal (and not possible) to terminate the mismatches sketched out in figure 5. However, it is necessary to enhance cooperation between, first, the two Departments responsible for Spatial Development Policies in the narrow sense (State Secretariat for Economic Affairs and Federal Office for Spatial Development). Second, coordination has to be extended between Spatial Development Policies in the narrow sense and the other federal tasks for sectoral policies (Spatial Development Policies in a broader sense). Examples are agricultural, transportation and technology policies and location marketing, which may be highly effective for spatial development policies.

A recent study (NZZ, 20.04.05) has shown that the demand for office space depends on the offer of parking places as a major criteria. From a spatial perspective, this clearly makes office space in denser centers of development less attractive than new developments on greenfields. Thus, economic driving forces are directed against e.g. the sustainable development objective of brownfield recycling. The need for supporting sustainable spatial development goals through economic systems of incentive and balancing effects is inescapable.

In this context, Polycentricity is too normative to serve as a robust strategy. This does not mean it is useless as a principle. However, it does not replace the negotiation process.

The example of Agglomeration Policy: Improving and multiplying promising approaches for horizontal/ vertical cooperation along concrete projects

The idea of the agglomeration policies' best practice model, which provides a good start at the outset, needs a real chance in terms of political support, coordination between the responsible departments, financial means.

Support for intercommunity projects and the respective project organizations needs to move towards establishing effective territorial structures. In this, the best practice models are test-laboratories. They provide a chance to combine and negotiate issues from the fields of spatial planning with local and regional economies along specific problems and projects (Living environment, regional parks, transportation, improvement of business districts, housing, social issues).

Also the agglomeration programmes that have been started to coordinate settlement and transportation development need to be steered away from being local transportation concepts, under the label of the agglomeration policy, which stands for horizontal and vertical cooperation.

It will be necessary to build on these existing approaches, however, in the current state policy makers are far from shifting power and financial and personnel resources towards a more extended effort.

Introducing spatial planning in other policy fields

A critical issue is, to take the spatial impact of other policy sectors more into account. The examples discussed throughout the Focus Group Workshop has highlighted that there is a wide range of policy fields that has an immense impact on spatial development. The opportunities range between spatial planning as a separate department with a substantial budget and spatial planning as an intersectoral task, which is implicit in other departments. This question has to be developed in great detail for the whole range of policy fields.

Continuing governance debate based on three interrelated levels: strategy, structure, culture

Future effort has to be on the transformation of territorial governance, based on the ongoing debate, approaches and experience (see section 2.1). In order to introduce change in spatial development and territorial governance, policy makers need to take into account three parallel levels of action:

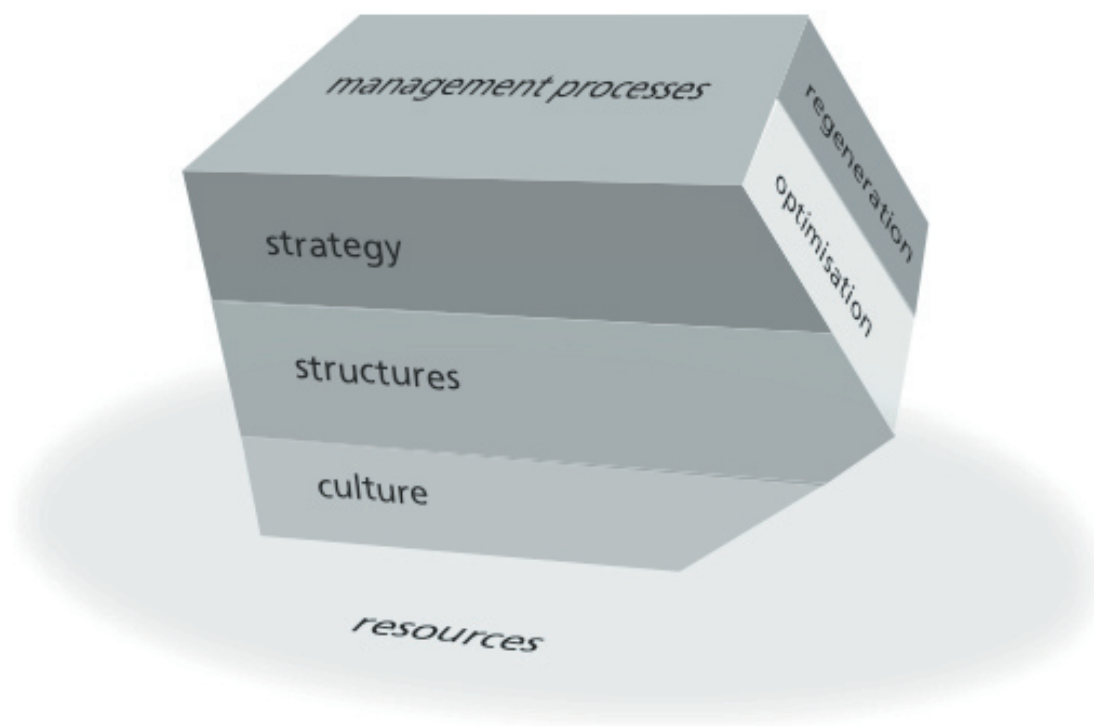


Figure 6: The Action Model for Territorial Governance (Thierstein and Gabi 2004: 35)

The strategy helps orienting and focusing a region's activities. The strategy describes the tasks, which arise from a region's conception of itself, including the functions, which the region intends to fulfill.

One of the concerns that come out of the themes is the lack of cooperation within the multi-level governance situation, despite the acknowledged need to do so. The governance bodies from municipal to federal levels show deficiencies in governance capacity for inter community or intercantonal problems of spatial development. First, spatial problems cannot be treated without looking at their intersectoral connection, and second, there are deficiencies in vertically and horizontally coordinating cooperation of institutions towards a sustainable spatial development. The problem fields are, in fact, part of diverse institutional spheres of operation. The institutions cover operational areas of varying perimeters with different partly overlapping responsibilities and functions. Experts refer to the overlap of operational levels and functions as "multilevel governance" (Thierstein et al. 2003).

The structures denote relatively stable arrangements in time and space. This means both information and management systems in the sense of sets of rules, which support the fulfilling of functions, and also developmental and procedural organization. The structures help co-coordinating and fine-tuning all the region's relevant activities. The clearest examples for "structures" are the institutions on all three tiers of the government, along with the legal framework.

Culture means behavior patterns, in particular the cultural attitudes, the values, principles and norms, the recurring routines and trusted forms. Common culture and behavior help creating identity and sense of belonging. Creating awareness for the necessities and interdependencies of spatial development needs to look at different levels of action and scopes. It requires the ongoing demonstration of interdependencies and results of political decisionmaking on the awareness level of policy makers.

Raising awareness is most successful when the advantages and added value become obvious along specific successful projects.

Creating a national and international network

With ongoing globalization, it becomes inevitable for policy makers in Switzerland to enhance efforts to participate in processes on EU and international levels. This is true for their input in the European spatial planning approaches as well as for international economic relations.

In respect to territorial governance, it will become an important field to develop know-how and experience transfer with regions especially in EU countries with a federal system such as Germany (Rhein-Main Region, Rhein-Ruhr, Metropolitan Region of Munich) and the Netherlands (Randstad). Subsequently, the strengthening of transnational regional networks needs to become a more common option.

Thus, a clearer picture of the economic connections between Switzerland and regions throughout Europe and internationally is needed for policy makers, spatial planners, representatives for location marketing and enterprises.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Literature and Policy Documents

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- Schéma de Services Collectifs du Transport de voyageurs et du Transport de marchandises
- Schéma de Services Collectifs de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche
- Schéma de Services Collectifs de l'Information et de la Communication
- CIADT du 18 décembre 2003

Local planning documents:

- Schémas de Cohérence Territoriale (SCOT),
- Plan Local d'Urbanisme (PLU)
- Plan d'Aménagement et de Développement Durable (PADD)

of Mega-City region's cities such as Reims, Orléans, Chartres, Beauvais, Rouen, Amiens, Compiègne, Paris, etc.

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Appendix 2: Participants of the Policy Focus Group meetings

Participants Focus Group Workshop and Interviewpartners

Person	Institution/ Function	Workshop	Interview
Brigit Wehrli, Leiterin der Fachstelle	Fachstelle für Stadtentwicklung, Stadt Zürich	x	x
Karin Schulte	Fachstelle Stadtentwicklung, StadtZürich	x	
Donald Keller, Leiter Technisches Büro	Verein Regionalplanung Zürich und Umgebung	x	x
Stephan Kux, Leiter Wirtschaftsförderung	Amt für Wirtschaft und Arbeit des Kantons Zürich	x	x
Beat Rhyner	Amt für Wirtschaft und Arbeit des Kantons Zürich	x	
Thierry Delley	Amt für Wirtschaft und Arbeit des Kantons Zürich	x	
Christian Gabathuler, Direktor	Amt für Raumordnung und Vermessung des Kantons Zürich		
Paul Pfister, Leiter der Abteilung für Raumentwicklung	Baudepartement des Kantons Aargau	x	x
Lucas Schloeth	Amt für Raumordnung und Vermessung des Kantons Zürich	x	
Martin Vinzens, Stv. Sektionsleitung Siedlung und Landschaft	Bundesamt für Raumentwicklung (ARE), Bern	x	
Dr. Fritz Wegelin, Vicedirektor	Bundesamt für Raumentwicklung (ARE), Bern	x	
Fred Baumgartner, Leiter Sektion Siedlung und Landschaft	Bundesamt für Raumentwicklung, Bern	x	x
Dr. Eric Scheidegger, Leistungsbe-reichsleiter Standortförderung	Staatssekretariat für Wirtschaft (seco), Bern	x	
Rudolf Schiess, Ressortleiter Regional- und Raumordnungspolitik	Staatssekretariat für Wirtschaft (seco), Bern	x	x
Andreas Gantenbein, Vizedirektor, Strassennetze	Bundesamt für Strassen (ASTRA),	x	
Margrith Hanselmann, Vizedirektorin Verkehr	Bundesamt für Verkehr, Bern	x	
Urs Schlegel	Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB, Bern	x	x
Leiter SBB Immobilien			
Andreas Brönnimann	Die Schweizerische Post, Bern	x	
Leiter Immobilien			

Andreas Flury, Direktor	Verkehrsbetriebe Glattal, Glattbrugg	x	x
Alain Paratte, Planung	Allreal Generalunternehmung, Zürich	x	x
Stefan Pfäffli, Dozent	Institut für Betriebs- und Regionalökonomie, Hochschule für Wirtschaft Luzern	x	x
Christoph Miesch	Amt für Gemeinden und Raumordnung, Kanton Bern	x	x
Dr. Boris Spycher	Amt für Raumplanung Graubünden	x	x
Hans Bättig, Vorsitzender	Hauseigentümerverband Kanton Bern	x	x
Urs Blaser	Wirtschaftsförderung Region Olten	x	x
Otto Halter, President glow, Gemeindepräsident	Association glow.das Glattal	x	x
Viktor Goebel, Researcher	TU München	x	
	Lehrstuhl für Raumentwicklung		