

Regional development and identities

A comparison between the north of The Netherlands and Zaragoza



Report of a Master thesis about the spatial-economic development of two regions in Europe for the final project of the Master Planologie

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Preface

This thesis is partly written in Zaragoza, the main part is written in Groningen. Before my four months in Zaragoza I have written a research proposal as a base for writing my thesis. Furthermore I have studied literature concerning regional development in general and the recent planning developments in the north of The Netherlands in particular to obtain more knowledge concerning the subject I have chosen for my thesis. I have started writing the part about the north of The Netherlands before my stay in Zaragoza as well.

In Zaragoza I have spend most of my time reading and studying literature concerning the recent planning developments in and current level of development of the province of Zaragoza. Furthermore I have studied the city of Zaragoza and the surrounding area by my own observations. Moreover I have written the first version of the theoretical part of my thesis during my stay in Zaragoza and in the last two months I have written most of the chapter about Zaragoza as well.

Back in Groningen I have corrected the theoretical part of my thesis and I have finished the chapter about Zaragoza. Afterwards I have finished the part about the north of The Netherlands and completed the first concept version of my thesis.

Hereby I would like to thank my supervisors: Ana Escalona and Gert de Roo. Ana Escalona for her effort and provision of information from the University of Zaragoza during my stay there. And Gert de Roo for his supervision during the whole research project, critical view and good discussions which have helped to turn my work into the thesis that lies in front of you now.

Abstract

A lot is changing in the planning world. European directives increasingly influence the planning policy and globalization makes distances less important favouring attainability and good connections. The relation between city and rural land is changing in some developed areas because of this as well. The periphery is urbanising increasingly there, as more people are residing in the rural area. The periphery depends less on, and in some areas becomes part of the centre. These developments are leading to urban regionalization, the region as a whole becomes increasingly important. Direct consequence of this is that (sub)regions are aiming more on their specific qualities within a bigger region for further development. Therefore the base for the economy changes in some regions as well. Not every region is suited for an industrial based economy, in some regions an economy based on residing and leisure has more chances. Regional policy has to join this in order to utilize these chances for further development and to be capable of dealing with problems in the concerning region well.

It are these developments which form the base for writing this thesis, in which particularly regional development and specific qualities and identities of developed regions are at issue. The north of The Netherlands is such a developed region in which these developments are taken place. There is however a lot uncertain in this region concerning the economy and policy that suits best with these developments. Therefore this region is compared with another developed European region where these developments might take place as well: the province of Zaragoza. With this comparison more clarity can possibly be obtained concerning the changes and policy for further regional development that joins best with them.

In the first chapter both regions are briefly introduced. Problems with the planning developments are named and the most important objectives and questions of this thesis are described. The second chapter forms the theoretical framework of this thesis. Several developments that influence the process of regionalization are discussed as well as the changing relation between the urban and rural area and policy for further regional development which suits best with these changes. In the third chapter the region the north of The Netherlands is discussed. The relation between urban and rural areas here and a new concept that suits with this changed relation are described. This also counts for developments in the planning policy, specific qualities and identities that can contribute to the regional economy and a matching vision. Chapter four then discusses the situation in Zaragoza. The geographic and economic situation are described. The most important characteristics of the identity of this region are discussed as well in order to be able to define chances for further development. Furthermore the planning policy of Zaragoza is discussed and the Spanish region is compared with the planning developments in the north of The Netherlands. The Expo is also described, which will take place in Zaragoza in 2008. This project is an example of the way in which planning policy in Zaragoza can be brought in practise to achieve further development of the region. In chapter five some overall conclusions and recommondations are made. The north of The Netherlands is very developed as a whole, urban regions arise here. The policy changes here as the area-oriented approach is used more often, the same counts for governance as policy form. Because of this new concepts and visions arise, like the concept of 'mal-contramal' and LILAC-planning. Zaragoza is less far developed as a whole. The urban areas are much further developed then the rural ones. This imbalance is a consequence of the regional policy in Zaragoza, without much national steering. It is however slowly changing as there is a dual policy for the agglomeration and the rural area, based on their own identities and chances. It is difficult to compare both regions since their stages of development are different. The same concepts and visions can not be applied, although there are similarities in the planning policies and both regions focus on their specific qualities.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The bridge to Zaragoza

In the Dutch urban and rural planning a perspective named development planning is rapidly winning grounds the last couple of years as a way to face different planning questions. Development planning as meant in this way, has nothing to do with the Third World. It's a vision which contains another way to face planning questions than the one the people in The Netherlands are used to. No longer are planning questions answered through standards set out by a topdown government. Instead they are faced at a regional or local scale. This vision includes a more area-oriented approach, is decentralized and has an aim on the process. It results from a more postmodern and communicative rational way of thinking, which has become more popular the last fifteen to twenty years. It doesn't replace the centralized policy form, but is complementary to it. Both forms can exist next to each other.

LILAC-planning (Living In Leisure-rich Areas and Communities) is a form of planning which anticipates on this development. With the concept of 'mal-contramal' it contains a new vision on the spatial-economic development of the north of The Netherlands. It tries to create further development of the region based on its specific qualities. The concept of 'mal-contramal' is based on the idea that a city and the rural land around it need each other, as they have become one urban region, and are complementary. A city can't exist without the rural land around it and vica versa. This is a new way of looking at the relation between cities and the surrounding rural land. It follows on existing theories like Christaller, Von Thünen and Alonso. For the north of The Netherlands this idea also counts at the national scale. With its unique characteristics of space and rest it can be complementary to the 'Randstad.' For this reason Dutch boarders must anticipate on the chances the unique landscape of the north of the Netherlands is offering. Hereby you can think of the utilizing of for example chances on the residential area and leisure, on the area of recreation, tourism and energy. The north of The Netherlands can strengthen its own identity of rest and space with an economy based on residential characteristics. In doing so, it can be complementary to the working economy of the 'Randstad.' (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) The city and the rural land are no longer conflicting poles, but can be seen as one spatial system. Red (city), green (rural land) and blue (water) can complete as well as strengthen each other. Together they form a new color: lilac. They are complementary and in being so, they can create residential landscapes which are complementary. (De Jong and Brouwer, 2006)

Spain is the most decentralized country of the European Union with its 17 autonomous regions. Each of these regions has another level of independence. Zaragoza is situated in one of these regions: Aragón. Furthermore Zaragoza is the capital city of the region and one out of three provinces in Aragón with Huesca and Teruel. (Universidad de Zaragoza, 2004) It is interesting to find out what the current policy on the relation between the city Zaragoza and the surrounding region is. Do classical place theories like Christaller and Von Thünen still apply on the policy in Zaragoza or is, like in The Netherlands, the concept of 'mal-contramal' of application here? Because the process of decentralization in Spain is carried out much further and for a longer period than in The Netherlands, it's also interesting to take a closer look at possible characteristics of development planning in the urban and rural planning that exists here. Furthermore it is interesting to find out what the current and lacking policy instruments in Zaragoza are and to find out what the regional identity of Zaragoza is exactly. Especially because Zaragoza is situated between the two biggest and most famous cities in Spain: Madrid and Barcelona. For that reason Zaragoza doesn't seem to have much of a chance in attracting big companies. Zaragoza can possibly be seen as complementary to these

two cities. The same counts at a lower scale for the rural land around the city of Zaragoza, which might be complementary to the city of Zaragoza. Especially because of the recent planning developments which are taking place along the infrastructure connections between Zaragoza and Madrid and Barcelona and the coming of the Expo to Zaragoza in 2008, there seem to be chances for Zaragoza and the surrounding region on the area of the leisure among many. For that reason it should be made clear what the identity of this region is, what the problems are and where the chances lie. Furthermore insight must be obtained in the manner on which these chances can be utilized and in how the people from Zaragoza and the surrounding region see the relation between the city and the surrounding rural land. The boarders must have a clear vision on Zaragoza and the region, one which joins the different actors and can lead to cooperation and the utilizing of chances so that further development can be achieved. This thesis tries to answer these questions.

1.2 Problems with the application of planning developments

The planning developments in the north of The Netherlands are important for the spatial-economic development of this region. The concept of 'mal-contramal' is the underlying concept for planning policy which can anticipate on these developments. Development planning and LILAC-planning can help to see the chances these developments are offering and to utilize them for further development of the region. To get better insight in their application, it is important to make clear whether they only apply in the north of The Netherlands. Maybe they can be of application in other countries with another planning policy and another regional identity as well. Are they typical for the north of The Netherlands or do they also occur elsewhere? How do they fit within developments like globalization and decentralization of policy, that are going on in the world right now? Can they last or are they unique and how can planning policy anticipate on these developments? This isn't completely clear at the moment and this thesis tries to make this a little bit more clear by comparing the situation in the north of The Netherlands with the situation in Zaragoza. Furthermore the right policy instruments in the north of The Netherlands for the anticipation on these developments seem to be lacking. Therefore it is interesting to take a look at planning problems and developments, the planning policy and its instruments in Zaragoza. Maybe there are better policy instruments here. And by comparing both regions, maybe it becomes a bit more clear if the above mentioned developments in the planning policy of the north of The Netherlands also occur elsewhere and really have a future.

1.3 Research objectives

A first objective is to describe the current level of development and the current planning developments in the north of The Netherlands to find possibilities for further spatial-economic development of the region.

A second objective is to describe the main characteristics of the regional identity and underlying problems of Zaragoza and the surrounding region to find the current level of development and chances for spatial-economic development of this region and to compare this with the situation in the north of The Netherlands.

A third objective is to investigate whether and how the concept of 'mal-contramal,' development and LILAC-planning apply on Zaragoza like they do in the north of The Netherlands. And, within this objective, to describe the current planning policy and policy instruments in Zaragoza and compare them with the ones in the north of The Netherlands.

A fourth objective is to find out whether and how the coming of the Expo 2008 can contribute to the strengthening of the regional identity and economy of Zaragoza by utilizing the chances this identity is offering.

1.4 Research questions

During this study there will be tried to answer a number of research questions. These questions will function as a guide through the study:

Background question:

- Which current developments in the world are important for the field of urban and rural planning and how do these developments influence the relation between the urban and rural area and planning policy related to that?

Main questions for the north of The Netherlands:

- What is the current level of development, the current relation between the urban and rural area and the current planning policy in this region?
- What are the current planning developments in the north of The Netherlands and how can they strengthen the identity and development of this region?

Main questions for Zaragoza:

- What is the current level of development, the current relation between the urban and rural area and the current planning policy in this region?
- What is the characteristic identity of Zaragoza and the surrounding region and how can this identity contribute to further regional development of this area?
- What is the role of the Expo 2008 in the utilizing of the chances and the strengthening of the regional identity and economy for further development?

Concluding question:

- What are the differences and similarities between the level of development, regional identity and planning developments in the north of The Netherlands and Zaragoza and what can they learn from each other?

1.5 Outline of the report

The next chapter discusses some of the main developments that are taking place in the world we are living in right now. These developments have an important influence on the field of urban and rural planning. There is a shift in the most important level for planning policy. This regionalization is an important development in this thesis. The relation between the urban and rural area is changing as well. Classical place theories like Christaller and Von Thünen will be described. The concept of 'mal-contramal' can possibly be considered as a next step connecting on these theories. Also background theory on development planning will be discussed. A link will be made with the area-oriented approach and governance. Furthermore a decision-making model for planning issues is described in search of the most effective planning policy for further regional development.

In the third chapter the base and rise of the concept of 'mal-contramal,' the policy of development planning and the vision of LILAC-planning in The Netherlands will be described and explained. This is done with special focus on the northern part of The Netherlands and the further development there. The fourth chapter of this thesis starts with a description of Zaragoza. The geographic and economic situation and regional identity of Zaragoza will be described. After that the planning system, planning developments and policy instruments will be discussed. In the third paragraph the relation between the city of Zaragoza and the surrounding rural land will be discussed in the light of the concept of 'mal-contramal.' In the fourth paragraph Zaragoza is compared with the north of The Netherlands. Among more a closer look is taken at the possibilities for LILAC-planning in Zaragoza. The fifth paragraph takes a closer look at the practice as the Expo 2008 is discussed. In chapter five the outcomes are discussed and an overall conclusion and some recommendations will be made.

Chapter 2 Regional developments in a changing world

2.1 Introduction

The world changes, like it constantly does, and it takes along the planning world. Recently some of these changes have led to a discussion in Europe about the national scale level as the most important one to make and implement policy. There seems to be a shift in the level on which the actual decisions are taken from the national level to the regional level. This shift is a very important fact throughout this thesis because it influences the way in which regional development is possible. In the next paragraph some of the developments in the European policy and the concept of globalization are discussed. They are influencing this shift considerably. In the third paragraph the relation between the urban and rural area is discussed. The described developments and changes in paragraph 2.2 are influencing this relation and the shift towards the region can be found here as well. This leads to new possibilities for the spatial-economic development of regions as a whole and the rural area in particular. These developments and changes have to be managed well in order to be able to utilize the possibilities for further development in the best possible way. In paragraph 2.4 is discussed which policy is the most suitable for this. The chapter is finished with an overall conclusion.

2.2 Regionalization

European directives

The European policy is one factor that influences the shift towards the regional level. Europe is, in spite of the recent rejection of the European constitution by the French and Dutch population, a concept which can not be ignored anymore. The influence of EU policy is also noticeable in the planning world. Some examples are the Birds and Habitat directives and the common agriculture policy of the EU. And there are also European directives on other spatial areas like water and air quality. EU countries must stick to these directives and therefore these directives are influencing the planning policy in these countries. A direct consequence of this is that the national level becomes a less important stage for decisions on the spatial area. The European directives exceed national borders and thus spatial planners need to look outside their own trusted planning world as well. A river for instance doesn't stop at a national border. Therefore regional policy makers of different countries are working ever more together. This makes it necessary to look across borders at for instance the area of legislation, political culture, concepts concerning good spatial organisation, nature and culture landscape.

The European space becomes more boundless. Regions from different countries work together to make planning policy on spatial areas where European directives apply. Herewith the European directives make, unintentional or not, the regional level more important. Spatial planners on the regional level need to make sure that their policy is in line with the European directives first. If that is the case, then most of the time it is in line with the national policy as well. So the national policy becomes less important. It becomes a framework with main principles in line with the European directives and actual decisions are taken on the regional level. This region most of the time lies inside the national borders, but it can also be a region that crosses national borders. Water for instance doesn't take into account the borders of countries. With the Water Framework Directive from 2000 as basis more and more cross-border regional cooperation arises. (Hidding, 2006) So there is a shift towards regionalization of planning policy among more because of EU directives. Regional and crossborder policy become more important. Thus policy is going to aim more on the development of regions due to transnational cooperation and EU directives. But there are more factors that contribute to this shift.

Subsidiarity

The policy of the EU focuses on the principle of subsidiarity. The subsidiarity principle intends to ensure that decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen and that constant checks are made as to whether action at community level is justified in the light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level. Specifically, the principle tries to deal with every issue on the scale level wherein the issue plays. (European Communities, 2007) Furthermore the European constitution, although it has no legal justification yet, strengthens the principle and the position of local and regional governments in Europe with respect to the current EU Treaty. It does this by explicitly including the local and regional government levels and not just the national ones. (Kenniscentrum Europa decentraal, 2007) The principle of subsidiarity contributes to the process of decentralization. Hereby it helps regional governments to obtain a stronger position in the planning world of countries as more decisions are taken on this level. And with this stronger position it becomes easier to create regional development based on the specific characteristics of a region. The principle of subsidiarity also tries to bring the policy closer to the citizen. When citizens are more involved in the policy there will be more support for the decisions that are necessary to create further development in a region.

Territorial cohesion

At the same time as the principle of subsidiarity, territorial cohesion has become one of the main points in the policy of the European Commission for the coming years. According to the third cohesion report of Espon (2006): “territorial cohesion adds to the concept of economic and social cohesion by translating the fundamental EU goal of balanced and sustainable development into a territorial setting. It is both a multi-sector and multi-level concept that can be implemented at regional, national, transnational and European level. Territorial cohesion is concerned with development opportunities and living conditions, matters which are important for citizens and enterprises in all parts of Europe. Such opportunities and conditions vary as there are different territories with different types of potentials.” According to Van der Wusten (2006): “territorial cohesion in policy terms refers to the reduction of spatial inequalities, the promotion of the coherence of sectoral policy with spatial results and regional policy, improvement of territorial integration (supposedly aimed at the demolition of spatial obstacles to mutual contact and communication) and encouragement of interregional cooperation (along the borders of the Member States and transnational).” In simple words territorial cohesion is pursuing more cooperation and better communication between regions in order to get more equality in the main points of their policy. In doing so regions should be able to utilize the different development opportunities and chances for improving living conditions which these regions are offering better. And thereby they can create better conditions and more competitiveness at all the different levels including the European level.

It sounds nice but it also seems to be a contradictory policy compared with the principle of subsidiarity. This principle aims on the decentralization of policy and tries to emphasize and strengthen the identity of regions and the people that live there. Hereby the principle aims more at the complementarity between the regions than on competition. As such subsidiarity focuses on the specific and dynamic qualities of every region for further development. Territorial cohesion seems to aim more on the creation of more equally developed regions from the same strong base. Then regions should be able to compete with each other. But this asks for a policy concerning regions that is made on a higher level. Territorial cohesion is thus not in line with the principle of subsidiarity. That principle tries to deal with every issue on the level wherein it plays and thereby it aims on complementarity. It tries to take the specific identity of the area and the local people into account as much as possible instead of creating a base from above for the development of regions. This leads to contradictions in the EU

policy. Policy makers have to decide which line they will follow to deal with the problems and chances in regions in the best possible way. Subsidiarity seems to suit better by the dynamic regions and developments that take place herein.

Globalization

This shift of the level at which spatial decisions are taken, isn't just suddenly there. It is influenced by the EU policy, but it is also a consequence of social, economic and spatial developments which play a role in the world for a longer time now. (Wheeler et.al., 1998) These developments are influencing the planning world. Now a closer look is taken at one of the most important factors in these developments: globalization. Globalization is a concept which can't be described very easy. It coincides with a number of technological and political developments as well. The mobility of the people has strongly increased as a result of technological progress. Distances become less and less important because it becomes easier to bridge large distances with a car, the train or an airplane in relatively short time. Cultural diversity increases in the cities as more people move to foreign cities. Furthermore the mobile phone and the internet have provided us with the possibility to be in contact with another person anywhere on the globe on every moment of the day. Local lifestyles can have a global influence due to the technological improvements in communication. This is leading to a strong diversity of identities and lifestyles in some places. (Giddens, derived from De Roo and Schwartz, 2001) Technological developments support the change of lifestyles and identities and the disappearance of traditions in several places. The current society is also named the network society because of these developments, as a next step after the period of the industrialisation. (Castells, derived from De Roo and Schwartz, 2001)

The technological developments are not only influencing developments in the social area. They for instance influence economic development as well. Companies try to benefit from these developments. They are expanding their market more and more by offering products on the internet and by opening establishments all over the world. Companies change from enterprises with only one establishment to links in a network of several, mutual connected establishments with their own responsibilities. (Harrison and Castells, derived from De Roo and Schwartz, 2001) This development is also possible because of the concatenation of the global financial markets. It supports the continuing process of enlargement of the economy. Developments that are gathered under the concept of globalization, like for instance global financial transactions, act as if borders are not there. (Taylor et.al., derived from Fyfe and Kenny, 2005) Companies at the same time concentrate on those things which they can do best. In the global economy local and regional specialisation takes place. (Storper, derived from De Roo and Schwartz, 2001) Many companies and social practices aren't bound to a certain area or ground anymore due to the technological developments and therefore they've got a lot more possibilities to place their establishments. Due to all the technological improvements it becomes more difficult for governments to regulate the market and the use of space. They are cooperating with the market in many cases because many companies become more footloose. These developments have changed the way people look at space and place. (De Roo and Schwartz, 2001) This is an important development for this thesis.

Global developments have a local impact. It is no longer necessary to live and work within very short distance in a city and also companies can move to places outside cities cause they become more footloose. Place and distance are experienced differently, on a large scale. It is more and more about the connections one actor has with other places, persons or activities. These connections define the developments in social, economical and other areas. (De Roo and Schwartz, 2001) In for instance The Netherlands this leads to the fact that people become less dependent of the city and thus they move more into the region. The regional level

becomes more important! Many of the developments exceed the current administrative borders and thus the need for a regional administrative level becomes bigger as well. People become more aware of the whole area in which they are living their lives instead of focusing just on the city or the periphery. The region as a whole becomes important as their living environment. (Hidding, 2006)

This brings us back to the point that regional policy becomes more important. A region exceeds current administrative borders and can therefore take the identity of an area better into account and aim on its specific chances for further development. And with the changed perception of space and place another already mentioned factor becomes more important as well. Because people come in contact with other regions more often their own regional identity becomes more important. Major companies open establishments all over the world and therefore cities become more alike. You can find for example a McDonalds in every important city in the world. As cities become more the same and cultural diversity increases people become more aware of the identity which distinguishes themselves from other regions in their country or the world. And they start to focus more on these differences. Because even if McDonalds restaurants can be found everywhere, they still aren't identical. The McDonalds in Tokyo sells different things than the one in New York and they aren't used by the same kind of people in the same kind of way everywhere as well. (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001) People mainly take positive aspects from other cultures and not aspects that don't match with their own identity. In this light Pratt & Hanson (derived from Holloway & Hubbard, 2001) argue that although the world is increasingly well-connected most people continue to lead their everyday lives intensely local. So everybody's life is touched by globalization, but still every region is different and the identity of the area and the people differ per region as well. Therefore it is important to develop every region further in its own way and that is also why regional policy becomes more important.

Conclusion

There are a lot of uncertainties and obscurities that come with the new EU policy and with concepts like globalization. And many of the right answers are still to be found. What becomes clear though from this paragraph is that there is a shift from the national more towards the regional level. The regional level becomes the most important one for policy. Many of the problems and chances for further development of an area can be found on this level. The life of people also takes place more and more at the regional level due to among more technological developments that come with the concept of globalization. And the policy of the EU really aims on the development of regions. The regionalization is also encouraged by the principle of subsidiarity. This shift in the level on which the actual decisions are taken from the national to the regional level is a very important fact during the complete thesis.

2.3 The relation between the urban and rural area

A centralized national policy isn't working very well anymore in a world which becomes more global and where the social developments have such an impact. From the described developments in the second paragraph it becomes clear that the regional level becomes increasingly important. This is something which also inflects the relation between the urban and the rural area. This relation has strongly changed during the last decades. The classic relation between the centre and the periphery is disappearing in many developed countries. Less than a century ago geographers like Von Thünen, Burgess and Christaller described this relation for the first time in their classical place theories. Before a closer look is taken at some of these models, it is important to state that their models are, as every model, a simplification of the real world. Nevertheless they are useful and have helped us to better understand the relation between the rural and urban area throughout the years. (Wheeler et al., 1998)

Burgess' concentric zone model

Burgess was one of the first persons who described this relation in his essay 'The Growth of the City' in 1925. His concentric zone model (see Figure 2.1) focuses on the way cities are growing, especially residential growth. In order to do this he divided the urban area into concentric zones. The central business district (CBD) is the financial and organization heart of the city. It is where the transportation routes come together and almost all of the social, commercial and business activities are located here. Immediately next to the CBD lies the zone where many industrial activities and factories are located. At the edge of this zone lie the worst residential area, with ghettos and high poverty and population density. The working class zone is a zone with mainly industrial workers who in most cases managed to escape from the second zone. The fourth zone is the zone for the middle class with residents of a little better quality mainly build between the wars. The last concentric ring is the commuters' and high class zone. Here the high-income families are living and the population density is lower. This zone includes residential suburbs and is well connected to the important transportation routes. It also stretches in to the countryside beyond the city. (Fyfe and Kenny, 2005) Remarkable in Burgess' model is that the last three zones are almost entirely made up of residential land use. And characteristic for that time is that his model is mainly aimed at the centre. Now this doesn't suit anymore with the recent developments of people moving away from the cities and companies moving to the edges or further along highways. The relation between centre and periphery isn't really mentioned in this model. It focuses on the development of the centre instead of the whole region.

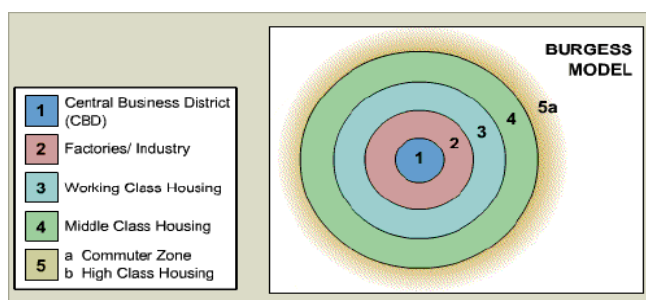


Figure 2.1: Burgess' concentric zone model. (BBC, 2007)

The sector and multi-nuclei concepts of Hoyt and Harris and Ullman

The sector concept, proposed by Hoyt in 1939, is a follow up on Burgess' concentric zone model. Hoyt states that urban development is mainly taking place along the transportation routes. By doing so the different types of land use stay within their own sector as they are developing outward. Therefore cities are getting a star-shaped form and they grow faster in some directions because of the importance of the access. This creates a sectoral pattern of urban land use. (Knox and Marston, 2001) The multiple-nuclei concept of Harris and Ullman (1940s) replaces these sectors of land use by nuclei. They argue that several types of land use develop around a number of distinct nuclei. They give four basic reasons for this kind of land use differentiation. Their first reason is that many kinds of economic activities require specialized facilities or certain kinds of locations. Manufacturing for instance may require a location near water or near a highway. Harris and Ullman see the clustering for mutual benefit of several kinds of urban economic activities as a second reason for their concept. As a third reason they argue that some activities can't function next to each other. They mention the conflict in land use between high-income residential areas and industrial areas as an example of this. And finally, it is not possible to spend the same amount of money for all the activities. Therefore some activities can't afford the most desirable locations. With these four reasons some land uses can typically be distinguished through the multiple-nuclei concept. Examples

of this are the central business district or heavy industrial zones, but also various socio-economic classes of residential areas. (Fyfe and Kenny, 2005)

Again the focus lies on the development of the urban area. The periphery is only seen as a production area and the development of this area is not described. With the developments described in paragraph 2.1 this has changed. More people move to the periphery and companies are less bound to a specific ground as they become more footloose. Distance and location are less important, it is more about attainability nowadays. For instance the first reason of Harris and Ullman doesn't count anymore for most of the companies with urban economic activities due to mainly technological improvements. It becomes more difficult to place the different activities in separate sectors or nuclei. The above described concepts can help us to get better insight in the way these regions have developed in the past. In the first decades of the twentieth century the focus mainly lies on the development of the centre or urban area. Nowadays this has changed and the focus increasingly lies on the development of the whole region.

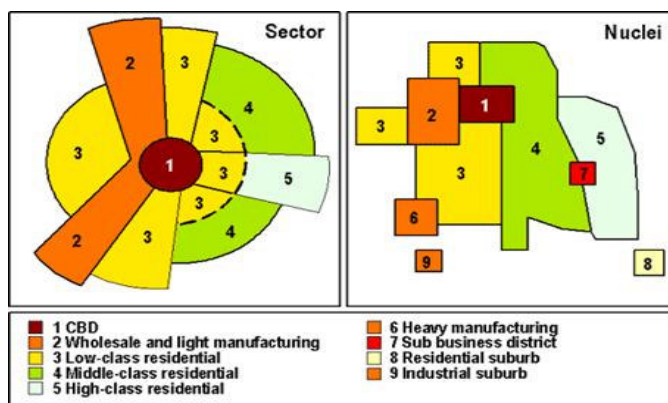


Figure 2.2: Hoyt's sector model and Harris and Ullman's multiple nuclei concept. (Snyder, 2006)

The location theory of Von Thünen

The above described theories all face the relation between the urban and rural area from a central place view with a mainly residential approach. Some other important place theories also have this central place view as basis, but they have a spatial-economic approach. The location theory of Von Thünen is considered to be the first of all location theories. He wrote down this theory in 1826. The basis of this theory is competition for land around a centre. The centre is considered to be the place where all the products go to and therefore all the producers want to be located as close to this centre as possible. This theory holds the environmental variables constant and by doing so the product with the highest profit will outbid all other products for the best location. (Wheeler et al., 1998) As the price for land decreases when the distance to the centre increases, the different types of land use will form rings around the centre. Each ring has its own kind of land use. The most intensive activities take place in the ring nearest to the centre and the more extensive ones in the rings far from the centre. (Borneman et.al., 2006) Von Thünen's location theory differs from the central place theories that will be discussed next. In the following central place theories income and population are dispersed evenly. Von Thünen's and the earlier described theories have densities that decrease as distance from the central town increases. (Wheeler et al., 1998)

His theory is the first that describes the city and the periphery, but it also has the city as most important element. The periphery is only a production area. His theory isn't functioning anymore in most developed regions. A location near the centre becomes less important for many companies due to among more developments that come with globalization. They can

also open establishments elsewhere in a region. Therefore there is less competition for land around the centre. Companies move into the region and they try to be complementary instead of competing with each other. Hereby they focus more on the specific qualities of the area for further spatial and economic development.

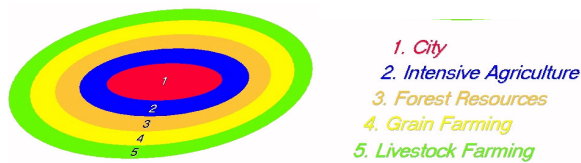


Figure 2.3: Von Thünen's location theory. (Sasaki and Box, 2003)

Christaller's central place theory

In Christaller's theory population and income are dispersed evenly. His theory is a central place theory named 'Central Places in Southern Germany.' It is written in 1933 and is a very important and known classic central place theory which had a big impact on the field of urban economic geography. Christaller argued that the distribution of towns could be explained by an overall ordering theory. He assumes that there is a strong relation between the centre and the surrounding area. Christaller hereby means the supplies in the core area and the production of goods in the region. These two elements mutually depend on each other. When one of them is omitted the other will disappear as well. Products need a store to produce money and without the supply a store can't exist. Christaller distinguishes several levels whereby the region that supports a centre becomes increasingly larger. This leads to the hexagon pattern that can be seen in Figure 2.4. In the smaller centres a supermarket, a general storekeeper and a cafeteria can be found, while in the larger centres less daily supplies like a clothing shop and jewelers are located. (Wheeler et al., 1998, Fyfe and Kenny, 2005)

Christaller's theory can be seen as the next step after Von Thünen's theory. He not only describes a relation between centre and periphery, but yet also sees them as mutually dependent. However the region is still subordinate in his theory. There is competition between the centre and the periphery. Nowadays there is a shift from competition more towards complementarity between both areas in some developed countries. The rural land urbanises increasingly as more people leave the centre and reside in the periphery. Companies also open establishments in the region as the need to be located near the centre is less big for some of them due to mainly technological improvements. Both areas are producing and consuming now, based on their own specific characteristics and qualities. They become complementary and can possibly form synergies that can lead to further development of the whole region.

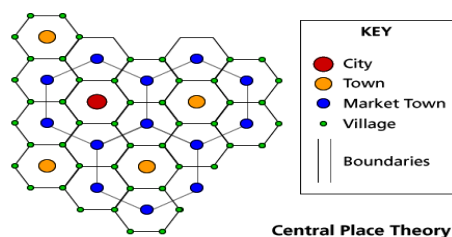


Figure 2.4: Christaller's central place theory. (Thompson, 2007)

The theory of Lösch

Christaller's central place theory is applied by a number of geographers afterwards. Lösch was one of them. He combined Christaller's central place theory with an industrial and agricultural location theory. Like Christaller, Lösch takes into account the different levels of

centres and regions. He argued that small companies are established at the lowest level and large companies and headquarters at the highest level. Lösch assigned every additional order of good or service to an initially selected central place. As in Christaller's theory each of these additional orders is associated with an increasingly larger hexagonal market arrangement. Unlike Christaller, in his model Lösch started with the lowest centre and build up towards the highest. And Lösch places a production area in the centre instead of a consumption one. (Wheeler et al., 1998) Lösch assumes a mutual dependence between centre and periphery as well. And like Christaller his theory is based on competition between centre and periphery. Now that consuming and producing takes place in the urban and rural areas in some developed countries, the competing element is more and more replaced by complementarity between regions with specific distinguishing qualities. In the periphery there can be for instance consumption of several recreational activities while the centre still mainly aims on industrial activities. However the dependence between centre and periphery still remains. In the periphery companies still have relations with related companies in the centre and vice versa.

Rostow's stages of economic development

Where all the above described theories focus on the location of a central place or the relation between a central place and the region around that centre, a number of other theories focus on the regional growth and economic development of regions. An important example of such a theory is the concept on economic development of Rostow of 1960. He described five different stages of economic development evolving through time. Every region can be placed in one of these stages and by analysing its economic structure and growth closely it can possibly ascend to the next higher level in a certain period of time. The five stages of Rostow (Knox and Marston, 2001): 1) traditional society; 2) preconditions for takeoff; 3) takeoff; 4) drive to maturity; 5) high mass consumption. The traditional society is characterized by countries without a common agricultural production, lack of a sizable commercial economy, low technological inputs and an ideological antipathy too, or at least unconcern with, attributes of modernization. When certain influential elements in society favour economic change and seek modernization for a variety of purposes, the preconditions for takeoff are met. These purposes are for instance: national prestige, personal profit and belief in a better way of life. It is possible to organize these elements into political or economic institutions in order to try to reach the goals of economic progress. Because most of the society stays behind in the traditional stage, absolute and per capita growth doesn't increase very fast. In the takeoff stage the resistance to modernization breaks down and productivity increases rapidly. Economic growth is actively encouraged by political institutions. According to Rostow a region usually stays in the third stage 40 to 60 years. The first two stages can take longer. These three stages together include all of the developing countries. (Wheeler et al., 1998)

Rostow named the fourth stage the drive to maturity. In this stage technological improvements are widespread and applied everywhere. Industrial production is highly diversified. With the increased production in this stage, some of it may be directed into social welfare, investment abroad or large defence expenditures. The stage of high mass consumption is the final stage of Rostow's concept. In this stage technological improvement turns from an emphasis on mainly production to an emphasis on consumption like prepared food, packaging and preserving and luxury items. Investment in production continues, but of increasing importance are educational investment, welfare and security and leisure-time expenditures. The last two stages include all of the so-called developed countries of the world. (Knox and Marston, 2001) Nowadays these last two stages are more or less combined and these developments take place simultaneously. Therefore the word maturity isn't really applicable anymore. Regions that are in the last stages of Rostow will develop further based on their own specific qualities. Hereby leisure activities do become increasingly important. So

parts of Rostow's concept still are handy to recognize the several stages of economic development. It isn't complete though because regions keep developing further and the maturity as proposed by Rostow doesn't count anymore.

The internal growth and export base theories for economic development

When you look at the real world you can come to the conclusion that the process is not as automatic and straightforward as Rostow's model implied. It is just a tool for policy makers to face the problems in the real world. It is difficult for every region to find the right policy in order to deal with their complex problems and create further development. Every region has its own problems and opportunities. Furthermore the development of regions also depends on the development of other regions. Nevertheless his theory has been used and extended by a great number of geographers afterwards. Two theories that discuss the problems of developed regions a bit further are the internal growth theory and the export base theory. Although both theories are a bit contrasting, they both discuss regional economic growth and they are both related to the theory of Rostow. (Wheeler et al., 1998)

The internal growth theory states that economic development occurs because of economic changes taking place within a region like the application of technology to a local resource or a rise in purchasing power. At first a region just has a self-sufficient subsistence. With technological or infrastructure improvements local trade becomes possible. Location becomes important to compete with other producers. As transport costs and average cost decrease due to the improvements, the more competitive producers are able to sell their products more widely. Agricultural trade results in a higher income per capita and stimulates local manufacturing and tertiary activities. Because of this the region slowly shifts from an agricultural towards an industrial base. The increasing industrialization asks for more tertiary activities. This condition is referred to as economic maturity. (Wheeler et al., 1998) As already stated this maturity isn't a description which can still be used. Because regions keep developing and an economy based on services is not the end point, but also because increased industrialization and tertiary activities is not the goal of every region. Some regions are for instance focusing more on leisure activities for further development cause this suits better with the specific characteristics of the area. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) Because of this new forms of economy can arise, which are for example based on leisure.

The export base theory, on the other hand, states that economic development occurs because of the expansion of exports to other regions. It argues that it is the income received from the exports of a region's natural source that causes the economic development. With this money foreign capital and technology can be attracted and the region specializes in the production of its resource. Regional specialisation is something which is important in both theories. (Wheeler et. al., 1998) Specialisation is nowadays still important for further development. But it is no longer aimed on the production and exportation of one source. Production and consumption of several goods and services takes place in the periphery and the centre. This specialisation is based on the specific qualities of the area and therefore it is not possible to export most of these goods or services. The space in the periphery can be used multifunctional to contribute to further development. The increased welfare and leisure time cause a bigger request for recreation. And agriculture and nature also need space. Furthermore the increased mobility causes an increase in people that are residing in the periphery. This leads to the further urbanisation of the periphery in some developed regions. (Hidding, 2006)

Alonso's bell-shaped model for economic development

Alonso, building on the growth theory, already described this process in 1980 in a bell-shaped model with three parts for economic development. In the first part, the early stages of

development, growth is unbalanced among regions of a country. These regions have a poor and a rich area. Great social inequality exists even within a particular region. Social inequality is measured by wealth among subgroups of the population. Per capita income among regions can also become more unequal. There is rapid urbanisation, one or a few large cities grow most rapidly. The inflection point, the second part, is achieved when trends in social and regional inequality and geographic concentration reach their highest point and start to move in the reversed direction. Both capital and labour become geographically more mobile and bring about more balanced regional growth as the economy becomes more integrated. Production and consumption slowly start to be less separated. Widespread technology and information make locational advantages based upon accessibility and distance become less important. New development opportunities become available and urbanisation becomes widespread due to the integration and transportation improvement, also on locations that were unacceptable first. The last part is the national economic maturity. In this part the actual pace of economic growth slows. Social inequality reduces a bit and regional equalization of income increases. (Wheeler et al., 1998) The concentration of population in the largest metropolitan cities reduces increasingly as the population size of small cities and rural areas grows. With their rest and space they are more attractive to live in than large cities with their high density of cultivation and busy traffic. (Borneman et al., 2006) Labour and capital will follow this movement and production and consumption start to take place in the whole region.

Conclusion

The described developments in paragraph 2.2 influence the relation between centre and periphery as well. They have changed the way we look at cities nowadays. The whole region becomes important. So the shift towards regionalization can also be retrieved in the relation between centre and periphery. Globalization and technological improvements have made it possible to communicate with people, travel all around the globe and get the right information in a split second not just near a centre, but in any place. Due to these developments the rural area can become part of the centre and the relation between the urban and rural area is changing. Both areas are producing and consuming now. Like Alonso already argued, more people move from the urban area to the rural area and smaller cities because these areas have characteristics that are more attractive to live in. The rural area urbanises increasingly. This suburbanization also leads to companies moving to the rural area and smaller cities. Furthermore the regulation of the market and technological improvements which have made companies more footloose contribute to the fact that they can open establishments at much more places in a region or all around the globe. Location isn't the most important factor anymore. Attainability becomes the key factor. It is important to be well connected with other areas. The relation between the rural and urban area is changing from one based on competition to a relation based more on complementarity with both areas focusing on those functions that can best be exploited there. Therefore policy and planning have to change as well. The periphery can focus more on its own qualities and chances for further development. With the increasing urbanisation of the rural area its functions also start the change. The residential function becomes more important and can contribute to further development of the area. It is exceeding the agricultural one in some regions and this leads to a new economy. But also other functions like nature need more space. The rural area has its own possibilities for spatial-economic developments. (Hidding, 2006)

2.4 Changing policy

The area-oriented approach

As discussed in paragraph two and three, the regional level becomes increasingly important due to the developments in the changing world. Developed regions are focusing more on their

own specific characteristics and identity. It is more difficult to recognize parts of the described theories and models in these regions. With the changing relation between the urban and rural area, the policy on the different administrative levels that is related to these areas needs to change too. New theories, concepts and, even more important, new policy that can help to manage these developments and changes are necessary. An example of a new concept is discussed in the next chapter. First it is important to find the best suitable policy for these regions. Then it becomes possible to utilize the possibilities for further development in the best possible way. Because of the great diversity of opportunities and problems in the many different regions urban and rural planning is in many cases asking for an area-oriented approach. (Hidding, 2006)

The area-oriented approach asks for strategic adaptation and integration, with an organisation that is no longer sectoral, but aimed at projects. This policy is externally aimed, looking for interaction with the society. The approach tries to tackle the local and regional major social questions. They can't be answered by the traditional sectoral policy because they are too complex and dynamic. With the area-oriented approach cooperation on levels in between the government ones arises. These kinds of cooperation have the specific local problems of the region concerned as a goal. This is causing a shift in physical planning. Not only the allocation of space is important, but all problems and possibilities of an area are taken along. It is about preserving and wherever possible improving the quality of life and functionality of an area, region or location in a way that is also understood by the citizen. (De Roo, 2007)

Or in other words, this regionalization of policy aims at the further development of regions based on specific qualities of an area and in line with the identity of its people. Two important factors for further regional development. And as stated this asks for an adaption in the policy as well. This leads to a third important factor for regional development: the willingness of boarders and other parties. They have to be prepared to change the policy and the policy instruments and work together in order to improve regions further. Regions can only develop further when policy and administrative boarders adapt to the shift to take the urban region into account. De Roo and Schwartz (2001) argue that this isn't easy because then boarders have to place their own position as subject of the discussion. Nevertheless the shift is already changing the planning policy in some developed countries. Some of the shifts in for instance The Netherlands are (De Roo, 2007):

- from central to local targeting
- from sectoral to integral policy
- from top-down to subsidiarity
- from based on jurisdiction to based on plans

Towards governance

Governments more often try to involve economic, social and social-cultural aspects with area-oriented questions. And in doing so, they focus on participation with other actors in their policy, like citizens and local market parties. With the participation of many different actors in the process and their agreement with the plans, the basis for these plans becomes better under the people who are directly concerned. The public interest changes towards a local public interest due to these developments. (De Roo, 2007) The identity of the local people is taken into account. Direct consequence is that not only the government is responsible anymore, the other actors also have a responsibility. The government is just one of the parties. The policy changes from a maximum goal-oriented one that is set in advance by the government towards a policy that is based more on the process and tries to achieve an optimum result for the area and all the actors. (De Roo, 2006) A common interest needs to be found to make sure that the different actors are willing to participate. This change in the

policy is important because with this change it becomes easier to aim on the further development of regions. It is also in line with the policy of the EU, which as described in paragraph 2.2, favours the principle of subsidiarity.

This changing policy is still developing and the centralized policy and steering of the government isn't going to be replaced totally. Both forms can exist next to each other. Some issues that are clear, easy to control and not too complex can be handled on the traditional way. The more complex ones, that have a local impact, are full of uncertainties and are dynamic, can better be handled with an area-oriented policy. (De Roo, 2007) These issues are the ones which can really contribute to further development of regions and therefore this policy is important in the rest of the thesis. The complexity results from the fact that there are a lot of parties involved and a lot of the factors and aspects are mutually linked. The problem becomes multi-sectoral because of this and the government pluriform. With the origination and implementation of this new policy some other problems on the area of delineation are arising at the surface. This counts not only for the area in which the question plays, but also for the actors who are chosen to be a part of the process as well as for the way the problem or question is approached and limited. Another question is whether and how the government will be able to translate the sectoral national policy and jurisdiction in such a way that it will be possible for the lower governments to use it properly at the regional or local level where the policy is in many cases already more integral. The edge conditions for the new policy aren't there yet and knowledge and insight is necessary to find them. (De Roo, 2007) These questions are important because good implementation of this policy is necessary to achieve the highest possible regional development.

Governance

The shift towards a more pluriform government suits better with developments like the process of regionalization and changes in a society where everybody can get information and form an opinion about a subject. Therefore more people should be able to interact in discussions and debates about issues that concern their living area. With an area-oriented approach these possibilities are larger. It is rationality that links this shift with planning issues. (De Roo, 2006) De Roo (2006) states that: "Rationality is the idea that an intellectual constructed and consistent frame of reference exists upon which the subject (or groups of subjects) can understand it's perceived image of reality. This frame of reference however is changing or evolving continuously." Rationality, being a systematic and coordinative approach, plays an important role in planning when decisions have to be taken that can tackle policy issues related to the physical environment. There are different kinds of rationality. On one side there is technical or functional rationality and on the other side there is communicative rationality. Rationality is originally constructed in the brain of the subject. So it is fed by object-oriented observations and inter-subjective interactions. Planning issues at the regional level are often complex and full of uncertainty. They ask for a more subjective and open approach instead of one based on exact facts. A more communicative rational approach suits better with these issues. Everything falls or stands with agreement. This is called inter-subjective interaction and it has a focus on opinions rather than facts. So with the process of regionalization there is a shift from an object-oriented approach towards one with an aim on inter-subjective interaction. (De Roo, 2006).



Habermas (1987) states ‘that, far from giving up on reason as an informing principle for contemporary societies, we should shift perspective from an individualised, subject-object conception of reason, to reasoning formed within intersubjective communication’ (derived from De Roo, 2001). The attention shifts from object-oriented goals towards optimising interaction and participation. Hereby not the facts, but agreement between a group of actors is important.

The area-oriented approach is an example of a more communicative rational approach. With an area-oriented approach it is easier to involve more actors, which can create more support for actual decisions. According to Gill and Lucchesi (1979, quoted in De Roo, 2001) “it is argued that when citizens have been actively involved in the decision-making process they are more aware of the possible problems and are more willing to live with the consequences than they are when decisions are imposed from outside.” This is important for further development of an area. When local people agree with the changes, it becomes easier to achieve a higher development. Therefore it is important that motivation for change always has to come from the local people self as well.

As stated, this asks for a pluriform government or even better for ‘governance.’ Governance is a flexible and interactive policy form. Not one sector or government level is important, but instead ‘trade-offs’ arise using interrelations between local or regional governments and the national state. The federal level and private sector also play a role hereby. In contrast with the fixed targets from traditional policy for the surroundings, trade-offs can contain a combination between economic and infrastructural factors and factors that influence the quality of the living area. Governance is therefore much more integral. However despite of this integrality and the regional and open approach of governance, there still has to be some sort of demarcation and a responsible government to make and coordinate the plan. But problems are often crossing borders, so a totally clear demarcation doesn’t exist. The problem, together with the physical living area, decides the demarcation by project. This is also why the area-oriented approach is so suitable for this and why the interests and network of actors in the area has to be clear first. The character of the problem decides the first actor who is responsible. Then adaption with other actors, not just public ones, will be searched selectively in an open relation. This emphasizes the need for cooperation. Governance is as such much more dynamic then traditional government forms. (De Roo and Schwartz, 2001) Scharpf (1994, derived from De Roo and Schwartz, 2001) pleads in this respect for a scheme for multi-level governance. Herein several governments can decide their interests and wishes for development, judged by their position and interests that are linked to that.

Regional planning issues seem to be better answered with a communicative rational approach like the area-oriented approach and with a policy form like governance. This can tell us something more about the way a problem or question is approached. In order to achieve a high development of a region it is important to find the right approach. With the technical rational approach the planning issue is defined in advance. It has a focus on the goals and content as it tries to get a result on a way that is clear from the start of the process. Because of the direct link between cause and effect, certainty and control are there and it is easy for a single actor to stay in control. This approach only works for planning issues which are simple and where everything is clear. The national or local government has a lot of control then. Nevertheless there are few situations where this is the case. One example is the situation after the World War 2, when countries needed to rebuild their cities rapidly and people needed a strong government policy. Most cases however are much more complex and not all the information is always present. Then this approach does not work. In an attempt to stay in control the government has tried to deal with these problems by using the scenario approach.

This approach still focuses on the content and goals and the issue is also defined in advance. But there are different routes that can lead to the outcome. Which route to follow, depends upon the situation and the context of the planning issue. This approach has mainly been used in the seventies and eighties. People have lost their trust in the government due to some developments like the oil crisis. The government is struggling and to regain some trust it tries deal with the uncertainties by expanding policy into several sectors. The nineties show a slow change towards more integration and public-private partnership as the different sectors class with each other and market parties and citizen are asking for a more communicative approach. Also subsidiarity becomes an important issue. As discussed before governments in Western societies don't have full control any more today. The policy becomes more and more pluriform. They have to communicate with other actors first in order to get consensus about the aims. This is exactly what communicative rationality stands for. It focuses on interaction and has an aim on the process instead of the goals. When the interested actors talk about their different views, uncertainties and interests with each other, they should be able to get consensus and commitment about the nature of the issues, how to tackle them and by who. This is the basis for further action. They share the responsibility for the whole process. (De Roo, 2001) There is a shift towards governance as policy form. This shift is in line with the regionalization and decentralization. With more local actors that are involved the process can eventually lead to an outcome that can better contribute to the development of the area if a common interest can be discovered.

A decision-making model for planning issues

To get better insight in how the approaches can be connected with the practise, De Roo (2001) has made a decision-making model that links the approaches with planning issues. The objective, subjective and inter-subjective can be connected with planning issues by describing what they stand for. The objective answers questions about the object of planning or in other words: it answers 'what' must be achieved. The subjective then answers the questions of 'how' these objects can be achieved based on rationality and the inter-subjective answers the question 'who' is involved in achieving these objects. Knowing this, a model can be made with the 'what' going from single fixed goals till broad objectives, the 'how' going from technical till communicative rationality and the 'who' going from central till shared government. (De Roo, 2006)

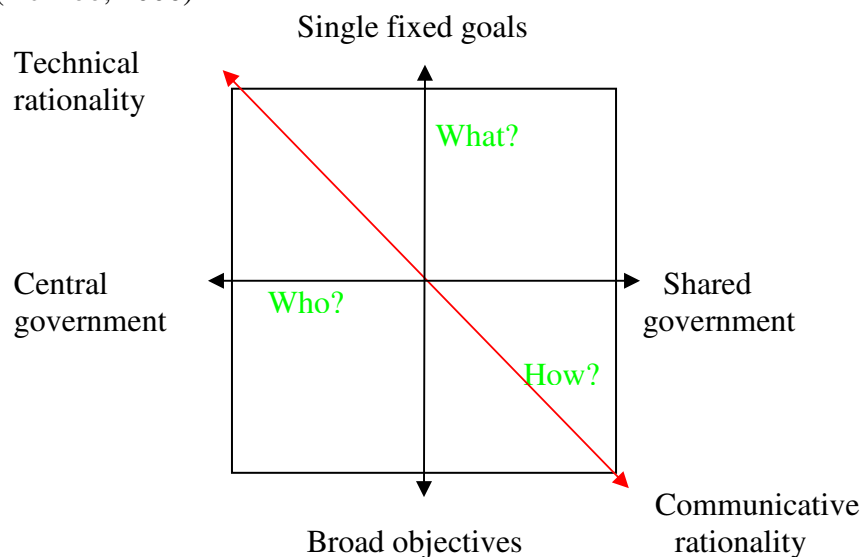
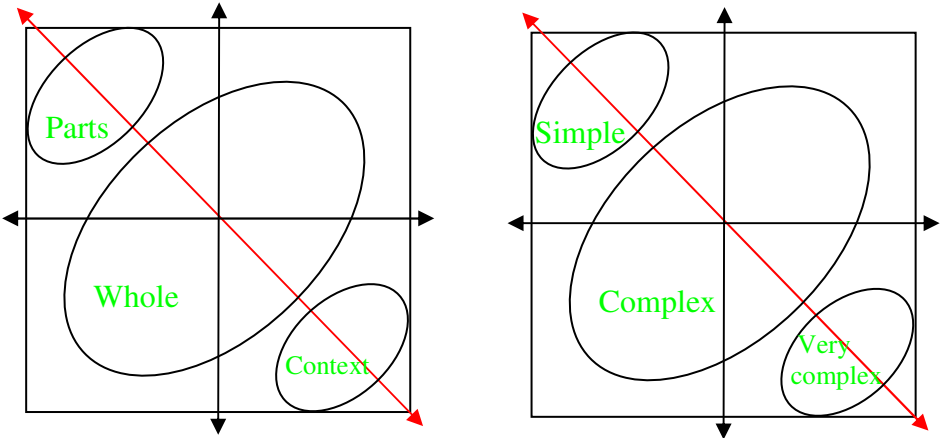


Figure 2.5: A decision-making model for planning issues. (De Roo, 2006)

The link with the theory can be made by putting for instance the focus on the parts, the whole and the context or the degree of complexity in the model. (De Roo, 2006) With communicative rationality the focus lies on the context and the issues are much more complex. The model is also showing this (see Figures 2.6 and 2.7).



Figures 2.6 and 2.7: The link of the decision-making model with the theory. (De Roo, 2006)

Furthermore the degree of uncertainty is much higher with the communicative rational approach, as described before. The degree of uncertainty can be placed in the model on the same way (see Figure 2.8), making a difference between certain, uncertain and very uncertain planning issues. Accepting uncertainty is hard to do. People don't like uncertainty, it is difficult for a subject's brain to accept. That is why people will always start looking for facts to built reality on in order to get more certainty. People like to know what they are doing, like to know where their effort is leading to. With communicational rationality this certainty isn't there. Uncertainty is all around and it is important that its presence is accepted first before it can be dealt with. Inter-subjective communication is a way to deal with uncertainty. On the other hand uncertainty is needed in order to change things or our behaviour for the better. That is where uncertainty meets regional development and why it is important in this thesis. When people get uncertain they start to change things, as examples throughout the years have made clear. When many factors are uncertain, there are many actors involved and area-oriented development is the best option. Thus uncertainty leads to more area-oriented development, as people want to see changes in there own area first. This connects the model to the manner of development. This factor can also be placed in the model from sectoral till area-oriented development. This links the model with the theory on regional development as described in the previous paragraphs.

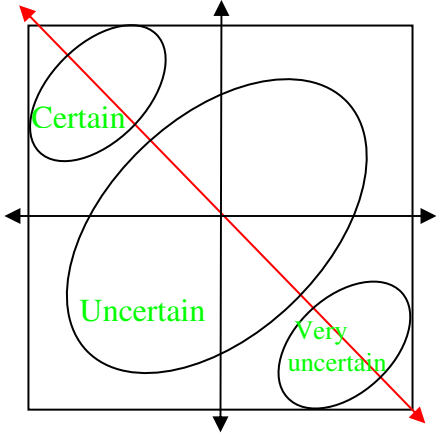


Figure 2.8: The degree of uncertainty placed in the decision-making model of De Roo (2006).

There are many changes going on in the world. People are changing, the area is changing and the policy has to adapt to these changes with new approaches. Otherwise these changes will not lead to the highest possible development of an area. The model shows that development increases with a more communicative rational approach and a shared government with broad objectives. Or as Habermas (derived from Allmendinger, 2002) puts it: ‘communicative action allows people to develop, confirm and renew their memberships in social groups and their own identities.’ As stated before this counts not only for the people but also for the area. Nevertheless, as discussed before, the issues at the communicative rational side of the model are very complex to deal with and therefore there are little examples that can cause very high development. Most examples need at least a bit of top-down steering to achieve the highest possible development. Or as Voogd (1995) and Woltjer (2000) put it: ‘regional planning should be supportive of a consensus planning process involving a wide range of actors, as a means to deliver for example quality in development planning at the local level, whilst retaining an element of top-down government’. In this paragraph governance is described as a policy form that can contribute to further development on the regional level. Governance should be able to deal with complex and uncertain planning issues with many actors. Together with an area-oriented approach it should be able to create a regional development that is as high as possible.

Through the link with regional development, the model can also be linked with the theory on regional specialisation. With an increase of specialisation the own identity of a region and the people living in it also becomes increasingly important. As discussed in paragraph 2.3 this specialisation leads to a higher development and this is easier achieved at a local or regional level with a shared government or governance. De Roo (2006) links technical rationality with routine and communicative rationality with specialisation. The degree of specialisation can be placed in the model as well, dividing it into planning issues that will lead to routine, specialized and very specialized outcomes.

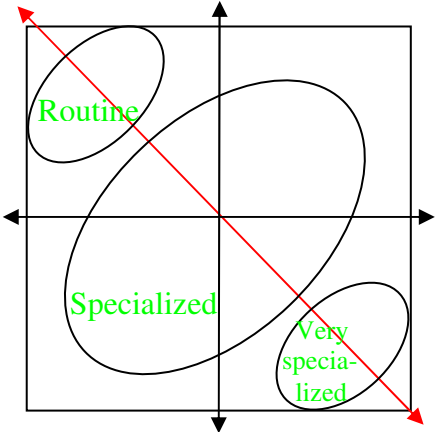


Figure 2.9: The degree of specialisation placed in the decision-making model of De Roo (2006).

The kind of specialisation depends among others of the characteristics of an area or region. These characteristics are an important factor for further development. A lot of the problems and possibilities of an area depend on these characteristics and planners and governments try to handle them in the best possible way. Therefore the degree of success of planning policy depends on the characteristics of the area. Local governments and other parties have to make policy that is suitable for these characteristics. Furthermore policy has to be in line with the identity of the people that live in the area as described earlier. This is also an important factor for the kind of specialisation.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter several developments are discussed that can contribute to regional development. In the first paragraph the EU policy is discussed. This policy supports the shift from the national level to the regional level as most important level for actual decisions and planning policy. This shift is really important in this thesis as it makes it easier to achieve the highest possible regional development based on specific qualities of a region. And it is also easier to involve more local actors with this shift. More local opinions can then be taken along so that the support becomes bigger. Furthermore the concept of globalisation is discussed, being one of the most important factors in the changes in the world. This concept comes with a lot of spatial, social, economic, technological and political developments. It is stated that these developments contribute to regionalization as well. In the second paragraph the developments at the regional level are viewed from the changing relation between the rural and urban area. Several place theories are described that have helped us to explain the development of the urban and rural area in the past. Nowadays they are still useful, but in some developed regions new theories are necessary as well. In these regions both, the urban and the rural area, are producing and consuming and they have become more complementary to each other. Here the development of the whole region becomes important and the urban and rural area are focusing more on their own specific qualities for further development. Furthermore some theories with a more economic view on regional development are discussed as well. Specialisation plays an important role in the economic development of an area. Nowadays specialisation is still important as development becomes more based on specific qualities of an area. Hereby comes a shift in the economy as well. As the rural and urban area become more complementary they can contribute to the regional economy in their own way as well. For the rural area in developed regions chances for this contribution lie for instance on the residential and touristic-recreational area. In order to create further development in developed regions policy that suits with the shift towards the regional level and the described developments and changes is needed. So the policy has to change too in order to join hereby. These changes are described in the third paragraph. It is stated that regional development is asking for a more area-oriented and communicative rational approach. There is a shift from governments towards governance to make and implement policy. The area-oriented approach is described as an example that suits with this shift. This approach can deal with complex planning issues with many actors that can contribute to further development of a region. Governments and other actors have to be willing to adapt the policy to the changes. It becomes easier to achieve the highest possible regional development when the different actors are willing to work together. A common interest can accelerate cooperation and makes it easier. A lot of questions and problems come with the described changes and developments. This thesis discusses some of them by investigating how two regions in The Netherlands and Spain deal with them. In the next chapter the current planning developments in the north of The Netherlands are described. A new place theory for the relation between the urban and rural area is already of application here. This theory will be discussed and a closer look is taken at policy problems and developments here. In the fourth chapter the current planning developments in Zaragoza and its surrounding area are investigated. They are compared with the ones in the north of The Netherlands to get some more certainty with respect to the current changes and developments in developed regions and the best way to deal with them for further development in these regions.

Chapter 3 Regional developments in the north of The Netherlands

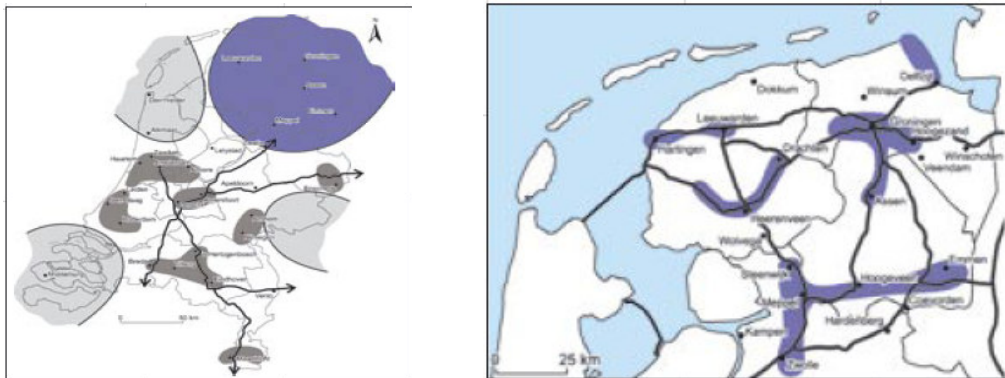
3.1 The concept of ‘mal-contramal’

Base of the concept of ‘mal-contramal’

It is stated in chapter 2 that the changing relation between urban and rural areas asks for new theories or concepts. No longer can spatial development patterns be declared by the classical statement that residing follows labour. Instead you might even say that labour is following residing nowadays. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) This is a move away from classical spatial development patterns as described in the third paragraph of chapter 2 and it is an explanation why the rural land urbanises rapidly and urban regions arise. It is a development that also counts for regions in The Netherlands, like for instance the northern part of the country. The rural area becomes increasingly urbanised here and regions all have their own possibilities for spatial-economic development. Thus the regional scale level becomes increasingly important in the policy here. The European policy is also supporting the fact that regions become increasingly important. They are considered to contribute substantially to the further development of Europe. The regional policy of the EU is trying to diminish differences between the development levels of regions. Every region has its own specific qualities and the EU policy tries to let regions grow from their own strength by investing in regional competitiveness and jobs. (Huebner, derived from Lamain, 2005) But what exactly is a region? De Vries and Wissink (derived from Hermans and De Roo, 2006) are correctly stating that there is no strict definition of a region. They believe regions must be seen as social constructions because they are the result of administrative acts and social forces. A region can not be considered as a univocal spatial entity, but must be seen in relation to other spatial entities. Thus there are regions in various forms and measures. So the north of The Netherlands can be considered as a region, but within the north of The Netherlands numerous regions can be observed as well.

The north of The Netherlands is developing initiatives that can strengthen regional development for a longer period now. In doing so, a new concept has arisen in this region. This concept is building on earlier ones like Alonso and Christaller, but it has a different base. In the last part of Alonso’s bell-shaped curve the stage of national economic maturity is described. The Netherlands has reached this stage according to the developments that are going on in the different regions of the country. More people are moving from cities to the rural land and the process of regional equalization of income is going on here as well. The north of The Netherlands is one of these regions. It is clearly in the last stage of Alonso’s model. The situation in this region can also be compared with Rostow’s last stage of high mass consumption. The expenditures in welfare, security, educational investment and leisure-time are very important. And like Christaller this new concept states that the urban and rural area depend on each other. Unlike these and other classical place theories its main point is however that the relation between centre and periphery is based on complementarity more than on competition. Centre and periphery depend on each other, but the relation is no longer one of production in the rural and consumption in the urban area. This separation between the centre and the rural land is gone or even turned around in some areas. It has changed as the rural area is using its own specific qualities to offer different kinds of consumption than the urban area. So both areas are producing and consuming. The rural area becomes complementary to the urban area and due to the urbanisation of the rural land the distinction between centre and periphery is less clear. Both areas complement and strengthen each other. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006)

In the north of The Netherlands this idea is translated into the concept of ‘mal’ and ‘contramal.’ In this concept a number of economic core areas are presented as the ‘mal’ and the surrounding rural areas as the ‘contramal’. Or as Hermans and De Roo (2006) put it: ‘The ‘mal’ can be defined as strongly concentrated, highly dynamic interaction and it is embedded in and supported by the ‘contramal’ as a relatively stable environment with a strong own identity.’ It is like a city centre and its surrounding residential districts. The centre can’t exist economically without these districts and the districts are not livable without the centre. On the national level in The Netherlands this concept can be recognized by naming the ‘Randstad’ with its high population density and many jobs as the ‘mal’ and the surrounding less dynamic and more rural areas with a strong regional identity as the ‘contramallen.’ One ‘contramal’ on this level is the north of The Netherlands, the purple (dark) area in Figure 3.1. From the ‘mal’ the ‘Randstad’ there are a number of corridors with urban development areas which also are a part of the ‘mal’ on the national level. In Figure 3.1 the areas that are the ‘mal’ have a dark grey colour. But the ‘mal-contramal’ structure can be repeated on lower scale levels as well. For instance on the regional level of the north of The Netherlands. As represented in Figure 3.2, in this region a number of urban development areas (purple or dark) can be named the ‘mal’ and they are surrounded by rural areas with their own qualities: the ‘contramal.’ (Hermans and De Roo, 2006)



Figures 3.1 and 3.2: The concept of ‘mal’ and ‘contramal’ on national level in The Netherlands and on regional level for the north of The Netherlands. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006)

Application of the ‘mal-contramal’ concept in the north of The Netherlands

In the north of The Netherlands cooperation on the regional level has been there for a longer period. The region has been ahead of the recent process of regionalization and the concept of ‘mal-contramal’ already applies here. The three provinces of the north of The Netherlands, Groningen, Friesland and Drenthe, are cooperating since 1992 in a collaboration setting. Since 1998 the ‘Kompas voor het noorden’ has given this cooperation more contents. It aims on creating balance between the core areas or ‘mal’ and on the strengthening of the qualities of the surrounding areas or ‘contramal.’ Where the core areas have their metropolitan supplies that bring the regional economy towards a higher level, the rural land has its own dynamic qualities like nature, agriculture, tourism, recreation and beautiful residential areas that can contribute to the quality of life and also to the regional economy. In the policy of 1998 some strategic choices are made to strengthen the spatial-economic development of the region. Two of them are: the strengthening of the economy by combining residing and working in the core areas (mal) and creating space for (large-scale) agriculture and preservation of natural, landscape and environmental values in the surrounding areas (contramal). (Lamain, 2005) The combination of residing and working in the core areas is meant to stop the further urbanisation of the rural land and it must prevent congestions in commuter traffic. The specific qualities of the rural land must be protected and when people work and live in the

same area commuter traffic can be decreased. Furthermore the policy also aims on improving the quality of the tourist and recreational sector. (SNN, 1999) As described earlier the ‘mal’ and ‘contramal’ are mutually dependent. The core areas, especially the cities, are aware of the fact that the livability is also defined by the surrounding vital rural area. And the vital rural area knows it depends on the supplies and often also the work in the cities. (Lamain, 2005)

The urban development areas and corridors in the north of The Netherlands are not contributing to the national economy much. They mainly contribute to the regional economy. The ‘contramal’ of the north of The Netherlands meantime has a lot of potential to get supra regional or even international fame with its specific qualities like the Waddensea and its surrounding area, the islands, lakes and poles, landscapes of mounds and more. Compared to the ‘mal’ on a national scale level the north of The Netherlands can use its own qualities of space and rest to contribute to the spatial-economic development of the region. The region needs to focus on the specific qualities of the area. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) The concept of ‘mal’ and ‘contramal’ seems to be a good theory in order to get better insight in the best way to develop regions that are already some time in the last stage of Alonso’s and Rostow’s models or beyond them. As such it is very useful in this thesis because the north of The Netherlands, and perhaps also Zaragoza, are such regions. It is partly complementing both mentioned models, but it can also add new insights and build on these and other place theories when it is further developed and applied. Nevertheless it is already useful in order to get insight in how to develop these kind of regions further in the best possible way. This further development is among others based on the specific qualities of the area. For this, as stated in chapter 2, an area-oriented approach is necessary and policy needs to change in order to be able to use this approach properly. In the next paragraph a closer look is taken at the changes that have appeared in the policy of the north of The Netherlands the last decades.

3.2 Development planning in the north of The Netherlands

Rise and main points of development planning

The Netherlands has a tradition with a central steering policy. This policy form is top-down and tries to answer planning issues through standards set out in advance. It isn’t in line with the process of regionalization. Since regions are focusing more on their own qualities, an area-oriented approach seems the best way to utilize the opportunities these qualities are offering. Clearly this can’t be done with a policy that sets out contours for red (residential and working areas) and green (areas with natural or historico-cultural values) expansions, telling local governments where expansion is allowed and mainly where and why it isn’t in some parts of an area. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) To utilize the possibilities of an area in the best possible way policy that is more integral is needed. A policy that leaves space for local governments to decide what is best for a specific region instead of one that tells local governments what they can’t do. The opportunities for spatial and economic development of an area most of the time are not just red, green or blue (water), they are a combination of those colours. The possibilities of an area lie within a development that is more diverse and that focuses on opportunities for multifunctional land use of that area. So a policy form that gives local governments and other actors more possibilities to utilize chances that lie within the specific qualities of an area is needed.

In The Netherlands such a policy form has arisen the last two decades and it is named ‘development planning.’ Development planning can be defined as an area-oriented policy practise which has a focus on the expected social dynamics. It introduces a new way to link the different spatial needs. Furthermore an active input of the involved actors is important and it has attention for an effective implementation. Central in development planning is its aim on

the realisation of innovation. Substantive renewals are very important. (Dammers et al., 2004) It is a policy form that is very suitable for complex and dynamic planning issues. As such it can be an answer to the rapidly changing society and developments that result from this. With its focus on an open planning process it gives many different actors like market parties and citizens more possibilities to be a part of this process in an early stage. As such it shows many similarities with governance. According to Dammers et al. (2004) the importance of innovation lies within the qualitative changes that an area can undergo and that exceed the level of the sector and concern the whole area. Development planning is not suitable for all planning issues and thus it can exist next to a central policy form. It is however rapidly winning grounds the last five to ten years. With the developments and changes in technology and in society as described in chapter 2, more cases are asking for a policy form that aims at complex and dynamic planning issues and that uses an area-oriented approach.

Factors for successful cooperation

As discussed earlier the regional or local level is the best level to deal with these kind of planning issues. The fact that a region has no clear definition or borders makes this scale level the perfect level for policy that is aimed at the specific qualities of an area. Because of this these specific qualities can be the deciding factor in the size of the region. To a region applies: where clear borders disappear chances appear on the horizon. But these chances can only be utilized well when the different actors cooperate in a good way and agree on the manners to utilize these chances. And first of all the different parties must be willing to see the chances that lie within the identity of the area and the people that are living there. Successful development planning therefore depends on three already mentioned factors in chapter 2: the identity of the area, the identity of the people and the willingness of administrative and other parties to see the chances and cooperate with each other in order to utilize them. This means that there has to be a common interest that links the different actors. Then there is more willingness to cooperate.

Successful cooperation also depends on the acceptance of uncertainty. Uncertainty about the problems in an area or about the development of an area in the future can create a certain solidarity of fate. When boarders and other parties are willing to accept uncertainty and let the control go the focus can lie more on the process. And with the acceptance of the lack of clear administrative borders the focus can lie more on the qualities of the area. With uncertainty playing a role during the process the development of the whole area can eventually be as high as possible. This can be further explained with the following example.

Imagine that you are cycling in a specific area with a map of that area, when at a certain moment you come at a crossing with a road sign. You can go left, right or straight on, but for every direction there is a place name on the road sign that is not on your map. Then you can do two things. Stay in control, turn back and cycle further to your final destination on a road that is known for you via places that are on the map. Or you can decide to let the control go, accept the uncertainty and cycle along one of the unknown roads into an area of which you don't know the borders yet. These roads can have any possible underground. Along such an unknown road you can see new things, borders are decided by the characteristics of the area, the road can be longer, but eventually you will reach a place that is on your map again and then your satisfaction will be much bigger. The same counts for regional development. You are at the start of a process that can lead to regional development. You can choose between one of the roads with an unknown destination or decide to stay in control. When you decide to stay in control, you will reach a final outcome via one sector. This sector is known for you and as such you can create development within this sector relatively easy. When you decide to accept the uncertainty and you take one of the unknown roads, the focus will shift more

towards the process and context. The outcome is not clear at the start and every road can stand for one broad objective. The process can take longer and you can come to new insights, but eventually you will achieve an outcome. While cycling through the process you can cross the water, a railroad, a highway and several different landscapes and thus you are able to take all these sectors along. Thus it is an integral process. When an outcome is achieved it can create high development of the whole area. As such it does not matter which unknown road you take, every unknown road can eventually lead to further development of the whole region.

Changes in the planning policy of The Netherlands

The possibilities for cooperation in search of a common interest on the regional level in The Netherlands have increased as policy is changing. The new national policy document called 'Nota Ruimte,' is a reaction to the developments in The Netherlands. It tries to anticipate on the changes with a policy that aims on decentralization. Central what is necessary, decentral what is possible is the theme of the document. The regional level becomes increasingly important in this document and local governments get more possibilities to make and implement policy that suits the qualities of an area. Former Minister Dekker argues that economic and regional development can be stimulated better this way. Local governments can possibly assess the opportunities for area-specific economic and regional chances better. They have knowledge of the powers of the area and an overview of the situation in the area. Another goal of this new national planning policy is cooperation between local governments and other parties. Local governments are closer to these parties and they have more insight in their problems. (VROM, 2004) As such the policy is more area-oriented. It focuses on the spatial quality of an area as a whole instead of focusing on separate parts. So the policy is more integral as several sectors are combined and the aim is more on the context. This also suits well with the shift towards communicative rationality and governance as described in paragraph 2.4 and the focus on the identity of an area and the people for further regional development.

However there are some problems with the implementation of this policy. Territorial cohesion is one of them. With every region focusing on their own opportunities for further development, regions become more independent of each other and the national level. Although this specialisation can lead to the highest possible development in one region, it can also lead to a decrease of development in other regions when local governments start competing with each other. Therefore some steering from above is necessary. In The Netherlands the national government has translated this need into a standard quality for every area in the country. This standard that is called 'basis quality' is the minimum quality to which every region and all local governments have to answer. Or to associate this with the example of the unknown destinations on the road sign: you can only choose one of these roads when the roads are present. So the national government has to lay out the roads first with some central steering. This basis quality is however not totally clear described yet and therefore it differs sometimes by region. So a clear description with enough regulation is needed to avoid the landscape from rumbling too much and to maintain a minimum quality everywhere. There are still instruments and legislation in development that should make it easier for the local governments to actually implement policy that can contribute to the spatial quality of the whole area. The local governments can get more possibilities with these instruments and legislation and cooperation with other parties can become easier as well. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) Another part of a possible solution is thereby mentioned and lies within the cooperation between regions. When local governments cooperate they might find synergies and can complement instead of compete each other. As stated before there has to be a basis for cooperation on the regional level. Therefore it is important to find a common interest for the cooperation first.

Developments in the planning policy of the north of The Netherlands

In the north of The Netherlands there have been some examples of successful cooperation in the last two decades. At the end of the eighties there is a first touch with an area-oriented policy in the north of The Netherlands. Some environmental problems need a different approach than the sectoral one because they are too complex. They influence other sectors as well, like the spatial one and agriculture and water policy. A new policy called 'ROM-gebiedenbeleid' is invented by the national government. It aims on areas with specific problems on the spatial and environmental area and tries to bring spatial and environmental policy together. With this policy specific circumstances of a location are important. Local governmental parties have to take their responsibility and other local parties are invited to join the process. As such the policy tries to create more support among the different local parties. It is the first step away from policy that only sets edge conditions towards policy that is area-oriented and participative. (De Roo and Schwartz, 2001)

An example in the north of The Netherlands is the ROM-project Drentsche Aa and Elperstroom, one of the most clean stream valleys of The Netherlands. The fact that regional parties could decide the projects and share of subsidies for every project from the national government here, caused a bigger concern and more support among all the parties. As such this policy motivated local governments and other parties to cooperate, adjust their policy and to answer questions more bottom-up. But there are also examples that have been less successful, for instance in the province of Friesland. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006)

The policy assumes a more or less equivalent mutual dependence between all involved actors or shareholders. As such it should lead to an assessment between several interests based on a common problem. So there are many actors involved with this policy and there is a common interest. Furthermore there is a move to the regional level visible, the policy is integral and bottom-up and the problems are complex. As such the policy has many characteristics of governance. Therefore it should be able to deal with some of the changes and developments as described in chapter 2 in a better way than with a central steering policy. This could lead to a higher regional development.

The base of the ROM-policy was mainly environmental. In advance a central goal is set and the area is geographically delimited. Halfway the nineties both provinces start to make policy that has the whole physical surroundings as base. The policy is coherent and even more integral. Several sectors are adjusted to each other in order to be able to anticipate better on the whole environment of the local people and to develop it further. The policy is called the POP and is a provincial plan for the surroundings. With this policy cooperation and interactivity becomes increasingly important. (De Roo and Schwartz, 2001) The population and other parties are invited to join the process in an early stage. They can give their opinion and they can think with the policy makers about the content of the new policy. On the basis of, among others, the input of the population the next main aim has been formulated in the first POP of Groningen (Provincie Groningen, 2000): 'Sustainable development: sufficient employment and a for people and nature livable Groningen with conservation and strengthening of the qualities of the physical surroundings, where future generations keep enough possibilities to develop themselves.' There are three main points in the POP of Groningen (Provincie Groningen, 2000): 'strong cities and a vital rural area, to maintain and strengthen the own character and to work on a sustainable environment to live in.'

Although the area-oriented approach does play an important role in this policy, it still is not really aimed at the qualities of the area first. This still is a component in the total policy, instead of a main base. In advance the province of Groningen is divided into four smaller

areas in the POP. These regions should take care of an area-oriented approach and this should be easier because they are smaller regions than the province. But these four regions are not chosen based on the characteristics of the area. The areas are divided first and then a closer look is taken at the characteristics in every of the four regions. In chapter 2 it is stated that this should be the other way around in order to achieve the highest possible development. On the other hand the local people are very much involved with the whole process at the start of it and during the formation and implementation. So the identity of the people is taken into account the most in this policy and the attention for the identity of the area can still improve. However compared to the ROM-policy the POP is a policy that can better contribute to the development of the whole region. Mainly because it is more integral and aims more on the interaction with several other parties. As such the policy forms a good base for governance, but the area-oriented approach should get a more prominent role as well in order to create an even higher development.

Such a policy is already present in the north of The Netherlands due to the cooperation in the last fifteen years. This policy is called the 'Regiovisie.' It is an administrative intentional document that contains a vision for a specific region. The policy does not have legal settings like the POP, but it becomes increasingly important in the last couple of years. A region is chosen on the basis of common problems and characteristics. As such this policy is really area-oriented. A vision for the development of a region is made based on the problems and characteristics of that region. This vision is integral and aims on coherence and regional spatial-economic development of an area. It tries to solve problems as much as possible with an area-oriented approach and thereby it tries to contribute to the development of the region based on its specific characteristics. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) The policy is thus crossing administrative borders as the example that will follow also shows.

The first 'Regiovisie' is the one for the region Groningen-Assen, the capital cities of the provinces Groningen and Drenthe. The cooperation starts in 1996 when both urban core areas realise that they are dealing with the same problems on the area of residing, working and mobility/infrastructure. People are residing more in the rural area and the traffic congestion is increasing. These problems are regional and thus both areas realise that they are mutual dependent. This leads to the cooperation between both provinces and twelve municipalities and to the first 'Regiovisie' in 1999. This document contains a vision for the total region including both urban core areas and agreements concerning the construction of houses, attainability, livability, agriculture, nature, water, recreation and tourism. So the policy is really integral. The two main aims of the vision are realising economic development and the preservation and strengthening of the quality of the area.

The economic development is in the first place joined along a T-structure of the most important highways in the region (see Figure 3.3). This structure goes from the A28 by Assen in the south to Groningen in the north and from the A7 by Leek and Roden in the west through Groningen to Hogeveen-Sappemeer in the east. With this T-structure a clear distinction can be made between the development of the urban and the rural area. The development of the urban area mainly takes place within the T-structure. Residing and working are planned in the cities Assen and Groningen and in the core areas Leek/Roden and Hogeveen-Sappemeer. The policy tries to fit the urbanisation as much as possible within the existing urban area. An improved regional transport system including a high-quality public transport network should support this urbanisation.



Figure 3.3: The area of the 'Regiovisie' Groningen-Assen with the T-structure. (Gemeente Noordenveld, 2004)

On the other hand, surrounding this T-structure, there is the rural area. This area has its own unique characteristics and is developed based on these qualities. The values of nature, water, agriculture and landscape are the main issues. In line with the area-oriented approach here the spatial organisation is mainly decided by watersystems like the Drentsche Aa. With these watersystems as base the policy tries to create multifunctional landuse of water with agriculture, nature and also recreation. Furthermore there are possibilities for residing in the rural area. There are clear characteristics of the concept of 'mal-contramal' in this policy. The dynamic urban area in the T-structure with its many jobs and urban activities can be seen as 'mal' and the rural area with its rest and space and leisure activities as 'contramal.' (Stuurgroep Regiovisie Groningen-Assen 2030, 2005)

An extra impulse to continue with this policy comes with the Nota Ruimte in 2004. In this national policy document the region Groningen-Assen is recognised as national urban network. This means that the cooperation in this region gets more financial support from the national government. The 'Regiovisie' Groningen-Assen is not the only 'Regiovisie' in the north of The Netherlands. It has been an example for some 'Regiovisies' within the province of Friesland. There are several regions with similar problems or possibilities for development here. And there has been an attempt between the provinces of Drenthe and Overijssel as well. But this 'Regiovisie' has not been very successful and the cooperation has been ended. The chosen area was too large and therefore a common problem and interest was lacking. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) From this last example it becomes clear that it is important to look at the identity of the area and the people in order to find a common problem or interest for the cooperation. The willingness of the boarders to cooperate was present, but still the cooperation was not successful.

The 'Regiovisie' fits in the picture of decentralization to the region as most important level for policy. This regionalization is a result of the changing society. A region can take any form that is necessary in order to deal with problems and chances based on the characteristics of the area and the local people. With the 'Regiovisie' a region can be developed in an area-oriented way instead of a sectoral one. Furthermore the 'Regiovisie' gives other parties then local boarders responsibilities as well. As such it is an interactive policy document that falls or stands with the agreement of the involved actors. The 'Regiovisie' is in line with governance. In a society where everyone can get information and form an opinion this seems to be the best policy for further development. The 'Regiovisie' is firstly made by several public parties who dared to look beyond existing administrative borders, but cooperation with private parties and the local population is emphatically sought as well.

For this cooperation a common interest is important. The same problems and chances that can help to improve the region as a whole are present in both provinces and the municipalities of the 'Regiovisie'. Furthermore the north of The Netherlands needs to create an own economy to develop further without the support of the national government. These chances and problems are the common interest that connects all the involved actors. And the 'Nota Ruimte' supports this regionalization. It gives local governments more possibilities to bring policy closer to the local population and market parties, in line with subsidiarity and the European policy concerning regions. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006)

Technological improvements and increased mobility of people among more made it necessary to make the move to the region, in order to be able to utilize the arised chances that cross administrative borders well. And also to deal with the problems of the changing society, wherein increasingly more people want to participate and share their opinion about their living area. These changes also count for companies, which choose more often for the process of enlargement because of the mentioned developments and which have to answer to the changed request of the changing society. Internet and increased mobility and leisure time are asking for a different and more multifunctional use of the available space. Companies become more footloose and are spreading more across the region to focus more on the specific qualities of the area. All the involved actors try to structure these developments in the 'Regiovisie' in order to create an own economy for and further development of the region.

Conclusion

If the 'Regiovisie' as policy is applied in the right way, it seems to be the best policy of the above three described ones for regional development. With this policy a region can be chosen based on the specific characteristics of an area and the problems or chances that this area has. So the development of this area doesn't depend on administrative borders. It becomes possible to reach a higher regional development based on the identity of the area and the people living in it. As such more people will support decisions and policy that are necessary in order to create this development. They are more concerned because it is their own area and therefore a common interest is easier to find. The focus can lie totally on the problems and chances of the area then and cooperation becomes easier on a lower level without administrative borders. Complex and integral issues are easier to handle then as well and this will lead to a higher development. The focus shifts more and more towards the interaction between actors. The process and context become more important then single fixed goals and the parts. Thus the outcome becomes more uncertain, but the development for the whole area will eventually be higher. It becomes important to find one or more themes for problems and chances in a specific area. These themes can form the common interest and are thus the base for cooperation. Under a theme several projects can be placed and implemented. So finding the right theme is important within this policy and within development planning as a whole. With these themes a vision can be formed for a larger area. Such a vision can lead to a higher spatial-economic development of a larger region and to an overall theme for this area. 'Regiovisies' can thus be made for smaller areas and can together even form policy and a vision for a larger area. For the north of The Netherlands an example of such a vision will be discussed in the next paragraph.

The north of The Netherlands has been the first region in The Netherlands that has made and implemented this policy. And although legal settings for the policy are still lacking, it is a success here. This follows also from the many years of experience with cooperation in this region. Projects like the Blue City count as an example of successful use of this policy for the rest of the country. The recent recognition of the region Groningen-Assen as a national urban network in the Nota Ruimte can also be seen as an encouragement to continue on this path.

Certainly if the 'Regiovisie' as a policy can get legal settings in the near future, it seems to be the best policy to use in order to achieve a higher development in a region. With the given fact that it is not bound to administrative borders, it is furthermore very suitable to deal with the ever changing society and problems and possibilities that therefore arise. A region can take any form that is necessary in order to deal with problems and chances based on the characteristics of the area and the local people. When a common interest is found, the willingness of boarders and other parties to cooperate will sooner be there as well. Then development planning with the 'Regiovisie' as main policy document can be the best policy in order to achieve the highest possible development of a region. It uses an area-oriented approach to take the specific qualities and identity of the area into account. This is combined with governance to take the identity of the local people into account. The willingness of boarders and other parties is then translated into a 'Regiovisie' as policy document.

3.3 LILAC-planning: a vision for the north of The Netherlands

The residing economy of the north of The Netherlands: base of lilac-planning

The cooperation between local governments in the north of The Netherlands has led to several projects in this region, like the Blue City, that can be placed under the denominator of development planning. But in spite of the fact that this policy is of application in this region for a longer time now, there has not been an overall vision for the spatial-economic development based on the qualities of this region. Up to some years ago the north of The Netherlands continued to hold on to the national vision for spatial-economic development. Also because the national government supported the region financially for a long time. But with the new national planning policy described in the 'Nota Ruimte' regions have to rely more on their own possibilities for spatial-economic development. As stated the north of The Netherlands has already been doing this within the vision of the national policy and thus it is already experienced with this new policy. Now that the national policy is also supporting it, the time is right to make a specific vision just for the region based on its own qualities. An attempt for such a vision is made by Hermans and De Roo (2006) and is called LILAC. LILAC stands for Living In Leisure-rich Areas and Communities. It can be an alternative for the sectoral central steering policy and current suitable division in the colors red, green and blue. It is a spatial-economic concept for the regional development of the north of The Netherlands in which these colors can't be seen as independent anymore but as complementary. They are combined into one color that can lead to a higher regional development of the whole physical environment and in this vision that color is lilac (see Figure 3.4). (De Jong and Brouwer, 2006)



Figure 3.4: The complementary colors red, green and blue together make lilac. (De Jong and Brouwer, 2006)

Furthermore it is a vision for the spatial-economic development of the north of The Netherlands that is based on the specific qualities of that region. The chances and possibilities for further development of this region lie within its distinctive qualities of space and rest. In

the north of The Netherlands there still are wide landscapes, there still is room for water and nature or in other words the area is perfectly suitable for all kinds of leisure activities. The north of The Netherlands is leisure-rich. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) This offers several possibilities to strengthen the regional development based on the qualities of the area. This vision also suits perfectly with the 'mal-contramal' concept. With its space and rest the north of The Netherlands can be complementary to the dynamic and stressful life in the 'Randstad.' As such the north of The Netherlands can create a whole new economy next to the agriculture, industry, service or information and communication based ones. This region can create economic development based on a residing, landscape and leisure economy. This economy can only exist next to other economies as a result of its aim on consumption and less on production. It needs a dynamic and stressful area or 'mal' that is complementary to the qualities of the 'contramal.' So in this case the 'Randstad' and the north of The Netherlands can complement each other. Where the economy of the 'Randstad' is more based on working, the economy of the north of The Netherlands should be more based on residing. With this vision the north of The Netherlands can anticipate on chances that make the landscape here so unique. These chances are, as described earlier, among others chances on the area of residing, recreation, tourism and energy. The north of The Netherlands can strengthen its own identity with this new economy. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006)

The creation of residential landscapes

Cities and the rural land are no longer seen as opposites of each other, but as one spatial system. Red, green and blue can complement as well as strengthen each other. One of the chances for the north of The Netherlands lies within the creation of complementary residential landscapes. (De Jong and Brouwer, 2006) These landscapes can also help to find an answer for some of the changes in society. People want to be more independent and individualisation increases. This leads to a request for more diversity. These changes can also be seen in the housing market. The households become smaller and the own identity becomes increasingly important in the selection for a residence as well. Residences have to be more diverse and distinctive. People want to have more space and second residences become more important as well. Furthermore the increased individualisation leads to an increased feeling of responsibility for the living environment. The current house stock does not really join these desires well. So new residences are needed. (De Jong et al., 2007)

An economy based on residing in an area such as the north of The Netherlands with characteristics as space and rest suits well hereby. Such an economy can create residential landscapes based on the characteristics of the area that can suit well with the desire for more diversity and pluriformity. The request for more freedom of choice in residing leads to a need for central-urban as well as rural residing. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) Residing in the rural area becomes increasingly popular because of the increased automobility and ageing. Due to the increased mobility it is not necessary anymore to live as near to the supplies and work as before and with the increased percentage of pensioners leisure time becomes increasingly important as well. The qualities of the rural land suit well with these desires. The north of The Netherlands has the qualities like space, rest, water and a lot of green that match with the increased popularity of residing in the rural area. People from core areas in this region as well as from other regions like the 'Randstad' would like to reside here. (De Jong et al., 2007)

Residential landscapes can then contribute to the regional economy. Especially when residing is combined with other functions in the landscape. The construction sector benefits from this migration to the rural land, as well as local self-employed, the catering industry and the health care. Providers and supporting companies in the urban area are also benefiting. As such the residential economy is a combination of among more a leisure economy, a care economy and

a knowledge economy. Multifunctionality plays an important role in this economy. A regional vision for the whole area is needed in order to utilize the multifunctionality of the area as well as possible. This vision can then lead to an integral development of the region with residing as an important factor. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006)

In order to create qualitatively strong residential landscapes, the identity of the region plays an important role. Residential landscapes with a certain theme can strengthen this identity. New residences can join the values of the landscape and as such protect these values or they can be in contrast with these values and as such make the values more distinctive. So it is important to find the right themes for a new project of residences that can contribute to the strengthening of the identity of the area. Therefore new projects have to join the tradition of the area and this is different per area. The identity of an area can not be designed entirely. Projects and themes have to join the existing identity. (De Jong et al., 2007) Or as De Jong (2005) states it: “Themes can strengthen the identity of an area, but they leave less space for personal perception and are furthermore often aimed at specific lifestyle groups. By giving the physical environment not just a theme but an area-own theme, a variety of living environments with a sustainable character arise without steering the users in expressing their lifestyle and identity.” With this identity it might then be possible to create a new one in line with the existing one. This new identity can then lead to further development of the region. Projects are thus chosen based on the qualities of the area, but they have to leave some space for the different lifestyles and residential preferences as well. Only then can residential landscapes be an answer to the versatility of desires of the people. In other words: the identity of the people also plays an important role. The designers therefore have to listen to local people and the wishes of possible new residents. (De Jong et al., 2007) So again a combination of the area-oriented approach and governance is the best option for further development of the region.

The multifunctionality of companies in the rural land

Residing in the rural land becomes more popular because of the increased mobility and the ageing, but it is also stated that there is a request for residing in the urban area. Both areas are popular and thus they can be complementary. The distinction is more or less raised. The urban area is not just red and the rural area is not only blue and green. They are a combination of those colors and as such people can get the best of both areas and a mixed color arises: lilac. In this combination both, the rural and urban areas, are producing and consuming. As stated above the rural land can also contribute to the regional economy based on its own characteristics. Companies are also anticipating on these developments. They have become more footloose due to technological and other developments that come with globalisation. Therefore they depend less on each other. When people are able to move more into the rural land some of the companies will follow. That is where they can find higher qualified job potential. And when more people are residing in the rural land this also opens up new opportunities for companies on the area of for instance recreation. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) Thus this is when working starts to follow residing instead of the other way around.

Here possibilities for synergies can arise between ‘mal’ and ‘contramal.’ It is not just the production in the rural area that leads to consumption in the urban area, but there is also consumption in the rural area that asks for more production in the urban area. As described above providers and supporting companies in the urban area are also benefiting from consumption in the rural area. So there is a shift from an economy of agriculture and industry to one that is more based on knowledge and services in the north of The Netherlands. (De Jong et al., 2007) LILAC-planning tries to anticipate on these shifts in order to create a development of the region that is as high as possible. Activities need to have a regional

orientation. Therefore companies need to be multifunctional in the north of The Netherlands instead of the monofunctionality that characterizes companies in for instance the ‘Randstad.’ Then there can be more variety in the business sites. This variety joins with the various landscapes in the north of The Netherlands and the complementarity between the urban and rural areas. As such it can contribute to the regional economy. (De Jong et al., 2007)

An important factor hereby in the rural area is the touristic and recreational sector. The supply as well as the demand of this sector has increased considerably. People have more money to spend on leisure activities and furthermore there are more people with more leisure time due to the ageing. Therefore there is an increase in available jobs in this sector as well. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006) As stated earlier the north of The Netherlands has more than any other region in The Netherlands suitable qualities for this sector. It is not the leading region on this area though, benefits from the touristic-recreational sector are more or less equal to those in other regions. LILAC-planning therefore suggests that the north of The Netherlands invests more in this sector for further development based on its own possibilities and chances instead of following generic policy. With the specific qualities and various landscapes of the north of The Netherlands as ‘contramal’ this sector can contribute substantially to the regional economy. The north of The Netherlands is not only popular as recreational area in its own country, there are many foreigners that are spending leisure time in this region as well. (SNN, 2007) The last couple of years the supply and demand in the recreational and touristic sector is already increased. However with investments in new recreational concepts the north of The Netherlands can create further development of this sector and the regional economy based on the characteristics that make this area so distinctive. The agricultural sector also joins this trend by offering services besides their core business. Examples are camping on the land of farmers, the protection of nature and care farms. But also the selling of products from the own region, water management and several touristic initiatives like small museums play a role. As such farmers are using their land more in a multifunctional way. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006)

From this it again becomes clear that the rural land also becomes a consumption area. This mix of functions leads to a decline of the agricultural function favouring other functions. Agriculture needs these other functions in order to survive. This decline is also a consequence of the intensification of the production and the process of enlargement in agriculture. Due to technological improvements the production is intensified. Furthermore many agricultural companies are merging through which a process of enlargement becomes possible as well as a new division of some parts of the area. (Hidding, 2006) This offers opportunities for an area-oriented approach of the space in the north of The Netherlands for further development. In line with the vision of LILAC-planning these opportunities can best be utilized by anticipating on the distinctive qualities of rest and space in the region, for instance by creating residential landscapes in leisure-rich areas. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006)

Pitfalls of LILAC-planning

LILAC-planning seems to be a good concept to reach a higher spatial-economic development in the north of The Netherlands. There are however some pitfalls that come with this concept. One of these pitfalls comes with the desire to develop the region further. This development can also be applied too far or in the wrong way and then it can lead to negative consequences. The danger of too much development lies within the damaging of the unique characteristics and historico-cultural values of the rural area. Then the ‘contramal’ can lose its unique qualities and it might even turn into a ‘mal’ after some time of too much development in the wrong way. Therefore policy needs to stay focused on the protection of the own identity of the rural land. The boarders as well as the local people and other involved actors need to notice this and act on it. Building or changing too much in the rural land through which

valuable characteristics and identity will be lost, is not the right way of development. It is not possible just to impose a new identity to people. The will to develop the existing identity further must come from the local people self as well. So new policy for further development must be and stay in line with the existing identity of the area and the people as much as possible. Otherwise changes in the landscape will lead to resistance. This is a very important condition for a successful application of LILAC-planning. Janssen (2007) writes in this context about the 'nostalgic regionalists' that will protect the qualities of the landscape at all costs. They will get the support of several social organisations nowadays. Together they can form an important factor of resistance when the face of the rural land is changed too much. But the earlier described examples of residential landscapes show that it is also possible to develop the rural land in a way through which the existing identity is strengthened instead of damaged. If this is the case with every project and there is enough consultation with the different actors in an early stage, then the resistance will not be as large as Janssen states.

Joined with this pitfall it can be stated that there have to be enough specific qualities for LILAC-planning in the concerning area. The area has to be leisure-rich in order to be able to apply the vision well. So this vision contains a specific policy that asks for an area with specific qualities as well. Furthermore there have to be enough possibilities for residential landscapes. With the fact that the specific qualities of the rural land can't be changed too much, it is still the question whether there are enough possibilities for new residences. This could lead to a paradox between building enough new residences in order to create an economy based on residing and not changing the landscape too much so that the identity and specific qualities still remain. The same counts for other developments that come with LILAC-planning as described in the first part of this paragraph. It is up to policy makers and all involved actors like social organisations and the local population, to find the right balance between these two and the common interest and will to implement the vision. De Jong et al. (2007) give a couple examples on how to deal with this paradox for residential landscapes.

Another pitfall of the vision is that every area in a region only starts to look at its own benefits. Therefore it is important for policy makers to keep the common interest in mind during the development of every area. Then every area can focus on their own specific qualities for further development, but they will still be complementary to other areas in the region so that synergies can arise. Instead of competing each other the areas can complement each other and then they can contribute to the development of the whole region together. The region can then be complementary to other regions as well, in line with the 'mal-contramal' concept. So it is important for every area or region to know well wherein it is or can be complementary.

This brings us to another pitfall of the vision. The region as a whole must have reached a certain degree of development. Otherwise the vision can't be applied. As stated the concept of 'mal' and 'contramal' is the base of LILAC-planning. This concept mainly applies in regions that are clearly in the last stage of Alonso's and Rostow's models of development for a while or beyond them as described in paragraph 3.1. This is important for a successful application of the vision because then for instance connections between areas in a region and between regions mutually are well constructed and maintained. This is a necessary condition in order to benefit well from the complementarity. It is only possible to utilize specific qualities and chances in every area when all areas in a region and regions mutually are well connected and attainable. You can think for instance of chances on the area of recreation and tourism. Good and fast connections are very important for the development of a region. That is also why policy makers in the north of The Netherlands insist on the construction of a fast public transport connection from Schiphol/Amsterdam in the 'Randstad' via Almere to Groningen

and Leeuwarden, the capital cities of the provinces Groningen and Friesland. This public transport connection is called the 'Zuiderzeelijn.' Then these areas are connected by train and the leisure activities in these areas are better connected and attainable as well. The attainability of the north of The Netherlands and the northern part of the 'Randstad' can thus be improved with it. And it can strengthen the regional economy of the north of The Netherlands because then this 'contramal' with its specific qualities becomes better attainable for more people in less time. Furthermore the construction of this line can lead to the creation of an international northern development axis with the northeastern part of Europe. (BVR, 2006) From this it again becomes clear that good connections are very important for further development of a region. As it also becomes clear from the central role of infrastructure connections in the policy and the division of 'Regiovisies' discussed in paragraph 3.2. That is the main reason why the application of LILAC-planning requires a certain degree of development of a region.

The policy of the 'Regiovisies' plays an important role in LILAC-planning as well. You can say that LILAC-planning combines several initiatives for regional visions on the development of parts of the north of The Netherlands into one vision on the development for the north of The Netherlands as a whole. As such another pitfall can be named that has already been described in the part about the 'Regiovisies' within paragraph 3.2. There it becomes clear that there is a negative correlation between the distance and a common interest or problem. This is also an important factor for successful application of LILAC-planning. When cohesion between several projects that can be placed under the denominator of LILAC-planning is lacking, it will be more difficult to implement these projects and get all the actors behind them. For this it is namely necessary to find a common interest or problem and that is more difficult when distances are larger. As already mentioned in paragraph 3.2 the chance is larger that some solidarity of fate is lacking when distances are larger. It is thus important to find the right themes for a vision like LILAC-planning and for the several projects that support and implement this vision. Then a common interest or problem can be found that can bind all actors and their interests. So the pitfall for a vision like LILAC-planning is that it has to be an overall vision for the spatial-economic development of an area, but that this overall vision simultaneously can't count for an area that is too large. There somehow has to be a balance between the two.

From this description of pitfalls of LILAC-planning it becomes clear that there is some uncertainty with the implementation of this vision. Some possible solutions are already mentioned. Uncertainty can on itself form a pitfall as well. But as stated in chapter 2 and paragraph 3.2 uncertainty is an important factor to reach a higher and more area-oriented development eventually. As such the acceptance of uncertainty can also form a part in possible solutions. Therefore an important task for boarders and other involved actors is to accept some uncertainty in the process. Uncertainty is an inescapable consequence of questions and problems in the complex and dynamic society nowadays. To tackle these questions and problems for further development it is necessary to diverge from familiar paths and thus to accept some uncertainty.

3.4 The north of The Netherlands in the future

From this chapter it becomes clear that the future of the north of The Netherlands doesn't have to be as bad as some people in The Netherlands suggest. More strongly, the region even is ahead of the rest of the country on some fields. In the past boarders have already cooperated much in order to develop the region further. Thereby a good foundation has been laid for further spatial-economic development. The region offers enough chances for this. In this thesis it is stated that it is therefore important though that this further development takes place

in an area-oriented way. Such an area-oriented approach suits much better with the problems and chances that arise in regions nowadays. The 'contramal' of the north of The Netherlands offers plenty chances based on its own specific qualities. For the utilization of this it is however necessary that the different actors in the region keep cooperating with each other. Hereby it remains necessary to keep searching for a common interest or problem so that sufficient will amongst all the people concerned can be guaranteed. Acceptance of uncertainty is also an important part of the willingness of those people. In order to achieve a development that is as high as possible, it is necessary to accept some uncertainties during a process.

In this chapter it is stated that the policy of 'Regiovisies' is the best policy to reach the highest possible development of a region. This policy is already of application in the north of The Netherlands, but doesn't have legal settings yet. Thus it still has to be developed further. It can be placed under a new policy called development planning that is rapidly winning grounds here. This is a decentral and area-oriented policy that aims on the creation of innovations. Hereby the specific qualities of a region are really important for further development. Several projects that aim on these qualities for further development can be placed under the denominator of development planning. Themes can work supportive hereby as they can link several projects. As such an overall vision for further spatial-economic development can arise. LILAC-planning is discussed as an example of this for the north of The Netherlands. LILAC-planning tries to develop the north of The Netherlands spatial and economically by aiming on the mixture of functions. Red, green and blue are not separately developed with this concept, it is a vision for the development of the total living environment. So the colors are mixed into one color: lilac. It is an area-oriented interpretation of space. It addresses several qualities and possibilities of the area together for development and as such it can use the multifunctionality of the whole area. This mainly leads to a decrease of the agricultural function favouring residing, natural and touristic-recreational functions. In the north of The Netherlands the chances mainly lie in the leisure, energy and knowledge sector. The area is with its qualities of rest and space very suitable for leisure activities and also for the creation of residential landscapes. (Hermans and De Roo, 2006)

LILAC-planning is a vision that aims on regions with specific qualities and it is therefore not everywhere applicable. Surely also because it requires a certain degree of development of a region in order to be well achievable. On the other side this is exactly what makes this vision so suitable for the north of The Netherlands. LILAC-planning suits well with the identity of the area and the people here. Furthermore the rural area or the 'contramal' in the north of The Netherlands is so far developed that the vision is really well applicable here. Thereby distance is taken from the generic national policy concerning development. LILAC-planning specifically aims on the characteristics of the north of The Netherlands. Therefore this region can easier reach a development that is higher and more area-oriented. There are however indeed several glosses and pitfalls with this new policy. Some pitfalls of LILAC-planning are mentioned in the previous paragraph and also the earlier mentioned fact that there are barely any legal settings and instruments for such a regional policy is a problem. Therefore it is interesting to see how other countries are dealing with the problems and chances for the various regions. In the next chapter the situation in the north of The Netherlands is therefore compared with the one in Zaragoza in the north of Spain. Spain has the most decentralized policy of the European Union and it has therefore probably more experience with regional specific policy. By comparing the developments in the north of The Netherlands with the situation in Zaragoza, maybe solutions can be found for the problems with the application of regional specific policy in the Dutch region. And maybe Zaragoza can learn something from the north of The Netherlands as well, so that both regions can eventually reach a higher development.

Chapter 4 Regional developments in Zaragoza

4.1 Presenting Zaragoza

Geographic situation

Zaragoza is a city in the north-eastern part of Spain. It is the capital city of the region Aragón and the province Zaragoza. Spain has 17 autonomous regions. Aragón exists of the three provinces Huesca, Teruel and Zaragoza, 33 counties or 'comarcas' and 739 municipalities. There reside in about 1,2 million people in Aragón. (INE, 2007) It is the fourth largest autonomous region in Spain. The majority of the people of Aragón reside in Zaragoza, the largest province. (Universidad de Zaragoza, 2004) Most of the 917.288 inhabitants of this province reside in or near the city Zaragoza. The agglomeration has a total of 833.455 inhabitants. The city itself is with its 649.181 inhabitants the fourth largest city after Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia. (INE, 2007) Aragón borders on the north with France and with a number of different other autonomous regions on the east, west and south. The geography of Aragón is featured by the Pyrenees to the north and the Iberian system to the south of the region. In between these mountain ranges lies the Ebro River Depression or Ebro Valley. This is a wide flat area, which includes the Ebro river. (Universidad de Zaragoza, 2004) The river is an important feature in the landscape of Aragón and Zaragoza. The Ebro is not only important for water use in Aragón, but also for other parts of Spain. Spain is a dry country and water is scarce here. Furthermore the river is creating a small irrigable area, which is why this area is highly suitable for agriculture and why it is the most populated area in Aragón. The Ebro is an important part of the identity of this region and its people. Dry and mountainous areas are surrounding the Ebro area. Not much is possible in these depressed and semi-desert areas and therefore there barely reside any people.



Figure 4.1: Geographical position of the region Aragón, the province Zaragoza (Wikipedia, 2007a and 2007b) and the city of Zaragoza in Spain (map-of-spain.co.uk, 2003).

Figure 4.2 is also showing this distribution of inhabitants. By far the majority of the population is located in or near the city of Zaragoza, which is where the Ebro flows through.

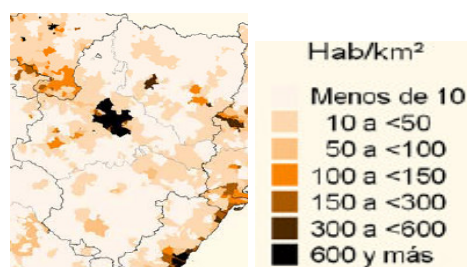


Figure 4.2: The distribution of the number of inhabitants per square kilometer (Hab/km²) in Aragón based on the 1st of January 2005. (Molmero, 2006)

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show that Zaragoza has grown more rapidly than expected in 2001. Furthermore Table 4.1 shows that 19,5% of the population in the province is 65 years or older. On the first of July in 1991 this percentage was 16,6%. (INE, 2007) So the population of Zaragoza has aged rapidly in fifteen years just like the north of The Netherlands. This is influencing the further development of this area. Zaragoza has to deal with this problem in order to make sure that there are enough people that are working to support the elderly and in order to continue developing the area further economically.

Projection of the population of the province of Zaragoza on the 1st of July 2007 based on 2001	<u>Total:</u>
Total:	903.637
0 t/m 19	160.883
20 t/m 64	566.422
65 and older	176.332

Table 4.1: Projection of the population of the province of Zaragoza on the 1st of July 2007 based on 2001. (INE, 2007)

Province:	<u>Total</u>	City:	<u>Total</u>
Zaragoza	917.288	Zaragoza	649.181

Table 4.2: Real population figures of Zaragoza on the 1st of July 2007. (INE, 2007)

Economic situation

The economy of Zaragoza is mainly based on the service and industry sector (see Table 4.3). The service sector is by far the most important one, followed by the industry. Through the Ebro and its favourable position in between most of the important cities in Spain and Toulouse and Bordeaux in France, Zaragoza is an important trade centre and industrial city.

Zaragoza: Gross domestic product (GDP) of market prices and its components (offer)	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003 (P)</u>	<u>2004 (P)</u>
Unity: Millions euros			
<i>GDP of market prices</i>	16.359.794	17.611.102	18.907.684
Agriculture, stock breeding and fishery	594.438	626.390	592.164
Energy	223.853	243.008	265.180
Industry	3.728.214	3.928.563	4.027.741
Construction	1.136.950	1.305.939	1.542.504
Service sector	9.157.731	9.796.866	10.581.170
Neat taxes on the products	1.518.608	1.710.336	1.898.925
<i>GDP of market prices</i>	16.359.794	17.611.102	18.907.684
Pro-memory: Not market services	2.250.320	2.368.826	2.576.775
(P) Temporary figures			

Table 4.3: GDP of the province of Zaragoza for the years 2002, 2003 and 2004. (INE, 2007)

Important industrial factories in Zaragoza are Opel and Siemens. A number of other big companies in Spain are also located in Zaragoza. (Wikipedia, 2007) Most of the companies and factories are located on the eastside of the city. Here the largest logistics platform in Europe named the Plataforma Logistica Zaragoza (PLAZA) is located (see Figure 4.3). Despite the irrigable area around the Ebro, agriculture, stock breeding and fishery are not the most important contributions to the economy of the province. The irrigable area simply is too small to produce enough for that and technological improvements in the industry and service sector make these sectors much more efficient. When you look at the figures of total employment in the province of Zaragoza of Table 4.4, the same distribution can be seen. The service sector generates by far the most jobs, followed by the industry. Agriculture follows fifth after the non market services and the construction sector. So Zaragoza's potential mainly lies in the industry and most of all the service sector. This is where most of the money comes

from and where most of the jobs can be found. Logistics are important and therefore Zaragoza is investing a lot in the further development of its infrastructure systems. The selection of Zaragoza as host of the Expo 2008 can be a big catalysis for this development. Furthermore the University of Zaragoza is also an important factor for the development of the city and its surrounding area. Over 2005-2006 the total number of students at this university was 32.320. (INE, 2007) These students can be the highly educated employees of the future that are needed for further development of the area.

Total employment in Zaragoza:	2002	2003 (P)	2004 (P)
Unity: Jobs in millions			
Agriculture, stock breeding and fishery	24,0	23,2	23,4
Energy	1,2	1,3	1,3
Industry	98,6	98,7	101,4
Construction	38,1	42,1	42,3
Service sector	261,4	269,7	283,2
Total jobs	423,3	435,0	451,6
Pro-memory: Not market services	91,8	93,3	98,4
(P) Temporary figures			

Table 4.4: Total employment in the province of Zaragoza in the years 2002, 2003 and 2004. (INE, 2007)

The most important infrastructure connections

The economy of Zaragoza highly depends on the geographic situation of the city and the characteristics of the area. The Ebro is an important access possibility as it connects Zaragoza with the Balearic Sea. Besides these rivers, the road and railroad infrastructure are also very important for Zaragoza. The city is well connected with the national and international road systems. From Zaragoza you can go to Madrid or Barcelona with the A-2 (or AP-2). This also links the city with a number of international highways. The different places to north and south of Zaragoza are also easy to reach with different well maintained roads. Figure 4.3 shows the different roads and it also shows the ring around Zaragoza which makes it easy to get in or out the city and on these different highways. Via the A-23 to Huesca the link with the central pass through the Pyrenees at Somport and the international highways going to France and further north is also made. (Universidad de Zaragoza, 2004)

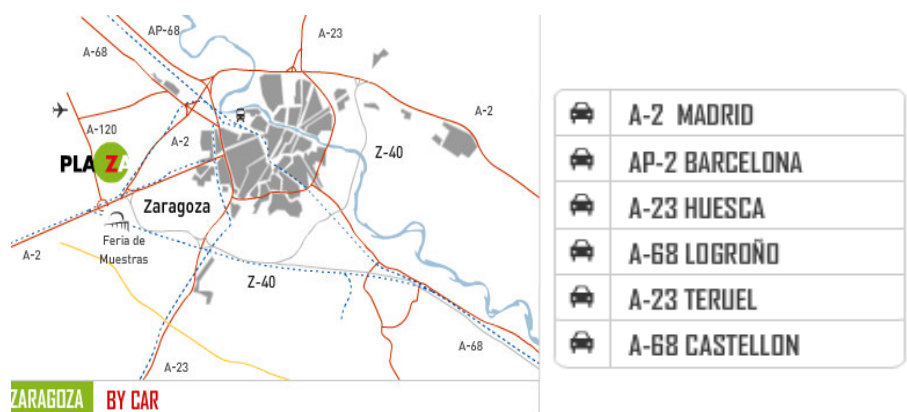


Figure 4.3: The most important roads around Zaragoza and the location of the PLAZA (PLAZA, 2006a)

Furthermore Zaragoza has a high speed train connection with Madrid and Barcelona, which makes it possible to travel to Madrid in two hours and to Barcelona in three hours and fifteen minutes. From Delicias, the station of Zaragoza, it is also possible to travel by train to other large cities like Valencia. And the regional railroad network is also well maintained. Zaragoza also has an airport. From this airport Madrid and Barcelona can also be reached, as well as

some foreign cities: London, Milan and Frankfurt. (PLAZA, 2006b) The airport is growing and developing fast. With the selection of Zaragoza as the host for the Expo 2008 the number of flights to national and international destinations will increase. And because of this selection, the main national and international railroad and road system from and to Zaragoza will be improved and further developed as well. See also paragraph 4.5 for a description of the Expo and the plans that come with it. Zaragoza is for instance trying to make a connection with the international high speed train route, so that the line Algeciras-Madrid-Zaragoza-Paris-Brussels-Rotterdam arises. (Ebrópolis, 2006)

Zaragoza as centre of a hexagon

Zaragoza does not see itself as city in between the two most famous and largest cities of Spain: Madrid and Barcelona. In order to stimulate the regional development the policy makers in Zaragoza see the city as the geographic centre of the hexagon formed by Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona, Toulouse, Bordeaux and Bilbao (see Figure 4.4). As such, Zaragoza is presented as a key city in southeast Europe. It is located at the centre of an area in which within a radius of 350 kilometres 60% of the Spanish population resides and 80% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is produced. (Ebrópolis, 2006) Given this fact Zaragoza can play an important role in the contribution to the national economy as an industrial and transport centre when its infrastructure is further developed. With Madrid and Barcelona at respectively 324 and 307 kilometres and Valencia and Bilbao at 325 and 303 kilometres, Zaragoza has a good position to become the logistics centre to four important cities in Spain and with Toulouse and Bordeaux at respectively 386 and 496 kilometres it can become a gateway to France and the rest of Europe as well. Or as the website of the PLAZA states: 'The principle characteristic of PLAZA is that it is based on an intermodal transport centre (railways, roads, and air routes), a combination which activates capacities which make Zaragoza one of the most important logistical cities in Europe, with connections to the most relevant European production and consumer centres.' (PLAZA, 2006c)



Figure 4.4: Zaragoza as centre of a hexagon and gateway from Spain to the rest of Europe. (Ebrópolis, 2006)

If Zaragoza wants to develop further as logistics centre in Spain and Europe it is important to keep investing in these connections. The fact that Zaragoza is located within the European south-west diagonal with the fact that the PLAZA has an intermodal service capacity, makes it easy attainable for a number of important Spanish and European cities. That is probably why important companies in their sectors like DHL Express and Barclays Bank among many have chosen this area. (PLAZA, 2006c) But with the relatively short travel time by train to the airports of Madrid and Barcelona, the airport of Zaragoza has not got many international flights yet. So improvements and investments in the development of the airport are needed. The same counts for the road and railroad systems through for instance the Pyrenees. Furthermore Zaragoza wants to improve the relation with several comparable cities with more or less the same strategic objectives in Europe like Manchester, Toulouse, Düsseldorf, Turin

and Bologna in order to see if they can generate mutual complementary benefits or services. (Ebrópolis, 2006) Maybe the relation with these cities can contribute to the further development of Zaragoza and its surrounding area including the PLAZA and the airport.

City of water and logistics

From this presentation of Zaragoza two important components of the identity of the city and its surrounding area are obtained: water and logistics. For this reason the boarders of Zaragoza try to attract several major events with water as a subject to the city. Examples are a centre of international water studies, the permanent forum of 'the step of water in the future' and of course the Expo 2008 which has water and sustainable development as a theme. (Ebrópolis, 2006) So there is a clear focus on water as an important part of the identity of the city and its surrounding area for the future.

This also counts for logistics. The boarders of Zaragoza give new industrial areas a lot of space to develop near the city along infrastructure connections with other cities. These developments include improvements in different kinds of infrastructure, which can facilitate an even better accessibility of Zaragoza and its surrounding area on national and international scale. This counts for the PLAZA, but also for developments along other roads like for instance the new industrial area Empresarium along the A-68 or the Technological Recycling Plant (TRP) in La Cartuja Baja. This area is located at the southeast side under the city Zaragoza near the Ebro and also near the A-68. The Empresarium area has currently 2.000 employees and this number will grow to 10.000 in 2010. The TRP recycles the residues from the city of Zaragoza and its 61 surrounding municipalities, providing enough energy for a city of 20.000 inhabitants out of it. With the developments in these industrial areas come improvements of the airport, connections and access points of roads, but also improvements in the rail road infrastructure. There are many improvements planned at all scale levels. The promotion of Zaragoza as an European railway city and all activities that come with this subject can also be seen as contributions to the image of Zaragoza as city of logistics. (Ebrópolis, 2006) These developments show the importance of logistics as part of the identity of Zaragoza and its surrounding area.

Mudéjar and Goya

But there is more. Zaragoza is a city which has had several rulers throughout the years. Therefore there have been a lot of different civilizations and influences of a lot of different cultures can be seen in the city including Romans, Muslims, Jews and Christians. They all left some marks in the city in the form of temples, palaces, towers or other buildings, which creates a melting pot of cultures. (Turespaña, 2007) There is one style that distinguishes Zaragoza from a lot of other places in Europe: the Mudéjar. Mudéjar is the style of architecture, music and art of the Muslims. The Mudéjar in Aragón is even a world heritage site on the UNESCO list. Mudéjar buildings can be found throughout the whole city and its surrounding area. In the city even neighbourhoods that are mostly Mudéjar can be found. Mudéjar is another part of the distinguishing identity of Zaragoza.

Another part of the identity of Zaragoza can also be derived from the past. In 1746 the painter Francisco Goya is born in the village Fuendetodos near Zaragoza. (Info Goya, 1996) Today his work can still be found on several sites around the city. There is a Goya route for tourists through the city and the province and the policy makers are even planning on creating a Goya region in the city. (Ebrópolis, 2006) Furthermore many restaurants, hotels and some companies are named after Goya.

Creating a distinguishing identity

The boarders of Zaragoza and its surrounding area are aware of the importance of a distinguishing own identity for the area. That is why one of the major aims in the plans for the area is to create a brand of identity for Zaragoza. Especially the coming of the Expo in 2008 is a great chance to increase the image and familiarity of Zaragoza in Spain and internationally. The boarders consider this to be an important aspect in the further development of Zaragoza. A clear own identity can contribute to occupy a stronger position internationally. They state that: 'finding ways to adequately define and disseminate a Zaragoza brand that symbolises the city, based on its own identity, is a huge challenge for a royal city that aspires to change its scale of importance on both a national and international level and to become a real communications hub.' (Ebrópolis, 2006) A not mentioned point yet that can also be of great importance for this identity is the Ebro Valley and the food and agricultural industry that come with this area. Although the area is small and therefore has not got the largest influence on the economic development, it still is an important distinguishing characteristic of Zaragoza and its surrounding area. That is why the boarders also aim to promote and stimulate several developments on this area that can contribute to the quality and safety in the food and agricultural industry. Their focus lies for instance on strengthening the ties with other cities and territories in the Ebro Valley. And on creating a brand image for all products that come from the Ebro Valley for instance by promoting the cluster of Mercazaragoza, an industrial area which is specialized in food and agricultural logistics. (Ebrópolis, 2006)

As with development planning in the north of The Netherlands, three important factors for planning developments in Zaragoza are mentioned in this paragraph: the identity of the area, the identity of the people and the willingness of boarders and other parties. The most important characteristics that can give Zaragoza a distinguishing identity are described. The identity of the area and the people are already mentioned and are formed by the geographic situation and past of Zaragoza. The identity of the area is also influencing the identity of the people because most of the people are confronted with its characteristics everyday. They live in the area and a lot of the people also work in the area. From plans like Ebrópolis for the area it seems to be clear that the boarders of Zaragoza and its surrounding area are also willing to act on these characteristics in order to give Zaragoza a distinguishing identity that is needed for further development of the area. There is however a step from having the will to act to actual implementation of these plans. This implementation depends not only on willingness of boarders and aims of plans, but for instance also on the scales of planning policy and instruments that the boarders have for implementation of these aims. These factors, the scales of planning policy and instruments of plans, will be discussed next.

4.2 The planning policy of Zaragoza

Division of policy levels

Spain exists of 17 autonomous communities. Because of this the influence of the national policy in the regions is minimized. There are however still some things that are influenced by the national planning policy. These are for instance national roads, the environment and health care policy. Decisions on these areas are taken in cooperation with autonomous communities and municipalities. The level of the autonomous communities is however the most important one in Spain. Autonomous communities take decisions at almost all areas that are influencing planning policy. Most of the time they do this in cooperation with comarcas and/or municipalities, depending on the issue or project. This is the case with every single planning issue. As such policy in Zaragoza is in line with the main points of governance. Policy is made on the regional level of the autonomous community and on the local level of mostly the comarca or municipality. Per issue or project there is a decision taken who will

participate in it. Every issue or project is dealt with on the lowest possible level, which is in line with the EU policy on subsidiarity. (Gobierno de Aragón, 2007) The province level is not mentioned yet. Provinces are mainly supporting comarcas and municipalities in their work. They are important in the division of the region, but are more supporting other levels than implementing policy themselves. The province of Zaragoza is divided in two parts. On one hand there is the city of Zaragoza which is highly urbanised and has a high population density. The city of Zaragoza even has its own legislation, which is made only for large cities. On the other hand there is the rural area around this city. This is an area with a low population density and it is much less developed than the city. A closer look will now be taken at this area because this difference between the urban and rural area and the way they are developing is particularly interesting for this thesis.

Division of the province of Zaragoza

The province is less active in implementing policy for the area than the comarcas are. The comarcas have more competences. The way of implementing planning policy is an important factor in this research as well, so the comarca of Zaragoza (number 17) and the ones that are surrounding it are also suitable for this analysis and are taken into account as well.

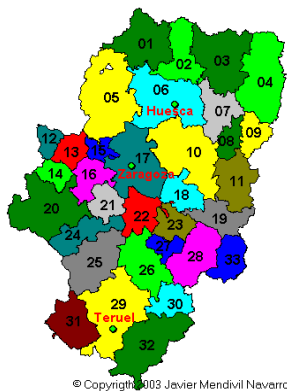


Figure 4.5: The comarcas of Aragón. (Mendivil Navarro, 2003)

The contradictions in the province of Zaragoza are big. The city of Zaragoza is the only urbanised area in the whole province and with Huesca even in the whole autonomous community (see Figure 4.7). In the city reside in about 70% of the people of the province and it contains almost all economic, social and cultural activity of Aragón. This stands in large contrast to the rest of the province. This area, named the ‘Cuarto Espacio,’ is much less developed and urbanised than the city and depressed. For this reason an organ that is also named the Cuarto Espacio is installed by the Deputation of Zaragoza to manage the problems in the Cuarto Espacio. The problems that can be signalled are typical for a rural area that is much less developed. They contain for instance high emigration of young people and adults with young children looking for jobs and education in the city. A clear pattern in the evolution of the population towards the urbanised comarcas Zaragoza and Huesca can be seen between 1986 and 2001. There is lack of education in the Cuarto Espacio because there are not many schools. The percentages of people that are illiterate or without any form of education lie higher in the comarcas around the urban comarcas of Zaragoza and Huesca. (Gutiérrez and Crende, 2003) Furthermore the infrastructure in most parts of the Cuarto Espacio is badly developed and therefore the accessibility is low. This makes it difficult to develop for instance economic activities. The connections with other comarcas are bad as well. When you take a closer look at the economic activities in the different comarcas the difference between the urbanised area and the rural area is clear again. Most of the comarcas that are further away from Zaragoza have high percentages for primary activities (mainly agriculture) and

secondary activities and lower ones for the tertiary sector, while Zaragoza and Huesca have very low percentages for primary activities and the highest ones for the tertiary sector. (Gutiérrez and Crende, 2003) So there still seem to be clear differences between centre and periphery in Zaragoza and there clearly are not any urban regions.

The policy of the Cuarto Espacio

Zaragoza has signalized this imbalance and tries to find solutions that can create more balance so that the rural land can compete with the urban area. This is the main goal of the recently installed organ for the Cuarto Espacio. Or as the president of the Delegation of Zaragoza Javier Lambán states it: “The Cuarto Espacio is formed by a government and impulse organ that will integrate four deputies and four personalities of recognized prestige. And by a consultative advice of councilmen, economic and social organizations of the territory, that will serve like a laboratory of ideas, a forum of encounter between the society and policy and between rural means and urban ones. They try to find a model of development for the Cuarto Espacio so that investments in infrastructure, services, equipment and others of the rural land can turn this area into a competitive territorial space.” (Diario ABC, 2006) Otherwise the gap between the city and the rural area around it will only get bigger. The city is developing rapidly the last years. It has entered the last stage of Rostows model of development. This development will get an extra impulse with the coming of the Expo in 2008. So the periphery can not stay behind, otherwise even more people will abandon this area to go to the centre and the area will get even more depressed. Thus investments in this area are needed in order to change things and develop it in a positive way. The Cuarto Espacio tries to find alternatives to the traditional model of rural development with new models for agro industry, medium sized cities, supra-municipal services and endogenous economic resources like tourism, patrimonial, cultural and environmental ones. (Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2007a)

The Cuarto Espacio thoroughly studies and investigates new mechanisms and techniques for the promotion and economic and social development of the area. Therefore it is also present at important national and European forums. In doing so it wants to discover and activate potentialities and opportunities for the Cuarto Espacio area that, connected with the generated ones by the city, can determine and contribute to a stronger and more balanced province. (Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2007b) One of the opportunities of the Cuarto Espacio lies within its landscape diversity. The Ebro river is like a vital artery in an area full of contradictions. On the one hand there are forests and on the other hand there are also almost desert extensions in the landscape. It is this diversity in the landscape, formed by mountains, rivers, natural lakes and forests to steppes and desert extensions, which contains an opportunity to contribute to the economic development of the Cuarto Espacio. With this diversity in the landscape it can possibly compete with the urban area based on its own characteristics. Parts of it are suitable for rural tourism. There are also all kinds of leisure activities like fishing and outdoor sports possible. Other parts are mainly suitable for agriculture. (Terra Actualidad, 2007)

Complex planning policy in Zaragoza

From the above described situation it becomes clear that planning policy in Aragón and Zaragoza is complex. For all planning issues first there is the question of which level has competence. When this is clear, a closer look is taken at other actors that can be involved. These actors can be other governments, but also other parties. In the case of Zaragoza many actors can be involved in for instance the planning of a new part of a road. When it is a national road, the national government, the autonomous community and the municipality are involved. Sometimes even the city board, some comarcas and a number of market and other parties are involved as well. In the case of the PLAZA for instance it is the autonomous

community that has competence because it is such a large and important project. But the autonomous community gets support from the municipality (Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza) and also from two main banks in Aragón: CAI and Ibercaja. This is also in line with governance.

In Aragón and also in the province of Zaragoza integral planning is becoming more popular the last years. On all scale levels, except for the national one, integral plans are made. For instance the EbroPolis combines different sectors into plans for the development of the described area. The implementation remains however mostly sectoral. Furthermore the change towards policy and plans for regions that are more aimed at specific qualities, in line with the policy of the EU on regions, is also visible in the province of Zaragoza. With the installation of the Cuarto Espacio the rural area is slowly developing in a positive way the last five years and it starts to be more competitive. To get more inside in the geographical situation, planning policy and possibilities for social and economic development of the province of Zaragoza, it will now be placed in the framework of the ‘mal-contramal’ concept. After that the province of Zaragoza will be compared with the planning policy and social and economic developments going on in the north of The Netherlands as described in Chapter 3.

4.3 Zaragoza and the concept of ‘mal-contramal’

‘Mal’ and ‘contramal’ on national level in Spain

From the first two paragraphs inside is gained in all factors that are important for further development of Zaragoza. When you take a look at the position of Zaragoza in Spain, it is clear that it differs a lot from the situation of the north of The Netherlands. Zaragoza is the fourth largest city of Spain and is highly dynamic. By far the majority of the people of the province live and work in the agglomeration. Zaragoza contributes substantially to the national economy. As such you can say that Zaragoza is a part of the ‘mal’ of Spain on national level. But with Huesca it is also the only urbanised area in the whole region. The contradiction between urban and rural land is much bigger then in the north of The Netherlands. Figure 4.6 represents the urban and rural areas in Spain. Every area with more than 150 habitants per square kilometre is called urbanised. From this figure it becomes clear that almost all urbanised areas are located near the sea with its great possibilities for tourism. There are just a few other urbanised areas, like Sevilla, Cordoba and also Zaragoza. And of course Madrid lies in the centre of the country. It is the centre of all important connections as capital of Spain. With this differentiation in urban and rural areas the ‘mal’ and ‘contramal’ on a national level can also be signaled. The ‘mal’ is formed by all circled areas. From Madrid there are a number of corridors with other urbanised areas. Along most of these corridors urban development can be found as well, like industrial areas or areas with a lot of logistic companies like the PLAZA.

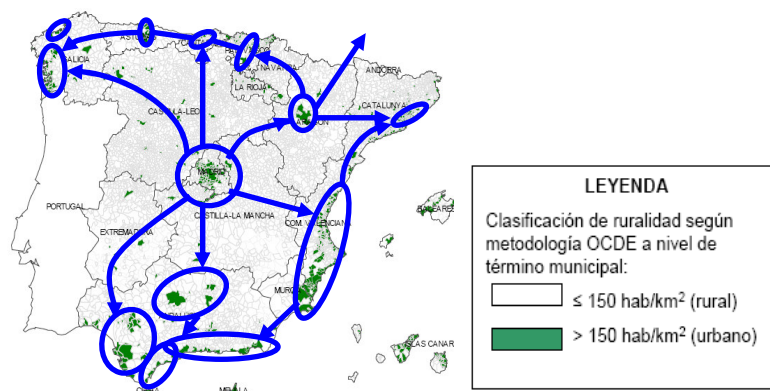


Figure 4.6: Urban and rural areas in Spain with the circled mal. (based on Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 2007)

Where the ‘mal’ is easy to recognize on the national level, it should be clear which areas are the ‘contramal’ as well. This ‘contramal’ is then formed by areas that lie in between the urban areas. It is however the question if these rural areas can form the ‘contramal.’ Is it proper to speak of a ‘mal’ and ‘contramal’ in Spain? Do the rural areas have an identity that is strong enough to be distinctive and can they be complementary to the urban areas based on their own qualities and this identity so that synergies can arise? In order to answer these questions, first it must be clear what the problems and possibilities of the rural areas are. Since not all rural areas are investigated, it is difficult to say anything about the characteristics of all rural areas on national level and therefore it is not possible to say if they are really complementary to the ‘mal.’ For this study only Aragón is investigated and mainly the province of Zaragoza. In order to say anything about the ‘mal-contramal’ concept in other regions more specific research of those areas is necessary. Thus the above mentioned questions will now be answered for one region in Spain: the province of Zaragoza.

The concept of ‘mal-contramal’ in Zaragoza

On the level of the autonomous community the same areas can be recognized as urban and rural. Zaragoza and Huesca are the only urbanised areas, with some urban developments along corridors with other autonomous communities (see Figure 4.7). On the level of the province the only urban area is Zaragoza itself with a little urban development along the corridor towards Madrid. When you put this with the earlier described situation of the rural land and the people that are living in the province of Zaragoza, a huge difference can be seen between both the agglomeration of Zaragoza and its surrounding rural land. The geographic situation in this province is nothing like the one in the north of The Netherlands. The periphery is not urbanizing, it has bad infrastructure connections, technological improvements like internet are not yet available everywhere and it is not developing very fast. It looks like there is still a clear centre-periphery relation here, where the periphery highly depends on the centre for education, jobs and health care among more. The agglomeration of Zaragoza can be the ‘mal’ of the area with its high population density and many jobs in the industrial and service sector. It is an area that is very dynamic and it is developing rapidly. The rural area around this agglomeration is however still depending on the centre. It has not yet developed an identity which is strong enough to be complementary to the centre. Furthermore ideas like rural tourism and leisure activities are just recently discovered and they need better connections and infrastructure in the rural area to become a success. So the concept of ‘mal’ and ‘contramal’ is not yet of application here, because the periphery is not yet developed enough to have its own economy that can support the whole periphery. The separation between centre and periphery is still visible in this region and there is still a clear relation of production in the rural land and consumption mainly in the centre. The geographic situation has in this light more affinity with the central place theories of Christaller and Lösch then with the concept of ‘mal-contramal.’

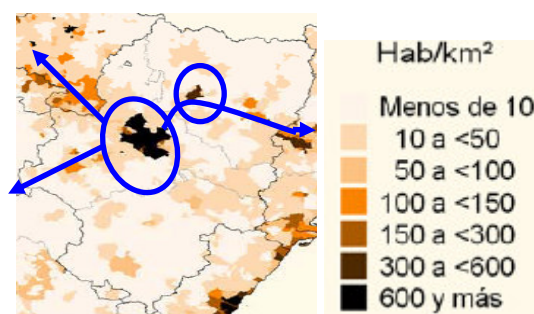


Figure 4.7: Urban and rural areas in Aragón with the ‘mal’ circled. (based on Molmero, 2006)

This inequality between the rural and urban area in Zaragoza is however slowly reducing a bit since the last five years. The installation of the Cuarto Espacio has contributed to this development and trying to create more balance between both areas is its most important goal. The Cuarto Espacio tries to develop the region in a more positive way by focusing more on the opportunities that the rural land is offering. This policy is inspired by the EU policy on regions, which stimulates the creation of strong regions by using specific qualities of each region. With these qualities, each region should be able to create development on spatial-economic and social area. The province of Zaragoza tries to create this development by focusing on possibilities for rural tourism, agriculture and leisure activities like outdoor sports, golf courts and fishing among more. (Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2007c) The combination of the landscape, unique architecture and climate can contribute to the regional development of the periphery of Zaragoza. Boarders are promoting rural tourism as much as possible, for instance via internet and they try to support new investments as much as possible as well. They support for instance local people who want to start a hotel financially or by offering education on this area. Boarders also improve the infrastructure of the area and the connections with the city of Zaragoza and other areas. They develop new roads and lines for all kinds of transportation including public ones. (Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2007d)

This policy is beginning to get its first results. Since 2001 there is a change in the development of the periphery. Since that year the development is no longer going in a descending line, but the area is slowly developing in a positive way. As such the development of the whole periphery is improving by specializing itself in those things that can be done best with specific qualities of the area. This specialization can contribute to further development of these qualities. When you look at the different stages of economic development of Rostow, you can say that the province of Zaragoza is at the beginning of the last stage, the stage of high mass consumption. It is not all about production anymore, investments in education, welfare and security and leisure-time expenditures are beginning to become more important. Not only in the urban area, where they are already important for a longer period, but in the periphery as well. When you look at Alonso's bell-shaped model, the province of Zaragoza can be placed just after the inflection point and still on its way to the part that is called 'economic maturity' in this model. As stated earlier regions keep on developing, so the denomination 'maturity' is not correct. In the province of Zaragoza social and regional inequalities and geographic concentration have reached their highest point and are now slowly moving into the reversed direction. Regional growth is starting to become a little bit more balanced. The geographic situation of and planning policy in the province of Zaragoza are thus different then the ones in the north of The Netherlands. Because of the big contrast between periphery and centre, the Spanish region is less far developed then the Dutch one. But recently boarders have started to catch up this arrear. The differences and possible similarities are further described in the next paragraph.

4.4 A comparison with the development of the north of The Netherlands

Differences in the stages of development of the rural and urban areas

The first major difference between both studied areas is the relation between the urban and rural land. In the north of The Netherlands there are not any really large cities like Zaragoza. The region as a whole is more developed then the Spanish one and the population is more spread. Therefore the rural land in the north of The Netherlands is urbanised and the difference between urban and rural parts are sometimes hardly noticeable. Urban regions arise. There is a clear relation of mutual dependence between rural and urban land as both areas are producing and consuming. The traditional pattern of people residing where the work is, is turned around here. People come to the rural land to live in an area with unique qualities

of rest and space and various possibilities for leisure activities. And afterwards the work follows. Jobs can be found in agriculture, tourism and recreation but also in for instance the energy sector. And the high quality of residential areas in the north of The Netherlands can contribute to the economy of this region as well. As described in chapter 3 this region can be called the 'contramal' on a national level but on the regional level a 'mal' and 'contramal' can be discovered as well. The north of The Netherlands is clearly in the last stage of Rostow's stages of economic development, the stage of high mass consumption. It also seems to be clear that the region has reached the last part of Alonso's bell-shaped model and it is quite far in or beyond this process as well. The inequalities between the urban and rural land have disappeared in most parts and are balancing as well in the other parts.

This situation is very different from the one in the province of Zaragoza. Here there is just one large urban area and by far the majority of the people of the province live and work in this area. Furthermore most of the people from the rural area that are looking for jobs and education are migrating to the agglomeration of Zaragoza as well. So here residing is still following the work. This migration, the further desertion of the rural land, is a process that is difficult to turn around. But the last couple of years boarders have reached some progress trying to do this. The difference between the rural and urban area is however still big and the rural area is far less developed. Compared to the north of The Netherlands the differences between the rural and urban area are huge and the rural land is far less populated. The rural land is mainly just an area of production and the urban area is the place where this production is mainly consumed. But the urban area is also a place of production, mostly in the industrial and service sector. As such the urban area forms a great 'mal' but the rural area needs to develop much more in order to become a possible 'contramal.' The province of Zaragoza has just reached the stage of high mass consumption, where the north of The Netherlands is already in it for some time or even beyond it.

Differences in the planning policy

A second difference between both regions lies within their planning policy and the division of scale and administrative levels. In The Netherlands the division of these levels is pretty clear and the same for making and implementing plans. There is a national, a provincial and a municipal level. All levels are making and implementing plans and policy. This is done on the lowest possible level as much as possible. Policy and plans of lower levels must however be more or less in line with the ones on the higher level. Municipalities for instance can't diverge too much from policy and plans on provincial or national level. Recently this has changed somewhat. The national government has made a policy in which local governments have more freedom. It is less top-down and more decentralised and gives local governments the possibility to make plans that are more aimed on the utilisation of specific qualities of each region. These plans are more integral, area-oriented and gathered under the name development planning as they try to realize qualitative innovation. They are also in line with the policy of the EU which has an aim on the principle of subsidiarity and which tries to achieve stronger regions. The policy stimulates local governments to cooperate more with each other and other local actors so that specific qualities of an area that cross for instance provincial borders can best be utilized. In the north of The Netherlands these kinds of cooperation are present for a longer period now as described in Chapter 3. There are however still problems with the implementation of these plans, because of the lack of proper instruments and a government on the regional scale level.

In Spain meanwhile this regional government has been present since 1978. Since that year the national government has far less power and policy for each of the regions is made by the 17 autonomous communities. Thus policy here has already been decentralised for a longer period

then in The Netherlands. The division of the levels on which policy and plans are made and on which they are implemented is however much more complex than in The Netherlands. As described earlier the national government has competence over just a couple of things and makes and implements sectoral plans and policy for them. If necessary this is done in cooperation with local governments. The autonomous community makes and implements plans for almost all planning issues. It has competence for almost all issues and it decides per issue which other governments and actors can be involved. The province is making mostly sectoral plans, but since the installation of the Cuarto Espacio there are some integral influences as well. The implementation of these plans mainly takes place at the level of the comarcas. These comarcas can also make and implement plans. Then there is the municipal level, which is the lowest possible level for making and implementing plans. The municipalities mostly cooperate with each other or higher scale levels when they implement plans and policy. To make it even more complex Zaragoza as a city also has its own legislation and can make and implement policy and plans as well. Thus in the Spanish region it really depends on the planning issue, it is the issue that decides which levels are involved most of the time. As stated this policy is in line with governance. However this is also a reason why policy and plans are still sectoral here despite of the similarities with governance. They keep focusing on one issue most of the time instead of approaching a project in a more integral way. Thus despite the fact that Spain is decentralised, policy and plans are not really integral yet. As stated in Chapter 3 integral planning, in most cases, is the best possible way to make a qualitative innovation. Chances that the specific qualities of an area are offering can best be utilized with an integral planning policy. Lately integral planning has become more of a factor in the policy of Zaragoza. For instance the Ebrópolis contains integral elements.

This plan shows another difference with the north of The Netherlands that follows from the division and policy in the Spanish region. Because of the complex division it sometimes is not clear which comarcas or municipalities are influenced by a plan when it is integral. Therefore in the case of the Ebrópolis borders of the area that is influenced by the plan are not even described precisely. Or as it is stated in the Ebrópolis: “One of the most obvious changes, due to social dynamics, is the configuration of a new royal city – by which we mean the environment in which the people of Zaragoza go about their daily lives. This broadens with each passing day, with its borders varying, depending on the matter in hand: work, education, business, leisure, etc. (...) Reality, however, together with the need for the territory to be articulated according to strategies and not the other way around, means that the new Strategic Plan will not seek to fix a sealed perimeter/territorial border for the Zaragoza region and thus it will not be confined to specific administrative limits.” (Ebrópolis, 2006) The title of this strategic plan is ‘Strategic Plan for Zaragoza and its surroundings.’ As such Zaragoza has the possibility to take the idea of a region a bit further than the north of The Netherlands. In The Netherlands it is quite common to describe the area of influence pretty accurate in a plan. In Spain it is possible to make a more or less integral plan and decide the area that is influenced by each particular planning issue within the plan during the implementation. In that case the implementation can be sectoral again, but it does give planners and policy makers more options to utilize specific qualities of the area in the best possible way.

Similarities and differences between visions for further development

With the focus on these specific qualities a similarity is mentioned between planning policy in both regions. The north of The Netherlands is focusing on its specific qualities for some time now. The cooperation between the three provinces has been there for over 10 years. With the change to a more decentralized policy since the ‘Nota Ruimte’ the region has more possibilities to make its own policy and plans which can better utilize chances that the area is offering. As such planners in the north of The Netherlands have more options to contribute to

the identity of both the area and the people living in it. The relatively new policy form in The Netherlands called development planning is also helping planners and boarders to make policy that aims on specific qualities of the region. Examples like the Blue City show that with the right will of policy makers it is possible to make plans that can actually contribute to the spatial and socio-economic development of an area based on its specific qualities. And LILAC shows that it is possible to create a vision for the spatial-economic development of the whole region based on its specific qualities. It needs boarders that believe in it though.



Figure 4.8: The diverse landscape of the province of Zaragoza. (Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2007e)

Boarders of the province of Zaragoza are trying to create such a development in their region as well. As shown in Figure 4.8 the landscape of this province is diverse. It has a lot of different areas which are suitable for various kinds of spatial-economic development based on their specific qualities, but it also contains some areas which are not suitable for any kind of development at all. Furthermore most of the areas that are suitable are not very large and still poorly accessible and connected with each other and urban areas. This makes it more difficult to develop the area socially, spatially and economically. In the north of The Netherlands the rural land is developed much further already. So Zaragoza first has to seek for possibilities to get the rural area further developed and more in balance with the urban area.

Because the rural land is less development as the north of The Netherlands, it is also difficult to create a vision like LILAC for this area. It needs another kind of vision for the development first. LILAC suits well with an area that is as developed as the north of The Netherlands, but the preconditions to implement it in Zaragoza are not there yet. Or compared to the ideas of Rostow and Alonso, Zaragoza needs to be in the stage of high mass consumption for a longer time first and needs to develop more to reach more or less the same level of economic development in which the north of The Netherlands is already now. When it will reach this, it is however still the question whether a vision like LILAC will work here as well. LILAC is created for the specific qualities of the north of The Netherlands and as such it can contribute to the further development of this area. Zaragoza has different possibilities, the identity of the area and the people are different then the ones in the north of The Netherlands. Therefore, when it has reached the same level of development, it needs a vision which has an aim on the specific qualities of the Zaragoza area. Some of the possibilities can be the same as in the north of The Netherlands, like for instance rural tourism and leisure activities. But the effects would still be different because of the different qualities of the landscape and the different identity of the people.

Furthermore some possibilities will be totally different. Because of the shape of the landscape in Zaragoza, it is harder to find suitable residential landscapes then in the north of The Netherlands. In some areas with a lot of mountains it is difficult to build anything at all and in some almost desert areas it just is not attracting to reside. This identity of the landscape is also a factor in the utilization of other possibilities that come with LILAC, like the energy sector or agriculture. Both need specific landscape qualities. Some areas are for instance only suitable for cultivation of grapes or olives, some are not suitable for any kind of cultivation at all. So Zaragoza needs to find a vision that is based on specific qualities of its area and the people that are living in it. Nevertheless the base of focusing on these qualities for further development of the region is the

same as in the north of The Netherlands. As such, both regions are making policy in line with the EU policy on subsidiarity and regions. But Zaragoza first has to develop the rural land much more. This is needed in order to make further specialization and development based on its own specific qualities possible. Thus first investments in among many the infrastructure of the rural land are needed. Maybe the Expo can create investments that can also contribute to further development of the rural land. It is described in the next paragraph.

4.5 The Expo 2008: Water and Sustainable development

The development of the site of the Expo 2008

When you walk through the city of Zaragoza in 2007 it sometimes seems to be a total construction area and you can't miss the cause of this: the Expo 2008. It is promoted everywhere. With the election of Zaragoza as host of the international exposition in 2008 on 16 December 2004 the implementation of a number of plans and programs for the development of the city were accelerated. As such it is a clear example of 'event-planning'. An international exposition is held over three months on a site with a maximum of 25 hectares. It has a specific theme which in the case of Zaragoza is "Water and Sustainable development." (Expo Zaragoza 2008, 2007a) During the three months of the Expo 2008 debates, presentations, programs and all kinds of activities are held on this subject. People from all over the world will come to Zaragoza to talk about water and sustainable development and share their knowledge on this theme with each other. But also before these three months there are several conferences and forums held on the theme in Zaragoza. The selection of the theme is based on the goal of the boards of Zaragoza to create a distinguishing international identity for the city. Water is, as described before, an important factor in the identity of Zaragoza and the Expo 2008 is an excellent opportunity to give more attention to this identity nationally as well as internationally. The site for the Expo is therefore chosen with extra care on a location where the Ebro river makes a turn (see Figure 4.9). The site is located at the upper northwest corner of the city of Zaragoza.

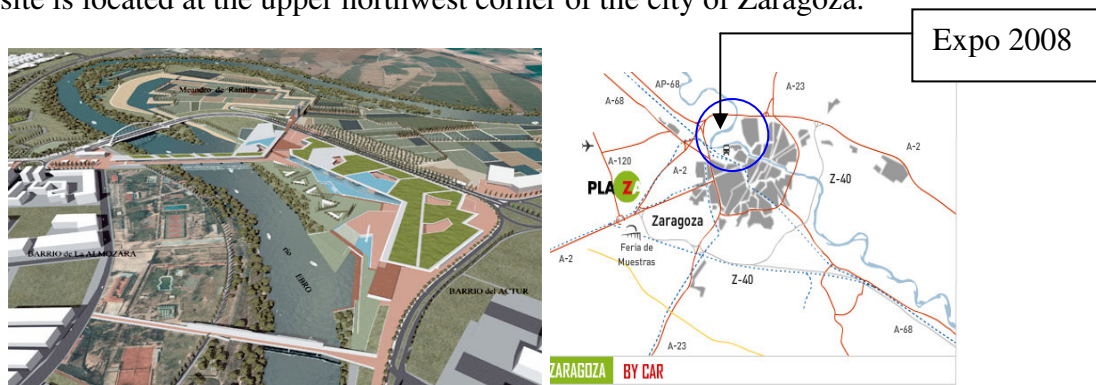


Figure 4.9: The location of the Expo 2008 site in Zaragoza. (AlmoZaragoza, 2006)

On the site several unique buildings will arise. They will all have something to do with water and they are the place for conferences, expositions and so on during the three months of the Expo. In line with the other part of the theme, sustainable development, there are already plans for almost all the buildings after the Expo is held. This 'Post Expo' plan contains the transformation of the site into a business park with as little changes to the exposition buildings as possible. Already several companies have proved to be interested and also some of the local government departments will move to the Expo site. (Expo Zaragoza 2008, 2007b) On the other side of the road through the site the Water Park will be developed. This park 'establishes the transition between the city and agricultural and natural areas of the Ebro riverside and it will be the most important legacy for the city'. Half of the area will be nature.

The ecosystem of the Ebro riverside has all the space to develop here. On the other part there is room for leisure activities, facilities and a variety of services. (Expo Zaragoza 2008, 2007c)

Developments in the infrastructure of the city

The election asks for a lot of organisation. Not only the site has to be developed, Zaragoza also needs to prepare for the millions of visitors during the three months of the exposition and before the start. With the money that comes with the election a number of new and already planned changes in mainly the city's infrastructure can be accelerated. The most important improvements on the area of the motorways are (Expo Zaragoza 2008, 2007d):

- The transformation of the northwestern part of the A68 into an urban road at the access point to the city near station Delicias. This has to make it easier for traffic to travel to the Expo site and other parts of the city;
- The complementation of the fourth belt of the Zaragoza ring road (the red ring around the city on Figure 4.3) by constructing a road of 6,5 kilometers;
- The construction of a new motorway that will meet the fourth ring at the point where it links with the A2 with the Huesca highway. It's purpose is to clear the congestion at the entrance of the highway to the Pyrenees.

Furthermore station Delicias, build in 2003, will be further developed into an intermodal station with the coming of the busstation. Hereby the connection of the city with other places is improved. It becomes easier to travel by bus to several places in the province or in the city itself. Another trainstation is developed near the PLAZA and the airport. This station makes it easier to travel from the airport or PLAZA to every destination in the city and it will also be connected to the high speed railway with Barcelona and Madrid. Besides this station, the airport itself will also be improved. A new terminal with a capacity of one million passengers per year will arise in order to deal with the growth of passengers and parts of the airport will be modernised and improved. In the city a start is made with the construction of bicycle lanes and broad pavements. Cars will be banned in the old centre of the city so that tourists can enjoy it in a quite atmosphere. The bus network in the city will be kept up to date with an interval of 10 to 20 minutes. And with the lightrail a new transportation type will be added to the public transport forms in the city. (Gobierno de Zaragoza, 2004)

The Digital Mile project

The Expo is a boost for a lot of other plans on different areas as well. One major project that is accelerated because of the Expo is the Digital Mile. It is discussed here because it is an important project in the development of the city. Before the election the Digital Mile project was already planned. According to Van den Berg et. al. (2005) the aim of the Digital Mile project is to promote the creation of a city of knowledge in the new, multifunctional urban spaces produced by the intermodal station, with the aim to boost the development of technological centres, with special attention to the promotion and production of audio-visual content. It's main objectives are (Van den Berg et. al., 2005):

- Be a laboratory of new ways of living, learning and working;
- Improve Zaragoza's image as an innovating city;
- Strengthen the knowledge based economy of the city;
- Attract national and international companies;
- Create a cluster of innovation and professional creativity;
- Boost the establishment of research centers of national and international standing;
- Create a community of residents with access to the most advanced technology.

They should contribute to the further development of the city. First the Digital Mile area also contained a part of the Expo site (see Figure 4.10). With the election of Zaragoza as host of

the Expo 2008 this has changed. Now that part is a component of plans for the Expo. The city tries to achieve three goals with the Digital Mile project (Van den Berg et. al., 2005):

- Make a qualitative jump to provide the city with a bigger national and international exposure and image;
- Have the characteristics of big cities (creativity, innovation, self-confidence and independency), but without ‘big city problems’;
- Expand its tertiary sector to generate high growth and jobs for the highly skilled.

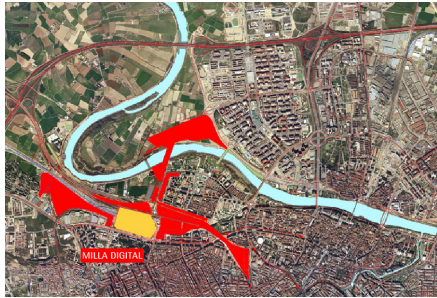


Figure 4.10: The geographical situation of the Digital Mile area. (Van den Berg et. al., 2005)

Although these goals and objectives are big and it will be very difficult to implement them all, the Expo has made it easier to achieve some of the goals and objectives. With the exposition a lot of companies and knowledge from all over the world come to Zaragoza and the city will be in the middle of the attention for three months. The money that comes with the election is a big advantage as well. Some of it can be invested in projects like the Digital Mile. Some of it can also be used to restore the city where it is necessary. Some parts of the road infrastructure are already restored.



Figure 4.11: The proposed restoration of the riverbanks of the Ebro (Expo Zaragoza 2008, 2007e)

In the historical Casco, the old centre of the city, some private buildings are restored as well. And also the riverbanks of the Ebro are restored. They will be made highly attractive, especially for tourists, by creating wider pavements, improving roads and planting trees. The Ebro should be turned into a central element of the city with recreational and sporting opportunities. (Gobierno de Zaragoza, 2004)

Contribution to the development of the Cuarto Espacio

The Expo 2008 shows that being elected and organising such a major event can contribute to further development. Main instruments for this contribution are the exposure and money that come with this event. Zaragoza is in the spotlights of the whole world for three months and this is an excellent platform to present the city and its distinguishing identity. With the theme and location of the site water is presented as a huge part of this identity. But some other parts, like the products from the Ebro Valley and of course logistics with the PLAZA as most important signboard, are also in the centre of the spotlights. Furthermore the money is also invested in the old centre and restoration of some historical buildings in the city. Among more the Mudéjar style can thus be presented to tourists and the Goya route can be developed

further. The city of Zaragoza really benefits from the election and tries to create further development based on its own identity. This specialization is important for the city. It is however the question in which way the Cuarto Espacio can benefit from the Expo 2008. Most of the developments take place in the urban area. The Expo puts the city of Zaragoza on the map. It attracts knowledge and companies to the city. But what about the periphery?

As described it is the periphery that needs to develop strongly to become more in balance with the urban area. However it is difficult to see direct effects of the Expo in the development of the periphery. The Expo is organised in and mainly aimed on the promotion of the city. Most of the effects for the rural area are more indirect. Companies that invest in the city can generate money that can be invested in the rural area or they are for instance supporting investments in the infrastructure of the rural area financially. After all better infrastructure there means better accessibility and attainability for the companies. These investments are most of the time nevertheless done in the area near the agglomeration and therefore they don't contribute to the development of the whole province. So the boarders of the Cuarto Espacio have made there own plans for the development of the area as well. As described these plans contain improvements in infrastructure, investments in and promotion of rural tourism and also promotion of Ebro Valley products by supporting all agricultural activities and creating a brand for these products. Rural tourism and these products are promoted in the city and during the Expo as well. Public transport to several touristic destinations in the province is improved. This support also counts for further development of companies that are located in the rural area. (Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2007f)

How much the election can contribute to achieving more balance between the rural and urban area is difficult to say at this point. It is something the future will tell. A key factor hereby is good cooperation. It seems to be clear though that hosting such an event can contribute direct or indirect to the development of both areas with the money and with the possibility to present Zaragoza nationally and internationally. Or as Gilbert Grellet (2007) of the Agency France Press says it: 'Zaragoza was in the middle of nowhere, now it is in the middle of everything.'

4.6 Zaragoza in the future

Zaragoza is situated in the autonomous community Aragón. This division in autonomous communities in Spain gives local governments the advantage that it is not necessary to take national policy into account, except for a couple of important issues. Because of this it becomes easier to make and implement policy that is in line with the specific characteristics of the regions. As such the province of Zaragoza is familiar with a regional policy for a longer time then the north of The Netherlands. However the region as a whole is less far developed then the north of The Netherlands. This depends among more on the identity of the area and the willingness of boarders and other parties. It is difficult to develop the area everywhere on the same level and the focus of boarders lies mainly on the areas that can be well developed. This is a consequence of such a regional policy. Without national steering the policy for further development is less equally spread. The regional government sees particularly chances for further development in the urban areas. These are the areas that contribute the most to the regional economy. Therefore the agglomeration of Zaragoza is much further developed then the surrounding area. There was no vision for the whole area.

It is only lately that the periphery gets a more prominent role in the regional policy in Spain due to developments like the new geography, globalisation and the EU policy as described in chapter 2. The city of Zaragoza has its own legislation and plans and stands therefore even more on its own. It is only since the establishment of the Cuarto Espacio that there is a vision for the rest of the province. The idea of complementarity is pretty new, before the described

developments regional policy was mostly aimed on economically strong areas. This is more or less the same mentality for the economy as in the 'Randstad' in The Netherlands. The identity of the area also makes it more difficult to think of economic activities in some areas. There simply are areas where hardly anything can be developed and therefore economic activities take place at a smaller scale level there than in the north of The Netherlands. But with the regional policy in Spain it is easier though to initiate projects. The PLAZA and Expo 2008 are examples of large projects whereby several actors like citizens, governments and market parties are working together. With such a regional policy there are less obstacles and restrictions to start these kind of projects. They are examples of integral and pluriform planning developments that can contribute to the development of the whole region. Therefore it is easier to get all local actors behind these projects and find a common interest that is needed for cooperation.

Zaragoza tries to develop further by aiming on large projects like the Expo 2008. The Expo attracts companies to the area and it generates a lot of money for several projects in the area and the city. As such it can contribute reasonably to the development of the region in the future. But it contributes to the promotion of Zaragoza's own distinguishing identity as well. This identity is another important factor in the policy for further development of the region. Therefore it is also a main aim in the recent vision on Zaragoza and its surrounding area as described in the Ebrópolis. Zaragoza also tries to develop the region further based on its own specific qualities, just like the north of The Netherlands. It has a good policy in which Zaragoza is located as centre of a hexagon with six other important cities in Spain and France. As such it aims on the connections with these cities. Zaragoza can possibly be complementary and distinctive with its own identity when these connections are of high quality.

Besides the focus on connections with other regions, it is also important for the future of the region to focus on the connections within its own area. This has become more important only recently and therefore it is difficult to apply a concept like 'mal-contramal' and a vision like LILAC-planning. The region as a whole is not developed and connected well enough for this. Furthermore this vision with an aim on the multifunctional use of the landscape is also necessary in the Dutch region because of the scarcity of space. This is not the case in Zaragoza. There is space enough here, but it's more a question of what can be planned where because of the identity of the area. Zaragoza should aim on the improvement of the province as a whole and mainly the connections within this region for further development in the near future. Around the city of Zaragoza leisure activities do become more important like for instance the construction of golf courts, but the rest of the province is not on this level of development yet. This is the main difference with the north of The Netherlands where the whole region is already pretty far developed.

Furthermore it is important to develop Zaragoza further in line with the identity of its inhabitants. The need for further development and specialisation also has to come from local people self. There has to be enough support for decisions of boards. So citizens and other local parties should be involved in an early stadium just as in the north of The Netherlands. The city has to keep its own identity while developing further. Zaragoza is not a city with many tourists and many modern architecture, thus the policy makers must keep this in mind during the developments for the Expo 2008 and afterwards. The aim should lie mainly on the development of the rest of the province to create more balance between the city and the rest of the region. Then synergies can arise and eventually a higher development for the whole region can be achieved.

Chapter 5 Conclusions and recommendations

The north of The Netherlands and Zaragoza are two developed regions in Europe that face some similar developments due to for instance European policy and globalisation. These developments influence the planning policy in these regions. A shift towards regionalization of policy takes place. The region as a whole becomes increasingly important. Thereby regions are aiming on their specific qualities for further development. In the north of The Netherlands this shift is also visible and it is influencing the further spatial and economic development of this region. The region as a whole is very developed, urban as well as the rural areas. It is characterized by its possibilities for leisure activities and residential landscapes. This opens up a lot of new possibilities to contribute to the regional economy and further development. More people are residing in the periphery whereby this area is increasingly urbanising. Companies follow this development as they become more footlose. Existing place theories like Christaller and current policy don't join with these changes. The Dutch region is clearly in the last stage of models for economic development like Alonso and Rostow or even beyond it, and it keeps on developing further. New theories and policy are necessary here.

Due to the many years of experience with cooperation in the north of The Netherlands some better suitable solutions have already arisen here. The concept of 'mal-contramal' is an example of this. With its base of complementarity instead of competition it suits much better with developed regions like the north of The Netherlands. The shift towards policy that is area-oriented is an important factor hereby as well, with the regional level as most important one for actual decisions. The increased importance of regional policy creates more possibilities for policy that aims on specific qualities of an area. The whole region is taken into account. Policy is made and implemented closer to the citizens whereby they become more involved with it. This also counts for other local parties. As such actual decisions have more support. Policy becomes more pluriform. There is a shift from government towards governance. It is also easier to find a common interest that joins all involved actors at a region level, so that cooperation can become easier as well. Acceptance of uncertainty is a necessary condition hereby.

As stated the north of The Netherlands is ahead of this process and with the concept of 'mal-contramal' new policy has arisen here. Most important example for this thesis is the 'Regiovisie.' It can combine an area-oriented approach with governance in order to achieve a higher regional development. It is an example of development planning which becomes increasingly popular here and has a focus on the expected social dynamics. Hereby policy is decentralized as much as possible and there is an aim on innovation to create a qualitative jump for the concerned area. It can better deal with the many complex and dynamic planning issues that occur due to among more the changing society and improved technology. Several projects can be placed under the denominator development planning. Projects and policy can together form a vision for a whole region. In the north of The Netherlands an example of such a vision can be found: LILAC-planning. It aims at the specific qualities of the region like rest and space. It sees the area as leisure-rich and is based on a residing economy instead of the working economy in for instance the 'Randstad.' The opportunities for further development with this vision mainly lie on the area of residing, tourism and recreation, but also on for instance energy and knowledge. It is in line with the concept of 'mal-contramal' and specifically suits with the qualities and stage of development of the north of The Netherlands. But there is some uncertainty with this vision and policy as well. Legal settings and instruments for it are still scarce, although the new national policy document gives some more possibilities. However a clear described basis quality for the area is necessary. Furthermore it will be difficult to apply LILAC-planning elsewhere. New policy in the north of The Netherlands is still developing and many obstacles have to be conquered.

The development of Zaragoza differs from the Dutch region, mainly because the urban areas are much further developed than the rural ones. The regional level is the most important policy level for quite a while now in Spain. But the region as a whole is less far developed. It is difficult to develop the area everywhere on the same level and borders in Zaragoza see particularly chances for further development in the urban area. This agglomeration is pretty far developed, but the rural area around it, named Cuarto Espacio, stays behind and is almost depressed. This is a consequence of such a regional policy. Without national steering the policy for further development is less equally spread. This depends among more on the identity of the area and the willingness of borders and other parties. Policy for the whole region with a clear basis quality is needed here as well. Due to among more globalisation, EU policy and the establishment of an organ for the Cuarto Espacio, the imbalance is slowly changing. Recently there is more attention for possibilities for further development of the rural areas in the province of Zaragoza. But there still seems to be a clear centre-periphery relation here, like in place theories as Christaller and Lösch. The province of Zaragoza has just reached the last stages of development of Rostow's and Alonso's models.

Zaragoza has several factors that can form a distinguishing identity to contribute to the regional economy and further development. Most important parts of this identity are water and logistics. These are thus the main points in the policy of Zaragoza. Examples of this are the central place of the Ebro in the policy and the fact that borders place Zaragoza as a logistic centre of a hexagon with other major cities in Spain and France, which is also in line with the place theory of Christaller. But other factors like Goya, Mudéjar and Ebro Valley products are part of the identity as well and they can also contribute to the further development of the region.

The province of Zaragoza has a dual policy. Policy is made for the agglomeration, but also for the Cuarto Espacio. The city is developed further based on its distinguishing identity of mainly water and logistics. Several major projects like the PLAZA help to develop the area further and make the city even more important as logistic centre. They contribute substantially to the regional economy. The development of the city gets an extra boost with the election of Zaragoza as host of the Expo in 2008. Several infrastructure projects can be accelerated because of this and the familiarity of Zaragoza grows nationally as well as internationally. This can attract more companies and knowledge to the city. With the money that comes with the Expo a lot of restorations can take place in the city as well.

The Cuarto Espacio can create its own possibilities for further development. Chances hereof lie for instance in the creation of a brand for products from the Ebro Valley, but also in rural tourism. With its great variety of landscapes there are several possibilities for leisure activities. Therefore it is however necessary to get the development of the whole area on a higher level first. Connections have to be improved as well as the level of education in the periphery. Only when these kind of preconditions are alright opportunities for rural tourism among more have a chance and can really contribute to the regional economy and further development here.

It is difficult to compare both regions since they are in different stages of development. Nevertheless there are some similarities. In both regions the focus on specific qualities of the area is important. Rural tourism and leisure activities play an important role hereby. In Zaragoza this is however more difficult to implement due to the stage of development of the rural land. Therefore leisure activities are mainly found in and near the urban area here. This is also a major reason why the concept of 'mal-contramal' is difficult to implement in Zaragoza. The urban area can form a great mal, but the rural area can't really be complementary due to the arrear in development. When the Cuarto Espacio is further

developed in the future it can however be an interesting concept for further development of the whole region. There do lie some similar chances as in the north of The Netherlands, but they can not be utilized right now. The same counts more or less for an overall vision like LILAC-planning. Despite the fact that this vision is specifically applicable on the north of The Netherlands, Zaragoza can use it as an example for an overall vision of its own region. The north of The Netherlands can learn some things from Zaragoza as well. For instance from the way local parties work together here and promote Zaragoza. Due to the many years of experience with regional policy, actors in Zaragoza find each other easy and promote the identity of Zaragoza together. As a result, it seems to be easier here to house and implement large projects like the PLAZA and the Expo. The way boarders in Zaragoza place the city in the centre instead of seeing it as a far corner in Spain, can also be applied on the north of The Netherlands and maybe lead to advantages there as well.

The developments in the planning policy in both regions show some similarities. Both regions cope with some similar problems due to developments that come with globalisation and regionalization. Society is changing as it becomes more individually aimed and the identity of each region on itself becomes more important to strengthen the local economy. Planning policy has to adjust to this changes. In The Netherlands the 'Nota Ruimte' is made as an answer which aims at decentralization of policy as much as possible. It tries to give regions the chance to develop further based on its own specific qualities. This policy is however still developing. In Zaragoza policy has been decentralized for a longer period. Therefore it has had some more freedom to develop further without many restrictions from the national policy. Chances for further development and contributions to the regional economy can be utilized easily here. This has led to imbalance in the stages of development of the rural and urban areas though. Lately this imbalance is slowly decreasing as policy aims more at the whole region and development of the rural area becomes more important as well. The latest planning policy document called 'Ebropolis' is the incarnation of these developments. It shows the freedom of making policy in a country that is so decentralized as Spain. This policy is made without even defining the borders on which the plans are related. It shows clear characteristics of integral planning as several sectors are taken into account. Despite the fact that the division of making and implementing planning policy in both regions is quite different, there are thus some similarities in the development of the planning policy of both regions. Plans in both regions are decentralized as much as possible, they are becoming more integral, they are aimed at specific qualities of the area for further development of the whole region and they are not made by a single government anymore, but more and more by governance.

Some recommendations follow from this research. It can be useful to do more research on the standard minimum quality called basis quality for regions in The Netherlands as well as in Spain. Despite the fact that this is quite an important standard for planning policy in both regions, it isn't totally clear described yet. So further research on the actual description of the contents of this standard and instruments and legislation that can be useful for the application of it is necessary. And possibly even better solutions can be found that can prevent regions from rumbling too much or from too many imbalance in their development. Furthermore it can be useful to compare both regions with regions that have a more similar stage of development. The north of The Netherlands can possibly learn more from regions that have a more similar overall stage of development. Maybe the concept of 'mal-contramal' can be applied there as well and it can be further developed. This can lead to more and new possibilities for further development based on specific qualities. The same counts for the Spanish region. By comparing Zaragoza with regions that have similar problems and a similar imbalance in the stages of development of the urban and rural areas, Zaragoza can possibly deal with this imbalance in a better way and find more and other solutions for it.

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