

## Chapter 1

### **Introduction**

Global commonality and regional specificity

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There is much talk about globalisation and its effects on urban planning.<sup>1</sup> Less in the headlines, but prominently positioned in the view of some planning educators, is the potential for international comparison to improve planning scholarship (Lim and Miller 2003; Afshar and Pezzoli 2001). International comparison can take two forms: comparison of practice and its contexts on the one hand, and comparison of research on the other. The *Dialogues in Urban and Regional Planning* project is designed to foster comparison of planning research, although it cannot help but contribute to comparison of planning practice. Our premise has been that planning scholars often labour in isolation from others from whom they might productively learn: isolation brought on by language differences (Aalbers 2004, Albrechts 2004), geographic and cultural distance (Gregson *et al.* 2003, ACSP 2003), and contextual distinctions in planning practice systems (Friedmann 2005: 184) that seem to create barriers to cross-national application of planning principles.

The *Dialogues* process of selecting papers from among nominations by nine planning school associations is intended as a modest effort to increase the exposure of planning scholars to works from regional scholarly communities with which they may have little familiarity. In keeping with this mission, the first portion of this introduction will examine the 12 papers that result from this volume's selection process, seeking commonalities, differences, and possible lessons. We will then attempt to review the movement of ideas across planning regions and speculate on possible additional means of increasing access to planning scholarship across regions.

### **Global themes**

In the introduction to *Dialogues* volume 1 we suggested that it was possible to identify some key themes in current international planning scholarship, and that the identification of these emerging multi-regional commonalities was an important component of the task of building an international understanding of planning thought and practice. In this collection as well there are important commonalities. A number of the chapters discuss problems linked to the redefinition of frontiers between current analytical categories: the local and global scales; rural and urban

domains; economic and political spheres and formal and informal cities. Other chapters reflect worries about dealing appropriately with some established, but increasingly challenged, frontiers: such as those between culture-based and cosmopolitan spatial principles and planning ideas; between formal democratic institutions and more decentralised ways of exercising power; and between economically and environmentally oriented planning actions. From the point of view of method, some authors have attempted to review known hypotheses using new methods or stronger sampling techniques – such as the investigation into the role of road transport investments in resolving traffic problems; they have questioned assumptions about the international diffusion of planning ideas through an analysis of local practice – in the case of Australia; and have explored the ability of planners to respond sensibly to civil society demands and proposals – as in the case of the Brazilian Urban Reform project as a way of dealing with informal settlements. Other chapters have engaged in building new concepts from emerging phenomena: new urban policies; new political cultures and ‘glocalized’ processes of urban development.

In *Dialogues* volume 1 we identified three themes which emerged from this first collection of articles: the relationship between planning and the economy; concerns for the environment and conservation of built heritage; and the nature of planning processes and decision-making. The 12 chapters in *Dialogues* volume 2 are as diverse as those in *Dialogues* volume 1, and it would, again, be a mistake to attempt to impose strict thematic categories on them. Yet again, the three themes identifiable in *Dialogues* volume 1 are evident in this collection, as well as some additional areas of interest.

### ***Economy, urban space and planning***

Three of the 12 chapters in this volume directly explore the issue of economy, urban space and planning, although a concern for economic factors is apparent in the treatment of some of the other themes as well.

The *Hutton* article (Chapter 2), entitled *Post-industrialism, post-modernism, and the reproduction of Vancouver's central area: retheorizing the twenty-first century city*, was contributed by the Association of Canadian University Planning Programs (ACUPP).

The article analyses the ways in which industrial restructuring, changing social processes and employment change have impacted on Vancouver central city, resulting in the upgrading of older inner city neighbourhoods and growth of an urban cultural economy. The last two decades have seen the growing impact of global economic processes, with the location of multinationals, foreign investment in property, the development of the urban mega-project and growth of enclaves of immigrant populations. But, and this is the central thesis of the article, planning and

policy interventions have been able to influence these forces, although this influence has been constrained. A key insight here is that the local policy role has extended well beyond conventional planning tools to include transformational visions and assertive implementational programmes. For planning, this has necessitated the accommodation of profit seeking capital, but it has been possible to insert broader public values and needs into the development process to include aspects such as social housing and public amenity. Planning values and public policy have thus been important agents of transformation over the past three decades, and the Central Area Plan of 1991 has been a particularly influential informant to the reshaping of the core in what the author considers to be the post-modern era.

Two strands of urban development theory, post-industrialism and post-modernism, are used to evaluate changes in urban structure and land use in Vancouver's core as well as the expressions of planning and policy values underpinning these transformations. These frameworks are used to identify and explain key episodes in the transformation of central Vancouver. A key initiative, Hutton argues, was the Central Area Plan and its implementation in the 1990s which enabled the comprehensive reordering of inner-city space, exemplified by post-modern diversity, complexity and interdependency of territory and land use, and a reversal of the previous employment–housing imbalance. However, it has resulted as well in new forms of social exclusion and conflict.

Hutton develops a conceptual framework (Table 2) for interpreting the transformations of the core. This framework identifies categories of transformation and exemplary outcomes, divided into two broad classes: structure, territory and form; and labour, class and identity, together representing highly interdependent dynamics of change. As an 'epilogue', Hutton explores the theoretical implications of the Vancouver case study, not as an attempt to universalise the Vancouver experience, but to provide fresh insights for conceptualization. Here he draws on Zukin's call to conceptualize the city as a social process and periodize change in terms of production as well as consumption of urban space.

The *Beriatos and Gospodini* article (Chapter 3), entitled '*Glocalising' urban landscapes: Athens and the 2004 Olympics*, was contributed by the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP).

Beriatos and Gospodini, like Hutton, focus on the transformation of urban landscapes in the era of globalisation, and the role which local state intervention, through planning, plays in this. Like Hutton, as well, they explore an urban case – Athens and its preparation for the 2004 Olympic Games – in order to reflect both on the nature and impact of intervention in the built environment and on interrelationships between global and local forces. Their central questions are, however, somewhat different: building on an understanding of the main task of urban governance as the creation of urban conditions which can attract investment and promote urban economic development, they investigate the ways in which

urban design schemes are being used to achieve this. The article is therefore asking – what kind of urban landscape transformation is promoted by new urban policies in the era of globalisation, and what are the main components of the emerging new urban landscapes?

Theoretical informants for Beriatos and Gospodini's work lie in Cox's notion of 'new urban politics', which suggests that cities compete against each other to attract investment, and that post-modern cities have been commodified as part of this agenda. They draw as well on Clarke's 'new political culture' – as well as earlier work of Zukin – in which central issues in the post-industrial city are culture, leisure and amenities, and the new consumption-oriented urban development and economy. Both these frameworks include built heritage and the innovative design of space as aspects which promote the competitive edge of cities, and it is these which the authors explore in relation to Athens.

By examining each of the urban projects built for the Olympics, and classifying them according to whether they related to built heritage, were based on the innovative design of space, or were 'non-competitive' projects, the authors show that innovative design and heritage projects were dominant in both value of investment and number. They conclude that Athens partly followed the new international paradigm and focused investments on competitive landscape transformations. However, the scattered nature of investments across Athens, as opposed to the spatial-aggregation model which has been used successfully in other cities, could retard positive economic effects.

The *Donzelot* article (Chapter 4), entitled *The three-speed city: marginalisation, periurbanisation, gentrification*, was contributed by the Association for the Development of Planning Education and Research (APERAU) and has been translated from French.

The article examines the impact of changing economic and social forces on urban morphology and suggests that there is currently a three-fold division between parts of the city and the social classes that occupy them. The article examines the characteristics and specificities of each of these three urban entities, in order to clarify the logic of this separation in the city. The distinctiveness of each of these three categories of area is described through a discussion of four elements: a way of being on our own in these places; attitudes towards mobility; security or insecurity; and potential outcomes in each area through education.

The areas of marginalisation are the social housing projects or new towns. While these were initially seen as a modern ideal for both working and middle classes, loss of skilled jobs, growing unemployment and in-migration changed their status from 'determined modernity' to one of 'repulsion'. These areas have become remote in a spatial, social and legal sense with little hope that education can offer a way out. The areas of periurbanisation (car-dependent suburbs and gated-communities) are occupied by the middle classes wishing to avoid the

marginalised social housing estates, but feeling excluded from the ‘winning elite’ which have been gentrifying the inner city areas. Here the school is a major reason for moving into the suburbs, with the intention of escaping from, and then keeping out, children from the areas of marginalisation. The areas of gentrification are renovated inner-city areas occupied by the wealthiest. Here public space is accessible and well protected, and land prices successfully exclude the poor. Accessibility is provided by the proximate location of important functions or through access to electronic networks.

The article concludes with the qualification that it has indicated broad trends rather than neat categories, and that there is a great deal of diversity within these three categories. What is important is the connection between these three types of area, implying that it will not be possible to act on one without considering all three.

### ***Environment and conservation of heritage***

In *Dialogues* volume 1, two articles dealt with the theme of environment and conservation of heritage in the built environment, and this pattern repeats itself in *Dialogues* volume 2, in da Veiga’s discussion of ‘rurality’ and Samadhi’s concern with cultural informants of urban design in Bali. A third article, by Todes, deals with the incorporation of environmental concerns into regional planning processes, but is summarized with the other chapters on decision-making processes due to its emphasis on this aspect.

The *da Veiga* article (Chapter 5), entitled *The future of rurality under globalization*, was contributed by the National Association of Urban and Regional Postgraduate and Research Programmes (ANPUR) in Brazil, and has been translated from Portuguese.

Da Veiga takes as a starting point two opposing hypotheses, or predictions, regarding the urban–rural dichotomy. The first is by Lefebvre (in his 1970 book, *The Urban Revolution*) who foresaw the total urbanisation of settlement patterns, and the second is by Kayser (in his 1972 book, *The Rural Renaissance*) who predicted the revival of rural areas as greater value was placed on small town life and rural culture. The aim of this article is to ask if either of these hypotheses has been accurate given the pressures of globalisation and to propose a revised hypothesis on the possible fate of rural areas under globalisation.

The empirical data presented in this article show that currently 53 percent of the earth’s surface may be categorised as ‘practically unaltered’ and 21.8 percent as ‘partially altered’. Only 25 percent is intensively altered by urban and primary use. Concerns about the disappearance of rurality really only apply to Europe where 65 percent is intensely altered. This data does not prove or disprove either hypothesis, as it is not possible to suggest that all countries of the world are on the same path

as, say, Holland or the UK which are intensively altered. In economically advanced countries rurality has neither disappeared nor been reborn.

Instead da Veiga puts forward his own hypothesis (the ‘middle way’) which suggests that in the era of globalisation, urbanity generates recognition of the value of rurality, of a new kind. Thus natural amenity has become a comparative advantage, offering beauty, tranquillity, silence, clean water and pure air, and rural areas are valued as offering culture, economic and social advantages and a better quality of life. There are also different ruralities: remote and deep rurality and accessible or adjacent rurality, which may be valued differently. Dramatic increases in mobility in the current era have been partly responsible for the re-valuing of rural areas, as the spatial revolution that generated urban society and also invigorated rurality.

The *Samadhi* article (Chapter 6), entitled *Reinforcing identity: urban design concepts for achieving Balinese cities with cultural identity*, was contributed by the Asian Planning Schools Association (APSA).

This article addresses the problem of how tourism-related economic development affects urban development and erodes the cultural identity of the built environment. It starts with the assumption that culture is expressed in the built environment and urban form, creating unique qualities – a sense of place. Tourism results in the packaging of identity for Western tourists which is often a mixture of the traditional and exotic. Hence there is a need to use urban design as a tool to bring back the Balinese-ness of Balinese urban landscapes.

Samadhi starts with the principles underlying Balinese culture and how these have traditionally been expressed in space. For example, the concept of centre – hence middle or neutral – is important to the Balinese, in religious and cosmological terms as well as in the political realm. Physical manifestation takes the form of a great crossroads at which forces from the first world, i.e. the world of the gods, the third world, i.e. the world of demons, and from the Balinese windrose directions – meet the dwellers of the second world, i.e. human beings. The main functions of society – palace, temple, market-place – are arranged around the crossroads as a way of accumulating power in one place. This crossroads therefore becomes a landmark and identity maker in Balinese settlements. Overall, the intention is to develop harmonious relations between human beings, God and the natural environment.

From this understanding, spatial principles are developed and translated into urban design guidelines. Samadhi tested out his principles on a number of professional planners in Bali to assess their appropriateness and usefulness and revised them in response to feedback. Ultimately he proposes 12 urban design concepts which describe aspects of access, compatibility of functions, identity and the liveability of settlements.

### ***Planning processes and the nature of decision-making***

Three articles deal directly with the theme of planning processes and the nature of decision-making.

The *March and Low* article (Chapter 7), entitled *Knowing and steering: mediatization, planning and democracy in Victoria, Australia*, was contributed by the Australia and New Zealand Association of Planning Schools (ANZAPS).

This article offers a critique of planning viewed as an aspect of democratic governance, using as a case the local planning system of the State of Victoria. It further seeks to provide a framework for understanding the procedural barriers to democratic planning, which also provides a starting point to consider the role of institutions in influencing substantive urban realities. Habermas' conception of the way policy is influenced by 'steering media' (e.g. law, bureaucracy, money), that act to restrict normative input, is used to comment critically on Victoria's planning system and to ask if it could become more democratic, and how.

The paper takes the four 'dilemmas of democracy', found in most liberal-democratic forms of government and most western planning systems, to see how they are resolved in Victoria. The dilemmas are: first, the need to include all citizens in a democratic process versus the need for closure when decisions have to be made; second, the urge to concentrate power centrally allowing effective planning and management versus the dispersal of power among localities to allow greater democratic depth and more responsive decision-making; third, arguments for a rights-based approach, recognizing the individual, versus a utilitarian approach giving priority to the public interest; and fourth, the dilemma of equality delivered through the state versus liberty, exercised through the market. Planning in Victoria, the authors conclude, demonstrates lack of inclusiveness, is centralised, and is oriented to utility rather than rights and to liberty over equality.

Taking Habermas' position that 'mediatization' is a central impediment to democratic knowing and steering, the authors suggest that in Victoria law, professionalism, markets, bureaucracy and politics have steering capabilities in the planning process that influence processes and outcomes. They develop a conceptual framework for understanding each medium and offer practical directions for enhancing democracy in the planning system.

The *do Lago* article (Chapter 8), entitled *The instruments for urban reform and the ideal of citizenship: the current contradictions*, was contributed by the National Association of Urban and Regional Postgraduate and Research Programmes (ANPUR) in Brazil, and has been translated from Portuguese.

This paper focuses on the production of spatial inequalities in urban areas, which occur primarily as a result of economic forces, and the way in which this sets up contradictions with the ideal of equality of citizenship as an accepted element of democracy. It explores the attempts which have been made in Brazil since the

1960s to address this problem through intervention in areas declared as ZEIS (Special Zones of Social Interest). Do Lago is less concerned with reporting on the impact of these programmes, but rather focuses on the principles involved, in particular how it is possible to accommodate values of equality – in the project for citizenship and expanding rights of access to the city – and integration of marginalised areas, through instruments which recognize and address values of difference. This raises the issue of the possible co-existence of equality and difference in hierarchical and unequal societies, in which difference is an expression of the inferiority of the poor.

The object of the ZEIS – popular settlements, but also sometimes vacant areas – has been to regularise these areas, given that housing illegality is seen as a problem by all political groupings. The main legal instrument is zoning which promotes the ideal of urban welfare, but also contains restrictive principles in its attempts to protect residents from speculation.

Do Lago asks to what extent the norms and standards applied in the ZEIS create two classes of citizens in these cities. In the case of land title, the ‘real concession for use’ may be an inferior form to full ownership and thus confer a different set of rights on ZEIS occupants. This approach to titling does not question the right to private ownership as a value – as it seeks to turn residents into owners – but it regulates the owners’ right to gain income from this land. It also places the right to land as the core necessity for the exercise of citizenship, but land ownership in Brazil has historically been a major instrument of reproducing a hierarchical social structure as well as a precondition for the exercise of a range of other rights, such as protection from eviction. This highlights the difference between policies of insertion and those of integration – residents are inserted as they are legally acknowledged, but not integrated, as for this they would have to have the same rights as everyone else.

Do Lago also argues that the ZEIS allow an unmasking of class interests present in urban and land laws and show that these ‘universal’ laws in fact express the private interests of the few. In effect, could the protective measures of the ZEIS not be extended to the city as a whole to control speculation and prevent the processes that create unequal access to land?

The *Todes* article (Chapter 9) entitled *Regional planning and sustainability: limits and potentials of South Africa’s integrated development plans*, was contributed by the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS).

This article argues that regional planning is often claimed to be an important vehicle for promoting environmental sustainability, but environmental concerns are not always part of regional planning and regional plans do not always integrate sectoral issues. In South Africa a new approach to planning termed Integrated Development Planning (IDPs) is intended to produce strategic plans for territories at municipal and district level, which integrate sectoral concerns and link these

to the budget and to implementational action. IDPs were introduced into South Africa in the mid-1990s as a way of overcoming the fragmented and non-strategic nature of decision-making in local government. They are essentially process plans for municipalities, and spatial plans are just one element of these. They are also supposed to promote environmental sustainability, but this aspect is weakly developed in most IDPs. The purpose of the article is to investigate if IDPs provide an adequate framework for achieving sustainable regional development, through the evaluation of the IDP of the Ugu District Council. This IDP has been acclaimed for its incorporation of sustainability principles into planning.

The article begins by considering recent shifts in thinking about regional planning and development internationally, and the ways in which the concept of sustainability has been incorporated into this work. A key tension exists between the goals of economic development and sustainability, and the possibility of reconciling these in development. The paper then turns to the Ugu District Council, which contains a largely poor population, and evaluates its 2001–2002 IDP in terms of the participatory nature of the process, its achievement of social and economic sustainability, and of environmental sustainability. The evaluation is based on two in-depth studies of the planning process in Ugu, which included interviews, document analysis, field observations and a self-assessment process.

Todes concludes by considering if the IDP approach, as a form of regional planning, is a way of promoting sustainable development in other developing countries. She argues that the IDP approach is consistent with sustainability thinking and the link to budgets and institutions is important in implementing these ideas. But tensions between economic and environmental imperatives need to be recognized and addressed, as well as the tension between a participatory approach to IDPs and environmental issues which sometimes requires the overriding of popular approaches. Further, IDPs require a highly supportive legal, institutional and financial framework and this is not always present in developing countries.

### ***The development of planning ideas***

Two of the articles in this volume consider the development of planning ideas over time, the first focusing on the influence of American ideas on Australian planning, and the second as a genealogy of ideas on planning and cities.

The *Freestone* article (Chapter 10), entitled *The Americanization of Australian planning*, was contributed by the Australia and New Zealand Association of Planning Schools (ANZAPS).

The article explores the influence of American planning ideas on Australian planning over the last century. Starting with a discussion of the broader social and economic connections between Australia and America, and the complex nature of this, Freestone then draws on texts which have commented on international

planning influence. He is critical of Stephen Ward's categorisation of the Australian planning system as 'clearly derivative' of foreign planning ideas, and argues that there has been a conscious selectivity and adaptation in the diffusion process, as well as some rejection of American solutions. Approaches to this issue by Cody, and by Nasr and Volait, better show the critical discretion exercised by Australian planning, resulting in ideas which have been hybridised rather than simply adopted.

Freestone then deals with Australian–American planning encounters in terms of seven main eras over the last century. These cover the Aesthetic City of the early twentieth century; the City Beautiful movement; the City Functional of the First World War period; the more eclectic mix of ideas relating to urban renewal, slum clearance, and regional development during and after the Second World War; the period post-1950s with the adoption of traffic planning, freeway design, shopping malls; and inner-city redevelopment; and in the post-1970s period, a 'splintering' of planning philosophies and approaches with the adoption of urban mega-projects as well as 'new Australian urbanism'.

Freestone concludes that the dominant influence on Australian planning for much of the twentieth century was British, but in the more recent period this hegemony has fractured. Ideas from various parts of the world are currently imported and used, with American ideas having a strong influence. Trans-Pacific exchanges have been cyclical and selective in nature, more pronounced in periods of prosperity, and more evident in certain Australian cities. There have been remarkable parallels between Australian and American planning, yet most encounters have been contested, resisted and adapted and it is difficult to separate imported influences from indigenous ones. Ultimately, Freestone argues, it has been less a case of the Americanization of Australian planning and more the Australianization of American planning.

The *Novick* article (Chapter 11), entitled *City planning and urban history*, was contributed by the Association of Latin American Schools of Urbanism and Planning (ALEUP), and has been translated from Spanish.

This article draws on an international literature on the concept of cities, but is based as well on the case of Buenos Aires. It considers the historical emergence of the term 'urban planning', first described as 'urbanism' in the middle of the nineteenth century to characterise the emerging modern city, seen as distinctly different to the traditional city as an object of study and action. The term indicated a growing degree of complexity which 'city', 'settlement' or 'hamlet' could not capture. The term indicates further how the space of the city and that of society are intertwined, but also how over time they have become separated so that the space of the city could be subject to specialist consideration – planning – in order to adapt it to the needs of man.

This points to tensions between understandings of space, society and the state on the one hand, and ideas and practices on the other, which creates difficulties

for constructing the history of cities. Novick builds on the ideas of urban cultural history, which bring together views on urban culture and historical culture, but takes this further to look at the potential of technical representation which should also be seen as an input. She argues that city planning should contribute to the understanding of the history of cities, as urban histories to date have been lacking in terms of the incorporation of the activities of urban professionals, technicians and the state. Thus, within the concept of a wide cultural history, the technical cultures should also find a place.

She further advocates that a cultural history is developed not just from words, categories, images and representational forms, but also from an understanding of practice and conflict. The contribution of case studies, in particular, can highlight the role of the state and its relative autonomy as an actor in the construction of the city. The article uses Buenos Aires as a case to demonstrate this point.

### ***Planning and transport***

The *Cervero* article (Chapter 12), entitled *Road expansion, urban growth, and induced travel: a path analysis*, was contributed by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) in the USA.

This article examines the claim that roadway investments spur greater travel – induced demand – and thus fail to relieve traffic congestion. This has been a critical claim in the field, as past research has suggested that the effects of induced demand are substantial, and the issue is frequently raised to counter proposed road projects. In this article, Cervero uses data from a panel of 24 California freeways, over 15 years, to fill past methodological gaps by postulating and empirically testing a path model of induced travel.

Cervero's analysis, in contrast to previous studies which measured the growth of vehicle miles travelled as a direct function of lane-mile additions, introduces the intermediate step that road improvements confer benefits in the form of higher travel speeds, and that it is the changes in operating conditions that influence demand, not the physical attributes of a project. He argues, further, that a longer-term model indicates how road investments induce major building activities and how resulting land use shifts lead to increased travel. In particular, freeways impact on real estate development which gravitates to improved freeways and thus increases traffic. Freeways and large shopping malls, edge cities and corporate campuses are 'co-dependent'. An important consequence of this understanding is the realization that land use planning can be an important tool for managing the impacts of road investments.

Cervero argues that the path model better captures causal relationships than previous studies, and that many past elasticity estimates could be inflated. Houston is an example of a city which has consistently invested in freeway development

and has been more successful in relieving traffic congestion than most US cities. He acknowledges, however, that such an approach does not necessarily result in sustainable and liveable cities. Whether or not to build new roads cannot be informed by studies such as these, but only through a full accounting of social costs and benefits.

### ***Planning and gender***

The *Kalabamu* article (Chapter 13), entitled *Changing gender contracts in self-help housing construction in Botswana: the case of Lobatse*, was contributed by the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS).

This article traces changing gender relations in the self-help housing process in Botswana. The term ‘gender contracts’ is used to indicate invisible power relations that determine roles, responsibilities, privileges, status, sexuality and behaviour of men and women as they shape relations in particular cultures. Kalabamu’s position on gender is that these roles are always an expression of power between men and women, and that those with power determine and define the roles of the ‘other’. Those with less power are not passive, however, and seek to further their own priorities within the constraints and possibilities set for them.

The paper begins with the establishment of a conceptual framework for understanding changing gender roles and relations, drawing on the gender system and contracts theory developed by Hirdman and the ideas of Agarwal on bargaining power and gender relations. The paper then turns to changes which have taken place in Botswana society. He explores patriarchal structures prior to colonization and how these have changed under colonialism and capitalism, and up to the present time. Changing economic forces have opened up the possibility for women to challenge patriarchy, but although women have made some inroads to previously male dominated areas, new sites and forms of female subordination have emerged.

The empirical research was undertaken in the fourth largest town of Lobatse, and was based on both quantitative and qualitative surveys. This section of the paper describes the house acquisition and construction processes in self-help housing programmes and the operation of gender contracts in these situations. While male domination operates in this context, the research identifies a number of coping and negotiation strategies used by women during the housing process. Kalabamu concludes that although housing initiatives such as these attempt to empower low income housing residents – who are mostly women – they in fact end up compromising women as the policies and criteria favour men. In many cases female beneficiaries were forced to surrender their land rights to their male partners or acquaintances, although women still attempted to make gains for themselves, using tactics of cooperation rather than confrontation. Overall, patriarchy may have

been weakened, but it has been replaced by new forms of female subordination and exclusion.

### **Do we read each other's work?**

A motivation for the *Dialogues* project has been the belief that urban planning scholars are often isolated from those with similar interests working in other regions.

Much has been written recently arguing that English-language domination of the international literature across the social sciences and particularly in human geography leads to downplaying of non-English voices in scholarship (Paasi 2005, Garcia-Ramon 2003). Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001) analyzed authorship and editorial board membership in nineteen journals and concluded, 'Most of the "international" human geography journals are not, in fact, very international and have not yet managed (or have not yet tried) to unite the international community of geographers in to a truly global forum' (p. 67).

Similar arguments have been made about Anglo-American domination of planning scholarship by Kunzmann (2004) and Albrechts (2004), but empirical verification is limited. In one of the few direct measurements, Rodríguez-Pose (2006) shows that authors based in English-speaking countries are responsible for 71 percent of articles published in *Environment and Planning A* in 2000–4, and 63 percent of articles published in *Regional Studies* during the same period.

In order to shed some further light on the assumption of regional isolation in planning scholarship, we examined the references cited in the 24 papers published in both volumes of *Dialogues*. We identified region of publication for 1257 references, as shown in Table 1.1.<sup>2</sup> Overall, 37 percent of references cited were published in Europe, 37 percent in North America, excluding Mexico, 11 percent in Australia, 8 percent in Latin America, including Mexico, 4 percent in Asia and 3 percent in Africa.

Matching reference publication region, with the regional origin of the *Dialogues* paper that makes the reference, shows two important patterns. First, the regions vary widely in the degree to which they are reference independent. The European and North American papers are highly independent: the European papers cite European sources 83 percent of the time; and the North American papers cite North American sources 75 percent of the time. The Latin American papers occupy a middle ground, citing other Latin American papers 66 percent of the time; while the African and Asian papers are highly dependent on sources from other regions: the African papers cite African sources only 36 percent of the time, and the Asian papers cite Asian sources only 32 percent of the time.

Second, the flow of citations between more developed regions and less developed regions is decidedly unidirectional. The North American, European, and

**Table 1.1** *Dialogues* volumes one and two: citation analysis (percentage of references originating in region indicated)

<i>Region in which citation was published</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>North America</i>	<i>Latin America</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Region in which citing work was published</i>							
Europe	83	16			1		100
North America	21	75		1	2	2	100
Latin America	28	6	66				100
Australia	32	22		46			100
Asia	40	21		3	36		100
Africa	50	17			1	32	100
Total all regions	37	37	11	8	3	4	100

Australian papers respectively 'import' only 5 percent, 1 percent, and 0 percent of their references from Africa, Asia and Latin America; while the Africa, Asia and the Latin American papers respectively import 67 percent, 64 percent, and 34 percent of their references from North America, Europe and Australia.

These numbers seem to suggest that, while planning scholars in developed regions draw most heavily from published sources in their own region, planning scholars in developing regions make extensive use of publications originating in developed regions. Two factors limit confidence in these observations, however. The first is that authors may publish in outlets released in regions other than their own. The second is that the sample of papers examined is small and limited in representativeness: these papers were chosen by the planning school associations to represent examples of 'best' scholarship in their regions. Still, it appears that in general, there is limited use of prior research cross-regionally and, in particular, literature originating in developing countries is not commonly making its way into use by planning scholars outside the region of origin.

### **Increasing cross-regional literature use**

Why is there limited cross-regional use of previous research? The menu of possible reasons includes:

*Limited cross-regional availability of research:* Libraries may not acquire works from outside their own regions or national languages. In a field in which much research is carried out by or for government agencies, international distribution of reports is constrained. Rising costs of journal subscriptions, and proliferating

numbers of journals are problems everywhere, but to libraries in developing countries, they are even more troubling (Paasi 2005: 785).

*Limitations of tools for finding relevant research cross-regionally:* Library indices and search engines may be bounded nationally, regionally, or by language.

*Limited relevance of cross-regional research:* Given differences in planning systems and cultures internationally, works published in other regions may not speak effectively to the needs of researchers.

*Limited conduct of research in developing nations:* Faculty in developing countries may lack resources and incentives to facilitate publishable research. Rodríguez-Pose (2006: 609) suggests that barriers to research in many parts of the world are important factors, including rigid hierarchical university structures, poorly paid academic jobs, and promotion systems that put little emphasis on research.

*Limited ability of scholars to read beyond their first language:* This is thought to be particularly problematic among researchers for whom English or French is the first language.

Many scientific fields have promoted international use of research by encouraging publication in English-language journals (McMurtrie 2000), and we know that many universities in non-English speaking countries push their academic staff to publish in the ‘international’ literature, which they often interpret to mean the English-language literature (Aalbers 2004: 321). Scientific norms often push researchers to cite the best known scholars, and international rankings consistently place British and American institutions as a high percentage of the top universities (Batty 2003). Such trends may increase cross-regional use of planning research, but do they do so at the cost of distancing planning scholars from the professional planning practice communities in their own countries, as Kunzmann (2004) argues? Or do they result in increased prominence of planning research institutions in English-speaking countries to the detriment of planning research institutions dedicated to nurturing planning practice in specific nations as Vainer (2004) has predicted?

The internet has created the potential for much more widespread use of literature internationally, and increasingly tools are becoming available that allow for broader literature searches. The growth of open-access online journals is likely to increase relative access by scholars in poor countries (Paasi 2006:785). The US-based *Web of Science* (Institute for Scientific Information 2006) now indexes many non-English serials, but they require that, in order to be included, a journal must include English-language titles, keywords and abstracts (Testa 2003).

In order to begin to assess cross-national and cross-language availability of planning research, we developed a list of 141 planning journals.<sup>3</sup> For each journal we asked two questions: (1) Is the journal indexed in the *Web of Science*?, and

(2) Does the journal make bibliographic search information – titles, keywords and abstracts – available in more than one language? These are preliminary and limited questions, to be sure, but they may allow us to begin to gain a broad view of international access to planning scholarship.

The results, shown in Table 1.2, are striking. Of the 105 planning journals that publish full article text in English, 60 (43 percent) are indexed in *Web of Science*, while of the 36 non-English full text planning journals, only one (3 percent) is included in *Web of Science*. Further, only 20 (14 percent) of the 141 planning journals publish bibliographic search information in a second language. Non-English planning journals are virtually absent from the most widely used index of periodical research; while planning journals, with few exceptions, do little to encourage the use of their research by scholars working in other languages. In our view, better cross-regional use of planning scholarship demands that our profession notice these problems and begin to respond to them.

## Conclusions

We have suggested in this introduction that the various regional contributions can be classified according to certain ‘universal’ planning themes and concerns, and that cross-application of research approaches and findings from one region to another can produce useful growth in the range and quality of planning thought. The *Dialogues* project has raised three significant cautionaries, however. It highlights the values of regional specificity in planning thought, points to regional isolation in the use of planning research, and underscores the difficulties researchers have gaining access to research from other regions and languages.

We are conscious of imposing a further act of conceptual standardisation through the presentation of all the articles in English. We would not wish to erase the strong and persistent sense of regional specificity which is present in the subject matter of the articles as well as in the local use of conceptual approaches and theory.

As editors, these regional differences became most evident to us when translating chapters from other languages into English. Here we were confronted not only with different ways of constructing and presenting arguments, but also with terminology used to describe aspects of context which may well be regionally specific. An example of this arose in the process of translation of the article by Jacques Donzelot from French to English, and an interpretation of his concept of *periurbanisation*. It would seem that the periurban settlements around French cities are not quite the same as American suburbs, and are very different again from periurbanisation in cities of the global South, which is increasingly informal. Mabin (2005) notes that French–English dictionaries frequently translate both *faubourg* and *banlieue* as ‘suburb’ although in French they have distinct meanings. *Banlieue*,

**Table 1.2** Planning journals, international indexing and translated bibliographic information

<i>Journal</i>	<i>Country of publication</i>	<i>ISI indexed?</i>	<i>Languages of bibliographics</i>
<i>American Journal of Community Psychology</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>American Journal of Sociology</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>American Sociological Review</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Annals of Regional Science</i>	Netherlands	Yes	English
<i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Australian Planner</i>	Australia	No	English
<i>Berkeley Planning Journal</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Building Research and Information</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Built Environment</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Byplan</i>	Denmark	No	Danish
<i>Canadian Journal of Urban Research</i>	Canada	No	English and French
<i>Chengshi Fazhan Yanjiu (Urban Studies)</i>	China	No	Chinese (plus English titles)
<i>Chengshi Guibua (City Planning Review)</i>	China	No	Chinese and English
<i>Chengshi Guibua Huikan (Urban Planning Forum)</i>	China	No	Chinese (plus English titles)
<i>Children, Youth and Environments</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Cities</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Critica della Razionalità Urbanistica (CRU)</i>	Italy	No	Italian and English
<i>Cuidad y Territorio</i>	Spain	No	Spanish and English
<i>DISP: Dokumente und Informationen zur Schweizerischen Orts-Landesplanung</i>	Switzerland	No	French, German, Italian, English
<i>Economic Development and Cultural Change</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Ekistics: problems and science of human settlements</i>	Greece	Yes	English
<i>Environment and Planning A</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English

**Table 1.2** continued

<i>Journal</i>	<i>Country of publication</i>	<i>ISI indexed?</i>	<i>Languages of bibliographics</i>
<i>Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Environment and Planning D: Society and Space</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Environment and Urbanization</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Environments</i>	Canada	No	English and French
<i>Espaces et Sociétés</i>	France	No	French
<i>Esprit</i>	France	No	French
<i>Estudos Avancados</i>	Brazil	No	Portuguese and English
<i>Etudes Foncières</i>	France	No	French
<i>European Journal of Spatial Development</i>	Sweden	No	English
<i>European Planning Studies</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>European Research in Regional Science</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>European Spatial Research and Policy</i>	Poland	No	English
<i>European Urban and Regional Studies</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>EURE: Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Urbano Regionales</i>	Chile	Yes	Spanish and English
<i>Geographical Review</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Growth and Change</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Habitat Int'l: A Journal for the Study of Human Settlements</i>	Netherlands	Yes	English
<i>Harvard Design Magazine</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Housing Policy Debate</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Housing Studies</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Housing Theory and Society</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Informationen zur Raumentwicklung</i>	Germany	No	German
<i>Institution of Civil Engineers. Proceedings. Municipal Engineer</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>International Development Planning Review</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>International Journal for Housing Science and Its Applications</i>	United States	Yes	English

**Table 1.2** continued

<i>Journal</i>	<i>Country of publication</i>	<i>ISI indexed?</i>	<i>Languages of bibliographics</i>
<i>International Journal of Environmental Studies</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>International Journal of Geographical Information Science</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>International Planning Studies</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Journal of Architectural and Planning Research</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Community Association Law</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Journal of Developing Areas</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Journal of Economic Geography</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Environment and Development</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Journal of Environmental Planning and Management</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Journal of Housing Economics</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Institute of Town Planners, India</i>	India	No	English
<i>Journal of Planning Education and Research</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Planning History</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Journal of Planning Literature</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Policy Analysis and Management</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Property Research</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Journal of Real Estate Finance and Economics</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Regional Science</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Social History</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Social Issues</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Journal of the American Planning Association</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Journal of the Community Development Society</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Journal of Urban Affairs</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Urban Design</i>	United Kingdom	No	English

**Table 1.2** continued

<i>Journal</i>	<i>Country of publication</i>	<i>ISI indexed?</i>	<i>Languages of bibliographics</i>
<i>Journal of Urban Planning and Development</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Journal of Urban Technology</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Kart og Plan</i>	Norway	No	Various and English
<i>Land Economics</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Land Use Policy</i>	Netherlands	Yes	English
<i>Landscape and Urban Planning</i>	Netherlands	Yes	English
<i>Landscape Research</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Local Economy</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Local Environment</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>METU: Journal of the Faculty of Architecture</i>	Turkey	No	Turkish and English
<i>Northern Economic Review</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Odile Saint-Raymond</i>	France	No	French
<i>Open House International</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Österreichische Gesellschaft für Raumforschung und Raumplanung</i>	Austria	No	German
<i>Philippine Planning Journal</i>	Philippines	No	English
<i>Places</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Plan</i>	Norway	No	Norwegian
<i>Plan: Tidskrift foer Sambaellsplanering</i>	Sweden	No	Swedish and English
<i>Planejamento e Territorio</i>	Brazil	No	Portuguese
<i>Planning and Administration</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Planning History</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Planning Perspectives</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Planning Practice and Research</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Planning Theory</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Planning Theory and Practice</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Policy Sciences</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Politics and Policy</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Population and Environment</i>	Netherlands	Yes	English
<i>Progress in Planning</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Public Administration Review</i>	United States	Yes	English

**Table 1.2** continued

<i>Journal</i>	<i>Country of publication</i>	<i>ISI indexed?</i>	<i>Languages of bibliographics</i>
<i>Quivera: Revista de Estudios Territoriales</i>	Mexico	No	Spanish
<i>Raumforschung und Raumordnung</i>	Germany	No	German
<i>RaumPlanung</i>	Germany	No	German
<i>Real Estate Economics</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Regional Development Studies</i>	Japan	No	English
<i>Regional Science and Urban Economics</i>	Netherlands	Yes	English
<i>Regional Studies</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English, French, German, Spanish
<i>Registros: Revista de Investigacion del Centro de Estudios Historicos Arquitectonico-Urbanos</i>	Argentina	No	Spanish
<i>Review of Regional Studies</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais</i>	Brazil	No	Portuguese and English
<i>Revue d'Economie Regionale</i>	France	No	French
<i>Social Forces</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Sociedade e Territorio</i>	Portugal	No	Portuguese
<i>Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada. Journal</i>	Canada	No	English and French
<i>Socio-economic Planning Sciences</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Spatio-economic Development Record</i>	India	No	English
<i>Stadtbauwelt</i>	Germany	No	German
<i>Standort</i>	Netherlands	No	German
<i>Studies in Regional and Urban Planning</i>	Greece	No	English
<i>Territorio</i>	Italy	No	Italian
<i>Town and Country Planning</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Town and Regional Planning</i>	South Africa	No	English
<i>Town Planning Review</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Transport Policy</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Urban Affairs Review</i>	United States	Yes	English

**Table 1.2** continued

<i>Journal</i>	<i>Country of publication</i>	<i>ISI indexed?</i>	<i>Languages of bibliographics</i>
<i>Urban Design International</i>	United Kingdom	No	English
<i>Urban Forum</i>	United States	No	English
<i>Urban Geography</i>	United States	Yes	English
<i>Urban History Review</i>	Canada	Yes	English and French
<i>Urban Morphology</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Urban Policy and Research</i>	Australia	No	English
<i>Urban Studies</i>	United Kingdom	Yes	English
<i>Urbana</i>	Mexico	No	Spanish and English
<i>Urbanisme</i>	France	No	French
<i>Urbanismus a Uzemni Rozvoj</i>	Czech Republic	No	Czech
<i>Urbanistica</i>	Italy	No	Italian and English
<i>Villes en Parallele</i>	France	No	French and English

moreover, is defined in the *Hachette* dictionary as an ‘ensemble of urban settlements around a large city’, but again these areas are neither suburbs of the American kind nor Donzelot’s periurban areas. The same could be said of the application of the Brazilian-specific term *favela* to the informal settlements of other countries. At one level, such differences may appear to be purely semantic ones, but often they reflect real local difference and culturally specific ways in which urban actors, and particularly planners, express their conceptualisations. In large part, it is this building of a globally shared understanding, but with a respect for local specificity, that makes the *Dialogues* project seem worthwhile.

The *Dialogues* papers also demonstrate regional isolation in the use of planning research. These acclaimed papers evidence limited use of prior research across multinational regional boundaries and, in particular, they show that research conducted in developing regions is not finding its way into use by scholars outside the region in which the work originates.

We can only make the most preliminary speculations toward understanding why there is such regional isolation in the use of planning scholarship. But, it is clear that our profession does not effectively make scholarship available across language boundaries. Few planning journals facilitate the search for content by speakers of other languages through publication of translated titles, keywords and abstracts. We believe the editors and publishers of planning journals should move to better facilitate multi-lingual abstracting and to seek to have their publications included in indices and abstracting services outside their home regions and languages.

Planning scholars will continue to work in a wide variety of countries and languages. To do otherwise would draw them away from the professional

communities that are the essential consumers of their work, and would result in the loss of nationally- and regionally-specific understanding of planning cultures and dynamics. At the same time, with the values to be gained by greater cross-regional use of planning scholarship, we have to find more effective methods to transcend the boundaries of distance and language. As readers consider the papers that follow, we hope they will imagine such methods.

## Notes

- 1 See, for example Friedmann (2005); Richardson and Bae (2005); Lim (2003); Thornley and Rydin (2003).
- 2 There were 14 references for which we could not determine region of publication.
- 3 Our sample of planning journals is drawn from Stifel and Mogg (2006) and from the members of the GPEAN Coordinating Committee. Stifel and Mogg (2006) combine the lists of journals indexed by the *Journal of Planning Literature* and the *Planning Literature Information Service* with the refereed publications listed in the subject area of Housing and Urban Planning in *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory*. To these results we added journals suggested as significant planning sources by the members of the Coordinating Committee.

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