

Telling the Future Together

The Potential of Collaborative Scenario-Building in the Transformation of Urban Governance in Portugal

by

Lisa Rayle

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Author _____
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering
May 20, 2010

Certified by _____
P. Christopher Zegras
Ford Career Development Assistant Professor of Urban Planning and Transportation
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by _____
Professor Joseph Ferreira
Chair, Master in City Planning Committee
Department of Urban Studies and Planning

Accepted by _____
Daniele Veneziano
Chairman, Departmental Committee for Graduate Students
Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering

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Abstract

In cities worldwide, the geographic and functional mismatch between urban governance structures and the actual dynamics of urban activities has hindered efforts to achieve sustainable and equitable development at the metropolitan scale. Overcoming this mismatch requires coordination between typically fragmented government agencies—and this coordination requires inter-organizational collaboration. In Portugal, the twin challenges of declining urban centers and sprawling suburbs, combined with the absence of a metropolitan planning structure, have heightened the importance of inter-agency collaboration, especially in terms of land use and transportation. In contrast to typical studies of policy integration, which tend to focus on barriers to collaboration, in this thesis I examine forces which contribute to its emergence. I consider two questions: first, what conditions and factors have actually led to inter-organizational collaboration in the Portuguese context? Second, what is the potential for a particular scenario-building process to lead to further collaboration among those who participated? Study of existing collaborative arrangements reveals five conditions which appear to contribute to the emergence of collaboration. A qualitative and quantitative analysis of scenario-building workshops conducted with stakeholders in Portugal suggests that these exercises have increased the likelihood of the future collaboration among participants to a small degree. Finally, recognizing that collaboration is necessary, but not sufficient, for better metropolitan-level development, I suggest ways in which government policy can take advantage of pro-collaboration forces.

Thesis Supervisor: P. Christopher Zegras
Title: Ford Career Development Assistant Professor of Urban Planning and Transportation, Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Thesis Reader: Joseph Sussman
Title: JR East Professor of Civil and Environmental Engineering and Engineering Systems, Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Chapter 1 Introduction

For the last several decades, Portugal's largest cities have suffered from the twin problems of urban decline and suburban sprawl. Since 1981, Lisbon lost 40% of its population and Porto lost 20%, while the suburbs of both of these cities grew (INE 2008). Portugal's historical city centers have suffered the most serious effects of this decline. The outward migration left behind aging residents in aging buildings. In Lisbon, over one quarter of buildings in the historical city center need major renovations and 23% of central-city dwellings remain vacant (INE 2001). Meanwhile, suburban development around Lisbon has been expanding into previously undeveloped land; for instance, between 1991 and 2001 the municipality of Sintra gained 103,000 new residents (a 39% increase) and Seixal gained 33,000 (a 28% increase) (INE 2002). The population shift has placed large burdens on the transportation system: studies estimate that 412,000 vehicles enter Lisbon each day, with 70% of this traffic on three main corridors¹ (CML 2005b). Commuters, especially to Lisbon, face major traffic congestion and, perhaps worse, a serious shortage of parking (CML 2005b). The pattern of growth results in potential inefficiencies in that the government must spend on new infrastructure in the suburbs, while the existing infrastructure in the city center deteriorates. Furthermore, expanding cities threaten the ecological integrity of undeveloped or less-developed areas, while lack of investment in city centers threatens to accelerate depreciation of built assets of historical and cultural importance.

This situation has led the central and local governments alike to declare urban revitalization as a top priority (Balsas 2007; Partidário & Correia 2004; CML 2005a). In Portugal, the goal of urban revitalization has referred to the simultaneous repopulation, rehabilitation of deteriorating physical structures, and growth of the economic and social life in the historic city center (Balsas 2007; Partidário & Correia 2004). The challenge of urban revitalization, of course, is not unfamiliar to the rest of the world (Spandou et al. 2010). Cities across southern Europe are experiencing aging city centers accompanied by migration to the periphery. The older industrial cities of northern Europe struggle with declining populations and a declining economic base, and planners in North America have been fighting with twin problems of center city decline and suburban sprawl for decades. Managing urban development at a metropolitan scale has been a constant challenge for planners and policy makers for decades, one for which solutions have been perpetually elusive.

At the root of the metropolitan planning problem is the complexity of the situation. At one level, the underlying dynamics of metropolitan development patterns can be expressed in relatively simple terms. In choosing where to live, income-constrained, utility-maximizing residents balance the cost of a given location against the value they expect to obtain from that location. The cost of a given location is a combination of housing costs and travel costs, the former being determined by the housing market and the latter being determined by the cost of commuting between the home and work and other destinations. The various factors that determine the cost and utility of locations thus shape the overall pattern of urban development. If housing costs in the city center artificially rise due to bureaucratic obstacles in renovating buildings, then the lower cost of housing in the suburbs will tend to outweigh the extra commuting cost (assuming travel to the city center) and population will shift toward the suburbs. If people prefer to live in the suburbs rather

¹ The corridors of Cascais, Sintra/Amadora and the 25 de Abril bridge carry 70% of vehicle traffic into Lisbon (CML 2005b).

than the center, say, because they prefer to have a green lawn, then the extra utility of a suburban home will outweigh the extra travel cost and population will tend outward. The construction of a new transit line will lower travel costs for the locations near the transit stops, causing population and housing prices in those locations to rise. Firms face a relatively analogous situation to residents.

This view represents urban development as a complex but *coherent* equilibrium-seeking system in which elements adjust to changing forces in a predictable manner. In this view, the solution to the urban revitalization problem is fairly obvious: use government intervention to counteract forces that push development away from the city center—that is, intervene in the system to tip the utility-cost balance in favor of city centers. A government subsidy for housing in the city center, for example, should solve the problem.

Of course, as planners know, the solution is rarely that straightforward. For one, the government is not a monolithic force. The picture of “the government” acting on a coherent system of economic forces relies on a conception of rational, bureaucratic government that poorly describes the reality of today’s governance systems. Instead, government itself consists of a complex network of connected but otherwise autonomous actors, between which power flows along individual and organizational links, all constrained by—but also acting on—an institutional framework. In this view, intervention in the urban arena comes not from a single government, but from particular actors or coalitions of actors within the governance system. Successful implementation of solutions to the metropolitan planning problem requires a mobilization of government actors in which each relevant agent in the network exerts its influence in the same direction.

The problem specific to regional planning is that, in contemporary democracies, the authority of governmental entities rarely coincides—geographically or functionally—with the actual topography of urban development dynamics. Intervention in the urban system requires not only mobilization of multiple government actors, but coordination between them so that their actions match the geographical and sectoral landscape of the problems they are designed to address. As a result, the activity of planning at the metropolitan level becomes, in practice, essentially a task of coordinating decisions between various actors in the arena of urban policy. The interdependencies between sectors—especially between land use, transportation, and housing development—necessitate coordination across traditional disciplines and policy areas. The regional nature of economic activity and, correspondingly, people’s lives also demands coordination across geographic and jurisdictional boundaries and across spatial scales. By its very nature as a geographical connector, the domain of transportation traverses spatial boundaries and scales, and transportation planning continually faces the challenge of coordinating across political space.

The need to overcome the mismatch between institutional structure and functional reality has led to a debate over the advantages and disadvantages of regionalist approaches. The debate has taken slightly different forms in different countries, but generally one side advocates for stronger metropolitan governance, entailing a restructuring towards better alignment with the metropolitan landscape as it actually operates. Under this perspective, this structure would produce integrated policy, essentially centralized policy decisions that integrate issues in various policy areas. Others worry that a strong centralized decision-making authority sacrifices flexibility to respond to changing problems and accountability of local governments to citizens; instead they argue for a system of more flexible coordination between government entities (see, for example, Lefèvre (1998) for a review of this debate).

Despite the extensive debate, the question of how best to reach coordinated decisions is still open. But regardless of one's position in this debate, the question of collaboration is critical. Even if one favors stronger metropolitan governance, the problem remains of how to overcome entrenched interests—a particular problem in Portugal—and enact institutional reform. In this case, what dynamic processes of political and organizational change can result in institutional structures that enable coordinated or even integrated policy making? Might existing processes of collaboration produce forces that would contribute to change? If the goal is more flexible coordination between autonomous entities, what conditions and mechanisms are needed to ensure well coordinated decisions? In both cases, it seems greater coordination would require greater collaboration between various governmental actors.

Portuguese cities face precisely these questions. Urban governance in Portugal in past decades has gradually trended away from the rational bureaucratic model toward a more dynamic network structure, yet has been unable to achieve sufficiently coordinated action on the metropolitan transportation-land use problem (Silva & Syrett 2006). The decline of city centers paired with the growth of the periphery remains a problem. In Portugal, the field of urban governance is dominated by a delicate power balance among the central government, which holds basic decision-making power, and municipalities, which individually hold substantial political influence and may compete and/or collaborate among themselves. But these are not the only players in urban governance; the arena contains other entities and forces—urban development corporations, regional agencies, supranational actors, etc.—holding varying degrees of power and which increasingly influence patterns of urban development. Given this landscape of multiple disparate actors, coordinated and/or integrated intervention in the urban system can only come through a process of inter-organizational collaboration. What processes or mechanisms might bring about such collaboration? How might the web of power relations be leveraged in order to bring about the necessary inter-organizational collaborative processes?

In this thesis, I investigate the role of collaboration in the problem of metropolitan planning in Portugal. I outline the current context of urban governance in Portugal as it relates to urban revitalization, focusing on decision-making structures in the cities of Lisbon and Porto. Using particular examples from Lisbon and Porto, and drawing from research interviews, I seek to understand the conditions under which existing collaborative governance arrangements have already emerged. Taking the search for origins of collaboration a step further, I consider a particular mechanism that might encourage inter-organizational collaboration: a set of interactive, multi-stakeholder workshops for scenario-building. These workshops, conducted by the MIT-Portugal Program, engaged various policy-makers and other governmental stakeholders in developing scenarios for the future of Portuguese cities. Using a survey of participants along with direct observation, I attempt to quantitatively and qualitatively assess the potential of these particular scenario-building workshops to produce greater inter-organizational collaboration.

In this thesis, I thus attempt to answer two main questions:

1. What actual conditions and factors have led to inter-organizational collaboration in the context of urban Portugal?
2. What is the potential of interactive scenario-building workshops to increase the likelihood of collaboration?

In broader terms, I address the question of what might contribute to the emergence of collaboration at both the level of the urban governance system and at the level of the individual or the individual organization.

At the system-wide level, the dominant view of governance in Portugal portrays those instances of inter-agency collaboration which do occur as isolated and uncharacteristic events (Silva & Syrett 2006; Carter & Nunes da Silva 2001), but I expect that investigation into these cases will reveal that collaboration instead arises from systematic forces in non-idiosyncratic ways. In analyzing some of these examples, I hope to uncover the underlying rationality that influences the emergence of collaborative relationships.

At the individual level, communicative planning theory and research on collaboration suggest that an interactive, communicative process like scenario planning can shift participants' perceptions and relationships in a direction more conducive to collaboration. I expect evidence from the workshop analysis to indicate that this particular scenario-building process will have increased the likelihood of the participants collaborating in the future.

The SOTUR Project

The research presented in this thesis has been carried out as part of the Transportation Systems' project under the MIT-Portugal Program, specifically: Strategic Options for Transportation and Urban Revitalization (SOTUR). The SOTUR project aims to identify and evaluate potential transportation and land use strategies to encourage urban investment and promote more sustainable development patterns. The project aims to understand development forces in Portuguese cities and to develop and demonstrate the use of integrated modeling techniques to represent the dynamic relationships between mobility and urban development patterns. While the project's purpose is research, not policy change, the results of these models will hopefully provide insights into how potential strategies and policies could influence future urban conditions, mobility patterns, and metropolitan growth.

As a way to develop alternative depictions of the future for which the integrated models would be run and better situate the analysis in local reality, one element of the project involves the engagement of Portuguese stakeholders in an interactive process of scenario-building. The project team invited representatives from various municipal governments, transportation providers, central government agencies and other organizations related to transportation and urban revitalization to participate in a series of three workshops. We designed the workshops to collectively develop scenarios representing a range of possible futures which could then feed the integrated modeling efforts, but they serve other purposes as well: (1) to further develop the understanding among both the stakeholders and the SOTUR project team regarding issues of urban revitalization; and (2) to attempt to test the impact of the scenario planning process on the stakeholders themselves. In this thesis I focus specifically on the latter purpose, analyzing the process of scenario-building as one prospective way to increase the likelihood of collaboration among stakeholders.

In this thesis I examine the question of what conditions and factors foster collaboration in the following way. In Chapter 2, I outline a general theory of the relationships between coordination, integration, and collaboration in policy-making, and propose a conceptual model of the factors and conditions that lead to the emergence of inter-organizational collaboration. Chapter 3 reviews the theory of communicative planning and the practice of scenario planning, thus suggesting a propositional concept of communicative scenario planning. In Chapter 4, I present the methodology employed to answer the research questions, including stakeholder interviews, workshop participant surveys, and observation of the workshops. Chapter 5 describes

the institutional context of urban governance in Portugal and Chapter 6 discusses insights from four exploratory cases in Lisbon and Porto that illustrate existing collaborative processes. Chapter 7 analyzes the workshops as a communicative scenario-building process, drawing conclusions about how the process might influence the likelihood of collaboration. Finally, in Chapter 8 I return to the problem of metropolitan planning and discuss possible directions for organizational and institutional change in the Portuguese context.

Chapter 2 A Conceptual Framework of Collaboration in Policy-Making

In recent decades, social critics have turned greater attention to the spatial fragmentation and functional specialization of government that characterizes the modern bureaucratic state, as it becomes increasingly clear that these older forms of government cannot adequately address today's complex problems. The modern bureaucratic model that still dominates most industrialized governments excelled in supporting capitalistic growth, by offering the optimum "precision, speed, unambiguity... and above all the optimum possibility for carrying through the principle of specializing administrative functions according to purely objective considerations" (Weber 1968, p.973). However, in an era of accelerating economic and social change, of greater mobility across borders, and greater societal attention to consequences of economic "progress," the model of rational bureaucracy shows its limitations. The contemporary public policy challenge—ensuring access to goods and services while striving for sustainability, economic growth, and more livable cities—requires governments to deal with a dense web of specialized sectors and spatially differentiated political jurisdictions that evolved under the rational bureaucratic model. Weber held rational bureaucracy as the most efficient system of decision-making and administration. But today's demands require more than just efficiency in governance; they require flexibility, accountability, comprehensiveness. As Healy asks, "How far are the governance arrangements inherited from earlier periods suitable for the challenge of place making in such a diffuse and fragmented world?" (Healey 1998, p.1531).

In this context, scholars have turned attention toward inter-organizational cooperation as a possible solution to the inadequacy of earlier governance arrangements. Given that the established bureaucratic system is "practically indestructible" and difficult to modify, one way to address the complexity of today's problems is to create the connections between previously distinct policy areas in a way that mirrors the real interconnections that characterize these problems. Hence the challenge becomes an organizational one; it becomes a question of fostering communication and cooperation between traditionally independent professions and between autonomous jurisdictions. The goal is better policy outcomes, but, as this chapter will make clear, the analytic focus must be on organizational process. The imperative of partnership and collaboration has become an official focus of European Union strategy as it has in many governments worldwide (European Commission 2005; McGuire 2006; Department for Transport 2004). For the last few decades in urban planning and more recently in transportation, authors have recognized the emergence of a new paradigm based on collaboration and inter-sectoral exchange (Fainstein 2000; Bertolini et al. 2008).

While collaboration appears positioned as a promising solution to the ills of governmental fragmentation, it obviously cannot be a universally sufficient prescription. Collaboration is not easy and often has important drawbacks. Nor is the term easily defined—"collaboration" can refer to many different practices, each of which may or may not fit a given situation. And of course, collaboration has limited meaning as a goal in itself; it is more usefully seen as an approach to achieving coordinated or integrated outcomes. We must therefore take a closer look at what we mean by "collaboration," its relation to coordination and integration, and the implications for decision-making in urban planning and transportation. In particular, we are interested in the following questions: By what measures can we characterize the current state of collaboration and integration in the Portuguese urban governance system? What are the relevant dimensions? And how can we detect changes in the propensity of actors in the Portuguese system to collaborate?

This chapter will provide an orientation to the vast literature on organizational cooperation, collaboration, and integration in public management and, more particularly, transport and spatial planning. I will first attempt to clarify commonly used but often confused terminology. I will then discuss principles of policy integration, followed by a discussion of the relevance of collaborative approaches in transportation and urban planning. I will also propose a conceptual model of the emergence of collaboration.

Terminology

Several terms fall under the umbrella of “working together”: cooperation, coordination, collaboration, integration. Especially since it comes from different academic fields, the literature comes to little consensus on the meaning and use of these terms, which are themselves inherently overlapping and relative. For this thesis, I propose some working definitions.

Cooperation

In the literature, cooperation and coordination are often used interchangeably to mean some form of working together; however, I find it more useful to draw a distinction between them. For purposes here, cooperation is simply a practice in which two or more parties work together for the mutual achievement of goals.

Organizations choose to cooperate when doing so will improve the chances of both of them attaining their goals. As Stead and Meijers (2009) suggest, cooperation is less demanding than coordination. The emphasis of cooperation is joint *operation*; it implies simply dialogue and information exchange and does not necessarily involve modification of either party’s objectives or output (Geerlings & Stead 2003).

Coordination

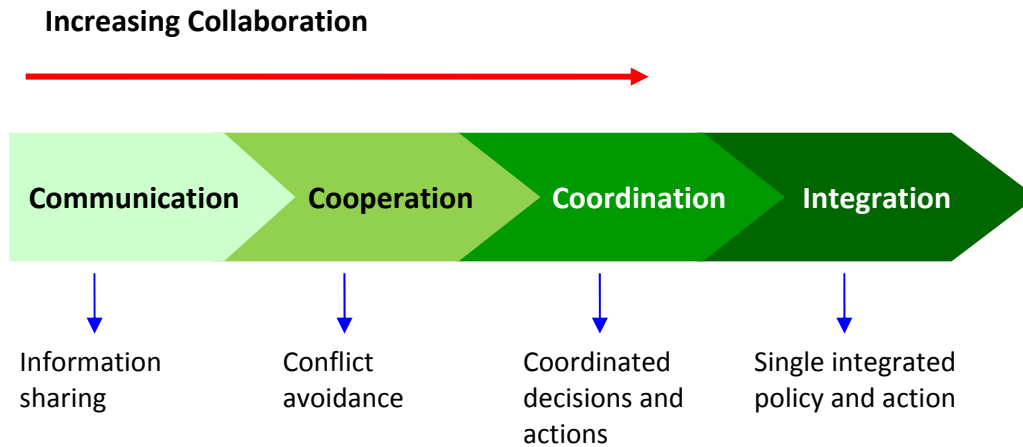
When two or more parties coordinate (literally meaning “co-arrange”), they attempt to align their activities, to ensure consistency between their objectives or outcomes of their activities. Organizations coordinate in order to avoid redundancy, gaps, and contradictions. Coordination and cooperation are distinct in terms of their outcomes: coordination results in adjusted policies that are consistent with one another and that allow more efficient provision of services, whereas cooperation does not necessarily involve a change in policies (Stead & Meijers 2009). The act of coordinating requires cooperation, but also willingness to adjust individual outcomes.

Integration

Integration is considerably more demanding than cooperation or coordination. Integration involves more than simply working together; it implies deeper changes to the operations and orientation of organizations. According to Stead and Meijers, “policy integration concerns the management of cross-cutting issues in policy making that transcend the boundaries of established policy fields, and that do not correspond to the institutional responsibilities of individual departments.” (Stead & Meijers 2009, p.321) Integration must include elements of cooperation and coordination, plus “joint working, attempts to create synergies between policies and the use of the same goals to formulate policy” (Geerlings & Stead 2003, p.188). In terms of policy, the integration of land use and transport means that the development of relevant policies recognizes the inter-sectoral interdependencies and attempts to address them jointly. In contrast to coordination, integration produces one joint policy, rather than separate sectoral policies. In terms of organizations, integrated agencies are those that contain responsibility for multiple sectors; the process of integration refers to the merging of previously separate units and the breaking down of barriers.

The concepts of cooperation, coordination, and integration are thus best defined in relation to one another, along a continuum of increasing interaction (Stead & Meijers 2009). They can be distinguished by their outcomes, which increase in terms of consistency in policies produced. As illustrated in Figure 2-1, at the lowest end, communication results in information sharing; at the highest end, integration results in a single integrated policy or action. Each step along the axis involves subsequently greater interdependence, formality, comprehensiveness, use of resources, and loss of autonomy.

Figure 2-1: The collaboration continuum



Collaboration

In comparison with the terms discussed above, the use of “collaboration” usually emphasizes *process* and calls attention to the behavioral and procedural aspects of joint working. Essentially, collaboration is the process of working together toward an intersection of common goals. Although collaboration is closely related to cooperation and coordination, its discussion in the literature has somewhat different roots. The research on coordination, cooperation, and integration with respect to policy has come largely as a response to problems of specialization and segmentation of governmental units. In contrast, attention to collaboration has derived from a demand for more democratic and inclusive governance (which I will discuss in detail in the next chapter). This latter tradition has placed a greater emphasis on the process-related, communication, and behavior aspects of interaction. For example, Gray (1989) stresses that collaboration is an emergent process, whereas cooperation and coordination tend to imply static relations, or at least downplay the importance of process. Other organizational studies literature uses a similar conception of collaboration (Ring & van de Ven 1994; McGuire 2006).

Still, the collaboration process usually involves cooperation and coordination, and there is certainly overlap in these terms. For example, Bryson et al.’s (2006) definition of collaboration resembles our definition of cooperation: “cross-sector collaboration [is] the linking or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities by organizations in two or more sectors to achieve jointly an outcome that could not be achieved by organizations in one sector separately.” Collaboration, then, is a broader term that can encompass acts of cooperation, coordination, and sometimes integration, while also signifying the existence of a discursive process.

Considering the above definitions, I will use “collaboration” to refer to the discursive process of working together. I will use cooperation, coordination, and integration to describe processes with respect to certain outcomes. Although the distinction is not always easy to draw, collaboration will generally emphasize *process*, while the other concepts will refer to processes associated with *outcomes*. The various degrees of collaboration follow the continuum shown in Figure 2-1. At the low end of the continuum, the process collaboration involves only communication that results for information-sharing. Higher degrees of collaboration would produce coordinated decisions; at the high end of the continuum, the collaboration would result in integrated policies.

Policy Integration

Policy integration, in contrast with coordination or cooperation, demands a closer relationship between the elements in question. Integrated policy implies that several sectors, or geographic areas, are considered by a *single* policy, whereas coordinated policy can refer to a set of several policies that are aligned with one another. Integration also implies the *institutionalization* of integrated decision-making. In other words, integrated policy should come from an institutional structure that formally reflects the interdependencies between elements. Compared to coordination, integration is more rigid and more permanent—a feature which is both a strength and a weakness.

It is difficult to generalize literature on policy integration because, like coordination, the concept may apply to any one of countless possible dimensions. Like coordination, integration can reach in many directions: between sectors (inter-sectoral), between geographic areas (horizontal), and between geographic scales (vertical). In transportation, integration often refers to relationships between modes, between strategic planning and operations, and between elements like infrastructure provision, management, and pricing (May et al. 2006). Integration might also be intra-organizational or inter-organizational. It might be across time scales, as in integration of long-term and short-term goals, and it may be inter-sectoral, such as the integration of land use and transportation (Stead & Meijers 2009). In short, integration may be between any elements which have somehow been fragmented.

The Case for Integration

In many public policy areas, the imperative of sustainability has brought greater attention to the need for policy integration. Sustainable development theories emphasize the interconnections between conventionally segregated sectors; accordingly, policymakers have realized that integrated policy and decision-making structures—particularly integration between sectors, but also other dimensions—are often needed to achieve sustainability goals. “Integrated policy” has become a virtual synonym for “sustainable policy,” or even “good policy.” Many countries, as well as the European Union, have made sectoral policy integration a focus of official development strategy (May et al. 2006; Stead & Meijers 2009).

According to Stead and Meijers (2009), governments aim to implement integrated policy for several reasons, including:

1. To promote synergies between sectors or other governmental units. Synergy refers to the situation in which the gain from combined elements is greater than the combined gain from each element; in other words, the result is more than the sum of its parts (May et al. 2006).
2. To promote consistency between sectors and between units of government.
3. To avoid redundancy in service provision or in the policy-making process.

4. To achieve inter-sectoral and inter-governmental objectives.
5. To shift focus to overall goals (such as sustainability) rather than sector-specific goals (such as congestion reduction).
6. To promote innovation in policy development and implementation, by forcing policy-makers to take new approaches.
7. To encourage greater understanding of effects of policies on other sectors.

In general, integrated, or at least coordinated, policies have an advantage when they produce more desirable outcomes than isolated policies. In the case of land use and transportation, evidence suggests that metropolitan areas have trouble achieving sustainable outcomes (measured by vehicle miles traveled and land consumption) without inter-municipal and inter-sectoral policy coordination (Rayle 2008).

At the same time, policy integration has drawbacks. Most fundamentally, it complicates the processes of policy design and implementation. Unfortunately for policy makers wrestling with large-scale urban issues, greater complexity heightens the need for integration, but also makes achievement of integration increasingly difficult. Moreover, integration involves some loss of flexibility and autonomy; it reduces the ability of individual sectors and governmental units to respond to localized problems. A strategy of integration would have to strike a balance between coherence and flexibility.

Even though most governments recognize the need for integrated policy, they generally have been slow to adopt strategies of institutional integration, suggesting that large disincentives are at work. For public agencies, institutional integration almost always involves a loss of authority. If integration forces them to share authority to some degree, most agencies would not voluntarily engage in integration. Structural integration must therefore be a top-down action, mandated or at least incentivized by an external force. The difficulty in achieving structural integration points to the advantage of collaboration as a means for achieving integrated policies. In contrast to structural integration, collaboration does not necessarily involve displacement of authority, so agencies might attempt collaboration if they believe the rewards would be worth the effort.

Integrated policies may be desirable, but given the modern state's embedded incentives to maintain the status quo, institutional change will be needed if we hope to produce and implement integrated, or at least coordinated, urban policies. The fundamental challenge is to somehow break down, bypass, reach across, or work through the existing barriers between sectors and other governmental units. The question then becomes, by what mechanism can we deal with those barriers and achieve the institutional change that is needed? One way is for a central power to mandate integrated policies and orchestrate the necessary organizational changes. This kind of top-down solution is often offered by technical advisors who imagine the central state as an omnipotent, monolithic, and rational manager of the entire government apparatus. However, the actual complexity of the governance system means that single top-down decisions are rarely that simple. Instead, as many observers have proposed, a more realistic way to achieve integrated, or coordinated, policies is through inter-agency collaboration (Innes & Gruber 2005; Healey 1998; Hull 2008; Geerlings & Stead 2003). Even if the central state can find the political will to implement a purely top-down action, the practitioners who will actually need to carry out change on the ground—the economic analysts who will have to work with the environmental protectionists—will need to find ways to work together in order to implement the change.

An alternative approach for achieving integrated policies involves changing the incentive structure, for example, by tying resource allocation to performance outcomes, as measured by trans-authority metrics. A performance-based incentives approach would encourage agencies to work together to achieve high performance outcomes. The difficulties of designing an appropriate performance measurement system aside, such an approach may be politically easier to implement compared with structural integration. Even so, a performance-based incentives approach would still require collaboration between the relevant agencies, only these agencies would have greater encouragement to work together. If we intend to achieve policy integration, we cannot avoid addressing the process of collaboration and to address it properly we must understand how it occurs.

Inter-Organizational Collaboration

So far, we have shown that collaboration has an important role in the processes of coordination and integration that produce coordinated and integrated policy. Indeed, unless a single autocratic agency makes all policy decisions—an unlikely arrangement in any contemporary democracy—integrated or coordinated policies must come from inter-agency collaboration, whether that collaboration is mandated or voluntary. In other words, collaboration is necessary for integrated or coordinated policies. This proposition leads to two questions. First, is collaboration also a sufficient condition for integrated and coordinated policies? Or, to what degree can collaboration help improve the problem of metropolitan development? I will address this question later in this chapter and again in Chapters 6 and 8 after considering the evidence from the Portuguese situation. Second, what are the benefits and drawbacks of collaboration itself? I will turn to this question now.

The benefits and potential drawbacks of collaboration

Before examining the concept of collaboration in more detail, we might ask whether the problem of transportation and metropolitan urban development is, in theory, even suited to collaborative approaches. Gray (1989) identifies situations for which a collaborative approach is often advantageous:

1. the problem is not easily defined
2. several stakeholders have an interest in the problem
3. stakeholders may not be easy to identify, or are not organized
4. there is disparity of power or capability among stakeholders
5. the environment is characterized by high complexity and uncertainty
6. stakeholders disagree
7. a multilateral effort is likely to result in a better solution
8. existing ways of dealing with the problem have not worked

Many instances of the metropolitan transport and land use problem would seem to fit all of the above criteria. It appears that we have reason to be optimistic about the prospect of collaborative approaches in urban transport planning.

Indeed, many authors have argued in favor of the benefits of collaboration in transportation and metropolitan development contexts. Chisholm (1992), for example, suggests that voluntary collaboration can be equally or more effective than central government control. Other advocates of a decentralized system driven by collaborative action have generally been more cautious, but this strain of thinking has nevertheless been influential. In a discussion of collection action in metropolitan governance, Feiock (2009) argues that self-organizing collective action (a term Feiock uses as a specifically purpose-oriented form of collaboration)

is often effective. Yet he recognizes some of the problems with collective action: when parties are unequal in power and resources it can result in domination or cooptation, and collaboration between parties in one sector can sometimes exacerbate problems in other sectors. Further, he notes that self-organizing action cannot necessarily address regional problems that require a holistic approach. Still, he claims, decentralized, self-organizing systems may produce holistic and integrated solutions if, as is often the case, actors normally work in an environment that already requires them to consider many issues on a daily basis.

Of course, collaboration may not always produce positive outcomes and may even have unintended negative consequences. It seems obvious that collaborative relationships can help public agencies achieve more consistent cross-sectoral policies and can help implement those policies. Presumably, organizations that voluntarily collaborate do so precisely because they see it as beneficial. But, as Ansell and Gash (2008) point out, despite the large body of research on the formation and process of collaboration, the research provides very little conclusive evidence that collaboration actually leads to better outcomes. Nor does existing research adequately address the conditions or types of problems for which collaboration is likely or unlikely to produce good outcomes. Much of the reason for lack of conclusive research comes from methodological difficulties: questions in determining what counts as a “good” outcome, problems of comparing across very different cases, and the challenge of attributing outcomes to any particular cause. Therefore we cannot expect collaboration to *always* or *necessarily* lead to better outcomes.

In addition, even if collaboration does produce intended outcomes, it may also result in unintended negative consequences. Unfortunately, research has not systematically addressed this issue either. Still, it is worth highlighting some potential negative aspects and drawbacks of collaboration.

The informal nature of many collaborative arrangements introduces the possibility of cooptation and exploitation of power asymmetries, as well as loss of accountability and transparency. In the private sector, the negative side of collaboration is collusion—the formation of alliances to gain an unfair advantage. In the public sector, collaboration rarely takes such an obviously negative form, but in the absence of transparency, collaboration for the purpose of political advantage may be considered negative, as in “back room deals” and the like. Just as the fluidity and flexibility of collaborative networks could lead to more democratic processes and more equitable distribution of power, the same network structures could facilitate greater concentration of power. The profusion of collaborative relationships could simply present more opportunities for cooptation, in the sense described by Selznick (1984). This is especially likely in the absence of transparency and accountability; and since collaborative arrangements tend to bypass or blur official mechanisms of public oversight, transparency and accountability may well be casualties of collaboration.

Another possible downside results from the tendency of collaborating organizations to imitate each other’s structure and habits, leading to spread of a dominant organizational model and homogenization of the organizational field. In their discussion of “institutional isomorphism,” DiMaggio and Powell (1991) suggest that greater interaction and collaboration between agencies leads them to adopt structure and practices that are perceived as legitimate, regardless of whether these adoptions actually improve performance. The more highly connected an organizational field, and the more interaction between organizations, the greater the homogenizing tendencies, or isomorphism. In other words, collaboration can sometimes lead to the universal adoption of the same model, even if that model is not universally appropriate, and can potentially reduce diversity of approaches. Collaborations that emphasize knowledge exchange may be particularly susceptible to institutional isomorphism. While many might view the spread of “best practices” as a positive

process, DiMaggio and Powell (1991) warn that it can potentially undermine the natural diversity in organizations which contributes to innovation and system-wide resilience.

Furthermore, when collaboration becomes a goal in itself, disconnected from substantial outcomes, it may undermine actual performance. As we have seen, organizations sometimes adopt “proven” models as a way to gain legitimacy, regardless of their appropriateness (Meyer & Rowan 1991).² If this following of norms motivates organizations to engage in collaborative processes, the costs of collaboration could become needlessly burdensome.

A Conceptual Model of Collaboration

The preceding section suggests that little evidence exists that collaboration necessarily produces good outcomes, and in fact it can sometimes have negative effects. Still, collaboration appears to be a key element in producing coordinated and integrated policies. The debate over how to achieve integrated policy outcomes would therefore benefit from a better understanding of the collaboration process. Taking as its premise that collaboration is desirable, literature from the fields of organizational studies and management offers some guidance for constructing a conceptual model of collaboration. Although much knowledge on collaboration comes from research on the private sector, I will draw mainly from research specific to public management.

Emergence of collaboration

As Gray (1989) suggests, collaboration is an emergent process. Because collaborative relationships often begin at the low end of the collaboration continuum (Figure 2-1) and progress to higher levels of collaboration, it is not always easy to identify a single point at which collaboration begins. In fact, the literature does not entirely agree on the point at which a relationship becomes “collaborative.” Oliver (1990) implicitly marks the beginning of a collaborative process when the partners first establish a relationship, while Ansell and Gash (2008) emphasize the iterative, non-linear nature of the process. It appears most useful to consider collaboration as beginning when the parties have some conscious intention of working together.

Many studies have attempted to understand the factors and conditions which foster the formation of collaborative relationships. In characterizing initial factors and conditions, we might consider three categories of elements: (1) characteristics of the surrounding environment in which organizations exist, or external conditions, (2) the aspects specific to the organizations themselves and (3) external catalysts, events or actions which trigger the collaboration process. Together, these three elements contribute to the emergence of collaboration. The following paragraphs elaborate on these various aspects.

² In general, an organization has legitimacy when its existence and its claimed responsibilities are generally recognized by other actors in the system. Of course, an organization has have varying degrees of legitimacy in the eyes of various other parties.

Figure 2-2: Conceptual model of the collaboration process

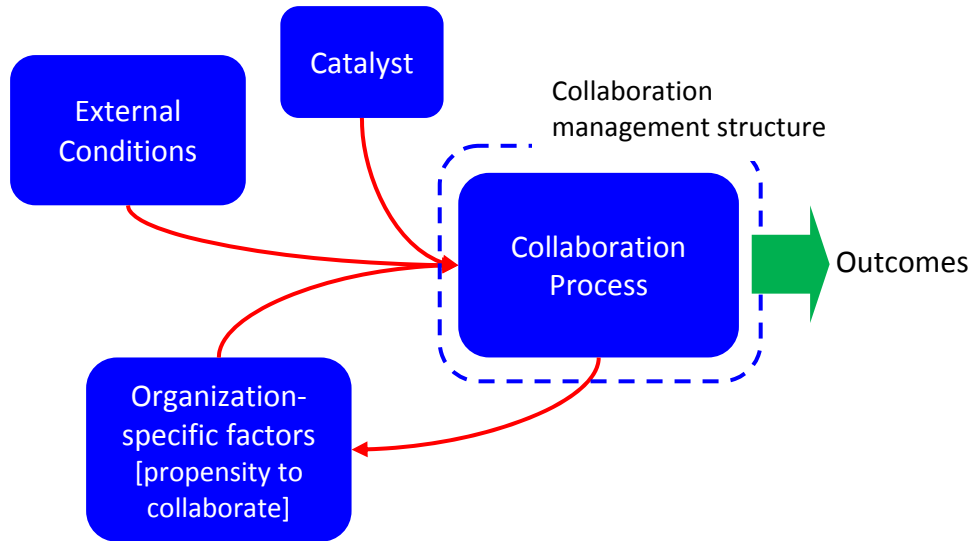


Table 2-1: Incentives and benefits that organizations may consider in the decision to collaborate

| Incentives/potential benefits | Disincentives/costs |
|---|----------------------------------|
| Potential efficiencies and synergies in policy outcomes | Time and effort |
| Increased likelihood of achieving objectives | Risk |
| Legal incentives/requirements | Legal constraints |
| Financial incentives | Financial disincentives |
| Control over uncertainty | Greater uncertainty + complexity |
| Increased power | Loss of power/autonomy |
| Increased legitimacy | Institutional inertia |

External conditions: incentives and disincentives

Organizations will be more likely to attempt collaboration if they believe the rewards will outweigh the associated costs. Incentives to collaborate can come from the external context or from inherent benefits of collaboration itself, and include, for instance, increased legitimacy, increased likelihood of achieving downstream objectives (such as policy implementation), access to additional resources and capabilities, etc. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) suggest that organizations form connections with other organizations as a way to gain some measure of control over uncertainty in a complex environment in order to guarantee stable resources, whether those resources are financial support, political power, public legitimacy, etc. In some cases, of course, collaboration is required by law. Obviously, the legal and regulatory environment will place constraints on organizations’ behavior, although its effects may not always be predictable if organizations also have the ability to influence the regulatory framework. Informal institutional norms can be equally important (Ebers 1999; Bryson et al. 2006).

Organizations also face disincentives to collaborate. Most importantly, successful collaboration requires a large investment of time and effort—in other words, transaction cost. The difficulty of managing collaborative relationships can introduce significant risk as well. From existing research, it appears that costs of collaboration are usually quite high and agencies rarely enter into collaborative arrangements when they have alternative venues or means for achieving their goals (Ansell & Gash 2008). Most public agencies collaborate only when all other attempts to address the problem at hand have failed and when no other acceptable alternatives are available.

On the other hand, the literature identifies a competing phenomenon, where some agencies see collaboration as a panacea and assume that *any* collaboration must be good (Bryson et al. 2006). Two forces might contribute to this case. In one instance, organizations may simply overestimate the benefits of collaboration. A second explanation is that collaboration may become a myth of the institutional environment, an expected behavior that organizations adopt in order to maintain legitimacy. Just as people follow social norms, organizations follow organizational norms out of custom, regardless of their effect on performance. In a parallel to Meyer and Rowan (1991)'s observations on organizational structure, agencies which follow these norms may be more likely to gain legitimacy and ensure survival.

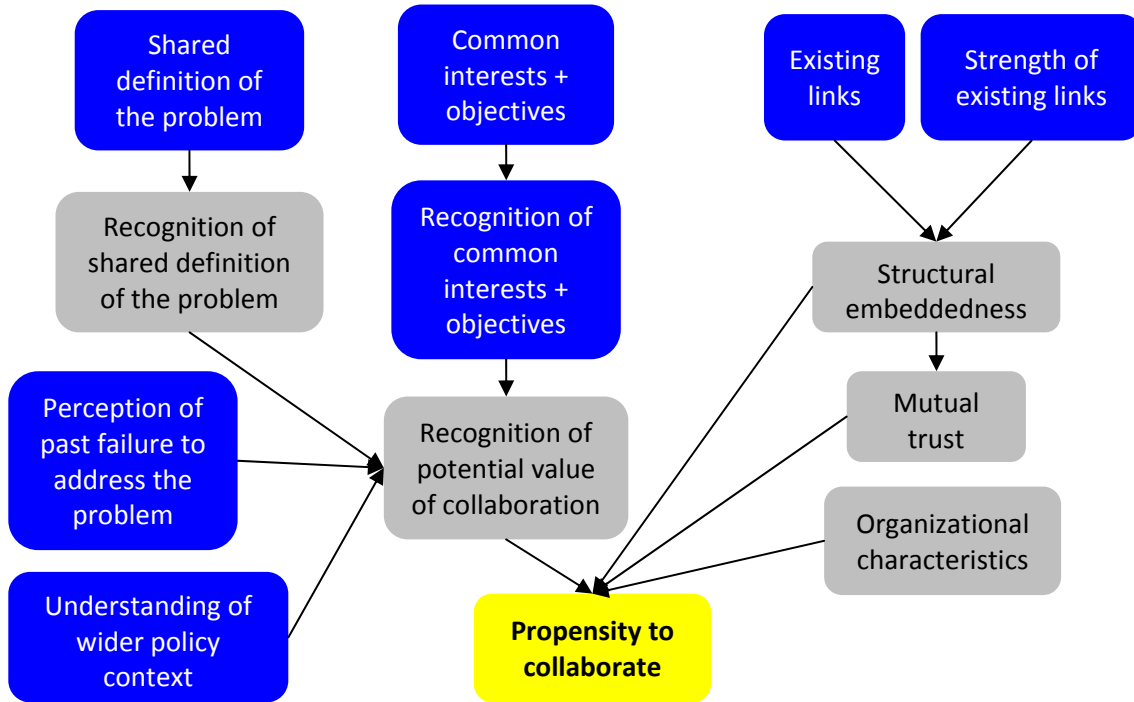
Examination of incentives helps identify the types of problems in which collaboration is likely to arise. Although essentially a simple game theory problem, Feiock's (2009) consideration of collective action between local governments illustrates the possible dynamic. One type of problem is the need for *coordination* to reduce *inefficiencies*; for example, consolidating local trash collection services to take advantage of scale economies. In this case, "coordination to achieve economies of scale motivates regional collaborations because each participant benefits" (Feiock 2009). In this case, both parties face incentives to collaborate, although transaction costs could still prevent the parties from acting. A second problem is the need for *integrated* policies to resolve intergovernmental *externalities*; for example, when an increase in residential population in one municipality overburdens public infrastructure in a neighboring municipality. Here, conflicts of interest make collaboration unlikely, unless external forces manipulate the incentives for action.

Organization-specific factors

Organization-specific factors refer to characteristics of the actual organizations participating in the collaboration. Some of these factors (i.e. organizational characteristics) can be described with respect to a single organization, but others—such as shared objectives—apply to the relationship between two or more organizations.

Figure 2-3: Organization-specific factors that contribute to the propensity to collaborate.

The factors in dark blue are those measured by the survey, as discussed in Chapter 4.



Existing networks

Organizations that are already embedded in governance networks—that is, the set of relevant actors and the working relationships between them—are not only more likely to collaborate, but the outcome of the collaboration is more likely to be successful (Gulati 1995; Gulati 1999; Ebers 1999; Bryson et al. 2006). Of course, this makes sense intuitively; collaboration can occur only if the actors know each other and the process of collaborating is much simpler if partners already share positive working relationships. Both the structure of the network and the character of the relationships influence the emergence of collaboration. On a network level, the number of inter-organizational connections and the strength and quality of those connections—in other words, the structural embeddedness of actors—is a key factor in the emergence of collaborative partnerships (Gulati 1995). More specific aspects of network topography, such as centrality of actors and connectedness across levels and sectors, also greatly influence the outcomes of collaboration. As Weir et al. (2009) show, collaborative efforts may suffer if they cannot connect to centers of power. The authors’ case study of transit advocacy in the Los Angeles area illustrates how an alignment of interest groups, despite achieving a great amount of collaboration within a relatively dense local network, failed to create meaningful change because the members lacked enduring connections to more powerful actors in higher levels of government. Actors are also more likely to sustain a collaborative partnership if the parties previously had positive interactions. Previous relationships are an important factor in the success of government collaborations because actors judge the trustworthiness and legitimacy of other actors through these networks (Bryson et al. 2006). Pre-existing links provide organizations with information about others’ intentions and capabilities, so organizations can recognize opportunities for cooperation, and are better able to manage risks. A positive working relationship clearly is more conducive to collaboration than a history of

conflict. At the same time, enduring and intractable disagreement over a particular issue can also be an important incentive for collaboration

Shared Understanding of the problem

Understanding of the wider context also appears to be an important factor in initiating collaboration, especially for collaborations with intended policy outcomes (Ling 2002). It is not surprising that mutual appreciation of the problem is an important factor, but in cases of complex issues like urban development, where each partner is exposed to only a small piece of the entire picture, reaching a common understanding—indeed, any understanding at all—is not necessarily a simple task.

Initial agreement of problem definition

Mutual agreement on the definition of the problem is a key factor in the formation of collaborative relationships because agreement on the problem helps governmental agencies recognize both the stake they have in solving the problem and the help they need from other organizations to solve it (Bryson et al. 2006).

Recognition of need for collaboration/past failure

Organizations are more likely to collaborate when they recognize that collective action is needed to address a problem. Virtually all the literature on collaboration agrees that mutual recognition of the problem is an important precondition for collaboration (Oliver 1990; Bryson et al. 2006). Organizations are more likely to work together when other efforts to solve the problem have failed or, even if there have not been past failures, public sector decision-makers are more likely to act collectively when they believe that separate efforts are likely to fail (Bryson et al. 2006). It is possible that, assuming the need exists, the workshops will increase participants' recognition of the need to collaborate.

Common goals/interests/objectives

Organizations with similar goals and interests—and that recognize those similarities—are more likely to collaborate because they are more likely to find that collaboration creates efficiencies and synergies. Especially in the case of the public sector, agencies might not recognize their common interests because many organizations have ill-defined, ambiguous or multiple goals. A critical step toward collaboration is for each organization to first recognize its own goals. The pre-workshop survey therefore intends to assess whether the goals of the respondent's organization are defined and recognized. The survey asks respondents to indicate whether their organization has officially defined objectives and, if so, to list them.

Catalysts and triggering events

Bryson et al. (2006) suggest that, in addition to initial conditions identified above, organizations need some sort of “linking mechanism” or trigger that sparks collaboration. In many cases, this trigger is a third-party convener or brokering organization with sufficient power and connections to bring together the various stakeholders (Gray 1989). Bryson et al. (2006) consider the existence of networks as a potential linking mechanism, although we might more accurately consider the *use* of existing networks as the trigger event.

The collaboration process

The literature identifies some general elements of the collaboration process, as summarized below. The literature generally agrees on the importance of these elements, but does not agree on their ordering. Ansell and Gash (2008) resist prescribing a definite sequence, emphasizing instead the iterative nature of the process.

- Initial agreements. How well defined are goals, roles, and responsibilities? Are initial agreements formal or informal?
- Establishing leadership. Is authority formal or informal? Ideally, leaders should be good facilitators and they should be dedicated to the cause.
- Building legitimacy. The partnership must demonstrate its legitimacy to both its members and outside actors.
- Building trust. This is perhaps the most important step. Trust is necessary both to sustain the partnership and to make it function smoothly. Collaboration needs to start with trust, and should continue to build throughout the process.
- Managing conflict. Power asymmetries may affect the outcomes of conflict.
- Articulation of goals, responsibilities, and actions. Is this articulation formal and deliberate, or emergent? Collaboration is most successful when it is both deliberate and emergent (Bryson et al. 2006).
- Structure of partnership. Is the governing structure rigid or flexible? Is it emergent? Sometimes structure is difficult to separate from process because it is emergent. Governing structure can be headed by a single lead organization; self-governing, where members make decisions through collective meeting; or managed by a third-party (e.g. board, commission) that is established to oversee the activities.
- Face-to-face dialogue. Ansell and Gash (2008) find that face-to-face dialogue is essential throughout the process, as a way of breaking down stereotypes, building trust, and creating understanding.
- Type of collaboration. Bryson et al. (2006) distinguish between system-level collaboration, which usually involves strategic planning, and operational level service delivery partnerships.
- Competing institutional logics. Does the organization operate according to market forces? Or bureaucratic rules? (Bryson et al. 2006)

Some elements of the collaborative process may feed back into the propensity of actors to collaborate (see Figure 2-2). In many ways, collaboration is a learning process, and actors may build internal capacity in managing collaborations, which may lead to more collaboration in the future. The building of trust within a collaborative relationship can promote greater or more meaningful interaction between the parties; in this way, the process may lead to higher degrees of collaboration among the same parties.

Literature on Integration and Collaboration in Land Use and Transportation

Mirroring the more general shifts in public management, integrated policy and collaborative practices have largely established their position as essential elements of a new planning paradigm. The urban planning field, which has always been inclined to take an inter-sectoral view, has spent the last few decades institutionalizing collaborative approaches, both in terms of public participation and collaboration with key stakeholders (see, for example, Healy (1996); Fainstein (2000)). At the same time, urban planners have struggled with the limitations imposed by politically fragmented metropolitan regions, leading to debate over how to improve metropolitan governance systems. Although the metropolitan governance debate remains far from resolved, discussions have commonly recognized that movement toward more ideal governance structures is a political process that inevitably involves collaborative action (Lefèvre 1998; Salet et al. 2003).

The transportation planning profession has in many ways been slower to embrace collaborative approaches, but it is nonetheless moving in this direction. Announcing a paradigmatic shift in urban transportation planning, Bertolini et al. (2008) describe how the new approach recognizes

“the importance of collaboration, integration and exchange with other professions and policy sectors.... The new challenges demand multi-disciplinarity, or collaboration with other professions and policy sectors, such as public health or economic development, but also just between different transport agencies. They also demand inter-disciplinarity, or integration with other professions and policy sectors, as most notably with urban planning” (Bertolini et al. 2008, p.71).

In the new paradigm, the authors say, instead of the old “predict and provide” or even “demand management” approaches, both of which position the transportation planner as expert, “what is rather needed is engagement in the highly political process of the definition of the problems and the search for solutions, or in ‘policy design’” (Bertolini et al. 2008, p.70).

Are collaborative approaches the answer?

In short, the conventional wisdom on urban and transport planning is increasingly turning to collaborative, cross-sectoral approaches as a solution to the problem of fragmentation. But what evidence do we have that this approach actually works? Unfortunately, the literature here has been biased toward normative propositions rather than empirical observation, but it still offers some guidance. Of course, even if we restrict the discussion to spatial planning and transportation, this is an exceedingly broad question. The unique conditions of each case make generalizations difficult, if not impossible. However, a review of the research in the field can help identify potentially important factors and contingencies for the situation of the Portuguese planning system. I will therefore review some key cases that appear instructive, recognizing that this is not in any way a comprehensive review.

Some studies suggest a governance model of informal collaboration paired with decentralized management. In one of the earlier studies to document the power of decentralized, networked decision-making in transportation, Chisholm (1992) argues that voluntary collaboration between organizations can be an effective way to coordinate transportation operations and is often preferable to central control. Taking the San Francisco Bay Area public transit system in California as a case study, he shows how organizations can use informal inter-agency relationships to coordinate transit service. The Bay Area has no central transport authority—the system consists of six different transport providers with partially overlapping jurisdictions in nine counties, across roughly one hundred municipalities, with relatively weak coordinating regional agencies. Yet, according to Chisholm’s analysis, the various transport operators and even local governments effectively coordinated services by using informal agreements to arrange coordinated transfers, sharing of bus stops, and emergency services during unplanned interruptions. In comparison with the centrally controlled Washington, D.C. Metro, Chisholm argues, the Bay Area system is equally effective, and additionally benefits from the flexibility that allows it to adapt to the changing needs of a quickly growing region. The specifics of performance metrics notwithstanding, the most serious limitation of Chisholm’s study is the scope of the problem considered. Decentralized coordination may have succeeded in providing adequate transport service in operational terms, but the analysis never considers, for example, the implications of urban sprawl on transport provision. We can only conclude, therefore, that decentralized coordination *can sometimes* work for operational level problems.

Indeed, we can find other instances of successful joint working for problems of relatively narrow scope. Cascetta and Pagliara (2008), for example, document how a fortuitous alignment of several factors contributed to the successful introduction and continuing service of the Metro system in Naples-Campania, Italy. This case required coordination between levels of government, between planning and operations, and between planners, engineers, and architects. While a number of factors—including stable institutional arrangements, sustained political support, and funding availability—contributed to the success, perhaps the biggest success factor was the nature of the problem itself. The challenge was relatively clear: to provide a metro system with good service. Notably, integration with land use planning was not a significant element in this case, nor did the case involve major conflicts of interest.

Meanwhile, other authors have high hopes for collaborative approaches, but see local-level collaboration as complementary to central government action. In a fine-grained study on sustainable transport integration in England, Hull (2008) suggests inter-governmental and inter-sectoral collaboration as a potential means to achieve consistent policy. According to her analysis, the barriers to more sustainable transport include differing values, inconsistent funding structures, competition between sector policies, complex governance structures, and mismatched administrative boundaries and timeframes—in short, fragmentation. Hull argues that the government should "trigger" greater collaboration through a top-down mandate requiring agencies to share responsibility for achieving sustainable transport goals.

The importance of top-down action to trigger bottom-up collaborative action is a recurring theme in the literature. In their study of transportation policy-making networks in the U.S., Weir et al. (2009) show how central government legislation can spur inter-organizational collaboration, which can, in turn, effect institutional change in the governance system—but they show how, in other cases, collaboration can lead nowhere. The study analyzes the influence of ISTEA (the Intermodal Surface Transportation Equity Act)—federal government legislation that introduced significant changes to the transportation planning system—on regional transportation policy structures in Los Angeles and Chicago. Tracing the details of collaborative activities in each case, the authors demonstrate that the outcomes of collaboration depend greatly on the institutional context. Despite the fact that ISTEA legislation gave rise to greater inter-organization collaboration in both cities, in Chicago it led to creation of a regional government agency, while in L.A. the mobilization had little effect on government structures. The key differentiating factor, according to Weir et al.'s (2009) analysis, was the pre-existence of strategically connected inter-organizational networks. In Chicago, the ISTEA legislation created new focus within an already dense actor network that had strong connections to centers of power. In L.A., the law spurred organizations to collaborate, but they channeled energy into building horizontal networks instead of exercising vertical power. In contrast to many previous studies which imply that any form of collaboration would be beneficial, Weir et al. suggest that collaboration is not necessarily sufficient to engender change. Presumably, in many cases, integrated responses would require stronger top-down action.

Clearly, the strength of collaborative action depends greatly on institutional context and the nature of the problem itself. Walter and Scholz (2007) show that aspects of the collaboration approach and process also influence outcomes. Through meta-analysis of five fairly diverse transport projects, the authors draw generalized conclusions about the effectiveness of collaborative methods, which they defined broadly to include any project that involved several actors. They were unable to find conclusive patterns for most of the factors examined, but they did find that the use of institutionalized and legitimized planning procedures resulted in solutions that performed better in terms of relevance, goal attainment, process efficiency, and

degree of consensus. Additionally, they found that projects performed better when one actor was clearly in charge of the collaboration process, a finding that throws doubt on the ideal of shared power and democratic collaborative action. However, as the authors acknowledge, the set of cases is too small to draw any clear generalizable conclusions.

Finally, Curtis' (2008) study of a new spatial planning strategy in Perth shows that even when conditions are favorable in theory, collaboration can still be very difficult, especially when the problem is metropolitan urban development. In this case, the Perth region faced the familiar problems of suburban sprawl, growing car travel, and unsustainable land and resource consumption patterns. The proposed solution was an integrated policy strategy that relied on collaboration across sectors and levels of government. The region contained the elements that, in theory, would contribute to successful land use-transport integration: a strong regional planning system, a strong state structure organized around integration, a supportive public, and, importantly, newly merged transport and land use agencies. Yet Curtis finds that the region still faces serious difficulties in implementing an integrated strategy. The article points out that progress may require more time, but the case nevertheless serves as a reminder of the uniquely challenging nature of coordinated metropolitan growth and transportation.

Taken together, these cases illustrate the possibilities, limitations, and contingencies of collaborative approaches as a pathway to integrated policy. Is collaborative action a solution to problems of fragmentation in urban planning and transport? Maybe, sometimes, and partly. Collaboration sometimes produces integrated policy results, but not always, and its effectiveness in achieving integrated outcomes depends on the specifics of each case. The examples from empirical literature highlight some factors as particularly important in the effectiveness and applicability of collaboration in urban planning and transport contexts:

- nature of the problem: scope, complexity and whether it involves externalities or merely inefficiencies;
- existence of existing actor networks;
- degree of centralization in existing governance structure and ability of central government to take unilateral action; and
- incentives and disincentives for collaboration.

These considerations will help orient the analysis of the Portuguese planning system in the chapters that follow.

In summary, coordinated and integrated policy outcomes fundamentally depend on the process of collaboration, and greater degrees of coordination and integration require higher degrees of collaboration. Therefore, given a multi-agency governance arrangement, the process of creating coordinated land use and transportation policies must include inter-agency collaboration; this demands an understanding of how collaborative processes emerge and progress. At the same time, collaboration may not necessarily produce integrated policy outcomes, it may also produce negative unintended consequences. Empirical observations suggest that collaboration can be a key element in achieving integrated transportation and urban development outcomes, but collaboration *per se* does not guarantee successful outcomes; the degree to which collaboration contributes to better outcomes depends on the specific context. Even given these limitations, collaboration processes play a critical—often pivotal—role in land use and transportation policy-making. Considering this

role, how could we promote the emergence and strengthening of collaboration, in situations where it is likely to be beneficial? We now examine some possible pathways towards greater collaboration.

Chapter 3 Communicative Scenario Planning

The Communicative Planning Model

The increased focus on the role of communication in planning that emerged during the second half of the 20th century has often been described as a paradigm shift in the evolution of planning thought (Healey 1996; Fainstein 2000; Innes 1995). Proponents of “communicative planning” (Forester 1989) and “collaborative planning” (Healey 1997) posit that interactive deliberation in the planning process essentially constitutes the act of planning itself and can produce not only substantive physical outcomes, but transformative social ones. This notion of the power of communication has appealed quite naturally to planners and, despite a number of criticisms, has heavily influenced planning practice and theory (Innes 1995). In the following section, I will discuss the origins and implications of the communicative planning model. In doing so, I refer to a planning “model” as a set of normative prescriptions derived from theory. I choose to use the term “communicative planning” (rather than related terms like participatory planning, collaborative planning, or communicative rationality) in order to emphasize the centrality of communication as an action in the planning process.

Origins

The communicative planning concept arose largely in reaction to frustrations with the comprehensive rational model of planning and the dependence of that model on the scientific method. The comprehensive rational model casts the planner in the role of expert; his job is to provide technical advice to decision-makers, who then select the optimal choice based on a pre-determined set of objective criteria. This technocratic model of planning, however, came under heavy criticism in the 1960s and 70s for a variety of reasons, including its tendency to ignore issues of equity and social justice, and the lack of decision-making power reserved for citizens affected by the decisions. Planning theorists responded by recommending fuller participation of ordinary citizens and other stakeholders in the decision-making process (Arnstein 1969). Ideally, citizens would participate fully and equally in making the decisions which affect them. In contrast to the planner as technocrat, advocates of an increased role for citizen and stakeholder participation in planning envisioned the planner as facilitator, directing a participatory and inclusive process of debate and consensus-building.

Theory

The emerging discussions in the 1990s around the theory of communicative planning provided a more rigorous conceptual underpinning for the growing focus on participation in planning. This discussion on communicative planning drew principally from the theory of communicative rationality advanced by Habermas (1984) and from the new institutionalist strand of thought (Powell & DiMaggio 1991), particularly the theory of structuration developed by Giddens (1984). For communicative planners like Healey (1997; 1996), the key aspect of Habermas’ view of communicative rationality is the idea that rationality is constituted through social interaction—through communication. Habermas suggests that subjects engage in communicative action in order to reach a mutual understanding and coordinate their actions. It is through this communicative exchange, in which the force of the better argument prevails, that rationality is constructed. In other words, during the process of interactive deliberation, subjects jointly construct ways of knowing and understanding (Habermas 1984). In contrast to the conventional technocratic model of planning, which assumes that scientific knowledge is the source of rationality, the Habermasian view suggests instead that *the source of rationality is communication*. For the communicative theorists, then, participants engaged in discussion produce not only substantive agreements, but also actively construct shared ways of thinking, or

epistemologies. They therefore alter their own understanding of the world, but also their own *way* of understanding the world (Healey 1997).

The development of communicative planning theory, particularly in Healey (1997), borrows from Giddens the idea that the structures that govern our lives are socially constructed and therefore are able to be changed through social practices. According to Giddens, our lives are defined by the structures—the institutions, practices, environments—that were created by human agency and thus are embedded with social values and norms. But in all our day-to-day decisions and interactions, we continue to create and re-create these structures (Giddens 1984). For communicative planners, the emphasis is the ability of human agency to transform societal structures through social practice.

Drawing from Habermas and also Giddens, communicative planning takes as its basis the concept that all knowledge is socially constructed. As Healey (1997) suggests, several propositions derive from this assumption:

- The structures that govern society—public policy, governmental institutions, and planning decisions; values and norms and ways of thinking—are constructed, and reconstructed, through processes of social interaction.
- If all knowledge and all societal structures are created through a communicative social process, then that process is of central importance to anyone interested in crafting a better society, including planners.
- Furthermore, communicative planning recognizes that social processes can develop knowledge through many different means. Therefore, knowledge can take many different forms; expert knowledge is not uniquely privileged.
- Subjects form their interests and preferences through social interaction, not independently.
- The social construction of our societal structures and practices infuses them with power relations, which are often invisible or taken for granted.

Taken together, these propositions suggest that communicative processes are essential and central to the activity of planning; hence, in a normative sense, planning practice should focus on the conditions and potentialities of that process (Healey 1997; Healey 1996; Innes 1995).

Implications of the communicative planning model

Communicative planning theory leads to a set of prescriptions for practice. Advocates of communicative planning suggest that the role of planners should be to provide an arena for communicative action in which actors can deliberate planning matters. Key to the transition from theory to practice is Habermas' concept of the "ideal speech situation." According to Habermas, authentic discourse requires that all actors have the opportunity to participate fully and equally, in a structure that "excludes all force... except the force of better argument (and thus excludes, on their part, all motives except that of a cooperative search for the truth)" (p. 25). The "better argument" is one supported by valid claims, as determined by four kinds of validity: truth, normative rightness, appropriateness, and comprehensibility (Habermas 1984).³

³ Habermas uses "rightness" in reference to a normatively right (or just) way of acting. He means "appropriateness" as the "adequacy of value standards" in the particular context (Habermas 1984, p.39).

The normative communicativist view suggests that planners should capture the potential of communicative action for the service of planning goals by reproducing the ideal speech situation as part of the planning process (Healey 1996). Planners should focus on including all stakeholders in the planning process and facilitating dialogue in which all stakeholders are fully informed and equally able to participate in reasoned debate (Healey 1996; Innes 1996; Innes 1998).

Taking a communicativist approach to planning supposedly produces both better decision outcomes and social and intellectual benefits for actors. First, through authentic dialogue and fair process, planning outcomes are more likely to be equitable. Actors are more likely to reach consensus, producing more win-win outcomes (Healey 1996). Second, social interaction during the process can improve the knowledge, capacity and social linkages between actors. Because knowledge and understanding are necessarily constructed through social interaction, the interaction involved in the planning process can impart participants with new knowledge and understanding. By collectively constructing new understandings about planning issues, the argument suggests, participants build a greater capacity for tackling planning problems, both at the individual and institutional level. By mutually adjusting their arguments, participants are able to form more accurate perceptions of each other. At a more basic level, the interaction can foster social relationships between participants (Healey 1998; Healey 1997; Innes & Booher 2004).

Communication and participation

In the evolution of planning thought, the concepts of communication and participation are closely intertwined and often support one another, but arguments about each arose for different reasons and hold distinct emphases. The participation argument aims at an ideal of participatory democracy, resting on theories of democratic governance and social justice. The need for citizen and stakeholder participation in the decision-making process comes from a desire to produce more fair outcomes. The participation argument, though concerned with process, is principally concerned with achieving fair *outcomes*. Communicative theory focuses more closely on the act of dialogue and its implications rather than substantive outcomes. The argument about participation applies especially to decision-making processes, whereas the communicative argument can apply to decision-making as well as more general situations. In this thesis, I focus on communication because it is more relevant to the exercise of scenario-building, as it is not actually a decision-making process.

Critiques

The communicative planning view has been both highly influential and controversial. Critics have challenged a number of elements of the theory and its practical implications, including the significance of process vis-à-vis outcomes in planning; the potential of communicative process to transform social relations, institutional structures, and power relations; and the feasibility of implementing such a model in practice.

Debate over the significance of process vis-à-vis outcomes in planning

Communicative planners generally emphasize process, not because they consider outcomes unimportant, but because they would argue that only good process can produce good outcomes. Advocates for a process-oriented approach make two arguments. First, the process itself produces outcomes that are inextricably intertwined with the nature of the process. These processual outcomes—that is, outcomes resulting from the process itself—include changed understandings, increased capacity for reasoning, enhanced social relationships between participants, even transformed power relations. These processual outcomes emerge from communicative action and are distinct from the substantive outcomes—the policy decisions—reached

through debate. The second argument for emphasizing process relates to the question of what constitutes a just outcome. The technocratic view of planning presupposes the existence of universal values that constitute a view of justice. In the technocratic tradition, then, a just decision is one that fulfills some criteria pre-defined as just, whether that is an equal distribution of resources, the greatest good for the greatest number, or whatever. In this view, means are unimportant as long as the outcome is “good.” In contrast, the pro-process view rejects the existence of universal values and, since everyone holds different values, we cannot know *a priori* by what criteria to judge decisions. We can only arrive at a definition of a “good” outcome through the process of deliberation itself. The only way to ensure the outcomes are just is to ensure the process is just. In this view, “the means justify the ends.”

Critics, however, dispute the notion that good process necessarily leads to good outcomes. Fainstein (2000), for example, implicitly defends the existence of a universal measure of good outcomes: “Communicative theorists avoid dealing with the classic topic of what to do when open processes produce unjust results” (Fainstein 2000, p.178). On a practical level, critics worry that the communicativist view privileges process to the point of sacrificing the achievement of substantive outcomes (Fainstein 2000; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998). The communicativist framework allows the possibility for the planning process to be legitimate even if it produces no substantive outcomes at all. While a communicativist might argue that in such a case no outcome is the right outcome, or that the process itself suffices as an outcome, a preponderance of outcome-less processes would surely undermine the legitimacy of the planning profession.

The potential of the transformational power of communication

Perhaps the most important criticism mounted against communicative planning theory has been its inability to sufficiently address the issue of power relations. Critics claim that supporters of the communicative approach focus on the details of day-to-day activities without adequate attention to wider political and power structures (Huxley & Yiftachel 2000; Fainstein 2000; Phelps & Tewdwr-Jones 2000). In response, communicativists, revealing a confidence in individual human agency, reason that fine-grain activities are precisely the source of power relations. Since our institutions, norms, and knowledge structures are socially constructed, social interaction has the potential to transform them. Since power relations are embedded within these structures, social interaction has the potential to transform power relations as well (Healey 2003). Yet, for skeptics, the weakness of communicative planning theory is that it rests on the power of rationality, while ignoring the rationality of power (Hillier 2000; Fainstein 2000). The ideal of Habermasian communicative rationality assumes that, in communicative action, the power of the better argument will prevail. But as Flyvberg (1998) illustrates, power determines what counts as the better argument. In reality, the application of criteria for valid claims suggested by Habermas (1984)—truth, rightness, appropriateness, and comprehensibility—is not free from manipulation by power. In short, critics contend, the failure of communicative planning to account for the nature of power relations throws into question its purported transformational potential.

Practical concerns

At a practical level, critics question whether the communicative planning model’s admittedly idealistic prescriptions for practice can ever actually be achieved. Is it possible to identify all the stakeholders with an interest in an issue? In a world of limited time and resources, can all interests actually be present in a given discussion? Given that real planning situations involve stakeholders with vast social differences, the project of ensuring each has equal information, capacity and time for argument is often enormous. Critics seriously doubt the practical ability of a planning process to dissolve power relations (Phelps & Tewdwr-Jones 2000;

Fainstein 2000; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998). In cases where communicative planning aims to resolve particularly difficult disputes, critics question whether consensus can always be reached (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998). Furthermore, a communicative approach requires considerably more time than other approaches, which is simply not always feasible (Fainstein 2000). Even if one accepts the theory behind communicative planning, critics suggest, the practical limitations negate its usefulness as a planning model. In response to these challenges, advocates for communicative planning concede that the criteria for authentic dialogue are difficult to meet, but, as with any ideal, are something to be strived for (Healey 2003; Innes 2004).

Empirical studies of communicative planning

Empirical research on the communicative planning process has most often taken the form of case studies that use ethnographic approaches. A smaller number have attempted to assess the outcomes of planning processes using quantitative methods. A few of both types have focused on the context of land use and transportation planning. Willson et al. (2003) employ fine-grained ethnographic methods to analyze the effects of a communicative planning process undertaken by directors and planners in the Bay Area Rapid Transit agency in California. The authors find support for propositions that the communicative process enhanced discussion of policy objectives, that the process encouraged participants to reframe the issues in a way that led to a greater common understanding, and that the process increased the organization's deliberative capacity (Willson et al. 2003).

In a meta-analysis of collaborative planning in transportation projects, Walter and Scholz (2007) attempt to identify conditions under which collaborative methods produce successful outcomes. The authors applied rough-set case analysis to five cases of decision-making processes surrounding particular projects. They defined "collaborative" planning very broadly, and included cases involving one-way information provision along with processes of collective decision-making among various organizations. Outcomes of the projects were measured according to relevance, goal attainment, process efficiency, and degree of consensus. The authors find mixed results, but conclude that projects were more likely to be successful when associated with the use of standard planning procedures and when the collaborative process was managed by a single actor. They found that processes which used unilateral methods—that is, one-way communication such as providing information to stakeholders—were associated with better outcomes. Multilateral methods showed no consistent relationship with outcomes. In some cases, diversity of actors involved in the process improved project outcomes, while in other cases it produced poor outcomes (Walter & Scholz 2007). Overall, it is difficult to draw conclusions from these five cases.

In order to measure the degree to which planning processes contribute to group learning, Deyle and Schively Slotterback (2009) employ a pretest-posttest survey to nine planning processes in Florida that focused on disaster mitigation. The survey was designed to measure participants' understanding of the disaster mitigation problem and possible policy alternatives. The authors also measured level of participant activity (e.g. reviewing proposals or providing ideas). The results showed evidence for some change in participants' perceptions, as well as some convergence among participants. However, the survey produced little evidence that the differences in group learning were correlated with different levels of participation. Because they do not present qualitative information about the processes, it is difficult to understand the reasons for the results. The authors conclude that more quantitative research is necessary to understand learning processes in planning contexts and suggest that qualitative observation, combined with a similar quantitative survey, could produce better conclusions.

While not comprehensive, the above review suggests mixed effects of communicative planning. Qualitative case studies tend to find beneficial effects, particularly relating to understandings and organizational capacity that derive from the nature of the communicative process. Quantitative studies, though few in number, tend to paint a more mixed picture. Part of the reason for the lack of conclusive quantitative results derives from the inherent difficulty in measuring effects which are relatively subjective and which often only develop over a long time horizon.

The Scenario Planning Approach

In this thesis, I use the term scenario planning to refer to the specific strategic planning approach with origins typically attributed to Royal Dutch Shell's business planning group. Originally used to develop military strategy, scenario planning later became popular in business management and has since been employed in a wide range of contexts. The techniques employed by the Royal Dutch/Shell company in the 1970s, documented by Wack (1985b; 1985a), set a standard for scenario planning in the private sector. Since then, business management scholars and consultants have adopted the approach described by Wack and adapted it to a variety of situations (Van Der Heijden 1996; Schoemaker 1995; Scarce & Fulton 2004; Waverly Management Consultants 2007). This specific form of scenario planning develops scenarios, or stories, about what might happen in the future, as a tool for strategic planning. In this use, a scenario describes one way in which future events might evolve in terms of what is important for the organization or issue in question. Scenario planning in this sense does not produce predictions, nor, necessarily, "desired" visions. The purpose is not to accurately predict the future, or to paint an ideal future, but to call attention to the range of plausible futures, which then aids the development of more robust strategies. According to scenario planning proponents, by expanding participants' view of the wider system, the method helps individuals and organizations to better understand the current situation and to prepare for the future. The method (scenario planning) is as important as the result (the scenarios), in that the former presumably leads to organizational learning, shared understanding, and increased capacity for system-wide thinking.

The process of scenario planning

Scenario planning, in the conventional sense, is undertaken by a group of people relevant to the problem in question. Depending on the situation, this group might consist of managers of a company, all employees of an organization, or stakeholders in a public policy issue. Table 3-1 describes the basic steps of scenario planning.

The scenario-building process depends on identification of key local factors and driving forces. Key local factors refer to those aspects of the local context that impact the issue in question. These factors should be important and uncertain; that is, they should have significant impact on the focal issue and their direction of evolution in the future should be uncertain (Zegras et al. 2004). For the focal issue of urban revitalization in Portugal, key local factors might include, for instance, demand for smaller apartments or availability of credit for building renovations. Driving forces are macro-level forces which influence the key local factors, and should be both important and uncertain. For example, demographic shifts toward smaller families might drive demand for smaller apartments, while national economic growth might drive availability of credit for renovation.

Table 3-1: Steps in the scenario planning process

| Step | Description |
|--|--|
| 1. Define focal issue | Define the topic of interest and the scope of the problem. |
| 2. Identify key local factors | Identify key factors in the local environment that will most impact the focal issue. |
| 3. Identify driving forces | Driving forces are external forces that influence the key factors. |
| 4. Rank driving forces according to importance and uncertainty | Identify the driving forces that are most important and most uncertain; the top two or three should be used in constructing scenarios. |
| 5. Construct scenarios | Select combinations of driving forces that represent plausible scenario logics. |
| 6. Elaborate scenario narratives | Flesh out the scenarios in more detail, preferably in compelling stories. |
| 7. Use the scenarios | Depending on the context, the scenarios can be used to develop strategy, to initiate action, to begin dialogue about an issue, or to monitor conditions to see which (if any) scenario actually evolves. |

Adapted from Schoemaker (1995) and Zegras et al. (2004)

Outcomes of scenario planning

Organizations traditionally engage in scenario planning primarily to develop strategies for the future, but the literature downplays the importance of strategy formulation as an end goal. Instead, advocates stress the importance of *process* in scenario planning, particularly its potential as a sense-making and capacity-building exercise. According to Wack (1985b; 1985a), the critical aspect of scenario planning has little to do with the accuracy of predictions, but lies in the process of imagining potential futures and identifying how local factors and driving forces can lead to those futures. The process of scenario building requires participants to identify the most important and uncertain forces which affect the issue in question. Participants must address the interdependencies between driving forces and describe how they affect local factors. This exercise pushes participants to collectively work through the causal relationships of highly complex situations. In the activity of scenario-building alone, therefore, participants come to understand the situation in new ways.

Indeed, Wack (1985b) suggests that the best scenario planning processes are transformational; scenarios can "change the decision makers' assumptions about how the world works and compel them to reorganize their mental model of reality" (Wack 1985b, p.74). Schoemaker (1995) suggests that strategizing is only one of four reasons to engage in scenario planning—others include sense-making, anticipation building, and organizational learning. The collective discussion of driving forces and causal relationships supposedly challenges participants' existing views on their organization and its context, and encourages participants to reconstruct their views of the present and the future (Schoemaker 1995; Wack 1985b). Constructing scenarios helps people overcome intrinsic cognitive biases toward narrow and short-sighted perspectives, "stretching" participants' thinking about the future and the wider system (Xiang & Clarke 2003, p.890). In a well-designed scenario planning process, participants would come away with a broader and more accurate understanding of their organization's reality.

Scenario planning can in theory also be a way to build individual and organization networks. Some authors argue that, because the method requires in-depth discussions between participants, scenario planning builds stronger relationships between participants than is possible in other forms of networking (Roubelat 2000). By encouraging an unconstrained mindset, the scenario planning process hypothetically induces participants to not only take a more open view of future possibilities, but also to take a more open view of each other,

making them more likely to set aside existing prejudices. The collaborative act of developing scenarios encourages participants to collectively construct new mental frames of reference, an act which orients their thinking in a common direction. Presumably, this would strengthen the professional and social relationships between participants. Gray (1989) suggests that scenario planning—she calls it a “search conference”—aims to build a “collective appreciation of the interdependencies among the stakeholders” (Gray 1989, p.181). An effective search conference, or scenario planning exercise, should impart stakeholders with a shared understanding of the wider context and should suggest the potential value of collaboration among participants (Gray 1989). Roubelat (2000) suggests that, by reframing participants’ view of the larger context, scenario planning should encourage participating organizations to reconsider their organizational borders and relationships with other organizations.

Communicative scenario planning

The view emphasizing processual outcomes of scenario planning clearly resonates with the argument in favor of communicative planning. Indeed, Schwartz (1996) stresses the participatory aspects and the importance of a “collaborative” climate in the scenario planning process. Although not often explicitly discussed in the literature, the two schools of thought appear to share the same theoretical underpinnings. The scenario planning approach rests on the assumption that knowledge, understandings, and ways of viewing the world are socially constructed and hence can be altered through social interaction. Like the communicative planning model, the scenario planning approach focuses on the centrality of communication in the process. Any scenario planning process, as understood here, is inherently a *communicative* scenario planning process.

Support and critique of scenario planning

The scenario planning approach has proven highly influential in the business world and the public sector. By the 1980s, nearly half of Fortune 500 companies and 75% of Fortune 100 companies in the U.S. reportedly used some kind of scenario planning, with similar levels of adoption in Europe (Bradfield et al. 2005). The approach has been promoted for, and adopted by, the non-profit and public sectors as well (Searce & Fulton 2004). Clearly, these organizations gained some sort of benefit from implementing these processes, whether those benefits were substantially better strategies, measurable gain in organizational capacity, or purely increased legitimacy from having adopted the method.

Despite the popularity of scenario planning, actual evidence documenting outcomes of the method is scarce. With the exception of the detailed analysis of the Shell example (Wack 1985a; 1985b), many arguments in the management consulting literature that promote transformational benefits of the technique derive primarily from authors’ experience with particular applications (Schoemaker 1995; Ogilvy & Schwartz 1998; Ogilvy & Erik Smith 2004; Searce & Fulton 2004). Some studies have found empirical evidence in support of processual outcomes in particular cases. Roubelat (2000), for example, presents a qualitative case study of the French Electric Company’s use of scenario planning, showing how the method helped build formal and informal networks within the company; however, the case study does not attempt to quantify or measure the outcomes. Chermack et al. (2006) conducted a survey of participants in a scenario planning exercise⁴ in order

⁴ The study sampled “participants in a scenario planning project at a large educational institution in the southern US,” (Chermack et al. 2006, p.771) but the authors do not describe any attributes of the process, such as whether it is public or private, or conducted solely for the purposes of this experiment.

to measure their perceptions of how the process contributed to learning at the organizational level. The survey directly asked participants their opinion on whether their organization had gained knowledge and capacity for problem-solving. The authors found that the participants believed the exercise had increased organizational capacity, but recognize that the very limited case prevents larger generalizations and conclude that more quantitative study of these effects is needed (Chermack et al. 2006). The relative absence of empirical, especially quantitative, assessment of the processual outcomes results in part from difficulties in measuring such subjective and diffuse effects. Overall, support for the organizational effects of planning appears to come more from the promotional ability of consultants than from empirical evidence.

Public vs. private uses of scenarios

Authors like Wack (1985b), Schwartz (1996), and Schoemaker (1995) have formulated the conventional method of scenario planning based on experience with private corporations, but translation of this model to the public sector introduces some particular challenges. In the private sector, the boundaries of an organization are relatively well-defined, but in the public policy sector it is often difficult to draw a distinction between which forces an organizations can control and which are exogenous (EEA 2009). The difficulty in distinguishing between internal and external forces becomes compounded in situations involving multiple organizations. The conventional approach to scenario planning was designed for single organizations, where it is relatively easy to define the scope of the organization's activity, but scenario planning in the public sector usually involves diverse groups of stakeholders. Given heterogeneous participants with different realms of influence, factors clearly external to one organization might be within the influence of another, and it becomes difficult to separate scenarios that represent uncertainties from scenarios that represent possible strategies (Volkery & Ribeiro 2009; EEA 2009). In addition, techniques developed for small groups of managers may not translate well to larger groups (Volkery & Ribeiro 2009). For example, a small group can agree on a set of driving forces or a scenario narrative through discussion, but large groups of participants may find consensus difficult.

Conclusion

Communicative planning theory asserts the importance of communicative aspects of planning in producing effective outcomes, in terms of both substantive planning outcomes and outcomes relating to process. This assertion rests on the premise that all knowledge, values, and societal structures are constructed through communicative processes. The method of scenario planning, with its emphasis on expanding participants' perceptions and improving their understanding, fits well within the theoretical context of communicative planning. We might reasonably refer to the approach as *communicative scenario planning*.

As discussed in this chapter, proponents of scenario planning claim that the method can result in stronger organizational networks and enhanced perceptions and understanding of the focal issue. As discussed in Chapter 2, these two aspects can also be key factors contributing to the emergence of future collaboration. Given these propositions, we might ask whether communicative scenario planning processes could be a means of achieving, or at least increasing the likelihood, of collaborative relationships between participants. The following analysis in Chapters 4 and 7 will investigate this question in more detail, using observations from a particular scenario planning exercise in Portugal.

Chapter 4 Methods

The Scenario Planning Workshops

Intended to connect the modeling and analysis elements of the SOTUR project with the local context and local partners, the SOTUR workshops brought together stakeholders from various organizations in Portugal to engage in a scenario planning exercise focused on the issue of urban revitalization. The first two workshops were held in January and March of 2010; the third and final one is planned for July 2010.

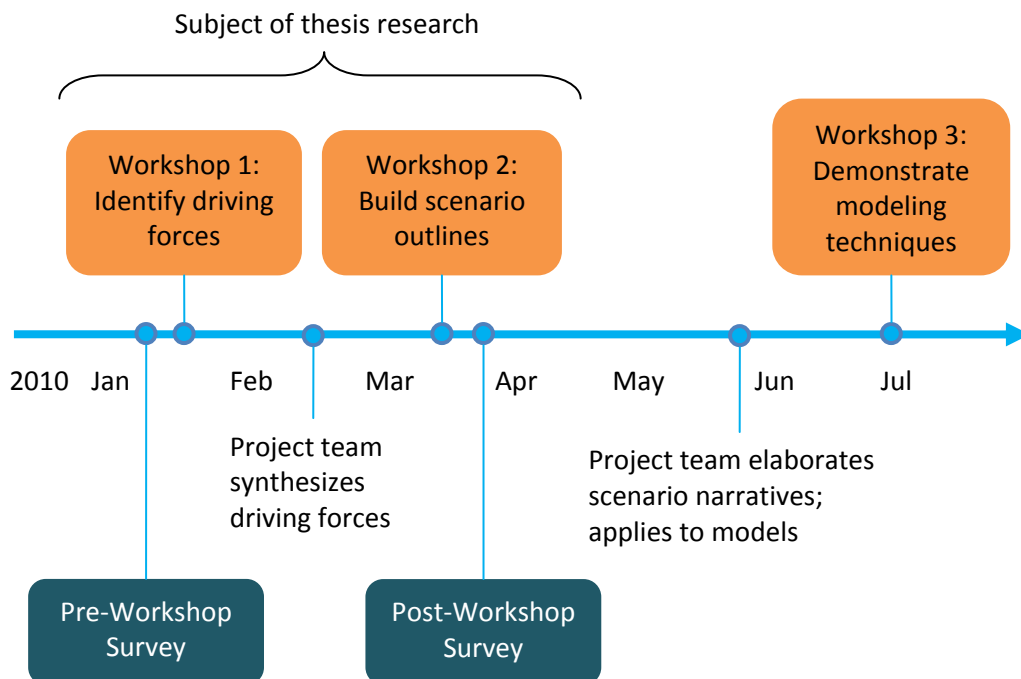
Objectives

The workshops were designed to service several goals, including sourcing of information and engagement of stakeholders. The workshops attempted to achieve the following objectives:

1. Obtain information on local conditions and broader driving forces that affect the development of Portuguese cities, for use in the SOTUR modeling and analysis.
2. Develop scenarios that represent possible urban futures, which can serve as the backdrop for policy analysis and can inform contextual parameters for the modeling projects.
3. Foster dialogue between stakeholders around issues relevant to them.
4. Raise awareness about the SOTUR project and build a foundation for future exchange of information between the SOTUR team and stakeholders.
5. Test the effects of the scenario planning process on participants.

The workshops aimed to fulfill these objectives using a participatory scenario planning approach.

Figure 4-1: Scenario-building workshop timeline



Participants

The SOTUR project team invited representatives from planning, transport, and urban development organizations in Lisbon, Porto, and Coimbra, as well as from related agencies at the national level. These included municipal councils, transport operators, redevelopment agencies, real estate associations, and others. (Appendix 2 shows the full list of invited stakeholders.) Because the workshops were designed to focus on the experience and role of relevant *organizations*, invitations targeted high-level officials who were more likely to be involved in decision-making. Those invited did not specifically include ordinary citizens or representatives of civil society. Participants were invited to all three workshops. The SOTUR project team itself consisted of faculty members and graduate students from each of the participating universities—MIT, the Instituto Superior Técnico, and the University of Coimbra.

Of the 40 organizations invited, representatives from 23 participated in the first two workshops; 37 participants attended Workshop 1 and 23 attended Workshop 2. A list of participants is shown in Appendix 3. Participation was fairly balanced across the three cities and across sectors. However, a few key organizations were not represented, notably the Institute of Housing and Urban Rehabilitation (IHRU) and the municipalities in the Metropolitan Lisbon Area.

Approach to the workshops

The project team drew from established scenario planning techniques to design the workshop agenda. At the center of the approach was the proposition that the collective and systematic construction and discussion of possible future scenarios can broaden the perspectives of participants. With the guidance of the project team, the participants were to collectively develop a set of scenarios based on driving factors that they identified as relevant for the question of urban revitalization. The project team would then apply these scenarios in an analysis of potential transportation and urban development interventions, presenting a demonstration of these particular analysis techniques to the workshop participants. In sum, the project team would benefit from the stakeholders' knowledge of local context, while the stakeholders would benefit from the project team's knowledge of analysis techniques, all in the context of a scenario planning process.

In designing the workshop activities, the project team faced the challenge of balancing the desire to introduce approaches that were presumed to be unfamiliar to the participants, in order to encourage creative thinking, with the need to produce concrete results. In practice, the team resolved this conflict by using straightforward, facilitated discussion groups—a format that would be familiar to participants but would also be flexible enough to allow conversations to evolve in new directions.

The workshops were conducted entirely in Portuguese, with the exception of a couple presentations about the scenario planning process. The participants' knowledge of English was generally good enough to understand a presentation, but the project team decided early on that stakeholders would participate in discussions more fully when speaking in Portuguese.

Workshop proceedings

Workshop 1

The first workshop, held in Coimbra on January 25, 2010, aimed to introduce participants to the project and to identify the main factors behind urban revitalization issues. (See Appendix 4 for the agenda from Workshops 1 and 2.) After introductory presentations about the project, participants briefly introduced themselves. The participants were then divided into five different discussion groups of five to eight members and each group was assigned a facilitator, who in all cases was a professor from the project team. In some cases, the facilitator was assisted by a graduate student. Membership of groups was predetermined based on geographical location (i.e. separate groups for participants from Lisbon, Porto, and Coimbra). Participants from the same organization were purposely seated at different tables where possible.

The workshop consisted of two group break-out sessions, each approximately one-and-a-half hours. In the first session, each facilitator led his or her group through discussion on three questions:

1. What urban revitalization problems does your city face?
2. What are the main factors (causes) that have led to these problems?
3. How will these factors evolve over the next 20 years, and/or will other factors or other relevant problems emerge?

The first question was meant to orient participants toward the problem of urban revitalization; the second two questions were meant to help identify a set of *driving forces* and *local factors* (as discussed in Chapter 3) that would later form the building blocks of the scenarios. At this stage, facilitators did not attempt to distinguish between driving forces and local factors, but rather focus generally on the forces behind urban revitalization issues. Facilitators conducted the session as an open discussion guided by the above three questions. The facilitators varied in the force with which they directed the conversation and managed group dynamics—more experienced facilitators more actively set parameters for discussion, while less experienced ones allowed the discussion to take its own shape.

Figure 4-2: Group discussion activities in Workshop 1

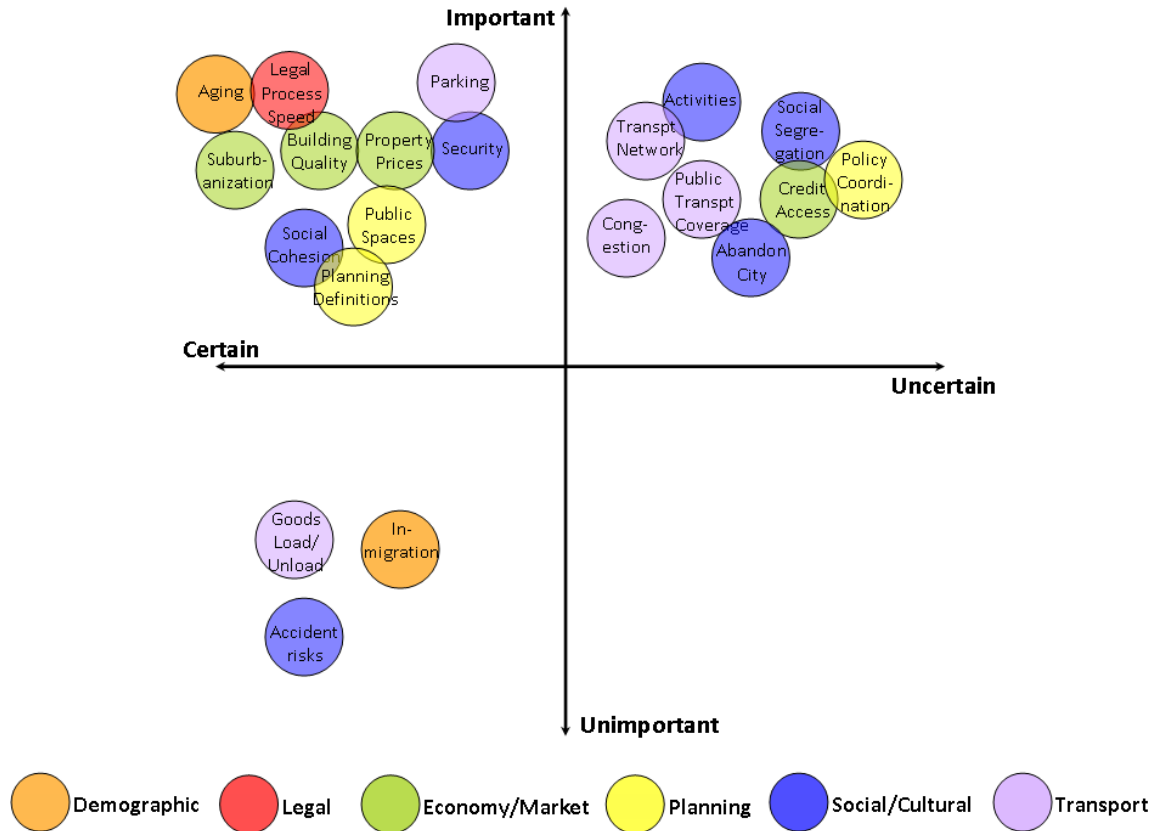


After a break for lunch, each group consolidated its discussion of driving forces and local factors into a list of “drivers.” Each group attempted to sort their drivers according to the degree of *importance* and *uncertainty* (see Figure 4-3). The groups also classified drivers by general categories like “social” and “technological”

issues. Finally, all the participants came together in a plenary session where each group presented a summary of their discussion. Reports summarizing the content of each group’s discussions are available in Appendix 5.

Figure 4-3: Example of group work produced in Workshop 1

The group identified "drivers" and arranged them according to uncertainty and importance.



Between workshops, the project team synthesized the discussions from Workshop 1 into a single set of factors, grouped into four categories: political/administrative, economic, social/demographic, and technological. Factors which more closely represented potential strategies or policies over which the government clearly might have control were classified as “strategies/options” and were set aside. For example, “lack of financial structures for urban rehabilitation” and “change in consumer behavior” were classified as administrative and social factors respectively, while “rent controls” and “proper transit service in pedestrian areas” were considered strategies. In some cases, the team had difficulty in deciding how to classify factors. The team then created a table for each of the four categories, in which factors could go in one of two directions. For example, the factor “enforcement of zoning regulations” could take on a state of “higher” or “lower”. Each category (political, social, economic, technological) would represent a driver (see Appendix 6). These tables would form the basis for exercises for Workshop 2.

Workshop 2

The second workshop, on March 2, 2010 in Porto, aimed to continue the process of scenario-building by defining the outlines of scenarios. The same participants that were invited to the first workshop were invited

to the second, although only 23 attended the second. The day began with a presentation by the project team that reviewed activities of Workshop 1 and presented the objectives for Workshop 2. The participants were divided into five groups of five or six, each assigned to a facilitator. Group membership was predetermined and, unlike the first workshop, were arranged in order to obtain a mix of sectors and geographical areas. However, since attendance differed from the pre-assigned list, the actual arrangement was partially determined by who actually attended and where they chose to sit.

The workshop was divided into three break-out discussion sessions. The first session was devoted to an exercise in which each group defined the driver states. Each individual participant was given the set of four tables that the project team had prepared (see Appendix 6). Each of the four tables represented a driver; thus the four driving forces were Political/Administrative, Social/Demographic, Economic, and Technological. For each driving force, participants were instructed to individually select a combination of factor states which they imagined could represent a plausible future. For example, for the Economic driver, a participant might imagine a state in which economic growth, access to credit, and tourism increase, while the government role in the economy decreases. After each individual filled in the table with his or her own version of the driver state, the group as a whole discussed the possibilities for the driver state. The facilitator led the group in selecting and recording two possible states for each driver, usually representing generally opposite states. For instance, the economic driver could be generally characterized by a state of either growth or stagnation. Groups were not expected to have time to discuss all four drivers, although some did.

Figure 4-4: Group discussions in Workshop 2



During lunch, the facilitators from the five groups collectively attempted to consolidate the chosen driver states from each of the groups. This proved difficult given the limited amount of time. In some cases, the groups agreed on definitions of driver states (e.g. economic could be growth or stagnation) but in other cases there was less agreement. In the end, the facilitators decided on a set of driver definitions that they felt best represented the overall conversations of the participants. These driver definitions are shown in Appendix 7. Each of the four drivers had two possible states; this produced 16 possible combinations that were presented in a matrix. After lunch, the facilitators presented their finalized definitions of driver states to the participants.

Table 4-1: Scenarios selected by groups in Workshop 2

Each potential scenario is represented by a combination of driver states.

| Driver States | | | | Combinations selected by each table | | | | |
|------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Political/Admin | Economic | Socio/ Demographic | Technology | Table 1 | Table 2 | Table 3 | Table 4 | Table 5 |
| Less-Centralized | Growth | Regeneration | Advance | x | x | | x | x |
| Centralized | Growth | Regeneration | Advance | x | x | x | | |
| Centralized | Stagnation | Suburbanization | Advance | | x | x | | |
| Less-Centralized | Stagnation | Suburbanization | Advance | x | | | x | |
| Centralized | Growth | Suburbanization | Advance | | | | | x |
| Centralized | Stagnation | Regeneration | Advance | | | | x | |
| Centralized | Stagnation | Suburbanization | Neutral | | | | | x |
| Less-Centralized | Growth | Regeneration | Neutral | | | x | | |
| Less-Centralized | Stagnation | Regeneration | Advance | | | | | x |

The second group break-out session focused on defining the general elements of the scenarios. Presented with the matrix of 16 possible combinations of driver states, each group was instructed to choose three combinations that they believed were both plausible and “interesting;” in other words, which represented a wide range of possible futures. After each group had discussed the possibilities and selected their scenarios, all participants came together and each group shared their selections. The scenarios chosen by the groups are shown in Table 4-1. The four top scenarios received the greatest number of “votes.” During this session, participants elaborated the logic implied by the various combinations of drivers, sometimes in semi-narrative fashion, but were not specifically asked to create scenario narratives.

The final break-out period consisted of a discussion of potential strategies and policy options that might promote urban revitalization. Facilitators conducted these discussions as open-ended brainstorming.

Developing the Scenarios

Because the two workshops designated for scenario building were limited to one day each, and because the full process of developing scenarios can take several weeks, the project team had to do much of the work outside of the workshop setting. We tried to design the process so as to involve the participants in the most central steps and to leave the more administrative tasks to before and after the workshops. In the first workshop, the in-depth group discussions identified factors and driving forces and provided the basic elements of the scenario storylines. Between workshops, the project team synthesized the hours of discussion and summarized them with a consolidated set of driving forces.

In the second workshop, we presented participants with this consolidated set of the elements they had identified earlier and asked them to piece them together, to elaborate scenario storylines. This task, however,

was more complicated than we expected, and groups could not fully explore and elaborate potential scenarios in the time we had allocated. The groups did discuss various ways in which the factors and driving forces could be combined into overall scenarios, but there was not sufficient time to fully consider the logic or implications of each scenario. Furthermore, each group had very different ideas about what made an “interesting” scenario so there was little convergence between the groups’ ideas, and we did not have adequate time to synthesize the discussions and select overall scenarios. Nor was there time for groups to fully elaborate storylines for potential scenarios—the groups discussed scenarios in terms of combinations of factors rather than in terms of a narrative. As a result, the project team had to complete the scenario development in the weeks after the workshop. We started with the combinations of factors and driving forces selected by the workshop groups, then more carefully scrutinized the logic behind each choice, redefining some elements of the driving forces as needed to make each one internally consistent. We then chose three overall scenarios which we believe were both thought-provoking and true to the overall spirit of the discussions in the workshops. Finally, we tried to elaborate logical and interesting plotlines for each of these scenarios. The resulting scenario narratives can be found in Appendix 8.

Survey Methodology

The survey was designed to objectively assess the influence of the workshops on participants. Two different survey questionnaires were administered, one before the workshops and one after. The survey’s intended respondents were the 39 stakeholders who participated in, or expressed interest in participating in, the workshops. In January 2010, prior to the first workshop, an invitation to complete the online pre-workshop survey was e-mailed to all stakeholders who had confirmed their participation in the workshop. Since the response rate to the online survey was low (with only nine responses), during the registration period at the beginning of the first workshop, participants were asked to complete a paper version of the same survey, if they had not already responded to the online version. Participants were given time to write responses before the workshop activities began. Most filled out the questions at that time, but the actual survey was not collected until later in the day.

In April 2010, two weeks after the second workshop, an invitation for the post-workshop survey was emailed to all stakeholders who had attended at least one workshop, followed by a reminder two weeks later. This survey was administered online only. A copy of both surveys can be found in Appendix 9.

All survey responses were anonymous and conducted entirely in Portuguese. The original English questions and survey text were translated to Portuguese by a native Portuguese speaker. The responses were analyzed in their original Portuguese form, although I later translated some responses to English to aid the analysis.

Survey design

The survey questions attempt to measure the “propensity of organizations to collaborate” by capturing the factors and conditions associated with individuals that can lead them to work together with people in other organizations. Here, we understand “propensity to collaborate” as a measure of the likelihood that organizations, or individuals in organizations, will enter into and maintain, to some degree, a process of collaboration.

The survey’s approach follows the conceptual model of collaboration developed in Chapter 2, which identified organization-specific factors that contribute to the emergence of collaboration. These factors shown in Figure 2-3, influence the propensity of organizations to collaborate. As discussed in Chapter 3,

most of these factors might also be influenced by a communicative scenario planning process, such as that in the SOTUR workshops. In general, other factors or conditions may be at work too, but this model focuses on those that are relevant for the situation of urban development and that might be influenced by the SOTUR workshops. The following paragraphs describe how the survey intends to measure these factors; Table 4-2 presents a summary.

Table 4-2: Survey measurement of factors that contribute to the propensity to collaborate

| Meta-factor | Factor | Pre-workshop measure | Post-workshop measure | Expected change as a result of workshops |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Actor networks | Number of existing relationships | Number of acquaintances | Number of acquaintances | Increased number of connections between participants |
| | Strength/quality of existing interaction | Frequency and mode of, reason for interaction | - | More frequent and more substantive interaction (not immediately measurable) |
| Actors' perceptions | Perception of need for collaboration | Rating of importance of issue | Rating of importance of issue, rating of effectiveness of existing interventions, opinion on need to work together. | Greater perception of need |
| | Common goals and interests | Statement of organizational objectives | - | No significant change expected |
| | Recognition of common goals and interests | Perception of common objectives; rating of relevance of urban revitalization to own organization | Perception of common objectives; rating of relevance of urban revitalization to own organization | Greater recognition |
| | Understanding of wider institutional and policy context | Definition of urban revitalization; rating of relevance of urban revitalization to own organization | Definition of urban revitalization; rating of relevance of urban revitalization to own organization | Increased understanding—scope, depth, and clarity. Greater understanding of own role in urban revitalization. |
| | Agreement on problem definition | Definition of urban revitalization | Definition of urban revitalization | Increased agreement (convergence of definitions) |

Existing actor networks

In assessing existing actor networks, important dimensions include the number of inter-organizational links and the characteristics of those links. The strength of a link, for example, is determined by the frequency and mode of interaction, the longevity of the relationship, and the substance of transactions. Social scientists

have developed widely accepted survey methods for measuring existence and strength of social networks; although less work has been done on organizational networks, some have suggested adapting the same kind of approaches to measure links between organizations (Webb 2008). The UK's Office of National Statistics has developed a national survey to characterize social networks, using techniques that have been well established in social science for decades (Harper & M. Kelly 2003). For example, frequency and type of communication can be a proxy for the strength of links in social networks, and can be captured by questions like "how often have you communicated with friends or family via email or telephone in the past 30 days?" Similar questions may be asked of organizations regarding their communication with other organizations.

The present survey borrows some techniques from the standard social network analysis approach in order to roughly characterize existing inter-agency relationships. The survey does not attempt to actually map the complete organizational network (although to do so would be interesting for a project of larger scope). Instead, the survey aims to represent individual actors' general level of interaction with other organizations as it exists at the time of the first workshop. These interactions may be described in many dimensions, including number of acquaintances, frequency of interaction, reason for interaction, mode of communication, length of acquaintanceship, degree of formality, whether it is positive or negative, or many others. In the present case, we can only practically measure the first four dimensions: number of acquaintances, frequency of interaction, reason for interaction, and mode of communication. While also important, the other dimensions are more subjective and thus more difficult to measure in a survey of limited length. The pre-workshop survey therefore asks respondents to report how often and by what means (email, telephone, in person) they communicate with individuals in various types of organizations about work-related issues. It also asks the respondent how many individuals in other organizations he or she is acquainted with, which organization he or she communicates with most frequently, and the primary reason for that communication. These responses will provide a rough picture of current structural embeddedness.

The underlying hypothesis in this research is that the workshops will, over time, affect the frequency and quality of interactions between participants and their organizations; unfortunately, this change would be long-term and any increases in interaction are unlikely to be observable in an immediate post-workshop survey. The more likely scenario is that participants who have become acquainted with each other during the workshops might contact each other as a relevant situation arises, perhaps months or even years later. Therefore, the post-workshop survey can detect only new acquaintances, not changes in the level of interactions. The post-workshop survey asks respondents whether they met new colleagues and, if so, how many in different types of organizations.

The limitations in detecting long-term change mean that the survey provides information on frequency and type of interaction for only one time point. In addition, since this is not an attempt to represent an entire inter-agency network, standard measures of network topography that might be available for other situations cannot offer a basis for comparison. Without a second measure of comparison, the measurement of interaction level can provide only a general and subjective characterization of existing relationships. Still, given the current lack of information on the subject, it is likely that this characterization will still provide some insights into the state of inter-organizational collaboration.

Recognition of need for collaboration/past failure

Organizations are more likely to collaborate when they recognize that collective action is needed to address a problem. The survey attempts to assess participants' perception of the seriousness of the problem of urban

revitalization and the need for collaboration. It also attempts to detect any change in the perception of the problem's importance. Both the pre- and post-workshop surveys ask respondents to rate the importance of urban revitalization strategies and policies, given the situation in their city; any shift in the reported degree of importance might indicate the workshops' influence on participants' perceptions. The post-workshop survey asks participants whether they believe that existing urban revitalization interventions have been effective. It also asks whether they believe that, in order to address urban revitalization, organizations need to work together more. These two questions were included only in the post-workshop survey because asking these same questions on both surveys was considered too burdensome and each survey had to be limited to a reasonable length. Instead, the pre/post question on the importance of urban revitalization intends to capture any possible changes in the general recognition of the need to address the problem. Details of this need—whether past efforts have failed, whether working together is required—are represented only for the time at the conclusion of the second workshop.

Common goals/interests/objectives

Organizations with similar goals and interests—and that recognize those similarities—are more likely to collaborate because they are more likely to find that collaboration creates efficiencies and synergies. The survey also therefore asks respondents to indicate the degree to which they believe that their own organization shares objectives with other organizations of given types. We expect that, through dialogue during the workshops, participants would become more acquainted with the activities of their colleagues' organizations, thereby changing perceptions of shared objectives. To capture this possible change in perception, the same question about shared objectives was asked in both the pre- and post-workshop survey. The pre-workshop survey also included an open-ended question about whether the lack of overlap of goals created obstacles to working with the given agencies.

The survey also assesses the degree to which respondents recognize the relevance of urban revitalization specifically to their own organization, whether or not it is an official objective. This is especially important for agencies like transport operators and central government administrators who might perceive themselves as far removed from the issue of urban revitalization. It is expected that, especially for those who are “farther” from the issue, the workshops may increase participants' recognition of the relevance of the issue to their own work. Both surveys ask respondents to rate their perception of the relevance of urban revitalization to their organization. The survey will then hopefully detect whether the workshops changed participants' views on the relevance of urban revitalization for their own goals and objectives.

Understanding of wider organizational and policy context

Understanding of the wider context also appears to be an important factor in initiating collaboration, especially for collaborations with intended policy outcomes (Ling 2002). We expect that, through dialogue in the workshop activities, participants collectively construct, or reconstruct, their conception of urban revitalization issues. Because the discussions will involve communication with previously disparate stakeholders, within a relatively novel framework of scenario planning, this joint construction of understanding may broaden, deepen, and clarify views previously held by participants.

A survey is an admittedly crude instrument with which to characterize the scope, depth and clarity of people's understandings of a complex issue. Still, the present survey attempts to capture at least some aspects of respondents' understandings by asking them to relate their definition of urban revitalization, in their own words. The responses will, it is hoped, reflect the scope and depth of the respondents' understanding. Both

the pre- and post-workshop surveys included this question in order to reflect any changes due to the workshops. The post-workshop survey also asks directly whether the respondent believes the workshop to have influenced his or her understanding of urban revitalization.

Respondents' perception of the relevance of urban revitalization to their own organization also speaks to their understanding of the wider context, and the question on relevance of the issue will also help indicate whether participants gained a wider understanding of the context.

Initial agreement of problem definition

Mutual agreement on the definition of the problem is a key factor in the formation of collaborative relationships (Bryson et al. 2006). The collective nature of the workshop activities is expected not only to increase participants' understanding of urban revitalization, as discussed above, but also to create convergence among those understandings. The respondents' definitions of urban revitalization, provided in both the pre- and post-workshop surveys, can be analyzed to assess both the initial incidence of overlap and the degree of convergence in the concepts presented.

Individual vs. organization vs. network as a unit of analysis

The survey uses the individual participant as the primary unit of analysis, recognizing that individuals are part of several other structures—their organization, the group of workshop participants, a network of individuals, and a network of organizations. In general, regarding the question of collaboration to address urban development and mobility issues, we are interested in the relationships between organizations. In reality, though, individuals inside these organizations, not the organizations themselves, make decisions, hold opinions, and take actions. It is also individuals, not organizations, who participate in the scenario planning workshops. We are interested in the workshops' effects foremost on individuals, and by extension their organizations. Therefore, the survey questions address behavior and opinions specifically of individual respondents, with recognition that most individuals will respond as representatives of their organization.

The scenario building process, as a collective activity, hypothetically induces changes in characteristics of the participant group, as well as the individual. But, in case of the SOTUR workshops, the participant group cannot be easily defined, as different sets of individuals participated in each workshop. Furthermore, the particular set of participants, while somewhat representative of practitioners in these sectors in Portugal, has no specific relevance beyond the context of the workshops. Roubelat (2000) suggests that scenario planning exercises typically involve this kind of semi-formal group with shifting membership, and that, in contrast with the group, relationships formed in scenario planning exercises are "based primarily on connections between people" (Roubelat 2000, p.12). Indeed, our focus on propensity for collaboration requires consideration of relationships between people and between organizations. The correct unit of analysis, therefore, appears to be the network—that is, network nodes (individuals and organizations) and the connecting links. Since a full network analysis is beyond the scope of this study, we focus on individuals—as representatives of an organization—and the relationships between them.

Observation of Workshops

Direct observation of the workshops supplemented the analysis provided by the survey. Recognizing that the language barrier presented a serious problem—the observers understood only basic Portuguese and could follow only the general contours of conversations—the observations focused mainly on physically observable cues. However, even limited observations can serve as an important supplement to the objective information

provided by the survey. For example, Chermack et al. (2006) note that their study of scenario planning processes, which relied on a survey of participants, suffered from the inability of the authors to attend and directly observe the meetings. Other studies of planning processes, such as Willson et al. (2003) rely entirely on observation, using ethnographic methods to focus on fine-grain details. In the present case, the combination of observation and the survey provide a more complete set of information; however, observations serve only as a secondary source of information to aid in the interpretation of the survey results.

In the first workshop, three researchers who were not participating in the scenario-building exercise observed the workshop activities. These three observers sat in on discussions at each table, spending a portion of the discussion period at one table before moving to the next. One of the three original researchers observed the proceedings of Workshop 2, remaining with the same discussion group for the entire workshop. The same researchers also observed actions of participants during plenary sessions and in the breaks between events.

According to Lofland (1971), one can analyze social situations in terms of six units: acts, activities, meanings, participation, relationships, and setting. These units provided a basic framework with which to approach the task of observation.

1. Acts. Acts are individual actions performed by subjects. Workshop participants will certainly perform acts; the question is whether those acts are significant. Lofland (1971) suggests that significant acts are those which seem to recur and to have some importance among all or various types of participants.
2. Activities. Activities are sequences of acts performed over a longer time scale—a time scale longer than the workshops, so activities will not be relevant.
3. Meanings. This would include norms, beliefs, or rationale held by subjects. In their observations of planning processes, Willson et al. (2003) focus on participants' meanings, as implied from the dialogue, considering that evidence of changed meanings might reflect participants' reconstructing their understanding. A similar approach would have been useful here; unfortunately it is not very feasible since meanings are exhibited mainly through language.
4. Participation. This refers to the role a person plays in a given social setting. Participation will be quite important in the workshop analysis. Lofland suggests looking for “member-developed” patterns of participation, as well as patterns inferred by the observer based on participants' actions. Important patterns will likely include roles taken on by participants during the group discussions.
5. Relationships. It is important to note the types of relationship that exist among participants, in terms of inferred acquaintanceship, past history, and degree of amicability, and also how relationships change and evolve, even over the short period of one day.
6. The setting. Aspects of the environment itself may be important. The setting of the workshop is a very specific, delimited setting. Participants' actions should probably be taken to be specific to this setting and are not necessarily generalizable to all situations.

Considering the expected effects of the workshops, several more specific behaviors were expected to be important for the observations. First, participants were expected to build new and strengthen existing relationships. Signs of these effects would include acts like introducing oneself to another, shaking hands, speaking in general terms about one's position and work, or greeting someone one has apparently not seen in

a long time. The second expected outcome is participants constructing or reconstructing meaning during conversation and debate with other participants. Signs of this behavior are difficult to identify without understanding of the language, but the degree of involvement in discussion and debate around relevant issues provides an initial indicator. Observable signs would include nodding in agreement, looking engaged in discussion, and apparent contemplation.

Of course, the workshops could also have neutral or negative effects on participants' relationships and perceptions. Participants may also actively avoid new contacts; for example, we might observe participants who speak only with members of the same organization. Disagreement and negative relationships may be observable through acts like raised voices, inability to resolve debates, and withdrawing and disengaging from group discussion. Confusion could be another barrier to positive outcomes. In particular, participants may be observed not understanding the purpose or procedures in the workshop activities. General lack of engagement may be observed through behaviors like not participating in discussions, looking bored, leaving the room, or engaging in unrelated tasks like checking phone messages.

Interviews

In order to obtain information on the current state of planning in Portugal, I interviewed a total of 22 individuals from various organizations in February and March of 2010. These individuals represented planners, directors, politicians, and other practitioners from 14 different organizations, including central government agencies, city councils, transport operators, and urban (re)development companies (see Appendix 10). Approximately half of the individuals had attended the SOTUR workshops; the other half were reached by contacting the organizations directly.

The interviews were semi-structured, meaning that I followed a basic outline, but added more detailed questions as particular issues arose. The interviews focused on the organization's role in the planning process and about specific projects that the organization has undertaken. The interviews also aimed to reveal information about the individual interviewee's and the organization's interactions with external organizations, as well as about internal organizational characteristics such as relationships between departments and management culture. Questions specifically targeted details of projects that involved collaborative partnerships. The interview questions depended on the type of organization; for example, the interview outline for municipal planners asked about specific planning projects, whereas the outline for central government agencies asked about the agency's involvement at the municipal level. An example of an interview outline is provided Appendix 11. Interviewees were given the choice to remain anonymous, but nearly all chose to be identified. Interviews were digitally recorded and later transcribed.

In general, the interviewees represented a broad cross-section of the practitioners involved in planning and policy around urban development, but the method faces some limitations. First, the interviews would have ideally included more municipalities. Second, I conducted interviews in English, except for one case, in which one interviewee translated for another interviewee. In most cases, the interviewees conversed quite easily in English, but a few of the interviews probably yielded less information as a result. In addition, the interview sample may be biased toward people who were willing to consent to an interview, and who thus may be more outgoing and open-minded than average. Furthermore, I identified some of the individuals through other interviewees—by relying on existing networks to contact these individuals, the sample may be biased toward those who were already well-connected. However, these potential biases do not necessarily pose a challenge to the findings, since I do not claim that the findings are typical of all organizations.

Chapter 5 The Portuguese Planning System

The current state of spatial planning in Portugal is characterized by fragmentation and complexity. Formal authority lies mostly with the national government, while municipal governments hold considerable power over affairs within their territory. Increasingly, however, with the expansion of metropolitan areas, actual urban activities have outgrown the established administrative boundaries. Efforts to resolve this spatial mismatch between government structure and actual societal demands have unfortunately created more confusion than resolution, resulting in an accumulation of overlapping authorities with sometimes conflicting responsibilities. The present institutional framework facilitates relatively straightforward design of strategy and policy at the national and municipal levels, but planning at the inter-municipal level—the scale at which urban areas now operate—occurs within a complicated and frequently changing institutional structure.

Portugal Territorial Units

Government administration in Portugal operates at four basic levels: national, regional/district, municipal, and parish. The Constitution of 1976, which established the modern republic after the end of the dictatorship, outlines the basic structure of government. In addition to the units defined by the Constitution, Portugal now also uses the NUTS (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) administrative divisions defined by the European Union.

National

Formal power originates in the central government, which holds the ability to delegate power to lower levels of government.

Regional

The European statistical system divides mainland Portugal into five regions, referred as NUTS II regions (Figure 5-1). As a basis of distribution of European Union structural funds, these administrative regions have grown more important in the 2000s, essentially replacing the district as the official territorial unit at this scale.

Districts

The constitution defined 18 districts in Portugal, which were to have certain administrative powers. However, an autonomous administrative government was never established at the district level and today they are being replaced by the NUTS II regions. At present, districts manage civil affairs but have little influence on policy.

Municipalities (concelhos)

Portugal is divided into 308 municipalities; the municipal jurisdictions are also known as *concelhos*. Most local administrative power resides in the municipality. The municipalities have been the most powerful and stable political units after the central government.

Parishes (freguesias)

Each municipality is subdivided into a number of civil parishes, known as *freguesias*. These units manage the most localized, neighborhood-level responsibilities, such as cultural and athletic activities.

Figure 5-1: Portugal, showing NUTS II Regions



Lisbon and Porto

As Portugal's capital and largest city, Lisbon anchors the country's economic, political, and cultural life. The municipality of Lisbon is home to 490,000 residents, while the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (AML) has 2.8 million, representing roughly one-quarter of the national population (INE 2008). Portugal's second largest city, Porto, also has a long history as a productive economic center. The municipality of Porto has 216,000 residents, but the Greater Porto⁵ area is quite large, with 1.28 million residents (INE 2008). Since 1980, both urban areas have experienced a movement of population away from the central city toward outlying municipalities.

A Short History of Government Decentralization in Portugal

Like many countries where the basis of governmental authority resides in the central state, Portugal has experienced a long and uneven struggle over decentralization of government power. The Constitution of 1976 called for three levels of subnational government: parish, municipality, and regional district. Parishes and municipalities were established early on with officially defined powers and, since then, their position in

⁵ Population is for the Greater Porto Area, not the Porto Metropolitan Area.

the governance system has been stable. In contrast, the regional government envisioned in the Constitution was never fully established. As a result, the municipality became the most significant subnational level. The activities of the municipality and the central government spread into the governance space originally intended for regional districts and, in many cases, put down permanent root. At the present time, restructuring the current system to favor the metropolitan scale would require extricating power from agencies that have built their organizations around the possession of these powers.

The lack of a formal, autonomous authority at the metropolitan level has created problems of un-coordination and inefficiency, especially for growing urban areas. In response, certain actors in the central government continued to pursue the decentralization agenda, while at the same time actors at the local level began to take on issues of a metropolitan scale. In the 1990s, several municipal associations of various forms emerged from a combination of local initiative and various central government programs, with the goal of tackling specific regional problems.⁶ In one example of this more ad hoc approach to regional governance, in 1999 the central government established a legal framework that allowed local partners to create Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) under Law 88/1999. The RDAs were to be initiated by coalitions of local municipalities and other local public and private partners in order to take on regional projects aimed at economic development (Syrett & Silva 2001). However, the RDAs received no financial support and, despite some strong support at the local level, their influence was limited.

Repeated attempts to establish a regional government with significant and lasting authority have so far all failed. The Metropolitan Areas of Lisbon and Porto created by the government in 1991 lacked the political authority to effectively tackle the challenges of metropolitan governance. Instead of autonomous authorities with directly elected leadership, the Metropolitan Areas were *mandatory associations* of municipalities, whose decisions would depend on the ability and willingness of member municipalities to reach mutual agreement (Oliveira 2009). Without sufficient mechanisms to incentivize cooperation, the Metropolitan Areas could not address any issues of major importance. Another failed attempt to create a regional authority came in 1998, when the government held a referendum on the issue. The initiative would have created regional authorities with power defined by the government, but voters rejected the proposal (Rosa Pires 2005).

The government elected in 2002 took a different approach to decentralization. Instead of relying on formally defined administrative regions like the weak Metropolitan Areas of 1991, the new strategy promoted voluntary inter-municipal cooperation. The resulting legislation (Law Decree 10/2003) created two new metropolitan associations: the Grandes Áreas Metropolitanas (GAMs) and Urban Communities (UrbCom). Under a complicated set of guidelines, municipalities would voluntarily associate with a particular GAM or UrbCom. However, the reluctance of municipalities to grant these associations with decision-making authority or stable financing greatly constrained their reach (Nelson 2008). Furthermore, because they were created *on top of* the Metropolitan Area Associations, with whom they were supposed to co-exist, critics complained that the added complexity merely exacerbated the problems of inter-municipal governance (Oliveira 2009). Ultimately, limited political legitimacy and financial support meant that the actual capacity of the new organizations lagged far behind the extensive planning tasks they promised to undertake (Silva & Syrett 2006; Oliveira 2009; Nelson 2008).

⁶ For examples of other inter-municipality and regional initiatives, see Salvador et al. (2000) and Silva & Syrett (2006).

The legislation of 2008 (Law Decree 46/2008), intended to address the inadequacies of previous efforts, replaced the 2003 law, and re-established the Metropolitan Areas of Lisbon and Porto (AML and AMP, respectively) as mandatory associations which still rely on municipalities to delegate authority.⁷ The law also sets the framework in which municipalities can form associations for specific purposes. However, in practice the Metropolitan Areas hold very few substantial responsibilities.

Actors in the Portuguese Planning System

The following sections introduce the main actors in the Portuguese planning system relevant to transport and urban revitalization. A summary of organizations can be found in Table 5-1.

Central government

Despite decades of decentralization initiatives, the central government still retains significant power over most sectors and arguably remains the most influential player in the planning and development of cities. Although land use plans are prepared at the local level, pivotal large scale projects—such as the Vasco da Gama Bridge, the Expo'98 project, and Lisbon's new international airport—have been driven principally by the interests of national ministries, especially in Lisbon.

DGOTDU – Directorate General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development (Direcção-Geral do Ordenamento do Território e Desenvolvimento Urbano)

At the national level, responsibility for planning and urban development policy lies with DGOTDU (pronounced de-GOT-DU). DGOTDU sits within the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning (*Ministério do Ambiente e do Ordenamento do Território, MAOT*).

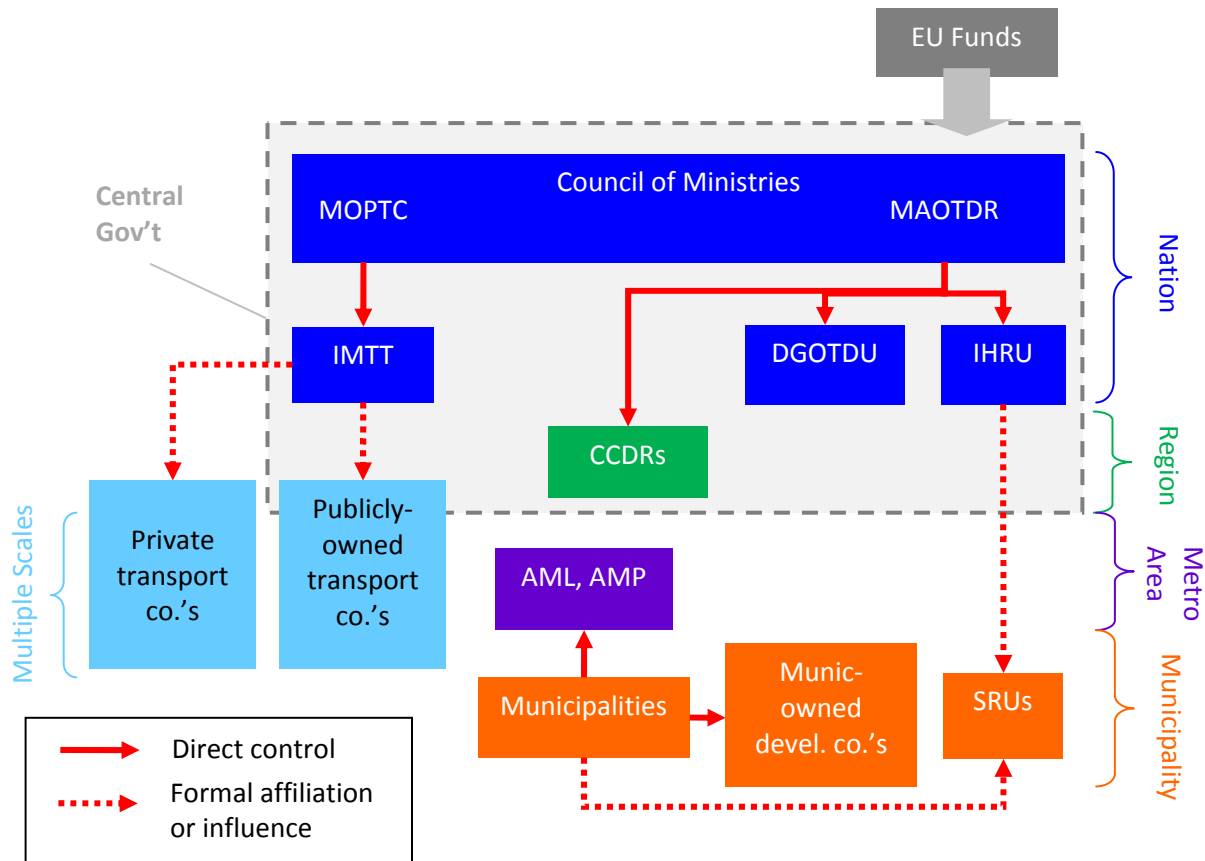
Unobvious from outside its modern office tower on Lisbon's Campo Grande, the agency has seen its size and responsibility diminish in recent years. Up until 2007, every local plan—master plans and detailed plans—required approval from DGOTDU, ostensibly to ensure consistency with the national plan. The change in law in 2007 transferred the responsibility for review away from DGOTDU to regional branches of the central government, the CCDRs, although Municipal Master Plans (PDMs) are still subject to DGOTDU's review if the CCDR finds them incompatible with regional plans. As of 2007, DGOTDU's responsibilities include contributing to national policy with respect to urban planning; monitoring and evaluating the state of spatial planning in Portugal, and providing regulatory and technical support in the realm of land management, promoting coordination between various sectors and agencies, and maintaining a national geographical information system.

⁷ Outside of Lisbon and Porto, organization takes the form of Inter-Municipal Communities (CIMs).

Table 5-1: Summary of organizations and responsibilities

| Agency | Responsibilities | Spatial Scope | Spatial planning responsibility |
|--|--|----------------------|---|
| DGOTDU | Contribute to national policy on land use and territorial development. Monitor and evaluate state of spatial planning. Provide regulatory and technical support for land management. Promote coordination between various sectors and agencies. | Nation | PNPOT Review PDMs when they potentially conflict with the PROT |
| IHRU | Oversee implementation of policy in housing and urban revitalization Implement urban revitalization projects and manage social housing Contribute to national policy on urban revitalization and housing | Nation | |
| CCDR | Promote regional development and strategic planning. Implement programs relating to regional development. Coordinate projects and service provision at the regional level. Contribute to preservation and enhancement of the environment. Monitor and evaluate environmental impacts of development. Manage disbursement of EU funds to projects in the region. | Region (NUTS II) | PROT Review municipal plans (PDMs, PUs and PPs) |
| IMTT | Oversee and regulate the provision of land transportation , by managing concessions to transport operators | Nation | |
| Metropolitan Areas | Officially, coordinate public investment and services between municipalities. Coordinate administrative tasks. Maintain a geographic information database | Metropolitan area | No official plans, but create a metro strategic plan |
| AMTs | Transport planning and service coordination Promote public transit and coordination with land use plans Oversee transport service contracts Monitor and evaluate transit performance | Metropolitan area | Mobility plan (as yet undefined) |
| Municipal governments | Provide municipal public services and infrastructure Promote territorial develop and prepare land use plans Construct and maintain local transportation infrastructure | Municipality | PDM, PUs and PPs |
| SRUs | Implement urban rehabilitation projects Coordinate with relevant stakeholders | Sub-municipality | Detail plans for urban rehabilitation |
| Municipal-owned development companies | [varies but typically:] Undertake public development projects Manage local social housing provision | Municipality | Detail plans |
| Transport operators | Plan and operate public transportation services Construct and maintain transportation infrastructure (sometimes) | Various | No official plans – plans created as needed |

Figure 5-2: Actors in the Portuguese governance system with respect to land use and transportation



IHRU - Institute of Housing and Urban Rehabilitation (Instituto da Habitação e Reabilitação Urbana)

The IHRU oversees the implementation of government policy in the areas of housing and urban regeneration, under the direction of the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning. In a move recognizing the primacy of urban revitalization goals in the housing sector, the IHRU was formed in 2006 from a merger of three national offices in charge of housing, management of heritage, and national monuments. This relatively young agency has broad responsibility in the realm of urban development. Specific duties include developing plans for housing and urban rehabilitation, facilitating new legislation and regulations, researching new models of intervention, certifying housing and rehabilitation projects, and coordinating related financial instruments. In addition, the agency has authority to regulate the supply of developed residential land, to own and manage land used for public housing, to enter into public-private agreements, and to oversee its own finances, including borrowing money and issuing bonds (Decree Law 223/2007). In the four years since its inception, the IHRU has been developing a rapidly evolving array of programs and initiatives. These include the Critical Neighborhoods Initiative (*Iniciativa Bairros Críticos, IBC*) and the Partnerships for Urban Rehabilitation (*Parceiras para a Reabilitação Urbana, PRU*), which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

IMTT – Institute of Mobility and Land Transport (Instituto da Mobilidade e dos Transportes Terrestres)

In Portugal, the central government's role in transportation includes the regulation of public transport operators. Through the IMTT, the government contracts provision of public transportation to individual transport operators, which may be either state-owned enterprises or private companies. The IMTT regulates the contract process by setting fares, certifying companies, and granting them permission to operate in defined areas (Nelson 2008).

CCDR – Regional Coordination and Development Commission (Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional)

Assigned to regional areas but controlled by the central government, each of the five CCDRs oversees urban planning activities in its respective NUTS II region. The government formed the CCDRs in 2007 by merging the former Region Coordination Commissions (CCRs) with the Environment Regional Offices (DRAOTs) and transferred some of the main responsibilities from DGO/TDU to the new agencies. As established by Decree Law 134/2007, the CCDR has responsibility for promoting planning, implementing programs, and coordinating projects and service provision at the regional level. It must create and maintain a regional development plan (called the Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território, or PROT), which should be consistent with the national development plan. Perhaps most significantly, the CCDR is charged with reviewing and modifying the Master Plans (PDMs), as well as more detailed plans (Urbanization Plans (PUs), and Detail Plans (PPs), of constituent municipalities to ensure they are consistent with national strategic plans (Portaria n.º 1474/2007). The CCDR also manages the administration of structural and cohesion funds from the European Union, as discussed later in this chapter. In fact, approximately 30-40% of the CCDRs' funding comes from the EU; the remainder comes from the central government (Nelson 2008).

The government created the CCDRs in the context of the national discussion around decentralization, but it is important to understand that the CCDR is a division of the central government, not an independent regional authority. Still, by focusing on a regional area, the CCDRs can bring to planning issues a greater awareness of the local reality than the previously remote DGO/TDU. The 2007 legislation also gave municipalities some power in the nomination of CCDR executive board members, although the central government holds ultimate power over appointments (Silva & Syrett 2006).

Metropolitan Areas

As part of the decentralization initiative, the legislation of 1991 created the Lisbon and Porto Metropolitan Areas (AML and AMP, respectively), which originally included 18 municipalities in Lisbon and 9 in Porto (Alden & da Rosa Pires 1996).⁸ The legislation of 2008 (Decree Law 46/2008) revised the constitution and responsibilities of the Metropolitan Areas; for example, it enlarged the Porto area to 16 municipalities. Both of these metropolitan associations are mandatory associations of municipalities in which representatives to the association are nominated by the municipalities (Oliveira 2009).

The Metropolitan Area Associations hold responsibility for promoting and coordinating planning activities in environmental, economic, and social aspects (DL 46/2008). They are supposed to coordinate public

⁸ The Lisbon originally had 18 municipalities; Odivelas became its own municipality in 1998.

investment, inter-municipal service provision, and action between the municipality and the central government. However, the municipalities retain direct control over these sectors and therefore the influence of the Metropolitan Area remains contingent upon the cooperation of the municipalities. Importantly, the Metropolitan Area lacks the ability to raise taxes and depends entirely on funds from the state and the municipalities. With such weak political and financial authority, the Metropolitan Areas' activities have been largely limited to consolidation of administrative tasks, management of cultural and social programs, and maintenance of a geographic information database.

AMTs – Metropolitan Transport Authorities (Autoridades Metropolitanas de Transportes)

In response to the lack of coordination in public transportation provision in the major urban areas—which has resulted in service inefficiencies and confusing fare systems—legislation in 2003 defined metropolitan-level agencies to coordinate services. However, these agencies were never implemented in practice and the legislation was replaced by Decree Law 1/2009, which established Metropolitan Transport Authorities (*Autoridades Metropolitanas de Transportes*) in Lisbon (AMTL) and Porto (AMTP). According to the 2009 legislation, the agencies are to develop a metropolitan mobility plan, coordinate services between each area's various transport operators, undertake activities to promote transit, oversee and enforce contracts, promote coordination with land use plans, and monitor and evaluate transit performance. The law describes a broad role for the agencies; however, its vagueness about funding sources casts doubt whether they will have the political and financial authority to effectively fill that role (Nunes da Silva 2010; Teixeira 2010). Without control over funding to be allocated to the organizations it is supposed to oversee, the AMTs will have little means to enforce their decisions. Since the AMTs have not yet begun to operate, it is still unclear whether they will have the capacity to carry out their formal responsibilities.

Municipal level

Municipal government

Since the 1976 Constitution, most local responsibilities have rested with the municipal level of government. Subsequent decentralization reforms in the 1990s and in the early 2000s further expanded the range of competency of municipal governments, granting them authority over any action which benefits the well-being of residents (Silva & Syrett 2006). Municipal governments have the ability to issue taxes, a power reserved only for the municipal and central governments. Approximately half of the municipality's revenue comes from local taxes, mostly property taxes (Nelson 2008).

Each municipal government in Portugal consists of two legislative bodies, the municipal chamber (*câmara municipal*) and the municipal assembly. The elected body of the *câmara* is composed of a mayor and several locally elected councilors (*vereadores*) who serve four-year terms. Beneath the elected officials are a number of sectoral departments which hold responsibility for activities such as maintenance of public infrastructure, provision of social services, promotion of economic development, etc. Municipal regulations and policies must be approved by the Municipal Assembly, which is composed of the presidents of each constituent parish council (*junta da freguesia*).

Figure 5-3: Municipalities in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area



Concentrations of population are shown in red.

Source: (INE 2001)

Development plans are prepared within the Câmara and are subject to approval by the Municipal Assembly. Although each municipality has a different organizational structure, preparation of plans and other planning activities usually takes place within a department of urban planning, which often has separate divisions for land use and mobility. Usually, responsibility for construction, operation, and maintenance of roads and other transportation facilities resides in a separate department of public ways (*via pública*).

The mayor holds little direct authority, but offers a highly visible and important platform for his or her vision and agenda. With access to powerful figures in the central government, the mayor of Lisbon holds one of the most prominent positions in the nation, extending its sphere of influence far beyond the municipal boundaries of Lisbon. However, the fact that the mayor's constituency includes only the city of Lisbon creates potential conflicts with surrounding municipalities (Silva & Syrett 2006).

Municipal public enterprises

Municipalities can choose to set up public companies to manage specific duties. These enterprises maintain autonomy over management, but are fully owned and controlled by the municipality. Specific contract arrangements vary, but these companies are generally empowered to manage their own finances—with municipal government oversight—and sometimes can raise revenue through service fees or rents, although the discretion to set fees or prices depends on the specific contract terms (Law 53/2006). Some are designed to be self-sufficient; others receive subsidies from the municipality. In many cities, especially larger ones, a public company oversees at least part of the development of public infrastructure, buildings, and public space interventions. Maintenance of public property and infrastructure sometimes falls under the responsibility of a municipal company.

EPUL (*Empresa Pública de Urbanização de Lisboa*). Lisbon's public development company, EPUL, stands out for its active influence in the city's real estate market. The municipality of Lisbon established EPUL in 1971 to direct the study, construction, and financial management of urban development and revitalization projects. The company undertakes development projects that are in the public interest but that are not pursued by private developers either because they are only marginally profitable or because they involve high risk. In practice, Lisbon uses EPUL's projects to provide lower-cost housing and as "pioneers" to spark private building in under-developed parts of the city, which may be on the periphery, on old industrial sites, or in historic areas (Saavedra 2010).

Public-private partnerships

Economic restructuring beginning in the 1990s has resulted in a proliferation of public-private partnerships, which have taken on a variety of activities in transport, real estate, and economic development. Initiatives in urban redevelopment have made particularly heavy use of public-private partnerships. In one of the most high-profile, the Expo'98 partnership involved collaboration between a lead development firm, other private developers, the city of Lisbon, and other relevant public agencies.

Municipal associations

Adding further complexity to the metropolitan governance picture are the municipal associations, which, in Lisbon at least, have emerged as significant players as well. Faced with common cross-boundary issues, municipalities may create multilateral partnerships specifically to promote common interests or provide certain services. Generally formed in a bottom-up, as-needed process, these associations often do not conform to other defined jurisdictional lines. For example, the AMAGAS association manages a natural gas network that supplies its eleven member municipalities around Lisbon. By contrast, the AMRS (*Associação dos Municípios do Região de Setúbal*) formed through a partnership of eleven municipalities around Setúbal for the general promotion of the region's interests. The AMRS has taken on a broad range of issues and, in an attempt to coordinate them, has created a regional strategic plan (AMRS 2010).

SRUs – Urban Rehabilitation Companies (Sociedades de Reabilitação Urbana)

Legislation in 2004 enabled the creation of SRUs, a special form of municipal enterprise charged specifically with promoting coordinating efforts at urban revitalization within each city. Law 104/2004 sets the framework for municipalities to establish SRUs; this enables the possibility for municipal governments to grant SRUs broad powers, including authority over expropriations within the area of intervention, the ability to issue construction licenses and permits, authority to direct resettlement programs, and responsibility for managing rehabilitation projects. The law also specifies the planning instruments with which the SRUs are to carry out their initiatives; namely, with strategic plans and detail plans (*planos pormenores*). The particular powers, structure, and approach of each SRU vary by city; for instance, Porto's SRU can issue construction permits but the SRU of Vila Nova de Gaia cannot.

Transport operators

The public and private companies that provide passenger transport service play a highly influential role in urban development. Public transportation may be operated by private companies, state-owned enterprises, or municipal enterprises. The transport sector is regulated by the IMTT, but once transport companies have been established, they function with a good deal of autonomy. In practice, provision of good service depends on a good working relationship with municipalities, and transport companies negotiate with municipalities and other relevant public agencies as the need arises. In establishing new services, the government may propose new areas and routes and then contract the service to a provider; alternatively, a company can bring a proposal for new service to the government for approval. In extensions of existing service, the provider usually drafts plans for expansion while informally working with the relevant municipality.

Inter-city rail is provided by the state-owned enterprise Comboios de Portugal (CP). In Lisbon and Porto, CP operates suburban commuter rail services, which are overseen by the branches CP Lisboa and CP Porto.

In the Lisbon area, the state-owned enterprise Carris operates bus and tram networks in Lisbon with some service in Odivelas and Amadora. Like other state-owned transport enterprises, it has an exclusive monopoly over its service area. The Metropolitano de Lisboa, another state-owned enterprise, provides underground metro service in Lisbon, Amadora, and Odivelas, with tentative future plans to expand into Loures. Across the Tagus River, the Metro Transportes do Sul (MTS) provides light rail service in Almada and Seixal, with plans to expand to neighboring Barreiro. The government granted MTS, a private company, the concession contract in 2002 and service began only recently, in 2007. A handful of bus companies, two ferries, and a suburban rail service also provide transport in the greater Lisbon area. Of these, only one—the bus company of Barreiro—is publicly owned.

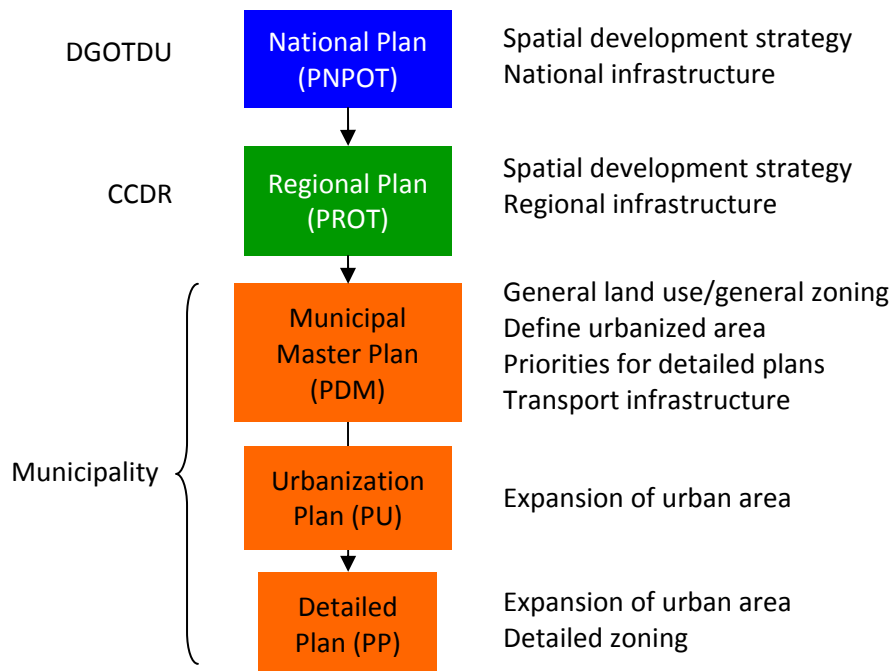
In the Porto area, the state-owned enterprise Sociedade de Transportes Colectivos do Porto (STCP) provides bus service in Porto. Private companies operate bus service throughout the greater metropolitan area. The Porto light rail system, Metro do Porto, opened in 2006 and currently serves Porto, Matosinhos, Vila Nova de Gaia, and Maia. Shares of Metro do Porto belong to the central government and the AMP, with minor stakes held by STCP, CP, and the municipal councils in the metropolitan area.

Official Planning Framework and Planning Instruments

Urban and regional planners in Portugal work within a system characterized by a high degree of formal rationality, with national law defining an orderly hierarchy of plans coordinated by fixed procedures. The existing planning framework follows the structure set up by the 1998 Territorial Planning and Urban

Development Base Act, with subsequent additions in 1999, 2003, and 2007 (Law Decrees 48/98, 380/1999, 310/2003, and 54/2007 respectively). In many ways, the formal system works to introduce rationality and predictability into the urban development process. In reality though, the planning process is still a political one, and does not always proceed exactly as prescribed by law. Figure 5-4 shows the basic spatial planning framework and Table 5-2 summarizes the different types of plans.

Figure 5-4: The Portuguese spatial planning framework



PNPOT - National Policy on Town and Country Planning (Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território)

At the broadest spatial scale, the national plan (PNPOT, *Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território*) sets an overarching strategy for spatial development of the country. The PNPOT defines broad strategic objectives for the next approximately 20 years in terms of economic development, urban development, land management, infrastructure provision, and public services. Objectives of the current PNPOT include, among others, reinforcing Portugal’s economic competitiveness, promoting polycentric urban development, maintaining and enhancing biodiversity, and supporting social cohesion (Law 58/2007). To achieve these objectives, the plan outlines action priorities for the central government, considering four possible types of action: legislation; strategic planning; information, evaluation, and coordination; administration and execution. The current PNPOT suggests many specific actions but does not set quantitative targets for the objectives.

In theory, the PNPOT provides a strategic framework for plans at the regional and local levels. Compared with the regional and local plans, which consider land use, the PNPOT focuses more generally on strengthening the country’s competitiveness and on balancing disparities between regions in Portugal.

Table 5-2: Planning instruments in the Portuguese spatial planning system

| | PNPOT | PROT | PDM | UP and PP |
|--|---|--|---|---|
| Authority responsible | DGOTDU | CCDR | Municipality | Municipality |
| Plan Type | Strategic | Strategic Regional land use (indicative) | Development strategy Land use/zoning | Land use/zoning Urban design |
| Geographic scope | Nation | NUTS II Region | Municipality | Neighborhood (10 to ~100 ha.) |
| Thematic scope | Environment Economy Urban development Social cohesion | Environment Economy Urban development Land Use Social cohesion | Urban development Environment, heritage, social needs as they relate to land use | Land use Urban design |
| Typical content | Sets national strategy and objectives Defines action priorities | Sets regional strategy and objectives Defines areas for development, infrastructure, environmental preservation | Defines urban and rural areas Defines general land uses and zoning requirements | Site design, land use |
| Responsibility for implementation and enforcement | Government, through relevant ministries | CCDR, through ensuring consistency of PDMs, UPs, and PPs | Municipality, through public works, public development, and issuing of building permits | Municipality, through public works, public development, and issuing of building permits |
| Links with other plans | Takes precedence over all other plans; all other plans must be consistent | Must be consistent with PNPOT PDM, PU, and PPs must be consistent with PROT | CCDR reviews to ensure consistency with PROT. Must be consistent with PNPOT (DGOTDU reviews in some cases). Can prioritize PUs and PPs. | Must follow PDM. CCDR reviews to ensure consistency with PROT. |

Sources: Laws 48/98, 45/2007, 58/2007, CML (2008), Government of Portugal (2008)

PROT – Regional Spatial Management Plans (Planos Regionais de Ordenamento do Território)

Below the national level, the PROT presents a vision for the region in terms of economic, environmental, social, and territorial strategy. The plan then outlines a plan of territorial development that considers these broad strategies; it identifies important ecological features, areas for concentrated development, transport connections, and location of regional infrastructure projects. The PROT therefore indicates the areas within the region to be preserved and the areas in which to direct new development and investment. However, the plan does not specify detailed land uses or policy actions.

As specified in the legislation of 1998, each CCDR prepares the PROT for its region, in consultation with municipalities and other stakeholders (Law 48/98). The PROT must be consistent with the national plan, the PNPT. The CCDR has authority over the whole of the NUTS II region, but sometimes the regional plans cover a subsection of this territory; in Lisbon the PROT-AML, enacted in 2002, covers the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon and the PROT-OVT, which is now in the elaboration process, will cover the West and Tagus Valley area (OVT).

Ideally, the PROT sets the framework for the elaboration of municipal plans. However, when the PROT was officially established in 1998, municipalities already had PDMs that had been in effect for several years. Therefore, in actuality, the first PROTs were prepared to fit the existing municipal plans. However, revisions of the PDMs must now be consistent with the PROT, a requirement enforced by the CCDR's approval of PDMs. The CCDRs' authority to ensure that PDMs (and PUs and PPs) are consistent with the regional land use strategy serves as the primary mechanism for implementation of PROT. The CCDR also uses the PROT as a guide to determine priorities for investment co-financed by the EU's structural and cohesion funds. In practice, the PROT plays an important role in articulating a strategic vision for each region, but its lack of specificity leaves the CCDR and municipalities with considerable discretion in interpreting its provisions (Carter & Nunes da Silva 2001). For example, the PROT defines nodes for more concentrated development, but does not specify what qualifies as concentrated development.

The PDM – Municipal Master Plan (Plano Director Municipal)

Predating the 1998 base law, legislation of 1982 declared the *Plano Director Municipal* (PDM) the official plan for the municipal level (Law 208/82). Along with later revisions (Laws 380/99 and 316/2007), the law specifies the content of the PDM and the precise procedure for its preparation, implementation, and revision. Each municipal government prepares its own PDM, which covers the entire municipal territory. The plan sets out an overall strategy for development, which defines:

- the allowable extent of future urbanization, by designating urban and rural land
- general activities and parameters for each area (e.g. proportion of residential, commercial, and industrial use)
- important ecological structures
- important public spaces and green spaces
- transportation networks
- other major public facilities

The plan also sets a schedule for municipal investment and priorities for preparation of more detailed plans. The PDM considers economic, social and environmental issues insofar as they relate to land use; for example, the plan can call for preservation of heritage sites or designate areas for targeted economic development say, in the high-tech industry. In defining transport networks, the PDM defines the location of infrastructure over which the municipality has control, like municipal streets. For facilities owned by other entities, the PDM must be consistent with those plans of those entities.

Plans generally define a typology of land uses and then define specific development requirements for each use. The law does not limit the level of detail that the PDM may include, and plans have become increasingly detailed (Carter & Nunes da Silva 2001). The current PDM for Lisbon, for instance, specifies physical standards such as building height, building alignment, use of space (i.e. residential, commercial, or industrial), and maximum floor area ratios (CML 2008). The Lisbon plan also establishes parking requirements for different land uses, as well as a hierarchy for streets in the road network, although it leaves the design of streets to the PU (CML 2008).

By law, the process of PDM preparation follows a formal, strictly defined procedure. Officially, in the elaboration process the municipality should consult all the relevant stakeholders, such as transport agencies, regional agencies, and neighboring municipalities. In the consultation, the municipality presents a stakeholder with a proposed plan, then the stakeholder reviews the proposal and sends written comments, which should then be incorporated into the final plan. Law also requires public participation, in the form of a public review between the stage of plan preparation and its approval. The final plan must then be ratified by the municipal assembly and, once ratified, becomes binding law. Subsequent PUs and PPs can introduce minor variances at the site-level, such as the adjustment in the boundaries of defined areas, but the official PDM can only be modified through a formal revision process, essentially a repeat of the above steps. After the plan is ratified, the municipality and the CCDR are responsible for enforcing its provisions; any non-conforming public or private construction is considered illegal and may be subject to fines. The actions of the municipality—its public investments, infrastructure interventions, granting of private development permits—must also follow the provisions set in the plan.

Most importantly, although the PDM officially requires coordination of plans between relevant actors, in practice, the legally prescribed process discourages real collaboration. In preparation of the PDM, the law requires municipalities to incorporate feedback from relevant stakeholders, but these stakeholders review the document only after it has already been prepared. There are no provisions in the law to involve stakeholders in early phases of the plan's preparation. While the law does not prohibit additional collaboration, the strictly defined procedures of the PDM process discourage any amount of innovation, as it would add to an already long and cumbersome process. Moreover, the strictly defined process puts planners in a mindset of following procedures rather than approach problems with a more innovative perspective.

In terms of urban development, the PDM is the most influential in the set of planning tools, for a number of reasons. First, its legal basis has been established for years, giving it near universal political legitimacy. Further legitimacy comes from the fact that its process and content is relatively uniform across municipalities. Because the plan cannot easily be changed, and because the municipality has the authority necessary to implement and enforce it, the PDM provides predictability and stability in the development process. It covers a wide spatial area, but does so at a fairly specific level of detail—and with a schedule of investment and development projects, actors can clearly understand the implications. Still, although the PDM closely

dictates the process of actual development, and although the municipality has strong enforcement authority, as Carter and Nunes da Silva (2001) point out, this does not always preclude informal, politically motivated decisions which may either bypass the official process or involve creative interpretation of the plan.

PU and PP – Urbanization Plan (*Plano Urbanização*) and Detail Plan (*Plano Promenor*)

At the neighborhood and site scale, the Urbanization Plan and the Detail Plan allow municipalities to set out plans for development at a greater level of detail than in the PDM. The PDM identifies areas which need greater planning and design consideration and sets priorities for elaborating PUs and PPs for these areas, which range from about 10 to 100 hectares. Urbanization Plans (PUs) focus on parts of the city which are to be newly urbanized and lays out a street network, street design standards, land use for each parcel, and parameters for each type of land use (e.g. density, building height, compatible use criteria, and parking requirements). Detail Plans (PPs) elaborate concrete proposals for the development of specific sites, specifying land use, urban design guidelines, and schedule for implementation (Law 316/2007). New developments and/or subdivisions must be included on a PU or PP before the municipality can grant construction permits. Both PUs and PPs must be approved by the relevant CCDR (Law 54/2007).

Other plans

The planning system allows for sector-specific plans (PSIT, or *Planos Sectoriais com Incidência Territorial*) and other special planning instruments (PEOT, *Planos Especiais de Ordenamento do Território*), which apply to particular sectors and circumstances. For example, the National Roadway Plan (PRN, *Plano Rodoviário Nacional*) lays out new road infrastructure in Portugal.

International Influences

European Structural and Cohesion Funds

The entrance of Portugal into the European Union in 1986 has significantly influenced urban development in the country, particularly with the introduction of funding for a wide variety of projects, from large-scale infrastructure investment to modest neighborhood-level pilot projects. The availability of funding in connection with EU programs has not only affected development on the ground, but has also induced changes in the planning framework, as new structures were set up to coordinate the delivery of funding (Silva & Syrett 2006). To understand the importance of European programs for Portugal's planning system, it is helpful to present some background on the objectives of Structural and Cohesion Funds.

In broad terms, the EU's community cohesion strategy seeks to promote evenly distributed economic and social development across Europe in order to achieve a universally high standard of living and to ensure social stability. The EU defines three separate but related funds intended for development of member countries: The European Fund for Regional Development (EFRD), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the Cohesion Fund. These funds are directed toward three objectives (see Table 5-3):

- (1) Convergence: to achieve greater parity between less-developed states or areas and more-developed ones.
- (2) Regional Competitiveness and Employment: to increase economic competitiveness, programs promote economic change through innovation, advancement of the knowledge economy, protection of the environment, and improvement in accessibility.

- (3) European Territorial Cooperation: to build and strengthen ties across national and regional borders, by promoting collaborative projects and cross-border knowledge exchange (European Commission 2008).

Table 5-3: EU objectives associated financed by Structural and Cohesion Funds

| Objective | Structural Funds | | Cohesion Fund |
|---|------------------|-----|---------------|
| | ERDF | ESF | |
| Convergence | x | x | x |
| Regional Competitiveness and Employment | x | x | |
| European Territorial Cooperation | x | | |

Source: (European Commission 2008)

The North region in Portugal, which includes Porto, benefits from funds under the Convergence objective (since its per capita 2000 GDP was below 75% of the EU average). Lisbon benefits from the Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective. All regions in Portugal are also eligible for at least one category of European Territorial Cooperation funds. In the 2007-2013 period, Portugal will receive a total of €21.5 billion—over 3% of the country’s GDP—with the majority designated for the Convergence objective (European Commission 2008).

Each member state prepares framework for the delivery of EU structural and cohesion funds called the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF). In the framework, the member state defines a development strategy and a proposed list of programs, which it will use to guide implementation of the funds. The NSRF of Portugal—in Portuguese, QREN (*Quadro de Referência Estratégico Nacional*)—closely reflects the three objectives of official EU policy. Of the three areas of intervention defined in the QREN, the most relevant here is the “Territorial Enhancement Agenda,” which focuses on urban policy, advancement of accessibility and mobility, and infrastructure for social cohesion (Observatório do QCA II 2007). In relation to the legal Portuguese framework for spatial planning described earlier, the QREN exists as an additional element that connects supra-national policies with the national development strategy.

The Portuguese government has designated the CCDRs as the entity responsible for the delivery and application of EU funds dedicated to regions for urban and territorial development, a pivotal role which has raised the profile of these agencies. In accordance with the guidelines for the particular program, the CCDR reviews project proposals from municipalities, oversees the selection process, manages disbursement of the funds, and monitors implementation.

Of the many programs supported by EU funding, the Interreg initiative, which aims to promote cooperation across national and regional borders in the EU, has been particularly influential in sparking innovative urban projects in Portugal. Originally conceived to help member states overcome the barriers of national boundaries as they joined the European community, the initiative funds programs centered on transnational and interregional collaboration (European Commission 2008). In practice, the initiative has funded projects aimed at enhancing mobility, quality of the urban environment, and other issues affecting cities.

Conclusion

As described in the previous sections, the most powerful actors in the Portuguese planning arena are the municipalities and the central government. The municipality—as the most stable political unit, manager of the PDM, beneficiary of local taxes, and head of municipal enterprises, as well as important political supporter of national politicians—wields wide-ranging power over the development of its territory. The central government, where legal authority originates, also holds considerable power over urban development through its national plan, through the CCDRs, and through legislation and direct infrastructural investment. At the same time, other actors play important roles; transport operators benefit from autonomy and relatively uncoordinated governmental regulation and the European Union exerts influence through its large financial contribution.

As many observers have pointed out, the failure to establish a regional government structure with any significant authority has had consequences for the development of cities, leading to sprawl, urban decline, and inefficiencies in services and transport (Silva & Syrett 2006; Carter & Nunes da Silva 2001; Syrett & Silva 2001). Because fundamental power remains vested in the municipal and national governments, the repeated efforts to institutionalize an inter-municipal scope of planning have lacked force.

Although the formal system of planning is rigid and highly regulated, the literature points to the existence of some spaces of flexibility and informality. Silva and Syrett (2006) document, for example, the emergence of a number of self-organizing political actors at the inter-municipality level. Carter and Nunes da Silva (2001) refer to instances of informal political bargaining occurring outside the official process. On the other hand, Alden and Pires (1996) present a view of the planning system as rational and effective, applauding municipal planning initiatives in Lisbon for being “efficient,” with a “clear direction.” So how flexible is the system, in reality, and how does it treat the imperative to balance flexibility with predictability? And how responsive is it to actual needs of the metropolitan area, as opposed to interests of individual municipalities?

As Silva and Syrett (2006) suggest, the planning system is growing more complex and layered, which is introducing both flexibility and more challenges for coordination. The introduction of EU-funded programs, attempts at regional governance, and a profusion of public-private partnerships indicate some movement in this direction, yet municipalities and the state retain the vast amount of power. Most notably, although many inter-municipal partnerships have emerged in service provision areas like waste collection, water supply and economic development, the one area where there is a noticeable lack of these types of partnerships is in transportation and land use planning (Silva & Syrett 2006). Why are agencies working together in some cases, but not in land use and transportation? What are the incentives and disincentives for doing so? What could change this situation? The next chapter will address these questions, drawing from examples in the Portuguese context.

Chapter 6 Collaboration in Portuguese Governance Today: Four Exploratory Cases

Those involved in planning in Portugal widely agree that uncoordinated plans and policies create a major problem for Portuguese urban areas (Silva & Syrett 2006; Carter & Nunes da Silva 2001; Oliveira 2009). However, like the wide literature on policy integration (Stead & Meijers 2009; May et al. 2006) the discussion focuses narrowly on describing the barriers to coordination, without offering insights into ways around these barriers. Characterization of the problem is clearly a first step, but at this point a more useful discussion will instead turn toward understanding forces that could actually lead to more coordinated plans and policy. Indeed, even if a lack of collaboration predominates, certainly at least some instances of collaboration exist. By examining these instances, and the conditions and factors that lead to them, we can better understand how to achieve greater collaboration in the future.

This chapter investigates examples of where collaboration does occur, drawing mainly from the interviews conducted as part of this study. As a whole the interviews revealed many examples of collaboration, although these examples were not necessarily typical. Out of these, I have selected four to highlight as exploratory case studies. They are not systematic case studies, so they are not necessarily representative of the overall context and we must take caution in generalizing from them to the larger situation. Still, these examples can be instructive in revealing forces that contribute to collaboration, and identifying important places for further research. In the following sections, I describe the conventional wisdom's typical narrative, present the four exploratory cases, and draw some general conclusions about how collaboration occurs in the Portuguese context.

The Narrative of Fragmentation: “Each Municipality Does Its Own Thing.”

With respect to the Portuguese planning system, the literature and opinions of practitioners have promulgated a narrative of fragmented governance and inconsistent regional policies. This narrative suggests that, without a regional coordinating authority, municipal governments act in isolation and out of their own self interest, competing for residents and resources. Transport agencies act on their own, with no mechanism to integrate transportation decisions with land use policy. According to the story, the various agencies do not talk to each other, nor are they interested in talking to each other. The result, supposedly, is chaotic and inefficient urban development across the metropolitan region.

Interviews with practitioners, discussions in the SOTUR workshops, and criticism in the academic literature all confirm the reach of this view of the planning system. In the first SOTUR workshop, where participants identified factors contributing to urban revitalization problems, discussions repeatedly centered on the lack of coordination in planning—particularly lack of inter-municipal coordination. All of the groups discussed some variant of this theme, listing factors such as “inadequate institutional integration,” “inconsistency among different initiatives,” “conflicts between local and national governments,” and “lack of future vision.” One group wrote, “public authorities tend to disaggregate the urban structure, putting different areas in competition.”

The practitioners interviewed for this study expressed similar frustrations about the lack of coordination and integration in the planning system. Virtually all the interviewees communicated a belief that municipalities and various agencies generally do not work together. According to one planner in a municipality, “We are all—the municipalities—are all neighbors to each other. But we don’t talk with each other.” Further, “Each city hall manages its own territory because we don’t have a consensus. The metropolitan area should have a spatial logic, but it does not.” Again and again, the planners I interviewed repeated the same story. Lack of coordination between transport agencies is an issue as well, as one transport official told me: “And who controls them [the transport agencies]? Nobody. Each one does everything he wants.”

The academic literature on the Portuguese planning system echoes the narrative of fragmentation. It often tells a story of competition between municipalities, irrational inconsistencies and inefficiencies between organizations. Balsas (2007) says that successful urban revitalization requires more inter-sectoral integration in management of city centers: "In Portugal, individualistic behaviors, lack of trust, pro-activity and vision, and 'turf wars' led to problems in creating these partnership management offices" (Balsas 2007, p.253). Carter and Nunes da Silva (2001) view the inconsistencies and lack of coordination between levels of government, particularly between municipal and national policies, as a major problem. Pereira and Nunes da Silva (2008) suggest that each municipality acts according to its own interest, with “*uma perspectiva egocentrada.*” Oliveira (n.d.)(2009) agrees that the model of voluntary coordination has not worked and the regional authority originally called for in the constitution should be instated.

These accounts of the narrative of fragmentation underscore how the lack of inter-agency coordination has impaired metropolitan planning. However, these accounts offer few useful suggestions for improving the situation. After elaborating on the lack of coordination, critics typically recommend creation of a metropolitan authority. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 5, the government’s repeated attempts to establish an effective metropolitan authority have all failed. Continued recommendations for a metropolitan authority do not contribute usefully to the discussion. Likewise, continued focus on the “barriers” to coordination, in the manner of May et al. (2006) and Stead and Meijers (2009), can help delineate the problem, but does not provide suggestions for a way forward. Continued contemplation of the barriers to coordination and the barriers to good planning outcomes is a conceptual dead end. Instead, we need to explore possible ways around these barriers.

A few authors have begun to approach the situation in Portugal from a different angle. Florentino (2007) criticizes the lack of coordination between municipalities, but does briefly acknowledge that the “informal practices of good collaborative initiatives between neighbourhood municipalities [sic]” are a potentially positive sign (Florentino 2007, p.17). Unfortunately, the article does not explore these “good collaborative initiatives” further. Silva and Syrett (2006), present a more nuanced view of the governance situation. Observing the emergence of new service-provision partnerships between local governments, the authors recognize that “overall, relationships between municipalities reflect a mixture of competition and cooperation,” (Silva & Syrett 2006, p.114). However, the authors suggest, these collaborative partnerships are too limited in number, scope, and geographic scale to address many larger problems facing metropolitan areas, the most serious of which is the lack of regional transportation strategy. Citing the lack of city-wide strategic vision and leadership—a direct result of the absence of a metropolitan authority—as the greatest challenge to urban governance, they argue for a strong metropolitan government. However, they fail to suggest how a stronger government might be achieved.

Silva and Syrett's (2006) analysis indicates hints of noteworthy exceptions to the dominant narrative of fragmentation, but it dismisses these exceptions as idiosyncratic and inconsequential. But perhaps these exceptions hold important clues for how collaboration actually emerges in the Portuguese context. It may be more fruitful to ask why these exceptions occur. What conditions and forces can explain the emergence of some instances of collaboration, and what can we learn from these cases?

Exceptions to the Narrative of Fragmentation

The dominant narrative of fragmentation—the view that the different municipalities, government agencies, and levels of government do not work together, that policies are inconsistent, that there is no metropolitan strategy—is not incorrect. Overall, these kinds of disjointed relationships do characterize urban governance in Portugal, at least to some degree. Public agencies, especially municipalities, do appear to face major difficulties in working together, resulting in the lack of a coherent metropolitan strategy or metropolitan enforcement. Yet the narrative of fragmentation does not tell the complete story, and to focus on the problems of fragmentation is to overlook important indications of change.

The counterbalance to the narrative of broad-scale fragmentation is a narrative of small-scale collaboration. Many accounts acknowledge instances of collaboration and coordination between actors; but authors usually dismiss these instances as isolated exceptions (Silva & Syrett 2006; Rosa Pires 2005; Florentino 2007). Yet a closer look at these supposedly idiosyncratic exceptions reveals that they are not random events, but products of systematic forces. Taken together, these cases provide insight into the state of inter-organizational relationships in the planning system. The following sections will follow the details of four such examples in order to highlight the key points at which the system may be ready for change.

Exploratory Case 1: The European Union's Interreg Program

The availability of European structural and cohesion funds for urban projects has not only increased investment in local infrastructure and services; it has also, in some cases, enabled municipalities to pursue innovative initiatives to improve the urban environment. The EU's Interreg program in particular has targeted local governments. By providing financial support and legitimacy to local governments that propose new projects, the Interreg program has provided an open avenue for municipalities to pursue projects and management arrangements that fall outside the usual formal framework prescribed by Portuguese planning law. It has also encouraged greater coordination between sectors. From the municipality's point of view, planners in Portugal have taken advantage of Interreg funding in order to undertake projects for which they already had ideas, but which were not possible under the Portuguese system.

The Interreg program falls under the European Regional Development Fund's (ERDF) objective of territorial cooperation. The program aims to promote inter-governmental collaboration between different regions in the European Union, with a focus on knowledge sharing and building inter-regional relationships. The program grants funds to inter-municipal partnerships for joint implementation of specific development projects for a wide and flexible range of target areas, including mobility, tourism, urban services, and business development. During the 2000-2006 period, Interreg programs across Europe received a combined budget allocation of €4.875 billion from ERDF and national contributions; programs that included mainland Portugal received €1.84 billion (Panteia 2009). Even though the program was designed primarily to encourage collaboration between cities in different member countries, it often involved partnerships between different municipalities within each country. The program also encourages "partnership between different administrative levels with socio-economic actors and relevant actors, following a "bottom up" approach,"

“complementarity” with other EU programs, and “a more integrated approach” in general (European Commission 2009a).

The Interreg program contains a number of sub-programs under different program objectives. (Appendix 12 shows the overall structure and budget allocation of the Interreg program.) The Interreg program so far has gone through four iterations; InterregIV refers to the current 2007-2013 period, but the InterregIII period from 2000-2006 has had the most noticeable impact on Portugal’s urban systems, so this will be the focus of this section. InterregIII funds projects based on three kinds of international relationships:

- Strand A: Cross-border (for countries that share a border). Under this strand, Portugal belongs to the Spain-Portugal program.
- Strand B: Trans-national (between defined groups of countries). Portugal belongs to the South West Europe, Atlantic Area, and Western Mediterranean programs.
- Strand C: Inter-regional (between countries in defined zones in Europe). Portugal belongs to the South Zone.

Many of the projects targeting mobility and urban issues in Portugal have been carried out under Strand C. In the 2000-2006 period, the South Zone program included 14 individual projects, with an average project budget of €14.7 million (Panteia 2009; LRDP, Ltd. 2003). Many of these projects—like MARE (Mobilité et Accessibilité Metropolitaine aux Régions Européennes), a €6 million project that funded mobility initiatives—were further divided into several sub-projects (European Commission 2009b).

In general, Interreg projects can have several partners from the same country. In Interreg IVC, which is for partnership across Europe, intra-country partnerships are not common, but the South Zone program of InterregIIIC included several such projects. For example, the TRAMO project involved a partnership between three Portuguese municipalities (Moita, Loures, and Barreiro), two Spanish cities and the Italian city of Genoa.

Interreg project development works as follows. If a municipal government (the lead agency) has an idea for a project, it prepares a project description and issues a call for partners, which is distributed through the CCDR to the managing entities in member countries. As the managing entities in Portugal, the CCDRs also receive project proposals from foreign municipalities and post the corresponding project descriptions to the CCDR website. Interested governments and other potential partners can then contact the lead agency and discuss forming a partnership. If the lead agency already has a potential partner in mind, it can also contact that potential partner directly; alternatively, the lead agency can directly contact the managing authorities in the countries with whom it would like to work. Some Interreg sub-programs set up specific mechanisms to exchange project ideas; Interreg IVC keeps a project database for agencies that are looking for either partners or projects. Interreg IVC also organizes regular forums at which representatives from agencies can meet and find partners.

Interreg sets out fairly precise regulations and recommendations for managing partnerships, including their formalization and legalization. Collaborations must designate a lead agency to manage the overall project and must define roles for financial management and other tasks; the program websites provide advice and examples to help parties prepare partnership agreements. Partnerships must be arranged prior to submittal of the project application (European Union 2009). Interreg documents, such as calls for proposals, generally

stress the importance of cooperation in partnerships, particularly in areas with increasing transnational interdependence (European Commission 2007).

The criteria for approval of projects favor those that demonstrate innovation, well-structured partnership arrangements, and integration with existing development plans. Most Interreg sub-programs explicitly list “innovation” as a criterion for selection. For example, the one regional program evaluates candidates by the “degree of innovation of the project in relation to the issues and the development of new processes and/or products.” “Quality of the partnership” is also a heavily weighted criterion, in terms of diversity and nature of partners, and transparency and effectiveness of inter-organizational management structure (Atlantic Area Transnational Programme 2009). In Portugal, the QREN requires each project proposal to be consistent with the PROT; the judgment on consistency belongs to the relevant CCDR.

The Interreg projects in Portugal have taken diverse forms. I will first describe the evolution of four projects, then analyze their similarities within a overall conceptual framework of collaboration. All of these examples fell under the InterregIII program, which ran from 2000 to 2006.

Lisbon’s Interreg projects

The municipality of Lisbon led a partnership with Valencia and Genoa in a project called Mobqua, which aimed to promote neighborhood-level sustainable mobility and included several small-scale initiatives like the Pedibus, a walking group for school children. In this case, the idea for the project began in Lisbon. Planners in the mobility division of the municipality received, through a group email list, information about a call for proposals from the InterregIIIC program. As the planners were already thinking about projects to promote bicycling and walking, they responded by emailing potential counterparts in Genoa with an idea for a project. Interested, the Italians helped make contact with planners in Valencia and the three cities received funding to carry out the project. Like other Interreg projects, the inter-city relationship in Mobqua involved mostly exchange of knowledge and information; each city implemented its own project in its own city. Clearly, Lisbon was not trying to coordinate transportation operations with Valencia or Genoa. But substantial coordination between the three cities was necessary for the financial and administrative aspects of the project. As the head of the mobility division in Lisbon explained, “So the three cities together, with the coordination of the Lisbon city—because they [Valencia and Genoa] couldn’t coordinate, coordination means a lot of work, it’s more work here, it’s hard work—so we coordinated between these three countries and it was possible to develop the project with a lot of work” (Teixeira 2010). The municipality recognized the amount of effort required in collaboration, but also gained experience in managing the coordination.

Loures’ Interreg projects

The municipality of Loures, located just north of Lisbon, participated in four InterregIII programs, all of which fell under the MARE project that is coordinated by the CCDR.

In the first of the four, ACFER, the municipality worked with the private transport company Rodoviária to set up a feeder bus for the commuter rail station. Planners in the municipality had wanted to pursue the project for some time, and the Interreg program provided the opportunity to actually implement the idea by providing funding to cover the extra costs of setting up the feeder bus routes. According to planners in Loures, several negotiations were necessary to persuade the initially skeptical bus company to experiment with smaller buses, but it eventually agreed and the project was successful in reaching its ridership expectations. It helped the municipality achieve its objective of increasing mobility options for residents.

This particular project involved only collaboration between the municipality and the transport agency, however; not direct coordination with other municipalities.

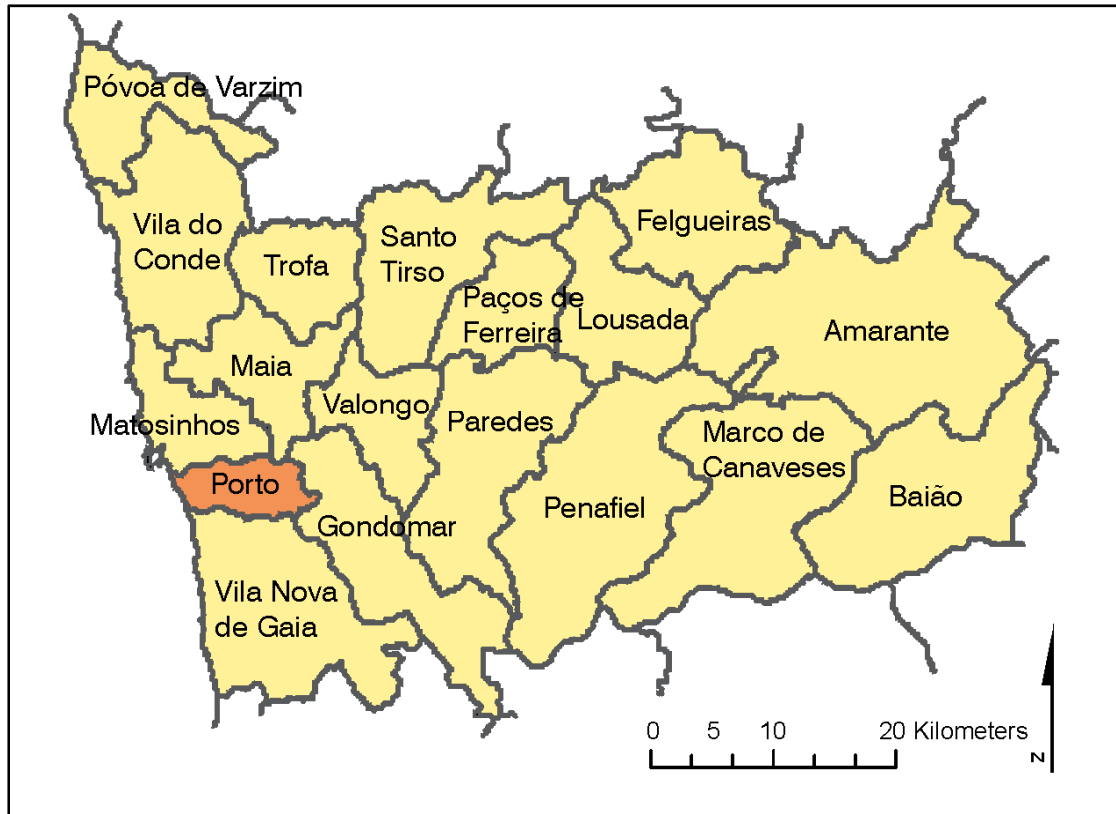
In the E-mobility project, Loures collaborated with the internet site Transporlis (www.transporlis.sapo.pt), which aggregates and integrates information on transport networks and services in the Lisbon area to aid users in trip planning. The system is managed by a public-private partnership between the area's transport providers, with support from the Ministry of Science, Technology, and Higher Education and the Director General for Land Transport. The E-mobility project used European funds to help the municipalities of Loures and Odivelas join the network. Loures and Odivelas do not operate transport services, but they wanted to add to the site information on parking availability near major transit stations.

In a third project, called Flexis, Loures worked with Odivelas and Barreiro to arrange for commuter parking at large shopping centers and provide connections to transit. Since each of the three municipalities faced similar challenges with commuting, the idea was to share knowledge; the aim was not to directly coordinate transit operations. The project thus involved coordination of operations between each municipality and the corresponding shopping center and transport agency. Between municipalities, coordination was limited to sharing of information and management of the Interreg funding and reporting requirements.

Barreiro, Loures, and Moita – the TRAMO project

In a project called TRAMO, Barreiro joined with Loures, the municipality of Moita, three Spanish cities, and the Italian city of Genoa to create a best practice manual for mobility planning. The idea of the project originated in Barreiro, a small municipality located across the Tagus River from Lisbon. Barreiro has been especially interested in mobility issues, in part due to particularly strong leadership in the area of transport, and partly in response to the decision of the central government to connect Barreiro to Lisbon via the 'third crossing,' which is expected to bring a sharp increase in development. Barreiro began with the intention to prepare a mobility plan for the municipality, led by the *Câmara Municipal's* vice president for urban planning, Joaquim Matias, who had also been the director of the municipal-owned transit company, *Serviços Municipalizados do Transportes Colectivos do Barreiro* (SMTCB). Also around that time, in 2000-2002, the Interreg program began soliciting proposals for projects, and Barreiro saw the opportunity to access resources—but since in this case the Interreg framework did not support preparation of plans, Barreiro decided instead to conduct a study on best practices. Barreiro joined with the municipalities of Moita and Loures, two Spanish cities, and the Italian city of Genoa, and together they secured funding from Interreg to create a manual of best practices for mobility planning. The financial support allowed the six cities to hire a consulting firm, with whom they worked to create a document, finished in 2008, that includes research on best practices in mobility and proposes a methodology for preparing mobility plans. Oversight of the project involved a number of technicians in the areas of transport and urban planning from each municipality.

Figure 6-1: Municipalities in the Porto Metropolitan Area



Porto and Matosinhos

The neighboring municipalities of Porto and Matosinhos are currently engaged in a project to redesign the road that runs long their common border, supported by funds from Interreg. Planners in both municipalities characterize the roadway, called the *Estrada da Circunvalação*, as an undesirably suburban barrier between the two sides (Carapeto 2010; Quintão & J. M. Pereira 2010). The joint project thus aims to improve the character of the street and integrate it into the urban fabric of both sides. The project was initiated by the Área Metropolitana do Porto (AMP). Recognizing the opportunity to use EU funds, planners in the AMP and met with representatives from each of the municipalities connected by the Circunvalação—Porto, Matosinhos, Maia, and Gondomar—and decided to split the project into three sections—one each for the Porto-Matosinhos, Porto-Maia, and Porto-Gondomar borders. The partners developed proposals for each section, but the CCDR-N, who manages EU funds for the region, approved only the Porto-Matosinhos link. Planners from the two municipalities are currently working together to develop detailed plans and will jointly hold a design competition for the site.

In this case, the prospect of achieving a joint objective and the incentive of external funding outweighed existing disincentives and an orientation against collaboration. While the planners from Porto and Matosinhos were enthusiastic about the project, they suggested that the collaboration had been difficult, in no small part because each municipality is headed by a different political party. As one planner put it, “This is a project that is funded by the EU, so we are obliged to [cooperate]. When money is in question—well, we don’t want to lose the opportunity. We are forced to work with each other.” While planners at the technical

level were willing to work together despite political differences, they could only make smaller decisions on an informal, technical level; more substantial decisions required involvement of the political level, which slowed the process.⁹ Without the trigger of the EU funding and the AMP, it is very unlikely that this kind of collaborative project would have been possible.

Collaboration in Interreg projects

The incentive of EU funding and the requirements of these programs, especially those of Interreg, have led to a variety of collaborative arrangements between municipalities and between sectors. The above sections summarized just a few of the Interreg projects undertaken by Portuguese municipalities since the 1990s. It is not yet clear whether these experiences with collaboration will have lasting effects on municipal planning, but they do provide some important lessons about the prospects of inter-municipal collaboration.

Nature of collaborations

With the exception of Loures' ACFER project, the Interreg projects have involved collaboration between municipal governments, both internationally and within Portugal. This type of inter-municipal collaboration is, of course, the aim of Interreg. However, many of the projects have also triggered cooperation between previous disparate actors within a municipality. For example, Loures and the bus company Rodoviária had not previously had a close relationship, but the availability of EU funding prompted Loures to initiate cooperation. In Barreiro, the experience with the TRAMO project led to a much closer relationship between the municipal transport company and the municipal planning department. To a much lesser degree, the EU-funded projects have encouraged integration between sectors and levels of government. The QREN requires local projects to be "sustainable" and consistent with regional plans, and although the CCDRs appear to have interpreted this requirement fairly loosely, the requirement at least encourages potential grantees to explain how the project fits into the larger scale. More significantly, given the complexity of the urban environment, projects that pursue the objectives of "innovation" and "sustainability" are, by their very nature, likely to involve multiple sectors and multiple actors.

Some of the partnerships, like Mobqua, involve only sharing of information, although in these cases the partners must work out how to jointly manage EU funds and paperwork. Other projects, such as the street design between Porto and Matosinhos, involve a higher degree of collaboration that requires joint action. Porto and Matosinhos must produce a single plan that integrates land use and design on the two sides of the border.

External factors - incentives

In most of the cases, the primary motivation for municipalities to collaborate derives from their desire to achieve objectives, like increasing mobility options and improving the urban environment for residents. In implementing the feeder bus and commuter parking projects, Loures hoped to improve the ease of commuting to Lisbon. In initiating neighborhood mobility projects, Lisbon hoped to experiment with pilot

⁹ Porto, Gondomar, and Vila Nova da Gaia are governed by the Social Democratic Party (PSD), while Matosinhos is led by the Socialist Party (PS). Maia is jointly governed by the PPD and PSD. While one might infer that political antagonism obstructs cooperation between Porto and Matosinhos, political affinity has not led to cooperation between the other municipalities. In fact, there appears to be little correlation between collaboration and political affiliation. For example, Matosinhos and several others are involved in a metropolitan-wide effort to address air quality.

projects to improve livability for residents. Porto and Matosinhos each hoped to improve the urban environment in a part of their territory. Of course, these objectives dovetail with other benefits of participating in such projects, such as increased political standing relative to other municipalities—funding from the EU often comes with political recognition from both residents and other agencies. However, in most cases, the particular form of inter-municipal collaboration, in itself, contributed very little to the achievement of objectives. In Lisbon, the partnership with international cities may have helped planners gain better information about how to design the project, but it did not directly improve mobility within Lisbon. Without the Interreg requirement, there would have been little reason for Lisbon to work with Valencia or Genoa.

Notably, these collaborations have addressed only win-win problems. All of the Interreg projects present potential benefits for all parties involved. Even though there may be costs associated with collaboration, each party faced a situation in which they were likely to gain.

External factors – disincentives

In each of these cases, the prospect of achieving objectives, combined with the financial incentive from the EU, outweighed disincentives associated with collaboration. Collaboration always involves some degree of time and effort, in some cases more than others. The political differences between Matosinhos and Porto, for instance, imposed high transaction costs, which were particularly burdensome given the high degree of collaboration required. On the other hand, none of these cases involved significant risk or loss of authority. As many of the partnerships required only sharing of information, not ceding of responsibility or commitment to possibly unfavorable policy decisions, municipalities risked little besides loss of time.

External factors - legal and institutional environment

The Interreg projects have helped municipalities achieve their objectives, but they also lay somewhat outside the scope of the formal planning system. For example, the legal system would not have prevented Loures' project to provide commuter parking at shopping centers, but, on the other hand, little in the formal planning framework would have encouraged it. The PDM-centered planning framework focuses on the preparation of land use plans, and interdisciplinary projects like commuter parking do not fit easily within its scope. Similarly, the formal system would not likely support, financially or in terms of organizational support, a small initiative like Lisbon's pedibus. This project relied on the affiliation with Interreg for both resources and legitimacy.

External trigger

By making inter-municipal collaboration a requirement for funding, and by providing means to assist the formation of collaborations, the Interreg program acted as a trigger in all of these cases. In addition to the financial incentive, the program's guidance helped lessen the uncertainty and difficulty of managing collaborative arrangements.

Existing networks

The EU designed the Interreg program to build and reinforce inter-governmental networks. The projects did not necessarily rely on existing connections between actors, although in some cases they may have.¹⁰

Whether or not relationships already existed, by requiring collaboration and by providing a mechanism to initiate the process—in the form of a website or database with potential partners—the program intentionally helped create new connections.

Organizational characteristics

The characteristics of the collaborating organizations vary from case to case, making overall patterns difficult to discern. However, engagement in the Interreg projects in many cases actually increased the capacity and orientation of the organizations to undertake collaborative projects. The program helped guide planners through the process of establishing and managing a collaborative relationship, an experience usually reserved for political leaders, not technical-level planners. Whether or not planning divisions of these municipalities pursue further work with the same partners, they have gained the necessary skills to initiate and carry out similar projects in the future. In some cases the experience did lead to further collaboration even after the project concluded. For example, in Barreiro, the experience of working across municipal and disciplinary boundaries on the best practice manual helped create the organizational conditions to set up a mobility council and undertake an inter-municipal mobility plan.

Lessons

In a broader sense, the opportunity to pursue more innovative projects has in many ways energized planners within the municipalities and encouraged them to take a more innovative approach to their work. In interviews, practitioners were often more eager to talk about their EU projects, particularly the Interreg projects, than about the formal planning processes. Even in cases when the projects did not specifically lead to better relationships with neighboring municipalities, planners appeared excited about the opportunity to pursue work that they saw as important and interesting, but which was previously off limits because it lay outside the rigid framework of the traditional planning system and therefore outside the available budget. The planners I spoke with appeared enthusiastic about their jobs—in contradiction to the stereotype of the technocrat trapped in bureaucracy—and though we cannot say that the Interreg projects themselves helped generate that enthusiasm, they have at least provided an avenue for its expression.

In this way, then, the Interreg program has, in some cases, sparked collaboration and new approaches in local planning by providing a channel outside of the usual system, allowing practitioners to take on more experimental projects without the constraints imposed by regulatory framework for planning. Of course, the EU programs introduce an entirely different and not trivial set of restraints, but these tend to lead in a different direction from the Portuguese requirements. In this way, the EU programs provide a means for municipalities and other agencies to undertake projects quite different from business as usual.

We cannot yet assess the longevity of Interreg programs' influence, or its ability to lead to more large-scale change. Considering that assistance from the EU to Portugal may end in 2013, we might ask whether the Portuguese system will institutionalize lessons from the EU programs by then. Already, DGOTDU sponsors

¹⁰ I do not have information on the degree to which these municipalities interacted prior to the Interreg program. This would be an interesting question to pursue further.

a modest program that follows a model similar to the EU's system; the program awards grants to municipalities for small-scale projects that demonstrate innovation at the local level (Almeida 2010). If programs like that of DGO TDU and Interreg reach enough organizations, perhaps it could initiate a larger change in ways of governing.

Exploratory Case 2: Barreiro's Inter-municipal Mobility Plan

Among municipalities, Barreiro has been unusually active in working across municipal and sectoral boundaries, particular in mobility issues. With a population of about 79,000, Barreiro is one of several municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (AML) located on the South Bank of the Tagus. Once a major manufacturing base, it has been losing industry and population since the 1970s. So far, it has not gained residents from suburban sprawl as have more Lisbon-accessible municipalities like Almada and Alcochete, but the recent decision of the central government to construct a new bridge between Barreiro and Lisbon will likely reverse the trend. The forthcoming connection will almost certainly bring major changes to the pattern of development in the municipality, a fact which appears to have motivated a proactive planning approach within the *Câmara Municipal*. Central to this approach is collaboration with other municipalities and various stakeholders.

In anticipation of fast-paced new growth, Barreiro has acted particularly strongly in the area of planning for transportation. Much of the focus on transportation issues came from Barreiro's proactive *vereadeor* for transport, Joaquim Matias, who also served as the director of the municipal-owned transit company, *Serviços Municipalizados do Transportes Colectivos do Barreiro* (SMTCB). Beginning with the idea for a mobility plan, Barreiro took advantage of funding from the Interreg program, along with five partner cities, to create a manual of best practices in mobility planning that focused on both the process and content of mobility plans. Documentation of best practices was necessary, according to Barreiro, because Portuguese law offered no guidance on the procedure with which to prepare a plan, or standards on such a plan's contents. The idea of a mobility plan was not new in the Portuguese context; Lisbon has had one for several years, as have other cities. However, since there is no standard process or official guidance for mobility plans, as there is for the PDM, municipalities have a good deal of discretion in the procedure and content, resulting in very different plans. Barreiro viewed its manual as a way to help it develop a strategy for its own mobility plan and also as a way to establish a common and accepted approach that could be replicated by other municipalities.

Using what it learned from the Interreg project as a guide, Barreiro moved ahead with the preparation of a mobility plan. Perhaps spurred by the implications of the impending bridge construction, and/or perhaps inspired by the best practice manual to honor the inter-municipal nature of transportation issues, planners in Barreiro made it a goal to develop the plan in conjunction with other municipalities. Barreiro was particularly concerned about the many complex infrastructure connections with neighboring areas and understood that cooperation could help improve efficiency of the system. Indeed, the current system of transport on the South Bank is quite complicated: it consists of a mix of private bus companies, the private commuter rail company Fertagus, the light rail Metro Transportes do Sul, national and regional highways, private ferry operators, and Barreiro's SMTCB. Barreiro hoped an inter-municipal mobility approach would bring some coherence to the system, and it held informal conversations with neighboring municipalities, who apparently saw some common ground. As João Paulo Lopes, head of Barreiro's planning division explained, "Barreiro talked with these municipalities since the beginning of talking about mobility. For three or four months we talked with these municipalities" (Lopes 2010). Of course, it helped that all of these municipalities were

governed by the same political party.¹¹ Five additional municipalities—Seixal, Sesimbra, Palmela, Setúbal, and Moita—agreed to join the mobility plan initiative.

Figure 6-2: Location of Barreiro within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area



¹¹ As of now, following the elections in 2009, Barreiro, Moita, Seixal, Sesimbra, Palmela, and Almada are all governed by the CDU coalition. The CDU (*Coligação Democrática Unitária*) is a coalition between the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and the Ecologist Party (PEV). Setúbal's mayor is a member of the PCP and its two vice presidents are of the PEV. Lisbon, Odivelas, Amadora and Loures are governed by the Socialist Party (PS); Oeiras by the Social Democratic Party (PSD). Sintra is governed by the *Coligação Mais Sintra*, a coalition of center-right and right-wing parties.

Following one of the recommendations in the TRAMO manual, in 2009, Barreiro set up a Mobility Council (*Conselho Mobilidade*) as a way to engage stakeholders and gain wider support for mobility initiatives. The council is intended as a diverse group of key actors whom the city can consult on mobility issues, and includes representatives from the juntas de freguesias, public security forces, firefighters, neighboring municipalities, schools, taxi drivers, transport operators, the central administration (IMTI), the CCDR, the environment agency, and others. So far, the council focuses on issues within Barreiro, although representatives from neighboring municipalities and transport companies in neighboring municipalities have been included. When I met with Barreiro planners, the council had held one meeting, in which the municipality presented its ideas on mobility and gave stakeholders the opportunity to submit feedback. In the future, Barreiro plans to involve the council in the review of the mobility plan.

Nature of collaboration

Barreiro's initiatives in mobility planning cross both municipal and sectoral borders—with emphasis on inter-municipal collaboration. At this point, the degree of collaboration is still unclear, as we do not yet know whether the inter-municipal mobility plan will require binding commitments from the participating agencies. The mobility plan could later involve multi-lateral agreements of more substance, but at this point none of the actors must compromise their interests. The municipalities involved can be expected to at least produce coordinated strategies, and at most produce coordinated detailed policies and coordination in transport operations. The inter-sectoral collaboration has thus far been confined to discussions between agencies in the Mobility Council; Barreiro has not intended the council to make decisions on policy options. This interaction represents a relatively low degree of collaboration, with exchange of information and one-directional feedback on potential measures (from stakeholders to the Barreiro municipality).

External factors – incentives

With the prospect of growth from the new bridge, the municipalities of the south bank faced strong incentives to act jointly. By acting together, they could use their combined power to solicit investment and public resources, which would help them to take advantage of growth brought by the bridge.

These municipalities share a common position within the metropolitan area. They have relatively poor accessibility to Lisbon and have not received large investments for infrastructure or services, as have other higher-growth municipalities.¹² Significantly, neither Alcochete nor Almada, the south bank municipalities currently connected to Lisbon by bridge, has been involved in the mobility initiative. In many ways, the six partners share a rather marginal position within the metropolitan territory, and they see the third bridge as a potential driver of growth in their own territory. Instead of continuing to compete against each other for revenue and investment, these municipalities realized that their combined power would allow them to compete with larger municipalities. Since Barreiro will connect directly to the bridge, it will likely receive most of the new development, and the other five municipalities understand that the best way to attract a share of the development is to work with Barreiro. In addition to the benefit of increased power, the municipalities of course hope to actually improve mobility for their residents—which will help in attracting more population.

¹² The Metro Transportes de Sul (MTS) serves Almada and Seixal, with plans to expand to Barreiro, but Almada has been the principal beneficiary; it's not clear that the six municipalities involved in the mobility plan consider the MST a significant asset.

In the case of the Mobility Council, Barreiro wants to engage stakeholders in order to increase support for its initiatives and to increase the likelihood of gaining assistance in later implementation stages. In other words, it hopes that the participation will help it to achieve future mobility objectives. The stakeholders participate in order to gain information about the municipality's plans and to potentially influence its decisions.

Along with gaining population, development, and power, Barreiro also hopes to obtain political and popular recognition as a leader in transportation issues. In designing the TRAMO and mobility plan projects with replicability in mind, municipal planners aspire to set a precedent in mobility planning.

External factors – disincentives

The mobility plan partnership does not yet require municipalities to commit to binding agreements, so they do not yet risk compromising their own authority, but the process does imply that some loss of authority will be necessary in the future. In addition, the project of course requires time and effort from all the actors.

External factors - legal and institutional environment

The “mobility plan” does not exist in Portuguese law; there is no official framework or guidance for mobility plans. Unlike land use planners, whose activities are governed by a very rigid and systematic framework centered on the PDM, transport providers have traditionally developed plans independently, with few formal links to municipal activities and little formal guidance. Municipalities have begun preparing mobility plans, but these plans are not subject to requirements comparable to the official procedures defined for the PDM. The lack of formal standards gives governments a great deal of freedom to adapt the plan to their specific needs. In Barreiro's case, the lack of formal procedures allowed it to work with other municipalities to a degree that would not have been possible under the PDM structure.¹³

External factors - political environment

The particular political situation on the south bank facilitated cooperation between the different municipalities, as all six partners in the mobility plan are governed by the same political party. (The same party also governs Almada, the municipality adjacent to Seixal, but Almada is not involved in the mobility plan.) The importance of political agreement should not be understated, and it may be a necessary condition for any extensive collaboration. However, it is not a sufficient condition; on the north bank, the governments of Lisboa, Amadora, Odivelas, and Loures belong to the same political party, yet as far as I am aware this group has not produced any joint initiatives on the scale of the mobility plan.

External trigger

In this case, the anticipated effects of the third crossing—which represent both a threat and an opportunity—acted as an external trigger for collaboration. The magnitude of change likely to come from the bridge introduces a great deal of uncertainty, and Barreiro realizes the potential gains of channeling of that change in a favorable direction.

¹³ Interestingly, planners in both Barreiro and Lisboa expressed a belief that lack of standards and the subsequent variability in mobility plans was a problem (N. Ferreira 2010; Teixeira 2010). While lack of *coordination* between transport plans, this does not necessarily imply need for a standardized approach. In some cases it may be possible to achieve coordination between plans while still arriving at the content through different procedures.

Existing networks

The available information does not allow us to determine exactly how Barreiro initially connected with the other municipalities, but we can make some inferences. The partners' common political affiliation undoubtedly helped to build relationships at the political level. At the technical level, practitioners took advantage of inter-municipal and interdisciplinary connections formed in the Interreg project—especially those between land use planners and transport officials within Barreiro—to build support for mobility plan. According to the head of planning for SMTCB, the Interreg project spurred organizational change within the Câmara Municipal in that it forced the technicians to establish interdisciplinary ties within the municipality:

“The other thing that has changed about the organization of the municipality is we gain a multi-disciplinary team that concerns mobility. Before, I was thinking about mobility alone; João [Lopes, the head of the planning division] was thinking about it alone—there was no multidisciplinary team. And now we have it. We work together” (N. Ferreira 2010).

Organizational characteristics

Much of the innovation in Barreiro may be ascribed to proactive leadership. The municipality benefitted from the commitment and energy of the *vereador* Joaquim Matias, who played a central role in conceiving and promoting the idea for the mobility plan. Matias left the municipality in 2009 (to join the new *Área Metropolitana de Transportes de Lisboa*), but even after leaving the council, he continued to support the municipality's projects. Still, even without this leadership, the mobility initiative seems to have retained momentum, and the planners I spoke with appeared nearly equally dedicated to seeing the project through.

Overall, we have little evidence that the characteristics of individuals within the organization would set them apart from staff in other municipalities. Significantly, though, the Interreg project had lent planners important experience in managing collaborations. The planners I interviewed were both committed and enthusiastic about their work, but we do not have sufficient information to compare them to other municipalities.

In terms of organizational structure, Barreiro's public transport agency, SMTCB, is notably the only municipal-owned transport operator in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. The municipality of Barreiro, not the central government, has full ownership of SMTCB, setting the agency apart from Carris and other public transport companies. As a municipal company, SMTCB claims to prioritize the public interest rather than profit, particularly local issues (N. Ferreira 2010). Whereas other public transport companies have been accused of “arrogance” deriving from their association with the central government, SMTCB views itself as cooperative. Since Barreiro controls the agency, municipal planners presumably find coordination of transport services easier than do other municipalities who must work with private operators (N. Ferreira 2010). The unique organizational structure allows Barreiro to coordinate and even integrate land use planning with transport, giving it an advantage in the area of mobility planning.

Lessons from Barreiro's Mobility Plan

The initiative in Barreiro represents a clear case of bottom-up action initiated at the municipal level, catalyzed by top-down EU policies and central government decisions. Ideal political circumstances, strong leadership, and the structure of the transport agency contributed to a favorable climate for collaboration, while the introduction of EU funds and the announcement of the bridge location triggered real action. The ambiguity of the mobility plan in the Portuguese legal system allowed the six municipalities to approach the project jointly. While the planners may have seen the lack of guidance in mobility planning as a hindrance, in fact it

has given Barreiro the flexibility to develop a process that appears better suited to its situation. Of course, it is too early to assess whether Barreiro's approach will eventually result in more desirable outcomes.

Indeed, the case of Barreiro is an exception, but not necessarily a "success." The municipality has been successful in collaborating with other municipalities and in approaching mobility through an interdisciplinary framework. However, in pursuing its own interest, it in many ways ignores the larger interests of the Lisbon region. By actively promoting both residential and commercial development, it competes with Lisbon for residents and jobs and thus reinforces the outward movement of population. By partnering with its neighboring south bank municipalities, it is effectively forming an alliance to compete with Lisbon, and thus continues to contribute to the larger situation of inter-municipal competition. On the other hand, the case does represent a rare instance of bottom-up collaboration and planning between municipalities at a scale larger than the individual project or site plan.

Exploratory Case 3: Porto Vivo

Urban revitalization has proven to be a challenging issue for Portuguese cities, but recent efforts in Porto have begun to produce some tentative success. The city's Urban Rehabilitation Society, Porto Vivo, has gained a reputation as a model of good practice in urban redevelopment, most notably for its success cultivating working partnerships with a wide range of public and private actors.

Formed in 2004 as an Urban Rehabilitation Society (SRU)—a special type of public corporation—Porto Vivo leads the process of urban revitalization in the historical center of Porto. The central government, acting through the IHRU (formerly the INH), holds a 60% stake in the company and the Câmara Municipal do Porto (CMP) holds a 40% stake. In addition to these formal ties with the municipality and IHRU, Porto Vivo works closely with various other entities on an as-needed basis, including property owners, developers, investors, public agencies, civil society, other Portuguese cities, other cities in Europe, and the European Union. The task of coordinating urban revitalization projects requires close collaboration with property owners, so Porto Vivo's relationships with these organizations are not necessarily remarkable, but the scope and depth of Porto Vivo's engagement with a wider range of stakeholders deserves notice.

Porto Vivo's approach to mobility issues illustrates the role of partnerships in the company's work. Several years ago, planners within Porto Vivo decided to pursue the idea for a new electric tram line through the city center, as a way to increase mobility, ease congestion, reduced the need for parking, and enhance tourism. Porto Vivo commissioned a study to analyze alternatives for the line and, more generally, to examine ways to integrate mobility issues into the city's revitalization objectives. Through informal meetings, Porto Vivo also proposed the electric tram idea to the municipality, who seemed supportive (Delgado 2010). The municipality connected Porto Vivo with the state-owned transport provider for Porto, STCP. The transit agency had once operated trams in the city center, but these had been mostly discontinued; currently the STCP operates only a very limited electric tram service. The cost of a new line would almost certainly exceed the STCP's existing financial capabilities. Yet the STCP showed interest in the proposal and, with the potential assistance of European funds, it appeared feasible. Recognizing a mutual interest, Porto Vivo, the CMP, and STCP formed a task force; each designated a representative to participate in regular joint meetings (Delgado 2010). The task force submitted a proposal to the CCDR-Norte for European Union funds under the National Strategic Reference Framework (QREN), and in 2008 the CCDR-N approved a grant for €3.5 million of the total project budget of €16 million (Deloitte 2009; Luz 2009). The task force is currently moving forward with the project, with support from the three partners.

Porto Vivo has managed to build similar collaborative arrangements with other public and non-profit agencies such as cultural foundations and educational institutions. Council member and managing director of Porto Vivo, Ana Paula Delgado, described the approach this way:

“For this project, we are here with STCP. For other projects we can be with the Youth Foundation, or the Agency for Creative Industries. We think of it as a platform where we are exchanging partnerships, exchanging teams. For instance, our [staff members] have a specific task, but sometimes they need to cooperate with others. We have a multiple geometry of cooperation. You can have someone in this for this problem, then he’s with someone else for another problem, and teams are always being built” (Delgado 2010).

As most of its projects will require several more years for completion, it is too early to fully evaluate Porto Vivo’s against its goal of revitalizing Porto’s city center. At the end of 2009, Porto Vivo had signed agreements with property owners of 18% of the 623 parcels identified as needing rehabilitation. Rehabilitation work had finished on 29 parcels (Porto Vivo 2010b). Although it has completed only a small portion of the properties it identified, Porto Vivo appears to be making much more progress than any other urban revitalization initiative. Furthermore, its projects have garnered a high level of support from investors (Porto Vivo 2010b) and its success in working with stakeholders has been widely admired by other government agencies (e.g. Ribeira (2010)). We now take a closer look at why Porto Vivo has succeeded in forming working partnerships with so many other agencies.

Nature of collaboration

Porto Vivo works with partners both across sectors and across levels of government. The interdisciplinary nature of the urban revitalization issue makes inter-sectoral collaboration necessary, while collaboration with central government stems naturally from Porto Vivo’s formal connection with IHRU. Many of Porto Vivo’s projects require a relatively high degree of collaboration, which results in coordinated actions from partners. In renovating of a block of buildings, for instance, Porto Vivo and its partners must coordinate construction plans, provision of services during and following renovation, and financial transactions, among other actions. To take another example, the planning of the electric tram line requires a number of coordinated actions, such as ensuring consistency between the planned route and existing city plans. While Porto Vivo has established collaboration-intensive inter-sectoral and vertical relationships, though, its inter-municipal interactions involved only low levels of collaboration, such as information exchange. Porto Vivo often shares its knowledge of the urban rehabilitation process—particularly its legal expertise—with SRUs in other municipalities and similar organizations in other countries, but these exchanges do not involve planning or policy.

External factors – incentives

Porto Vivo works with others largely because its objectives demand a high degree of coordination. The responsibilities of an SRU require it to negotiate with property owners, arrange financial agreements with investors, and coordinate supporting public services. As the company cannot realistically use lawsuit threats to force all landowners to renovate their properties under threat of lawsuit (although it does have this option), it must take an approach of working with landowners. By the nature of its work, Porto Vivo must be oriented toward collaborating with external entities.

Porto Vivo’s partners also have substantial economic and legal incentives to cooperate. By working with Porto Vivo, property owners are more likely to find renovation of their buildings profitable. The poor physical conditions, social problems, and general negative reputation of these neighborhoods generally keeps

the market value of housing very low, so a property owner acting alone would have little incentive to renovate his building. But because the SRU facilitates the rehabilitation of entire blocks, improving the character of the neighborhood in the process, projects undertaken in coordination are associated with lower risk for developers than if undertaken individually. Porto Vivo can help with financing to a small degree (European Union funds cannot be used for private projects, but funds from the European Investment Bank can) and, more importantly, it can guarantee public services and general improvement of the neighborhood, which substantially lowers the risk involved in the decision to renovate. Where this collective strategy still does not create sufficient economic incentive for landowners to renovate, owners face a legal incentive, since the SRU has the power to expropriate private property.

Public agencies also have an incentive to collaborate since doing so can help them achieve their objectives. Porto Vivo works with public agencies like the STCP, the Youth Foundation, and other cultural organizations to coordinate provision of transport services and cultural programs, to reinforce the physical rehabilitation of buildings with development of public and social services. Organizations like the STCP and the Youth Foundation presumably cooperate in order to grow their own programs and to reach new clients. In addition, collaboration with the SRU creates access to EU funds, especially since Porto Vivo can only spend its EU funds on public projects. In a more general sense, public agencies are open to cooperating with Porto Vivo because it usually fits with their mandate to serve the public interest.

The partnerships established by Porto Vivo also help ensure it against uncertainty of the political environment. Like many organizations controlled by the state, Porto Vivo is vulnerable to the election cycle and changing political priorities. So far, though, the organization has received consistent support from both the local authorities and the central government, partially because urban revitalization has been an undeniable problem for the city, but also because of the partnerships with private investors and developers. The interests of these private actors are, for the most part, constant and independent of political agendas. Once Porto Vivo has established agreements with these partners, the government cannot withdraw its support without also angering the private partners. In this way, the formation of private partnerships has effectively insured the SRU against the whims of the political cycle, allowing the company to carry out long-term projects. The ability to pursue long-term projects is especially important to Porto Vivo, as urban rehabilitation projects can take five or six years, or more, longer than the election cycle. So far, the strategy seems to be successful: Porto Vivo has survived three elections—local, national, and European—without any major interruptions or changes in direction.

In reviewing the incentives to collaborate, it becomes clear that the urban revitalization problem is generally a win-win situation. In the terminology of Feiock (2009), the problem involves inefficiencies that can be resolved through coordination—not externalities that create conflicts of interest. So, because urban revitalization requires resolving inefficiencies and not externalities, where each actor faces incentives to cooperate, coordination between actors can often effectively achieve urban revitalization objectives, although these conditions alone do not guarantee that collaboration will occur.

External factors – disincentives

Porto Vivo's numerous and extensive collaborations require a large amount of time and effort, but the necessity of working with others has outweighed the costs. In fact, instead of treating the effort as a cost, Porto Vivo views the building and management of collaborations as its central work. Whereas an organization with a more traditional mandate, such as a Câmara Municipal, would see collaboration as an

extra task over and above its normal work, Porto Vivo sees it as central to its work—thus the effort is not actually a disincentive.

External factors - legal and institutional environment

From the beginning, Porto Vivo operated within an environment characterized by an indefinite and evolving institutional framework, managed largely by supportive political actors—conditions that turned out to be highly favorable to the company. Porto Vivo was formally established as an Urban Rehabilitation Society just a few months after Law 104/2004 enacted regulations governing the SRUs. But even though the law existed, there was no precedent for the SRU in Portugal, and no one knew exactly how it would function in practice. The regulations dictate some duties and procedures in detail, with, for example, very clear legal requirements for transactions between the SRU and property owners. Other important elements, however, are not defined—such as the coordination of public service provision in rehabilitation areas in order to reduce the risk for potential investors. The law is notably silent on the relationship between the SRU and other existing entities at the local level. Furthermore, although Porto Vivo officially began its work after the enactment of the law, several conversations with those involved suggest that, in actuality, the law evolved along with the development of the company (Freitas 2010; Ribeira 2010). The concept of the SRU originated in Porto, and the new law was written essentially to fit the particular experience and situation in Porto, although it is unclear exactly how this interaction worked. In any case, the law left some aspects undefined and, even where the requirements were fairly concrete, no precedent existed for their actual implementation. In sum, from its establishment, Porto Vivo had a great deal of flexibility within the institutional framework to tailor its approach as it saw fit.

In many cases, lack of defined institutional structure can be a hindrance to performance, but in Porto Vivo's case, the ambiguity of the law worked as a key asset. Conventional wisdom often suggests that agencies need an established framework to guide their work. This is a common view: in the SOTUR workshops, participants cited as major problems, “lack of clarity in legal framework,” “lack of program framework,” and “legal framework instability, in terms of legislation for establishing strategies to promote urban revitalization.” Indeed, for Porto Vivo, the lack of precedent presented a challenge. As Dr. Delgado explained, the most difficult part of Porto Vivo's early work was setting up the organization itself and establishing its role within the existing network of actors (Delgado 2010). The company had to assert its legitimacy in the governance arena, build new partnerships with key actors, and develop procedures for conducting those relationships, all in addition to structuring its own internal organization. Yet, the ambiguity in how the new urban rehabilitation law was to be implemented gave the company freedom to create an organizational structure particularly suited for the local context and the problem at hand.

Throughout this process, though, the company benefitted from steady support of local and central governments, both of which had staked a good part of their reputation on the initiative's outcome. The municipality of Porto, headed by the mayor, had set urban revitalization as a top priority. The Porto population viewed redevelopment of the city center as a serious concern and civil society support for urban revitalization was widespread, without regard to political party. Further, the city had been trying to address the problem for several years but, the largely superficial policies had produced unimpressive results (Balsas 2007). In sum, the municipal government's determination to achieve a real success in urban revitalization lent momentum to Porto Vivo's efforts.

In the central government, the IHRU had just emerged out of the integration of three former housing and heritage institutes, a merger the government had choreographed in order to redirect energy toward urban revitalization goals. As a new agency, the IHRU was eager to prove its own proficiency in the area of urban revitalization, and it viewed the SRU concept as a potentially promising vehicle. The IHRU itself was a young organization without ingrained practices or structure, and it took a highly experimental approach in its work, encouraging innovation in its programs. Unlike many government agencies, the IHRU saw itself less as a service provider than as an investigative designer—a main part of its operating model was to develop new programs, implement them, observe the results, and use the lessons to improve the next round of programs. The IHRU was, therefore, both highly motivated to achieve success with the SRU and open to experimentation in the SRU's approach. Using the Porto SRU almost as a pilot project, the IHRU committed support through its 60% share in the company.

At the same time, Porto Vivo operates with a high degree of autonomy, as it has an independent management structure, control over its own finances, and ability to form partnerships with private and public agents. In its designated areas of intervention, it takes on powers normally reserved for the municipality, including the responsibility for preparing detailed plans (*planos promenores*), the power to issue and enforce construction permits, and the power to expropriate property. The master plan for its area of intervention required approval by the CMP, but Porto Vivo can prepare and carry out site plans without seeking additional approval by the municipality.

External trigger

The original idea for an SRU derived partially from the central government and partially from local forces. The decision to officially establish the SRU as an instrument for urban rehabilitation, however, belonged to the central government, as the government alone held the power necessarily to give the SRU formal authority. Although this decision itself did not directly trigger collaboration, it was critical in giving Porto Vivo the legitimacy and legal strength needed to carry out effective collaborations.

Although the majority of the investment in Porto Vivo's projects comes from private sources, the EU's ERDF also represents a significant contribution.¹⁴ The EU funding strongly encourages cooperation because candidate projects—particularly these kinds of complex urban redevelopment projects—are unlikely to be considered viable unless they feature collaboration between relevant stakeholders. The availability of EU funds in this case acts as a further inducement to undertake the project and collaboration in the process. Even though Porto Vivo would likely have sufficient incentive to collaborate even without the EU requirement, and though it can only use EU funds for public projects, this funding source often makes the difference between a financially uncertain project and a viable one.

Existing networks

We have little information on Porto Vivo's initial connections with other entities, but we can infer a few points based on characteristics of its staff members. Of the company's thirty or so current employees, approximately 20% worked at the CMP before joining Porto Vivo. These staff presumably retained personal ties with individuals in their former workplace; interviews confirm that Porto Vivo works very closely with

¹⁴ For one of Porto Vivo's projects, Morro de Sé, private sources contribute 70 to 80% of the €39 million project investment, while EU sources contribute €7 million, or 18% (Delgado 2010).

the municipality. The other 80% of the staff consists of architects, engineers, economists, and lawyers from a diverse range of backgrounds, including other public agencies, universities, and private firms. A few are recent graduates and two are from outside Portugal, from Spain and Italy (Delgado 2010). With this variety of backgrounds, we would expect these individuals to have access to a relatively extensive and diverse network of actors. We would also expect these initial connections to help facilitate collaboration between Porto Vivo and outside entities. In addition, the formal relationships with the CMP and the central government through the IHRU allow Porto Vivo greater access to the authority of these entities.

Organizational characteristics

Porto Vivo began with a flexible organizational structure and, even as it has grown and evolved, the structure still remains less rigid than in many older organizations. The legal provisions that created Porto Vivo as an SRU specify the executive decision-making structure (Porto Vivo 2010a), but the company has established many of its day-to-day structures and procedures in a more *ad hoc* manner—while this was not always easy, it allowed adaptation to the specific context. Importantly, Porto Vivo has designated a staff member specifically to build and maintain relationships with partners. In addition, the organizational culture seems to favor innovation and collaboration, partly due to the diverse backgrounds of the staff. The company’s energetic leadership appears highly committed to the task of urban revitalization and supportive of new approaches. Housed in a newly renovated, brightly-lit stone building in the core of the historic city center, several blocks from the high modernist building of the Câmara Municipal do Porto, the physical offices indeed reinforce an ethos of change.

The actors involved in Porto Vivo’s project all recognize the importance of urban revitalization for the city. The practitioners interviewed suggested that, in general, all the major players in Porto, as well as the public, would identify urban revitalization as an issue, even if they did not necessarily take action on it (Carapeto 2010; Ribeira 2010; Delgado 2010). Furthermore, practitioners widely agreed that past efforts to address urban revitalization had been not been very effective (Carapeto 2010; Ribeira 2010; Delgado 2010; Balsas 2007). This shared recognition of the problem made it easier for Porto Vivo to recruit partners for its projects (although it is not clear to what extent the various actors understood the depth and complexities of the issue).

Lessons

Many other agencies have recognized Porto Vivo’s approach as a success, and other SRUs have taken it as a model to emulate (Ribeira 2010). Yet the approach faces limitations. The company has been effective in building collaborative relationships across sectors and across levels of government, but its relationships across municipal borders have not gone beyond exchange of knowledge. Dr. Delgado acknowledged that sprawling development in the suburbs undermined urban revitalization efforts and effectively put Porto Vivo in competition with neighboring municipalities: “About the wider problem, you cannot do anything. The local authority ends at the administrative border.... So you cannot do anything outside of this border. What you can do is inside here. Of course we are competing with the others, so we just hope to be more efficient in that competition, to attract people” (Delgado 2010). In the current system, the other municipalities simply do not have the incentive to collaborate on an issue that would cost them population, revenue, and power.

The Porto Vivo case demonstrates that, given the right conditions, public agencies in Portugal can successfully collaborate across sectors and levels of government. As a new organization within a fairly accommodating institutional environment, Porto Vivo has been able to build the working relationships

necessary for successful projects. The operational autonomy with respect to the central and local governments allows Porto Vivo freedom to pursue new approaches, while, at the same time, political support from these governments lends the organization the legitimacy needed to act multilaterally with other entities. The SRU structure creates an open space for the company to function outside of the bounds of the normal system, while still maintaining the necessary links to key actors within the existing system. The potential win-win nature of the urban revitalization problem means that actors have incentive to cooperate, especially with EU funds as a catalyst. In this setting, the institutional structure facilitates the collaborative process.

Exploratory Case 4: IHRU's *Iniciativa Bairros Críticos*

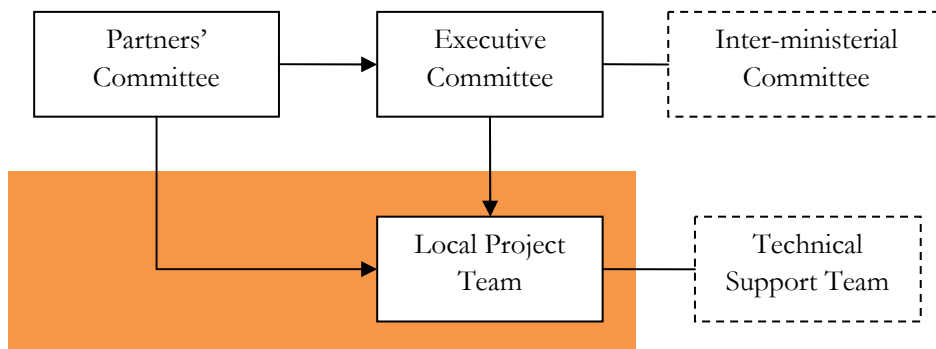
The IHRU has led a series of development initiatives that have introduced new governance models at the local level. These initiatives have aimed to create participatory governance arrangements that integrate decision-making between sectors and between levels of government. The initiatives have focused most strongly on social and housing issues, but they also involve spatial planning or transport and, moreover, they highlight general lessons about transforming governance structures.

The first of the IHRU initiatives to demonstrate real transformation in governance was the *Iniciativa Bairros Críticos* (Critical Neighborhoods Initiative, or IBC). Begun as a pilot project in 2008, the IBC was designed to experiment with innovative intervention in three neighborhoods defined as “critical” (Vale da Amoreira and Cova da Moura, both in the Lisbon area, and Lagarteiro in Porto). These three areas have quite different social and physical characteristics, but all share problems of low economic opportunity, social segregation, and poor housing conditions. For years, government ministries have invested large amounts in these neighborhoods to improve physical conditions, provide social services, and improve economic prospects, with little significant progress, motivating the need for different approach. Recognizing the importance of local participation in making government investments more sustainable, the IHRU hoped to use top-down action to build up a local governance network through a participatory process. The IHRU also recognized the need for more integrated and flexible governance structures to solve cross-sectoral problems like systemic social exclusion; hence the IBC set up an inter-sectoral decision-making structure that focuses on issues specific to the territory.

The original concept for the IBC came from the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning, which, recognizing the failure of past interventions in these neighborhoods, promoted experimentation with governance models. In designing the IBC, the IHRU drew from the experience with participatory local governance it gained in a previous initiative, “*Velhos Guetos, Novas Centralidades*,” which had used a similar approach in two less urban communities. IHRU secured funding for the IBC from a variety of sources, including national funds, European Social Funds, and EEA grants.¹⁵

¹⁵ EEA grants are contributions from non-EU members—Liechtenstein, Norway and Ireland—to promote integration of new European countries.

Figure 6-3: Governance structure of each IBC neighborhood project



The IHRU began the IBC in 2008 by contacting local organizations, public agencies and other actors with a stake in the selected communities and bringing them together for a series of stakeholder workshops. Participants in these workshops discussed local issues, with the goal of forming a governance structure and an action plan. Over the course of these meetings, the IHRU discovered more stakeholders to invite, and others whose interests were more peripheral dropped out, so the end group—the Partners’ Committee—represented those with a central stake in the neighborhood. In each neighborhood, this Partners’ Committee consisted of 80-90 individuals from roughly 30 organizations, including government agencies, the municipality, the *freguesia*, schools, social services, and various citizen associations. (In the Porto neighborhood, the Partners’ Committee includes the transport agency, STCP.) By the end of this first phase, the Partners’ Committee produced an action plan, a definition of a governance structure, and a budget. Most importantly, the first phase ended with commitment contracts that assigned each partner a responsibility in implementing the action plan, whether in the form of labor, funding, or other resources. The second phase, underway currently, aims to implement the action plan, following the governance structure, budget, and commitments defined in Phase 1.

The governance structure calls for the Partners’ Committee to serve as the central decision-making group in each neighborhood (see Figure 6-3). The Partners’ Committee appoints members to serve on an Executive Committee, which is composed of the IHRU, the corresponding municipality, representatives of residents, and representatives from two to three relevant sectors. The Executive Committee manages the initiative and makes day to day decisions; only the larger Partners’ Committee can make major decisions.

While forming the Partners’ Committee, the IHRU also created an Inter-Ministerial Committee, composed of representatives from eight government ministries, that follows the work of all three neighborhoods in order to provide political support for each neighborhood’s decisions. An example from one neighborhood illustrates this committee’s role. Residents in this neighborhood identified the absence of child care facilities as a major problem. Previously, the responsible agency (the General Directorate for Social Security) had interpreted this complaint as a general call for more child care buildings and teachers. However, the IBC discussions revealed that the real problem was not lack of facilities, but the timing of care available. Many of the local mothers worked late nights and therefore needed child care after normal care hours. The stakeholders’ proposed solution—to create a “night nannies” service—created challenges for the Social

Security agency because a night service would mean rearranging employees' schedules, as well as other logistical and financial adjustments. Carrying out these changes required political support from a high level within the ministry, and the Partners' Committee worked with the Inter-Ministerial Committee to secure the needed support. Therefore, the semi-formal links between the local community and the ministry created by the IBC proved critical in implementing a solution.

According to the IHRU, the IBC has been a success: two of the three neighborhoods are on course to implementing their action plans, and the third neighborhood has seen progress, but may need more time (Freitas 2010). In perhaps the greatest indicator of the initiative's influence, several municipalities—including Lisbon and Odivelas—have approached the IHRU with intentions to replicate the model. The IHRU claims to have learned a great deal from the experience, and has applied the lessons to its next round of projects, which include urban revitalization partnerships with municipalities (Freitas 2010).

The IHRU believes that its projects can be a force of change in the larger planning system. It hopes that other agencies will adopt an approach similar to that of the IBC; in fact, at least two municipalities already are in the beginning stages of similar processes (Freitas 2010). The IHRU itself is replicating its own model, with adaptations. In 2008, it launched its Partnerships for Urban Rehabilitation program (*Parcerias para a Reabilitação Urbana*, PRU), in which the Institute works individually with municipalities to implement an intervention process, modeled on the IBC, in specific neighborhoods. Partial support from European Social Funds, through the QREN, helps incentivize each municipality to participate in the partnership (IHRU 2010). However, in the latest partnership, called *Viver Marvila*, the Municipality of Lisbon and the IHRU agreed to collaborate *without* the inducement of external funding. Like previous projects, *Viver Marvila* will apply an integrated and participatory decision-making process to a specific neighborhood. Unlike previous projects, however, the two partners decided to collaborate purely because both recognized the potential benefit, not because an outside funding source encouraged it (Freitas 2010).¹⁶

Nature of collaboration

The IBC involved an unusually high degree of collaboration across sectors and across levels of government. Inter-sectoral coordination occurred at the local level, between various organizations and government agencies that worked primarily within the neighborhood, and at a higher level, between ministries in the Inter-Ministerial Committee. The governance structure explicitly linked the two levels of government and the IHRU facilitated their interaction. Through collaboration, the Partners' Committee produced a single integrated strategy document—the action plan—and implemented it through joint action. The initiative also led ministries to coordinate decisions with local needs. The process expected partners to commit a defined level of resources to the project, indication of the strength of the collaboration.

Characteristics of the collaboration process

Despite flexibility in project design, the IHRU ensured a very clear and well defined structure for partnership arrangements; this clarity helped the collaboration endure through the more difficult phase of implementation. The partners developed the governance structure through a collective process, guided by the IHRU, and the agreed organizational structure made the roles of each actor very clear. The process left

¹⁶ The *Viver Marvila* project may actually receive international funding at some point, for example through the EU's JESSICA program, but this is uncertain and it was not a condition of the partnership agreement.

room for adaption in the roles, and so ensured some flexibility, but any changes were clearly communicated. The initial binding agreements signed by each partner also played a critical role in moving the action plan forward into the implementation stage, as they ensured that each followed through with their commitment.

External factors - incentives

Each of the actors involved had some incentive to participate in the collaboration. As a new agency, the IHRU needed collaboration to achieve its mission and establish its value to the central government. The other ministries were legally required to participate, but they also expected that participation would help them accomplish their objectives more efficiently. Since several past interventions in these neighborhoods had failed, the ministries, and the agencies beneath them, hoped that a different approach would prove more efficient and more sustainable. Various public agencies under these ministries found that the services they provided in the targeted neighborhoods often overlapped, and they expected coordination to help achieve efficiencies and/or synergies in service delivery. At the local level, public agencies, citizens' groups, and residents looked to the initiative as a way to access government funds and influence, and as a way to solve long-standing problems in the neighborhoods. Although some local groups initially expressed skepticism about the effectiveness of yet another intervention, most eventually joined the effort. Not insignificantly, international EEA funds financed the process, and some individual ground-level projects, increasing the economic incentive for all actors involved.

Additionally, the collaborative approach helped insure the initiative against political uncertainty. By joining so many different actors and interests, the approach worked to stabilize the governance structure against the electoral cycle and its changing political priorities, allowing the committees and projects to survive the local and national elections in 2009.

External factors – disincentives

As a particularly involved collaboration, the IBC requires a large investment of time and effort from all partners. For the IHRU, the effort is not necessarily a disincentive because, like Porto Vivo, it views the building and management of collaborative relationships as central to its work. For the other central government agencies and local organizations however, the effort adds to their existing responsibilities—the other benefits of participation presumably outweigh this disincentive. In agreeing to join the initiative, local organizations may also have to give up some control over their areas of work.

Legal and institutional environment

Despite its operational autonomy, the IHRU is essentially a branch of the central government—this formal association with the government has two important implications. First, the IBC carries the authority of the central government, which it can use to pressure other organizations to participate in the initiative. Second, as part of the central government, the IHRU has the legal freedom to carry out the IBC as it sees necessary. The Ministerial Council Resolution (143/2005), which formally created the IBC, establishes a legal framework governing the process, but it was, of course, the central government itself who authored this resolution and it did so specifically to fit the IBC's context. In other words, the IBC is governed by a legal process that was designed specifically for a particular type of neighborhood. It was not, as in the PDM process, a legal framework designed for general cases. As a result, the IBC framework was designed to allow and even obligate collaboration by the relevant set of actors.

The IHRU also works within an environment that encourages innovation. The government conceived the IBC as an experiment and, while it expects some tangible outcomes, it also highly values the knowledge gained from the experience. Likewise, the IHRU views its series of development initiatives as a learning process; each intervention informs and (hopefully) improves the design of subsequent interventions. As Maria João Freitas, the director of the IBC program, explained, “The idea is that we are going to experiment; we want to learn from this experience, and we will tell by the end of this year what we learned and what we recommend for the future.” Many residents and organizations in the targeted neighborhoods, frustrated by poor outcomes of past interventions, also appeared open to an experimental approach.

External trigger

In this case, the impetus for action came from within the central government and was enabled by supra-national funding. It is unlikely that the government would have been able to fully support the project without outside resources from the EU and EEA.

Existing networks

Despite starting with few connections at the local level, the IHRU was able to work through its existing contacts to reach networks of local actors. It first contacted existing acquaintances in the ministries, and asked the ministries to connect them with relevant agencies at the local level; for example, the Ministry of Health might provide a contact for a local clinic. It also contacted the municipalities and asked for names of local citizens’ organizations in the neighborhoods. Through those local contacts, the IHRU eventually reached all the relevant actors in each neighborhood. In cases where the local organizational network was already quite well-developed, this was not difficult, but where the existing network was sparse the process was longer. In addition, the IBC process strengthened existing networks and, where the local networks were initially weak, local organizations actually sprung up as a result of the intervention process (Freitas 2010).

Organizational characteristics

We have little information about all the organizations involved in the IBC, but we can highlight some notable characteristics of the IHRU. As discussed earlier, the IHRU came from a merger of three institutes and, as a new organization, its procedures and customs continue to evolve, giving it more freedom to adapt behavior to specific project circumstances. The organizational culture values experimentation and views process as a learning experience. Dr. Freitas explained her perspective:

“If you want to reach these kinds of interventions in a participatory way and to incorporate the dynamics, we must also change our planning procedures. [It can’t be done] with the traditional tools of planning, with every action detailed, every day counted.... The dependencies are very high in the process. We cannot lead these projects in the same way that we lead projects that are only in one structure” (Freitas 2010).

The IHRU has therefore understood the need to take risks and experiment and, as an organization, has been prepared to do so.

In addition, at the outset of the IBC, the organizations involved shared a common recognition of the problem, which was that past interventions in these neighborhoods had failed to produce lasting impacts and that public investments were redundant and inefficient. Initially, the partners most likely held somewhat different views of the problem, but the process of preparing the neighborhood diagnosis and action plan may have helped the stakeholders come to a common understanding.

Lessons

The IBC involved a high degree of collaboration between many actors across various sectors and across levels of government. The collaboration came about in part because, for some members, it was legally required, and in part because each party could expect to benefit. The IHRU's effective leadership in the collaboration comes in large part from its authority as a branch of the central government, but its motivation arose from a desire to prove its worth as a new agency and an organizational culture oriented toward innovation and experimentation. The IHRU also had great flexibility within the legal framework to design the project approach in a way that fit the particular context.

Still, the initiative could only address a problem of relatively limited scope. The IBC targeted mainly win-win problems in which all partners could expect to benefit—the government agencies could potentially gain efficiencies in service delivery, while citizen organizations could gain access to government resources. The action plans produced by the initiative did not appear to call for any significant trade-offs from any party. In addition, the initiative focused only on a single neighborhood. The IHRU could orchestrate the necessary complex governance arrangement for a limited geographical scope, but setting up similar structures on a larger scale would be much more difficult.

The integrated governance structure of the IBC has allowed more flexible and innovative solutions than would otherwise be possible. More significantly, perhaps, the process of developing these kinds of customized solutions has also created transformational forces within the acting organizations. For example, the “night nannies” emerged as an alternative solution to opening more day care centers, but it also changed the way the Social Security agency operated, even if in a small way. According to Dr. Freitas, “these institutions have to change a lot internally to incorporate all these perspectives.... These kinds of interventions really imply changes in the organizations at different levels” (Freitas 2010). While a full analysis of how the IBC process may have changed the organizations involved would require further research, it is likely, as Dr. Freitas suggests, that many would have adjusted their daily activities and, perhaps, perceptions.

Lessons from the Exploratory Cases

The preceding examples illustrate four very different ways in which actors within the planning system are finding new ways to work across institutional boundaries. Although these cases do not necessarily paint a general picture of the Portuguese planning scene, they do indicate some areas in which change is occurring. They may be exceptions relative to the overall situation, but they are not the only exceptions. In fact, I found many other examples that challenged the prevailing narrative of fragmentation: the efforts of Lisbon's public development company (EPUL) to form partnerships in order to guard against political uncertainty; the municipalities of Amadora and Lisbon working together to mitigate the impacts of a new highway; a coalition of municipalities around Lisbon joining to develop plans for a light rail system; the transport agency in Porto coordinating operations with multiple stakeholders around a busy hospital; urban revitalization companies in Porto and Gaia exchanging information; transport agencies coming together to create a single network information system. The examples are widespread and, even if they do not represent the dominant pattern, they need not be representative of the whole in order to offer instructive insights. They are neither insignificant nor arbitrary events, but are instead important indicators of tenuous points in the system. We can identify some commonalities among the cases that lead to more general lessons.

Combination of top-down and bottom-up

In all of these cases, collaboration emerged from complementarity between local orientations and high-level policies of central government or EU. With EU-funded projects, programs like Interreg directly encourage inter-municipal cooperation, a top-down action usually facilitated by the willingness of municipalities to engage in collaboration. In the case of Barreiro, a decision by the central government (the bridge location) combined with the experience gained from EU projects (through Interreg) prompted a municipality pre-disposed toward collaboration to join with other actors. Porto Vivo was created by the central government, but owes much of its success to action at the local level, by local actors, who are actively pursuing collaborations. The case of IHRU's IBC program shows how a top-down action, through experimentation and careful design, can trigger engagement at the local level. In all of these cases, top-down action from the EU or from the central government either helps create or reinforces bottom-up the initiatives of local organizations and local municipalities.

Existing networks

As predicted by the literature on collaboration, described in Chapter 2, existing organizational networks have proven a key element. Planners in Barreiro employed networks built in its Interreg project, while Porto Vivo took advantage of connections stemming from former professional relationships of its staff and from formal relationships with local and national government. In the IBC, the IHRU worked through existing networks, often tracing relationships through several steps, to build a stakeholder group. Starting without initially established networks, the Interreg program recognized the importance of building inter-municipal ties and intentionally designed mechanisms to do so.

Incentives and disincentives

The four examples illustrate the importance of understanding the factors weighing for and against collaboration. Not surprisingly, in each case, actors who chose to collaborate did so because they expected the benefits—which were often ability to achieve objectives or access to power and resources—to outweigh the costs—often time, effort, and risk. Of course, this factor depends on the ability of potential partners to accurately assess the pros and cons of collaboration.

The importance of ambiguity in the legal and institutional system

All of the above examples of collaboration occurred in the ambiguous spaces outside of the formal planning framework as established in Portuguese law. Most notably, none of these examples involve collaboration within the PDM process. As discussed in Chapter 5, the PDM law creates a very rigid framework for planning and, indeed, all of my conversations with planners confirmed the inflexibility of the PDM document and process. The strict procedures prescribed by the PDM regime discourage collaboration within the process; instead, the more innovative planning initiatives occur around it, where space outside of the system becomes available, or where planners are able to create outside space. Instances of planners experimenting with collaborative partnerships, participatory methods, or new forms of management usually have little to do with the PDM. The PDM plays a role only in that it sets the boundaries of what is feasible—projects cannot go against it. I have observed no cases where a city has tried to introduce new elements in the PDM process or the plan itself.

The four cases indicate how agencies can form collaborations and carry out innovative projects in the spaces outside the formal process. In some cases, such as Interreg or the IBC, the program deliberately creates the conditions for collaboration. In these cases, the EU and the IHRU set up the respective programs outside of

the formal PDM framework and the spaces they created allowed more local actors to work together. In other cases, such as Porto Vivo's work and Barreiro's inter-municipality mobility plan, organizations took advantage of existing ambiguity in the regulatory system to either redefine the rules, or to work in spaces where no rules exist. In this way, Barreiro recognized the absence of guidelines for mobility plans, defined its own guidelines in the TRAMO project, and is now establishing a precedent for mobility planning between municipalities. If the mobility plan is a success, would it be a stretch of imagination for the Portuguese system to, consciously or unconsciously, institutionalize the Barreiro model and formalize the process through new regulation?

Orientation of actors within the system

Finally, these cases make clear that, at an individual level, many practitioners throughout the system actually embrace the idea of collaboration. Most of the planners I spoke with expressed dedication to their work and enthusiasm about opportunities to adopt new approaches. Most of the individuals could give examples of initiatives they personally undertook that were above and beyond regular tasks, such as trying to work with other municipal departments on long-term strategy or working with parking companies to analyze parking availability. In many cases these initiatives encountered bureaucratic constraints, but they show that many practitioners are willing to actively make changes, given the opportunity. Of course, the public servants and politicians I interviewed may not be representative of the general professional field, since perhaps only the more committed individuals agreed to an interview, but it still shows the existence of a potential constituency for change. The overall governance system may discourage practitioners from working together, but, certainly, these individuals were not avoiding cooperation because "they don't want to talk to each other."

The inability of existing collaboration to address metropolitan-level planning

However widespread the existing instances of collaboration, they have so far addressed only issues of limited scope. In cases discussed above, collaborative arrangements have dealt with problems that involve interdependencies but that are still relatively circumscribed—inter-sectoral problems within a given localized area, or inter-municipal problems surrounding a particular issue. Voluntary collaboration has not successfully tackled the larger and more complex problem of planning and coordinating development at a metropolitan level, as this problem requires integration, or at least coordination, of *many* actions and decisions by *many* parties. Coordination of only *some* decisions will not suffice. Therefore, the existing processes of collaboration, while important and instructive, do not negate the need for a more effective metropolitan-level governance structure. Effective metropolitan governance in Portugal remains elusive, but the examples of existing collaborative efforts do provide some clues about how such governance system might emerge, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

Table 6-1: Summary of Exploratory Cases

| Case | Key actors | Dimension of collaboration | Nature of collaboration | External trigger? | Existing networks |
|--|--|--|---|---|--|
| 1. Interreg projects -Lisbon -Loures -Barreiro -Porto and Matosinhos | Municipalities form partnerships; EU enacted policy | Inter-municipal Inter-sectoral International | Information sharing -low risk -some coordination | Supra-national (EU) funding | Very little previously existing links; Interreg built new networks |
| 2. Inter-municipality mobility plan | Municipality of Barreiro leads partnership | Inter-municipal Inter-sectoral | Coordinate strategy, policy, and maybe operations -initially, coordination to gain efficiency -later, trade-offs possible | New bridge Experience with Interreg project | Existing networks, built by earlier Interreg project and by political party affiliation |
| 3. Porto Vivo | SRU as a separate organization, connected with municipality and central government | Inter-sectoral Vertical | Coordination of site-specific plans, operations, finance. | National action to address urban revitalization | Formal connections with central govt and Porto munic; Initial connections with local orgs |
| 4. Iniciativa Bairros Críticos | IHRU coordinates many other actors, including municipality | Inter-sectoral Vertical | Coordinated action and policy. Involves trade-offs and binding decisions. | National action, supra-national funding | IHRU builds on local networks and existing connections b/w ministries. |

| Case | Incentives | Organizational characteristics | Legal and institutional environment | Outcomes | Lessons |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|---|---|---|
| 1. Interreg projects | EU funding; Possible efficiency and synergy; Political currency | Varies | Outside of official planning system; Guided by QREN, which encourages integration and innovation . | TRAMO project led to further collaboration; Others—no clear outcomes. | Top-down, but can lead to more collaboration later; Space for munic. staff to pursue different projects; Shows enthusiasm for these projects exists. |
| 2. Inter-municipality mobility plan | Increased efficiency; Increased “power in numbers” to compete with other municipalities | Strong leadership Municipally-owned transit company Inter-disciplinary orientation of staff resulting from Interreg project; Common political party | No laws or official structure for mobility plans. | Too soon to tell | Interreg was catalyst; Mobility plan is outside of the PDM structure; The Interreg project TRAMO attempted to establish precedent for mobility plans. |
| 3. Porto Vivo | Achieve goals; Efficiency and synergy; Organizational legitimacy, power, and resilience (e.g. surviving electoral cycle). | New organization; Strong leadership; Diverse, well-connected staff; Operational autonomy from CMP. | Porto Vivo shaped SRU laws and set precedent for their implementation. | Too soon to tell, but several development projects are underway. | Connections at all levels helped; Flexibility of law helped—could tailor it to the situation. |
| 4. Iniciativa Bairros Críticos | Efficiency and synergy; European funding; Political currency; Resilience to political change. | IHRU is new organization; Staff oriented toward experimentation. | No laws governing IBC; as central government, IHRU creates the rules. | All neighborhoods have completed an action plan; 2 of 3 will soon achieve objectives. Several attempts to replicate model in other agencies. | Later led to partnership between municipality and IHRU. Importance of innovation in the structure itself. |

Chapter 7 Outcomes of the Workshops

Effects of the Scenario Planning Exercise: Content-Based

Scenario-building workshops will more likely impart participants with new perspectives or new understandings if the workshops actually fulfill their objective of generating useful scenarios. This section will comment on the success of the scenario planning exercise, based on the content discussed and the scenarios produced. I will first propose some criteria with which to judge the quality of the scenarios produced and then apply those criteria to the content-based outcomes of our process. Second, I will use this assessment of the scenario content to draw conclusions about the likely effects of the scenario planning exercise on the participants.

There are two reasons to assess the content of the scenarios generated. First, the quality of the scenarios produced is one measure of the success of the process; if the process did not generate good scenarios—as judged by some generic criteria for effective scenarios—then we must question the validity of the process, and hence the validity of any conclusions about the effects on participants. Second, by reflecting content of the discussions, the content of the scenarios produced possibly indicates how the participants have changed their perceptions of relevant issues.

Criteria for evaluating scenarios

Because the purpose of scenario planning exercises can vary, no standard set of criteria exists by which to judge the outcomes. The literature does, however, agree that scenarios should be *internally consistent* and *plausible* (Bradfield et al. 2005). Most of the literature also agrees that scenarios should not be forecasts, but should represent *possible futures* (Bradfield et al. 2005; Wack 1985b; Schoemaker 1995). Schoemaker (1995) adds more criteria that also have generic applicability: scenarios should be *relevant* and “*archetypal*.” Relevancy refers to the question at hand—in our case urban revitalization in Portugal. An archetypal set of scenarios will be wide-ranging and represent fundamentally different futures rather than just variations of one future.

According to van der Heijden (1996), a scenario planning exercise is successful to the degree that it is “purposeful.” While at first glance this statement may not appear useful, it reminds us that scenarios should be evaluated according to the degree to which they reflect the purpose of the given activity. In the case of our workshops, as discussed in Chapter 5, the primary objective of the scenario planning exercise was sense-making; that is, participants should have arrived at a greater understanding of the factors affecting urban revitalization, including a wider perspective of the scope of the issue and a greater appreciation for the interconnections between factors. If we want participants to broaden their perspective, we should expect scenarios to be *comprehensive*—they should describe possible states with respect to a comprehensive range of factors. Furthermore, if we expect participants to reexamine their preconceived ideas about the future and their assumptions of relationships between factors, then scenarios should be both compelling and surprising (Xiang & Clarke 2003). As suggested by Bradfield et al. (2005), we can ask whether the scenarios are *novel*—whether they present interesting possibilities, rather than obvious or clichéd narratives.

Based on the above considerations, we apply the following criteria to assess the scenarios generated by our workshops:

1. Internal consistency. Does each scenario tell a coherent story? Are relationships between driving forces logical?
2. Plausibility. Are the scenarios believable? Scenarios might be unlikely or unexpected, but they should be plausible.
3. Relevance. Are they relevant to the central question? In our case, do elements of the scenarios hold implications for urban revitalization and urban mobility in Portugal?
4. Comprehensiveness. Do the elements of the scenarios cover a broad range of sectors, professional areas, and spatial scales? Are they more comprehensive than that which each individual participant or an “expert” would have generated?
5. Archetypal representation. Does the set of scenarios represent distinct and wide-ranging possibilities for the future, rather than alternate versions of one future?
6. Novelty. Do they encourage people to think about the future in a new way? Do they highlight how factors could interact to produce unexpected outcomes? Do they encourage more examination of the possibilities of and interconnections between the driving forces, or do they tend to confirm existing views?

Most of these criteria are obviously quite subjective—how does one measure novelty? The discussion presented here is therefore not intended as a definitive appraisal of the scenarios’ effectiveness, but merely as one way to qualitatively reflect on the validity of the process and to provide insight into possible implications of the process.

Qualitative assessment of the workshops’ products

As discussed in Chapter 4, the final scenarios reflect the project team’s work as much as the ideas from participants; therefore, we should evaluate the direct product of the group discussions. Towards this end, we can look at (1) the list of factors compiled by the project team after the first workshop (see Table 7-1) and (2) the combinations of driving forces chosen by the groups at the end of the second workshop (Table 4-1).

Table 7-1: Summary of factors identified in Workshop 1

| Political/Administrative | Demographic/Societal | Economy | Technology |
|--|---|--|--|
| Capital city-centrism (public investments and policies favoring Lisbon) | Influx of students Population ageing in city centre | Economic growth (purchasing power, etc.) | Transportation technologies: vehicle size |
| Effectiveness of enforcement (e.g., of zoning, expropriations, definition of preservation and heritage) | Capacity to attract young middle class families | Consumer access to credit for housing Producer access to credit for real estate | Development and adoption rate of new transportation technologies (cleaner, quieter vehicles) |
| More movement to “ideal” land and property tax system (e.g., Real estate taxes penalizing long-term vacant property, split-rate property taxes) | Consumption preferences (shopping, healthcare, education): “modern”/“traditional” Transportation preferences: private vs. collective | Infrastructure provider access to credit Real Estate Supply | Development and adoption rate of new communication technologies (e.g. virtual travel, tele-presence, etc.) |
| Environmental regulation | Housing preferences: City versus suburb Cultural attitudes towards renovation Safety and security, criminality | Tourism Private sector preferences for space/offices (city versus suburb) Government weight in economy | Building technologies, including technical capacity to rehabilitate old buildings |
| Adequate attribution of appropriate financial instruments (taxing and expenditures, including property and land taxes) – right match between fiscal resources and uses | Social disparity and segregation Social bonding among neighbors | Export orientation or services-orientation Private investments favoring Lisbon | |
| Urban policy consistency, horizontal/vertical cooperation/administrative effectiveness | Immigration | Energy Costs Travel Costs | |
| Role of stakeholders as facilitators of urban regeneration | Public participation attitudes | | |
| Governance: Existence of a supra-municipal structure | | | |

Comprehensiveness and relevance

The list of factors derived from Workshop 1, shown in Table 7-1, reflects a relatively comprehensive set of topics, although the spatial scope is narrower than may be expected. Participants were asked to consider all the factors they thought were important for urban revitalization. Hence, the factors they identified were all relevant to the question at hand and, as Table 7-1 suggests, they represent issues from diverse sectors, including environmental regulations, social bonding, economic orientation, and building technologies, in addition to more obvious factors like housing preferences and population. The scope could arguably have

been wider, but one might question whether farther-ranging factors could still be considered relevant to urban revitalization.¹⁷ We might speculate that the list of factors is broader than what would have been produced by an individual or by the project team alone, although we have no definite way to determine this. Notably, the list does not include many large-scale factors that one might expect to find in such a future-oriented exercise—such as climate change or natural disasters, or major resource shortages—and international considerations, such as the direction of European Community policy or the role of Portugal in the global economy. (Some groups did mention E.U. policy, but it was not heavily emphasized.) Groups did include global forces like energy cost, but these discussions were fairly generic and did not go in-depth into the factors behind energy cost. The absence of global perspective may be partially blamed on the fact that we began the first workshop with discussions of current problems with urban revitalization in a specific city, which tended to orient participants to local issues. The omission of these types of macro factors suggests that, although the participants recognized interconnections between diverse sectors, the spatial scope of discussion rarely extended beyond Portugal.

Novelty

In formal terms, the novelty criterion applies more to the overall scenarios rather than the driving forces that form them, but it is still important to ask whether the participants generated novel ideas. The factors identified by the groups were all important and many were highly uncertain, but, in general, reflected less creativity than they might have. For instance, the technological factors represent trends which are already occurring (e.g. wide adoption of smart phones; development of alternative-fuel vehicles) rather than imagining unexpected inventions or new turns (e.g. in-home 3-D printers that obviate the need for freight transport?). Perhaps the decision to begin the workshop with a discussion of current local issues set a tone that discouraged creative thought. Participants instinctively preferred talking about the problems they face in their daily work, and facilitators constantly struggled to redirect the discussion toward the future.

We should also note that throughout the discussions in the first workshop, participants found it difficult to distinguish between exogenous driving forces and strategies government agencies could potentially adopt. For example, some participants thought availability of parking was an important factor, but parking policy should really be considered a potential strategy, not a driving force. Several of the “factors” identified by groups were more endogenous than external; the project team excluded these from the consolidated list of factors. Participants had difficulty in making this distinction partially due to the inherent ambiguity of the issue and partially due to facilitators’ failure to emphasize the distinction. Some participants therefore may not have fully grasped the importance of this concept to the scenario-building process.

Archetypal representation

Table 4-1 shows the scenarios, as defined by combinations of driving forces, chosen by each group. The table suggests that the groups had very different ideas in terms of overall scenarios to select. In the only point of convergence, all the groups chose at least one scenario that appeared to be the “best case”: a combination of economic growth, social regeneration, technological advance, and either centralized or less-

¹⁷ Like other urban development issues, one can find links between urban revitalization and an almost infinite range of other factors. The literature has recognized connections with transport, social and cultural issues, health, and the environment, among others (Spandou et al. 2010). Practicalities of workshops motivate limiting the scope of discussion, but where to draw the line is debatable.

centralized government. Groups were not specifically instructed to select an ideal scenario, yet participants seemed to naturally identify the scenario they considered most optimistic.

Each group chose a fairly representative range of scenarios, even though each used different criteria to make its selection. Some groups chose scenarios that were most optimistic, most pessimistic, and most likely; others chose ones they considered most creative. Scenario planning guides caution against choosing good-bad-medium scenarios, as it tends to reinforce the prevailing mindset, and facilitators were told to avoid this, but the groups found it difficult to think in this manner. Still each group's set did represent wide-ranging and fundamentally distinct possibilities. In choosing a wide range of possibilities, the groups succeeded, selecting combinations with varied states of driving forces. The exception is technology; three of the five groups did not select any scenarios with a "neutral" state for technology, suggesting that they did not see neutral technological advance as plausible.

Internal consistency and plausibility

On this criterion, we can draw only limited conclusions from the groups' selection of scenarios, in large part because the groups did not have adequate time during the second workshop to elaborate storylines for the scenarios and therefore were only partially able to consider the logic and implications of each one. Groups essentially chose scenarios based on the mechanical combination of driving force states, instead of based on well-developed narratives of the future; therefore, we cannot expect the groups to have fully evaluated scenarios for plausibility or internal consistency. Still, the groups were instructed to eliminate any combinations of driving forces which seemed very highly unlikely, and the scenarios chosen, at least superficially, appear internally consistent and plausible.

The Scenarios

As a validation of the entire scenario-building process, we should also evaluate the overall scenarios, as elaborated by the project team, against the chosen criteria. At the time of this writing, the project team has developed the scenario narratives but has not yet presented them to the participants for review, so the scenarios described below do not necessarily represent the final products of the process. Still, an assessment of the scenario narratives as they now exist provides one measure of success of the scenario-building process, and thus may help analyze the effects on participants.

Following the second workshop, the project team synthesized the groups' work, selected three representative scenarios, and developed narratives for each. In elaboration of the storylines, we tried to reflect ideas generated by participants throughout the two workshops. At the same time, we took some artistic liberty in order to make the stories logical and interesting. Appendix 8 presents the scenario narratives as of this writing.

Table 7-2: Summary of scenarios

| Scenario | Political/ Administrative | Economic | Social/ Demographic | Technological |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| “Societal Crisis” | Strong central government | Stagnation | Dynamic | Neutral |
| “Portugal Novo” | Less-centralized | Growth | Dynamic | Advance |
| “Will Technology Save Us?” | Less-centralized | Stagnation | Fading | Advance |

Qualitative assessment of the scenarios

Internal consistency

The scenarios are internally consistent because we designed them to be that way. In some cases, though, we struggled to make the combinations chosen in each scenario logical.

Plausibility

We also designed the scenarios to be plausible. Another test of plausibility will come through validation by the participants, but until then, we have to assume that they are plausible. Some parts of the scenarios seem somewhat unlikely, but not implausible. For example, in the first scenario it seems unlikely that central government would actually grow stronger than it is now, but it is certainly not impossible.

Relevance

All the factors used to build the scenarios were identified as relevant by the participants, so the resulting scenarios are quite relevant to the question of urban revitalization. However, in trying to make the narratives interesting and unexpected, we made them quite complicated and they may be too detailed and nuanced to be relevant to some participants.

Archetypal representation

The easiest way to achieve a wide-ranging and distinctive set of scenarios is to choose some approximation of “good, bad, and medium” scenarios. This approach is very common in scenario planning exercises (see, for example, Scarce & Fulton (2004); Schoemaker (1995)). We tried to avoid this because we thought such obvious storylines would trivialize the entire exercise. Instead, we tried to develop pictures of the future which represent fundamentally different outcomes; however, the complexity of the narratives means that at first glance they are not as readily identifiable as an “archetypal” good-bad-medium set. We still believe that they represent fundamentally distinct and fairly wide-ranging possibilities.

Comprehensiveness

The overall scenarios are comprehensive in terms of covering a wide range of sectors since they were built from a comprehensive set of factors. In addition, we tried to enlarge the spatial scope, taking a somewhat more global view, although we refrained from introducing additional factors or driving forces. For example, in scenario 1, we imagined economic stagnation as a result of a global economic downturn, but we did not add other possible factors, like global warming.

Novelty

Of all the criteria, the direct work of the participants fell most short in the category of novelty. In elaborating the scenarios, therefore, we tried to introduce some more creativity, while still keeping with the spirit of the participants' ideas. In particular, we avoided introducing new factors or driving forces. This resulted in scenarios with somewhat unexpected combinations of previously identified driving forces, but which do not contain particularly imaginative elements; for example, we do not consider the widespread adoption of radically different technologies.

Implications and discussion

Table 7-3 presents a summary of how the overall scenarios and the content generated at the workshops compare against the chosen criteria. The assessment of the participant-generated output is more relevant to the question of how the workshops affect participants. The evaluation of the overall scenarios is more important for considering whether the entire scenario-building process met its objectives, and thus whether the participants are likely to see the process as valid and worthwhile.

Table 7-3: Performance of workshop output and scenario content against chosen criteria

| Criteria | Participant-generated output | Overall scenarios |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Internal consistency | not applicable | yes |
| Plausibility | not applicable | yes |
| Relevancy | Yes | partially |
| Comprehensiveness | Partially | partially |
| Archetypal representation | Partially | partially |
| Novelty | No | slightly |

In terms of participant-generated output, the preceding assessment suggests that the workshop discussions, particularly in the first workshop, focused on relevant and comprehensive issues. The greatest value of the workshops for participants, therefore, may have been the opportunity to discuss important issues with people from a wide range of backgrounds, and this process may have broadened participants' views and highlighted new interconnections between issues. On the other hand, the content did not reflect much creativity, suggesting that the workshops may have failed to challenge participants' more fundamental views. Because time did not allow for significant exploration of scenario narratives which would emphasize plausibility and internal consistency, some participants may have left the second workshop with an incomplete understanding of this aspect of scenario planning. From the beginning, participants were never expected to perform every step of the scenario planning process. However, it is unclear whether they gained as much value as they may have had they also been engaged in elaborating scenario narratives.

The overall scenarios meet all the criteria to some degree, in large part because the project team designed them to meet these criteria. However, the participants' have not yet had the opportunity to review the scenarios. We cannot yet tell whether the participants will accept the scenario narratives and whether they will view the scenario-building process as valuable. It is also too early to tell whether the process has fully accomplished its objectives. In theory, at least, the process has produced scenarios which are consistent with the project's objectives.

As discussed earlier, this assessment of the "quality" of the scenarios produced has been speculative and very subjective. This discussion does not indicate that the scenario-building process had any significant influence.

It shows only that the process has fulfilled *some* of the conditions required for it to have had an effect. It also helps to focus attention on those areas which we might expect to see greater effects. In this case, we might expect participants to have gained a greater understanding of issues, but we might expect less of a change in fundamental attitudes. A more objective approach is needed to determine how and whether the workshops have actually benefitted participants, as provided by the survey analysis.

Results of the Survey

By providing an arena for participants to exchange ideas and views about urban revitalization in a setting removed from their everyday work environment, the workshops were, in theory, to have helped facilitate greater understanding and communication among stakeholders and therefore potentially increase the likelihood of their collaborating in the future. As discussed in Chapter 4, the survey, administered in pre-/post-workshop fashion, was designed to capture the effect of the workshops on the likelihood of participants to later work together, measured as the propensity to collaborate. In this section, we examine the results of the survey in search of empirical evidence with respect to the ability of the scenario planning workshops to influence participants' perceptions and future actions. Such evidence may possibly be extended to larger conclusions about the effectiveness of collaborative scenario planning methods in general.

Factors that contribute to propensity to collaborate

Chapter 4 identified five factors which should, in theory, contribute to the propensity to collaborate and which can be measured in a survey:

1. Existing actor networks
2. Understanding of wider organizational and policy context
3. Shared definition and understanding of the problem
4. Perception of past failure to address the problem
5. Recognition of common goals and objectives

The survey was designed to measure, at least partially, the degree to which these factors are present among the organizations involved in urban revitalization, as well as the degree to which participation in the workshop may have influenced these factors. The workshop may have affected these factors in two principal ways: first, by creating and strengthening personal and professional connections among workshop participants (reflected in factor 1) and, second, by altering participants' perceptions about the urban revitalization issues and their perceptions about other participants (reflected in factors 2-5). The following section presents the results of the survey in terms of these five factors.

Response rate

Of the 38 workshop participants, 22 responded to the complete pre-workshop survey and 16 to the complete post-workshop survey, a response rate of 58% and 42% respectively. The number of responses does not allow a formal statistical analysis that would permit us to generalize to the group of participants as a whole, but it does afford insights into the effects of the workshop on these particular respondents. All of the pre-workshop survey respondents attended or said they planned to attend the first workshop. All respondents of the post-workshop survey attended at least one workshop; 12 of the 16 attended both. The respondents to both surveys represent a fair cross-section of the workshop participants in terms of city, sector, and level of government. As shown in Table 7-4, Lisbon was most highly represented in both surveys. Most respondents worked at the municipal level, although other levels of government are also represented.

Respondents came from a variety of sectors. As multiple responses were allowed, most respondents who said they worked in “public administration”—a broad term that can be understood to include many sectors—also indicated that they worked in another sector. Some respondents worked at more than one spatial scale; for example, the national rail company CP provides both national and metropolitan-level service.

Table 7-4: Respondent Characteristics

| | Pre-Workshop | | Post-Workshop | |
|---|----------------|---------|----------------|---------|
| | Response Count | Percent | Response Count | Percent |
| Total responses | 22 | - | 16 | - |
| <i>In which geographic areas do you currently work?</i> | | | | |
| Coimbra | 3 | 12.0% | 1 | 6.3% |
| Lisboa | 12 | 48.0% | 8 | 50.0% |
| Porto | 9 | 36.0% | 7 | 43.8% |
| Other* | 1 | 4.0% | 0 | 0.0% |
| <i>What are your main areas of responsibility?(multiple responses allowed)</i> | | | | |
| Regional and Urban Planning | 8 | 33.3% | 4 | 25.0% |
| Transport Planning | 7 | 29.2% | 8 | 50.0% |
| Transport Operation | 4 | 16.7% | 5 | 31.3% |
| Public Administration | 9 | 37.5% | 5 | 31.3% |
| Real Estate | 2 | 8.3% | 1 | 6.3% |
| Urban Rehabilitation | 6 | 25.0% | 3 | 18.8% |
| Citizen Representation | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 12.5% |
| Education and Research | 2 | 8.0% | 1 | 6.3% |
| Other** | 7 | 29.2% | 2 | 12.5% |
| <i>At which level are the main responsibilities of your organization?(multiple responses allowed)</i> | | | | |
| National | 6 | 26.1% | 5 | 31.3% |
| Regional | 6 | 26.1% | 5 | 31.3% |
| Metropolitan | 5 | 21.7% | 4 | 25.0% |
| Municipal | 15 | 65.2% | 9 | 56.3% |
| Freguesia | 3 | 13.0% | 0 | 0 |

* “Other” refers to Aveiro

** “Other” refers to parking, environmental assessment, construction, and management of EU funds

1. Pre-existing actor networks

In theory, the number and strength of connections between potential collaborators should increase the likelihood of working together. According to responses from the pre-workshop survey, many respondents were already fairly well connected within actor networks corresponding to their work. As shown in Table 7-5, the majority of respondents were personally acquainted with at least one individual in all six types of organizations listed; most respondents knew more than three colleagues in central government, municipalities, and citizens’ groups. Respondents were less familiar with counterparts in transportation and real estate sectors, but only a few respondents said they did not know anyone in these sectors.

Table 7-5: Number of respondents' acquaintances in various organizations, Pre-workshop Survey

| How many individuals in the following types of organizations do you know personally? | | | |
|---|----------------------|-----------------|------|
| <i>Total responses = 22</i> | | | |
| | Percent of Responses | | |
| | More than 3 | Between 1 and 3 | None |
| Central government agencies | 57% | 33% | 10% |
| Regional authorities | 50% | 45% | 5% |
| Municipalities | 73% | 18% | 9% |
| Transport operators | 48% | 43% | 10% |
| Real estate associations | 43% | 24% | 33% |
| Citizens' groups | 59% | 23% | 18% |

Frequency and mode of communication can serve as a proxy for the strength of an existing relationship. Not surprisingly, the pre-workshop survey indicated that email and telephone were by far the most common modes of communication with colleagues in other organizations, followed by group meetings. Still, 36% said they normally met with colleagues from other organizations in person. Respondents interacted most frequently with municipalities; in communicating with individuals in municipalities, 64% of respondents said they emailed or spoke on the phone on a monthly basis (Figure 7-1), while 40% said they met face-to-face at least monthly (Figure 7-2). When asked about the organization they interacted with most frequently, the majority of respondents said that their principal reasons for the interaction was some form of planning or coordination (Table 7-6). Respondents who worked in the transport sector, however, were more likely to communicate for reasons of sharing or requesting information.

Figure 7-1: Frequency of email and telephone communication, Pre-Workshop Survey

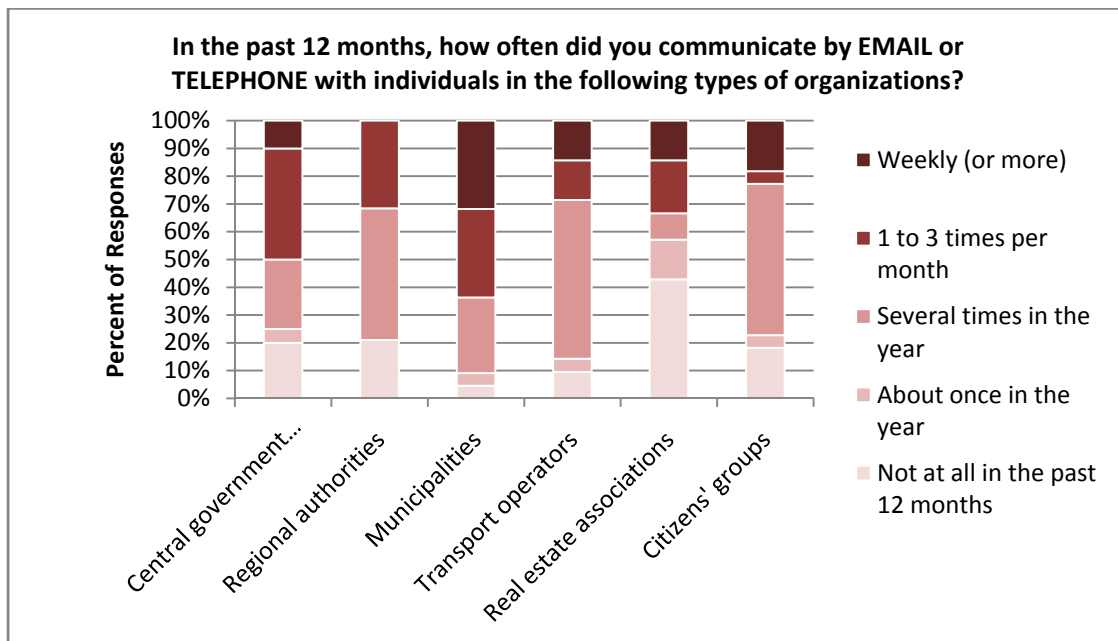


Figure 7-2: Frequency of face-to-face communication, Pre-Workshop Survey

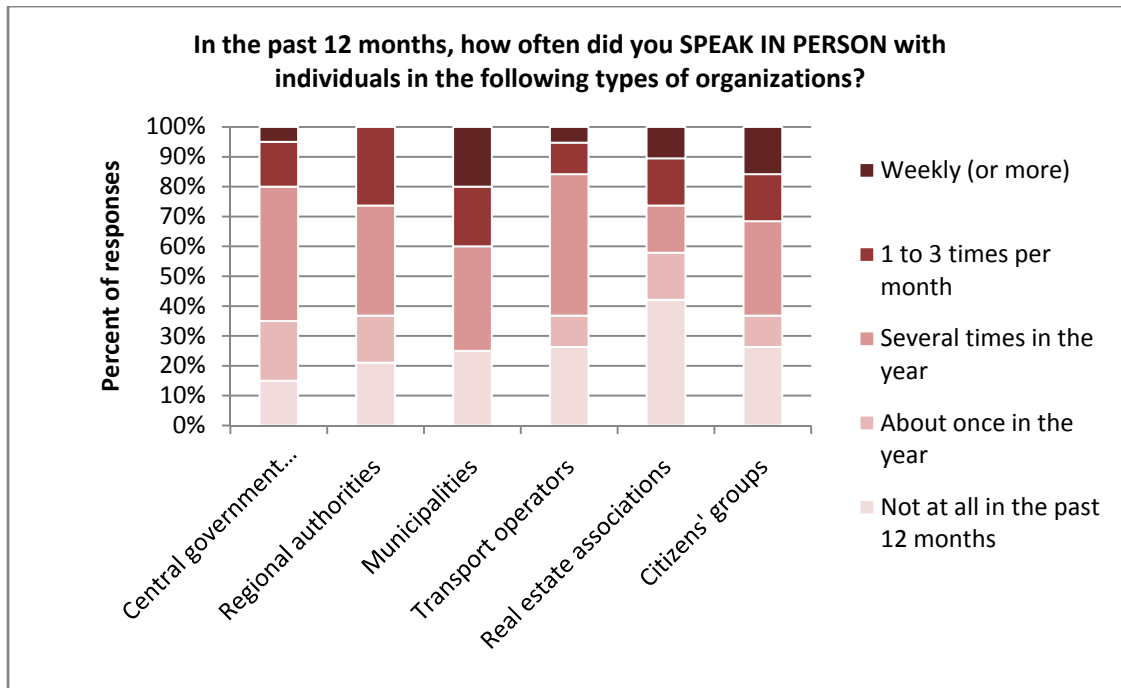


Table 7-6: Principal reasons for communicating with other organizations, Pre-Workshop Survey.

(Each row after the first column represents a single respondent.)

| Respondent's area of work | With which organization do you communicate most frequently? | What is your principal reason for communication with this organization? | Reason code* |
|----------------------------------|--|---|---------------------|
| Administration | municipalities and transport operators | To discuss issues related to activities that come up | P/C |
| Development and Redevelopment | construction associations | Issues related to the issuance of qualifying titles | A |
| | municipalities | administrative help | A |
| | municipalities | Coordination of work | P/C |
| Planning | environmental agencies, Regional Directorate of Economy | Representative of the organization I work in working groups (committees of Evaluation, advisory boards, etc.) | A |
| | municipalities, regional authorities, citizens | To resolve problems associated with planning/management of mobility services | P/C |
| | municipality of Lisbon | integration of EPUL and Lisbon | P/C |
| | various municipalities in the AML | Implementation and alignment of financial projects | P/C |
| | CCDR-N | (no answer) | - |
| | regional authorities, real estate associations, citizens' groups | (no answer) | - |
| Research | municipalities | Projects, participation in seminars | P/C |
| Transport | GPERI-MOPTC | co-financing | A |
| | STCP, ANTRAL, Taxi Associations, ANTROP, EMTT | Response to current affairs - Management of public roads | A |
| | municipalities | For the operation of transport services. Planning and design of networks and services | P/C |
| | municipalities | Coordination | P/C |
| | municipality of Lisbon | Planning and making decisions. Articulation of policies | P/C |
| | FCT | research projects | R |
| | central government agencies | To ask for information | I |
| | municipalities, IMTT, DGTF, OGOPTC | Provision of information on a regular or periodic character; Treatment affairs of the company; | I |
| | other public administration agencies | discussion of common issues and projects, projects under development; requests for information | I |
| | transport operators and citizens' groups | Presentation of projects | I |
| | regional authorities | (no answer) | - |

* A = Administration/finance; P/C = Planning/coordination; I = Request or share information; R = Research

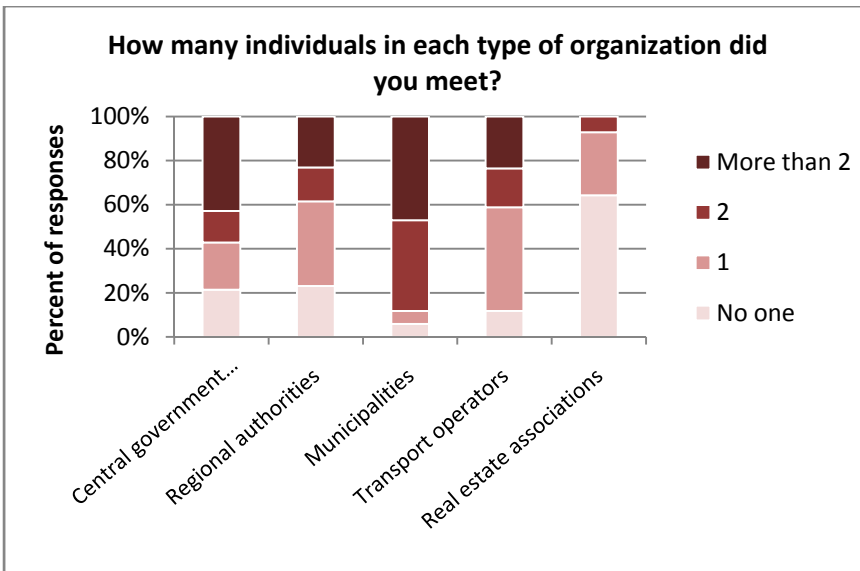
The workshops were expected to build and strengthen already existing actor networks by creating new connections between participants and by reinforcing existing relationships. Responses to the post-workshop survey confirm that the great majority of participants made new acquaintances. Out of 20 respondents, 19 said they met new people (Table 7-7). 82% said that they did not already know most of the participants in their discussion group. The survey did not ask precisely how many new connections were made, but from Figure 7-3 we can infer that many of the respondents met more than two new acquaintances. The new acquaintanceships reflected the representation of the workshops and were not correlated with the sector of the respondent. Participants in the central government appeared slightly more likely to meet other participants in central government, possibly because in the first workshop many of the central government representatives were seated at the same table.

In addition to the survey findings, observations of the workshop activities confirm that many new acquaintanceships were made. In both workshops, but especially in the first, participants introduced themselves to one another both formally at their assigned discussion tables and informally during coffee breaks and lunch. Many participants also appeared appreciative of the opportunity to reconnect with other participants with whom they were already acquainted, but whom they clearly had not seen in some time.

Table 7-7: New acquaintances as a result of the workshops, Post-Workshop Survey

| Post-workshop | | |
|--|----------------|---------|
| | Response count | Percent |
| <i>Did you meet any new acquaintances during the workshop(s)?</i> | | |
| Yes | 19 | 95% |
| No | 1 | 5% |
| <i>True or False: I already knew most of the participants in my discussion group(s) in the workshop(s)</i> | | |
| True | 3 | 18% |
| False | 14 | 82% |

Figure 7-3: New acquaintances by type of organization, Post-Workshop Survey



2. Understanding of wider organizational and policy context

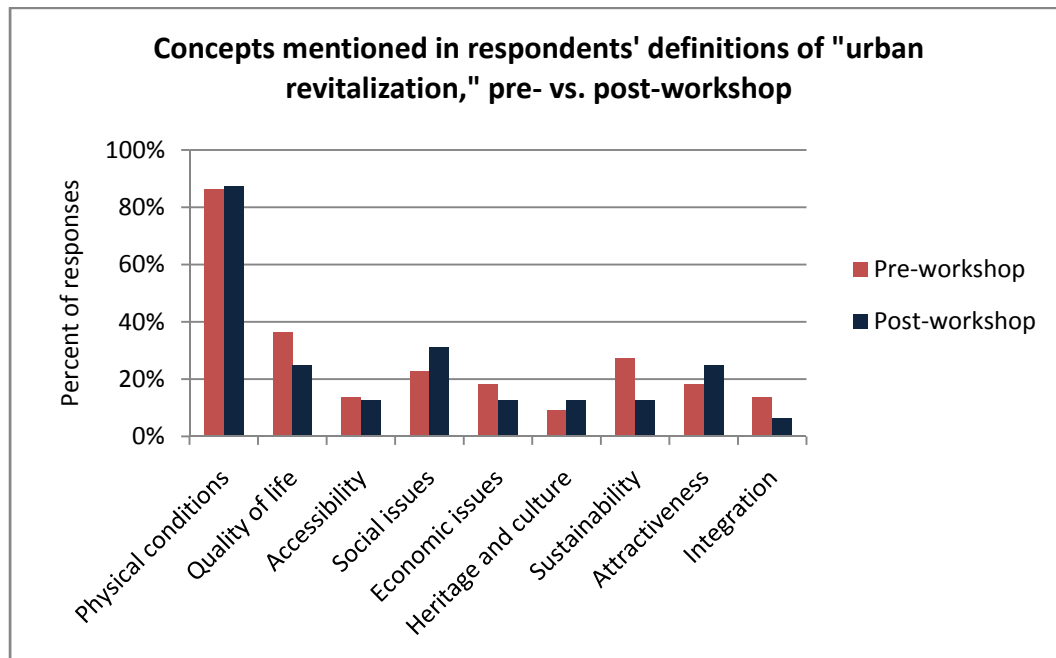
It was expected that, through participation in the workshops, participants would reach a broader, more in-depth, or more precise understanding of urban revitalization issues. In particular, the exposure to and discussion with stakeholders from a wide range of sectors—wider than most participants engage with on a normal basis—could, in theory, cause participants to expand their knowledge and understanding of the urban revitalization context. Two elements of the survey were designed to assess participants’ current conceptions of urban revitalization issues and detect any changes in their conception. In the first, the pre- and post-workshop surveys each asked respondents to provide a definition of “urban revitalization.” It was expected that definitions provided in the survey would reflect a shift to a fuller understanding of the issue. Definitions given in the pre- and post-workshop surveys were coded according to whether they mentioned any of nine concepts that were subjectively determined to represent the range of ideas contained in the responses. These concepts were identified and coded based on the language used by the respondents, even though the meanings of the terms may overlap; for example, “sustainability” can be understood to include social and economic issues, but here was treated as a distinct concept. Table 7-8 shows how themes expressed in the definitions were translated into the nine concepts. It was observed that many respondents mentioned only physical aspects of urban revitalization, while others gave more comprehensive definitions.

Table 7-8: Concepts identified in definitions of "urban revitalization", Pre- and Post-Workshop Surveys

| Concept | Themes expressed in definition | Key words |
|-----------------------------|--|---|
| Physical aspects | renovation/rehabilitation; urban space; buildings; physical conditions | <i>espaço urbano; tecido urbano; edificado; condição física/material; renovação</i> |
| Quality of life | improve quality of life; meet modern standards of living | <i>qualidade da vida</i> |
| Accessibility | improve or consider accessibility and mobility | <i>acessibilidade; mobilidade; transportes públicos</i> |
| Social issues | consideration of social issues; social inclusion; community | <i>social; inserção/coêsão social; comunidade; políticos inclusos</i> |
| Economic issues | promote economic development; economic revitalization | <i>economia</i> |
| Heritage and culture | consideration of heritage and culture; history | <i>patrimônio; cultura; identidade histórico</i> |
| Sustainability | consideration of sustainability | <i>sustentabilidade</i> |
| Attractiveness | create vibrant/dynamic/attractive spaces and areas | <i>ambiente urbano vivo/ atrativo</i> |
| Integration | integration between sectors or levels of government | <i>planos/políticas integrado(a)s</i> |

Most importantly, as Figure 7-4 suggests, there was no noticeable change in respondents' characterization of urban revitalization from the pre- to the post-workshop survey. In the two surveys, the respondents mentioned the same concepts at about the same rate. This consistency may reassuringly indicate the reliability of the question. However, the results do not support the hypothesis that the workshops influenced participants' understanding of urban revitalization.

Figure 7-4: Concepts in definitions of "urban revitalization," Pre- and Post-Workshop Surveys



3. Shared definition and understanding of the problem

We expected individual participants to gain a fuller understanding of urban revitalization issues, and the overall group to reach a more commonly held understanding of the issue. As noted in the previous section, participants' pre- and post-workshop definitions of urban revitalization did not indicate a change in their understanding of the issue. On the other hand, when directly asked, most respondents indicated that participation in the workshops *did* improve their understanding of urban revitalization. As presented in Table 7-10, most respondents agreed with the statement, "The workshop(s) helped me gain a better understanding of urban revitalization issues." Most *disagreed* with the statement, "The workshop(s) did not change my ideas about urban revitalization at all." Respondents who worked in central and regional levels of government were more likely than those from municipal and metropolitan levels to strongly agree that the workshops improved their understanding of urban revitalization. Central and regional workers were also more likely to strongly disagree with the statement that the workshops did not change their ideas at all. These findings confirm expectations: given that central government officials were initially further removed from the urban revitalization problem, we would expect them to learn the most.

There may be several explanations for the contradiction between the results of the urban revitalization definition questions and the direct opinions of respondents. First, the definition of urban revitalization provided in the survey may not be an accurate indication of the depth or breadth of the respondents' actual understanding of the issue. In this case, participants' understanding of the issue may have changed without being detected in the survey. Second, participants may have gained a better understanding of the issue, but in a way that did not affect their definition; for example, they may have gained new ideas about policies to address the issue. Third, respondents may have reported that the workshop improved their understanding even when it did not. Perhaps respondents felt that to agree was to provide the expected or "right" answer. Or perhaps respondents did not really assess whether their views had changed; they may have believed they gained understanding when in actuality they did not. Finally, the workshops may have begun to change participants' perceptions, but in a manner too slow to be detected in the survey; such effects may become clear only later.

If, as expected, participants as a group reached a more commonly held understanding, a comparison of the pre- and post-workshop surveys should reveal some convergence in respondents' definitions of urban revitalization. However, as shown in Figure 7-4, respondents' definitions did not noticeably change. At the same time, as discussed above, respondents claimed to have gained a better understanding of the issues.

Respondents also indicated that, in general, they found themselves to share common opinions with other participants. Virtually all respondents moderately or strongly agreed with the statement, "I found that I shared similar opinions with other participants in my discussion group(s)" (Table 7-10). This may indicate some shared views of the definition of the problem, although it may also refer to sharing of other opinions. Respondents from the central and regional levels of government were likely to strongly agree, while those from municipalities were more likely to agree only moderately. The fact that municipal-level stakeholders were slightly less likely to share opinions with others is consistent with my observations that, when it comes to urban revitalization issues, policymakers tend to agree on principles at a high level of generality. But as the issues become more specific and closer to local reality, the particular gains and losses of the decision in question become clearer and disagreements between parties become more likely. Still, respondents believe that they have at least some views in common.

Overall, the results of the survey are inconclusive in terms of a shared understanding of the problem. The workshops may have influenced participants' views to some degree, but the evidence does not show any convergence in their understandings of urban revitalization. This may partially be because respondents held at least some common views from the beginning of the workshop, so there may have been little room for them to converge. On the other hand, the workshops may have, in some cases, caused participants' views to diverge, or at least to reaffirm existing divergences. We simply do not have enough evidence to conclude whether the workshops pointed participants' views in a particular direction.

4. Need for collaboration – perception of past failure to address the problem

The results of both surveys indicate that, in general, respondents agreed on the importance and relevance to their organizations. Furthermore, they agree that organizations will need to work together more in order to achieve urban revitalization objectives. However, the workshops do not appear to have influenced respondents' opinions about the importance of the issue. When asked about the importance of urban revitalization strategies and policies for their city, virtually all respondents said it was either important or very important, as shown in Table 7-9. Of course, respondents were expected to say that urban revitalization was important, since those who chose to attend the workshop presumably did so because they had some connection with urban revitalization. The post-workshop survey revealed no noticeable change in opinions, suggesting that the workshops did not influence respondents' views about the importance of urban revitalization. This is not surprising, given that the level of perceived importance was high from the beginning.

Table 7-9: Perceptions of importance and relevance of urban revitalization, Pre- and Post-Workshop Surveys

| | Pre-Workshop | | Post-Workshop | |
|---|--------------|---------|---------------|---------|
| | Count | Percent | Count | Percent |
| <i>Considering the situation in the geographical area in which you work, how important is it to have strategies and policies to promote urban revitalization?</i> | | | | |
| Very important | 17 | 77.3% | 13 | 81.3% |
| Important | 5 | 22.7% | 2 | 12.5% |
| A little important | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 6.3% |
| Not important | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% |
| <i>How relevant is the issue of "urban revitalization" to the organization in which you work?</i> | | | | |
| Very relevant | 13 | 59.1% | 7 | 43.8% |
| Relevant | 7 | 31.8% | 7 | 43.8% |
| A little relevant | 2 | 9.1% | 1 | 6.3% |
| Not relevant | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 6.3% |

The respondents exhibited less consensus on the effectiveness of existing urban revitalization policies. As shown in Table 7-10, most respondents in the post-workshop survey moderately agreed that existing policies and strategies have been effective, while a sizable minority moderately disagreed. None of the respondents appeared to believe that policies had been fully effective. The majority of respondents agreed that changes to the institutional system were needed in order to achieve urban revitalization objectives. They also agreed, although less strongly, that the current system can achieve urban revitalization objectives if there is only the will to implement the right policies. Almost unanimously, respondents agreed that agencies need to work together more. As a whole, respondents appear cautiously hopeful about the ability of their city to address

future development issues. Overall, these responses suggest that respondents generally agree on the importance of urban revitalization and the need for collaboration in order to achieve urban revitalization objectives.

Table 7-10: Respondents' opinions of the workshops and urban revitalization, Post-Workshop Survey

| Total responses = 16 | Response Count | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Strongly agree | Moderately agree | Moderately disagree | Strongly disagree |
| <i>Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?</i> | | | | |
| The workshop(s) helped me gain a better understanding of urban revitalization issues. | 5 | 9 | 1 | 1 |
| I found that I shared similar opinions with other participants in my discussion group(s). | 7 | 8 | 1 | 0 |
| I now have more ideas about policies and strategies to promote urban revitalization | 6 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| The workshop(s) did not change my ideas about urban revitalization at all. | 2 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| | | | | |
| The existing urban revitalization strategies and policies in my city have been very effective. | 0 | 9 | 6 | 1 |
| We cannot achieve our urban revitalization objectives without changing the institutional system. | 9 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| If we want to be successful in urban revitalization, the various agencies need to work together more. | 14 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Our current system can achieve our urban revitalization objectives, if only we have the political will to implement the right policies. | 7 | 8 | 1 | 0 |
| I am pessimistic about the ability of my city to address issues of future urban development. | 0 | 4 | 9 | 3 |

5. Recognition of common goals and objectives

Collaboration depends on actors recognizing that they have common goals and interests. We expected that, during discussions in the workshops, participants would realize that they have at least some goals and interests in common. In basic terms, the first step toward recognizing common goals is recognizing the goals of one’s own organization—it might seem obvious that practitioners should recognize the goals of their own organization, but, especially in public agencies, goals and objectives may not always be clearly defined. However, all respondents could name the formal goals and objectives of their organization. These objectives varied greatly depending on the nature of the organization, of course (see Appendix 13). A number of organizations cite urban rehabilitation as a primary objective; transport agencies of course focus more on meeting mobility demands. (Notably, a number of respondents listed cooperation or collaboration as a principal objective.)

The two surveys asked respondents directly if they believed that their own organization shared objectives with other organizations. A substantial majority said that they held at least some common objectives with all types of organizations, as shown in Figure 7-5. Respondents were most likely to share objectives with municipalities, probably since the municipalities themselves were most highly represented among

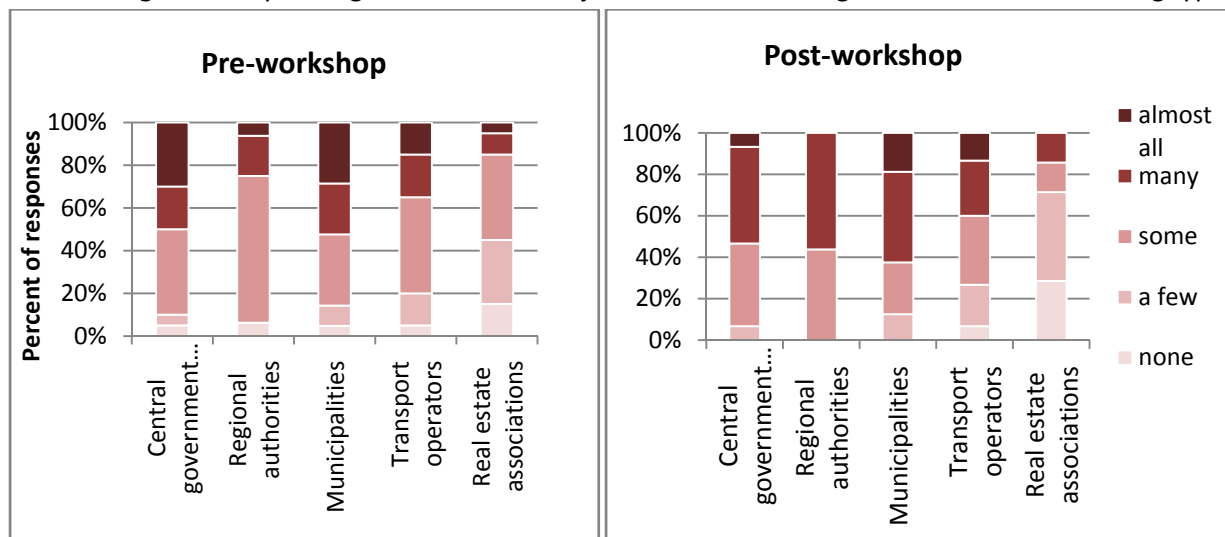
respondents. They were least likely to say they shared objectives with real estate associations, followed by transport operators. The perception of common objectives expressed in the post-workshop survey appears to have shifted slightly from the first survey, at least for municipalities, regional authorities, and central government agencies. After the workshop, respondents were more likely to say they shared “many” objectives with these organizations, although the percentage saying they shared “almost all” objectives decreased slightly.

Indeed, in the post-workshop survey, 94% of respondents indicated that, during the workshops, they found they had at least some opinions similar to those of fellow discussion group members. This suggests that respondents did find areas of common interest. The vast majority of respondents also recognized the relevance of urban revitalization to their own organization, indicating that these organizations may find urban revitalization as a common objective. However, as Table 7-9 shows, the workshop does not appear to have changed respondents’ perception of the relevance of urban revitalization. Of course, since respondents believed the relevance to already be quite high, the workshop could not be expected to raise the relevance very much.

Together, the findings regarding respondents’ perceptions of other participants’ interests tentatively suggest that the workshops helped participants to find common ground. The survey results do make it clear that many participants share, and recognize that they share, common objectives. Evidence from the survey suggests that inter-organizational interaction in the workshops may have, to a slight degree, helped participants to articulate mutual positions that they did not previously recognize. However, given the limitations of the survey, and the short period of time since passed, we cannot come to any clear conclusions regarding effects of the workshop.

Figure 7-5: Perceptions of shared objectives between types of organizations

To what degree does your organization share objectives with other organizations of the following types?



Limitations of the survey

The particular survey used here faces a number of limitations that may affect its ability to accurately indicate the five factors discussed above. First, the response rate and survey design do not allow generalizations

beyond the particular survey respondents. The survey offers some indication of potential effects of scenario planning workshops, but no definitive conclusions. Indeed, the number of responses was relatively low. Although the respondents were representative of the workshop participants in terms of sector, city, and government level, with only 16 full responses we cannot draw any general conclusions. In addition, we do not know whether those individuals who responded to the post-workshop survey were the same as those who responded to the pre-workshop survey. If a different set of individuals responded, the comparisons between pre- and post- may be misleading. Furthermore, the response sample may be biased toward participants who were more interested in the topic of urban revitalization and the overall workshop process; those who were less interested may have simply disregarded the request to answer a survey.

Another limitation, common to surveys in general, is that respondents may not have fully comprehended and thoughtfully answered the questions. Most of the responses came from the online version, while some came from a paper version administered at the beginning of the first workshop. In both cases, respondents may have been rushed and/or distracted and may not have given full attention to their answers. Additionally, respondents who answered during the first workshop faced different conditions than those who responded online prior to the workshop—they may have already talked with other participants and were likely to have been in a mindset where they were more aware of the workshop.

The pre/post structure of the survey also introduces challenges. Since the survey was designed to measure changes in certain views, the post-workshop survey repeated a few of the same questions asked in the first survey, in identical language but not identical order. It was hoped that, after two months, respondents would approach the question with a fresh view, but it is possible that they recognized the question and responded in the same way as before. To account for the challenge of measuring changes in views, the survey also explicitly asked respondents if they believed their views had changed. However, these questions pose their own challenges, since respondents may be inclined to respond with what they think is the “correct” answer regardless of its accuracy. For example, when asked whether the workshops gave them a greater understanding of urban revitalization, respondents may have agreed simply because they believed that the workshops *should* improve their understanding.

In addition, as it was administered only two or three weeks after the second workshop, the post-workshop survey may not have been able to capture the longer-term effects of the workshop. Some of the effects of the workshops may be slow to develop—for example, participants may have become aware of a certain issue during the workshop discussions, but it may not become useful or relevant until several months later.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the subjective nature of the factors the survey was designed to measure introduces substantial challenges. Survey questions cannot easily capture the nuances of people’s understanding and perceptions of complex issues like urban development, nor changes in these perceptions. In some cases, social science has developed fairly widely accepted methods for measuring dimensions of the propensity to collaborate. For example, as discussed in Chapter 4, established methods exist for measuring existence and strength of links in social networks and we can be reasonably confident about the survey’s ability to capture existence of relationships between organizations. On the other hand, the reliability and validity of questions which were designed specifically for this survey—for instance, questions about respondents’ perceptions of the workshops—have not been verified.

Discussion of the survey findings

Overall, the results of the pre- and post-workshop surveys suggest that participants began the workshop process with a certain propensity to collaborate, and the workshops may have slightly increased this propensity to collaborate, mainly by further developing an already existing inter-organizational actor network.

The initial level of propensity to collaborate, as reflected in the pre-workshop survey, has limited meaning since we have no means to compare this measure with that of groups in different contexts. Even so, the results of the pre-workshop survey suggest that many of the factors which contribute to the likelihood of collaboration were already present. Indeed, many participants reported that they already collaborated, or at least coordinated, with other organizations. Evidence from the survey indicates that some connections between organizations already existed, many supported by regular communication. Initial survey responses also indicated that participants shared a recognition of urban revitalization as a problem, that they held some common points of understanding regarding the definition of the problem, and they recognized the existence of some mutual interests and objectives—all factors which contribute to a higher likelihood of collaboration. Although we cannot define an absolute level of propensity to collaborate, we can conclude that, at the commencement of the workshop process, participants' views and relationships already made them, in theory, at least somewhat inclined to collaborate with each other.

Findings from the survey suggest that the workshops likely increased the propensity of participants to collaborate by creating and reinforcing inter-agency connections on an individual level. The responses to the post-workshop survey indicate that participants became acquainted with new individuals as a result of the workshop. The scenario planning activities and discussions most likely gave new colleagues an opportunity to interact in a more substantive way than would be possible in most other settings where new acquaintances are made.

However, the survey shows very little evidence of change in the other factors related to the perceptions of respondents—factors that were expected to derive from the communicative processes during the workshop. When explicitly asked, respondents reported that the workshops did change their views, but the pre- and post-questions designed to detect this change do not corroborate with the respondents' reports. The lack of evidence for change in participants' perceptions may be attributed to any of several explanations.

One possible explanation relates to the instrument itself. Perhaps the workshops did in fact alter participants' perceptions, but the surveys did not reveal these changes, possibly because:

1. This particular survey instrument was not well designed or executed; and/or
2. Surveys in general are not well suited to measuring changes in subjective views on complex issues.

Another possible explanation is that the workshops did not actually change participants' perceptions. This may be due to, at least, the following reasons:

3. The SOTUR workshops were not well designed or well executed and therefore did not have the expected impact on participants. This is probably true to some degree—the attendance, conditions, and facilitation of the workshops were good, but still suffered from some shortcomings. The project team had limited experience in conducting scenario planning exercises and facilitators may have missed opportunities to fully engage participants in discussions.

4. Participants already had a fairly full understanding of the issue. As discussed, many participants were already quite aware of urban revitalization issues. Therefore, they may not have gained new knowledge or new perspectives, either because they already possessed that knowledge and those perspectives, or because they believed they already knew a lot about the issue and were not open to new knowledge and perspectives.
5. The scenario planning approach is not well suited to the topic. Perhaps the issue of urban revitalization in the context of Portugal is not a good candidate for collaborative scenario planning. In other words, scenario planning in this context may not engage participants in a way likely to influence their thinking.
6. The method of collaborative scenario planning in general does not actually change people's attitudes in a meaningful way. Promoters of scenario planning claim that the technique can broaden participants' views and deepen their understanding, but they may be overstating this claim.
7. Participatory exercises in general do not have a significant effect on people's views and understandings. Like scenario planning, advocates of participatory planning more generally assert that, through dialogue and mutual engagement in the planning process, participants construct meaning in a collective manner and therefore alter their own perceptions and understandings. This theory may simply not hold true in practice, or at least not to the degree expected.

In reality, the lack of evidence for change in perspectives among participants probably comes from some combination of the above explanations. Unfortunately, we cannot determine the degree to which each explanation contributes to the observed outcome. In any case, we can conclude that the workshops did have some impact on inter-organizational actor networks, but the ability of the workshops to significantly influence participants' perceptions remains in doubt.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

As the expansion of urban areas creates increased congestion, competing claims over available space, and conflicts over resource distribution, decision makers must increasingly focus on ensuring that cities grow in a sustainable and equitable way. These difficult decisions about the long-term spatial organization of development require planners to navigate a complex set of societal demands, desires, and constraints. The first challenge is to negotiate common visions of desirable urban development; a second is to develop the technology and technical knowledge needed to realize those visions. But perhaps the most difficult challenge is to find the political means to achieve these visions, given the realities of existing institutional structures.

In Portugal, as in many countries, existing political structures rarely correspond—geographically or functionally—with the actual landscape in which metropolitan regions operate. As a result, the activity of land use and transportation planning is, in essence, a problem of coordinating decisions between various actors in the arena of urban policy. The interdependency of actions across sectors necessitates coordination across traditional disciplines and policy areas. The interdependence of land use and transportation make the coordination of these two areas especially important. The regional nature of economic activity and correspondingly people’s lives also requires coordination across geographic jurisdictional boundaries and across spatial scales. By their very nature, transportation issues cross geographic boundaries and scales, and transportation planning continually faces the challenge of coordinating across geographic areas. Regardless of how the government addresses the challenge of metropolitan-scale coordination—whether it chooses to strengthen metropolitan government or to rely on voluntary or incentive inter-municipal coordination—municipalities and other public agencies will need to find ways to collaborate. Anyone hoping to effect change in the Portuguese governance system therefore must understand the dynamics of collaboration.

Summary of Findings

In this thesis I have examined the forces connected with the emergence of collaboration, recognizing that collaboration *per se* is not a panacea, but that it does critically contribute to better metropolitan-scale development. The research has addressed two questions: first, what conditions and factors have led to collaboration at the broader, system-wide level in the Portuguese context? Second, what is the potential for a particular scenario planning process—the SOTUR workshops—to lead to collaboration?

In the larger context, the exploratory case analysis in Chapter 6 makes it clear that collaboration between governmental organizations does currently occur, and although instances of collaboration may still be exceptions, they provide important insights into what leads to collaboration. In contrast to the dominant narrative that emphasizes fragmentation between government units, in reality, many agencies do work together. In summary, the exploratory cases have shown that consideration of the following factors can help in understanding how collaboration emerges.

1. Top-down action plus bottom-up response. In all of these cases, a top-down action from the central government or the European Union—such as Interreg funding or the decision to build a new bridge—has triggered a bottom-up collaborative response.
2. Existing networks. In many cases the actors have built on existing organizational networks, such as Porto Vivo’s use of staff connections to other organizations. Strong organizational networks appear to facilitate better collaboration.

3. Incentives. The incentives for collaboration in the cases have varied, but in general organizations have needed substantial incentives—such as funding for a particular project or the expectation of achieving difficult objectives—in order to overcome the costs of collaboration.
4. Ambiguity and flexibility. All of these cases of collaboration have taken advantage of flexibilities in the law; they have taken place in the ambiguous spaces outside of established institutional structures and procedures.
5. Win-win problems. The existing examples of collaboration have not been able to address the problem of metropolitan planning. They have occurred in situations that do not require substantial trade-offs between parties.

I have also examined the potential of scenario-building workshops to increase the likelihood of collaboration among participating organizations. The results of the participant survey suggest that the SOTUR workshops may have increased the propensity of respondents to collaboration to a small degree. The workshops very likely created new and strengthened existing inter-organizational relationships between participating entities. However, it is unclear whether the workshops were able to alter participants' perceptions. We cannot say whether the lack of evidence for changed perceptions is due to shortcomings of the methodology, poor design or execution of the workshops, whether the reality of communicative planning falls short of theory, or whether it is simply too early to tell. Limitations of the survey approach arise from the difficulties in measuring propensity to collaborate and the inability to capture medium- or long-term effects. Furthermore, the limited number of observations in the analysis means that the conclusions cannot be generalized beyond the respondents to this particular survey.

Directions for Metropolitan Governance in Portugal

Options for change in governance structures

The need to overcome the mismatch between institutional structure and functional reality has led to a debate over how to best produce coordinated government action. Some maintain that voluntary coordination, encouraged by stronger government incentives, would achieve a sufficient degree of coordination without sacrificing the flexibility of the current arrangement. Others favor the existing institutional arrangement but call for stronger central government policies that would require municipalities and other organizations to produce coordinated policies. A large third group argues that only a stronger metropolitan-level government can produce sufficiently consistent policies. All of these approaches bring both advantages and disadvantages, and I do not wish to prescribe a single ideal structure for regional governance. Instead, I suggest that the effectiveness of each of these three solutions depends on collaboration in some respect.

Voluntary coordination

The first option—voluntary coordination—could result in a much higher level of collaboration and coordination than currently exists, but, without very strong incentives, would be unlikely to seriously address the problem of metropolitan planning. The central government could encourage agencies to work together by providing incentives that would outweigh the costs of collaboration. This approach would likely lead to more small-scale collaborative projects, but would probably not achieve the multi-lateral, large-scale collaboration needed for metropolitan-wide planning. For success on this issue, incentives must be sufficiently large to turn a zero-sum game into a zero-plus one. In particular, municipalities would be unlikely to consent to metropolitan-level objectives without the promise of a net gain, from, for example, financial incentives tied to infrastructure investment. The voluntary coordination approach therefore requires an

accounting of the incentives and disincentives of collaboration, particularly the tax revenue and status benefits that municipalities currently derive from their authority to control intra-municipal development.

Mandatory coordination

The second option would require municipalities to work together to create coordinated policies through mandate of the central government. For example, the central government could require more substantial collaboration as part of the PDM elaboration process. However, even if followed in form, such a requirement would probably not produce more coordinated policies if municipalities still faced pressure to act in their own self-interest. Furthermore, such a requirement would be unsuccessful unless municipal planners themselves are oriented toward meaningful collaboration. The current PDM regulations already require inter-municipal and trans-scale consultation and consistency, yet planners' interpretations of these requirements have resulted in only the most superficial coordination. As an alternative, performance-based regulations direct more focus to outcomes, for instance, by imposing a system of evaluation metrics designed to measure desired outcomes that would effectually require coordination. Such performance metrics are notoriously difficult to design and implement, and would still need to be tied to adequate incentives. In any case, stronger legal requirements, whether they are process- or outcome-oriented, would have a higher chance of success if they build on already existing processes of collaboration.

Metropolitan authority

Finally, a metropolitan-level government with sufficient authority could theoretically produce integrated, or, at least, coordinated policies, but may be the most difficult option to implement. The proposal introduces two challenges: first, the government currently lacks support for the *creation* of such an authority and, second, once created, such an authority would face threats to its legitimacy. As discussed in Chapter 5, the Portuguese central government has tried repeatedly to establish a metropolitan authority that holds an effective degree of authority and legitimacy; each attempt has failed. Interests within municipalities, threatened by the loss of power, have undermined these efforts; even though the central government appears to hold superior power, in reality, much of its political support depends on municipalities. According to sources in municipalities (who wish to remain anonymous), the central government depends politically on the support of municipalities—or at least the political element of municipalities—and the political element of municipalities would prefer not to lose power to a metropolitan authority. Therefore, the establishment of an effective metropolitan authority requires somehow circumventing the opposition of municipalities. The central government must hold sufficient political will to act, and it must have support from municipalities. The metropolitan authority option would therefore require building a stronger pro-metropolitan government constituency, perhaps within municipal governments themselves.

In addition, even if the government succeeded in creating an official metropolitan authority, the authority's effectiveness would depend on the support of municipalities. As the failure of the CCDRs and the Metropolitan Areas to achieve coordination suggests, an authority that exists formally may not exist fully in practice unless it has the support of practitioners involved. In other words, a metropolitan authority will be much more likely to succeed if planners within municipalities are already mutually oriented toward collaboration.

A hybrid approach?

The pros and cons of these three options suggest that a hybrid approach may offer the best way forward. A metropolitan association with voluntary but heavily incentivized membership, *benefitting from funds allocated by*

the central government, could hold sufficient power to substantially influence metropolitan planning. The association would consist of representatives from each member municipality as well as its own technical staff. Led by the technical staff, stakeholders would prepare a metropolitan development plan that would dictate spending by the association. Municipalities who choose not to participate would forfeit their stake in the plan and the resulting investments. Most crucial to the effectiveness of this model, and what sets it apart from past attempts, would be the allocation of a portion of the national budget to spend on projects outlined in the metropolitan plan. This budget allocation must be sufficient to transform the zero-sum context of metropolitan planning into a win-win situation, in which, as we have seen, voluntary collaboration can be successful.

Besides providing financial incentives, a metropolitan association approach could create conditions for collaboration in a few key ways. First, the process of creating a metropolitan plan should be flexible, leaving the association free to evolve a process best suited to its situation. Ideally, legislation would specify the minimum to ensure a fair governance structure and system of representation, and perhaps minimal parameters for the final plan and receipt of government funding. Second, the planning process should build on existing networks of stakeholders. A complementary initiative to help build stakeholder networks, and to increase the propensity of actors to collaborate more generally, would help contribute to a more truly collaborative process and a more fair metropolitan plan.

Clearly, this rough sketch of an approach leaves many details unattended, but I do not intend to design an entire policy proposal. I simply wish to illustrate an example of an approach that *works with* the forces contributing to collaboration. The creation of a voluntary, yet strongly incentivized, metropolitan association would use top-down, central government action to catalyze bottom-up collaboration, through use of incentives that would transform a difficult problem into a win-win one. An approach that also helps strengthen existing stakeholder networks and leaves space for flexibility would be more likely to be effective.

Could scenario planning at a large scale contribute to better metropolitan governance?

If external catalysts, strong organizational networks, and legal ambiguity contribute to collaboration, then might scenario planning encourage collaboration by creating these conditions? Could scenario planning activities, similar to the SOTUR workshops and implemented on a large scale throughout Portugal, lead to more instances and higher degrees of collaboration? Perhaps the central government could conduct a large-scale scenario planning process involving many organizations, perhaps with many small parallel workshops, as a strategy to spark collaboration, as well as to improve decision makers' capabilities in planning and their perspectives of the future. Considering that the SOTUR workshops successfully created connections between participants, such a process would most likely lead to more instances of voluntary collaboration of the type already observed in Portugal. However, we should not expect a strategy of encouraging collaboration through scenario planning workshops, by itself, to achieve coordination in metropolitan land use policies. As we have seen, voluntary arrangements in the Portuguese context have rarely been able to resolve problems involving tradeoffs. However, scenario planning workshops could provide a mechanism to support stronger top-down action, such as the creation of a metropolitan association.

Limitations to this Study

This study has attempted to investigate the emergence of collaboration both qualitatively and quantitatively, but both approaches have faced limitations. First, the exploratory cases do not necessarily represent typical situations, nor do they present a complete picture of the entire system; therefore they cannot lead to

generalizable conclusions. A more extensive and systematic analysis would identify typical cases according to key dimensions and would systematically gather information about those cases. A more extensive analysis of this kind would provide more generalizable results.

Likewise, the survey results represent only the opinions of the respondents and cannot be generalized to a wider situation. A more widespread analysis with more observations of similar situations across more situations would be needed to better assess the potential of scenario planning to spark collaboration.

In addition, both the workshop and exploratory case analyses would have benefitted from some changes in design. It would have been more fruitful to have conducted the post-workshop survey after all three workshops are complete, perhaps both directly afterward and several months later, to better capture potential latent effects. Closer observations that also analyzed the content of the conversations would have offered a more complete picture of the workshop effects, rather than playing only a minor role in supplementing the survey findings. Most obviously, the observations would have been better conducted by Portuguese speakers. Both the workshops and the interviews for exploratory case studies would have benefitted from inclusion of more municipalities outside Lisbon and Porto.

Directions for Future Research

A direct continuation of this research would be to extend the study of the workshops' effects to observe possible longer-term effects. A similar survey implemented two or three months later may capture latent effects such as changes in understandings that might take longer to develop. After two or three years, it may be possible to determine whether the workshops actually did lead to collaboration, perhaps by returning to the same participants and, through interviews and/or a survey, asking whether they worked with any of the organizations or representatives of their organizations. Findings from such an inquiry could shed light on the validity of the "propensity to collaborate" measure.

If the scenario-building workshops' most significant effect was the creation of inter-organizational relationships, we might ask how these kinds of workshops differ from any other event which congregates related professionals—say, a conference or a networking event specifically designed to foster new relationships. The scenario-building process, by requiring more involved discussions than a networking conference, could possibly result in stronger relationships. Proponents of scenario planning suggest that the in-depth, future-oriented discussions of scenario-building provide a unique context for forming relationships not available in other arenas (Schoemaker 1995; Schwartz 1996). However, more extensive comparative analysis would be needed to answer this question.

More generally, to better assess the ability of collaborative scenario planning to produce the transformational effects, we need better quantitative measures of these outcomes. If we view scenario planning—and communicative planning in general—as a learning process in which understandings are constructed and reconstructed, measurement of outcomes should perhaps resemble an educational assessment. A more serious empirical investigation of the effects of scenario planning would be beneficial in balancing the relatively unsubstantiated claims typically used in its promotion.

It may also be useful to further question the ability collaborative scenario planning to build and strengthen organizational networks. Well-developed methods of determining and measuring social networks do exist and one could apply these methods here; a full map of the organizational network would provide much more

information than the simple survey questions used in this thesis. Furthermore, one might ask whether scenario planning workshops function differently than other types of networking activities, such as conferences, and conduct a comparison the effects of different types of participatory events on the development of members' relationships.

In terms of the larger picture of collaboration, a more systematic analysis is needed to more fully understand the conditions and factors which lead to collaboration in the Portuguese context. First, a large-scale survey of organizations would be useful in determining the actual prevalence of collaborative arrangements. Second, a systematic case study analysis would be needed to draw more generalizable conclusions about the forces that contribute to collaboration. This kind of analysis could offer especially useful policy insights if it were to focus on accounting for the incentives and disincentives involved in the decision to collaborate; however, a focus on incentives and disincentives should not sacrifice consideration of other critical factors. A more systematic analysis of cases could look specifically at the emergence of the collaboration process in terms of different dimensions likely to be particularly important, including the direction of collaboration (horizontal vs. vertical), the type of organization (municipal or otherwise), and the degree of collaboration (information sharing vs. policy coordination).

Finally, as governance in many countries grows more complex and networked, there will continue to be a need for critiques of collaboration and of the network approach to governance. As suggested briefly in this thesis, there are potential downsides to collaboration. A critical view is particularly important as more governments adopt the view that "collaboration is good" and enter into collaborative relationships merely for the sake of adopting a "good practice." If we are successful in creating more collaboration, might excessive collaboration create problems of its own? What challenges does highly networked governance present? The prospect of dramatically higher levels of collaboration introduces interesting questions. However, for Portugal at the present moment, a focus on ways to encourage inter-organizational collaboration that can produce better planning outcomes still represents the most promising pathway forward.

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Appendices

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Appendix 1 List of Acronyms

| Acronym | |
|----------|--|
| ACFER | <i>Acessibilidade às Estações Ferroviárias (EU-funded project)</i> |
| AML | Lisbon Metropolitan Area (<i>Área Metropolitana de Lisboa</i>) |
| AMP | Porto Metropolitan Area (<i>Área Metropolitana de Porto</i>) |
| AMRS | Association of Setúbal Regional Municipalities (<i>Associação dos Municípios do Região de Setúbal</i>) |
| AMT | Metropolitan Transport Authority (<i>Autoridade Metropolitana de Transportes</i>) |
| AMTL | Lisbon Metropolitan Transport Authority (<i>Autoridade Metropolitana de Transportes de Lisboa</i>) |
| AMTP | Porto Metropolitan Transport Authority (<i>Autoridade Metropolitana de Transportes de Porto</i>) |
| ANTRAL | National Association of Light Vehicle Transporters (<i>Nacional dos Transportadores em Automóveis Ligeiros</i>) |
| ANTROP | National Association of Heavy Road Passenger Transporters (<i>Associação Nacional dos Transportadores Rodoviários de Pesados de Passageiros</i>) |
| CCDR | Regional Coordination and Development Commission (<i>Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional</i>) |
| CCDR-LVT | Regional Coordination and Development Commission – Lisbon and Tagus Valley (<i>Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional – Lisboa e Vale do Tejo</i>) |
| CCDR-N | Regional Coordination and Development Commission – North (<i>Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional - Norte</i>) |
| CCR | Regional Coordination Commission (<i>Comissão de Coordenação Regional</i>) |
| CDU | Democratic Unity Coalition (<i>Coligação Democrática Unitária</i>) |
| CIM | Inter-Municipal Community (<i>Comunidade Inter-municipal</i>) |
| CM | Municipal Chamber, a.k.a. City Hall (<i>Câmara Municipal</i>) |
| CML | Lisbon Municipal Chamber (<i>Câmara Municipal de Lisboa</i>) |
| CMP | Porto Municipal Chamber (<i>Câmara Municipal do Porto</i>) |
| CP | Comboios de Portugal |
| DGOTDU | Directorate General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development (<i>Direcção-Geral do Ordenamento do Território e Desenvolvimento Urbano</i>) |
| DGTF | Directorate General of Treasury and Finance (<i>Direcção-Geral do Tesouro e Finanças</i>) |
| EEA | European Economic Area |
| EFRD | European Fund for Regional Development |
| EPUL | Lisbon Public Enterprise for Urbanization (<i>Empresa Pública de Urbanização de Lisboa</i>) |
| ESF | European Social Fund |
| GAM | Grand Metropolitan Area (<i>Grande Área Metropolitana</i>) |
| GPERI | Cabinet of Strategic Planning and International Relations (<i>Gabinete de Planeamento Estratégico e Relações Internacionais</i>) |
| IBC | Critical Neighborhoods Initiative (<i>Iniciativa Bairros Críticos</i>) |
| IHRU | Institute of Housing and Urban Rehabilitation (<i>Instituto da Habitação e Reabilitação Urbana</i>) |
| IMTT | Institute of Mobility and Land Transport (<i>Instituto da Mobilidade e dos Transportes Terrestres</i>) |
| INH | National Institute of Housing |
| Interreg | Interregional Program (European Union program) |
| JESSICA | Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas |

| | |
|--------|---|
| MAOT | Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning (<i>Ministério do Ambiente e do Ordenamento do Território</i>) |
| MARE | <i>Mobilidade e Acessibilidade Metropolitana nas Regiões da Europa do Sul</i> (EU-funded project) |
| MOPTC | <i>Ministry of Public Works, Transport, and Communication (Ministro das Obras Públicas, Transportes e Comunicações)</i> |
| MTS | Metro Transportes do Sul |
| NSRF | National Strategic Reference Framework (<i>Quadro de Referência Estratégico Nacional</i>) |
| NUTS | Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics |
| OVT | West and Tagus Valley (<i>Oest e Vale do Tejo</i>) |
| PCP | Portuguese Communist Party |
| PDM | Municipal Master Plan (<i>Plano Director Municipal</i>) |
| PEOT | Special Land Use Plan (<i>Plano Especial de Ordenamento do Território</i>) |
| PEV | Ecologist Party |
| PNPOT | National Policy on Town and Country Planning (<i>Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território</i>) |
| PP | Detail Plan (<i>Plano Promenor</i>) |
| PRN | National Roadway Plan (<i>Plano Rodoviário Nacional</i>) |
| PROT | Regional Spatial Management Plans (<i>Planos Regionais de Ordenamento do Território</i>) |
| PRU | Partnerships for Urban Rehabilitation (<i>Parcerias para a Reabilitação Urbana</i>) |
| PS | Socialist Party |
| PSD | Social Democratic Party |
| PSIT | Sectoral Plan with Territorial Impact (<i>Plano Sectorial com Incidência Territorial</i>) |
| PU | Urbanization Plan (<i>Plano Urbanização</i>) |
| QREN | National Strategic Reference Framework (<i>Quadro de Referência Estratégico Nacional</i>) |
| RDA | Regional Development Authority |
| SMTCB | Barreiro Municipal Public Transport Services (<i>Serviços Municipalizados do Transportes Colectivos do Barreiro</i>) |
| SOTUR | Strategic Options for Transportation and Urban Revitalization |
| SRU | Urban Rehabilitation Company (<i>Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana</i>) |
| STCP | Porto Public Transport Society (<i>Sociedade de Transportes Colectivos do Porto</i>) |
| TRAMO | <i>Transporte Responsável, Acções de Mobilidade e Ordenamento</i> (EU-funded project) |
| UrbCom | Urban Communities |

Appendix 2 Organizations Invited to SOTUR Workshops

| Organization | | |
|--------------|---|-------------|
| 1 | Serviços Municipalizados de Transportes Urbanos de Coimbra | SMTUC |
| 2 | Metro Montego (Coimbra) | |
| 3 | Área Metropolitana de Lisboa | AML |
| 4 | Área Metropolitana do Porto | AMP |
| 5 | Carris - Transportes Públicos Lisboa | Carris |
| 6 | Metropolitano de Lisboa | ML |
| 7 | Comboios de Portugal | CP |
| 8 | Instituto da Mobilidade e dos Transportes Terrestres | IMTT |
| 9 | Metro do Porto | |
| 10 | Sociedade de Transportes Colectivos do Porto | STCP |
| 11 | Associação Portuguesa de Proprietários / Associação Lisbonense de Proprietários | APP/ALP |
| 12 | Associação Comercial do Porto - Câmara de Comércio e Indústria do Porto | ACP-CCIP |
| 13 | Associação Comercial de Lisboa / Câmara de Comércio e Indústria Portuguesa | ACL-CCIP |
| 14 | Associação Comercial e Industrial de Coimbra | ACIC |
| 15 | Empresa Municipal de Estacionamento de Lisboa | EMEL |
| 16 | Porto Vivo, SRU - Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana da Baixa Portuense S.A., | |
| 17 | Empresa Pública de Urbanização de Lisboa | EPUT |
| 18 | Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana | IHRU |
| 19 | Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana Lisboa Ocidental | |
| 20 | Coimbra Viva - Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana | |
| 21 | Associação dos Inquilinos Lisbonense | AIL |
| 22 | Associação Nacional dos Municípios Portugueses | ANMP |
| 23 | Instituto da Construção e do Imobiliário | ICI |
| 24 | Câmara Municipal de Lisboa | |
| 25 | Câmara Municipal de Almada | |
| 26 | Câmara Municipal de Oeiras | |
| 27 | Câmara Municipal de Odivelas | |
| 28 | Câmara Municipal de Coimbra | |
| 29 | Câmara Municipal de Porto | |
| 30 | Câmara Municipal de Gaia | |
| 31 | Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos | |
| 32 | Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional - Lisboa | CCDR-LVT |
| 33 | Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional - Centro | CCDR-Centro |
| 34 | Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional - Norte | CCDR-Norte |
| 35 | Transtejo SA | |
| 36 | Empreendimentos e Exploração de Parqueamentos, S.A. | EEP, SA |
| 37 | DGOTDU | DGOTDU |
| 38 | STCP | STCP |
| 39 | Universidade de Aveiro | Univ Aveiro |
| 40 | Universidade do Minho | Univ Minho |

Appendix 3 Participants in SOTUR Workshops

Workshop 1 Participants

| | Name | Organization |
|----|-----------------------|--|
| 1 | Carlos Encarnação | Câmara Municipal Coimbra |
| 2 | José Rios Vilela | Câmara Municipal Coimbra |
| 3 | Teresa Almeida | Câmara Municipal de Lisboa |
| 4 | João Ribeiro Quintão | Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos |
| 5 | Jorge Andrade Pereira | Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos |
| 6 | Luís Berrance Abreu | Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos |
| 7 | Bruno Eugénio | Câmara Municipal Porto |
| 8 | José Carapeto | Câmara Municipal Porto |
| 9 | Mendes Silva | Câmara Municipal Porto |
| 10 | Carlos Miguel | Carris Transportes Públicos de Lisboa |
| 11 | Isabel Marques | CCDR-LVT |
| 12 | João Afonso | CCDR-LVT |
| 13 | Defensor Castro | CidadeGaia SRU |
| 14 | João Paulo Craveiro | CoimbraViva SRU |
| 15 | José Castelo Branco | CP Comboios de Portugal |
| 16 | Lília Sousa | CP Comboios de Portugal |
| 17 | Catarina Almeida | DGOTDU |
| 18 | Marta Afonso | DGOTDU |
| 19 | Amadeu Fernandes | Empreendimentos e Exploração de Parques |
| 20 | Tiago Farias | Empresa Municipal de Estacionamento de Lisboa |
| 21 | Margarida Saavedra | Empresa Pública de Urbanização de Lisboa |
| 22 | Álvaro Costa | Faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade do Porto |
| 23 | Catarina Marcelino | IMTT |
| 25 | José Leitão | IMTT |
| 26 | Fernanda Martins | Instituto da Construção e do Imobiliário, I.P. |
| 27 | José Brás | Instituto da Construção e do Imobiliário, I.P. |
| 28 | Teresa do Passo | Lisboa Ocidental SRU |
| 29 | Álvaro Seco | Metro Mondego |
| 30 | Ana Paula Delgado | PortoVivo, SRU |
| 31 | Patrício Martins | PortoVivo, SRU |
| 32 | António Santo | SMTUC |
| 33 | Margarida Mota | Sociedade de Transportes Colectivos do Porto |
| 34 | Maria Teresa Leite | Sociedade de Transportes Colectivos do Porto |
| 35 | Anabela Ribeiro | Universidade de Coimbra |
| 36 | Manuel Queiró | Universidade de Coimbra |
| 37 | Rui Ramos | Universidade do Minho |

Workshop 2 Participants

| | Name | Organization |
|----|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | Jorge Andrade Pereira | Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos |
| 2 | José Carapeto | Câmara Municipal Porto |
| 3 | Bruno Pereira | Câmara Municipal Porto |
| 4 | Bruno Eugénio | Câmara Municipal Porto |
| 5 | Carlos Miguel | Carris Transportes Públicos de Lisboa |
| 6 | João Afonso | CCDR-LVT |
| 7 | Renato Ribeiro | CidadeGaia, SRU |
| 8 | João Paulo Craveiro | CoimbraViva |
| 9 | José Castelo Branco | CP Comboios de Portugal |
| 10 | Lília Sousa | CP Comboios de Portugal |
| 11 | Marta Afonso | DGOTDU |
| 12 | Margarida Saavedra | Empresa Pública de Urbanização de Lisboa |
| 13 | Álvaro Costa | Faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade do Porto |
| 14 | Jorge Pinho de Sousa | Faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade do Porto |
| 15 | António Sérgio Pinheiro | IMTT |
| 16 | Catarina Marcelino | IMTT |
| 17 | Teresa do Passo | Lisboa Ocidental SRU |
| 18 | Ana Paula Delgado | PortoVivo, SRU |
| 19 | Patrício Martins | PortoVivo, SRU |
| 20 | António Santo | Serviços Municipalizados de Transportes Urbanos de Coimbra |
| 21 | Margarida Mota | Sociedade de Transportes Colectivos do Porto |
| 22 | Anabela Ribeiro | Universidade de Coimbra |
| 23 | Rui Ramos | Universidade do Minho |

Appendix 4 Workshop Agendas

Stakeholder Scenario Building: Imaging Urban Futures

Workshop 1 Agenda

25 January 2010

Quinta das Lágrimas, Coimbra

| Time | Activity |
|---------------|--|
| 9h00 – 9h30 | Registration |
| 9h30 – 9h50 | Welcome and Overview |
| 9h50 – 10h30 | Introductions |
| 10h30 – 10h50 | SOTUR Research Group Presentation |
| 10h50 – 11h30 | Scenario Planning Presentation |
| 11h30 – 11h45 | Coffee Break |
| 11h45 – 13h30 | Group Breakout Session 1: Urban Revitalization, Driving Forces and Local Factors |
| 13h30 – 15h00 | Lunch |
| 15h00 – 16h45 | Group Breakout Session 2: Discuss Driving Forces and Implications |
| 16h45 – 17h15 | Plenary Session |
| 17h15 – 17h45 | Closing Remarks |
| 18h00 – 1900h | Happy Hour: Networking Opportunity |

Stakeholder Scenario Building: Imagining Urban Futures

Workshop 2 Agenda
2 March 2010
Palácio das Artes, Oporto

| Time | Activity |
|---------------|---|
| 9:00 – 9:30 | Registration |
| 9:30 – 10:00 | Welcome and review of Workshop 1 (January 25, 2010 – Coimbra) activities and outcomes |
| 10:00 – 10:20 | Presentation of driving forces based on Workshop 1 reports |
| 10:20 – 10:35 | Description of activities for afternoon breakout sessions |
| 10:35 – 11:00 | Coffee Break |
| 11:00 – 12:45 | Group Breakout Session 1: Arriving at a common understanding of the drivers |
| 12:45 – 13:30 | Lunch |
| 13:30 – 14:00 | Special Presentation: Rehabilitation of Palácio das Artes |
| 14:00 – 14:30 | Plenary presentation of compiled results from Breakout 1 |
| 14:30 – 15:30 | Group Breakout Session 2: Identify scenarios |
| 15:30 – 15:45 | Coffee Break |
| 15:45 – 17:00 | Group Breakout Session 2: Identify strategies |
| 17:00 – 17:15 | Closing Remarks |

Appendix 5 Summary Reports of Workshop 1 Discussion Groups

SOTUR Workshop I

Stakeholder Scenario Building: Imaging Urban Futures

Urban regeneration problems and factors in Coimbra

Report of Round Table – Coimbra

Participants: Dr Carlos Encarnação (Câmara Municipal de Coimbra), Eng.º João Craveiro (SRU CoimbraViva), Eng.º António Santo (Serviços Municipalizados de Transportes Urbanos de Coimbra), Prof.º Manuel Queiró (FCTUC/Fórum Centro Portugal), Prof.º Bruno Santos (FCTUC), Prof.º Gonçalo Correia (FCTUC), Eng.º Mark Santos (FCTUC).

1. Current urban regeneration problems

In the past year, many people from Coimbra have moved to urban areas away from the city center. The prospect of a new dwelling house, cheaper than the houses in the city center, has prompted to a population migration to suburbs and to neighboring municipalities. This exodus phenomenon is evident in the increasing of daily commuters trips to Coimbra - from 1991 to 2001, the daily commuting trips increased from around 13 400 to about 24 500 according to the Municipality of Coimbra.

The large number of floating population, which comes everyday to Coimbra, generates many challenges to the design and management of local public services, such as transit or water supply. The municipalities of residence of these tens of thousands of people that commute everyday to Coimbra benefit from these services provided by Coimbra municipality without sharing the costs of construction, maintenance and operation.

The desertification of the city center is also giving rise to some problems related to the security and functionality of the buildings. Buildings once occupied by commercial businesses on the ground floor and residence of the owners on the upper floors have been progressively abandoned. The owners now prefer to live outside the city, leaving the upper floors uninhabited and causing the gradual degradation of the building. In other cases, the building has been sold and its structure has been changed to accommodate the requirements of the new businesses, weakening the stability of the building.

Furthermore, the development of actions to promote urban rehabilitation in Coimbra has been made with some operational difficulties. The current legal approach assumes that the landlords should take the risks and the costs of the rehabilitation process. This approach has been unable to foster urban rehabilitation at the desirable scale. The lack of financial and institutional support to the landlords and the difficulty to draw private investors, in particular in this period of financial crisis, have discouraged landlords from investing in maintenance and rehabilitation works.

Outside the city center, the difficulty is to promote the necessary urban densification along the corridors of the future Metro Mondego tram-train system. In the surrounding areas of the city, the problem is the land use constraints defined in the REN and in the RAN. Whereas within the urban area, the problem is the impossibility of redesigning and reoccupying a territory already consolidated.

2. Factors behind current problems

The problems mentioned above arise due to several factors. Overall, the participants identified thirteen factors behind the problems that Coimbra is currently facing in urban regeneration.

1. Legal framework instability, both in terms of the legislation for the development of land use planning instruments (e.g., the Master Plan) and of the legislation for establishing strategies to promote urban regeneration.
2. Inexistence of a supra-municipal structure that could allow an integrated management of the infrastructure and services shared by the municipalities (e.g., public facilities, transit system, water supply).
3. Lack of financial structures for urban rehabilitation. In particular, lack of financial and institutional structures to support the investments made by the landlords.
4. The funding structure for public transport, both in terms of the lack of support from the central government (distinct to what happens with the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto) and in terms of the adjacent municipalities not sharing the costs, despite benefitting from the transit system in Coimbra.
5. Crisis in the rehabilitated housing demand and demographic particularities of Coimbra's urban population. Coimbra is a city with many students and it is expected that the market for rehabilitated houses would be mainly composed by students and young couples in early life. Currently, demand is going through a crisis partly due to the financial crisis experienced in the last year.
6. Degree of comfort and functionality of the rehabilitated housing. The poor car accessibility, the lack of private car parking spaces and the architectural restrictions of some buildings discourage the demand for rehabilitated buildings purchase.

7. Coimbra landforms and the difficult to access certain areas of the city. For example, the steep hill between the downtown and the Old University (or the Celas area) decreases the accessibility of these places.
8. Residential migration to neighboring municipalities, which leads to an increase in commuting trips, an increase in Coimbra's floating population, a greater pressure on public transport and an increasing in the number of individual car trips.
9. Lack of strategic guidance from central government, evident in the instability of central government policies for defining local policies priorities and for supporting local investments.
10. Bureaucracy in the administrative machine, in particular, the overlapping of the responsibilities of various agencies involved in urban regeneration at different levels of decision. This leads to a greater delay in projects appreciation and to a consequent discourage for investing in urban regeneration.
11. "Pedestrianization" of large areas without providing a proper transit service. The current trend (in some cases excessive) to define large pedestrian-only zones to promote urban vitality, the requirements defined in the new legislation of accessibility in public spaces (applied since 2006), and the restrictions imposed to changes/adaptations in historical spaces raise some problems of accessibility and limit the set of possible mobility solutions that can be use.
12. Legal and financial environment too favorable to the construction of new housing. The ease of obtaining credit to purchase new housing and the current land use policies have encouraged the purchase of new dwelling houses outside the urban centers to the detriment of housing rehabilitation.
13. Lack of technical capacity from the construction industry to do rehabilitation works, sometimes leading to a more costly rehabilitation product and to the inability to conserve the heritage of some old houses.

3. Assessment of expected future factors

In addition to the factors identified above, the participants decided to include two additional factors that may be important in the future (20 years):

1. Sistema de Mobilidade do Mondego (SMM). The construction of the new Metro Mondego tram-train system, particularly within the urban space, will help to overcome some of the problems previously mentioned and to enhance the quality of the regenerated areas.
2. The development of activities linked to tourism and cultural industry. The vitality of the regenerated areas will also depend on those who visit Coimbra and on the ability to attract cultural and tourism new markets.

The fifteen factors were compared in terms of uncertainty and importance for urban regeneration in Coimbra. In the end, the participants defined the following matrix.

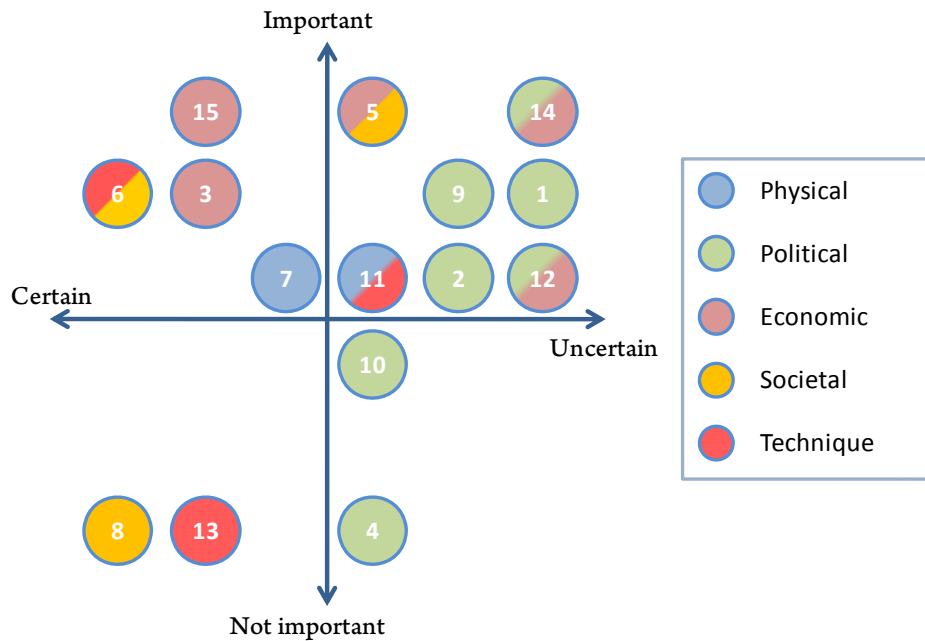


Figure 1. Assessment and classification of factors behind urban regeneration problems

In summary, the participants think that relations with the central government (factors 1 and 9) are very important for urban regeneration, but have a high degree of instability and uncertainty. The lack of a super-municipal structure (2) is relatively important but the participants think that due to the small size and to the lack of motivation from the neighboring municipalities this structure will be hardly created in the future. Funding for regeneration actions (3) is very important but can be partially solved by supporting the creation of public-private investment funds and with the allocation of the structural funds from the European program JESSICA (*Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas*). The financing structure of public transport (4), the migration of the population (8), and the technical limitations of the construction industry (13) were not understood to be very important factors for urban regeneration. With respect to the population migration, it was the opinion of the participants that this factor will tend to diminish in the future and perhaps even reverse with the rising cost of motorized mobility. The crisis in rehabilitated housing demand (5) is very important for urban revitalization, but is expected to get better in the future, particularly with the improvement in the economic environment and with the likely success of adapting the rehabilitation product to students and to young people in early life. In addition, it is expected that in the future rehabilitated houses will offer the comfort and functionality required by the market (6). It was also concluded that the accessibility of the regenerated areas (7) can only be improved with the implementation of the SMM within the city of Coimbra. The SMM (14) was considered one of the most important factors for the future of urban regeneration in Coimbra. Still, there remains large uncertainty about the construction of

the system and about who will finance the maintenance/operation of the system. Finally, the tourism and culture industry (15) was considered as a very important factor. This industry was probably one of the least affected by the current crisis. Thus, the participants forecast a quite optimistic developed for this industry, both globally and in particular in Coimbra.

It is also important to note that issues such as the restructuring/adjustment of commercial businesses in the downtown and as the migration of employment from Coimbra to other municipalities were discussed by the participants but they were considered of little relevance for urban regeneration problems.

4. Concluding remarks

The analysis of the factors identified by the participants can lead us to the following categorization of factors (Figure 1):

- physical (landform and current land use pattern);
- political;
- economic;
- societal (consumer attitudes);
- and technical.

It can be concluded that political factors (1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 14) are, in general, the factors with higher degree of uncertainty. Most of these factors are also of great importance for the future of urban regeneration. Economic factors (3, 5, 12, 14, 15) are, in general, the most important factors for urban regeneration. In turn, the physical factors (7, 11) were not considered as having high importance. The evolution of these last factors is not expected to have a high degree of uncertainty. Societal factors (5, 6, 8), referring to consumer attitudes, and technical factors (6, 11, 13), regarding the construction industry capabilities and the technical perspectives of decision makers, were considered to have little uncertainty for the future and to have some importance for urban regeneration - with the exception of the residential migration (8) and of the lack of technical capacity of the construction industry (13).

Urban revitalization problems and factors in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Report of Round Table L-1

Participants: Eng.º Carlos Miguel (Carris Transportes Públicos de Lisboa), Eng. º Fernanda Martis (Instituto da Construção e do Imobiliário, I.P.), Dr.ª Isabel Marques (Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo), Dr. António Júlio A. De Almeida, Prof. Tiago Farias e Engº Adelino de Oliveira (Empresa Municipal de Estacionamento de Lisboa - EMEL),

Moderators: Profª Rosário Macário, Mestre Engª Camila Garcia (Instituto Superior Técnico)

1. CURRENT URBAN REGENERATION PROBLEMS

The principal urban regeneration problems indicated by the participants were:

- Abandonment of the city center: aging of housing, traffic congestion, cost of housing.
- Unfavorable legislative, political and fiscal framework: falha no enquadramento dos programas.
- Poor offer of green spaces and public facilities that provides basic services
- Rents mismanagement.
- Security problems.
- Behavior change: population moving away from the city center, becoming individualistic.
- Migration flows.

2. THE FACTORS BEHIND CURRENT PROBLEMS

Based on the problems indicated in the previous section, the participants listed the follow set of factors:

1. Change in development paradigms.
2. Energy cost (energy market economy).
3. Mobility price (Is there a market economy ?)
4. Values set of the new generation (behavioral)

5. Models of governance (institutional framework)
6. Real estate market economy (land and housing)
7. Planning (city, accessibility, infrastructure, transport services and social facilities)
8. Social network
9. Real state regulation
10. Models of governance (decision process)
11. Financial sustainability of local authorities
12. New technologies
13. Priority / adherence to environmental factors
14. Built quality (environment)
15. Land use policies
16. Public space cleanliness
17. Sustainable funding
18. Migration flows
19. Security
20. Quality of life standards

The previous twenty factors were assessed by the participants according to their expected importance in the future (20 years) as compared to the present, as well as to the level of uncertainty associated with changes in factor importance. The assessments made are summarized in Figure 1.

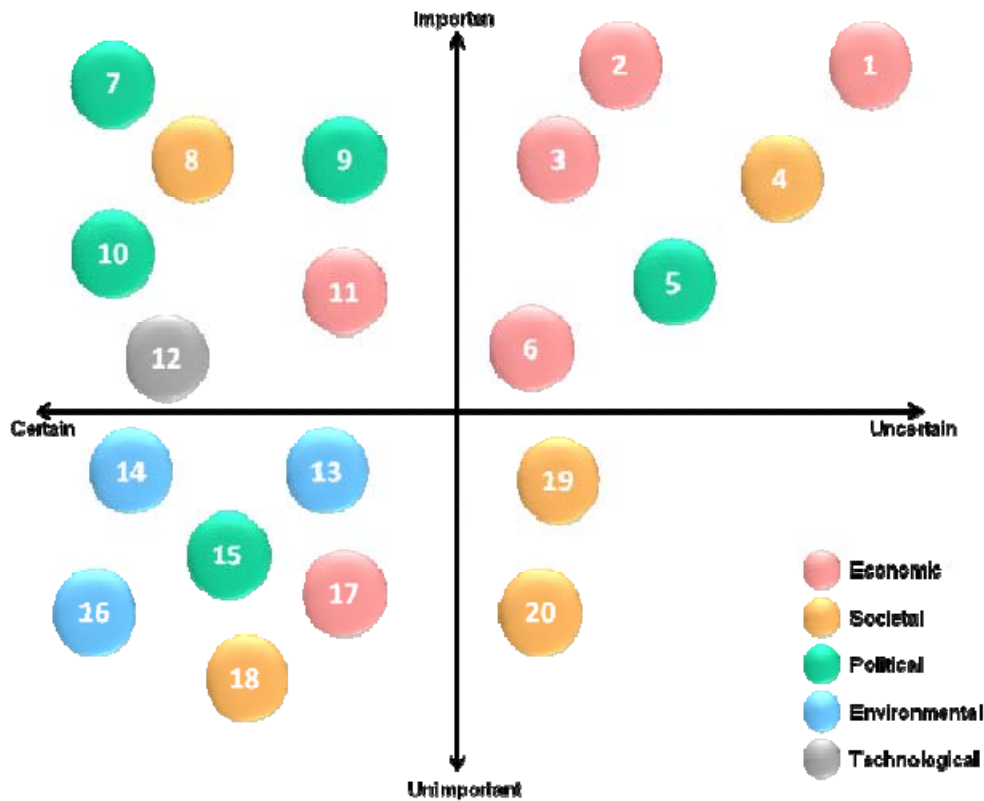


Figure 1. Assessment and classification of factors behind urban regeneration problems

According to the participants in the next 20 years some changes in these factors will be perceived as described below:

- The increase in the abandonment of the city center will demand the construction of new infrastructures in the suburbs and this will make the emptying in the city center get worse.
- Perhaps there is some improvement in the city center environment associated with the cultural effect (Chiado).
- The inappropriate metro expansion will create axis of growth in the city. This is a reflection of conflicts between local and national government levels. The implementation of a metropolitan authority could reverse this disarticulation.
- The energy efficiency will become increasingly important.
- The cost of individual transport (car) will grow to the point where people do the math, and it will change people's behavior. The cost of transport will condition the patterns of displacement.

- A change in the behavior of the younger generation that gives priority to leisure activities will make them prioritize the payment of rent instead of purchasing real estate.
- The status of automobile ownership will change.
- There will be change in the supply of parking.

Urban revitalization problems and factors in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Report of Round Table L-2

Participants: João Afonso (CCDR LVT), Catarina Macelino (IMTT), Margarida Coelho (University of Aveiro), Luis Martínez (IST, [reporter]), Teresa do Passo (Sociedade de Reabilitação de Lisboa Oriental), Anabela Ribeiro (FCTUC, [reporter]) Margarida Saavedra (Gabinete de Inovação da EPUL [CML]), Lília Sousa (CP, Planeamento), Chris Zegras (MIT, [moderator])

Process

The discussion about urban revitalization in Lisbon was developed via a moderated roundtable with three initial rounds of participation:

1. During the first round, the participants presented their backgrounds, roles in their institutions and their involvement and interests in revitalization or rehabilitation.
2. In the second round, the participants presented their perspective on the main revitalization or urban degradation problems that the participants observed in Lisbon.
3. In the third round, the participants identified the main factors underlying the observed problems.

During the lunch break, the moderator and one reporter attempted to group the problems and factors into clusters of factor categories. After the lunch break, the participants analyzed the resulting list and suggested modifications. The participants were then asked to think how the factor may be present 20 years from now, mapping their degree of relevance (importance) for revitalization processes and their degree of uncertainty.

Current urban revitalization problems

The participants identified four basic categories of current problems:

1. Built environment
 - Building stock degradation in city centers and some suburban areas
 - Abandonment of the city center

- Lack of public spaces in the city center
- Mono-functional suburban areas (only residential)
- Lack of straightforward definition of what is historical heritage and what should be preserved
- Activity dispersion into broader Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) (new suburban centers)
- Degradation of social insertion neighborhoods developed in the 80's in the city fringe
- Lack of adequate infrastructure and equipment in the city center

2. Transportation

- Traffic congestion associated with commuter trips
- Lack of public transport coverage in some areas of the city
- Subway expansion towards suburbs instead of consolidating city center accessibility
- Lack of parking spaces (based on current lifestyle expectations) in historical neighborhoods
- Imbalance in public transport fares and quality of service in suburban areas
- Lack of transport intermodality in the suburban areas

3. Demographics, Societal, Cultural

- Safety and security
- Ageing of the population in the city center
- Lack of social bonding among neighbors (community concept)
- Social segregation with immigrants occupying the empty areas in the city center (ghettos formation)

4. Market

- Real estate market (high prices of dwellings in the city center)
- Real estate speculation

The factors behind current problems

The problems outlined above originate from a number of factors, both local and national in scope. In fact, a number of the problems identified above represent “causes” of (factors behind) urban decline,

while others represent manifestations of urban decline. The inter-related nature of these problems and their “causes” (and the fact that a problem in one domain may *cause* problems in another) complicates the effort to cleanly isolate and synthesize “factors” behind the current problems. Despite these challenges, the factors can, essentially, be roughly clustered within six categories:

1. **Planning framework** – such as the lack of a future vision, inconsistency among different initiatives (e.g., lack of integration/coordination on policies), divergence between planning and political timelines, inadequate institutional integration.
2. **Economy and Market** – including access to credit (easy to purchase suburban homes), real estate prices, increases in real estate taxes (IMI), real estate speculation, rent control, housing quality, and ongoing evolution of the regional economy and impacts on employment localization.
3. **Legal framework** – primarily reflected in poor enforcement of relevant laws, lack of clarity on issues such as expropriations, and, in general, the slowness of legal proceedings.
4. **Demographic** – Aging of the population, in-migration (and immigration).
5. **Social, Cultural, “Lifestyle”** – closely related to the previous, increasing complexity of activity patterns, residential preferences, social segregation, weak neighborhood social networks (lack of “community”), status, individualism and lack of public participation culture, lack of respect of social norms, insecurity, accident risks.
6. **Transportation and Logistics** – travel demand flows (*pendular*), uneven public transportation coverage, parking supply and prices, fuel prices, freight loading and unloading, intermodal integration, fare integration.

Once more, it is important to recognize the difficulty in “cleanly” separating “problems” from “factors” and in isolating any into a particular category (as, for example, many demographic factors are related to “lifestyle” and vice versa, and many transportation factors are related to markets, and so on).

Assessment of expected future factors

The large number of factors (almost 30 were recognized by the participants), grouped loosely into the categories identified in the previous section, were then assessed by the participants, who were asked to consider their importance (with respect to the urban revitalization challenge) and their uncertainty (with respect to their potential future condition/state) in the future (over, approximately, 20 years). The group worked together to plot the 30 factors in the Importance/Uncertainty dimensions; Figure 1 attempts to summarize and synthesize this exercise.

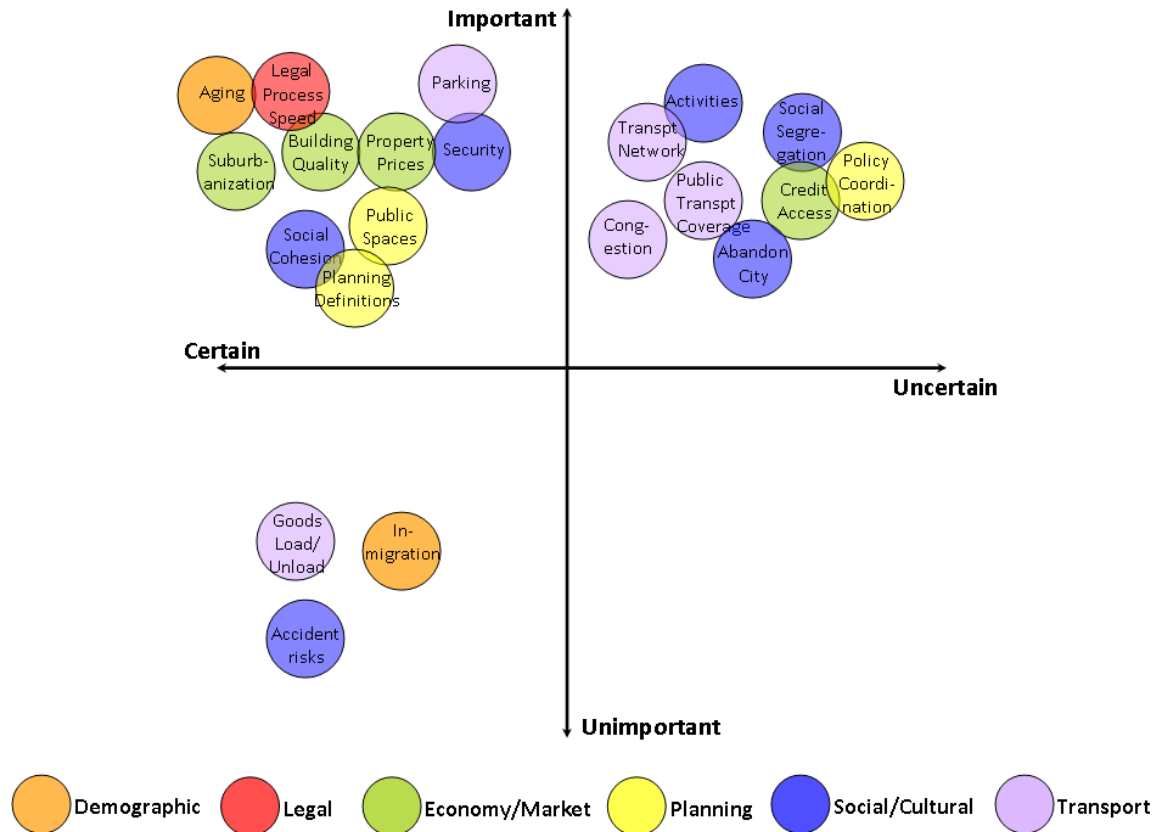


Figure 1. Assessment and classification of factors behind urban revitalization problems

Note that in the construction of Figure 1, and for the ease of graphical representation, the number of factors was necessarily reduced/consolidated, such that, for example, “Public Spaces” includes lack of public spaces and lack of adequate infrastructure/equipment. Furthermore, and as mentioned above, the categories (as represented by the different colored circles) cannot always fully capture a factor (as, e.g., legal and planning factors overlap). Finally, while the factors do fall within general quadrants of the uncertainty/importance dimensions as identified by the participants, not too much emphasis should be placed on a circle’s relative position within the quadrant. That is, policy coordination is not necessarily “more uncertain” than credit access; but, they appear that way primarily to make the figure more easily

readable. Appendices 1 and 2 offer the moderator's and one of the reporter's notes, in Table form, from which the above information was distilled.

The participants clearly felt that a mix of factors were both important and uncertain, including planning conditions, social/cultural/lifestyle conditions and preferences, financial conditions (especially, access to credit), and a number of transportation system conditions, including geographic extent of future network coverage and services and traffic congestion (presumably, further "pushing" people out of the downtown.

Somewhat interestingly, while participants identified a number of important factors related to lifestyle (such as "social and community cohesion") and to the planning and legal framework, the participants also felt fairly certain that such factors would not change significantly over time.

Concluding remarks

The analysis of Figure 1 suggests that the participants see a number of social/cultural/lifestyle, transportation, market, and planning-related factors that are important for the future of urban revitalization in Lisbon and also uncertain with respect to how they might evolve in the future.

We must keep in mind that the exercise was completed over a very intensive, but short, period of time, such that, for example, participants did not have adequate time to fully consider the importance/uncertainty dimensions for all factors. Furthermore, participants did not have adequate time to consider factors which, while not currently present in our mental models of relevant factors, may become important in the future. Finally, the confines of this brief report, compiled from the notes of the reporters and the moderator, make it difficult to adequately summarize the richness of the roundtable discussion and certainly must simplify and possibly omit important nuances in an effort to distill the essence of the discussion.

This first summary effort suggests some questions for additional exploration in identifying future scenarios and planning for them. For example, the lack of coordinated urban policies and the lack of integrated planning systems appear to be the main threats to urban revitalization. The question remains whether these policies will change soon; an additional question then arises: what will happen if they do change? Do "better" planning, policies and systems necessary lead to better outcomes? Can they reverse or at least slow the observed tendency for commerce, services and people to move outside of the city? Should they? W

In terms of transportation, will mobility standards and expectations change in the future? Will public transportation coverage and services expand their geographic coverage? What impact might that change have on the future of old inner city areas?

A range of possible intervention areas begin to emerge, such as:

- whether fiscal incentives can be effectively utilized to attract people o the city centre.

- with ongoing immigration, can these new residents to the cities be better integrated (socially/culturally)?

- housing and parking pricing policies may be important to attracting people to come and stay in the city center.

Summary table of factors, grouped into broad categories (compiled by moderator)

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Estilo de vida/Demografia | Envelhecimento, Complexidade das actividades diárias, Inmigración, preferências residencias, segregação social, status |
| Economia | Localização de actividades (emprego) |
| Físicas | Património edificado, espaços públicos, áreas monotónicas |
| Mercado | Acceso a crédito, preços (inmobiliarios), aumento dos custos de posse (IMI), congelamento de rendas |
| Justicia | Cumprimento da lei, expropriações, morosidad da justiça, |
| Políticas planeamento | Falta de visão de futuro, inconsistência de iniciativas, divergências entre horizontes de planeamento e políticas, liceciamento, falta de compromisos políticos a médio-largo prazo,.planeamento integrado, institucionalidad integrada |
| Social e cultural | Insegurança, risco de accidentes, redes sociais, participação pública, individualismo, falta de respeito das normas sociais |
| Transportes e logística | Procura (viagens pendulares), cobertura de transporte público, oferta de estacionamento y preço, cargas/descargas, integração intermodal, preços dos combustíveis, insegurança em transporte colectivo, preços combustíveis, integração tarifária |

Summary table of factors, grouped by uncertainty/importance (compiled by one of the reporters)

| Important and certain | Important and uncertain |
|--|---|
| <p>Population ageing Housing quality status Building stock degradation in city centers and some suburban areas Real estate market (high prices of dwellings in the city center) Safety and security Ageing of the population in the city center Lack of public spaces in the city center Lack of parking spaces in the historical neighborhoods for the current lifestyle Unbalance in public transport fares and quality of service in suburban areas Mono-functional suburban areas (only residential) Degradation in social insertion neighborhoods developed in the 80's in the city fringe Lack of adequate infrastructures and equipments in the city center Lack of transport intermodality in the suburban areas Lack of social bonding within neighbors (community concept) Real estate speculation Lack of straightforward definition of what is historical heritage and what should be preserved</p> | <p>Lack of public transport coverage in some areas of the city Activity dispersion into new Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) centralities Social segregation with immigrants occupying the empty areas in the city center (ghettos formation) Easy access to bank credit (buying an house in suburban areas) Subway expansion towards suburbs instead of consolidate the city center accessibility Lack of coordinated urban policies Abandonment of the city center Traffic congestion with commuters trips</p> |
| Not important and certain | Not important and uncertain |
| <p>Isolation and security Accident risk Goods loading/unloading periods Difficult expropriations Immigration</p> | |

Urban regeneration problems and factors in the Porto/Vila Nova de Gaia/Matosinhos Area

Report of Round Table Porto-1

Participants: Prof. Álvaro Costa (Faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade do Porto), Eng.^a Ana Cristina Silva (Instituto da Mobilidade e dos Transportes Terrestres), Dr.^a Catarina Almeida (Direcção Geral do Ordenamento do Território e do Desenvolvimento Urbano), Arq.^o Jorge Andrade Pereira (Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos), Dr.^a Maria Teresa Leite (Sociedade de Transportes Colectivos do Porto), Eng.^o Mendes Silva (Câmara Municipal Porto), Arq.^o Patrício Martins (PortoVivo Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana), Prof. Nuno Norte Pinto (Universidade de Coimbra)

1. Current urban regeneration problems

The participants in Table Porto-1 identified the social and economic disruption caused by the significant move of middle class households from the central areas of Porto to neighboring urban areas as the core problem of urban regeneration in the Porto Metropolitan Area (AMP). This very important population movement started in the early 1980s, when the municipality of Porto began losing population and jobs for other areas in AMP. As an example, between 1991 and 2001 population in Porto decreased 40 thousand inhabitants while in the other municipalities of the AMP it increased 133 thousand. During the same period, the number of households in Porto grew only 1.4% while in all the other municipalities (except Espinho) it grew at least 24%. This movement dragged the displacement of activities and urban functions, producing a new sense of urban deprivation in the (historic) city center. The emergence of new centralities (Matosinhos, Maia, Gaia) in the old peripheries where urban expansion created large housing stocks at lower prices contributed to transforming the central area of Porto into a potential new periphery. A periphery characterized by an aged and low income population living in increasingly older houses that were not attractive to the housing market, where organized crime found a quiet place to nurture and operate.

However, there is a sense among the participants that this is a two-way phenomenon: after many years of moving out from Porto, there is a new trend in housing demand and business location that is focusing on the central areas of the city, inducing (and being induced by) urban regeneration. The new centralities from the 1990s may now be facing problems similar to those they have created in the past.

Some examples were pointed out: the city center of Matosinhos, many residential areas in central Gaia, Valongo, and Gondomar. Some of these municipalities are in fact starting to take extreme measures to correct what was classified by the participants as planning errors of the past: in Valongo and Gondomar there are already some new and non-occupied housing projects that are being imploded due to the lack of demand for those locations.

2. The factors behind current problems

The discussion was fertile and led to the identification of many factors that have influenced urban deprivation and subsequent regeneration in Porto in the recent past. This discussion focused on the main problem identified previously and participants were able to identify the degrees of importance and uncertainty for the upcoming future for each factor. These factors were placed on the relational scheme as depicted in Figure 1. It is important to notice that the majority of the factors were classified as highly important but the degree of uncertainty is polarized between highly uncertain and highly certain. These factors are now detailed into two different groups.

The first group is composed by seven factors that play a less important role in urban regeneration.

1. Security in neighborhood areas was pointed as a chronicle problem of Porto's central city, mostly linked to the organized crime around drugs. The high degree of poverty that was (and still is) observed in the local population is a well characterized problem that tends to become less important regarding its influence on urban regeneration in this area. The way public authorities are dealing with security issues are also patronized giving to this issue a certain degree of certainty.
2. Vacant buildings had an influence during the past years in degrading the public image of the city center. Nonetheless, they were classified by participants as of some importance to the issue of regeneration, with high certainty due to the available tools to approach the problem.
3. Expectations generated both by planning and by the economy were pointed out as a slightly important factor with high degree of uncertainty. Investors in urban regeneration draw their investment strategies considering the upcoming planning choices (which are uncertain in many aspects) but they also depend on different financial and economic factors to invest.
4. Social cohesion was pointed out as an uncertain factor that plays a slightly important role in urban regeneration. The break in the socio-economic structure was important to creating the deprivation problems faced by the city centers but new market driven strategies are reducing its importance by not including the need for a balanced social structure in the regeneration areas.
5. The number of university students is very significant in Porto today, representing around 20% of the population. This was considered an important issue because the University left the city center to be located at the outskirts of the city, inducing students to search for new housing locations. At the same time, the number of commuting students increased due to the significant

improvement on the road network in AMP and surrounding regions, reducing the number of students that permanently live in the city. Nonetheless, the participants considered that the quality of the majority of the universities in Porto would ensure an increasingly higher influence of the academic community in the city.

6. The classification of the historic city center as World Heritage site was pointed out as an important factor that have contributed to overturn the old deprivation trend that was observed in the area in the past decades.
7. Parking was also pointed out as an important factor. First, because the inexistence of parking places was a key issue in housing location choice, forcing many households to search for newer neighborhoods with less parking problems. However, the degree of uncertainty is reduced due to the existence of simple and easy-to-understand parking policies.

The second group is composed by eleven factors that were constantly tagged as important, regardless of their degree of uncertainty.

1. The first one regards to the difference between renovation and new construction costs. For many years (and still today) the costs of producing one unit of renovated floor space are considerably higher than the ones for producing new floor space. This was pointed out as key factor that has postponed the inclusion of urban regeneration in investors' strategies. This factor comprises a high degree of uncertainty because it is based on a continuous process of technical and technological improvements that is permanently changing building techniques and regulations.
2. Administrative costs or administrative inertia was also pointed out as a key problem to investors to choose for regeneration in spite of new construction. The processes of applying to the necessary building permits are still very complex leading investors to rethink their projects many times. Participants agreed that the complexity of these processes give to this factor an important degree of certainty.
3. Property and land owner's attitudes towards renovation were also pointed out as a very important factor. The size of the properties in the city center, with many buildings belonging to large land owners with no financial capacities and many other belonging to a large number of land owners (what is called horizontal property) plays a key role in regeneration and is to some degree uncertain.
4. The aging rate of the population in the historic city center was also considered a key factor, mainly because is a consolidated trend that is on the core of the problem of regeneration.
5. By opposition, the capacity to attract middle class households in the cohort 30-40 was considered a very important factor to regeneration, because it is a key aspect to the rebuild of

the social structure in the city center. The way of achieving this is highly dependent of many other factors, giving it a high degree of uncertainty.

6. The lack of a concept for the city was considered a very important factor because of the inexistence of an explicit strategy for the city center, at least until the start of the SRU Company. Participants agreed that this factor remains highly uncertain in face of future planning options that can change after different development strategies for the city and for the AMP.
7. Another key factor linked to strategy is the lack of inter-municipal planning. The inexistence of a common planning strategy was said to be one of the causes that led city centers to deprivation because, instead of considering metropolitan areas as an integrated whole with integrated policies, public authorities tend to disaggregate the urban structure, putting different areas in competition. In this context, older city centers are less competitive than newer centralities. This factor also remains highly uncertain because, even though inter-municipal planning is considered in the planning law, there is still a long and difficult path to go until it becomes a reality in the Portuguese planning scene.
8. The quality of public space was alluded as an extremely important factor to qualify and to create identity for regenerated urban areas. Examples in Porto were used to acknowledge a high degree of certainty with regard to the importance of public space in urban regeneration.
9. The role of stakeholders as facilitators of urban regeneration is also an extremely important factor to urban regeneration. The (still) brief history of SRU operation in Porto proves that these new agents are more problem-oriented than local administration and their activity is giving the desired outcomes. This was classified with a high degree of certainty, as the competences of these agents are increasing.
10. The role of tax policies (regarding not only property but also household income taxes) was classified as extremely important to urban regeneration with an extremely high degree of uncertainty due to variations in national and local tax policies over the years. Tax policies can incorporate flexible tools to support urban regeneration and to prevent the decline of city centers, especially with regard to the building stock.
11. The last key factor is the house rental market, classified by the participants as extremely important and comprising a high degree of uncertainty. The unbalance between rented and owned house reduced the relative importance of the rental market. The average rent is very low due to rent freeze policies in the last decades reducing the land owners' incomes, thus reducing private investments in renovation.

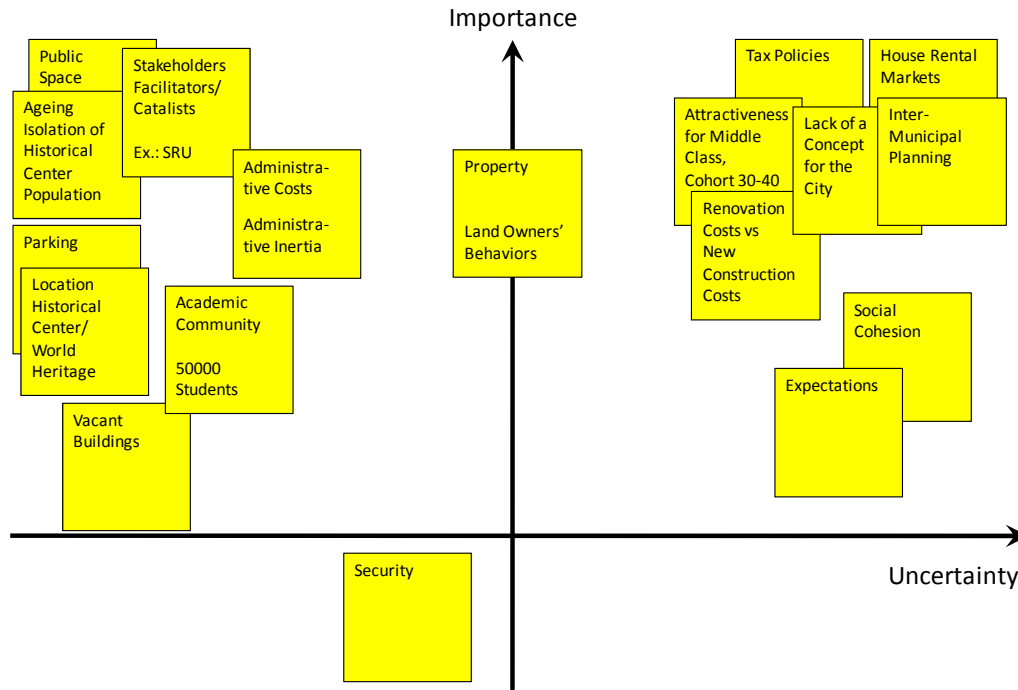


Figure 1 - Factor identification and classification

3. Main trends for the next 20 years

The analysis of future trends was not fully addressed in the discussion in Table P-1 during the first workshop. However, the participants gave some indications about how some of the current key factors will evolve in the 20 years horizon, mainly considering some observations in the current situation.

Participants agreed on the possibility of a new population growth trend that might be occurring in the city of Porto (that they expect to confirm with the 2011 census), and that this trend is somehow linked to the regeneration efforts that took place in the recent years – Metro do Porto, European Capital of Culture, UNESCO world heritage site, SRU. This trend is generating a new demand for housing, business, and commerce locations in the historic city center and its surrounding areas that is mobilizing private and public stakeholders and public administration towards the definition of new local policies and projects to promote urban regeneration. Public and private funds are already being used to produce what can be considered successful cases of urban regeneration (for example, the Carlos Alberto square), and there is the general opinion among the participants that these investments are financially sustainable and will go on and grow in the middle and long-term future. It was said that many issues regarding renovation and administrative costs would probably be addressed in order to ease project costs, especially on the side of small land owners. The example given for this administrative simplification is the fact that building permits and other administrative procedures that are municipal competences are being devolved to the SRU in order to reduce the average analysis time, and the SRU spatial jurisdiction for these procedures was, just recently, significantly enlarged. Nonetheless, this trend still holds a high degree of uncertainty, mostly linked to planning and economic policy. The issue of

inter-municipal planning was pointed out as crucial for the strategic view of urban regeneration but there was little faith among the participants on the possibility of this to happen, at least considering the Portuguese political context, both at the national and at the local scale.

4. Key factor categories in the future

The key factors to urban regeneration in Porto that were identified in Table Porto-1 can be classified into four main categories: policy factors, planning factors, economic factors, and social factors, as depicted in Figure 2. Many factors depend on different aspects, from public policy to economics, from planning to social development. A given factor can be classified in up to two of these categories, considering that it mainly belongs to a specific category (identified by the fill color) but is strongly influenced by another one (outline coloring).

The policy category comprises not only the issue of tax policies at all administrative levels, but also administrative inertia that can be addressed through the ongoing administrative simplification programs. Policy issues play a key role in the legal framework of the house rental market, as well as on the promotion of urban regeneration through public funding programs (regarding the way land owners face renovation of old or vacant building in terms of investment performance).

Planning factors mainly focus on the metropolitan scale of planning, and are characterized by the existence or not of pro-active initiatives towards the development of good urban revitalization policies and projects. Some issues are related to urban planning and urban design and others are related to public initiative in the urban regeneration dynamics (for example, the role of the SRU Company).

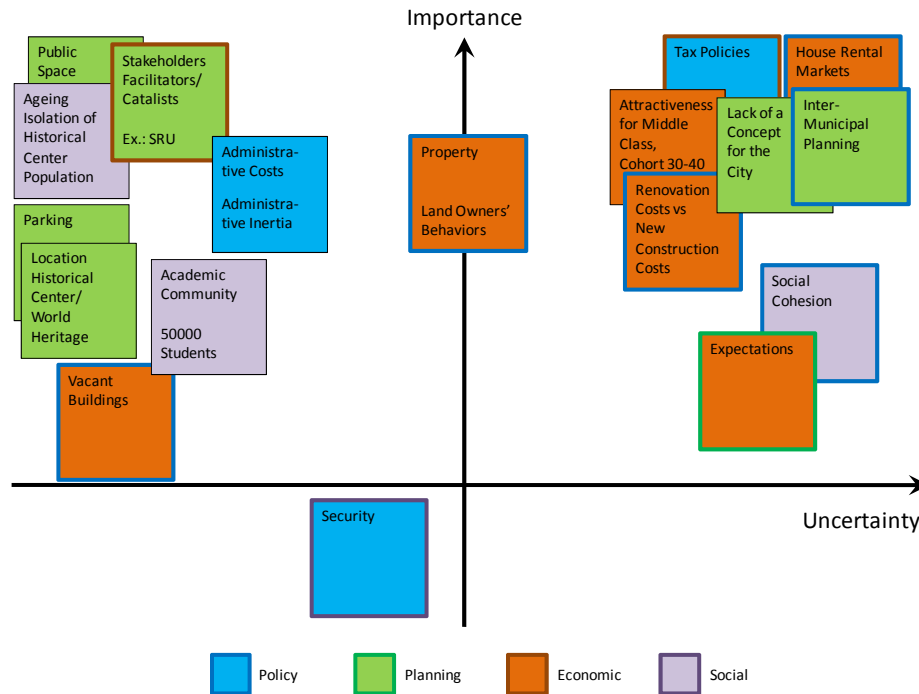


Figure 2 - Factor categorization

The category of economic factors is mainly linked to market behavior and regulation regarding the housing stock and the potential stimulus to urban regeneration. The most important economic factor is the house rental market and its effects on the attractiveness of regeneration considering not only renovation costs but also issues regarding property mobilization.

The social category includes the broad aspect of social cohesion, the important change in the demographic structure that was experienced by city centers, and the importance of the academic community to the revitalization of the historic city center.

5. Concluding Remarks

Participants in Table Porto-1 identified the importance of economic, policy, and planning factors as the underlying variables of urban regeneration in the twenty years long planning horizon. There is a clear economic driver behind the urban regeneration dynamics that still holds a high degree of uncertainty. This economic ground is strongly linked to public policy strategies on taxes, metropolitan and municipal planning, and real estate/construction markets. Nonetheless, there is also a good starting point based on actions and projects that already proved their positive influence in urban regeneration, such as the renovation of Porto's public space or the pro-active role of a new generation of stakeholders (e.g. SRU).

SOTUR Workshop I

Stakeholder Scenario Building: Imaging Urban Futures

Urban regeneration problems and factors in the Porto/Vila Nova de Gaia/Matosinhos Area

Report of Round Table P-2

Participants: Prof.^ª Ana Paula Delgado (PortoVivo SRU) Prof. António Pais Antunes (Universidade de Coimbra), Eng.^º Bruno Eugénio (Câmara Municipal do Porto), Arq.^º João Ribeiro Quintão (Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos), Arq.^º José Carapeto (Câmara Municipal Porto), Dr José Castelo Branco (CP Comboios de Portugal), Eng.^º José Leitão (Instituto da Mobilidade e dos Transportes Terrestres), Dr.^ª Margarida Mota (Sociedade de Transportes Colectivos do Porto) e Prof. Rui Ramos (Universidade do Minho).

Current urban regeneration problems

Five types of urban regeneration problems in the Porto/Vila Nova de Gaia/Matosinhos (PGM) area were identified by the participants:

1. Decline of the older parts of urban areas.
2. Dereliction of traditional industrial districts and decline of close residential neighborhoods.
3. Deterioration of areas crossed by urban expressways (particularly Circunvalação and VCI – Via de Cintura Interna).
4. Lack of quality for vast, unplanned residential areas built mainly between the 1960s and the 1980s.
5. Decay of social housing areas.

Type 1 problems are felt in Porto, particularly in the historic city center, and, to a smaller extent, in the cities of Vila Nova de Gaia and Matosinhos. They consist in the loss of population and employment, and in the downgrading of buildings and public spaces. Type 2 problems characterize the Campanhã (eastern Porto) and Southern Matosinhos neighborhoods, where brownfields and abandoned factories can be found. In the latter neighborhood, which is becoming an upscale mixed-uses area, the problems are being solved by the “market”. This is not the case in the Campanhã neighborhood, where type 3

problems also exist. Indeed, this area is crossed by Circunvalação and VCI – Via de Cintura Interna, two of the main urban expressways of the PGM area, and faces significant local accessibility and pollution (air, noise) problems. The same problems are experienced particularly in all areas crossed by these two expressways and also in the eastern Gaia area (Oliveira do Douro and Vilar de Andorinho). Type 4 problems are noticeable in the northern and eastern Matosinhos areas (Lavra, Perafita, São Mamede de Infesta, Senhora da Hora) and the southern Vila Nova Gaia area (Valadares, Canelas). Finally, type 5 problems occur in Porto (e.g., Bairro do Aleixo) but especially in Gaia, in the massive Vila d’Este neighborhood, where building quality is extremely poor and social exclusion is a pervasive reality.

The factors behind current problems

The participants focused mainly (but not exclusively) on the factors behind type 1 problems. They are listed below in the order they were mentioned:

1. Malfunctioning of the land/housing market – various facts contribute to the existing situation, particularly: (a) housing rent controls (applied since 1948) discourage landlords from promoting maintenance and rehabilitation works; (b) real estate taxes do not penalize long-term vacant property (nor real estate market speculation); (c) housing rentals involve serious risks due to the slowness of judicial procedures.
2. Improvement of the transport network – the construction of a dense expressway network and a widespread metro network in recent years substantially enlarged the area within short travel time of Porto, thus facilitating household moves to the suburbs.
3. Placement of important public facility in peripheral areas – the choice to build major public facilities (e.g. University of Porto’s Campo Alegre and Asprela Campus) in outer Porto, makes many people to move away or not coming to the city center (e.g. the students of FCUP and FEUP, two large schools formerly located in the inner city).
4. Location of social housing neighborhoods in peripheral areas – similar as above.
5. Change of consumer behavior – these changes, dictated by the modification of household structures and the participation of women in the labor force, favor suburban shopping malls (weekly shopping) in detriment of smaller, city center shops (daily shopping).
6. Lack of good-quality business spaces – this kind of spaces are now available in business parks located in the suburbs (e.g., in the municipality of Maia).
7. Attractiveness of the Lisbon – the integration of Portugal in the European Community and the investments made by the government in and around Lisbon to make the capital city capable of competing with their counterparts did not favor Porto and most other Portuguese cities (in particular, several important Porto firms left to Lisbon or, at least, moved to Lisbon part of their activities).

8. Inappropriate organization of local administration – the problems to solve could only be properly dealt with by an administrative entity with the vision and power necessary to formulate and implement a comprehensive urban regeneration strategy in the Porto metropolitan area.

Assessment of expected future factors

The previous eight factors were assessed by the participants according to their expected importance in the future (20 years) as compared to the present, as well as to the level of uncertainty associated with changes in factor importance. The assessments made are summarized in Figure 1.

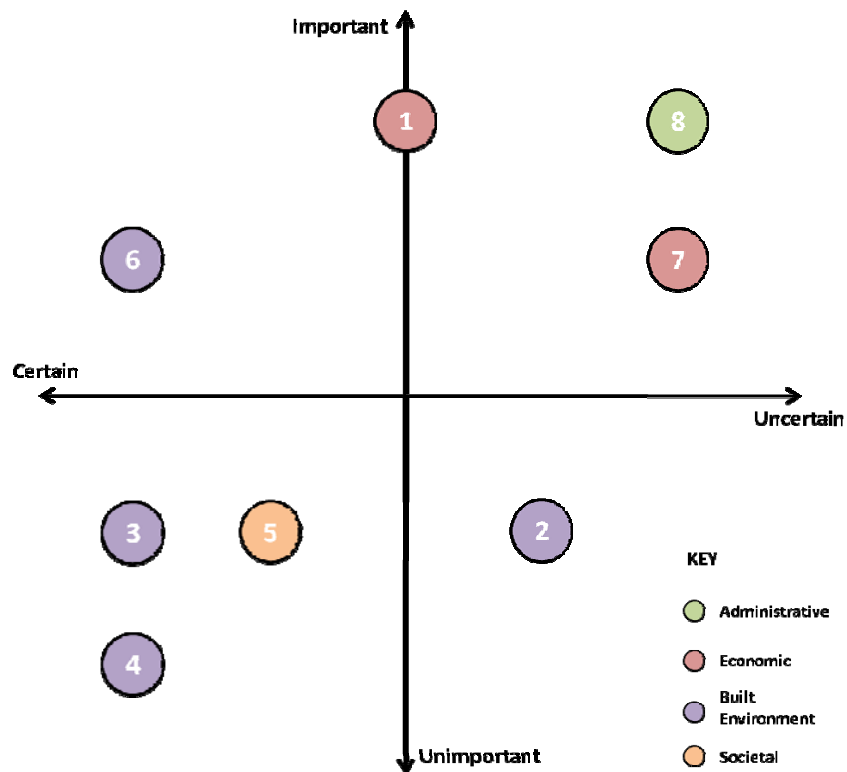


Figure 1. Assessment and classification of factors behind urban regeneration problems

The important factors (drivers) of change were considered to be related with the organization of local administration and the malfunctioning of land/housing markets. Evolutions concerning the former were assessed to be quite uncertain – the (at least apparent) decentralization purposes of the present government eventually may not materialize, particularly in times of economic crisis. In respect to the malfunctioning of land/housing markets, it was considered very certain that justice procedures will

continue to be slow and housing rents controls will progressively disappear. However, it is not certain that all measures necessary to avoid real estate market speculation will be put in place. Other factors that were considered to remain important relate to the lack of business spaces in Porto, which are unlikely to be created, and to Lisbon's attractiveness. This attractiveness will be enhanced with some planned major investments (e.g., the future international airport and the future Lisbon-Madrid high-speed rail line), but may be attenuated if decentralization is implemented.

The other factors were considered to play a less important role in the future. It was seen as quite certain that public facilities will not continue to be moved to peripheral areas of Porto (some may even be moved to the city center, but certainly not the larger ones). Social housing neighborhoods are unlikely to be built in the suburbs (or anywhere else). Family life will not return to what it was 20 years ago, but may change a little particularly if fertility policies are implemented and, consequently, the participation of women in the labor force diminishes. Improvement of transport networks will certainly not take place as in previous years, but the impacts of their expansion on residential and business location may still continue for some time.

A number of factors that were not associated with the current urban regeneration problems in Porto were identified as being potentially influential in the future. This includes home-based working, public safety, environmental issues, and cultural/leisure/tourism activities. However, there was not time to assess them in respect to their relative importance and uncertainty.

Concluding remarks

The analysis of Figure 1 clearly reveals that the participants anticipate an increase in the importance of economic and administrative factors. Also, it is worth noting that most new potentially influential factors are of a political or economic nature. In contrast, built environment factors are expected to become less important. These factors are related with decisions that are mainly made at the municipality level (or made taken into account local interests), thus their evolution is relatively easy to predict. The relevant political and economic factors are much more affected by uncertainty, since they are strongly linked with decisions that are made at the national level.

Appendix 6 Driving Force Worksheets for Workshop 2

Driver 1: Political/Administrative

| Variable | States | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | Final | Final |
|--|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|-------|
| Capital city-centrism (public investments and policies) | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Effectiveness of enforcement (e.g., of zoning, expropriations, definition of preservation and heritage) | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| More “ideal” land and property tax system: e.g., Real estate taxes penalizing long-term vacant property, Split-rate property taxes | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Environmental Regulation | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Adequate attribution of appropriate financial instruments (taxing and expenditures, including property and land taxes) – right match between fiscal resources and uses | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban policy consistency, horizontal/vertical cooperation/administrative effectiveness | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Role of stakeholders as facilitators of urban regeneration | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Governance: Existence of a supra-municipal structure | Y, N | | | | | | | | | | |

Driver 2: Demographic and Societal

| Variable | States | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | Final | Final |
|--|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|-------|
| Influx of students | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Population ageing in city centre | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Capacity to attract young middle class families | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Consumption preferences (shopping, healthcare, education): "modern"/"traditional" | M, T | | | | | | | | | | |
| Transportation preferences: private vs. collective | P, C | | | | | | | | | | |
| Housing preferences: city versus suburb | U, S | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cultural attitudes towards renovation | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Safety and security, criminality | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Social disparity and segregation | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Social bonding among neighbors | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Immigration | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Public participation attitudes | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |

Driver 3: Economy

| Variable | States | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | Final | Final |
|---|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|-------|
| Economic growth (purchasing power, etc.) | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Consumer access to credit for housing | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Producer access to credit for real estate | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Infrastructure provider access to credit | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Real estate supply | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tourism | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Private sector preferences for space/offices (city versus suburb) | U, S | | | | | | | | | | |
| Government weight in economy | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Export orientation or services-orientation | E, S | | | | | | | | | | |
| Private investments favoring Lisbon | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Energy Costs | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |
| Travel Costs | + = - | | | | | | | | | | |

Driver 4: Technologies

| Variable | States | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | Final | Final |
|--|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|-------|
| Transportation Technologies - Size (smaller, larger) | S, M | | | | | | | | | | |
| Transportation technologies - combustion: speed of adoption of cleaner, quieter (fast, slow) | F, S | | | | | | | | | | |
| Communication technologies (virtual travel – tele-presence): fast or slow | F, S | | | | | | | | | | |
| Building technologies (technical capacity for rehabilitation) | Y, N | | | | | | | | | | |
| Emergence of new technologies... (???) | | | | | | | | | | | |

Appendix 7 Driver Definitions at Conclusion of Workshop 2

Driver 1: Political/Administrative

| Variable | Centralized | Less-Centralized |
|--|-------------|------------------|
| Capital city-centrism (public investments and policies) | + | = |
| Effectiveness of enforcement (e.g., of zoning, expropriations, definition of preservation and heritage) | + | + |
| More movement to “ideal” land and property tax system: e.g., Real estate taxes penalizing long-term vacant property, Split-rate property taxes | + | = |
| Environmental Regulation | + | - |
| Adequate attribution of appropriate financial instruments (taxing and expenditures, including property and land taxes) – right match between fiscal resources and uses | = | = |
| Urban policy consistency, horizontal/vertical cooperation/administrative effectiveness | + | = |
| Role of stakeholders as facilitators of urban regeneration | + | = |
| Governance: Existence of a supra-municipal structure | Y | N |

Driver 2: Demographic/Societal

| Variable | Regeneration | Suburbanization |
|---|--------------|-----------------|
| Influx of students | = | + |
| Population ageing in city centre | - | + |
| Capacity to attract young middle class families | + | = |
| Consumption preferences (shopping, healthcare, education): “modern”/“traditional” | M | M |
| Transportation preferences: private vs. collective | C | P |
| Housing preferences: City versus suburb | U | S |
| Cultural attitudes towards renovation | + | + |
| Safety and security, criminality | + | + |
| Social disparity and segregation | + | = |
| Social bonding among neighbors | + | = |
| Immigration | + | = |
| Public participation attitudes | + | = |

Driver 3: Economy

| Variable | Growth | Stagnation |
|---|--------|------------|
| Economic growth (purchasing power, etc.) | + | = |
| Consumer access to credit for housing | = | - |
| Producer access to credit for real estate | = | - |
| Infrastructure provider access to credit | + | - |
| Real Estate Supply | + | - |
| Tourism | + | = |
| Private sector preferences for space/offices (city versus suburb) | U | S |
| Government weight in economy | = | + |
| Export orientation or services-orientation | S | S |
| Private investments favoring Lisbon | = | + |
| Energy Costs | + | + |
| Travel Costs | = | + |

Driver 4: Technologies

| Variable | Advance | Neutral |
|--|---------|---------|
| Transportation Technologies Size (smaller, larger) | S | L |
| Transportation technologies Combustion: speed of adoption of cleaner, quieter (fast, slow) | F | S |
| Communication technologies (virtual travel – tele-presence): Fast or Slow | F | F |
| Building technologies (technical capacity to rehabilitate) | Y | N |

Scenarios, in Combinations of Driving Forces, Chosen by Groups at the Conclusion of Workshop 2

| Scenario | States for each driving force | | | | Scenarios chosen by each group | | | | | Number of "votes" |
|----------|-------------------------------|------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---|---|---|---|-------------------|
| | Political/Admin | Economic | Socio/Demographic | Technological | A | B | C | D | E | |
| 1 | Less-Centralized | Growth | Regeneration | Advance | x | x | | x | x | 4 |
| 2 | Centralized | Growth | Regeneration | Advance | x | x | x | | | 3 |
| 3 | Centralized | Stagnation | Suburbanization | Advance | | x | x | | | 2 |
| 4 | Less-Centralized | Stagnation | Suburbanization | Advance | x | | | x | | 2 |
| 5 | Centralized | Growth | Suburbanization | Advance | | | | | x | 1 |
| 6 | Centralized | Stagnation | Regeneration | Advance | | | | x | | 1 |
| 7 | Centralized | Stagnation | Suburbanization | Neutral | | | | | x | 1 |
| 8 | Less-Centralized | Growth | Regeneration | Neutral | | | x | | | 1 |
| 9 | Less-Centralized | Stagnation | Regeneration | Advance | | | | | x | 1 |

Appendix 8 Scenario Narratives

As of May 15, 2010

The scenario narrative presented here represent the project teams' elaboration on the combinations of driving forces discussed by workshop participants.

Table 8-1: Summary of scenarios

| Scenario | Political/ Administrative | Economic | Social/ Demographic | Technological |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|------------|------------------------|---------------|
| "Societal Crisis" | Strong central government | Stagnation | Dynamic | Neutral |
| "Portugal Novo" | Less-centralized | Growth | Dynamic | Advance |
| "Will Technology Save Us?" | Less-centralized | Stagnation | Fading | Advance |

Scenario 1: "Societal crisis"

This scenario associates a growing Portuguese population with economic stagnation and neutral technological change under a strong central government. The central government abandons initiatives to devolve state power to local government and actually finds ways to assert greater power over local authorities. This concentrated power allows the government to implement a wide-reaching economic strategy aimed to boost growth and innovation. Part of this plan involves increasing the immigration rate and reviving population in the cities. While the strategy does achieve a more dynamic social structure, the country still fails to gain an edge in an increasingly competitive global economy. As a result, Portugal's economy stagnates and the country undergoes a "social crisis": many immigrants and young people are unemployed, leading to social inequality, segregation, and insecurity. Technology continues to evolve, but at a modest rate, and does not contribute greatly to the economy.

Scenario 2: "portugal novo"

This scenario is characterized by strong economic growth, dynamic social structure, and technological advance under empowered local governments. The decades-old decentralization initiative has gained renewed support and the central government devolves several key powers and capabilities to local authorities. The increased autonomy of municipalities leads to sometimes conflicting urban and environmental policies and inconsistent enforcement of regulations. At the same time, however, the intensified competition between cities brings more innovation in urban policies, greater public-private cooperation, and a distribution of public resources that more directly facilitates local economic growth. While this means decline for rural areas and smaller cities, the most competitive urban areas attract population and investment. Increased immigration and in-migration of young people to the city center revitalizes economic and social life in the historic districts; however, the city's new residents do not mix well, leading to socially differentiated neighbourhoods with localized areas of poverty and crime. Investment in research and technology has helped initiate rapid technological advance that both contributes to and evolves from the continuing economic growth; innovation and change are the norm. New transportation and construction technologies contribute

to dynamic life in the city center. Energy costs rise, but are outpaced by economic growth and technological change.

Scenario 3: “Will technology save us?”

In this scenario, economic stagnation and population aging are associated with technological advance. Here, demographics tell the story. The aging population clings to an inward-looking and insular cultural orientation. Local governments have gained more power and, directed by their constituents, they choose to focus narrowly on local issues; meanwhile the weakened central government fails to implement a coherent economic strategy. Fears about crime and the threat of social change lead to restrictive immigration policies, but, without the added demographic influx, the population continues to decline. The historical city centers lose population as the suburbs retain a more highly desirable status—and the fragmented government structure has insufficient capacity to promote urban revitalization. The declining population and lack of coherent strategy contribute to economic stagnation. Meanwhile, the rest of the world develops new technology at an even faster rate and, hoping to spark an “innovation economy,” the government and private sector adopt new technology wholeheartedly. Yet, without the conditions to support economic growth, investments in technology fail to produce returns. Still, despite economic distress, local communities remain strong and are marked by long-term and close-knit social ties.

Appendix 9 Survey Questions

Pre-Workshop Survey

Organização e Características dos Inquiridos

1. Em que área metropolitana trabalha actualmente?
 - Coimbra
 - Lisboa
 - Porto
 - Outra

2. Quais são as suas principais áreas de trabalho? (assinale todas as que se aplicam)
 - Planeamento Regional e Urbano
 - Planeamento de Mobilidade e Transportes
 - Operação de Transportes
 - Administração Pública
 - Imobiliário
 - Requalificação Urbana
 - Representação de cidadãos
 - Outra (Por favor, especifique qual): _____)

3. A que nível de decisão correspondem as principais responsabilidades da sua organização?
 - Nacional
 - Regional
 - Metropolitano
 - Municipal
 - Local (Freguesia)

4. Quais são as suas principais funções e responsabilidades na sua organização? (Por favor, responde de duas ou três frases.)
[questão aberta]

5. Por favor, liste as três questões/ desafios mais importantes que a sua organização enfrenta actualmente.
[questão aberta]

Revitalização Urbana

6. Muitas cidades têm-se concentrado na questão da “requalificação urbana”. Em apenas uma ou duas frases, como definiria o termo “requalificação urbana”?
[questão aberta]

7. Considerando a situação na área metropolitana em que trabalha, classifique a importância da definição de estratégias e políticas que promovam a requalificação urbana:
 - Muito importante
 - Importante
 - Pouco importante
 - Sem importância

8. Como classificaria a relevância do tema “revitalização urbana” na organização em que trabalha?
 - Muito relevante

- Relevante
- Pouco relevante
- Irrelevante
- Não sabe

Comunicações

9. Por favor, assinale na tabela em baixo a frequência com que comunicou nos últimos 12 meses com algum colaborador dos vários tipos de organização listados (através de email, correio ou telefone). Considere apenas comunicações relacionadas com trabalho.

| | Semanalmente (ou mais) | 1 a 3 vezes por mês | Algumas vezes por ano | Cerca de 1 vez por ano | Sem qualquer comunicação nos últimos 12 meses |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Entidades do governo central | | | | | |
| Autoridades Regionais | | | | | |
| Autarquias | | | | | |
| Operadores de Transportes | | | | | |
| Promotores Imobiliários | | | | | |
| Grupos de cidadãos | | | | | |

10. Por favor, assinale na tabela em baixo a frequência com que falou presencialmente nos últimos 12 meses com algum colaborador dos vários tipos de organização listados (excluído a sua própria organização). Por favor, considere apenas comunicações relacionadas com trabalho.

| | Semanalmente (ou mais) | 1 a 3 vezes por mês | Algumas vezes por ano | Cerca de 1 vez por ano | Sem qualquer comunicação nos últimos 12 meses |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Entidades do governo central | | | | | |
| Autoridades Regionais | | | | | |
| Autarquias | | | | | |
| Operadores de Transportes | | | | | |
| Promotores Imobiliários | | | | | |
| Grupos de cidadãos | | | | | |

11. Com que organização comunica com maior frequência (considere apenas os tipos de organização listados na questão anterior)?

[questão aberta]

12. Qual o meio de comunicação normalmente utilizado para comunicar com essa organização?

-Reuniões individuais

-Reuniões em grupo

-email

-telefone

-correio

-outra (por favor, especifique qual: _____)

13. Qual a principal razão pela qual comunica com essa organização?

[questão aberta]

14. Por favor, indique na tabela em baixo quantos colaboradores conhece pessoalmente nos vários tipos de organização listados.

| | Mais de 3 | Entre 1 e 3 | Nenhum |
|------------------------------|-----------|-------------|--------|
| Entidades do governo central | | | |
| Autoridades Regionais | | | |
| Autarquias | | | |
| Operadores de Transportes | | | |
| Promotores Imobiliários | | | |
| Grupos de cidadãos | | | |

Objectivos Organizacionais

15. A organização em que trabalha possui objectivos ou missão oficialmente reconhecidos? (ex.: declaração formal de objectivos)?

-Sim

-Não

-Não sabe

[Se sim] 16. Quais são os objectivos da sua organização (Caso existam vários, por favor, liste apenas os três principais)?

[questão aberta]

[Se não ou se não sabe] 16. Como descreveria os objectivos da sua organização (por favor, liste no máximo três objectivos)?

17. Por favor, assinale na tabela em baixo o grau de partilha de objectivos entre a sua organização e os vários tipos de organização listados.

| | Partilhamos quase todos os objectivos | Partilhamos muitos objectivos | Partilhamos alguns objectivos | Partilhamos poucos objectivos | Não partilhamos objectivos |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Entidades do governo central | | | | | |
| Autoridades Regionais | | | | | |
| Autarquias | | | | | |
| Operadores de Transportes | | | | | |
| Promotores Imobiliários | | | | | |
| Grupos de cidadãos | | | | | |

18. Para cada um dos tipos de organização em que assinalou um baixo nível de partilha de objectivos, por favor, refira se tal facto constitui, de algum modo, um obstáculo e explique porquê. [questão aberta]

Post Workshop Survey

Workshop Participation

2. Participou no workshop de 25 de Janeiro em Coimbra?
3. Participou no workshop de 2 de Março no Porto?

Conexões

4. Conheceu algum(a) colega novo, durante o(s) workshop(s)?
 - Sim
 - Não

[SE SIM] 5. Quantas pessoas conheceu em cada um dos vários tipos de organização listados?

| | Mais de 2 | 2 | 1 | Nenhum |
|------------------------------|-----------|---|---|--------|
| Entidades do governo central | | | | |
| Autoridades Regionais | | | | |
| Autarquias | | | | |
| Operadores de Transportes | | | | |
| Promotores Imobiliários | | | | |

6. A seguinte frase “Já conhecia a maioria dos participantes na minha mesa nos sessões de discussão no(s) workshops” é
 - Verdadeira
 - Falsa

Revitalização Urbana

7. Em apenas uma ou duas frases, como definiria o termo “requalificação urbana”?
8. Considerando a situação na área metropolitana em que trabalha, classifique a importância da definição de estratégias e políticas que promovam a requalificação urbana:
 - Muito importante
 - Importante
 - Pouco importante
 - Sem importância
9. Como classificaria a relevância do tema “revitalização urbana” na organização em que trabalha?
 - Muito relevante
 - Relevante
 - Pouco relevante
 - Irrelevante
 - Não sabe

10. Por favor, indique se concorda com as seguintes afirmações.

| | Concordo plenamente | Concordo moderadamente | Discordo moderadamente | Discordo plenamente |
|---|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| O workshop ajudou-me a melhor compreender as questões de revitalização urbana. | | | | |
| Verifiquei que partilhava opiniões semelhantes com os participantes da minha mesa. | | | | |
| Agora tenho mais ideias sobre políticas e estratégias para melhorar a revitalização urbana. | | | | |
| O workshop não mudou de todo as minhas ideias sobre a revitalização urbana. | | | | |

11. Por favor, indique se concorda com as seguintes afirmações.

| | Concordo plenamente | Concordo moderadamente | Discordo moderadamente | Discordo plenamente |
|---|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| As estratégias e políticas de revitalização urbana na minha cidade têm sido muito eficazes. | | | | |
| Não podemos atingir os nossos objectivos de revitalização urbana sem mudanças no sistema institucional. | | | | |
| Se quisermos ter sucesso na revitalização urbana, as agências precisam de trabalhar mais em conjunto. | | | | |
| O nosso sistema actual pode alcançar os objectivos de revitalização urbana, mas apenas se existir a vontade política para implementar as políticas correctas. | | | | |
| Sou pessimista sobre a capacidade da minha cidade para gerir os desafios futuros do desenvolvimento urbano. | | | | |

Objectivos Organizacionais

12. Por favor, assinale na tabela em baixo o grau de partilha de objectivos entre a sua organização e os vários tipos de organização listados.

| | Partilhamos quase todos os objectivos | Partilhamos muitos objectivos | Partilhamos alguns objectivos | Partilhamos poucos objectivos | Não partilhamos objectivos |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Entidades do governo central | | | | | |
| Autoridades Regionais | | | | | |
| Autarquias | | | | | |
| Operadores de Transportes | | | | | |
| Promotores Imobiliários | | | | | |

Organização e Características dos Inquiridos

13. Em que área metropolitana trabalha actualmente?

- Coimbra
- Lisboa
- Porto
- Outra

14. Quais são as suas principais áreas de trabalho? (assinale todas as que se aplicam)

- Administração Pública
- Educação e pesquisa
- Imobiliário
- Operação de Transportes
- Planeamento de Mobilidade e Transportes
- Planeamento Regional e Urbano
- Representação de cidadãos
- Requalificação Urbana
- Outra (Por favor, especifique qual): _____)

15. A que nível de decisão correspondem as principais responsabilidades da sua organização?

- Nacional
- Regional
- Metropolitano
- Municipal
- Local (Freguesia)

Appendix 10 List of Interviews Conducted

| Name | Title and Organization |
|--|---|
| Dr ^a Catarina Almeida | Chefe da Divisão de Política de Cidades, Direcção de Serviços do Ordenamento do Território e Cidades, DGOTDU |
| Anonymous | Former planner, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa |
| Conceição Bandarrinha | Direcção de Projecto do Plano Director Municipal, Câmara Municipal de Loures |
| Arq ^o José Carapeto | Director, Direcção Municipal de Urbanismo, Câmara Municipal do Porto |
| Sofia Cid | General Secretary, Área Metropolitana de Lisboa |
| Ana Paula Delgado | Board Member, PortoVivo, SRU |
| Ángela Ferreira | Director, Direcção de Projecto do Plano Director Municipal, Câmara Municipal de Loures |
| Eng ^o Nuno Ferreira | Responsável da Divisão, Divisão de Exploração, Serviços Municipalizados de Transportes Colectivos do Barreiro (SMTCB) |
| Dr ^a Maria João Freitas | Member of the Board of Directors, IHRU |
| Dr ^a Ana Guerreiro | Técnic Superior de Geografia, Área Metropolitana de Lisboa |
| Dr ^a Maria Teresa Leite | Sociedade de Transportes Colectivos do Porto (STCP) |
| Arq ^o João Paulo Lopes | Chefe de Divisão, Divisão de Planeamento e Ordenamento do Território, Câmara Municipal de Barreiro |
| Dr ^a Isabel Marques | Director, Divisão de Avaliação Ambiental , CCDR-LVT |
| Nuno Medeiros | Financial Manager, Direcção de Projecto do Plano Director Municipal, Câmara Municipal de Loures |
| Dr ^a Margarida Mota | Sociedade de Transportes Colectivos do Porto (STCP) |
| Fernando Nunes da Silva | Vereador, Mobilidade, Infra-Estruturas e Obras Municipais , Câmara Municipal de Lisboa |
| Arq ^o Jorge Manuel A. Pereira | Director, Divisão de Mobilidade, Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos |
| Pedro Ramalho | Coordinator, Gabinete de Inovação e Qualidade, EPUL |
| Arq ^o João Ribeiro Quintão | Director, Divisão de Planeamento Urbano, Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos |
| Renato Ribeiro | Attorney, CidadeGaia, Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana |
| Arq ^a Margarida Saavedra | Gabinete de Inovação e Qualidade, EPUL |
| João Teixeira | Chefe de Divisão de Mobilidade, Rede Viária e Estacionamento, Divisão de Mobilidade, Rede Viária e Estacionamento, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa |

Appendix 11 Sample Interview Outline

Interview Outline – Cidade Gaia

I. Planning Activities and Coordination of the Organization

1. What are the main responsibilities of your organization or division?
2. What is an example of a typical project that you would work on? (An example might be a current project.)
 - a. -What is the purpose/goal of this project?
 - b. -What specific activities does the project involve? What day to day activities does it require?
 - c. -Who initiated the project? Why did you decide to do the project? (Is it a matter of routine? Is it a special project initiated by a politician?)
 - d. -Who was involved in this project? Who within the organization and in other organizations?
 - e. -Has the project been completed? What happened in the end?
3. Do you ever work with other municipalities outside Gaia, either formally or informally? With any other organizations?
 - a. -[If the interviewee gives an example] What was the purpose of this project?
 - b. -How was it initiated? Whose idea was it?
 - c. -How would you describe the interaction between you and the partners with whom you coordinated?
 - d. -How did the project end?
4. How does Cidade Gaia work with units within the Câmara Municipal? (Give an example.) How would you characterize this relationship?
5. Does Cidade Gaia have any role in preparing/revising the city's PDM? Does it have a role in other plans – PU (Plano de Urbanização), PP (Plano de Promenor), Visão Estratégico, etc.?
6. Does your work involve any interaction with transport agencies or operators? If so, describe.
7. In what ways do you interact with agencies of the central government, if at all?
 - a. -Can you give an example of how this coordination works? What is the sequence of events? Who is involved? Who initiates the coordination, and for what reason?
8. Can you give an example where Cidade Gaia coordinated with another organization, even when it was not legally mandated to, or where it went beyond normal practice?
9. How does your organization decide which activities of projects to pursue?
 - a. -Would you have the flexibility and/or support to initiate your own project?

II. Perceptions of the wider planning situation.

1. What do you think is the biggest problem facing Vila Nova de Gaia, in terms of urban development? What is the biggest problem for the greater Porto area?
 - a. -Why is this a problem? Can you give a practical example of how this is a problem?
 - b. -What underlying reasons lead to this problem? (Does the institutional framework contribute to the problem? Are there cultural reasons?)
2. Do you think that the Porto area in general is effectively addressing the issue of urban revitalization?
 - a. -How could the city improve its efforts at urban revitalization?
 - b. -What are the barriers to improvement?

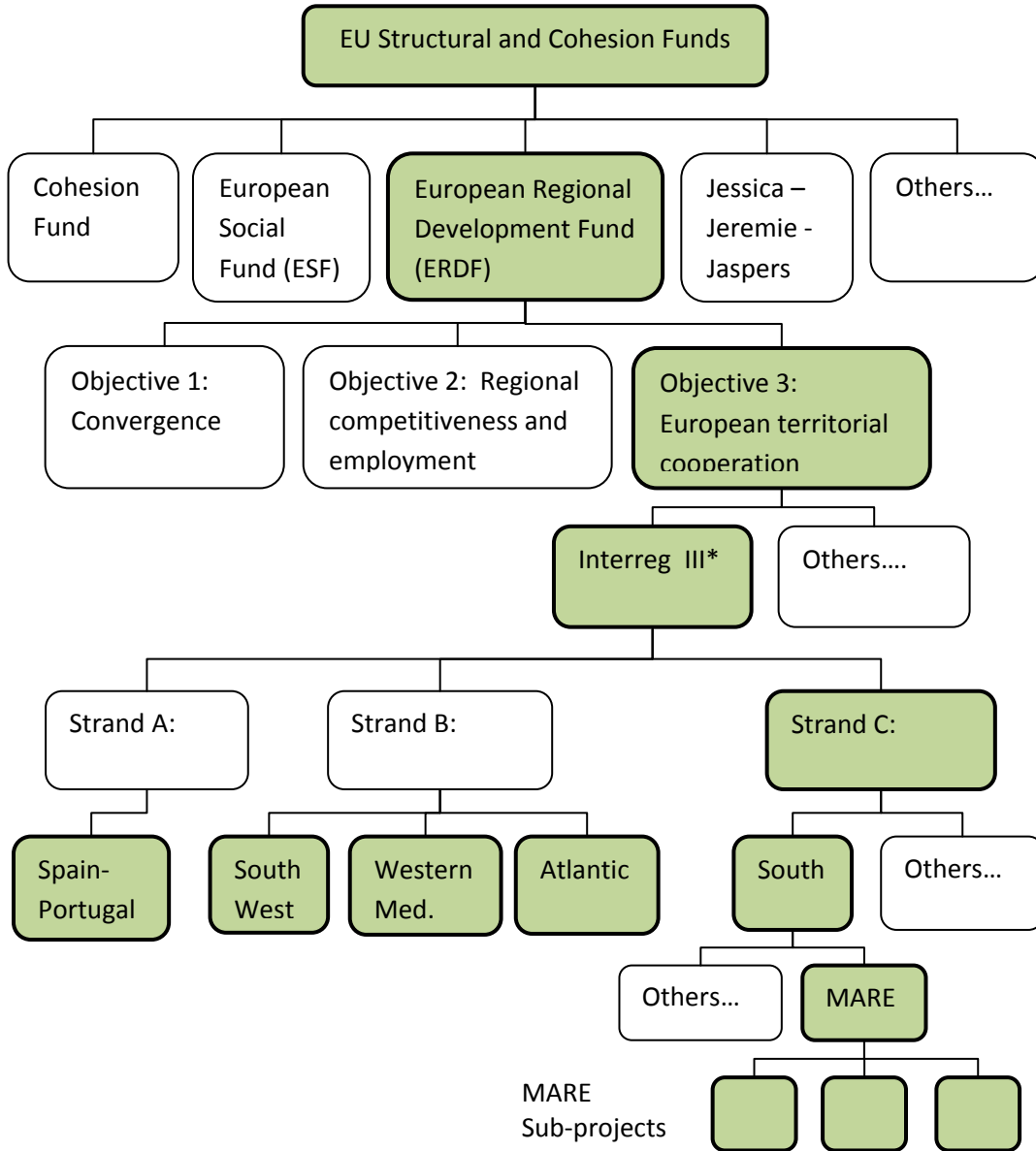
III. Individual and Organization characteristics

1. How long have you worked with Cidade Gaia in this position?
2. Have you previously worked with related organizations?

3. What is your formal education/training?
4. How many other people work here? What are their backgrounds, generally?

Appendix 12 Interreg Program Structure and Budget

Position of the Interreg Program with the EU Funding Structure



*note the structure is slightly different for Interreg IV (2007-2013)

Table 8-2: Interreg III budget allocations for programs that include mainland Portugal

| Interreg Strand | Program | Funding from each source (million Euros) | | | |
|--|-----------------------|--|----------|---------|---------|
| | | ERDF | National | Private | Total |
| A | Spain-Portugal | 823.9 | 274.6 | 0.1 | 1,098.7 |
| B | South West Europe | 67.3 | 44.5 | - | 111.7 |
| B | Western Mediterranean | 119.4 | 95.6 | - | 214.9 |
| B | Atlantic Area | 120.0 | 76.0 | 9.8 | 205.7 |
| C | South Zone | 139.2 | 66.0 | - | 205.2 |
| Total for programs that include Portugal | | 1,269.7 | 556.6 | 9.9 | 1,836.2 |
| Total for all Interreg programs | | | | | 4,875.0 |

Source: (Panteia 2009)

Appendix 13 Organizational Objectives Defined by Pre-Workshop Survey Respondents

| What are the principal objectives of your organization? (translated from Portuguese) |
|--|
| Increase customer satisfaction; increase market share; maintain balanced accounts |
| urban rehabilitation; regeneration of social and economic fabric; rehabilitation of public space |
| Continue and consolidate planning and management of regional strategy; continue and consolidate territorial and environmental management |
| promote municipal development |
| regulate, oversee, and carry out coordination and planning in the transport sector |
| improve outcomes; be a market reference; create value |
| reduce use of individual transport by promoting public transport; Meeting the needs of social and physical mobility of customers, through appropriate service at the transport network, promoting communication and ongoing cooperation with external entities |
| regulate construction and real estate markets and promote their oversight |
| transport planning; evaluation; innovation |
| excellence in research |
| promote regional development; financial support for projects integrated with effective impact; promote cooperation between various organizations with influence in the AML |
| implement solutions to improve mobility in Lisboa, with innovative methods |
| Ensure harmonious and sustainable physical planning; ensure urban management in observance of the laws and regulations; ensure necessary human and material resources for service |
| Reconstruction of natural ways and biophysical systems; quick and direct response to citizens; containment of urban sprawl |
| sustainable growth; implementation of next-generation mobility policies; territorial equity and good land use |
| image of the public roads; improve mobility in Porto |
| urban planning; rehabilitation; construction of affordable housing for the young population |
| efficient management of parking; effective actions in the management of mobility; contribution to an amicable relationship between municipal authorities and the population |
| Urban rehabilitation in the defined area |
| Teaching; research; collaboration with society |
| Serve with quality; effective service; preserve environmental and energy sustainability |