

1 The Nature and Planning of Community Life

This chapter examines the ways in which recent rapid social and economic changes have increased the need for effective community planning. Part One considers the impacts of:

- information and communication innovation;
- economic fluctuations;
- expanding transport technologies and nodes;
- radical administrative reorganisation;
- major political changes;
- destabilised international relations;
- increasing intellectual relativism and loss of confidence.

Part Two relates these challenges to contemporary community life and planning responses. Part Three examines and evaluates the capacity of the competing paradigms of order, productivity, control and cooperation to respond to these challenges of change. Part Four reviews how people and organisations can cooperate in planning their communities, and leads on to the concluding section of the chapter, which relate these roles to current trends towards collaborative planning.

Part One: Social and Economic Changes

The current cascade of change

The justification for planning is no longer simply the age-old desire to create a better world; it is also to improve prospects for securing survival in the face of increasingly volatile social, economic and environmental conditions. Though many of the causes can be readily identified, solutions require new agreements on values, practices and distribution of costs and benefits. Coordinated responses are needed to match and manage the impacts resulting from increased personal and social mobility, economic uncertainty, environmental instability and technological change, all of which are causing community life throughout the world to become less secure and more problematic.

Such rapid and accelerating changes may fragment relations among parallel social programmes. Coherent and inclusive planning is needed to ensure that the success of one programme is not achieved at the cost of failure in others.¹ This will mean bringing together not only different specialists, but also community members, business groups and political leaders, because sustainable solutions must ultimately be built upon consent, communication and collaboration. This is equally true in the ethnically riven communities of England's West Midlands and north Lancashire and in the flood-prone villages of the Sunderbans of the Ganges delta (Ghosh, 2004).

COMPONENTS OF CHANGE

At the global scale, current impacts, such as climate change are exerting far-reaching effects on human health, freshwater resources, ecosystems, crop production, coastal systems in low-lying areas, industry and settlements (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007). The period since 1990 could be viewed as a time of accelerated change, or 'punctuated equilibrium', during which a number of very rapid transformations have coincided and interacted to

create revolutionary transitions in a number of systems.ⁱⁱ In the physical environment, the early effects of global warming are producing climatic instability and threatening sea levels rises (Stern, 2007). Economically, cumulative over-consumption and production have triggered the global financial crisis. In politics, international stability has collapsed at the end of the Cold War. These converging crises in our physical, economic and social environments pose challenging questions for contemporary humanity. Just as fears recede of border wars between power blocs and international groupings escalating towards the notorious 'mutual assured destruction' (MAD) of nuclear conflict and reprisals, local riots and killings and the rise of international terrorism have increased fears of a 'clash of civilisations' (Huntington, 1996). As a result, in times of unprecedented physical mastery and invention, humanity is stalked by threats of failures of coexistence, locally, nationally and globally.

Solutions will often require major innovations and painful adjustments. Widespread personal anger and social resentments may flare among people facing disruptions to accustomed patterns of life and policymakers may need to manage and assuage these reactions. People will require help and tools to adjust their lifestyles to accommodate the 'shock of the new'. Sensitive and sustainable community planning will be needed to assist individuals and communities to manage changes which may arrive without warning or fully understood causes. In each of a number of arenas, discussed below, the forces of entropy, pulling things apart, will have to be matched by integration to hold them together.ⁱⁱⁱ In this situation, communities will need to develop capacities to scan changing conditions, rapidly in order to develop cooperative responses to and to evaluate options for, unintended consequences: in short, they will need to plan.

INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION INNOVATION

Extraordinary recent advances in information and communications technologies have made the contemporary world a place of instant and universal communication and greatly expanded the potential scale of communities of association. 'Glocal' awareness, transcending communities of place, is stimulating loosely linked initiatives, such as the carbon reduction schemes embraced by many local communities throughout developed countries (see, for example, Oxfordshire Climate Exchange, 2010; Transition Towns, 2010). Networks of environmental and social

activists are making use of instantaneous Internet and e-mail links to assemble powerful coalitions of public, political and media opinion-formers to champion or oppose action on global issues. One such campaign prevented the proposed introductions by the World Trade Organization of extensions of the global economy into fields such as local land ownership.^{iv} Where contact is daily and direct, communities may retain intensive local links. Where they are widespread and open-edged to draw in newcomers, they frequently become more influential, and may well help to bolster the vitality of community life in quite remote local societies (Environmental Change Institute, 2009).

ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS

Economics has become one of the most contested fields of knowledge and interpretation in the lives of local communities. The prevailing wisdom of the mid-twentieth century of managed economies balancing demand and supply to produce full employment without inflation (Galbraith, 1972) rapidly gave way in its closing decades to the militant ideas of supply side economics working through foreign direct investment (FDI) to maximise economic growth in the belief, criticised by Friedmann and Weaver (1979), 'that a rising tide will float all boats'. This orthodoxy is now itself challenged by the current concern to stimulate economic demand to forestall a prolonged world economic recession and massive local unemployment. As government funds and credibility are used to bolster private sector financial institutions, community life is being dramatically impacted by these radical swings in economic policy. These changes may also present well-organised communities with opportunities to play larger roles in shaping their own destinies, with support from central government funding. All members of the G20 group of the world's most economically developed nations, for instance, committed themselves to this programme at the 2009 London Summit (London Summit, 2009). In particular Clause 26 obliges the twenty nations to:

Support those affected by the crisis by creating employment opportunities and through income support measures [to] build a fair and family-friendly labour market for both women and men. We will support employment by stimulating growth, investing in education and training, and through active labour market policies, focusing on the most vulnerable.

Clauses 27 and 28 go on to commit governments to intervene to promote clean, resilient and green economies, and to combat climate change. These changes in economic orthodoxy present major opportunities for proactive community planning.

EXPANDING TRANSPORT TECHNOLOGIES AND NODES

All scales of transport and trade are also experiencing great changes. The container revolution of the last thirty years has both advanced the international division of labour (by promoting routine long-distance exchange of manufactured products) and revolutionised the spatial patterns of port cities throughout the world. From Baltimore and San Francisco to London and Rotterdam, dock locations have been moved downstream to new deepwater locations, freeing large swathes of old docklands for commercial and residential development in central areas (London Dockland Redevelopment Agency, 2008). International airports have gone through a similarly explosive phase of development, rationalised by concepts such as the *Aviopolis* and the *Aerotropolis* (Kasarda, 2009). These developments have seen very large and often privatised new airports in cities throughout the world as diverse as Tokyo, Bangkok, Los Angeles, Amsterdam and London becoming not only major elements of the regional settlement pattern but also increasingly significant centres of employment. They may also compete as regional shopping centres with established metropolitan cores, resulting in recurrent major traffic congestion and disruption to established regional transport systems. At the same time, their noise and traffic impacts are causing often bitter conflicts over proposals for new runways, flight paths and night-time curfews.

International trade and transport are not only binding global networks together ever more securely and stamping out giant footprints in key locations within metropolitan regions. They are implanting new economic pacemakers near the hearts of long-established urban and rural communities. Community planning is required to negotiate sustainable outcomes that balance the needs and concerns of existing local and regional communities with the insistent demands for ever more space and investment of supersonic technology and global economics.

RADICAL ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANISATION

Community administration too has experienced great changes. While new technologies of production and communication have increased the scale of private

business, tax revolts and business domination of mass media have publicised the attractions of 'small government' (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992), though this has been brought into question by the failure of such small governments to match and oversee the activities of big business. Nevertheless, the retreat from central control, coinciding with the growing scale of settlements, has also led to a revival of interest in regions and regionalism. In the European Community, this has taken the form of the infusion of new life into existing communities by injecting funds from above (Balchin, Sykora & Bull, 1999). Elsewhere, in British Columbia and Oregon, top-down and bottom-up approaches have been drawn together to create regional governments with strong planning and implementation powers (Heywood, 1997). Meanwhile, in the United States and the United Kingdom, looser, more voluntary associations of the 'new regionalism' are creating regional coalitions to negotiate continuous problem-solving, often without the formality of publicly adopted 'plans' (Wheeler, 2002). The snowballing failures and collapses of the economy of risk of the first decade of this century has led to a more cautious and negotiative attitude of the private sector towards social organisation and to the recognition of a renewed role for government in public administration. Alliances between communities and government, already being promoted by the United Kingdom's new Homes and Communities Agency (2009), for instance, could become far more significant in the next few years.

MAJOR POLITICAL CHANGE

In politics, too, established orders have splintered. Politically regulated command economies have failed and largely disappeared, which is due as much to internal inefficiencies as to external competition. In market economies, attempts to replace political decisions by economic choice have produced mixed results and often created severe disparities and social injustice (Monbiot, 2003), making the regulatory merits and efficiency of market mechanisms look increasingly questionable. Sectionalism, fragmentation and individualism have disrupted the old established order of a fraternal left in constructive dialogue with a freedom-seeking right. The cause of representative democracy has ebbed and flowed, advancing in Europe and Latin America, scarcely holding its own in Asia and North America, and collapsing in parts of Central Africa. Meanwhile, in the new 'millionaire' cities which now accommodate a third of the world's population (United Nations, 2009), local and regional systems of governance have struggled to manage the demands and

impacts of rapid urbanisation and to produce effective systems of urban management.

DESTABILISED INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

International relations have also exerted powerful impacts on the lives of local communities. Mounting instability, beyond the capacities of national governments or international organisations to control or resolve, has sent waves of refugees across borders and oceans, compounding the challenges facing community planning in host regions throughout the world. After the collapse of the Soviet Union ended the icy stability of the Cold War between communism and capitalism, a brief 'new world order' of economic and military dominance by the United States was scarcely proclaimed before it was violently challenged by international insurgency and terrorism. Their huge productive power has also projected China and India onto the world stage as major players. Europe has similarly stepped out from the shadows of American leadership. Meanwhile, in Africa the shocking conflicts of the early 1990s between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo unleashed waves of ethnic violence which continued to ravage community life across the entire region for almost two decades.

Such outbreaks of bitter communal violence have occurred in all parts of the world, between Serbs and Bosnians in Europe, Han Chinese and Tibetans in Tibet, left- and right-wing groups in Latin America, militarists and minorities in Burma, Christians and Muslims in Sulawesi, Timor-Leste and northern Nigeria, and Chechens and Russians in the Caucasus region. Meanwhile, in this fracturing and conflict-ridden situation of an unstable and multilateral world, the United Nations struggles to maintain its global roles of reconciliation, negotiation and leadership. Failures of local community life may escalate into national and international conflicts, which are in turn carried by refugees and economic migrants to impact on other localities throughout the world. The implication that we are inescapably 'members one of another' presents both challenges and opportunities for community planning at all scales.

INCREASING RELATIVISM AND LOSS OF INTELLECTUAL SELF-CONFIDENCE

Philosophical thought both reflects the ideas and activities of its own age and in turn helps to influence new conceptual and physical development.^v The well-differentiated philosophical arguments of the last two

and half thousand years between the great traditions of empiricism, idealism and rationalism have been radically challenged by a welter of new ideas, which can be conveniently mustered into a performing arena under the title of 'post structuralism'. 'Deconstruction' has become a favourite discursive technique and 'meta narratives' a potent put-down.^{vi} Nevertheless, as the air clears, it becomes apparent that the Aristotelian tradition of empiricism (of knowledge through experience) is alive and well in the arguments of the American Pragmatists (Rorty, 1996), who continue to assert that 'mental knives are what won't cut real bread' (James, quoted in Passmore, 1980), while the contribution of ideas, however reshuffled and neon-lit, continues in the neo-idealism of writers like Derrida and Foucault, who employ paradox and contradiction to question conventional interpretations (Foucault, 1963, 1980, 1981) and 'deconstruct' received truth (Derrida, 1976, 1993, 1995).

Another field of socially engaged critical philosophers also divides into temperamentally contrasted streams. On the one hand, the Critical Rationalists provide a powerful and persuasive explanation of science and justification for technological optimism of the mid-twentieth century in the form of the upward spiral of conjecture and refutation (Popper, 1972; Magee, 1973). On the other hand, the more idealist Frankfurt School of Critical Method recognises the importance not only of individual interests and hypotheses but also of the crucial roles of discussion and exchange between equally privileged participants around a notional 'policy table', whereby both knowledge and action can be resolved in open exchange between interested parties in a process which they term 'communicative action' (Habermas, 1972, 1987, 1990).

These ideas can be related to concepts, programmes and actions in everyday life and community planning. American Pragmatism can be seen as the rationalisation of material mastery and physical evidence in asserting that 'handsome is as handsome does', and incidentally justifying mass production and consumption. One variant of this view can develop into the questionable justification of the material self-serving of walled estates, patrolled shopping centres and military campaigns of 'shock and awe' (on the basis that they support material progress and diversity). It is nevertheless important to recognise the contributions that pragmatism can make to the testing of ideas against evidence. Three distinct contributions can be identified:

1. Recognising the importance of material outcomes.
2. Developing and justifying evidence-based policy.
3. The need to maintain democratic support of voting majorities.

Critical Rationalism, by contrast, emphasises progressive problem-solving, social engineering and scientific improvements which aim to keep pace with the inevitable effects of social and physical changes and challenges. These result in suitably cyclical open-edged and open-ended methods to allow communities to plan their own evolution to meet constantly emerging challenges of current times. There are undoubted contributions to community planning:

1. Problem-solving methods which can drive a cyclical and purposive approach to social change.
2. The virtues of conjecture and refutation in ensuring that people listen to each other.
3. The rights of minority groups in pluralist societies to be part of continuing social debates.

Communicative Action places ideas of individual problem-solving within a social context and seems to respond particularly well to a number of contemporary situations. Its negotiative and cumulative capacities match many of the dominant characteristics of the current times, particularly those of universal and instantaneous communications, the worldwide spread of education and knowledge, insistent demands of previously excluded groups to have their interests taken into account in allocating opportunities and resources, and the increasingly deadly capacity of excluded and dissident groups to be able to wreak havoc on those whom they see as oppressors or opponents. Communicative Action is therefore particularly relevant to contemporary community planning, and has a number of important contributions to make, providing:

- a coherent framework for community engagement;
- a powerful and fertile source of objectives through discussion;
- incorporation of community experience in information collection and review;
- inclusion of communities of practitioners and their specialised knowledge in policy development;
- insights into key aspects, such as the importance and role of public space in maintaining social dialogue.

The rapid splintering of philosophical thought into contending and often unrelated views of meaning, method and purpose is thus not altogether negative for community planning. Insight can be gained into the very wide range of views and beliefs prevalent in increasingly diverse contemporary communities, and situations can be matched with their underlying values and concepts to seek acceptable and appropriate solu-

tions. Pragmatic achievement can be incorporated into the development of evidence-based policy. Innovative problem-solving can be encouraged by the active involvement of energetic individuals. The innate human capacity for communication can be harnessed in festivals, discussion groups, speakers' corners and the potentially democratic conversations of the Internet. Modern philosophy can be heard as a symphony of different themes and instruments as well as a confusing and solipsistic babble of personal insights.^{vii}

Part Two: Community Life and Change

Contemporary challenges to community life

Communities consist of groups of people who experience and acknowledge significant links, expectations and responsibilities towards each other. They do not need to be neighbours, but they do need to share neighbourly feelings, which may be based on shared spaces, interests or realms of interaction. Nevertheless, 'community' may mean different things at different scales and to different people. 'Friendly association' is the most all-embracing of its many meanings, encompassing such alternatives as 'all the people in a particular district', 'a group of people living together as a smaller social unit within a larger one' and 'ownership and participation in common' (Guralnik, 1974). Friendly association both promotes, and is in turn promoted by, community life. Through the self-expression that links people and groups, personal energies can be combined to form the community synergy to create cities and their infrastructure of roads, aqueducts and ultimately global communications systems. Settlements that benefit from friendly association gain the strength and capacity to transform their environments into places of lasting achievement and beauty through cooperation in production, art, science and technology. Though cities may well have originated through enforced association within containing walls (Mumford, 1961) as well as mutual aid (Kropotkin, 1939), their rapid growth to accommodate half of all humanity has depended on networks of association, exchange and collaboration, which are most sustainable where they are voluntary, mutually advantageous and pleasurable. Depictions of the life of the earliest cities by their artists are full of scenes of people singing and dancing together (Desroches-Noblecourt, 1976) just as paintings of medieval cities like Lorenzetti's



Figure 1.1 Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Good Government*.

Allegory of Good Government and *Allegory of Bad Government* in thirteenth-century Siena show repeated acts of quiet neighbourliness and mutual appreciation (Figure 1.1).

Nevertheless, successful cities inevitably bring people into enforced and sometimes unwanted contact with those who do not share their culture, interests, religion or even language. City life also creates situations where fear, hostility and exploitation can create conflict or the subjugation of whole groups as servants, serfs or slaves. Settlements where friendly association has been lost may become dangerous places where vulnerable individuals and groups suffer random assault or systematic exploitation. As a result, the fostering of community life to support and sustain healthy societies requires careful planning and management, which will involve choices and decisions about which values and interests will be pursued – whether, for instance, to adopt the elaborate caste systems of traditional Hindu society (Naipaul, 1979) or to develop more voluntary networks like those of the craftsmen and artisans of medieval and renaissance Tuscany (Heywood, 1904; Hibbert, 1979; Putnam, 1993).

The first decades of the twenty-first century present particularly acute challenges to the roles of communities as places where change can be assimilated and the shock of the new absorbed into a continually readjusted balance. The increased personal mobility and power of the modern era has accentuated to dangerous extents the effects of interpersonal conflicts of belief and interest. These influences have, in turn, been amplified by the global reach of mass media, publicising the attractions of the world's most prosperous regions to the most remote corners of all con-

tinents, and encouraging flights from famine which may involve many tens of thousands of people. There is also the added possibility of mass migrations resulting from sea level rises fuelled by global warming. We are facing a future where the capacity of communities to integrate newcomers will become even more essential to both successful local life and global harmony.

CURRENT TRENDS

Opportunities to do this have been much assisted by developments of mass education and technological reach throughout the twentieth century, climaxing in the digital revolution of the cell phone, which is increasingly being used in all parts of the world to access the global Internet. Most societies now aim to provide some sort of primary education for their children and the universal reach of global communications has also brought the informal education of satellite 'infotainment' to every village, however poor or remote. Individuals in all parts of the world now have the confidence and the capacity to communicate their ideas and needs and aims with each other and with power holders. Even though we are approaching a resources crisis, we are experiencing the potential for education and learning to become major focus points for community life at all scales (Table 1.1).

The role of communication in community building is by no means limited to education; it plays key roles in governance, culture and social life. Many of the worst failures of community life in recent times have occurred where there have been breakdowns in communications.

Table 1.1 Community forming role of education at different scales

Physical scale	Educational facility	Nature of community	Frequency of intensive interaction
Family	Radio, TV, cell phone	Extended family	Continual
Locality	Child care centre, primary school	Neighbourhood	Daily
District	Secondary school, library, video store	Suburb	Daily/weekly
Town	Vocational college internet cafe	Work catchment	Daily/weekly
City or rural province	Regional university, voluntary organisations, regional newspaper, radio stations, agricultural college	City or rural region	Weekly
Metropolis	Metropolitan university, creative culture precincts; TV stations, major libraries and museums, research facilities	Metropolitan community	Monthly
Country	International universities, national education hub, access to national educational and employment opportunities	National community	Annual/life phase.
Global	Global knowledge networks of cell phones, satellites and internet UNESCO.	Human community	Physical: once or twice a lifetime; Virtual: daily/continuous

FAILING COMMUNITIES

There are many vivid and well publicised failures to manage cultural diversity peacefully and positively. Cases like the Khmer Rouge and Serbian extermination camps, Rwandan and Chechen massacres, and riots in Los Angeles in 1992, Mumbai in 1993 and 2008 and Sydney in 2007 have become recurrent themes of contemporary life (Robertson, 1999). Nevertheless, these are far outweighed by more significant but less dramatic achievements of cooperation and mutual aid. Examples such as Bangladesh's Grameen Bank (Box 1.1), the Mondragon workers cooperatives (Boxes 1.2 and 1.3) and the international community development schemes of organisations like Oxfam and World Vision have brought personal autonomy and essential physical and social resources such as clean water and education to countless small communities throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America (Oxfam Australia, 2006). It is significant that despite the dramatic destructiveness of explosions of violence, the long-term imperatives of cooperation and voluntary exchange have always re-asserted themselves, because community life is a necessity for civilised and prosperous societies, which depend upon harnessing human skill, ingenuity and creative talent in networks of exchange and development. The prosperity and individual fulfilment of their members relies on the support of networks of trust, which in their turn rest upon the friendly associations of community life.

The psychological basis of community living has been explored by Jane Jacobs, the celebrated planning theorist, in her 1992 book *Systems of Survival*, in which she argues that humans have evolved as 'dealers' far more capable of developing robust systems of mutual advantage than the 'guardians' who see it as their prerogative to lay down rules to regulate the behaviour of their fellow citizens. These ideas have great significance for community planning, and for the promotion of person-to-person methods of developing policies and plans as against the top-down ones, which guardians in the spirit of Plato, More, Marx and Skinner would advocate. In his seminal book *The Open Society and its Enemies*, Karl Popper (1998) relates the repressive failings of closed communities to their inability to acknowledge and integrate the experience of their members into the evolution of those communities' future directions. They thus become caught in a vicious cycle of resentment, repression, resistance and rejection. If, on the other hand, people are obliged to negotiate with each other, policies will become better informed, more detailed and more widely and securely based.

Jacobs' ideas therefore powerfully support the methods of 'collaborative planning' (Healey, 2006, 2007) which are currently emerging to replace the 'systems thinking' of the mid-twentieth century (Chadwick, 1969; McLoughlin, 1971). Such systems planners, in creating descriptive systems often of great subtlety, scope and explanatory power, frequently slid

Box 1.1 Micro credit in Bangladesh

At the end of its bloody war of independence in 1972, when Bangladesh emerged as one of the world's poorest nations, Mohamed Yunus returned from the United States, where he had been teaching as a professor of economics. Depressed by the inability of academic theories to explain or redress the cycle of poverty in which chronic debt trapped most of the country's population of more than one hundred million people, he experimented, by making 42 small loans totalling \$27 in a nearby village (Bornstein, 1996). Based on the success of this initiative in enabling the recipients to work and trade their way out of debt and poverty, he developed a general approach to micro credit, in which the traditional financial collateral demanded by banks, which the poor do not have, was replaced by social collateral, which their daily lives and mutual knowledge provide in abundance (Yunus, 1998). Over a period of four years, he and his colleagues organised the Grameen, or 'Seed', Bank of small local groups linked to form centres of about thirty members, in turn joined to district branches each serving sixty centres. The bank's success depends upon hard work, small sums of money, accountability and respect for human dignity.

Because it lends to 'the poorest of the poor' who are used to tight budgeting, and relies on weekly meetings to decide on loans and collect repayments, the bank has always enjoyed an excellent repayment rate, which is currently running at 98%. Its workers must spend two-thirds of their time travelling to villages and participating in weekly branch meetings of local members. Its lending has grown in 30 years to over \$7.59 billion to over seven million members (over 97% of them formerly impoverished women) organised in 1.2 million groups (Grameen Bank, 2009a, b). By the end of the century, the movement had spread to include partner organisations in twenty different countries in all six settled continents and is still growing (Grameen Dialogue, October, 1999; Grameen Bank, 2009b).

The achievements of the Grameen Bank are widely celebrated. Mohamed Yunus has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the Bank has gained an international architecture award for its contribution to improved rural housing and construction of over 600 000 homes has also been financed (Grameen Bank, 2009a). Grameen Phone, Grameen Knitwear (a weaver's cooperative) and Grameen Health Care Services have been formed to use the excess funds contributed by members after they have finished repaying their loans. Grameen Phone has transformed the former rural isolation of the country by having one or more 'telephone ladies' with a mobile phone able to reach any resident in any of the 83 000 villages where there are groups.

By the turn of the century, the Grameen Bank started to look worldwide, aiming to reach a hundred million of the world's poorest families, especially women, providing credit for self-employment, and other financial and business services, in pursuit of the basic aims of:

- reaching the poorest;
- reaching women;
- building financially self-sufficient institutions;
- ensuring impact on the lives of clients and their families.

The bank continues to expand in many directions: upwards to influence the policies of the World Bank to support micro credit; downwards to make its members more self-sufficient, in enterprises like Grameen Knitwear and Healthcare Service; and sideways to establish over 150 branches in all six settled continents (Grameen Trust, 2000).

into the error of seeing themselves as appointed experts with responsibilities to project current needs into the future and make provisions for such decisive innovations as land use transportation systems designed around massive urban freeways capable of accommodating all the forecast increased traffic flows, irrespective of community concerns about

demolition, pollution and distributional effects (Heywood, 1974).

CONTRIBUTIONS OF COLLABORATIVE PLANNING

There are many practical examples of the contributions which these community-building collaborations can

Box 1.2 Worker and community self-management in Spain

The Mondragon Workers Cooperative (now the Mondragon Corporation Cooperative) is a notable example of the power of creative ideas and cooperation to transform unsatisfactory and unjust economic and physical conditions. In the early 1940s, Father José Arizmendi, emerging from one of Franco's prisons, founded a democratically managed polytechnic school and began to explore cooperative ideas as an option to avoid each of a number of unattractive alternatives, including the repressive excesses of the dictatorship then ruling Spain, the rigid and unproductive standardisation of Stalin's Soviet Union and the social inequities of contemporary capitalism, which had produced the mass unemployment of the 1930s. In 1956, five unemployed graduates of the polytechnic pooled their savings and joined with him to establish the basis for a workers cooperative. ULGOR became the first of the network of cooperatives, producing white goods and domestic appliances, which happened to be the items with which they had industrial experience (Whyte & Whyte, 1989).

ULGOR was an immediate success and by the early Sixties had grown to a network of enterprises comprising over 3000 worker partners. All members have a financial stake in their work places, which is bought out if they leave, so that only the workers can own the enterprise. Control of the factories and appointments of senior management is by means of works councils with all workers as voting members, appointing and sharing power with plant managers. By 2008, the original network had grown to include over 23000 member owners, and became Spain's largest producer of white goods, with the highest worker productivity of any Spanish enterprise. The wider international network now includes more than 100000 members (Mondragon Corporation Cooperative, 2008).

The Contract of Association stipulates that not less than 10% of the profits must go to community and social services of schools, colleges, health insurance, clinics and research institutes. These 'second degree' cooperatives are governed by representatives of the factory co-ops. No factory may expand beyond 500 workers, in order to maintain the reality of workers' control and good human communications. Wage differentials, originally fixed at a ratio of 1:3, have since been expanded to 1:6 in order to ensure that the co-op network retains its pool of highly talented and energetic young managers and technical experts, to keep it competitive in times of very rapid technological and economic change, as Spain adjusts to membership of the mainstream European Community.

Because membership confers the automatic right to a job, the global restructuring of employment owing to the automation of the 1980s and 1990s posed particularly sharp challenges to the co-ops. Employment growth slowed, and remuneration fell for the first time to about the average elsewhere in Spain's industrial sector. Employment levels, however, remained at 100%. This achievement of consensual decision-taking in the workers councils involved creative innovation by management and rational choices by members to accept reduced wages to stay competitive.

The co-op begins new enterprises with a group of people who are friends, and sees the natural bonds of friendship as a building block for successful ventures, echoing the definition of community as 'friendly association' with which we started this section. Its successful application of radical social and economic ideas is assisting a traditional community to thrive in its home setting and to maintain a deeply valued heritage of language, culture and economic autonomy, which has elsewhere in the Basque region been expressed in acts of social dissent and terrorism.

make to flourishing human cities and regions, including, for example, micro credit to assist economically struggling communities, worker participation and management and the more pervasive but smaller-scale ones of local community development. One, deceptively modest example can be found in the City Farm movement, by which environmental activists in cities across the world are reintroducing the restorative

effects of contact with nature to underprivileged inner-city communities. Box 1.1 illustrates how community trust can offer the social collateral to provide micro credit to relieve the exclusion of the 'poorest of the poor' in Bangladesh, one of the world's most impoverished countries. Boxes 1.2 and 1.3 describe how the collaborative management of the Mondragon workers cooperative has assisted a previously marginalised

Box 1.3 Social enterprises in Santander

The entrepreneurial ideas of the Social Enterprise Movement can also be grafted on to the communitarian and cooperative stock of workers cooperatives. In 2008, a former Director of Mondragon's Innovation and Knowledge Institute, Fernandez Isoird, left to establish Business Innovation Brokers (BIB), in the Basque capital of Santander, maintaining cooperative principles while seeking international capital to build a new industrial park to employ a thousand formerly unemployed people in innovative small-scale enterprises. His aim is to offer 'self-sufficiency, a safety net and a solidarity network that reduces dependency on the State' (Benjamin, 2009). BIB also wants to explore the black economy: 'We want to see how we can help (social security) claimants turn what they are doing into a legitimate social business. That way they come off welfare and pay taxes' (Benjamin 2009).

Alison Benjamin reports Isoird as hopeful that out of the ashes of the present economic collapse will come more equitable ways of operating: 'First we have to democratize companies, and then we have to build the organization on principles and values, so they become part of the community and part of the solution in tackling social problems.'

The ideas of such social entrepreneurs are immersed in the 'deal-doing' philosophy of Jane Jacobs discussed in the preceding section; their community planning approaches can be traced as far back as the model settlements of Robert Owen in New Lanark and New Harmony at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Taylor, 1989).

minority community to achieve and maintain prosperity since its establishment in 1956. Box 1.4 presents one such example in the heart of London, one of the world's most intensively developed cities.

Part Three: Competing Interpretations of Community Structure and Change

In both developed and developing countries, current challenges of rapid change and conflict are testing to breaking point long-established processes of community life (Diamond, 2005; Ridley, 1996; Pilger, 1992). Increasingly bitter communal clashes over conflicting beliefs and interests raise insistent questions about social policy. More inclusive and better informed community planning is a valid response that is being energetically pursued in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, South Africa and elsewhere (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997; Department of Communities and Local Government, 2007, 2008viii; Healey, 2007; Homes and Communities Agency, 2009; Homes and Communities Agency Academy, 2009a, b). Such practical activities need a sound theoretical basis to help understand the character, development and workings of the communities in question. An accurate and shared understanding of their nature and that of the forces which are acting upon them is required if we are to be fully effective in promoting their success. Are they, for instance, primarily means of establishing order and avoiding

violence, or promoting productivity and exchange; or maintaining class control; or a framework for communication and mutual learning? To what extent are they, in short, driven by order, production, class interests or collaboration?

This section therefore explores four competing accounts of the nature of communities, based on the following different main aims:

- order: genetically driven dominance;
- productivity and exchange: through market competition;
- control through transcendence of conflict: equality through struggle;
- collaboration: through negotiation, adjustment and mutual aid.

Order: genetically driven dominance

In exploring the nature of human communities, one prime consideration must be the human nature of their members. No ideas have influenced thinking on this matter more than those of Charles Darwin (2008), who argued that humanity, like all other species, has been competitively shaped by the natural selection of the survival of the fittest, as amplified by randomly produced new mutations.^{ix} A school of 'Social Darwinists' developed who applied these competitive principles to social organisation, suggesting that communities would advance best by promot-

Box 1.4 Surrey docks city farm

The aim of city farms like Surrey Docks, in the heart of inner London, is to involve local people and environmental activists in land care, food production and animal husbandry. City farms are areas of repose, centres of conservation of natural life and places for reconnecting with nature to balance the intensity of modern city life. They depend upon support from their local communities, often providing out-of-curriculum activities for local schools and youth clubs, and in turn relying upon the services of local volunteers. There are no fewer than 15 of them in London, all members of the Federation of City Farms and Community Gardens, a national scale network (Federation of City Farms and Community Gardens, 2010).

Surrey Docks City Farm is one of the smallest and most central, occupying two acres of an old docks site at the northern tip of the Rotherhithe peninsula, immediately across the Thames from the towering bulk of the 75-storey Canary Wharf and the spreading mass of London's new international office precinct of Docklands. The farm was originally founded in 1975 by Hilary Peters, who recalls that

The dreadful alienation of people in the abandoned docks wasn't just the result of unemployment. They were alienated from themselves, each other and their surroundings. When I started to dig the silt and graze my goats and poultry in Surrey Docks, I was surprised by the urgency with which everyone wanted to join in... People who had never related to anyone or anything started to relate to animals. The farm grew due to people who recognized that it met some buried need in them. (Peters, 2009)

Now the farm is run by Surrey Docks Farm Provident Association, involving schools, businesses, youth organisations, volunteers of all ages including a blacksmith/artist, who work on site every day, providing farm equipment, art objects and continuing interest. It is

a focus for local community life, the site of recurrent fairs and festivals, its café a regular stopping off point for walkers and cyclists travelling along the Thameside Path. The small site is densely used and includes in the words of Hilary Peters: *fields for grazing, a vegetable patch along the river, a herb garden, a compost area, a duck pond, a wild life patch, at least one yurt (which also go out to schools), a willow walk housing the bee hives ... an orchard full of geese and sculpture. The blacksmith does extremely inventive work with local children collecting the grot off the river beach and making recycled portraits of the farm's animals.* (Peters, 2009)

Although frequently small and very local in their organization and links, these city farms contribute significantly to making inner cities physically attractive, interesting, socially inclusive and open-hearted. Many readers will immediately associate this story with similar community organisations and spaces in their own or nearby cities. Such places and groups express well how community life and organisations can help people to take possession of their own living areas and lives in ways which welcome all others who also want, in whatever ways, to contribute.

ing the 'survival of the fittest'. Darwin's friend Thomas Carlyle, for instance, propounded a 'great man' view in which history is shaped by dominant leaders. He condemned the democratic Chartist movement of the 1830s and 1840s for seeking egalitarian rights including universal suffrage as 'this bitter discontent grown fierce and mad' and argued instead for the Machiavellian motivation of natural leaders to maximise the worth of their possessions, and therefore of the communities which constituted them. (Desmond & Moore, 1991).

Twentieth-century experience has cast dark shadows across the capacity of such unconstrained leadership to achieve lasting social progress. The German cultural tradition stalled under Hitler; Spain and Portugal suffered socially and stagnated economically under Franco and Salazar, and Mussolini's regime proved disastrous for Italy, climaxing in his being torn limb from limb by a vengeful crowd in Milan in 1944. Currently, the Burmese military regime has perpetrated social injustice, political autocracy, economic penury and multiple ethnic conflicts. As a result of

these many failures, Social Darwinism has lost appeal as a basis for community life (Ridley, 1996). Sociologists and ethnologists have tended to turn more to the mutual aid theories of thinkers like Peter Kropotkin, who argued that 'admitting that swiftness, strength, cunning and endurance contribute to survival under certain conditions ... sociability is always the greatest advantage in the struggle for life' (1939).

Nevertheless, lasting subconscious effects of Social Darwinism have influenced many of the explanatory ideas of twentieth-century urban sociology and economics. In the first three decades of the twentieth century, for instance, Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and Roderick McKenzie (1925) and their colleagues in the Chicago School of Urban Sociology developed ideas of urban processes resulting from endless struggles for space and resources. The new urban communities were seen as being continually reshaped by the dynamic of externally driven economic investment and technological change, giving rise to waves of renewal rippling outwards through concentric zones of uniform development. As the city grew, the high-intensity commercial core expanded to redevelop the surrounding environmentally blighted zone in transition, sending further ripples of redevelopment through the successive rings of inner-residential suburbs, zones of working men's housing and outer fringes of low-cost accommodation. The language adopted to describe this process, 'invasion and succession', reflected Darwinian ideas of competitive evolution: one group was invading the territory of another and succeeding to its ownership. Later, Martin Anderson (1964) and Jane Jacobs (1961) described how these forces were able to annex the powers of city and federal governments, using instruments of 'eminent domain' to acquire land compulsorily and speed the process of economic appropriation. The dominant elites of the 'property machine' (Ambrose & Colenutt, 1975) and the 'growth machine' (Logan & Molotch, 1987) claimed to be acting in the best interests of the whole urban community. It is not surprising that opposing schools of Marxist urbanists, discussed later, developed the counter-interpretation of class conflict.

Twentieth-century developments in genetics both reinforced and modified these ideas of the sociobiology of communities (Wilson, 1992). Richard Dawkins argued that human evolution was driven by the struggle of the 'selfish gene' to dominate over the competing genes of others of its own species (Dawkins, 1976, 1988, 2009). Although he discounted the ability of human beings to rationally control these drives in the interests of cooperative success and survival, he argued that in the drive to promote our own genes we will

support siblings and others within our own communities having some common genetic material. These interpretations may seem to explain some of the collapses of community life and 'ethnic cleansing' of the end of the twentieth century, where groups of individuals of shared ancestry seem to have combined to attack and exterminate neighbours alongside whom they had been living more or less peacefully for decades in Bosnia, Rwanda and northern Nigeria. However, closer examination often identifies other economic and environmental factors, which more satisfactorily explain the patterns of violence and social disintegration. Diamond (2005) argues that the economic scarcity had stretched these communities' capacities for cooperation to breaking point, so that in Rwanda, a survivor explained 'the people whose children had to walk barefoot to school killed the people who could buy shoes for theirs' irrespective of whether they were Hutu or Tutsi (Diamond, 2005).

However, it is not only in such marginalised and stressed communities that evolutionary biology has offered explanations or influenced social organisation. The cult of the outstanding business leader, and the unique gladiatorial sportsman (both rewarded with annual salaries of many tens of millions of dollars a year), reached its climax in the first decade of this century, only to falter in the face of the global financial crisis of 2008 and the failure of the 'world leader' and 'shock and awe' policies in the Middle East and Africa.

Community planning doctrines of order imposed through dominant power have changed the face of many metropolitan regions, introducing segregated and walled residential and tourist communities, recreational and shopping centres and theme parks, often patrolled by private security staff, and closed to local access or use. In Los Angeles County and elsewhere in the United States 'cities by contract' (Miller, 1981) have incorporated as local governments where the wealthy gather to isolate themselves, making no contribution to the upkeep of the social needs of the wider metropolis. Such communities suffer from being both provocative and vulnerable to attack from the excluded workers on whom they depend and Miller, for instance, accurately forecast Los Angeles' 1992 urban riots a decade before they occurred.^x

This view of communities, based on unconstrained rights of control and exclusion may well become self-defeating. Such places are prone to become vulnerable to violence instigated by the equally 'selfish genes' of those who see themselves as excluded and exploited, as is already happening in urban riots and atrocities around the world. The evolutionary biology underlying these ideas is intellectually insecure because it

relies on extrapolating observations of other species onto our own, leaving scope for the double error of subjective misinterpretation and uncritical application of animal to human life. Even more crippling is the naturalistic fallacy that 'is implies ought', that observations of competitive tendencies in evolution should guide us in shaping the life of communities, which are created by intention and maintained by consent, and drawn towards the achievement of better living.

Nevertheless, there are some positive and important contributions that genetic science can make to community planning. By establishing the role of the deeply inscribed structures of genomes and individual DNA in deciding individuals' innate characteristics and competences, genetic science reinforces the arguments of thinkers as diverse as Karl Popper and Noam Chomsky that human beings have their own innate characteristics and are not infinitely malleable (Popper, 1972; Chomsky, 1972, 1992; Lyons, 1970, 1991). Their deep-seated competences and values should be respected as valid guides to objectives in planning for communities and settlements, rather than being subjected to attempts at moulding by behavioural conditioning. It is not the science but the selective interpretation of genetic determinism that is faulty.

Productivity and exchange: through market competition

A different model of individualism more appropriate to a productive society than the social dominance of a caste 'born to rule' emerged from the combination of the humanism of the Enlightenment and the physical transformations of the Industrial Revolution. More open meritocracies replaced closed aristocracies. Thinkers as different as John Locke, Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill sought to expand the scope of individual freedom, and the rapidly growing manufacturing communities proved a fertile soil for these ideas where people of talent could work and trade their way into success or even pre-eminence, and therefore, it was argued, confer advantages on the whole community.^{xi} Competition was seen as the road to progress and choice.

In many pioneer industrial nations, the liberalism of the market and the social and physical mobility of the twentieth century combined to form communities afflicted by alienation, insecurity and great disparities of wealth and living conditions (Williams, 1973). There were few constraints on technological innovation, which introduced potent new developments promot-

ing the interests of the affluent. Urban motorways rapidly replaced long-established systems of public transport of trams and trains, often obliterating existing inner-city communities by broad swathes of new roads and associated clover leaf connectors. Mass-produced high-rise public housing, fuelled by corrupt contracts, ignored needs for human contact, convenience and family life (Jephcott, 1971; Heywood, 1974; Booker, 1980). In the United States, the 'federal bulldozer' flattened inner-city ghettos without opening up the new suburbs to people of Afro-American or Hispanic descent (Davidoff, Davidoff & Gold, 1970). The assumption that, given choice, people would create the communities that they wanted through market preference foundered on grossly unequal incomes and the reality of self-maintaining class systems and institutionalised racism.

By the second half of the twentieth century, the cumulative and often unregulated impacts of neo-liberal permissive planning were afflicting community life in cities throughout the Western world, generating massive pollution, destroying settled neighbourhoods and their green spaces and often failing to distribute equitably the social benefits from newfound material affluence. Then, in the opening years of the new century, environmental, economic and political effects began to encounter internal contradictions and global limits in the form of the triple disasters of climate change, financial collapse and urban terrorism.

Another of the potent impacts of neo-liberal doctrines for community planning has been the extrapolation of its inherent materialism to justify the belief that human behaviour is largely shaped by material conditions, and that values can very rapidly be moulded by physical stimuli.^{xii} This view has major community planning implications, including standardised and mechanistic living environments, shopping centres arranged to suspend people's critical faculties and manipulative abuse of public consultation. In their pursuit of perfect competition, productivity-driven policies have created places for consumption without community and residential communities afflicted by almost intolerable sameness. It is a strange paradox that a view of society originally grounded in the desire to maximise liberty should reach a stage where its proponents are using mass-conditioning techniques to replace genuine human choice.

Another result has been pervasive privatisation. The view of Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1991, that 'There is no such thing as society; there are only individuals and their families' briefly became a self-fulfilling prophecy. The results in Britain were repetitious, badly serviced

and poorly coordinated suburbs in southern growth areas and devastated and alienated ones of contraction in declining parts of the north of the country, like South Yorkshire, Clydeside and Durham. The individualist competition of neo-liberalism seems unable to provide the inclusion, direction and lively social dialogue that are needed to create healthy community life.

Control through transcendence of conflict: equality through struggle

The opposing way of interpreting the nature and evolution of human society developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1998) elevated the liberal competition of the marketplace to the clash of classes in the struggle for control of the means of production as part of an inexorable dialectic of class conflict. Progressing from primitive accumulation, through its antithesis of feudal power to the further opposite of capitalist urban competition, Marx advocated a final synthesis of socialist cooperation under the control of the representatives of the proletariat. In this view, Carlyle's 'great leaders' and the systems planners of the mid-twentieth century were alike reduced to mere temporary expressions of underlying class struggles for control of the land, capital and labour which will decide who commands the means of production, who pays and who benefits.

Community problems and controversies are likewise seen as local expressions of national and international scale contradictions resulting from the exploitation of labour by capital, through the instruments of rentier landlordism. As late as the mid-1980s David Harvey (1996) was arguing that resort to the idea of community was a veil to disguise the potent and naked economic exploitation of labour by capital, and that 'urban-regional planners' were the bailiffs and apologists of this process of adaptation and co-option. Harvey illustrates his interpretation by an example of a situation where housing stress is occurring in an impoverished community:

If labour lacks organization and power in the community, but is well organized and powerful in the workplace, a rising rate of appropriation may result in the pursuit of higher wages in the workplace, which, if granted may lower the rate of profit and accumulation. A rational response of the capitalist class under these conditions is to seek an alliance with labour to curb excessive rental appropriations, to free land for new construction and to see to it that cheap (perhaps even subsidised) housing is built for the labouring classes.

We can see this sort of coalition in action when large corporate interest in suburban locations join with civil rights groups in trying to break suburban zoning restrictions that exclude low wage populations from the suburbs. (Harvey, 1996)

This Olympian standpoint allows Harvey to reinterpret a victory for decent housing opportunities and social justice as the outcome of a 'coalition' among civil rights groups and corporate interests that neither would recognise. It is highly possible that Harvey is making a direct reference (the circumstances are certainly very similar) to the celebrated and influential community action work of Paul and Linda Davidoff and their associate Newton Gold in the previous decades in establishing Suburban Action Inc in 1969 to fight, often successfully, against discrimination in housing throughout the more desirable outer suburbs of the United States. As both lawyers and planners, they arraigned zoning restrictions which effectively kept people of Afro-American and Hispanic descent out of these jurisdictions at the edges of the spreading new metropolitan areas, enjoying good job prospects and community facilities, as breaches of the second amendment to the United States' constitution, which guarantees equality of opportunity (Davidoff, Davidoff & Gold, 1970).

While the Davidoffs and Gold's struggles in the communities and courts and Harvey's in the fields of theory-building are equally valid, the evidence is that the activist commitment to pluralist evolution has proved more effective and relevant. American society has integrated quite rapidly since the 1970s, and neighbourhoods are continuing to desegregate their housing; dozens of cities have Black and Latino mayors and senior officers, and in 2008, the country elected an African American President, who had come into politics by way of community development work in Chicago, one of the United States' most stressed cities (Obama, 2004). Meanwhile, in Russia and a number of East European countries, overtly Marxist-Leninist regimes that discounted community organisation and life in favour of wider class conflict and solidarity have been overthrown by their own people, to widespread relief (Bater, 1984; Ascherson, 1996).^{xiii}

Of course, deeply humanitarian theorists like David Harvey would be the first to criticise and oppose such cruel and repressive regimes, but they could not point to other examples where dialectical materialism or conflict models of social development have produced better results. Even the Community Development Project running in England from 1970 to 1976 produced negligible or negative results where they were

based on neo-Marxist interpretations, while those pursuing social familiarisation, seeking to transform the relations between local communities and local governments (Topping & Smith, 1977) were far more successful and contributed to the development of the many community development and community organisation movements which are now working to combat the devastating local effects of global economics. If we follow Popper's argument (1989), that every theory only deserves credence until it is falsified in practice, when it should be abandoned or modified, there is a clear conclusion. The criticism that community planning is, in reality, a veil worn by social apologists for continuing class exploitation is based on inadequate evidence and over-generalised interpretation which makes them, in Popper's terms, 'non-sense', neither true nor certainly false, but merely personal speculations, though they to now seem to be falsified by the accumulating evidence becoming available.

One distinguished example of this re-evaluation is the early work of Manuel Castells (1977, 1983). Examining the actual evolution of urban and community life in Madrid in the closing years of Franco's fascist regime in Spain up to 1975, Castells observed the important role of community groups in shaping regime change from below (rather than by seizing the central organs of power from above as had been advocated by Lenin). Castells was involved in the Madrid Citizen's Movement (summarised in Box 1.5), and it is this direct experience which allowed him to transform the abstract Marxist model into a practical understanding of how different groups negotiate with each other and evolve to match external changes and improve living conditions. What emerges is not so much a class conflict model of community life and social change as a group interaction version. Although Stuart Lowe (1986) has looked at the significance of Castells ideas for community action and housing campaigns in Britain in the 1980s, the importance of urban social movements deserve more attention than has been paid to them, partly because Castells himself has chosen to turn his attention instead to the social and political implications of modern communications technology (Castells, 1989).

In considering conflict models we must look therefore at their practical applications in their own terms. They have proved far from libertarian; many have resulted in authoritarian, top-down and generally repressive urban and community regulation, failing to acknowledge the human determinants of community life. Under the general justification that it is 'necessary to break many eggs to make a good omelette', the pursuit of order and uniformity has devastated the

natural creativity of community life. In Stalin's Russia, acquisition of the basic necessities of life became a daily challenge and community life was driven underground and into the deprived outposts of the so-called gulag archipelago of prison camps (Solzhenitsyn, 1974) before being overthrown by internal rejection; Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution is now universally excoriated by its survivors; and the devastating effects of the imposed emptying of Cambodia's towns into the 'killing fields' of the Khmer Rouge has caused lasting social damage (Bater, 1980; Ridley, 1996, Solzhenitsyn, 1968, 1974; Pilger, 1992). Physically, the resulting communities have been ugly, inefficient and marked by standardised repetition; socially, they have created deprivation and alienation.

By denying the cooperative capacities of community life, the conflict theorists have justified regimes based on the crudest use of naked coercion, and justified this by selective historical analysis. Dialectical materialists have found themselves caught in an iron cage of regressive causality of action and reaction of their own making, from which most of them cannot escape. If, for Margaret Thatcher, 'There is no such thing as society; there are only individuals and their families', for the conflict theorists there is no such thing as community: only classes fighting to control the State. Well-argued alternatives are available in the form of the roles played within the life of communities by cooperation (Kropotkin, 1939, 1974), by insightful deal doing (Jacobs, 1969, 1992) and by celebration, play and trust (Putnam, 1993; Landry, 2000). These are discussed in the next section.

Collaboration: through negotiation, adjustment and mutual aid

Conflict theorists tend to dismiss communicative approaches as social therapy and diversionary tactics, while communicative activists point to the wasteful character of social conflicts and the tendency for them to polarise complex situations into hostile camps that accentuate the worst aspects of both sides.^{xiv} Although the adversarial structure of legal systems based on English law make use of challenge and response, elsewhere little common ground can be found between conflict and communication. Even there, pure conflict is constrained by principles of natural justice, rights of defendants and access to advocacy, so that elements of cooperation are involved. Recent developments in alternative dispute resolution combine communication and cooperation. Once people find themselves talking with someone, there is always the tendency for

Box 1.5 Urban social movements in Madrid

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, urban social movements transformed the capacities of communities to share in shaping their local and urban environments, as new political systems and mass communications created opportunities for local democratic politics. Ways in which these processes of local and urban change could be linked to improve access to political power, identified by Castells (1983) in his native Madrid in the 1970s, suggest that grassroots associations can combine to create effective urban social coalitions to achieve change.

In Madrid, the poor maintenance of public housing estates, badly planned and located private housing without urban services and middle-class residential suburbs needing better facilities were active causes of discontent. Originally separate campaigns to build local democracy, provide basic urban services, redevelop shanty towns and rehouse slum dwellers converged to form an effective coalition for change, the Federation of Citizens Movements. Meanwhile, in central Madrid, a number of active pressure groups campaigned for physical and social conservation, rather than the massive redevelopment favoured by the Phalange Party and its business backers. Within four years, schools were built, slums demolished, a preservation agency created for central Madrid and processes of public participation in planning established that survive up to the present, though the community coalition has dissolved. Writing in the aftermath of this period, Castells saw urban social movements as potentially the most powerful force for change in contemporary society, with three necessary conditions for success:

1. Widespread concern for items of collective consumption (such as work, housing or health).
2. The significant cultural affiliations of groups with historic or ethnic origins.
3. The capacity for autonomy or decentralisation in service delivery.

To these hindights can be added the cultural capacity for different groups to communicate and cooperate. Given these conditions, urban movements can be effective agents in the struggle for a free city. While established political processes tend to represent dominant class interests, citizen movements represent 'civil society' with the ability to balance and ultimately overcome the capacity of the 'growth machine' to destroy diversity and homogenise urban environments in the interests of investment. In this process, metropolitan governments can be captured, sensitised and adjusted towards fairer and more sustainable distributions of social provisions and economic and political power between groups. Where democratic politics, universal education and miniaturised, decentralised technology are combined, they can produce better informed and more assertive electorates. Regular elections should alert governments to community priorities, and global electronic networks can spread knowledge more evenly across and between regions.

Since the 1980s, such urban movements have stopped urban motorways in their tracks in Toronto and San Francisco, prevented their construction in Brisbane and Vancouver, generated urban conservation of whole suburbs in Adelaide's Hackney, Sydney's Woolloomooloo and Melbourne's Kensington, and protected valued urban open space in the forms of creeks, corridors and wetlands throughout the Western world (Gutstein, 1983; Lemon, 1985; Harris, 1986; Stretton, 1989; Heywood, 1997). Though yet to fulfil the more ambitious agenda of shifting political power from established elites to organised communities, they have created a climate of debate over urban development, where the voices of social activists and community groups have become an accepted and essential part of the context of contemporary urban governance and planning.

them to be drawn into a dialogue that may modify and diminish the sharp clarity of pure conflict. There are thus very strong links between communication and collaboration (Margerum, 1999, 2002): mutual understanding provides both the motive and the capacity to work together.

The case for linking communication and collaboration within a single model of community planning is therefore practical as much as theoretical: they are interdependent. Communication involves not only speakers but also active listeners to whose psychology and needs the speakers must pay attention. Most com-

munication has an element of persuasion, and the development of a statement into a discussion implies the expectation of a positive outcome, paving the way for subsequent cooperation. Equally, it is simply impossible to collaborate without prior or simultaneous communication: people can't work together until they have discussed and agreed purposes, activities, roles and rewards. Though closely related, it is clear that the two modes are not identical: communication is about meaning and collaboration about action. It is worthwhile examining the role of each before combining them to consider collaborative communicative planning as an integrated process.

COMMUNICATION AND COMMUNITY

The communicative turn in planning theory (Healey, 1996, 2006) was anticipated by such earlier collaborations as those involved in actual and ideal communities like Plato's Academy, Anglo-Saxon folk moots and More's *Utopia* (Mumford, 1961; More, 1965).^{xv} As the major theorist of communicative action, Jurgen Habermas (1990) points out, discussion plays an essential role in reaching valid interpretations and good policies, which emerge not so much from isolated individual thinkers but from the vigorous debate and winnowing of arguments that is favoured by free and critical discussion in open societies.^{xvi}

The basic role of communication in the evolution of settled societies is supported by findings from archaeology, biology, linguistics and ethnology. The archaeologist and ethnologist Richard Leakey argues that whereas hunting and food gathering might not have necessitated the use of vocal language, social organisation and food sharing certainly did. His conclusion is significant for community organisation and planning:

In a small hunter gatherer community social rules, elaborated through language, produce a cohesion that would be impossible to produce in any other way. (Leakey, 1981)

Developing communication was thus basic to the evolution of the first human communities around half a million years ago. The earliest yet found, at Terra Amata on the slopes of Mount Boron overlooking the Mediterranean above Nice, and the Choukoutien caves, an hour's drive south-west of Beijing, both offer evidence of highly organised community life, which must have depended on the transmission of experience and skills and their application in cooperative social

activities (Leakey, 1981). On the Terra Amata site, footings have been unearthed of a series of eleven large wicker work huts, each twelve by six metres, constructed in successive years. Inside, there are the remains of domestic fires, animal prey and pigments for body painting. Excavations of the large cave site in Choukoutien have likewise unearthed many years of ceremonial burials signifying highly organised and stable societies. Both these societies must have possessed communication skills to support patterned and productive community life. Fossil remains of skulls from these sites support this conclusion, containing much enlarged brain spaces for Broca's area, which controls and coordinates the muscles of the tongue, mouth and lips and Wernicke's area, which is responsible for the structure and sense of language, than those of earlier sites (Leakey, 1981). This correlation suggests an upward spiral of improved language skills helping the development of elaborated social organisation. Leakey comments:

Communicating with others, not just about practical affairs, but about feelings and fears ... and the elaboration of a shared mythology produces a shared consciousness on the scale of the community. Language is without doubt an enormously powerful force holding together the intense social network that characterizes human existence (Leakey, 1981).

In making the link between communication, collaboration and social organisation so explicit, Leakey is leading us very far from abstract conflict and selfish-gene theories. Marshal McLuhan (1964) also interpreted improvements in communications technology as the mainspring of social development, coining his celebrated dictum that 'the medium is the message'. If speech created the conditions for an evolving human culture, he argues, writing promoted the growth of the great valley empires of five thousand years ago; printing generated the rise of the nation state; and the telegraph, telephone and radio promoted the development of the global economy. To this may be added the universalising impacts of the Internet and the growth of information and communications technology, which are promoting the spread of a universal commercial culture. It appears that communication creates the conditions for the collaborative success of communities which may then subsequently modified by competition.^{xvii}

An equally significant role of the communication of ideas is to alert society to impending threats. This provides the theme of Jared Diamond's (2005) closely argued book *Collapse: How societies choose to fail or*

survive. Diamond reviews a wide range of failed and successful societies in all six settled continents, spanning a period from several thousand years ago to the present. Many of his societies, like those of Easter Island and Norse Greenland, collapsed because they could not modify destructive practices or adapt to threatening environmental conditions. They were unscientific and conservative and generally either excessively pious or narrow-minded. They were not thinking enough about their changing situations, and if they were, they were not discussing their ideas enough. Others, like Tokugawa Japan of the seventeenth century, though socially conservative, were energetically reviewing their situations and promoting policies to correct threatening problems like deforestation and overpopulation.

Diamond specifically asks what lessons his many case studies have for modern societies. His conclusions focus around three principles:

1. Investigate conditions and face the facts.
2. Recognise and review unintended consequences of current actions.
3. Collaborate in social problem solving.

Insofar as Diamond discusses competition, he regrets the role it played in amplifying unwise behaviour, like the erection of ever-larger statues on Easter Island, the aim to rear more cattle in the declining climatic conditions of thirteenth-century Greenland or the killing frenzies of Rwanda. He notes how the feudal organisation of Tokugawa Japan succeeded in preventing the continuation of the competitive excesses which had destroyed so much of the country's vital forests in the preceding century.

His conclusions are that awareness, investigation and open communication are the keys to survival in times of external or internal threats or rapid change. These views on avoiding disasters are paralleled by those of Richard Florida on achieving economic success, when he argues (2005) that the 'creative class', on whose inventions and skills modern society increasingly depend, can only develop and thrive in mixed, diverse and experimental communities like those of inner-city San Francisco, Greenwich Village in New York, inner-Austin, central Amsterdam, Hong Kong and Melbourne. These models, where communicative action supports cooperation, have great significance for community planning.

COMMUNICATIVE ACTION AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

Progress towards valid social policy as well as philosophical truth, according to Habermas (1990), should

emerge from open and purposeful discussion, with people speaking out about the experience of their daily lives. These discussions can occur across a wide variety of scales and types of community. He argues for such face-to-face debates and against the distanced and abstracted virtual discourses of the 'system world' of generalised administration or theoretical economics. Everyone, including both policymakers and local residents, has an equal right to be heard at the policy table, and thus to public participation in community planning. He deprecates the traditional self-allocated role of the philosopher as flunkie (discussed in more detail in the section dealing with intersubjectivity in Chapter 2 of this volume) as both servile and arrogant, preferring the more explicit and open advocacy of individuals' own ideas. Though he accepts that action is the most important basis for knowledge, he strongly asserts the importance of 'speech acts' which can power and coordinate so much physical action, again supporting citizen participation and suggesting how it might be organised. Habermas particularly emphasises the importance of abundant, lively and accessible public open spaces to promote the easy contact between people on which good social communication depends.

APPLICATIONS OF COMMUNICATION IN COMMUNITY PLANNING

There are a number of more specific planning implications of this commitment to communication:

1. Community festivals, art and cultural events in public spaces to initiate, promote and communicate different community values, needs and strengths, which can help to share, shape and accept ideas and aims through events such as public art, radio and online discussion groups, talkback radio, community forums, peer group discussions and appreciative workshops (Hammond & Royal, 1998).
2. Neighbourhood committees and councils that can take responsibility for neighbourhood communication and such communal functions, as public parks, street closure, neighbourhood watch, young people's vacation activities and comment on development proposals (Ward, 1973; Heywood, 1997).
3. Focus and mixed interest groups: groups of volunteers and invitees with particular interest in specific topics who work together to produce aims, problems and solutions, in specific topics or for a particular planning area.

4. Advisory and reference groups, selected, elected or self-nominated to provide ongoing advice on matters referred to them, based either on specific topics (such as the needs of young people or conservation historic buildings) or on physical areas; these bodies can become 'learning groups', provided with resources to gain further information on their topics so that evidence based policies can emerge from a combination of values and facts.
5. Consultation kits summarising accessible and interestingly presented information can be provided to large numbers of local organisations to promote discussions and responses that can make useful contributions to policy development.
6. Community visioning: to promote reflection and speculation among a group about values, goals, fears and hopes to drive future strategic plans.
7. Design workshops and charettes: occasions at which local residents and other participants work together with planners, designers and others to produce a draft schemes to fulfil their shared or negotiated aims.
8. Public meetings: publicised occasions open to all, featuring specified speakers addressing identified topics, with opportunities provided for open questioning.
9. Attitude surveys, community preference lists and semi-structured surveys: statistically valid questionnaires sample to identify people's attitudes to specific issues that can provide reliable guides to perceived problems and preferences.
10. Collaborative planning: involving local people and stakeholders with investors and implementation agents (responsible for land use, social, transport and economic planning) in cycles of proposal, review and negotiation to produce schemes which can integrate the necessary mix of activities (Healey, 2006).

One interesting aspect of the communicative turn in planning is the shift in consultation techniques from problem-solving to more positive approaches that involve individuals and groups thinking about successful experiences and their hopeful visions for the future. Whereas Critical Rationalists tend to extract objectives from the frustrated wants of felt problems, the emphasis of 'appreciative inquiry' is on searching for recognition of good experiences and positive values in people's previous experiences (Hammond & Royal, 1998). This not only helps to build participants' self-esteem and enlist their energies in the process of shaping beneficial change; it also identifies successful

models and mechanisms which can be developed to help implement plans. Good cases can be made out for both approaches. While problem-solving is more radical and potentially comprehensive, appreciative inquiry can be more engaging, less threatening and is well suited to form part of ongoing community development and capacity building.

Part Four: The Roles of Cooperation

The history of human cooperation is closely linked to the evolution of communication discussed earlier. Each has assisted the other. At the dawn of the species, more than three million years ago, one of the earliest of archaeological findings shows the steps of a young hominin child, recorded in the volcanic ash at Laetoli south of the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, skipping her way around the heavier and more purposive path of her parents, implying both cooperative family life and some level of communication required to maintain guidance and confidence (Leakey, 1981). Much later, when the first cities were established around 4000 years ago, the tablets of Hammurabi and the epic of Gilgamesh depict worlds where the strands of cooperation, conflict and order were closely woven together to create societies capable of sustaining themselves over many generations and centuries (Sandars, 2006). Peter Kropotkin (1939) extends his belief in the basic role of cooperation in the evolution of all species to apply particularly to human societies. Greatest progress, he believes, is made in phases where cooperation predominates, as in the development of the self-governing communes of the central Italian city states which according to subsequent historical research, grew to number more than 80 by 1300 (Toynbee, quoted in Mumford, 1938). Kropotkin's view that the guild and civic arrangements in twelfth-century Italy promoted the evolution of modern city life provides valuable explanation and support for Robert Putnam's (1993) influential book on social capital, *Making Democracy Work*. Putnam shows how the thriving continuation of this tradition of medieval and renaissance cooperation, mediated into celebrations and festivities like the Palio of Siena and the Gioco del Ponte in Pisa (Heywood, 1904). These later created the basis for the associational economics of 'Third Italy' with its networks and clusters of small mutually supportive enterprises.^{xviii}

Central and northern Italy are interesting cases of community cooperation. Through all of the

vicissitudes of recent Italian politics, the cooperative regional economies have continued to create significant innovation and wealth and to sustain a community life that is one of the most celebrated models of contemporary social organisation. This example of the resilience of systems combining social cooperation and personal prosperity is particularly significant for ideas of collaborative planning (Healey, 2006), which have to operate in the times of fractured control, prolonged disorder and occasional foreign domination of the post-modern world.^{xix}

The paradox of splintering centres and coherent localities, poses the persistent question 'What are the social forces (the "social capital") holding these communities together?' Putnam (1993) argues that the most convincing answer is the capacity to cooperate, which both generates and is generated by the singing, dancing and other performances which characterise the many festivals and social activities of Tuscany, Umbria and Emilia Romagna. Cooperation, drawing its energy from mutual understanding, reliance and exchange, is then expressed in art, play and performance and reinforced in cooperative production and enjoyment. The way that this millennium-old model combines cooperation and competition to produce a stable and evolving order has been explored and termed 'associational economics' (Cooke & Morgan, 1998). It is a social invention that in turn shapes social, economic and physical environments.

This kind of guild and civic life also developed in northern Europe, particularly in the Baltic states, Germany, Britain and the Low Countries, and played a significant role in the development of the 'polder model' of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Holland. Communal work established and maintained the canals and dykes, and established the basis of trust that supported the development of the highly dynamic form of capitalism that continues to make Amsterdam and Rotterdam major centres of today's global economy. In England, similar cooperative management of village commons and the 'three fields' fallowing system, which persisted until the Enclosure Acts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, helped build the democratic awareness that re-emerged in such British political reform movements as Chartism, the Cooperative Movement and universal suffrage (Hamilton, 1946; Hammond & Hammond, 1978; Thompson, 1980). Elsewhere, in the monsoon lands of South-East Asia, communal water and land management in Bali (Ridley, 1996; Suarja & Thyssen, 2003) and New Guinea (Diamond, 2005) built strong cooperative institutions which survive to the present. Many such collaborative ideas underlying worker, housing and

urban farm cooperatives can be traced back to similar roots in medieval notions of cooperation.^{xx}

Cooperation in practice

In order to explore the practical capacities of cooperation to achieve successful outcomes in contemporary times, this section examines examples drawn from shelter, natural environment, place and production.

SHELTER

Housing, which is one of the most basic prerequisites of life in settled communities, combines the three critical elements of:

- firm grounding in the basic human values of shelter, nurture, procreation, play and learning;
- strong interconnectivity with many other social activities;
- expense far beyond the immediate and unaided scope of average individuals.

As both a basic human need and a social product, shelter is therefore a good candidate for cooperative planning and provision. There is anecdotal evidence that a number of early agricultural societies did indeed practise cooperative house-building and planning with sites being approved by village elders for young newlyweds, and construction being assisted by working parties of friends and relations, rewarded by the staging of a subsequent feast.^{xxi} Although the industrialisation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produced a dominant market in low-cost mass housing, cooperative responses rapidly re-emerged. In the 1770s in Britain's industrialising regions of the West Midlands and West Yorkshire, groups of working men collaborated to form 'terminating building societies', whereby each agreed to contribute a fixed sum every month so that houses could be built, one by one, until all members had been accommodated in homes of their own (Garrett-Holden, 1970). When all land and houses had been paid for, the society terminated, but out of this successful social invention grew the 'permanent building society', which has done so much to extend the 'trust principle' to bring home ownership within the reach of large proportions of the total population of many such advanced nations as the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia and Canada, either owning or buying their own homes. This process has done much to transform 'classic capitalism' into the 'welfare capitalism' that has managed to evolve and survive for over two centuries. A particular inter-

est of this example is the illustration it provides of the ways in which cooperation in producing desired goods can coexist with market mechanisms in deciding their allocation and distribution.

Nonetheless, at the time of writing, this long-standing and productive social invention is showing signs of severe strain owing to erosion of its trust base. The cooperative machinery linking sincere borrowers to willing lenders broke down following the competitive excesses of hedge funds and remote subprime portfolio operators. Only the subventions of thousands of billions of dollars, extending to unprecedented programmes of planned economic stimulus from governments as distant from the original problem as those in Beijing and Delhi, saved the international economy from a prolonged period of recession and mass unemployment. Re-establishment of trust, confidence and cooperative capacity to recreate sustainable conditions for an exchange economy is proving challenging and protracted. Reviewing the causes of the crisis, it appears that, although the banks had physical collateral in the form of the dwellings themselves, they lacked a collaborative basis. The subprime lenders and hedgefund operators had little knowledge and even less interest in the lives and living conditions of their borrowers. This resulted in ill-judged and unreflective lending policies leading to a downward spiral of repayment failure, foreclosure, dispossession and competitive disinvestment. Much that should have been learnt from the 'social collateral' model of the micro credit movement had been ignored. Many of the commercial bankers, and initially staff of the World Bank, had refused to support and even mocked micro credit when it was proposed to them as a means of providing grass-roots security to the commercial banking system (Yunus, 1998).

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Collaborative interest groups have become very important environmental actors. In Britain, foresters and commoners associations have historically enjoyed rights to the benefits, control and upkeep of the common land and forests which once constituted much of the total land area. This spirit of local and personal stewardship has spread through organisations like the Ramblers (formerly the Ramblers Association), with over 100 000 members, the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and the Yorkshire Wildlife Preservation Trust to influence not only ideas and access but also land tenure and management, and influenced the designation, as early as 1949, of the country's comprehensive system of

national parks, areas of outstanding natural beauty, public rights of way, long-distance footpaths and nature conservation areas (Cullingworth, 1976). Elsewhere, similar bodies work individually and together to promote habitat awareness and conservation, including Australia's National Parks Associations and Landcare and Watercare groups, the United States' Audubon Society and local and regional ecological preservation societies, and worldwide countless environmental action groups. They often combine community and academic concerns, to contest habitat loss and promote reforestation and wetland protection, in areas as widely separated as Russia's Lake Baikal and Malaysia's Penang Island (Anenkhnov & Pronin, 2010; University Sains Malaysia, 2010). Increasing numbers of local organisations, loosely organised into regional and international coalitions, are also taking action on matters such as carbon reduction to safeguard global environmental health (see, for instance, Oxfordshire Climate Exchange, 2010). Making excellent use of modern information and communications technology, these organisations aim to combine local action and advocacy to produce consciousness change at the wider scale.

On an international scale, this has spread to encompass the activities of groups such as Greenpeace, asserting wider environmental interests against national and sectional ones in activities including forest clearance for plantation agriculture in Indonesia and Brazil and Japanese whale harpooning in international waters. Others, such as the World Wildlife Fund and the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC; 2007), are equally effective across a broader range of issues. Nowhere is the injunction 'Think Global, Act Local!' more effective than in the sphere of the physical environment. There is widespread sensing that the excesses of competitive capitalism and command communism have produced equally unsustainable results in the natural environment that need to be redressed by conscious action, normally involving community organisation and cooperation, academic research and commitment to the principles of symbiosis and mutual aid (Suzuki & McConnell, 2008). Peter Kropotkin (1939) would approve.

PLACE MANAGEMENT

Cooperation is particularly appropriate to the holistic management of living places. This recognition inspired Ebenezer Howard's 'invention' of the Garden City (Howard, 1898, 1965; Moss Eckhardt, 1973). Subtitled his book *A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, Howard (1898)

insisted that the cooperative principle should be infused into every aspect of life and government of his new garden cities. These were planned to be the largest cooperatives ever developed up to that time, with memberships including all 32000 people of their proposed populations. Both Letchworth and Welwyn were run by Garden City Companies, and it was Howard's original intention that the members of the cooperative companies would own the land in perpetuity, pay modest rents for their houses and spend the profits from the inevitable increases in land values on job creation and environmental conservation. Peter Hall (2002) quoting from an unpublished writing of Howard's (*The Vanishing Point of Landlord's Rent*) explained that land values would flow back to the community, in order to:

found pensions with liberty for our aged poor, now imprisoned in work houses, to banish despair and awaken hope in the breasts of those that have fallen; to silence the harsh voice of anger; and waken the soft notes of brotherhood and goodwill. (Hall, 2002)

Later, Howard came to propose that houses could be built by a variety of means, including people building their own homes with funds provided through building, friendly societies or cooperative societies or trade unions. The garden city idea in its various expressions of new towns, garden suburbs and regional cluster cities has spread throughout the world and remains a powerful force to help humanity manage urban development in an era of unprecedented population growth and technological change.

Other cooperative approaches to place-making have followed apace. In the United States, Kevin Lynch's (1984) wide-ranging *Good City Form*, Randolph Hester's *Community Design* (2002) and the *New Urbanism* of Peter Calthorpe and associates (Calthorpe, 1993; Calthorpe & Fulton, 2001) have developed a plethora of paths to good place-making through community consultation and participation. In Britain, the highly influential *Responsive Environments* of Bentley *et al.* (1985) base their design methods entirely on how people do and may respond to present and future features. In the face of recent commercial pressures for privatised and socially segregated layouts, such ideas have supported a place-making movement which aims to create interacting, sociable and cooperative communities. Their methods, too, are based on inclusion and cooperative social inquiry like 'enquiry by design' and community charettes. Later, in Chapter 10, one such method is explored in which John Mongard makes use of the outcomes of a series of community

engagement 'set-up shops' to build a strategy of place-making for a set of four country towns on Queensland's Atherton Tableland.

TRANSPORT

Freedom of movement can be seen as an inherently individual value, allowing serfs to walk off their feudal master's demesne, factory workers to move to a new town in search of better jobs or qualifications and contemporary international economic refugees to seek new lives in more promising places. Personal as these freedoms are, none of them may be possible without arrangements and provisions of a wider scale of social organisation. Rights of way need to be communally identified, agreed and maintained. Large-scale movements of goods and people require shared paths and international travel calls into play the most complex sets of cooperative arrangements. At the most local level, small networks of parents throughout the world are combining to organise 'walking buses' to get children to and from school safely, healthily and in sociable groups. Community buses and car pooling arrangements are being organised by local communities and urban coalitions are campaigning for better public transport based on cooperative principles (Cervero, 1998, 2009; 1000 Friends of Oregon, 2009). Public subventions to maintain a public transport system that can sustain public life are being levied and accepted in great cities throughout the world, with notable examples in London, Toronto, Vancouver, Curitiba, Bogotá, Portland (Oregon), Kolkata and Singapore (Heywood, 1997; Cervero 1998, 2009). These examples form part of a pattern that is becoming a model of worldwide best practice rather than the exception.

PRODUCTION, EXCHANGE AND ECONOMY

Contending views dispute the conditions necessary for the creation of surplus production. Karl Marx saw wealth production as dependent on class control. Adam Smith discerned the hidden hand of the laws of supply and demand, making possible the division of labour and specialisation of function. Galbraith (1972), Kropotkin, Marshall and Keynes interpreted economics rather differently, as the study of ways to achieve and maintain effective communal activity. In all these models, practical cooperation is crucial to production and prosperity, though there is no agreement on the best ways to achieve that cooperation, whether by the discipline of competition, the imperative of control or the inducements of collaboration. Earlier in

this chapter, we discussed the successful cooperative approach developed by the Mondragon Corporation Cooperative (2008). While highly significant, this remains a challenging exception in a world controlled by competitive venture capitalism particularly dominant in four of the world's most populous countries: China, India, the United States and Russia, with the other, Indonesia, moving rapidly in the same direction. The intention of the Mondragon workers cooperatives and the ideas of its original designer, Father Arizmendi, that workers cooperatives grow up inside capitalism and supersede it, are singularly compatible with the synthesising philosophy and iterative approaches of community planning and development, unlike the competitive conflict and imposed order models of social change (Whyte & Whyte, 1989).

In such cooperative models, ownership, investment and credit arrangements will all require transitional arrangements. Despite the recent contraction of the international economy and the failure of investment banks and finance corporations to manage their own models, the view that they could be replaced overnight by alternative systems is unrealistic. Indeed, part of their excesses can be explained by the oversimplifications and inaccuracies of the opposing doctrine of exclusive State investment and control, whose collapse in the last decades of the twentieth century encouraged merchant bankers' illusions of invincibility which seem to have suspended their capacities for self-criticism and critical judgement. On the other hand, cooperative investment, incorporating the micro credit principles of social collateral and personal responsibility of the Grameen Bank, offers an approach that is well suited to stimulate grassroots development of the sort which venture capitalism so signally failed to foster. Now that governments have acquired a substantial degree of control over banks, the moves towards cooperative credit unions and societies of the 1990s and 2000s may well be further assisted, and become important levers to increase activities and tools available to community planning.

These can build on existing initiatives as diverse as Spain's Mondragon Corporation Cooperative, Britain's large and successful Cooperative Wholesale Society (150 years old in 2008); the John Lewis Partnership (the worker-owned British retail chain); the range of cooperatives established in the United States by the Office of Economic Opportunity under Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programme in the 1960s; and the rapid growth of farmers' markets and local bulk-buying co-ops which are springing up in communities throughout the world. There is every reason to promote the alliance between government

and communities in achieving productive local investment and employment. Commercial banks will have to pay more regard to public interest and community support now that governments are such significant stakeholders and, indeed, shareholders in many of their enterprises.

Conclusions

ATTRIBUTES AND DEFINITIONS

Both 'community' and 'planning' are words loaded with significance and high expectations in these opening decades of the twenty-first century. The concept of community has graduated from being seen as too nebulous for serious use to being recognised as a convenient summary for many of the most important attributes of social life, in the same way that 'home' is increasingly used to capture the human reality of dwelling and residence. Community includes the links that people acknowledge with each other, involving expectations both of themselves and of others. It implies the reciprocity that constitutes a major factor in sustaining social life. The alternatives are less convincing than ever before. Law and order are not enough because they can no longer be sustained without consent. By itself, competition can cause a race to the bottom as often as an ascent to new pinnacles: poisoned environments, self-voted bonus payments for firms only surviving on government handouts after collapses caused by bad business decisions and ritual crowd violence at sporting occasions are among the more obvious examples. Naked coercion and military control attract universal condemnation in free societies, and heroic opposition from inside regimented ones. The collaborative basis of community life is thus supported both by its own arguments of shared objectives and activities and also by the painful failures of alternative, single-minded rationales for community life and organisation.

'Planning' is also a term which has recently emerged from the shadows of bureaucratic regimentation into the more spacious fields of human choice and intention. Remarkable new capacities to shape physical environments and unlock new resource wealth may also exert devastating impacts over distant places and people. They pose the inescapable need to accept responsibility for the effects of our actions. Rapid changes in the external environments of climate, water supply and circulation, species habitats and fossil fuel reserves have further focused attention on the need to think carefully about unintended consequences, and

our abilities to anticipate and manage changed material situations.

Planning, once an activity poised uneasily between the rigours of emergency rationing, the narrow logic of project implementation and the self-assertion of architectural formalism, has become a widely accepted and welcome means to involve whole communities in thinking about their futures. In so doing, they can develop and mould feasible means to achieve desirable ends. Planning courses in universities are oversubscribed with talented young people seeking the tools to shape future societies to reflect their own values and those of their fellow community members. Government departments compete to recruit planners to develop purposive policies, implement community consultation and collaborate with others in community building and governance. The voluntary sector also plays leading roles in developing collaborative community plans for whole sectors and communities. No less important, community groups and activists are insisting on making their voices heard, both to oppose schemes which threaten their values and to propose often comprehensive alternative approaches. Planning, in short, has emerged from the wings to take centre stage, where the leading players must collaborate with each other or face losing control of events altogether.

CASCADES OF CHANGE AND CHOICE

The capacity to achieve effective shared action is essential if we are to navigate successfully the currents of physical, economic, social and political change which are flowing increasingly rapidly through our daily lives. In the face of such pervasive changes, it is clear that we must face and take choices about the future, which must take account of each other's needs and hopes, if we are to avoid self-destructive conflicts. Actions varying from suicide bomb attacks of politically motivated terrorists to voter revolts and mass demonstrations against medical reforms that would involve people in contributing to the health maintenance of other members of society provide illustrations of the disastrous effects of perceived exclusion. In the words of Gordon Campbell (1993), addressing the Greater Vancouver District Council of Councils, 'You can have anything you want, but you can't have everything, and you can't have it right now – you must take choices.' It is that spirit of honest realism and mutual acceptance of responsibility which makes cooperation possible, and which can in turn make it such an effective tool in creating sustainable communities.

COLLABORATIVE PLANNING IN PRACTICE

In practice, collaborative planning can promote effective change management within and among such essential activities as shelter, work, play, movement, communication culture and governance, to sustain and enrich the lives of both individuals and groups. At the same time, planning can also help communities embrace the inescapable challenges of integrating new members and adapting to changed external conditions. In identifying and achieving good overall outcomes, communication, consultation, participation and negotiation can play invaluable roles. They form the main themes of the next chapter.

Endnotes

- i Examples of this are such familiar cases as a new sewage outlet being located upstream of an important marine habitat or a neighbourhood engagement programme requiring its participants to sign an undertaking of confidentiality.
- ii Although these changes may be the most acute experienced by humanity since the ending of the ice ages of about 10000 years ago, they are by no means unprecedented in the longer geological history. Geologists have long recognised that their record of the rocks points not to steady deposition of sediments in generally constant or slowly evolving conditions but to the separation of a series of relatively stable epochs by horizons of very rapid and sometimes cataclysmic change. These may result from a number of external causes, including volcanic activity, meteor impacts, changes in the Earth's axis and orbit and solar activity (Gould, 1988). Gould speculates that this 'punctuated equilibrium' may also explain the successive epochs of human history better than the prevalent assumption of steady evolution to increased knowledge, wisdom and power, which still retains a strong hold as the conventional wisdom of contemporary intellectual life. Such an interpretation invites the speculation that human society may have passed through a number of similar transformations. These may have been triggered by external events, such as the ice ages (which may have stimulated the growth of agriculture by concentrating population in the relatively limited areas of well-watered valleys). Alternatively, they may have resulted from social and technological revolutions such as the positive inventions of writing and the wheel, or the negative ones of organised warfare and slavery.
- iii Karl Popper in a memorable phrase (1974) described life itself as 'negative entropy' – keeping things together by the progressive problem-solving which he believes underlies all life.

- iv The World Trade Organization produced in the early years of this century proposals for a Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) which would have made legislation by national governments to protect local land ownership illegal (Monbiot, 2003). This proposal, which would have opened the way to dispossession of the only economic resource of billions of rural dwellers in economically disadvantaged nations, had to be abandoned owing to the campaigning and lobbying of coalitions making use of global information networks.
- v The enquiring spirit of the Renaissance, for instance, was both influenced by such inventions of the age as printing, compasses, horse stirrups and gunpowder, and also became a stimulus to their further use and development in the improved education, great city building and colonial enterprises of their own times. In a similar way, the current rapid change and contending welter of philosophical thought has diverted previously well-defined streams of ideas into fast-flowing and often conflicting eddies, reflecting the growing mix of interests in a turbulent and unstable world.
- vi This spirit was prophetically caught by the Irish poet W. B. Yeats at its outset of the twentieth century, when he wrote:

Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold...
 The falcon cannot hear the falconer
 The best lack all conviction and the worst
 Are full of a passionate intensity.
- vii The novel *Babel Tower* (1996) by A. S. Byatt explores this theme brilliantly, relating it to the difficulty of establishing ideal communities among groups who have not had the opportunity to understand each others' ideas and values.
- viii Now Homes and Communities Agency.
- ix In his *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and *Descent of Man* (1871), Darwin never precisely defined the mechanisms of natural selection, though the full title of the first edition of the former is instructive: *On the Origin of Species by Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. His colleague and disciple, Thomas Huxley, equated this struggle as being like 'nothing as much as a giant gladiatorial contest' and spoke of 'Nature red in tooth and claw' (Kropotkin, 1939). A parallel powerful school of 'Social Darwinists' including theorists like Darwin's friend Thomas Carlyle, and satirised by Charles Dickens in the character of 'Gradgrind' in *Hard Times* (1861) developed these views to depict human communities as depending on dominant leaders such as Julius Caesar, Genghis Khan and the new Captains of Industry. This interpretation has them emerging by force of character and determination and creating, out of spasms of conflict, the stable conditions in which great civilisations could flourish, and local communities could shelter under their paternal mantles.
- x Exploring the same theme, David Williamson's play *Sanctuary* traces a two-and-a-half-hour dialogue between a wealthy playwright resident in one such walled sanctuary and the angry young political activist who has come intending to kill the older man (Williamson, 2000). The play explores the self-defeating nature of the dialectic of dominance and conflict which is driving the young man's deadly idealism.
- xi Mill (1983) was advocating as early as 1861 that democratically elected governments maintain standards in such other-affecting activities as public health, environmental quality and educational provisions which were so badly needed in the rapidly densifying new settlements. Despite Mill's recognition of the crucial roles of governments in creating healthy and accountable communities, others who subsequently developed the liberal tradition chose to emphasise more individual rights than social responsibilities. By the mid-twentieth century, Friedrich Hayek (1944) was railing against the 'The Road to Serfdom', resulting from government intervention in community life.
- xii The American behavioural psychologist B. F. Skinner accurately conveys the intentions of behaviourism in the title of his book *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1974), in which he advocates a totally conditioned community life, rather like that uneasily anticipated by Aldous Huxley in *Brave New World* (1955).
- xiii Forty years earlier, Karl Popper had vigorously demonstrated how these absolutist theories were directly linked to the terrible results of intergroup conflict and extermination of the mid-twentieth century in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. In his *Open Society and its Enemies* (1998), he laid the basis for the pluralism which justified the community activism of Paul and Linda Davidoff, who argued that every interest should have its own watchdog (Davidoff, 1965). This gave a community application to the upward spiral of social problem-solving that Popper (1972) termed 'social engineering' and saw as a more continuous, connected and less destructive path to social evolution than either the dialectical materialism of Marx and the Neo-Marxists or the rigid social order of Plato's *Republic* (1980) or Machiavelli's princely dictatorship (1961).
- xiv As in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* where the Montagus and the Capulets license their mutually murderous behaviour by pointing to each other's sins.
- xv This long period of latency reflects the age old dialectic between rationalists like Buddha, Descartes, Spinoza, Kant and Popper, developing and testing new ideas against principles of consistency, utility and logic; and more practical activists such as Moses, Ignatius Loyola, Voltaire, Mill and Habermas seeking to involve whole communities in their social prescriptions.
- xvi Critical Rationalists like Karl Popper (1972) might respond that without the critical thinking and idea-forming of reflective individuals there would be no contributions to exchange. The two positions are more compatible, and even mutually supportive than their protagonists sometimes imply.

- xvii However, McLuhan's argument veers dangerously close to technological determinism (Heywood, 1970). The medium is not always the message. Values also drive outcomes. The Lindisfarne Gospels, for instance, were produced at a time when England lived under the constant threat of Viking invasion, only for their Christian message of stable community life to later reassert itself (Brown, 2008). Contemporaries of McLuhan, like Melvin Webber (1964, 1969), thought that modern communications technology spelt the end of local community life, which would be absorbed into a 'non-place urban realm' ignoring the fact that, however globally linked elites may be by Skype, eBay, Amazon and international blogs, they still depend for their daily satisfactions on family life and community contact (Heywood, 1970).
- xviii These have lent the regional economy a life-saving resilience throughout the remarkable political vicissitudes of the twentieth century, including the fiercely imposed order of Mussolini's fascism, the corrupt and unstable disorder of the mid-century Christian Democrat regimes and the more recent media-sponsored politicking of Berlusconi's Forza Italia.
- xix The successful intellectual, scientific, social and economic history of Tuscany, Emilia Romagna and Umbria has been shaped to a quite remarkable extent over the past eight centuries by the accumulated social capital of these city communities. Since the late twelfth century, when St Francis first sent his messages of universal cooperation throughout Western Europe from the small Umbrian hilltop town of Assisi, this spirit of mutual aid has contrasted with and overcome the bleak warring political and military history of those city regions (Heywood, 1904).
- xx The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century British Lollards and Bohemian Hussites, for instance, advocated replacing lordly and priestly control by independent and self-regulating congregations (Cole & Postgate, 1976). Later, Thomas Paine and William Godwin advocated a society built on this cooperative basis, as did Fourier with his proposals for phalansteries, or cooperative workshops, in nineteenth-century France. Robert Owen, though ambiguous about adopting cooperative principles in his own New Lanark model industrial settlement (1800–1821), did provide a clear and effective explanation of them in his 'Report to the County of Lanark' of 1817 (Hamilton, 1946; Mumford, 1961).
- xxi This was the pattern which still applied in Igbo land in Nigeria in the early 1960s, and was still recalled by old-timers in the Forest of Dean in 1980, when I conducted a community preference survey there with students of the Gloucestershire College of Art and Design.
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