Framing Cultures of Spatial Planning

Huib Ernste

Published online: 29 Mar 2012.

Submit your article to this journal

View related articles

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

ARTICLE

Framing Cultures of Spatial Planning

HUIB ERNSTE

Abstract
If one compares different advanced systems of spatial planning, it is surprising that even similar systems show rather different results. This raises the question of what causes these differences. One obvious hypothesis is that in addition to the similarities between planning systems, a number of different 'soft' cultural factors also play a crucial role. Starting from this hypothesis and using an actor-centered approach the article suggests the use of frame analysis as a suitable tool for investigating these 'soft' cultural aspects of spatial planning. The main objective of such an investigation is not to develop a prescriptive method for spatial planning itself, but rather to gain a social scientific understanding of the structure and the dynamics of the framing process, which could then serve as an inspirational basis for developing diverse practical schemes of spatial planning. It is argued that culture plays an important role in spatial planning and that the role of culture can be addressed with an actor-centered approach. The article gives a short overview of the development of different forms of frame-analysis in social sciences and policy research. The concluding section argues that an analysis of cultural frames in spatial planning is richer and carries more potential than other approaches, for example, the more traditional and usual actor analysis or discourse analysis.

Cultures of Spatial Planning

Traditionally, spatial planning is seen as a process which mainly operates within the (institutional) framework of national planning systems. In today's globalized world and also in the thrust of European integration, these nationally bounded processes and institutional frameworks are put into question. As a consequence, we experience an increased interest in comparative studies in spatial planning and in the differences and commonalities of these spatial planning processes (Masser, 1984; Wegener, 1994; van Dijk, 2002; Sanyal, 2005). If, however, we want to compare spatial planning processes, we need to know how we can describe these spatial planning processes in their particular aspects and dimensions, so that they bring the structural differences and also the different (local) ways of dealing with these structural aspects to the fore, so that we can explain the different outcomes of particular spatial planning processes. This clearly goes much further than just describing the institutional differences between national spatial planning systems. It also involves informal structural aspects, which can be denoted as 'deep (cultural) structures', and actual real planning practices, which also involve the particular situational and personal aspects of the relevant actors. These particular

Huib Ernste, Department of Human Geography, Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands. Email: h.ernste@fm.ru.nl

practices under certain circumstances might result in a diversion from the pre-given structural framework and sometimes even constitute evolutionary change of these frameworks for future planning practices.

Traditionally, spatial planning systems are described as organizational and institutional structures for which mainly the following descriptive dimensions are seen as constitutive (Danielzyk & Weichhart, 2006, p. 1):

● nominal and functional spatial planning law;
● administrative structures and hierarchical orderings, division of competences and authorities;
● procedures and processes;
● instruments.

From this perspective, following the dictum of Torsten Hägerstrand (1970), it is easy to see in what ways such a reductionist conceptualization of spatial planning falls short. First of all, it neglects that spatial planning is not just about planning physical space but about planning the spatial practices of people and organizations, therefore of those which are the subject of planning. Here, one might ask oneself what the influence of these subjects on the results of spatial planning processes is, by means of participative planning, negotiating practices, or through endogenous development, mediation and didactics, levels of acceptance, etc. Second, it also neglects the people involved in the spatial planning processes itself. It does not take into account the fact that those who make or implement spatial plans or manage the spatial planning processes are intentional subjects, which have the ability to interpret and re-interpret rules and norms in the framework of their own personal motivations. It is especially this latter aspect which hardly has been addressed until now in planning research, even though the term was already coined earlier by John Friedmann (2005a,b), Keller *et al*. (1993, 1996), Barry Cullingworth (1993), and Martin Wentz (1992). In this respect, as Dietrich Fürst (2009) in a recent review of the relevant literature pointed out, the term is rather similar to what is sometimes also denoted as policy style (Richardson *et al*., 1982; Sturm, 1985; van Waarden, 1995; Jann, 2000; Booth, 2005; Innes & Gruber, 2005; Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009a). In these sources, the planning culture or administrative/policy style is still associated with the shared and dominating structural aspects of the context in which the planning process takes place.

From this perspective, it is not surprising that the deterministic elements of 'path dependencies' and the 'longue durée' of cultural conditioning in collective wholes is strongly emphasized, even though it is acknowledged that these planning cultures are highly contextual and contingent. Therefore, even in the current literature on spatial planning cultures, a planning culture is conceptualized as mental predispositions which all of those involved share (Fürst, 2009, p. 26). As Jörg Knieling and Frank Othengrafen (2009b, p. 52) state, postmodern planning theories are often seen 'as a basis for the development of a systematic theoretical model for comparative research on planning that integrates planning cultures as they seem to recognize differences (Soja, 1996, p. 87; Sandercock, 1998, p. 197; Allmendinger, 2002, p. 164) and emphasize the value of cultural diversity as well

as the importance of space explaining that each area or region has its own culture, its specific institutional context, as well as its own traditions, values, and attitudes which are different from other places' (Dear, 2000, p. 2). However, in the same way post-modernist thinkers have criticized the modernist blindness considering local contexts and cultures, they in turn can be blamed to be blind for recognizing individual differences and differentiations.[1] It still overlooks the influence individual persons, their specific biographical background, skills, knowledge, attitudes, talents, motives, and competences may have on the success and failure of spatial planning. As such, it is important to underscore that the term 'culture' as it is traditionally contrasted to 'nature' also implies, a certain resistance against the deterministic aspects which are seen as 'naturally' given, even if these naturally given aspects are local and situational. If we also include these aspects of planning culture, it then not only comprises aspects of (local) structure but also aspects of individual agency (Giddens, 1986) with their ability to resist and modify existing structures.

If we acknowledge these individual cultural differences aspects of planning cultures, we can conceive any multi-actor planning processes as processes in which cultural differences, between the different involved actors or actor coalitions with their own specific culturally informed ideas about the spatial orderings, are to be bridged toward a planning decision and implementation which is sufficiently supported by all involved actors. Naegler (2003, p. 23) thus describes the culture of spatial planning as 'the way, in which actors reconcile the difference between each other's positions und organize their cooperative relationships'.[2] It is important to note, that such a culturally informed conception of the spatial planning process and of the context in which it takes place, is not confined to the level of national planning systems, but is valid for all spatial planning processes at all levels, from local to supranational. If one wants to take the cultural contextuality of spatial planning processes seriously, this leads us away from the 'methodological nationalism' (Taylor, 1996) which is inherent to many comparative planning studies clinging on to system comparisons and to the cultural homogeneity of specific spatial planning projects. In our view, taking cultural differences into full account, one can investigate the workings of the hitherto neglected cultural dimension in any spatial planning process, in which the diverse cultural backgrounds of the involved individual and collective actors seem to play a role. Planning culture then has to be conceived as an overarching concept encompassing *all* determinants of the functioning of spatial planning processes (Danielzyk & Weichhart, 2006, p. 1) including both structural, institutional with their cultural embeddings as well as the different aspects of the cultural agents involved in these processes.

To be able to analyze these cultural aspects of spatial planning, a theoretical framework is needed, which takes both the institutional/structural side as well as the actor/agent side into account. Since the structuration approach of Anthony Giddens (1986), as a logical candidate has proven to be strong as general grand theoretic framework but difficult to operationalize in particular cases. A popular alternative is the actor-centered institutionalism as coined by Fritz W. Scharpf (1997, 2000a,b). In this approach, political processes are apprehended as interaction between individual and corporatist actors with their specific skills,
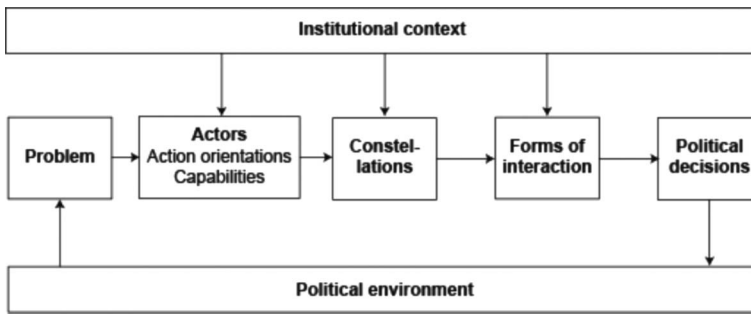
FIGURE 1. Actor-centered institutionalism. *Source:* Scharpf (2000a, p. 85).

and orientations, within a given institutional context and under given political circumstances (see also Figure 1). Following this theoretical conceptualization, the following 5 groups of variables are of crucial importance (Fürst, 2009, p. 26):

(a) Variables of interaction:
   (1) Individual action orientation comprising attitudes, beliefs, values, interests and capabilities (competences);
   (2) The interaction orientation of actors essentially based on norms and attitudes (competitive vs. cooperative, person-oriented vs. task-oriented, consensus-oriented vs. outcome-oriented);
   (3) The constellation of actors indicating the power-relations between actors and the room for maneuver of persons acting within organizations;
(b) Variables of external influences:
   (4) The institutional framework referring to legal, organizational, administrative and language rules and routines. Language barriers, differences in legal frameworks, different levels of impact of legal regulations on societal interactions, differences in the administrative structures (e.g. degree of decentralization) and in administrative behavior (top–down interventionist vs. horizontal negotiations) could impede cross-cultural interactions. Institutions could mitigate the impact by engendering faith in interactions and in the rules of living together;
   (5) The situation which is mainly determined by the problem-field and factors shaping it which also comprise a general change of sentiments and paradigms.

However, it is often overlooked that this approach (notwithstanding its easier operationalization, and that it takes both structural aspects as well as individual behavior into account) assumes a rational choice and therefore a behavioral framework for conceptualizing the interrelationship between structure and agency. It also makes the classic institutionalist assumptions. The institutional setting is conceived of as a regulatory structure providing opportunities and constraints for 'hard-wired' rational actors striving to maximize their utility (Börzel, 1997). The

same can be said of the conceptualization of the self, and the meaning of the political environment. Although seldomly recognized in the spatial planning literature, this is a clear limitation for analyzing the role of culture in spatial planning processes and for explaining the hitherto unexplained differences in results in comparable situations. It still neglects the interpretative powers and processes of the social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) which constitutes the spatial planning process to begin with. And it is exactly at this point where culture plays a crucial role in spatial planning. We therefore have to resort to a more powerful and culturally informed theoretical framework.

Actor-Centered Approach to Cultures of Spatial Planning

To take culture fully into account when analyzing spatial planning processes, we need to resort to what is called an action theoretic (or actor centered) approach as introduced by Benno Werlen (1992). From this action, theoretic approach spatial actions and spatial decision making is conceptualized as everyday place making or in the words of Benno Werlen as 'everyday geography making'; a place making which is done by living people and not just by institutions, procedures, regulations, instruments or systems. All human subjects, who are competent of making decisions on location and land-use, and who are somehow involved in or who influence the spatial planning process are the real actors in the process. As such and following Benno Werlen 'The system of spatial planning may then be regarded as a subset of ''geography-making''' (Weichhart, 1999, p. 6); see also Figure 2. To what result such an actor-oriented analysis can lead is shown for example by Reinhard Seiß (2008) in his exciting book with the title 'Who builds Vienna' in which he investigates how the building boom after the fall of the iron curtain creates all kinds of results which the official procedures and regulations could never predict. Written almost as a detective story, he shows, in a still theoretically and methodically rather unreflected way, what role the different actors involved with their specific interests and backgrounds have played. A similar account of local government is provided by Merlijn van Hulst (2008), in which he describes how culture made a crucial difference in the improvement and renewal of local policies. It is important to note that these actors are no passive subject of the system or process but have their own intentions and interests, and take deliberate action accordingly. Even though they can be grouped in certain ways, one also has to keep in mind that each of them is also involved as an individual person with his own characteristics, goals, talents, attitudes, and cultural background. Through their spatially differentiated actions and decisions, they make choices between places and between interpretations of places, or between different ways of structuring and ordering of these places. These choices therefore make or break a place. They allocate meaning, purpose and value to places and create spatial orderings. Spatial planning decisions as such are *spatial actions* par excellence. Through spatial planning, we give 'meaning' to space.

These planning decisions are not just rational choices of different pre-given opportunities with pre-set utility values in the face of pre-defined preferences; spatial planning as such involves much more. It is a search for value, in a spatial setting of which we do not know in advance how we should interpret it, in face of
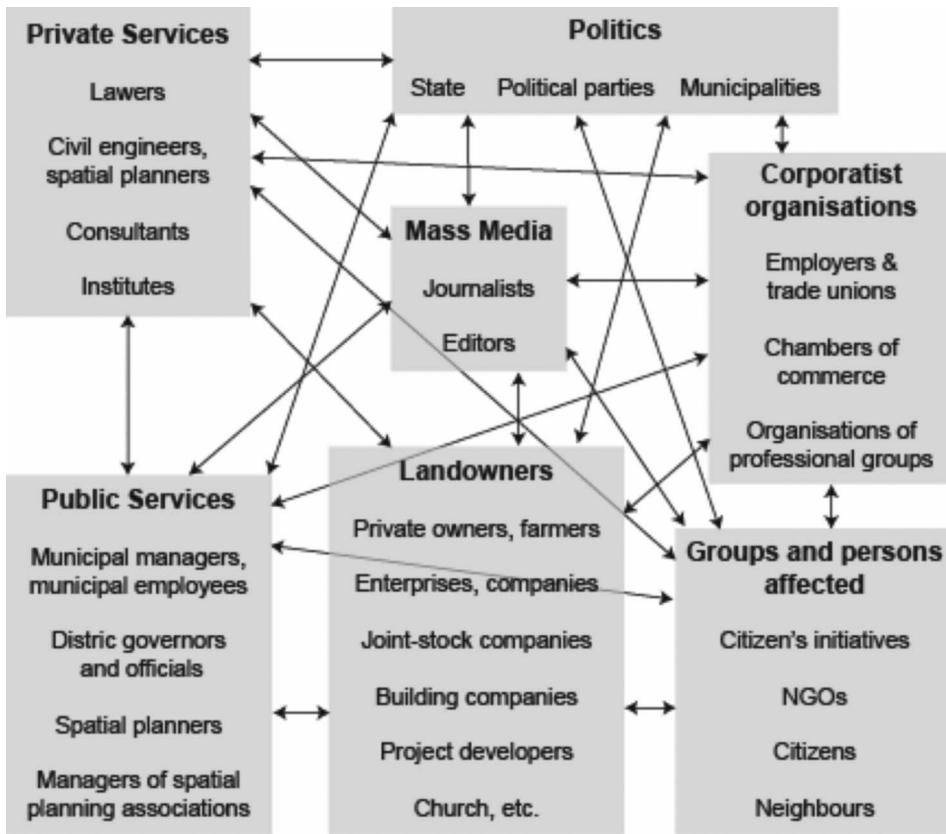
FIGURE 2. Example of actors and their relationships involved in a spatial planning process. *Source:* Weichhart, 1999, p. 6.

preferences, of which we only become aware along the process of often very 'irrational' ways of decision-making (Sager, 1994, 2002). Seen from this perspective, these decision-making processes are culturally rich, as in each of these instances culture plays a crucial role. Without such a theoretical conception of spatial actions, we would be blind for the cultural aspects of spatial planning. In contrast to the actor-centered institutionalism, the action theoretical approach does not presuppose such a rational choice framework. Instead, it is acknowledged that such a framework is also a cultural and political social construction and not naturally given. The action theoretic approach is open to such a socially constructed framework, but is also open to alternative framings of the spatial planning process. The phenomenological basis of this action theoretic or actor-centered approach makes it particularly suitable for an analysis of the cultural aspects of spatial planning, and the affects it has on its outcomes. With the currently fashionable more post-modern or post-structuralist perspective on *spatial practices* (Flyvberg, 1998), we would also only get a partial view on culturally

determined discursive structures and power-geometries and we would still miss out on the culturally motivated individual interventions in these situations.

Given an action theoretical approach to spatial planning, it is important that the research method for investigating spatial planning processes as the dynamic bridging, framing and re-framing of culturally informed imaginations of a new spatial ordering fits this specific approach. In this contribution, we want to suggest an elaborated framing analysis for the (comparative) analysis of the social relationships and their cultural determinants in spatial planning.

Frame Analysis of Spatial Planning

There is no frame analysis of one kind. Different aspects of frames and of the framing process have been gradually developed and elaborated over time in the social sciences. So what is actually meant with framing analysis and what kind of framing analysis is suitable for comparative spatial planning research from an action theoretic perspective?

The Meaning of Frames

Frames can be circumscribed as culturally determined frameworks, perspectives, systems of meaning, paradigms or positions from which the actor or a group of actors order social reality and make sense of his or her actions. In a frame, values, experiences, interests, facts, theories, and cultures are combined. Framing analysis is a well-established method for analyzing political and social conflicts in decision-making processes (Fischer, 2003). As a system of meaning, a frame comprises *concrete actions*, practices and performances in concrete events or situations, as well as *meanings*, in the form of abstract rules and norms as expressed in speech acts, interactions, documents and other sources, and finally also the *constitution of groups* and their internal and external relations (Schuyt, 1995, quoted in Poorter, 2005, p. 22), and leads to certain habits, patterns of action, mutual expectations, informal power relations, discourses, routines and subcultures. Frames can be seen as ways in which experience is organized. They also serve as schemata for interpretation of objects, events, situations, and institutional settings. They direct attention toward particular features of the political landscape and away from other features, thereby shaping the possibilities for taking action (van Hulst & Yanow, 2009). The differences in interpretation lead to differences in opinion, and to disagreement and possibly controversies. From this culturally rich perspective, spatial decision making is not so much a contest about the distribution of individual utilities but rather a struggle over ideas and meanings (Stone, 2001). From this point of view, we see that the use of the concept of 'frames' for spatial decision making broadens our view on what is at stake. Frames are not limited to collective 'utilities' and 'interests' of different actor groups, but extend to the culturally informed ideas and meanings of the individuals involved.

The concept of frames can be traced back to Gregory Bateson (1972), who used the term for categorization of certain activities to differentiate for example 'play' from 'fight'. He defines frames as labile localized expressions of cultural maps that

organize perceptions around shared premises in the active interpretative process of perception (a conceptual filter to identifying relevance). Alfred Schütz uses the term frame in a very similar way when he describes how, from a phenomenological perspective, reality is subjectively and intentionally experienced and categorized, in a hierarchy of more or less consistent situative frames of reference, of sense, of relevance and of meaning at different levels of abstraction (Schütz, 1966, 1982; Gonos, 1977; Nuehring & Fein, 1978; Mote, 2001). Depending on the situation and intentions of the actor involved, he will act accordingly. As such, individuals and even less so collectives cannot be associated with a single frame of action, but are related to a number of different, contingent, partly overlapping frames of reference at different levels of abstraction. Erving Goffman (1974; Jameson, 1976) is often seen as the godfather of frame analysis, with his book on this subject from 1974. With frames he means 'perspectives', 'systems of meaning', 'paradigms' or 'positions/positionings' from which an actor or group of actors order social reality and give sense to their actions. In such a frame, values, norms, experiences, facts, interests, preferences, theories, and cultures are combined. People do not invent their actions on the spot in a rational way, but often do what they are expected to do according to the frame which orders their actions and which provides sense to their actions. Frame analysis thus is closely linked to an action theoretic approach to spatial decision making.

Frames of Interest in Rational Choice Decision Making

Even though spatial decisions are not rationally deliberated on the spot, Tversky and Kahneman (1981, 1987) have, nevertheless, adopted the concept of framing in rational choice theory. The same theoretical background also provides the basis for actor or stake-holder analysis as we know it in public policy literature (Hermans & Thissen, 2009; van der Lei, 2009). There, actor analysis mostly serves as an ad hoc inventory of the preferences and positioning (framing) of the actor groups involved in the spatial planning process, on the basis of which rational decision making and compromising are assumed to take place. Even though the outcome of the decision-making process might not always be according to the original preferences of the stake-holders, it is nevertheless assumed that the original interest positions (frames) are fixed. In this context, frames are seen as strategic choices of the rational decision maker, and not as dynamic and emergent generative structures of perception and action.

The Dynamics of Framing

It was Jean Piaget (1973) who addressed these dynamics, when he discussed the way schemata cognitively evolve in the mind: On the one hand, this takes place through *assimilation*, in which the experience of new situations is adapted to fit the schemata. Festinger's (1957) idea of 'cognitive dissonance' is an example of such a form of assimilation: If beliefs are held sufficiently strongly, people may go through remarkable psychological contortions in order to assimilate new information to the existing beliefs, rather than accommodating the beliefs to the information. The belief system then becomes a frame of reference within which all

new ideas and information are located and evaluated (Zimbardo & Leipe, 1991). On the other hand, according to Piaget, new schemata emerge through the process of *accommodation*. The schemata are then substantially modified to incorporate the new situation. The 2 processes, assimilation and accommodation, exist in a dialectical relationship. In similar ways, the process of 're-framing' has also been explored by Bateson's followers in the Palo Alto group (Watzlawick *et al*., 1973), describing it as a change of the meaning of a specific stimulus event either by manipulation of its context or content. If we want to understand the emergence of cultural frames and their role in spatial planning, it is exactly these dynamics which are of crucial importance.

Strategic Framing and Social Dynamics

The idea of framing as a dynamic process was also picked up in theories about social movements (Benford, 1997; Benford & Snow, 2000). The process of re-framing is then seen as a germ for a 'new social movement'. However, the framing literature about social movements and political interventions, like in rational choice theory, analyses framing as deliberative and strategic categorizations (see e.g. Kaufaman & Smith, 1999; Selle, 1999; Laws & Rein, 2003) not to say as a means for 'social engineering' of social movements. So this conceptualization of the framing process and of the strategic manipulation of frames strongly leans to the aspect of 'agency' and to modernistic 'make-ablity' or manipulability (Young, 2008). But as we know from the spatial planning literature (Lindblom, 1959), spatial planning as social engineering is not very realistic and bound to fail.

Post-Structuralist Discursive Framing

In contrast, a much more structuralist use of the concept of framing has also become a mainstay of discussions in post-structural cultural criticism (D'Angelo, 2002). There, frames are mainly used to describe collective systems of meaning (Fischer, 1997). These collective discursive structures of meaning are not fixed but are subject to incremental changes, mainly as an unintended consequence of our collective actions. At the same time, in post-structuralist thinking, it is often assumed that individuals are subjected to these frames and their related power geometries, while the more strategic or tactical role individuals can play in the constitution and proliferation of these frames is not fully elaborated. This conceptualization of frames therefore strongly leans toward the aspect of 'structure' (of meaning) instead of 'agency'. As such the post-structuralist use of framing also does not utilize the full potential of the concept of hierarchical frames and the deliberative social construction of frames.

Policy Frames and Levels of Policy Making

In the context of spatial planning, mainly *policy frames* as introduced by Rein and Schön (1993) are important. They define policy frames as 'a way of selecting, organizing, interpreting, and making sense of a complex reality to provide guideposts for knowing, analyzing, persuading, and acting. A frame is a

perspective from which an amorphous, ill-defined, problematic situation can be made sense of and acted on' (p. 263). The framing of policy processes takes place at different levels: First, on the level of the individuals, individuals involved in the policy process use framing, for the ordering of their experiences and actions, both consciously and unconsciously. Anthony Giddens (1986) in this respect would speak of 'discursive-' and 'practical consciousness'. Second, on the level of inter-personal relationships, policy makers and politicians use framing and re-framing when they reflect on the differences of opinion and their possible resolution. Finally, on the level of public space, also outsiders, like scientists, journalists or external experts, who study or report on policy processes frame what they experience and observe in a certain way. Here, one could easily add further levels of framing, related to the different and interrelated levels of the multi-level governance process.

Often these frames function in practice but are not recognized or explicitly described, and stay rather implicit. 'The more natural and taken for granted the frames that shape our thinking, the less likely we are to be aware both of our frames and of the social carriers that interpret policy issues in terms of frames' (Rein & Schön, 1993, p. 275).

Policy Frames and Roles

In addition Rein and Schön (1993) distinguish different roles in the management of frames in the policy process:

> 'The sponsors of a frame seek to develop the frame, explicate its implications for action, and establish the grounds for arguments about it. They may also devise metaphors for communication about the frame – metaphors variously related to the metaphors that may have contributed to the generation of the frame itself.

> Frame sponsorship may be assumed by research organisations within the social-science community. Here, policy analysts may play a critical role in the development of frames, working inside and outside governmental bureaucracies in the roles of entrepreneurs, middlemen, and brokers of ideas. They may name the policy terrain and specify how frames, policy designs, and policy actions are to be linked. They may function as technical specialists, debugging the problems that emerge in the framing of a policy issue and in bringing it into good currency. They may combine research and experience in the use of symbols, communicative metaphors, and simplifying assumptions. In all of these ways, they help to develop the frame; but these very processes may bring them to the limits of their frames and thus to reframing. [. . .] Policy intellectuals play the special role of explicating the policy ideas and frames implicit in the social action of social movements' (p. 275).

Framing analysis indeed allows us to distinguish between different roles, but one should not forget that also these role patterns are a result of ideal typical

framing of the policy process and are not pre-given. Especially, if we want to explain the comparative differences between policy practices, we cannot expect the structure of framings to be the same in every case. What is crucial however, is that these frame-related roles clearly reach beyond the institutionalized roles and authorities prescribed by the planning system. Although the respective formal planning system is a factor which cannot be neglected, policy frames are much more culturally enriched frameworks of policy actions, and allow us to assess the effects of these additional factors.

Conclusion

From this short overview of the different conceptualizations of the cultural framing of spatial decision making, one can derive a number of distinctive advantages of the concept of frames and of frame analysis as a means to investigate the culture(s) of spatial planning, from an action-centered perspective.

First, the concepts of cultural frames grasps the 'system of meaning and sense-making', in the broadest sense of the word, which are relevant to spatial practices. As such the concept of framing reaches beyond the stake-holder positions and comprises also the individual cultural and biographic backgrounds of the actors involved.

Second, it is important to emphasize the hierarchical structure of frames, from the individual, issue-related frames to the frames policy coalitions and broader collectives, up to higher levels of policy making. It therefore allows a real multi-level analysis of governance, while other concepts such as stake-holders positions or discursive formations usually are only applicable at the level of uniform collectives and often do not allow actors to simultaneously identify with different framings for different situations and levels.

Third, the concept of cultural framing fits the action theoretic perspective on the spatial planning process, which addresses the spatial decision-making process not as discrete choices in fixed situations but rather as a continuous dynamic process of spatial interpretation, sense making, performance and communication. The concept of cultural frames and framing allows the theorization of exactly these dynamics and implicit or strategic transformation processes of these cultural frames, which make a (cultural) difference in the results of spatial planning in similarly advanced institutional, but culturally different, settings.

Finally, we should underscore the deliberative, strategic, and tactical aspect of the framing process. It is these dynamics of the social construction of places which also make the framing approach useful for the analysis of policy controversies (Entman, 1993; Ensink, 2003) and consensual policy decision making, in the sense of 'bridging the cultural differences' with respect to the 'ordering of space'.

An action theoretically informed frame analysis of spatial planning processes (Yanow, 2000, 2007) therefore potentially provides answers to research questions of the kind of:

● Who are the real actors in the spatial planning process? Who influences the locational and allocational decisions?

- What stories do actors in the spatial planning process use to describe their policy practices?
- What metaphors do they use to describe their actions and to describe the object of the spatial planning process? What style of policy making do they endorse?
- How do they relate to structural and institutional aspects of the decision-making situation? What personal norms and values play a role?
- How does the biographical background of the actors play a role in the contents and course of the process?
- What are the story lines which define the common ground of different actors or discourse coalitions?
- What is the relative personal position of the actor in relation to the policy practice? What are the elements with which the actor can identify himself, and can perform his position? How are these same person positioned and identified with by others? What role do the actors play officially and informally? What is the formal and informal power geometry between these different positions?
- What is the primary (overt) and secondary (hidden) intentionality of the involved actors? What interests does the actor has in the policy process? What scope for adaptations and strategic and tactical maneuvering does this leave the actor?
- How have these cultural frames emerged?
- How are the cultural frames transformed in the context of multi-actor decision-making?

Getting a full picture in these respects enables us to elaborate the frame structure of the policy situation and the dynamics of the re-framing process inherent in successful spatial planning processes. Such a cultural reconstruction of the spatial planning process would then also allow a more culturally enriched comparative analysis of different spatial planning practices. As such, an explicitly actor-centered frame analysis of spatial planning processes is still needed. This should be understood as a promising programmatic perspective for future policy research.

Notes

1. See also Frank (1989) for a more substantial critique of post-structural theorizing, with its implicit structuralist tendencies.
2. Translation by Huib Ernste.

References

Allmendinger, P. (2002) *Planning Theory* (Hampshire: Palgrave).

Bateson, G. (1973) *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (London: Paladin).

Benford, R. D. (1997) An Insider's critique of the social movement framing perspective, *Sociological Inquiry*, 67(4), pp. 409–430.

Benford, R. D. & Snow, D. A. (2000) Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, pp. 11–39.

Berger, P. L. & Luckmann, Th. (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality* (Garden City: Doubleday).

Booth, Ph. (2005) The nature of difference: Traditions of law and government and their effects on planning in Britain and France, in: B. Sanyal (Ed) *Comparative Planning Culture*, pp. 259–284 (London: Routledge).

Börzel, T. A. (1997) What's so special about policy networks? – An exploration of the concept and its usefulness in studying European governance, *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)*, 1(16). Available at http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/1997-016a.htm (accessed 8 February 2010).

Cullingworth, J. B. (1993) *The Political Culture of Planning: American Land Use Planning in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Routledge).

D'Angelo, P. (2002) News framing as a multi-paradigmatic research program: A response to Entman. *Journal of Communication*, 52(4), pp. 870–888.

Danielzyk, R. & Weichhart, P. (2006) *Planungsstile und Planungskulturen – Disposition eines Forschungsprojektes zur Planungstheorie [Planning Styles and Planning Cultures – Disposition of a research project on planning theory]*. Unpublished paper presented at the expert meeting on comparative planning culture studies, at the ILS- Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development in Dortmund, May 24, 2007.

Dear, M. J. (2000) *The Postmodern Urban Condition* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Ensink, T. (2003) Transformational frames: Interpretative consequences of frame shifts and frame embeddings, in: T. Ensink & Ch. Sauer (Eds) *Framing and Perspectivising in Discourse*, pp. 63–90 (Amsterdam: Benjamins).

Entman, R. M. (1993) Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm, *Journal of Communication*, 43, pp. 51–58.

Festinger, L. (1957) *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Evanston: Row Peterson).

Fisher, K. (1997) Locating frames in the discursive universe. *Sociological Research Online,* 2(3). Available at http://www.socresonline.org.uk/2/3/4.html (accessed 1 February 2012).

Fischer, F. (2003) *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive politics and deliberative practices* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Flyvberg, B. (1998) *Rationality and Power. Democracy in practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Frank, M. (1989) *What is Neostructuralism?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

Friedmann, J. (2005a) Planning cultures in transition, in: B. Sanyal (Ed) *Comparative Planning Culture*, pp. 29–44 (London: Routledge).

Friedmann, J. (2005b) Globalization and the emerging culture of planning, *Progress in Planning*, 64, pp. 183–234.

Fürst, D. (2009) Planning cultures en route to a better comprehension of 'planning processes'? in: J. Knieling & F. Othengrafen (Eds) *Planning Cultures in Europe*, pp. 23–38 (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Giddens, A. (1986) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (New York: Harper & Row).

Gonos, G. (1977) 'Situation' versus 'Frame': The 'interactionist' and the 'itructuralist' analyses of everyday life, *American Sociological Review*, 42(6), pp. 854–867.

Hägerstrand, T. (1970) What about people in regional science? *Papers of the Regional Science Association*, 24, pp. 1–12.

Hermans, L. M. & Thissen, W. A. H. (2009) Actor analysis methods and their use for public policy analysis, *European Journal of Operational Research*, 196, pp. 808–818.

Hulst, M. J. van (2008) *Town Hall Tales: Culture as Storytelling in Local Government* (Delft: Eburon).

Hulst, M. J. van & Yanow, D. (2009) *Studying the Political Through Frame Analysis*, Workshop, ECPR Joint Sessions, April 14–19, Lisbon.

Innes, J. & Gruber, J. (2005) Planning styles in conflict. The Metropolitan Transportation Commission, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71(2), pp. 177–188.

Jameson, F. (1976) Review: On Goffman's frame analysis, *Theory and Society*, 3(1), pp. 119–133.

Jann, W. (2000) Verwaltungskulturen im internationalen Vergleich. Ein Überblick über den Stand der empirischen Forschung [Administrative cultures in international comparison. An overview over state of the empirical research], *Die Verwaltung*, 33, pp. 325–350.

Jensen, O. B. & Richardson, T. (2001) Nested visions: New rationalities of space in European spatial planning, *Regional Studies*, 35(8), pp. 703–717.

Kaufman, S. & Smith, J. (1999) Framing and reframing in land use change conflicts, *Journal of Architecture and Planning Research*, 16(2), pp. 164–180.

Keller, D. A., Koch, M., & Selle, K. (Eds) (1993) Planungskulturen in Europa. Erkundungen in Deutschland, Frankreich, Italien und in der Schweiz [Planning cultures in Europe. Explorations in Germany, France, Italy and Switzerland], *DISP*, 115.

Keller, D. A., Koch, M., & Selle, K. (1996) 'Either/or' and 'and': First impressions of a journey into the planning cultures of four countries, *Planning Perspectives*, 11(1), pp. 41–54.

Knieling, J. & Othengrafen, F. (2009a) Spatial planning and culture – Symbiosis for a better understanding of cultural differences in planning systems, traditions and practices. Preface, in: J. Knieling & F. Othengrafen (Eds) *Planning Cultures in Europe*, pp. xxiii–xxxv (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Knieling, J. & Othengrafen, F. (2009b) En route to a theoretical model for comparative research on planning cultures, in: J. Knieling & F. Othengrafen (Eds) *Planning Cultures in Europe*, pp. 39–62 (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Laws, D. & Rein, M. (2003) Reframing practice, in: M. Hajer & H. Wagenaar (Eds) *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, pp. 172–206 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Lei, T. van der (2009) Relating actor analysis methods to policy problems, PhD thesis, Technical University, Delft.

Lindblom, Ch. E. (1959) The science of 'muddling through', *Public Administration Review*, 19, pp. 79–88.

Masser, I. (1984) Cross national comparative planning studies, *Town Planning Review*, 55(2), pp. 137–160.

Mote, J. E. (2001) From Schutz to Goffman: The search for social order, *Review of Austrian Economics*, 14(2–3), pp. 219–231.

Naegler, D. (2003) *Planung als soziale Konstruktion. Leitbilder als Steuerungsmedium in Stadtplanung-sprozessen [Planning as Social Construction. Planning models as steering instrument in urban planning processes]* (Berlin: Sigma).

Nuehring, E. M. & Fein, S. B. (1978) Tacit choices: A process of becoming, *The Pacific Sociological Review*, 21(2), pp. 159–172.

Piaget, J. (1973) *The Child's Conception of the World* (London: Paladin).

Poorter, M. (2005) Democratische Legitimiteit van Governance Networks [Democratic Legitimity of Governance Networks], Master thesis, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

Rein, M. & Schön, D. (1993) Reframing policy discourse, in: F. Fischer & J. Forester (Eds) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, pp. 145–166 (London: Duke University Press).

Richardson, J. J., Gustaffson, G., & Jordan, G. (1982) The concept of policy style, in: J. J. Richardson (Ed) *Policy Styles in Western Europe*, pp. 1–16 (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin).

Sager, T. (1994) *Communicative Planning Theory* (Gateshead: Avebury).

Sager, T. (2002) *Democratic Planning and Social Choice Dilemmas: Prelude to Institutional Planning Theory* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Sandercock, L. (1998) *Towards Cosmopolis, Planning for Multicultural Cities* (Chichester: Wiley).

Sanyal, B. (2005) Preface, in: B. Sanyal (Ed) *Comparative Planning Culture*, pp. xix–xxiv (London: Routledge).

Scharpf, F. W. (1997) *Games Real Actors Play. Actor-Centered Institutionalism in Policy Research* (Boulder: Westview).

Scharpf, F. W. (2000a) *Interaktionsformen. Akteurszentrierter Institutionalismus in der Politikforschung [Forms of Interaction. Actor centred institutionalism in policy research]* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich).

Scharpf, F. W. (2000b) *Institutions in Comparative Policy Research*. MPIfG Working Paper of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, 00/3. Available at http://www.mpifg.de/pu/workpap/wp00-3/wp00-3.html (accessed 8 February 2010).

Schütz, A. (1966) *Collected Papers. Vol. 1: The Problem of Social Reality* (The Hague: Nijhoff).

Schütz, A. (1982) *Reflections on the Problem of Relevance* (St. Barbara: Greenwood Press).

Schuyt, C. J. M. (1995) *Filosofie van de sociale wetenschappen* (Utrecht: De Tijdstroom).

Seiß, R. (2008) *Wer baut Wien?: Hintergründe und Motive der Stadtentwicklung Wiens seit 1989 [Who builds Vienna?: Backgrounds and Motives Behind the City Development of Vienna Since 1989]* (Salzburg: Pustet).

Selle, K. (1999) Neue Planungskultur – Raumplanung auf dem Weg zum kooperativen Handeln? [New planning culture – Spatial planning on its way towards co-operative action?], in: K. M. Schmals (Ed) *Was ist Raumplanung? [What is Spatial Planning?]*, pp. 210–226 (Dortmunder Beiträge zur Raumplanung, Vol. 89, Dortmund: Institut für Raumplanung).

Soja, E. W. (1996) *Thirdspace, Journies to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Stone, D. A. (2001) *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making* (New York: Norton).

Sturm, R. (1985) Die Politikstilanalyse. Zur Konkretisierung des Konzeptes der politischen Kultur in der Policy-Analyse [The policy style analysis. Towards a concretisation of the concept of policy culture in policy analysis], in: H. H. Hartwich (Ed) *Policy-Forschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland [Policy Research in the Federal Republic of Germany]*, pp. 111–116 (Opladen: Leske + Burdrich).

Taylor, P. J. (1996) Embedded statism and the social sciences: Opening up to new spaces, *Environment and Planning A*, 28(11), pp. 1917–1928, with invited responses of a range of social scientist to that article, pp. 1929–1995.

Tversky, A. & Kahneman, D. (1981) The framing of decisions and the psychology of choice, *Science*, 211, pp. 453–458.

Tversky, A. & Kahneman, D. (1987) Rational choice and the framing of decisions, in: R. M. Hogarth & M. W. Reder (Eds) *Rational Choice: The Contrast Between Economics and Psychology*, pp. 67–94 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Waarden, F. van (1995) Persistence of national policy styles: A study of their institutional foundations, in: B. Unger & F. van Waarden (Eds) *Convergence or Diversity?* pp. 333–373 (Aldershot: Avebury).

Watzlawick, P., Weakland, J., & Fisch, R. (1973) *Change* (New York: Norton).

Weichhart, P. (1999) On people and life-world rationality in the planning process. Alexander von Humboldt Lecture in Human Geography, September 23, at the Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands. Available at http://socgeo.ruhosting.nl/colloquium/weichhart1.html (accessed 8 February 2010).

Wegener, M. (1994) Urban/regional models and planning cultures: Lessons from cross-national modelling projects. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 21(5), pp. 629 – 641.

Wentz, M. (1992) Sozialer Wandel und Planungskultur [Social change and planning culture], in: M. Wentz (Ed) *Planungskulturen [Planning Cultures]*, pp. 10–19 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus).

Werlen B. (1992) *Society, Action and Space: An Alternative Human Geography* (London: Routledge).

Yanow, D. (2000) *Conducting Interpretative Policy Analysis* (Newbury Park: Sage).

Yanow, D. (2007) Interpretation in policy analysis: On methods and practice, *Critical Policy Analysis*, 1, pp. 109–121.

Young, G. (2008) *Reshaping Planning with Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Zimbardo, P. G. & Leippe, M. R. (1991) *The Psychology of Attitude Change and Social Influence* (New York: McGraw-Hill).