



University of
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GEO 511 Master's Thesis

Raumkonzept Schweiz

Implementation of the Raumkonzept Schweiz and its Action Spaces

Laura Bazzi

09-911-785

laura.bazzi@bluewin.ch

Supervised by: Dr. Marco Pütz, Swiss Federal Institute for Forest, Snow and Landscape Research WSL, Zürcherstr. 111, 8903 Birmensdorf, marco.puetz@wsl.ch

Faculty Member: Prof. Dr. Christian Berndt, Economic Geography, Department of Geography, University of Zurich

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Department of Geography, University of Zurich

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List of Abbreviations

ARE	Federal Office for Spatial Development [Bundesamt für Raumentwicklung]
BLN	Bundesinventar der Landschaften und Naturdenkmäler von nationaler Bedeutung [Federal Inventory of Landscapes and Natural Monuments of National Importance]
BPUK	Schweizerische Bau-, Planungs- und Umweltdirektorenkonferenz [Swiss Conference of Directors of Building, Planning and Environmental Protection]
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DETEC	Federal Department of Environment, Transport, Energy and Communication [Eidgenössisches Department für Umwelt, Verkehr, Energie und Kommunikation UVEK]
EU	European Union
GIS	Geographic Information System
KdK	Konferenz der Kantonsregierungen [Conference of Cantonal Governments]
SGV	Schweizerischer Gemeindeverband [Association of Swiss Communes]
SSV	Schweizerischer Städteverband [Swiss Cities Association]
TAK	Tripartite Agglomerationskonferenz [Tripartite Agglomeration Conference]
UK	United Kingdom
ZHAW	Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften [Zurich University of Applied Sciences]

Abstract

In the spatial planning literature, concepts of ‹space› have emerged as a progressively crucial framework for theoretical and empirical analyses. The concept of soft spaces, in particular, attempts to apprehend the significance of network related geographies within fuzzy bounded spaces for spatial planning and governance. This thesis shows that soft spaces became popular under the ‹post-political› condition and during periods dominated by neoliberalism by exploring their characteristics of flexible boundaries and networked governance. The thesis also illustrates why the Swiss action spaces of the recently introduced ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› can be regarded as an example of soft spaces. In order to compile supra-regional goals and strategies, traditional statutory administrative boundaries no longer matched the reality of planning and Switzerland had to be divided into new spaces. The determination of these new action spaces has neither been made according to institutional nor to cultural concepts, but rather economic specialisation and social processes. Hence, the Swiss action spaces highlight the multiplicity of societal and institutional issues and integrate non-planning actors in spatial planning processes. Such changes demand for a higher amount of dialogue between the different government levels, for which hierarchical politics no longer suitable. All these points are in line with the concept of soft spaces. Apart from the comparison of soft and action spaces, the thesis examines the characteristics of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› and the effects it has had since its introduction in 2012. Case studies of four action spaces of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› show how the introduction of the action spaces has helped to increase the awareness of the importance of spatial planning. In addition to the positive consequences and aspects, such as the non-binding nature of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, points of criticism are also addressed. Statements about an insufficient degree of detail and missing aspects and links in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› are used to show opportunities to further improve the concepts by taking future social problems and socio-demographic changes more into consideration in spatial planning and by integrating more issues of high regional importance.

1 Introduction

In many countries, land-use planning has been undergoing significant changes over the past decades, not least to make the system more strategic, faster and more effective for the engagement of all sections of society. Switzerland is no exception. That is why ten years ago the decision to create a concept functioning as an orientation frame for the spatial planning of Switzerland has been made. The ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› [Swiss Spatial Concept¹] contains suggestions for a more effective use of the already installed building zones and a better protection of unbuilt areas. Examples of such suggestions are the more compact building design and the issuing of protected areas. Additionally, planning should increasingly take place supra-regional, which means in areas that comprise several cantons, cities or municipalities. In concrete terms, the concept contains approaches for the development of twelve so-called different ‹action spaces²› [Handlungsräume]. Three large urban areas (Zurich, Basel, Geneva), a capital region (Berne), five small and medium-sized action spaces (Lucerne, Città Ticino, Jurabogen, Aareland, Nordostschweiz), and three alpine areas (Gotthard, Western Alps, Eastern Alps) are distinguished. The specialities and strengths of the respective action spaces should be deliberately used and further developed. The aim is to secure natural resources, promote mobility, maintain diversity, and strengthen the competitiveness of the regions and promote solidarity among the people. An early version of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› was discussed in the years 2007 and 2008 in different regions of Switzerland with scientists and decision-makers. In 2011, a public consultation took place, during which interest groups were able to comment on the concept. The revised ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› was then published in 2012 as a non-binding spatial planning tool for all planning levels of the federal government, cantons, cities and municipalities.

This study is not only concerned with the consequences of the implementation of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, but also focuses on a spatial planning concept that has been increasingly discussed in the literature of strategic spatial planning in recent years: the concept of ‹soft spaces›. Such soft spaces can be seen as ‹... spaces of governance that exist outside, alongside or in-between the formal statutory scales of [regional and local

¹ Free translation by author

² Free translation by author

government]» (Haughton et al., 2013, 217). These spaces with fuzzy boundaries provide a functional planning tool for matching territorial boundaries and «real world» dynamics. Additionally, soft spaces reflect the desire to create forms of networked governance by highlighting the complexity of societal issues and institutions, and therefore help to cope with the complex tasks of growth management or urban planning (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2706). The approach of soft spaces is suitable for the analysis of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» because the core notion of this new Swiss spatial planning concept is the use of action spaces with overlapping boundaries. Since the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» does not contain any information on how the action spaces were developed and the two concepts of soft and action spaces seem to have much in common at first sight, the concept of soft spaces is used here to investigate in what respect the characteristics of the Swiss action spaces correspond to those of soft spaces.

In short, the first aim of this master thesis is to investigate the positive and negative characteristics and consequences of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». A second intent is to analyse in what respect the action spaces the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» can be regarded as an example for the concept of soft spaces discussed in the spatial planning and human geography scholarship. In order to make these analyses, the following questions were investigated: How were the action spaces as the core concept of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» developed? In what respect do the action spaces of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» represent the social, porous and networked nature of soft spaces? In what way does the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» make planning more efficient and effective?

2 Development of the Raumkonzept Schweiz

Firstly, it will be first outlined how spatial planning in Switzerland operates, focussing on the important elements and peculiarities to embed the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› in the greater spatial planning arena. Secondly, it will be drafted why and how the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› developed and what its aims are. For this purpose, the history of spatial planning in Switzerland will be briefly described. The Federal Statute on Regional Planning, in operation since 1979, has been revised in the years 1995 and 1998 until, in 2005, the Spatial Development Report [Raumentwicklungsbericht] identified challenges for the spatial planning in Switzerland and laid the foundation for the development of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. Following that, it will be shortly shown how the development process of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› worked, who the involved parties were and how it was implemented.

2.1 Background

Prior to describing the development process of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, it must be explained how spatial planning in Switzerland and its decision-making processes work, and where the possibilities to influence spatial development lie. Spatial planning is a task of coordination: the aim is to coordinate and control everything that affects our living space, so that the result corresponds as far as possible to the desired goal (Ruch, 2014). There are several reasons to build on the existing spatial planning tools. Firstly, the present set of tools has been built up over 35 years on the federal, cantonal and communal levels and has been continuously developed further. Secondly, the tools are more or less well known to the numerous actors at all levels, and thirdly, the terms are, at least to some extent, used uniformly. The extensive spatial planning ‹toolbox› can only gradually and gently be further developed due to the following reasons: A whole new or decisively modified set of instruments would take a long time to be as well known and used as the traditional one. This is particularly evident when one considers that spatial planning affects all people in this country because, thanks to the extensive direct democracy, they are often able to co-decide. It is therefore important that people of all the different parts of the country are able to understand the functioning of spatial planning and the decisions made in the basic guidelines. Federalism (the delegation of the decisions, if possible, to the people concerned) wants to take account of the spatial heterogeneity of

Switzerland. The spatial planning of the 26 cantons and some 2'300 municipalities needs a common direction and general rules that are set down in national law. For all these reasons, the Swiss spatial planning is like a heavy ship, which cannot change its direction of travel immediately.

Since spatial planning in Switzerland is organised in a federalist manner, the following points about the decision-making levels need to be kept in mind: On the one hand, the state enacts principles in the Federal Statute on Regional Planning [Raumplanungsgesetz (RPG)] for spatial planning that apply to all levels of government (e.g. economic development of settlements). On the other hand, however, the federal government also issues its own spatial plans in the RPG (e.g. motor- and railways). The cantons are comprehensively responsible for spatial planning wherever the federal law does not hold jurisdictions. They issue a cantonal spatial planning law, in which the details of spatial planning and the competencies are outlined. They also decide which competencies the regions and municipalities have. In most cantons, the municipalities enjoy considerable freedom in spatial planning in most cantons. Within the limitations of the federal and cantonal guidelines, they determine how their local development is to be advanced. This planning cascade normally ensures that all important concerns and issues are included in decisions. Central to today's spatial planning right is the comprehensive interest weighing [umfassende Interessenabwägung]. It demands that the various objectives, which are often conflicted, are systematically discussed and alternatives are weighed against each other. Finally, the solution being chosen is the one that optimally accounts for the various objectives. The issue with such a decision-making based on a comprehensive weighing is the high probability of disagreements, which most probably prolongs the decision-making process. This is why a large planning discretion is given to the authorities responsible for spatial planning.

2.1.1 Federal Statute on Regional Planning (1979) and its Revisions

In 1979, the Federal Statute on Regional Planning was established, which created uniform rules for spatial planning throughout Switzerland. The Swiss spatial planning law uses mainly the following instruments to engage in settlement development:

- It sets out objectives and principles: The objectives and principles of the spatial planning guide are the basis for all decisions of all authorities. They are part of the interest weighing of the authorities. The general rules of the Federal Statute on Regional Planning need to be concretised. It is the task of the cantonal structure plans to develop strategies that implement the objectives in an appropriate manner for the situation.
- It provides planning instruments: The federal government, cantons and municipalities must use federal sectoral plans [Sachpläne], cantonal structure plans [Richtpläne] and communal land use plans [Landnutzungspläne]. Sectoral plans and structure plans are strategic planning instruments binding for authorities. In their numerous forms of use, communal land use plans, in addition, are operative instruments and binding for all.
- It establishes planning procedures: Spatial planning procedures have to comply with federal rules. This includes the consultation of the population before decisions are made, the obligation to comprehensively weigh up all essential interests, and the possibility of judicial review of the planning decisions. In addition, a cantonal authority must approve municipalities' land use plans. These procedural rules contribute significantly to the quality of the decision-making process, because they are capable of providing compliance to the rules.

A criticism about this law is that it is too complicated and vaguely formulated so that its execution is almost impossible. Further, almost no economic incentive systems are incorporated. Its focus is on planning and judicial structures. Another critique of this article is that not enough horizontal and vertical coordination is implemented. Due to those disadvantages, two so-called ‹RPG-Revisions› were made in order to improve the legal basis of spatial development. In the RPG-revision of 1995, a change of governance was made. The competence shifted from communal to cantonal level, which gave the cantons more capabilities in planning concerns. The second RPG-revision, in 1998, dealt with the issue of construction outside the building zones [Bauen ausserhalb von Bauzonen]. Even though, these RPG-revisions have helped making the Federal Statute on Spatial Planning more applicable, there are constantly arising new challenges for Swiss spatial planners (e.g. living and working space, mobility, agriculture, transport, energy, etc.).

2.1.2 Spatial Development Report 2005

The Spatial Development Report deals with key questions about the development of agglomerations and rural areas, as well as the relationships between these areas. Within this report, it was outlined that the current spatial development was not sustainable. It was disclosed that the competitive capability of metropolitan spaces was not assured in the long term. The population and the workplaces were too much concentrated in metropolises and economic performance of rural areas was sometimes low. Furthermore, there was a tendency of social and functional disintegration in agglomerations and the expansion of agglomerations would enhance mobility and urban sprawl. Additionally, it was claimed that building zones were sometimes too large and badly strategically located (Steiger et al., 2005, 12). Due to all these impairments, it was thought that a new concept was needed enabling all levels of authorities to communicate more easily and to coordinate spatial issues more effectively. On 11 May 2006 the Federal Department of Environment, Transport, Energy and Communication DETEC, the Conference of cantonal governments [Konferenz der Kantonsregierungen (KdK)], the Swiss Conference of directors of building, planning and environmental protection [Bau-, Planungs- und Umweltdirektoren-Konferenz (BPUK)], the Swiss Cities Association [Schweizerischer Städteverband (SSV)] and the Association of Swiss Communes [Schweizerischer Gemeindeverband (SGV)] decided to develop a spatial concept that would promote Swiss competitiveness, solidarity and cohesion of all parts of Switzerland as well as a sustainable management of the scarce resource <land>. As a result, the declaration to develop the <Raumkonzept Schweiz> was made in 2006.

2.2 Participatory Development Process 2007-2008

The development process of the <Raumkonzept Schweiz> had a new element. It was the first time that the federal government, the cantons, cities and municipalities worked together on finding an overall spatial dividing construction of Switzerland. On the 11th May 2006 all three state levels, represented by DETEC, KdK, BPUK, SSV and the SGV agreed to work out a spatial concept for Switzerland. The aim of this concept was to achieve a spatial development that no longer only operates within the statutory cantonal boundaries but rather works within overlapping spaces, the so-called <action spaces> (see Figure 1). The concept should also support and stimulate the Swiss competitive-

ness, the coherence of the different parts of Switzerland and a more efficient use of the scarce resource <land>.

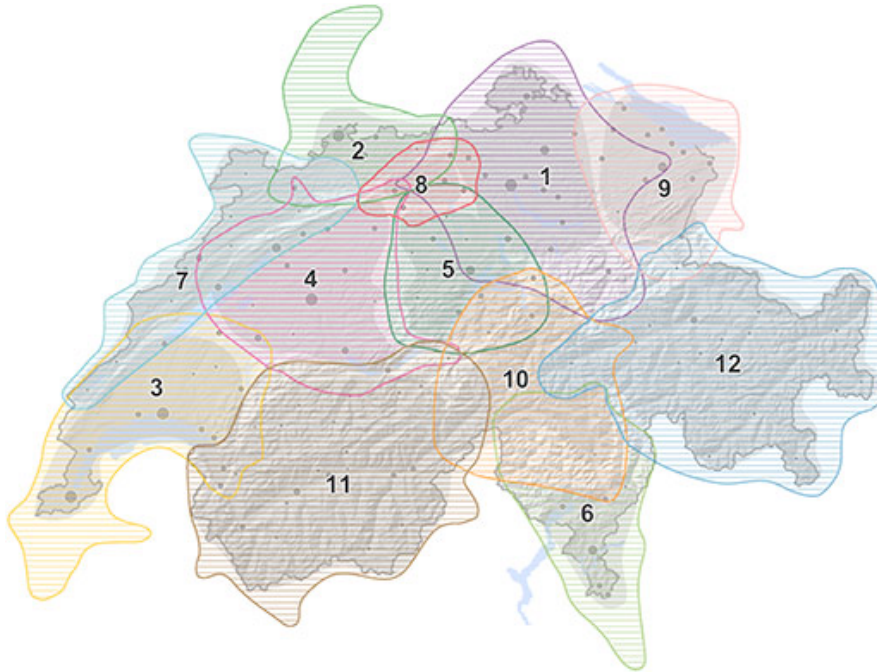


Fig. 1 – Detecting Twelve Action Spaces: 1 Metropolitanraum Zürich, 2 Trinationaler Metropolitanraum Basel, 3 Métropole Lémanique, 4 Hauptstadtregion Schweiz, 5 Luzern, 6 Città Ticino, 7 Jurabogen, 8 Aareland, 9 Nordostschweiz, 10 Gotthard, 11 Westalpen, 12 Ostalpen

In the agreement for the joint development of a spatial concept Switzerland [Vereinbarung zur gemeinsamen Erarbeitung eines Raumkonzeptes Schweiz] (UVEK; KdK; BPUK; SGV & SSV, 2006, 4) the following working steps were outlined: Before undergoing any conceptual work, the partners should agree upon an analysis of the development situation and the current problems. Furthermore, the partners should agree on a common definition of <sustainable development> and its operationalization by means of criteria or indicators. The goal was not to simply develop the <Raumkonzept Schweiz>, but to also politically present it to the federal government, the cantons, cities and municipalities. The five bearers formed a joint project organisation and set up a technical working group as well as a political monitoring group, each with representatives of the three state levels. The technical working group discussed suggestions made by the ARE, proposed texts and maps and made comments for the political monitoring group. The political monitoring group discussed the results of the various working phases. To ensure that the <Raumkonzept Schweiz> was not only developed by specialists and politicians, around 50 to 80 regional experts and decision-makers were encouraged to introduce

their ideas into the design process. These forums served as a link between the political monitoring group, the technical working group and the broader public (ARE: Erarbeitung des Raumkonzepts Schweiz, Access: 02.02.17).

Organisational Structures (UVEK, KdK, BPUK, SGV & SSV, 2006, 2):

- A political accompanying group
- A technical working group
- Forums for the participation of the population

The goal of the so-called exchange-forum [Austausch-Forum] in May 2007 was to create a network between the different spaces and to understand the challenges of spatial development on a national scale. The participants discussed four questions, which were described in most forums as a challenge for future spatial development: The specialisation of the spaces, the settlement development, governance and the connection of Switzerland to Europe. It was agreed that, with regard to international competitiveness, specialisation of the spaces was needed. However, such specialisation had to be 'bottom-up' processes. The regions themselves had to recognise their strengths and potentials to specialise in. This bottom-up approach would maintain diversity among the regions and lead to a stable mix of specialisation. Thereby, rural areas should not simply be complementary spaces to urban areas, but should be perceived as partners entitled to development. It was noted that not only the regions' specialisation was important, but also that the various instruments available for settlement development were needed to be applied more consistently. Complementary tools such as performance agreements and compensation mechanisms are also possible remedies. The federal government could support cooperation in the regions based on the model of the agglomeration programs. Generally, the consolidation of settlement areas and of sites well developed by public transport is considered important. At the same time however, the danger of consolidation was also pointed out. It is difficult to remove building land reserves [Baulandreserven] or to move the construction zones to the best locations. Reimbursement mechanisms that compensate for the quitclaim of building land of privates or communities are lacking here. The federal government should develop instruments to promote cooperation across borders. Performance agreements could also support the implemen-

tation of cross-border projects. With a reorganisation of competences, the responsibility of granting permits could be made dependent on the importance of a project: national importance – federal government, regional significance – cantonal government, communal importance – communal government. Contacts with international bodies are to be maintained or developed. The international transport connections are a vital requirement for the connection to Europe. The federal government should therefore create instruments that allow planning without borders. The positioning and strengthening of the metropolitan spaces creates favourable conditions for the ability to compete internationally and helps to maintain Switzerland's economic position right in the middle of Europe (ARE, 2007a, 2-4).

In August and September of 2008, the participants of the perspective-forums, which were regional researchers and decision makers that acted as a connection between the planning group and the public, met for so-called «echo forums». In these forums, it was examined to what extent the provisional design of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» fulfilled the requirements elaborated in the perspectives forums. Recommendations and suggestions that had been made at the perspective-forums were included in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» and presented to the public three years later.

2.3 Consultation 2011

In 2011 a broad public consultation on a draft concept of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» was held. Numerous interest organisations in and around Switzerland took the opportunity to present their concerns. The Federal Office for Spatial Development ARE received about 200 responses and summarised those feedbacks in a consultation report. These were then incorporated into the revised «Raumkonzept Schweiz» (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012).

Due to the feedback received, the following adaptations were made:

- The significance of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» as a voluntary, but tripartite-supported orientation framework for spatial development was clarified.
- In addition to the urban spaces, the significance of the rural and alpine areas was presented in a more differentiated way.

- The energy supply and its necessary coordination with transport and settlement were laid out more deeply.
- The core statements were compiled in three strategies.
- Within each strategy it was shown, which contributions can be made by each of the three state levels to obtain a sustainable spatial development.
- Regional concerns were incorporated in the strategic development for the twelve action spaces and the action spaces' perimeters were also drawn less rigidly (defining action spaces with fuzzy boundaries).

2.4 Publication 2012

The ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› was published and distributed to spatial planners all over Switzerland in 2011. In the final version of the concept, five goals and three strategies are outlined to be implemented in the twelve action spaces (see Table 1, Table 2 & Figure 2).

Goals and Strategies of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›	
Five Goals:	Three Strategies³:
1) Promote settlement quality and regional diversity	1) Form action spaces and strengthen the polycentric network of cities and municipalities
2) Protect natural resources	2) Upgrade settlements and landscapes
3) Control mobility	3) Coordinate transport, energy and regional development
4) Strengthen competitiveness	
5) 'Live' solidarity	

Tab. 1 – Goals and Strategies outlined in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›

Twelve Action Spaces		
Metropolitan Character:	Provincial Character:	Alpine Character:
- Metropolitanraum Zürich	- Luzern	- Gotthard
- Trinationaler Metropolitanraum Basel	- Città Ticino	- Westalpen
- Métropole Lémanique	- Jurabogen	- Ostalpen
- Hauptstadtreion Schweiz	- Aareland	
	- Nordostschweiz	

Tab. 2 – The Twelve Action Spaces of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›

³ See also Appendix

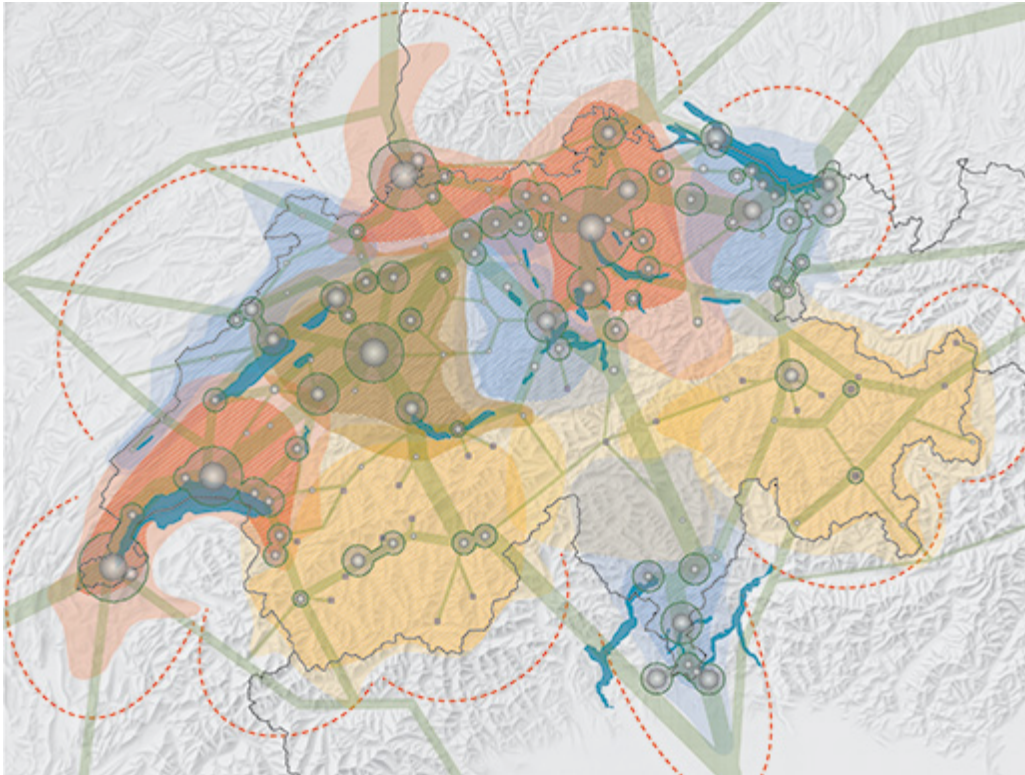


Fig. 2 – The Twelve Action Spaces and the Polycentric Network of Cities and Municipalities

(Action Spaces as they are in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz»: Red = Metropolitanräume, Brown = Hauptstadtregion Schweiz, Blue = Klein- & mittelstädtisch geprägte Handlungsräume, Yellow = Alpine Handlungsräume)

2.5 Application of the Raumkonzept Schweiz

The application of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» is the responsibility of each authority of the three state levels. To incorporate their activities in relation to the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» and to benefit from the experience of others, the political monitoring group decided, at its last meeting in January 2013, to build up a tripartite core team. This team, in which the ARE and the branch offices of KdK, BPUK, SSV and SGV are represented, is responsible for the information exchange, coordination and monitoring of the implementation of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». The focus hereby is on areas, in which the federal, cantonal and communal governments must cooperate particularly closely. Such areas are for example the development of an agglomeration policy, the development of an overall strategy for rural areas and the coordination of transport and space. The tripartite team should also provide impetus for the further development of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». It should also ensure that experts are consulted in cases of technical questions, and that in cases of strategic questions, politicians are approached (ARE: Erarbeitung des Raumkonzepts Schweiz).

3 Methodology

3.1 Qualitative Research Approach

A qualitative research approach was chosen to collect the data for this thesis. The focus of this approach is on the adequacy of methods and theories, the consideration and analysis of different perspectives and the reflection of researchers. It does not work in artificial laboratory situations, but rather investigates research objects in everyday contexts (Flick, 2011, 26-27). The approach considers different perspectives and shows «research subject's» knowledge and actions. Researchers have to reflect their own actions and should be aware that their own behaviour can, and most probably does, influence their work (Flick, 2011, 29).

Research and evaluation methods should be chosen according to the research questions and aim of the work (Flick, 2011, 132). This master thesis consists of textual analysis of the twelve action spaces of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz», literature research on the concept of soft spaces and guided interviews with fifteen experts representing the federal, cantonal, communal and city government actors, as well as with advisers in spatial matters and regional managers. The textual analysis provided information about how the action spaces are defined and demarcated. The focus here is on four case studies of the twelve action spaces of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz»: «Metropolitanraum Zürich», «Aareland», «Nordostschweiz» and «Ostalpen». These particular case studies were chosen because each one is characterised differently: «Metropolitanraum Zürich» is a big-city space, «Aareland» and «Nordostschweiz» are small- and middle-city spaces and «Ostalpen» is an alpine action space. With action spaces of different spatial characteristics, it is possible to achieve a broad spectrum of interviewees' statements. The literature research on scientific papers about soft spaces, provided information about the characteristics and reasons for the development and implementation of soft spaces. After having collected scientific papers about the concept of soft spaces, these works were skimmed and scanned to get an idea of what aspects this concepts incorporates and to find out what different kinds of definitions were used in scientific writings. The various definitions of the papers and books were compared and the different characteristics were written down to find out which aspects were mentioned how often. Based on this qualitative content analysis (after Mayring & Frenzl, 2010), a definition of the concept of soft spaces

was made particularly for this thesis. This definition was then used to find out in what respect the Swiss action spaces can be considered to be soft spaces. Additionally, expert interviews were conducted. The aim of the interviews was to learn more about the characteristics of the four chosen Swiss action spaces and to find out what the characteristic aspects, impacts and consequences of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› on the different government levels are.

3.2 Expert Interviews

There are different forms of expert interviews in literature. Within this thesis, systematising expert interviews were conducted. Such interviews are made in order to find out the experts' reflexive and spontaneously communicated practical knowledge and experiences (Bogner & Menz, 2002, 37). Experts are herewith advisors, who assist researchers in accessing specific expertise that would otherwise not be accessible. The aim was to obtain data that is thematically comparable (Bogner & Menz, 2002, 38). For these systematising interviews, two sets of interview guides were made: one for the interviews with governmental actors and one for the interviews with advisors and managers (see Appendix II ‹Interview Guides›).

3.2.1 Sampling

Within the qualitative research approach, there are various sampling strategies. In this thesis, a targeted and careful selection of cases that are rich of information was required. Therefore, the choice of interview partners for this thesis was by selected purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990, 169). This means, interviewees were chosen based on their relevance within a specific case group (Patton, 1990, 176). Their relevance is based on distinct criteria that were set before the actual sampling. Twelve expert interviews were conducted with people who are or were responsible for the spatial planning on federal, cantonal or communal level. Another three interviews were conducted with project managers and directors of bureaus working in the field of spatial planning. The experts are characterised by a broad knowledge of the regulation and implementation of spatial planning measures. With these experts, opinions on the subject of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, its consequences and future use were discussed. In order to arrange the interviews, the heads of the different administrative units and bureaus were contacted via e-mail. These people then decided to do the interview themselves or they suggested peo-

ple who were willing to give an interview. Most of the discussions were individual interviews. Solely two interviews were made with two experts present (interview at the ARE and «Regionalplanung Zürich und Umgebung RZU» [Regional Planning Zurich and Surroundings]). Regarding the government levels, one interview was held with representatives of the Federal Office for Spatial Planning, five interviews with representatives of the cantonal and five with representatives of the communal or city level. Additionally, two interviews were done with experts on regional planning.

3.2.2 Conducting the Interviews

For the interviews, a semi-standardised guideline was developed. This provided a thematic structuring and ensured that the most important points were addressed during the conversations. The aim was to gain information about the interviewees' knowledge of and subjective experiences with the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». For the evaluation of the data, the discussions were recorded whenever possible and transcribed according to content relevance. During all the interviews, handwritten notes were taken and post-scripts were made after each conversation. The duration of the interviews was from 45 up to 90 minutes. All interviews took place in the second half of the year 2016. The first interviews were done at the beginning of September and continued at the end of October. Two more interviews were conducted at the end of November, respectively at the beginning of December. The gaps between the interview appointments allowed for a more detailed questionnaire for the subsequent meetings.

3.2.3 Evaluation of the Interviews

When interpreting the interviews and documents by means of qualitative content analysis, the focus was on statements with significance for the positive and negative consequences, and the changes that occurred and can be directly or indirectly linked to the implementation of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». For this evaluation the grounded theory approach after Strauss and Corbin (1996) was used. This approach does not require previous knowledge about the investigated subject and therefore allows to start with the evaluation without defining specific concepts or categories prior to the interpretation of the results. This helps to reduce the danger of concentrating on previously defined categories and to keep an open mind for new information. By using Strauss' and Corbin's open coding concept, the collected data could be compared and categorised

(1996, 40). Different parts of the interview transcripts and postscripts were compared and grouped according to similarity. The groups were then named and each group name then defined a concept (Strauss & Corbin, 1996, 44-45). This resulted in a large number of concepts. In order to maintain the overview over the various concepts, they were grouped into categories. This reduced the complexity of the interview transcripts so that connections and patterns between the various interview answers could be recognised and put into categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1996, 47-48). By using axial coding, the categories were refined and differentiated to be able to connect relations between the categories and to identify conflicting notions (Strauss & Corbin, 1996, 75-93). This evaluation was not a linear process, but rather a circular procedure, in which the open and axial coding alternated (Flick, 2011, 393).

3.2.4 Anonymisation of the Interviews

The experts' statements were anonymised. An anonymisation is justified by the research design, in which experts appear as representatives of a particular department or of an institution, rather than as private individuals. In order to be able to comprehend the line of argument of the various interviewees, the experts were randomly numbered. Each interviewee was given a number between one and fifteen. In the text, the experts are identified by the abbreviations <I1> (interviewee 1), <I2> (interviewee 2), etc. The appendix contains a list of the experts interviewed and information about their particular functions.

4 Theory: The Concept of Soft Spaces

In this part, the concept of soft spaces is addressed, which so far has mainly been used as a conceptual and analytical tool in British spatial planning literature since about the middle of the twentieth century (Haughton et al., 2010, 32). It is argued that changes in spatial planning were needed because a hierarchical politics no longer seems to be the appropriate tool to govern within a market-based form of today's governance (Haughton et al., 2013, 220 & 221). Therefore, the role of the state in capitalist societies has changed and focus was increasingly put on spatial strategy work at non-statutory scales. This could give rise to the implementation of new concepts. One of them are the so-called «soft spaces of planning» (Haughton et al., 2010, 239). Such soft spaces can be seen as «... spaces of governance that exist outside, alongside or in-between the formal statutory scales [of regional and local government]» (Haughton et al., 2013, 217). According to Haughton et al. (2013, 218) there are different causes for the use of soft spaces. First, the traditional administrative boundaries may no longer match the realities of how labour, mobility and housing markets perform. Second, if there are no ecological landmarks functioning as boundaries, soft spaces can be used for the delimitation of areas. The third reason for implementing soft spaces might be to create «shadowy spaces for legitimating deals...» In consequence, such spaces with fuzzy boundaries provide a functional planning tool for matching territorial boundaries and «real world» dynamics. Additionally, soft spaces reflect the desire to create forms of networked governance by highlighting the complexity of societal issues and institutions, and therefore help to cope with the complex issues of growth management or urban planning (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2706).

In his work, David Delaney (senior lecturer in law, jurisprudence and social thought at the Amherst College in Massachusetts) demonstrates the relationship between territorialisation and everyday social processes. Delaney's idea of defining territory is that a territorial process should not only be seen in places like fixed borders and checkpoints, but also in small scale signs (e.g. everyday processes like commuting). Therefore, Delaney approaches territory as a contested social process (Prytherch, 2008, 127 & 128). The concept of soft spaces in spatial planning might also be an example of not only using fixed borders, like state boundaries, but also taking the «reality» of movements and ad-

ministrative tasks into consideration. Such an approach might also correspond with Joe Painter's idea that territory is an effect of socio-technical practices and not a purely biological drive of humans (Painter, 2010, 1095). Hence, territory is the product of different processes of territorialisation, which might not be bound to statutory boundaries, but are engaged in the everyday and generated by network relations (Jackson, 2016, 293 & Painter, 2010, 1090 & 1115). Based on these ideas and concepts, this chapter focuses on the characteristics and usefulness of soft spaces in spatial planning. To better understand how soft spaces develop and function, two examples will be discussed: The Thames Gateway near London and macro-regions in the European Union.

4.1 What are Soft Spaces and Fuzzy Boundaries?

Even though Haughton et al. (2013, 217) defined soft spaces as «... spaces of governance that exist outside, alongside or in-between the formal statutory scales [of regional and local government]», there are various definitions in literature. Hence, despite recent works to clearly formulate what their main characteristics are, the definition of what embodies a soft space remains rather obscure. What is part of most definitions is that soft spaces are often seen as the counterpart to «hard» spaces. Such hard spaces are formally and legally defined statutory spaces of governance. They are most often delimited with regard to administrative structures of subnational government, and that have definite territorial boundaries (Haughton et al., 2010, cit. from Haughton et al., 2013, 218). However, it is seldom the case that there are either only hard or only soft spaces. In many cases, soft spaces exist alongside the statutory hard spaces and they often involve the establishment of new territorial bodies, which may challenge the existing territorial premises and formal techniques of governance (Haughton et al., 2013, 218 & 221). However, this does not mean that territorial politics no longer matter. Having both, soft and hard spaces, one should consider spaces as «bounded and porous, territorial and relational» (Morgan, 2007, 1247).

In most cases, soft spaces are used on subregional, city region or local scales and they are usually non-statutory. Despite their non-statutory nature, these new policy spaces do not have an influence on statutory plans at national, regional or local scales. In fact, Haughton et al. (2010, 239-240) pointed out that, because of the opportunity to engage in less regulated and guided interactions, the use of soft spaces provide greater oppor-

tunities for a range of non-planning actors to be involved in the planning process. This, in turn, allows for a more creative thinking. Although, most of these new spaces are non-statutory, they can have a strong influence on emerging statutory plans at national, regional and local scales (Haughton et al., 2010, 239-240). Soft spaces are often featured with ‹fuzzy boundaries›. The fuzziness is due to the nature of cultural and natural phenomena, such as identity politics and water catchment areas, which have imprecise demarcation (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2706 & Haughton et al., 2013, 218). The use of soft spaces and fuzzy boundaries will result in defining some subjects as stakeholders that would not have been taken into consideration in planning processes within statutory administrative boundaries. For example, if a government carries out spatial planning beyond its statutory borders, it may also interact and make arrangements with the private sector, the civil society and representatives of other entities (Haughton et al., 2013, 222). Soft spaces can also be used to initiate disputes about scales, spaces and territorial identities since they stimulate to re-consider scope, location and identity (Haughton et al., 2013, 218-219). If the use of soft spaces lead to success, they can ‹harden› or if they have achieved their goals, they can disappear (Metzger & Schmitt, 2012 & Haughton et al., 2012). Depending on the issues concerned, borders can be closed and regions bounded, and at the same time they can be open and permeable (Goodman, 2013, 1189). Notwithstanding, fuzziness may also be used to create uncertainty or to deliberately mask clarity over competencies to subvert them (Haughton et al., 2013, 218).

Because of the lack of a uniform definition in the literature, one had to be generated for this thesis. To investigate to what extent the action spaces of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› are an example of soft spaces, the following definition was used:

‹Soft spaces› are a particular type of space, constructed by various forms and levels of governance (bottom-up and/or top-down initiatives) to represent a geographical area not identical to the political-administrative scales of government and that exist alongside the ‹hard› statutory spaces. They are characterised by ‹fuzzy› non-rigid boundaries, and by a networked form of governance with relations stretched across the rigidities of political-administrative boundaries.

4.2 Reasons for using Soft Spaces in Spatial Planning

The advantage of having greater flexibility is that the formal scales of planning and rigid processes can be supported, complemented or even overturned when there are alternatives available. Such alternatives can be soft spaces (Haughton et al., 2010, 51-52). Soft spaces and fuzzy boundaries have numerous advantages for people involved in spatial planning processes. A common goal in today's world is to make operating processes more efficient. Using soft spaces in spatial planning can make the process of reaching goals more efficient in terms of time needed for processing planning applications or for turning ideas into actual development. In some cases, the facilitation and coordination of development issues that cross administrative boundaries, makes fuzziness almost a necessity for their implementation (for an example, see chapter 3.7.2 ‹Thames Gateway in the United Kingdom›). It is often the case in planning for housing and employment, that soft spaces and fuzzy boundaries are used as a way of overcoming administrative boundaries since they create competitive advantages by setting new formal processes (Haughton et al., 2010, 240-241). ‹Traditional› administrative politics can make functional planning across political, legal or statutory spaces challenging or even inadmissible. By working in soft spaces that likely entail non-statutory instruments, a new space for negotiations and mediations can be created. For example, making subregional plans implicate the inclusion of regional identity in spatial planning, which, in turn, can be included in formal statutory plans (Haughton et al., 2010, cit. from Haughton et al., 2013, 219). Hence, the use of soft spaces leads to a larger number of stakeholders to be involved in supra-regional transboundary planning.

4.3 Reasons against using Soft Spaces in Spatial Planning

The non-statutory character and involvement of various stakeholders in planning processes were mentioned as positive factors of spaces, but the new planning spaces of soft spaces also bring about challenges for the governance due to their non-statutory nature and concerns about public accountability. Region governance can consist of professionally staffed and permanently established joint committees of local authorities to ad hoc arrangements for processing certain plans and strategies. Fuzzy boundaries may create uncertainty over which geographical scale should have priority when it comes to government investments (Haughton et al., 2010, 241). If there is a tradition in a region of

working together, spatial plans appear «stronger and better aligned with delivery» (Haughton et al., 2010, 240). On the other hand, in some cases, local authorities, who might not be as familiar with working in spaces with fuzzy boundaries, they may be uncertain about the area and policy regime that should be applied. In such cases, local authorities probably would prefer clarity. Although a greater participation of different actors is granted by soft spaces, the participation does not coercively result in applicable politics (Haughton et al., 2013, 222). For example, the coordination and integration of the numerous concerns and requests by the various stakeholders can be very time consuming (Haughton et al., 2010, 51-52). Additionally, with a large number of stakeholders, the chance of sidestepping wider responsibilities is increased, especially those connected to the social justice and environmental aspects of sustainable development (Haughton et al., 2010, 241).

To plan in soft spaces with fuzzy boundaries and to govern in networked relations may result in an increased number of participating stakeholders and in a stronger region's competitiveness. However, the use of soft spaces can also be dangerous because social justice and environmental responsibilities may be more likely to be undermined when boundaries are not fix. To merely discuss advantages and disadvantages of soft spaces is not enough to understand why they have come into existence in spatial planning in the first place. On that account, the following sections addresses the circumstances of and reasons for the development of soft spaces.

4.4 Spatial Planning and the Post-Political Condition

«Post-political» is a framework that is increasingly used in human geography to understand the deeper purpose behind and wider implications of policy terms such as governance, partnership and sustainable development (Swyngedouw, 2007 & 2009, cit. from Allmendinger & Haughton, 2011, 90). The term «post-political condition» appeared in the Western world after the rise of liberal democracy by cause of the fall of Soviet Communism and the advancement of economic globalisation. Accordingly, people constituted their identities in more fluid, multiple and overlapping ways. This demanded for a new policy to move away from class-based politics (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2011, 91). Subsequently, economic development and planning became more intermixed, permeable, fuzzy and flexible. Planners and policy makers were then faced with profession-

al, sectoral and geographical fuzziness as well as new scales of governance. This required searching for ways to handle the complexity of governance through improved efforts to coordinate, regulate or integrate processes of different scales (Haughton et al., 2010, 50).

The post-political condition is sometimes criticised for being an over-optimistic view of liberal democracy achievements and that it would not put enough stress on the issues arising with new forms of democracy (Zizek, 2000, cit. from Allmendinger & Haughton, 2011, 91). In this framework, neoliberal thinking is perceived as a supporting element for the trend towards a depoliticised world because it promotes a new economic rationality that shifts public issues into the realm of the private (Giroux, 2004, 50). It is not only neoliberal thinking that reproduces the post-political predisposition, but also the concept of soft spaces is seen as a representation of operating in market-based forms of governance (Haughton et al., 2013, 219).

4.5 Neoliberalism and Spatial Planning

Neoliberalism incorporates an incredulous thinking about the ability of political authorities to govern well. Therefore, neoliberal governmentality promotes commodification, marketization and it tries to modify regulatory and institutional conditions in order to change the relationships between the state and individuals (Rose & Miller, 1992, cit. from Haughton et al., 2013, 220-221). In the field of spatial planning, neoliberalism has led to the promotion of economic development through specific planning activities (Olesen, 2012, 911). Moreover, by liberalising the market, neoliberalism can be seen as a political agenda that pushes for economic development (Olesen, 2012, 911). It can be argued that, in today's globalised world with an increase in flows, porosity and connectivity of scales, goods and people, it is no longer of much use to have politics bounded to rigid spaces. This puts the suitability of regions as analytical units and the practicality of territorial politics into question (Haughton et al., 2010, 48-49). The Foucauldian framework of *analytics of government* emphasises the role of «a complex of practical mechanisms, procedures, instruments, and calculations through which authorities seek to guide and shape the conduct and decisions of others in order to achieve specific objectives» (Lemke, 2007, 50). These may be used to bring forward individual citizens' issues rather than public social concerns. Governmentality involves a changing role of the state

and of the boundaries between the public and the private (Lemke, 2007, cit. from Haughton et al., 2013, 220). This makes governance systems more functionally differentiated with increased fuzziness of institutional boundaries and spatial horizons (Jessop, 2003, cit. from Haughton et al., 2010, 49). Today, there is a tendency to regard scale, and also territory, as pre-given (Jones, 2001, 1202), but planning policies sometimes have to come away from formal arenas in order to undermine current practices: «This search for new opportunities for strategic thinking and breaking away from pre-existing working patterns by working outside the formal requirements and rigidities of statutory planning is what seems to characterise soft spaces» (Olesen, 2012, 911-912).

Regional politics use and apply various relational networks that reach beyond certain bounded spaces, but are concurrently trapped in them. «Politics in practice still seems to retain a strong territorial focus, or at least territory seems still to provide a significant focus around which a range of political projects are organised» (Cochrane, 2012, 95). According to Painter (2012), to see territory as bounded containers remains the classic state space, even during times of dominating neoliberalism (Agnew, 1994, 56). In recent years, some scientific publications have tried to overcome this «territorial-relational impasse» by analysing how spaces are maintained despite their heterogeneity (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011, cit. from Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2704). This so-called «Assemblage Thinking» claims that places are complex and uniquely configured by local and global factors, obscuring the opposed nature of structures and agencies. This approach might help to better understand how soft spaces work in the everyday planning, but the «Assemblage Thinking» has so far mainly been an abstract concept and has only little impinged spatial development (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2704). Thereupon, the next section will focus on the reasons for developing and using soft spaces in the spatial planning field.

4.6 The Emergence of Soft Spaces

As demonstrated above, there has been a paradigm shift in the spatial governance. The change has not only been in terms of an increased number of territorial governance stakeholders, but also qualitatively with the rise of new networks of actors (Haughton et al., 2013, 217). Regions should no longer be understood as pre-given, bounded entities, but instead as fluid and contested processes of different understandings of regional and

cultural identities. This means that regions are in motion and identities are socially and politically constructed rather than pre-given (Haughton et al., 2010, 49). Much more focus has been put on the development of new planning spaces in order to better understand regionalisation (Allmendinger et al., 2015, 1). Exploring spaces' social, porous and networked nature, can lead to a relational view of spaces. This view highlights «first, that space is constituted through an infinite set of multilayered interactions; second, that space is understood to contain the potential for multiplicity as an expression of social plurality; and third, that space is recognised as being constantly under construction» (Goodwin, 2012, 2). Planners more and more recognise the need to work within multiple spaces (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2705). Whilst planning still needs its fixed boundaries for formal plans, planning also needs to work through other spaces because of the increased complexity of «real world dynamics» and relations across a range of scales (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2009, 619). Thinking and acting relationally and territorially at the same time can be made possible by the practices of soft spaces and fuzzy boundaries (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2705-2706). Non-statutory soft spaces and fuzzy boundaries do not replace existing formal scales of planning, but rather co-exist with them as they are introduced by various agents (e.g. government departments and other people concerned) for specific purposes (Haughton et al., 2010, 241-242).

Since there are various forms of changes, there are also different reasons for the growing use of soft spaces. However, most reasons are associated with a change in policy in order to break away from the existing spatial planning patterns due to their slowness, bureaucracy and failure of reflecting «the real geographies of problems and opportunities» (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2009, 619). Some policy makers argue that there is a functional discrepancy between traditional fixed boundaries and daily realities (Haughton et al., 2013, 218). Thereupon, one driver of soft spaces is to detect mismatches between territorial boundaries and everyday activities (e.g. crossing cantonal borders to travel to work) by addressing new interest groups beyond existing territorial dimensions and by introducing network spaces to territorial forms of governance. These networks are yet another aspect of the emergence of soft spaces. Networked governance is desired to reflect the multiplicity of societal and institutional concerns (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2706). Soft spaces can also develop in cases of difficulties in setting boundaries according to ecological systems like rivers and valleys (Haughton et al., 2013, 218). Another driver of soft spaces are questions over competences. Governing at multiple levels

involves conflicts about authority. It may be unclear which actor of what level is responsible for a specific task. Soft spaces can then be used to challenge or obscure where actual power is held (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2706). Related to that, they, on the other hand, can be used to disguise or legitimate <problematic> deals (Haughton et al., 2013, 218).

4.7 Examples of the Use of Soft Spaces

4.7.1 The Thames Gateway in the United Kingdom

Regional planning in the United Kingdom (UK) has been «stuck with the boundaries of standard regions» and changes occur slowly and seldom. The creation of new subregions can help to address this issue and to rework internal geographies. In recent years, new statutory regional spatial strategies have been established and regional thinking in economic development has been promoted (Haughton et al., 2010, 51). An example of such establishments and thinking is the <Thames Gateway> near London (see Figure 3).

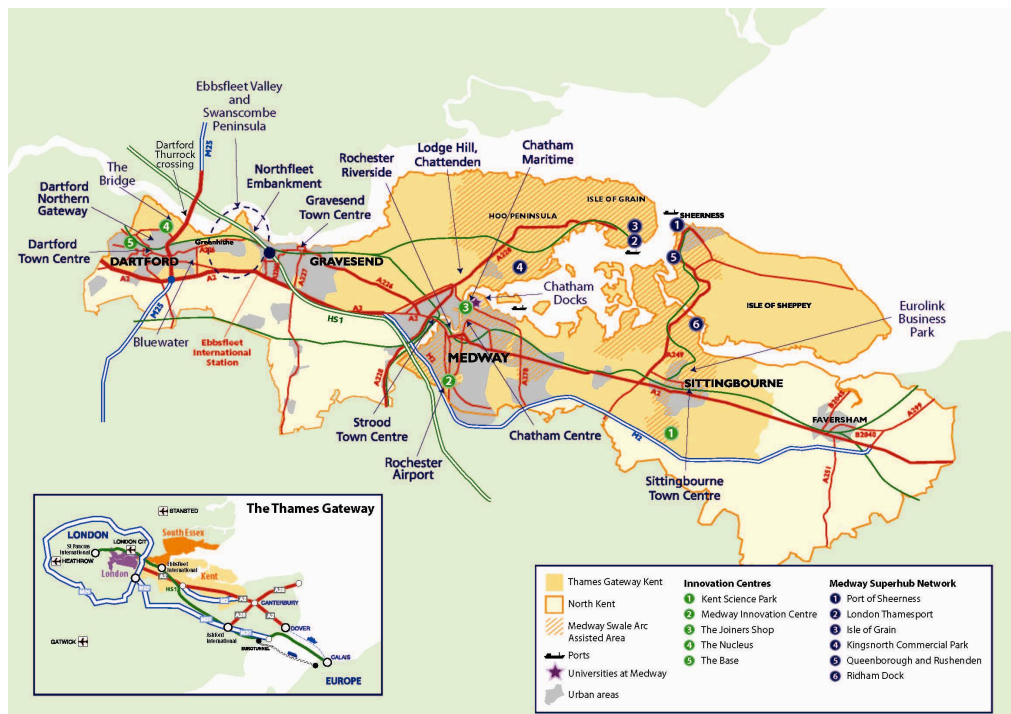


Fig. 3 – The Thames Gateway

In the UK, the Thames Gateway area is currently the largest regeneration project (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2009, 617). The aim of the project is to boost the economy of the whole region of London, Kent and Essex through the development of land that has been previously used as farmland or for industrial purposes. Regenerating town centres,

building new towns from scratch, creating new business spaces, shops, schools, etc. are just a few programs of the project. It is not only the largest regeneration project, but also one of the country's largest governance challenges. The plan is to have a cluster of cities, towns and villages around the Thames estuary, which will each be different and individual, but at the same time networked together. As the Thames Gateway area lies eastwards from East London on both banks of the rivers Thames, it shares its boundaries with no other statutory body. However, there is a Thames Gateway Strategy team within the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) that provides leadership, integrates the work of various central government departments, and directly intervenes with partners when necessary (NAO, 2007, 14). Within the Thames Gateway area there are subareas, whose boundaries do not correspond to those of the existing political and functional ones. Therefore, the project has a high complexity on various levels. There are three different subregional partnerships (Thames Gateway London, Thames Gateway South Essex and Thames Gateway Kent Partnership). Hence, the area includes parts of three different standard government regions. Additionally, there is a network of local delivery partners with various governance styles and there are also sixteen local authorities that are wholly or partly located within the Gateway. Furthermore, essential services (Police, health, water, gas, etc.) also have to be considered (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2009, 617-618).

Due to the complexity described above, the Thames Gateway entitles different informal scales and spaces. Despite the heterogeneity of stakeholders involved, the formal scales of planning are still of great importance. Instead of applying solely soft or hard spaces, it is important to find frameworks that incorporate the reality of how the complex networks work. These interconnections stretch across time and spaces and come together in particular local places at certain moments. All the parallel strategies should work with and through the boundaries of different institutional level. Such frameworks that vary in their degree of formality and link to the statutory planning system, are vital to the regeneration of the Thames Gateway (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2009, 631-632).

4.7.2 Macro-Regions in the European Union

At the beginning of the development of the concept of soft spaces, they were used in the context of new governance arrangements for spatial planning and regional development in the UK and referred to the emergence of «alternative administrative geographies»

(Haughton & Allmendinger, 2008, 143). Such «unusual» or non-standard regions (Deas & Lord, 2005, 1848) are applicable for the increase in supra-national cooperative arrangements in Europe, which indicate the relevance of non-territorial regions in European spatial policy. Spatial governance in the European Union (EU) more frequently addresses the tensions between the state-bounded territorial and relational networked governance through the emergence of new spaces (e.g. macro-regions) (Stead, 2011). Such spaces provide a tool to bridge statutory legal issues with the complexity of the relational and networked everyday life (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2704).

The EU is a «club of self-contained nation-states» (Faludi, 2009, 35). Formal political structures strongly influence spatial policies, even if the concept of soft spaces is pushed forward to overcome the established geographic perspectives. Within the EU, issues of territorial and relational space are present, especially between nation-state territoriality and supranational mandates. Additionally, policy making in the EU is highly heterogeneous. For example, there are no transposed mandates in the field of spatial planning. Therefore, soft spaces have not only found their place within the field of spatial planning, but they also emerged as a tool to handle such complex, cross-territorial situations (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2706-2707). To reduce the complexity, the EU created so-called «macro-regions». They are developed as a new form of European territorial cooperation since 2006 in regions with common geographical characteristics (Dubois et al., 2009) because many stakeholders were not happy with how cross-border and transnational cooperation (e.g. water purification control) was working. Therefore, a spatial framework was needed for such policies to fit into (Allmendinger et al. 2014, 2712). The macro-regions were a tool to find remedy. They are implemented through multilateral committees, which exist alongside formal institutions and work within already existing frameworks. The key governance elements are so-called «Priority Areas» that address various policy fields. A large amount of different actor constellations and geographical boundaries can be relevant for the different Priority Area's tasks (Stead, 2011, 165). Priority Areas are open to different stakeholders, operate spatially flexible and can overlap. These are all features that are also attributed to soft spaces. However, because some decisions are made by national ministries or other governmental committees, macro-regions also have hard elements (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2712). For example, the soft borders can harden through newly implied border controls (Bialasiewicz et al., 2005, 333). Hard and soft spaces can coexist and develop dynamically. This can also be seen in

the context of European integration. Macro-regions show that even a very intense discussion on soft spaces, does not necessary weaken the hard spaces of national planning (Allmendinger et al., 2014, 2714). The concept of soft and hard spaces is applied in the «territorial politics of European Union spatial policy» and can be seen in the development of macro-regions in the EU (Metzger & Schmitt, 2012).

The Danube (Macro-) Region

The «Danube Region» covers parts of nine EU countries (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia) and five non-EU countries (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Ukraine and Moldova). The different parts of the fourteen countries were combined into macro region because the countries face the following common challenges: Environmental threats (water pollution, floods, climate change), unused shipping potential, lack of road and rail transport connections, insufficient energy connections, uneven socio-economic development, uncoordinated education and research systems as well as a deficit in safety and security issues. To address these challenges, the coordination and cooperation between the countries and regions needs to be improved. The EU took action and formed the «Danube Region» because the majority of the countries concerned are EU members, many of above mentioned challenges are covered by EU policy and the EU is in a good position to facilitate cooperation because it is an independent player with respected authority.

Source: European Commission

5 Results

To recall the definition of soft spaces to analyse in what respect the Swiss action spaces can be considered soft space it is mentioned here again:

«Soft spaces» are a particular type of space, constructed in times of market-based governance to represent a geographical area that is not identical to the political-administrative one. Soft spaces are sub-regions that exist alongside the «hard» statutory spaces incorporating their specific roles. They are characterised by «fuzzy» boundaries, and by a social, porous and networked form of governance with relations stretched across the rigidities of political-administrative boundaries.

5.1 Case Studies of Four Action Spaces

The action spaces of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» are deliberately demarcated with no sharp boundaries. They can overlap, so that areas of individual cantons can belong to two or more action spaces. The actors in the affected areas are the specialists who can identify such overlaps since they know best which tasks require transboundary cooperation. These actors must ensure that they also incorporate the sub-areas that lie in the transitional area between different actions spaces into their projects, meet their specific needs and make use of the potentials of these areas. The stakeholders have to specify the directions and parameters of the action spaces in their work, identify further challenges and strengths of their areas and develop the necessary approaches to progress sustainably. Approaches for strengthening the individual spaces through cooperation and partnerships with other areas, respectively the intensification of existing cooperation are of particular importance (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 64). In the next section, the four action spaces «Metropolitanraum Zürich», «Aareland», «Nordostschweiz» and «Ostalpen» are introduced. The characteristics of these action spaces and their strategic objectives are briefly described. Furthermore, the essence of the cantons and cities, of which representatives were interviewed, is depicted.

5.1.1 Introduction to the Four Action Spaces

Metropolitanraum Zürich

The action space «Metropolitanraum Zürich» [Metropolitan Space Zurich⁴] comprises the cantons of Zurich, Schaffhausen, Zug and parts of the cantons of Thurgau, St. Gallen, Aargau, Lucerne and Schwyz. Its extended area reaches to southern Germany, to the lake of Lucerne and Walensee. The metropolitan space Zurich has a high economic performance due to a broad value-added industry portfolio, in which the internationally competitive financial cluster is especially strong. The transport, communication and creative sectors, the numerous export-oriented industrial companies, as well as the national and international appeal as a location for education, research and culture, together with city tourism, also contribute to the high performance. The excellent integration of the metropolitan space into the national and international transport networks (airport, railway, national roads) as well as the attractive urban centres, diverse landscapes and recreation areas, are central location factors. It is therefore important to strengthen the economic and cultural location factors of the metropolitan space Zurich without diminishing its extraordinary urban and rural qualities (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 66).

The strategic objectives outlined in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 66-68) are the following:

- To promote the preconditions for the «knowledge economy»
- To facilitate a high quality of living
- To promote metropolitan development foci
- To ensure diverse and attractive housing
- To ensure the long-term functioning of the airport
- To ensure intercity connections and the connection to the European Rail-High-Speed Network [europäisches Eisenbahn-Hochgeschwindigkeitsnetz (HGV-Netz)]
- To ensure the functioning of the S-Bahn in urban and suburban areas
- To ensure the operation of the road network
- To find common strategies for settlement development

⁴ Free translation by author

- To preserve the variety of landscape and recreational areas
- To improve and connect large agricultural areas
- To further develop the Metropolitan Conference Zurich [Metropolitankonferenz Zürich]

Canton and City of Zurich

Zurich is a German-speaking canton in the northeast of Switzerland (see Figure 4). It is the most populated canton in Switzerland and the largest part of the canton belongs to the agglomeration of the city of Zurich. Zurich is the strongest canton in economical terms, because of the many national and international companies and banks located in this area. With the University of Zurich and the Federal Institute of Technology located in the city of Zurich, it is also a university centre (Wild & Schwick, 2014, 2).



Fig. 4 – Canton of Zurich

Zurich has been and still is highly affected by urban sprawl. The striking increase in urban sprawl and land use since 1960 can be explained by the economic upturn that have started since that decade. The good commuting possibilities and the ever-increasing land consumption per person have also contributed to an increase in urban sprawl (Wild & Schwick, 2014, 9). As one of the interviewees (I15) said, the canton is divided into strong urban areas on the one hand, and rural areas on the other hand. Mobility is

therefore an important issue of the cantonal planners. The public transport network is very dense, individual mobility is guaranteed with a highly developed road network and the airport ensures the international linkage (Wild & Schwick, 2014, 2). Within this framework, the canton cannot just plan for itself, but has to consult with other stakeholders. Here, according to a spatial planner, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› may be used as a starting point for discussions. When it comes to concrete planning however, the cantonal structure plans are of much greater importance (I4). According to one of the interview partners (I11), the ‹Metropolitanraum Zürich› is a pioneer. He argued that this is because it was in Zurich that cities could discuss issues on the same table with the cantons for the first time in the Tripartite Agglomeration Conference. However, in his opinion, the representatives of the canton of Zurich still prefer a ‹classic› top-down communication order from the federal government to cantons, regions and in the end municipalities.

Winterthur

Winterthur (see Figure 4) is the second-largest city in the canton of Zurich with about 112'300 inhabitants in 2017 (Winterthur, 2017). The demographic development in Winterthur ran parallel to its economic development. During the boom period between 1950 and 1970 the population grew rapidly. When the industrial sector was ousted by the growing service sector in the 1970s, the population stagnated. Since the turn of the century, the population has been growing noticeably again (Winterthur, 2014). What is special about Winterthur is that there is only one big city in the greater area and the other settlements consist of small communities. Winterthur therefore is a core city with all the necessary political, cultural and educational institutions (‹Wir sind selber jemand› [We are someone ourselves] (I13)). According to one of the interview partners, the future tasks for Winterthur are to stop urban sprawl, expand the infrastructure and improve the appreciation of public space. The last point though, is a challenging task because it is difficult to improve public space in an urban setting. Those points have to be achieved to maintain growth, a good population mix and a good mix between living and working. The relationship between housing and jobs should be balanced in Winterthur. This is why the spatial concept and the economic concept should be coordinated. The biggest issue is said to be the railway station that no longer has the capacity for the growing number of commuters. (‹Man sollte hier einen Neuanfang wagen.› [We should make a

fresh start here] (I13)). Winterthur also needs an appealing building development design: «Wenn die Stadt schön ist, kann man auch attraktiv bleiben in Zeiten, wenn es nicht so viele Arbeitsplätze gibt.» [If the city is nice, then it can also remain attractive in times of less workspace available.] (I13).

Aareland

The action space «Aareland» [Aare Land⁵] includes parts of the cantons of Aargau and Solothurn. Its extended area reaches to the northern Jura, the Limmattal and Lucerne. The small-scale urban villages, the river areas and the Jura chain are characteristics of the landscape (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 85). The «Aareland» is a diverse living and economic area. The agglomerations Aarau, Olten and Zofingen with their industrial centres form the core of this action space. Traffic and the rapid accessibility of these major centres are important factors for economic development. In the «Aareland», the east-west and north-south axes of traffic routes intersect. The region plays a major role in transit traffic and is the location of numerous companies that depend on good spatial accessibility. At the same time, being a «transit area» also leads to conflicts. The interview partners addressed issues with the public transport infrastructure. In the «Aareland», the areas of influence are the overlapping surrounding areas of Basel, Berne, Zurich and Lucerne. The area is faced with the challenge of maintaining an independent profile, benefiting from the proximity of the neighbouring centres, and at the same time, regulating settlement pressures (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 85).

The strategic objectives outlined in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» ((Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 85-86) are the following:

- To preserve the small-scale coexistence of landscape and cities
- To solve conflicts between transit traffic, national and regional transport
- To develop a strategy for dealing with traffic-intensive companies
- To promote the high-tech sector
- To preserve open spaces and agricultural areas
- To further develop the «AareLandRat»

⁵ Free translation by author

Canton of Aargau and City of Aarau

The canton of Aarau is located in the north of the German-speaking part of Switzerland (see Figure 5). Its population has increased from 1990 to 2015 by 30% to 635'317 people. In the last fifteen years the population increase was bigger than in the years before (Kanton Aargau, 2016, 6). Despite the overall increase in population in the canton, there are some municipalities experiencing a decrease in population. Most of these municipalities are in rural areas (Kanton Aargau, 2016, 8). The same can be seen in the number of employees, which increased in most parts of the canton, but declined in some more provincial municipalities (Kanton Aargau, 2016, 12). Therefore, some municipalities are no longer able to fulfil their communal tasks on their own. This results in municipality mergers. Surprisingly, people mostly take up such mergers rather positively. As one of the interview partners (I10) explained, if people understand why their hometown is fused with another one, they can adapt to such changes more easily. Furthermore, many younger people are no longer as much attached to the local community as people were in the past. It is mostly the elderly that resist to such changes, as they are the ones who are deeply rooted in the community. Planners try to find remedy to overcome the resulting uprooting discomforts by promoting the cohesion of the region, rather than of individual municipalities (I10). Here, the canton of Aargau orientates itself especially on Basel and Zurich. As another interviewee (I4) pointed out, location development does not stop at the cantonal boundaries and neither does the economic development. In this sense, it is important to promote a whole region and not just one canton. The region is promoted as an economic location by having the same taxation in the area for all legal entities. This means that the taxes are the same irrespective of a business' exact location within the canton (I10).

«Das Aareland ist wohl im Raumkonzept wegen der Kreuzung von Nord-Süd- und Ost-West-Verkehrsachsen. Die Drehscheibe ist die Autobahn und der Bahnhof in Olten» [The «Aareland» is probably in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» because there is a motorway junction: North-south and east-west conjunctions meet there. The traffic hub is the motorway and the railway in Olten] (I4). Due to this hub, network thinking has already developed in the year 2006 or even earlier. Because of the non-binding aspect of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz», the established network relations did not need adjusting (I4).



Fig. 5 – Canton of Aargau

Mobility is also a big issue in the city of Aarau because there are more people working than living there. Aarau tries to minimise individual traffic in the city and to match up the bus timetable to the one of the Swiss Federal Railways [Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB)] (I10). By doing this, the city planners try to make Aarau more attractive, not only for businesses but also residents (I10). The general thrust in Aarau is inner development and to use existing building land more effectively, to preserve urban open space and to promote public and slow transport (e.g. pedestrians, cyclists, skaters) (I10).

Nordostschweiz

The action space «Nordostschweiz» [North-East Switzerland⁶] is located in the international Bodensee-area. Its inner area comprises parts of the Thurgau, the main part of the canton of St. Gallen and the two Appenzell cantons. Its extended area reaches to Liechtenstein, the Vorarlberg and the German Bodensee region. This action space is closely intertwined with the metropolitan area of Zurich. It is characterised by a polycentric settlement structure with numerous small and medium-sized agglomerations, whose planning horizon goes beyond the country's borders. The importance of neighbouring prospering regions, such as Vorarlberg and Constance as well as the European metropolitan regions of Munich and Stuttgart is increasing. Numerous companies from the fields of mechanical engineering and nanotechnology are located in this action space.

⁶ Free translation by author

The ‹Nordostschweiz› is characterised by a diversity of identity, cultural and scenic qualities. The landscape constitutes of gentle and steep, often intensively used hilly countryside, which go into the wide Bodensee area in the north and into mountainous areas in the south. It is important to fully utilise the potentials arising from the proximity of international borders. In addition, the region's qualities in the field of knowledge and research must be used to its full capacity and tourism must be developed in accordance with the landscape's qualities (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 87).

The strategic objectives outlined in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 87-88) are the following:

- To strengthen the centre of St. Gallen
- To profile agglomerations and cities
- To profit even more of the closeness of the international border
- To develop cross-border spatial development strategies
- To use tourism potentials more sustainably
- To improve traffic connections to Zurich and the international Bodensee region
- To improve the cross-border S-Bahn network
- To ensure the functioning of the road network
- To responsibly use the pre-alpine and alpine areas
- To reevaluate lake and river landscapes
- To maintain and integrate agricultural areas

Canton and City of St. Gallen

St. Gallen is a canton in the German-speaking part of Switzerland that is located in the eastern region of the country (see Figure 6). The canton of St. Gallen is ranked fifth among all cantons of Switzerland in terms of population. The constant residential population in the canton has grown continuously since 2005. As the population growth in the canton of St. Gallen is smaller than in the whole of Switzerland, the share of the canton in the Swiss population as a whole falls steadily (Kanton St. Gallen, 2016, 5).



Fig. 6 – Canton of St. Gallen

The canton of St. Gallen is special, because it has an extreme regional policy. St. Gallen is strongly oriented towards the outside in its planning activities. It takes the neighbouring cantons' planning concepts into account. However, the majority of these cantons are not orientated towards St. Gallen. Networking is, due this traditional centrifugal orientation, deeply rooted in the canton of St. Gallen (19). Additionally, St. Gallen is the canton with the most borders (see Figure 7): it is adjacent to three countries and seven cantons. St. Gallen works a connection function between Zurich and Munich. Therefore, acting in functional spaces has existed at least since the year 2002 in the canton of St. Gallen. The result is that there is much national and international cooperation. The project exchange is intensive. The following example shows how the cooperative project exchange works: A place for travelling people to set up their temporary camp is sought. This task not only affects the canton of St. Gallen, but also its neighbouring cantons. A potential location was found in the Linth valley. The place however, is in the canton of Glarus. In consultations, it was agreed that the canton of St. Gallen would also co-finance this project (I11). The cantonal spatial concept was developed before the implementation of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». Environmental associations, municipalities and the economy were involved in the development process (19). Regarding the «Raumkonzept Schweiz», there is tension about St. Gallen's role and position in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz»: «Es ist ein Spannungsfeld wenn es darum geht, wo St. Gallen hingehört» [It is a field of tension when it comes to discussions to where St. Gallen belongs] (I11). Such discussions

bring different opinions to light and provide information on the reasons of somebody's line of argumentation. The «Raumkonzept Schweiz» is therefore a good mean for the transport of facts («Das «Raumkonzept Schweiz» ist gut für den Transport von Sachverhalten.») (I9).



Fig. 7 – Borders of the Canton of St. Gallen

The protection of the landscape, above all of still undeveloped urban areas, is of high importance in the city of St. Gallen (I9). Political demands with regard to mobility are unstable in St. Gallen. During one legislative term, the city government promotes public transport and low-speed traffic and the government of the subsequent period then favours private transportation means. This makes it difficult to plan. The traffic concept of the city states that public transportation and the slow traffic should be promoted, but their implementation is difficult (I11). Hence, no consensus has been reached in this arena.

Ostalpen

The trilingual area of the action space «Ostalpen» [Eastern Alps⁷] is strongly divided by its many valleys and oriented towards various directions. Graubünden forms its inner area, but its extended area includes parts of Italy, Austria and Liechtenstein. The agglomeration of Chur forms the most important centre of this action space. With Davos

⁷ Free translation by author

and St. Moritz/Upper Engadine, the ‹Ostalpen› also has two strong touristic and internationally well-known urban spaces. Other tourist and larger and smaller rural centres complement these three centres. In addition to tourism and efficient industrial and service companies, water use plays an important role in the energy production sector. The canton of Graubünden is economically linked to the metropolitan area of Zurich. Historically and culturally, there are close ties with the neighbouring foreign regions. This action space should develop a quality-oriented autonomy, which forms the basis for a long-term positive economic development. It is important to maintain and strengthen its substantial international position in alpine tourism. In so doing, the scenic qualities of the diverse alpine landscape with its rich cultural heritage must not be jeopardised. Climate change and changing guest needs are two major challenges planners have to cope with (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 95).

The strategic objectives outlined in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 95-97) are the following:

- To improve the connection to the ‹Metropolitanraum Zurich› and the Bodensee area
- To recognise and further develop the functional interweaving
- To strengthen the overall system of tourist centres
- To ensure the accessibility of tourist and rural centres
- To not only consider the opportunities, but also the risks of large-scale projects
- To create a framework for regional jobs
- To promote the sustainable development of the side valleys with their cultural landscapes
- To expand cooperation across borders
- To use hydropower at suitable locations
- To strengthen agriculture and forestry
- To control agricultural use in mountain areas
- To preserve mountainous and cultivated landscapes according to their character
- To consider the cultural heritage as part of the living and economic space

Canton of Graubünden

Graubünden is the largest and easternmost canton of Switzerland (see Figure 8). Chur is its capital and largest city. The population development in the canton of Graubünden has been below average in the last few years compared to the total Swiss population growth. The reason for this is that Graubünden is an alpine canton with an under-average economic growth. In the mountain areas the aging population and the high emigration are responsible for the negative population development (Peng et al., 2010, 8). In the 1980s the population grew most strongly in the centres. In the early 1990s, this trend was reversed and the centres showed a below-average population growth. Since the middle of the 1990s, however, the population in the centres has increased again. Today, both urban centres and tourist centres are growing more slowly than their surrounding areas. As a result, sub- and periurban communities are growing more strongly than the centres themselves. The rural centres, on the other hand, are shrinking. The population decline is even slightly stronger than in other Swiss rural areas (Peng et al., 2010, 14). Due to the population decrease in rural areas, municipality mergers are rather common in Graubünden. These mergers are the driving force for a strong thinking in function spaces (I8).

It is very important to strengthen the centres in order to maintain their competitiveness (I8 & I1). As the interviewees explained, there are regions of emigration (e.g. Val Müstair) and such of immigration (e.g. Chur). Hence, there are strong contrasts in respect to population density (I8). To make places more attractive, Graubünden wants to create work space and keep housing prices on an affordable level (I8). They want to create more working spaces and this in a much de-centralised manner as possible. This is a big challenge in Graubünden due to the geological circumstance of high mountains and steep largely isolated valleys (I8). Furthermore, the Federal Inventory of Landscapes and Natural Monuments of National Importance [Bundesinventar der Landschaften und Naturdenkmäler von nationaler Bedeutung BLN] plays a very important role in spatial planning in this canton (I8).



Fig. 8 – Canton of Graubünden

The demarcation of action spaces in the spatial concept of the canton Graubünden has been made iteratively in workshops with different stakeholders. The group of stakeholders consisted of «opinion-makers» in the regions [«Meinungsmacher in der Region»] (I1). It was discussed with the local population where exactly the boundaries should be drawn (I1). Despite the long tradition of solidary thinking in Graubünden, when it comes to decision-making, the «allocation battle» is on. That is why the action spaces' boundaries were worked out together with the local community. Another reason for this is that project ideas are often bottom-up initiated (I8). The aim of the iterative workshop-based process was to ensure that as many people as possible support the cantonal spatial concept.

5.1.2 Perception of the Raumkonzept Schweiz

Even though the long-term effects of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» are not yet foreseeable, the conducted interviews are used to find out what the already apparent consequences of the implementation of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» are. The focus is on its characteristics, application and usefulness in daily spatial planning as well as on its positive and negative aspects. Based on the characteristics, consequences and positive and negative dimensions, the interview partners raised their scepticism about several aspects of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» and talked about wishes and suggestions for the future use of the concept. To outline the characteristics of the concept, it will be analysed how innovative the concept itself and the use of action spaces is. The effects and consequences will

be drafted and explained, to thereafter work out the positive and negative aspects of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›.

Characteristics of the Raumkonzept Schweiz

The main characteristics of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› have already been introduced in previous chapters and sections. Nonetheless, it is interesting to see which components the interview partners pointed out. It was mentioned, when reading the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, one might first get the impression that its content is all-new. However, two of the interview partners (I6 & I12) had a discussion about whether or not the messages in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› are innovative. Although, the interviewees did not share their opinions on this subject prior to their discussion, they came to the conclusion that the statements in the concept are innovative with regard to their effects: Despite its non-binding character, the concept affects political actions. The use of action spaces can be regarded as the core concept of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. However, the same two interview partners mentioned that the concept of functional spaces is nothing new and that it has been around since the 1950s. Functional spaces are not the same as political administrative spaces. The action space strategy would require to think in functional spaces and to put that into the cantonal structure plans in order to make such thinking binding for the public authorities (I15). Thinking in functional spaces has not yet been established because the cantons are resisting to use functional spaces due to the fear of losing their competencies in spatial planning and because the distribution of the infrastructure funds is still run through the agglomeration programs. In other words, financing continuously requires rigid boundaries and the cantons do not want to lose their supremacy in the field of spatial planning (I6 & I12). The cases of Berne, who wanted to be its own ‹Hauptstadtregion› [Capital City Region⁸] and St. Gallen, who demands to be a metropolitan space, illustrates this fear. It can be speculated that Berne and St. Gallen want to improve their position because they think that money will be distributed over the functional spaces in the future (I6).

Even if concepts of functional spaces have been introduced in the middle of the last century, the consequent use of action spaces is new in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. However, when looking closely at how these are drawn, one has to conclude that the bounda-

⁸ Free translation by author

ries described in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› are still political boundaries. This means that even if there was the ulterior motive of coming away from statutory boundaries, the deeply rooted thinking within a physical-spatial concept prevailed (I6 & I12). The use of action spaces, however, deepened the understanding of thinking beyond statutory boundaries and the usefulness of incorporating different stakeholders, as well as the importance of spatial planning in general. Whether or not the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is solely responsible for this deepening can be disputed (I9). Further effects and consequences are outlined in the following section.

Effects, Impacts and Consequences of the Raumkonzept Schweiz

The extent to which the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› can be held accountable for the recent changes in Swiss spatial planning cannot be conclusively assessed. However, what can be said is that the paradigm shift in the way of thinking has been a turning point in spatial planning. The ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› supports thinking in functional and networked spaces (I 9 & I13). For example, to think in functional spaces and to promote the functional space of Aarau is the objective of the project ‹Zukunftsraum Aarau› [future space Aarau]. The project points out that it is useful to look at other regions in order to learn from them. In so doing it contributes to the formation of opinion and to the promotion of the competitiveness of locations (I10). Changes in thinking not only occurred on cantonal levels, but also in federal government institutions. Three interview partners argued that the revisions of the Federal Statute on Regional Planning (RPG 2) might be, at least partly, an outcome of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› since many aspects of the concept were taken up in the revised statute articles (I13, I6, I12): «Das RPG 2, das zwar zurückgenommen wurde, aber bestimmt irgendwann kommt, ist eine Konkretisierung, von dem was im ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› steht» [The RPG 2, which has been withdrawn, but will eventually come, is a concretisation of what is in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›] (I6). Such changes cannot only be observed among planners and government representatives but also among the Swiss people. In recent polls, voters have shown that they want to set a sign against urban sprawl and call for a compact building design (I14). This voting behaviour shows that the importance of spatial planning has also been recognised by the Swiss population. However, whether this change was due to the implementation of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› cannot be clarified. Despite the uncertainties to whether a change in thinking can be contributed to the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› or not, there are also some aspects that can be clearly attributed to it. A new feature of the

«Raumkonzept Schweiz» is that political and social dimensions come together. For example, the goal of «Solidarität leben» [to live solidarity] set in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» is a political objective that has much to do with the social dimension. These two aspects then come together in spatial planning. The combination of political and social dimensions is essential, because non-binding aspects, such as social consequences of actions in spatial planning, can be easily forgotten. A common thinking among planner is: «Was nicht verbindlich ist, ist auch nichts wert» [what is not binding, has no value either] (I6 & I12).

As the thinking in functional spaces is more prominent nowadays, the trans-regional communication has changed since the implementation of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» (I2). There is now a stronger cooperation and cross-border workplace observation (I2). Therefore, cantons have been revising their spatial concept. The spatial concept of the canton St. Gallen has picked up ideas and concepts of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» (I9). The canton of Graubünden also orientated itself strongly on the goals that are mentioned in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» for the action space «Ostalpen» (I1). Furthermore, the «Bodenseekonferenz» revises its mission statement [Leitbild] too (I9). Elaboration of a cantonal spatial concept, which is binding for authorities and can thus be integrated into their structure plans, can be seen as a change in acting, at least partly, due to the implementation of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». Despite such changes, the classic implementation is still top-down from the federal government to the cantons and municipalities and cities. Cantons and cities take up what has been decided from the federal offices. Therefore, the role of the state has not been weakened since the implementation of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» (I10). Cantons publish how their spatial concepts so that other cantons can raise their concerns. Then the cantons make their cantonal structure plans. In the end, the federal government gets both the cantonal structure plans and the comments of other cantons (I15). However, there is an improved vertical cooperation, especially between cities and the federal government, of which cantons might be afraid because they are concerned with losing importance in spatial development issues. In the canton of Aargau, the canton makes sure that the cities do not too much interact with the federal government «Der Kanton schaut, dass die Städte nicht eine zu grosse Bedeutung bekommen» [The canton ensures that cities do not get too important] (I13). In other cases however, the canton does not feel left out when the city or the municipalities directly negotiate with the federal government (I11). The importance of cities is highlight-

ed in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, which resulted in further development of agglomeration politics at about the same time as the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› was developed. Therefore, the agglomeration programs of Basle-City, Basle-Country, Zurich, Solothurn and Aargau are probably partly an outcome of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› (I4). In general, the awareness of strengthening cities may have grown as a result of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. Interviewees said that not only the vertical but also the horizontal cooperation had increased since the implementation of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› because transboundary tasks are more often discussed in committees (I8 & I13). Despite such changes, all of the interview partners said that no new instruments have been created since the implementation of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. One of them pointed out that it would be better to first optimise the already existing instruments before creating new ones would be expensive and time-consuming (I15).

Positive Aspects of the Raumkonzept Schweiz

All of the interviewees named the non-binding nature of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› as an advantage of the concept (see Figure 9). The effect of a voluntary agreement can even be bigger because the cantons are more likely to accept such concepts compared to imposed binding strategies (I1). Therefore, the non-binding aspect plays a crucial role in the integration of parts of the concepts into cantonal structure plans. As one of the interviewees has put it: «Die Unverbindlichkeit ist sicher ein Erfolgsfaktor des Konzeptes» [The non-binding nature is clearly a factor of success of the concept] (I15).

Ten of the interview partners pointed out that the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is useful in the sense that it works as an orientation guide because it is a concept for the whole country of Switzerland (see Figure 9). It is mostly used to get an overview over the different challenges of the different parts of Switzerland and to get an idea of what further work has to be done on the different spatial planning levels. This, in addition to the tripartite development process of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, has made cantons to recognise the importance of spatial planning. Due to the increased importance of spatial planning, planners look more closely and carefully on settlement developments (I15). This improvement of the spatial development in Switzerland might be an outcome of the fact that many different people have worked on the preparation of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. The development process is therefore also regarded as a positive point of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. Since it had not been a top-down process, but rather dialogues

and consultations among a broad range of stakeholders, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is well supported (I13). In this sense, it also has a thought-provoking impulse for the recognition of the need of changes in cantonal spatial planning (I1). One of the interview partners (I1) said that the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› raises questions such as ‹Was haben wir für eine Governance? Was wollen wir sein? Wie positionieren wir uns?› [What kind of governance do we have? What do we want to be? How do we want to position ourselves?]. Raising questions like these also have impacts on the formulation of structure or local plans. Regions think more about how they want to position themselves and work out their locational advantages. These analysis are then implemented in the structure plans. Today, there are more spatial development concepts integrated into the cantonal structure plans, which has not been the case before the implementation of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›.

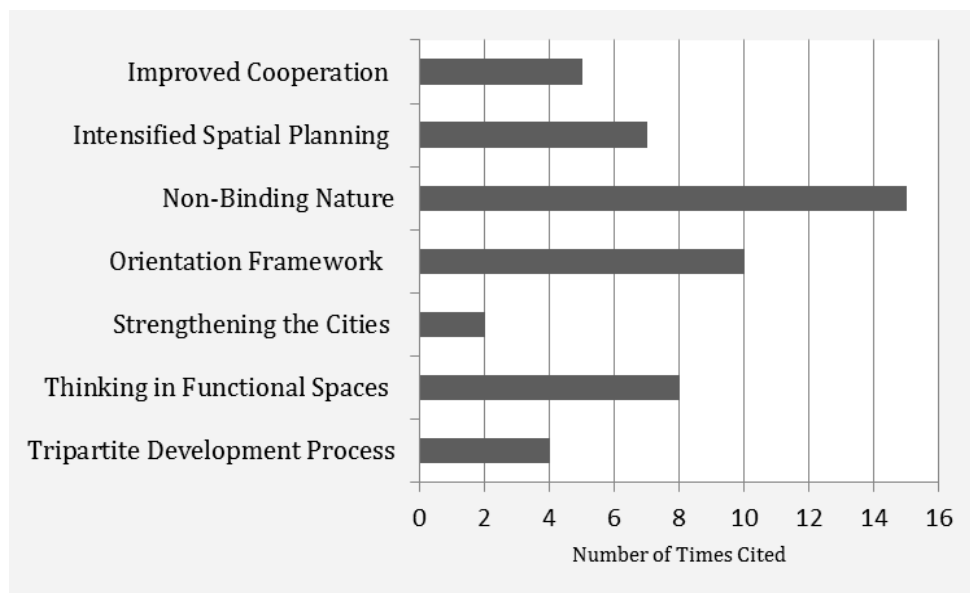


Fig. 9 – Positive Aspects of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›
(The numbers on the x-axis refer to the number of interview partners who have mentioned this particular positive aspect)

The ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› also highlights long-standing problems that have not yet been solved, either because the right instruments were not at hand or because they were not regarded as severe enough to be dealt with (I11). For example, it has been known for many years that mobility has to be managed. With the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, it was more recognised that this cannot be done within the boundaries of a canton or municipality, but rather has to be done supra-regional. Here, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› can help by clearly showing what has to be achieved and what

the already existing advantages of the regions are to start from so that a sustainable mobility management can be achieved. Spatial planning also means to plan for the future. To make future plans, assumptions and predictions are used, which can never be fully known and are therefore always a subject of uncertainty. Here the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› can have a supporting effect as it outlines characteristics for all actions spaces (I2). For example, to build in a more compact style can be a difficult task, as the future demographic structures are not surely known. By consolidating the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, which deals with differences between cities, planners can compare their situation with other cases and have a common starting point.

Another advantage of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is its thematic division of Switzerland, compared to the traditional political fragmentation. Functionality is the focus of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› and it can therefore be conceptual helpful. The thematic division into action spaces had the consequence that cantons work within functional spaces too and that planning does not stop at the administrative borders (I15). It was a long way until it became self-evident for planners to think in a transboundary way (I11). According to an interview partner (I15), functional spaces were actually employed the first time in the regional spatial development concepts [Regionale Raumordnungskonzepte] in 2009. It was then the first time that the cantonal structure plans were made beyond the cantonal borders. This resulted in a more intensive communication among different actors as well as in an intention to find a common practice (e.g. a common terminology in the cantonal GIS). This helps to bring long-term strategies to a common denominator («Gleich hartes Durchgreifen [bei der Ausschreibung von Bauzonen] in allen Kantonen») [equally harsh crackdown in all cantons for the implementation of new building zones](I15). Hence, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is helpful for the collaboration with other cantons as they have a common starting point for discussions (I15).

Negative Aspects of the Raumkonzept Schweiz

One negative aspect of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› half of the interviewees mentioned was that the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is very generally kept (see Figure 10). However, the interview partners were aware of the reasons for this. As the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is a concept for the whole country of Switzerland, which was referred to as a positive aspect, it cannot be too specific in its content. Nevertheless, seven interviewees said that due this general character, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› couldn't really be used

in everyday planning business. Another reason that the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is not being used often is that it is not binding for authorities. That means, whenever planning is done, planners take binding documents to rely on. For example, the agglomeration programs are more concrete than the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› and can therefore be better used by planners in everyday life (I2). Hence, it was argued that in order to be applied in everyday business, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› or at least some parts of it, should be binding for authorities (I2). For another interviewee (I13), the non-binding nature of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› can even be a weakness because of its risk of being subverted in case of a loss leader. Such a loss leader could be a lucrative project. To outline this, the following example is given: The ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› states to constrain urban sprawl. This would mean that, for example a shopping centre or superstructures should not be built in more remotely areas because it would attract more people to live there and therefore increase urban sprawl even more. However, if the project is likely to yield high profits for the investors as well as the municipality, the project might be done even though the statements of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› are against it. Furthermore, an interview partner (I9) also said that due the non-binding nature of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› it was ‹weder Fisch noch Vogel› [Neither fish nor fowl]. Correspondingly, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› has no direct impacts, but it is always present subliminally: ‹Es schwebt so ein bisschen über allem› [It hovers over everything] (I9) as it is neither a binding sectoral plan nor a sectoral plan concept.

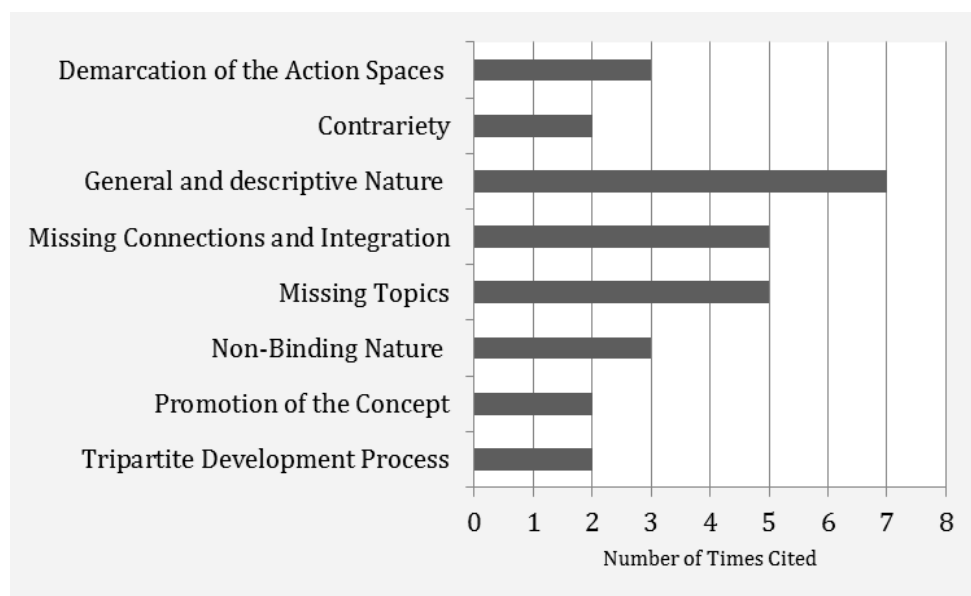


Fig. 10 – Negative Aspects of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›
(The numbers on the x-axis refer to the number of interview partners who have mentioned this particular negative aspect)

The ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› only describes problems that have existed for a long time, but it does not directly lead to transformations and changes (I1 & I2). It does say that planning should be done considering the international surrounding. But it does not say more than that and, by no means, how this can be done (I1). The objectives of each action space are simply described in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. It was suggested that the concept should not only say what has to be done, but it should also say more about how the goals can be achieved («Was braucht es um diese Ziele zu erreichen?» [What is needed to reach these goals] (I6)). The concept does not describe which structures are needed to promote thinking in action spaces and to achieve the expected goals (I6). Also missing in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› are some demographic circumstances and changes. For example, the emigration and ageing of the population in the canton of Graubünden are not subjects of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› (I1). Another topic not being addressed is the issue of nuclear waste (I13). What is more, the role of spatial planning does not come up in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› either (I12). Another critique is that the concept would not enough highlight that it was an ‹Allianzbildungsinstrument› [alliance building instrument], which means that it aims at promoting network thinking and working in functional spaces (I12). Furthermore, the infrastructure ‹mobility› would not be well coordinated with spatial development and that it would also be unclear where the link to the building culture [Baukultur] is in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› (I13).

In the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, it is first said that the polycentric network needs to be strengthened and after that the various action spaces are described. What is missing there is a chapter that shows how the different action spaces should be linked (I12). Hence, the action spaces of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› are not enough connected to each other. For example, Zürich and the Ostalpen are in fact strongly connected in ‹real life› performances, but the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› does not depict this. Furthermore, the integrating network into Europe is missing (I1). What the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› does not represent is the political, institutional and spatial complexity (I12). What is more, there is a strong concentration on metropolitan spaces, which can raise concerns that rural areas could be forgotten (I12).

The content of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is also partly contradictory. There are overlapping landscapes, for which the cultivations are so differently that they are opposing each other (I1) (see also Appendix III.II ‹Strategy 2›). Some even say that the whole concept is a contradictory document. On the one hand, it stimulates the opening up and thinking in action spaces and, on the other hand, it falls back into classical representations and breaks down problems and issues to what one can handle, i.e. to the cantonal and communal level (I12).

In the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› only the public sector is addressed, but it is the private sector that builds Switzerland (I12). The non-binding character of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is a problem here. As there is no legal foundations in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, private investors do not have incentives to implement the recommendations of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› (‹Woher sollen die Investoren kommen?› [Where should the investors come from?] (I6)) When looking at the map of the first strategy of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› (develop action spaces and promote the polycentric network of cities and municipalities) (see Appendix III.I ‹Strategy 1›), one can see that the connections are only of an infrastructural nature. There are no economic connections (I6 & I12). The connections in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› are politically and not economically set and therefore investors are not part of it (I12).

The actions of the SBB are not coordinated with the mobility and settlement development tasks of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. There would be too many stops in medium-sized cities. Therefore, the SBB would send the wrong signal. Routes are being developed in rural areas, areas in which the construction zones should be reduced. This behaviour of the SBB is not in line with the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, which favours the concentration on fast and direct connections between metropolises (I13).

When it comes to the development of the different action spaces, there are some mixed feelings about the action space ‹Hauptstadtregion Schweiz›. Berne, being seen as a ‹special case›, triggers discussions (I9). An interviewee's opinion is that the action space ‹Hauptstadtregion Schweiz› was probably only developed due to political reasons (I4). For him, there is not another actual reason for this action space to exist. What the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› does not mention either, is that Zug and Lucerne will probably develop strongly in the future, which will have an influence on the Oberaargau. That is

why the greater area of Zug should be more highlighted in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› (I4).

Even though, the development process with the tripartite conference is mentioned as a positive point of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, an interviewee pointed out that there are people who think that the concept is too little supported because it has only been supported by working groups (I15). Another negative point of the development process (see Figure 10) is that all actors of the Tripartite Agglomeration Conference [Tripartite Agglomerationskonferenz (TAK)] are state actors (I13). The publication was also criticised. Four interview partners said that the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› was not well distributed over all state levels because it had not arrived at communal level. Even if it arrived in small municipalities, it was read and put aside because its content is too generally formulated to be used for their planning tasks.

Concerns and Suggestions for the Future

Although, municipalities must work together, they are also competitors. Therefore, cooperation only takes place when multiplier effects or synergies are identified. In the action space ‹Aareland› there are cultural and political differences between Aarau, Olten and Zofingen. The dilemma is that they should work together, but, due to cultural and political differences, it is not possible to enforce cooperation (I13). Municipalities should therefore recognise themselves the potentials of working together and acting as one region in order to be able to compete with other regions. To promote cohesion, a term or name for the region is needed that builds up solidarity and strengthens the togetherness. One could think that the term ‹Aareland›, as in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, can be used for this. However, as an interviewee informed, this term is not much associated with the region (I13). People do not identify themselves with this term. Therefore, the various actors in this region need to find a term that creates solidarity and makes working together more efficient. Furthermore, the number of spatial challenges will increase in the future. Social problems and socio-demographic changes are becoming increasingly important in urban spaces. If one wants to keep control over these changes and does not want to leave them to be handled by market forces, planning offices should take such issues more into consideration (I11). For example, if the gap between the rich and poor gets larger, market forces could lead to a spatial separation of the rich and poor. The poor would live in one part of the city and the rich in another. This would encourage

ghettoization. Such a trend should be prevented, because it is thought that it would lead to even more social problems. The growth of the population is also seen as a problem that must be incorporated into spatial planning. A much-cited method for remedying this problem is compacted building. This might be more easily achievable in urban areas than in rural areas where land is, due to market forces and statutory provisions, much cheaper to build houses. Therefore, a spatial planning instrument is needed that reverses this situation (I13). It should be remembered however, especially in this context, that rural areas also have a right to develop (I4).

As geographic challenges will increase and should be taken into consideration, spatial planning should remain with cantonal authorities. It was also mentioned that direct inference of the federal government with communal planning can be problematic because federal officers are too far away to know how «things work in a region» (I9). On the other hand, pilot and support projects should be made by the federal government to enable municipalities to achieve their objectives (I11). The federal government could do more to strengthen the cities, because they need the competencies and finances to implement their projects (I5). This means the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» should not just stay on a conceptual level, but also give assistance on an action level (I11): «Ich erwarte, dass der Kanton Zürich dafür schaut, dass man für Winterthur auch Standortförderung und Werbung macht. Nicht nur als Wohnort, sondern auch für Bildung, Forschung und Entwicklung sowie fürs Gesundheitswesen wie das Kantonsspital und auch für die ZHAW.» [I expect the canton of Zürich to also promote and advertise the city of Winterthur. Not only as a place of residence, but also for education, research and development as well as for health care like the cantonal hospital and also for the ZHAW] (I5). The relationship between housing and jobs should be balanced in Winterthur. This is why the spatial concept and the economic concept should be coordinated (I5).

There should be less planning ahead, but rather just-in-time planning. Plans should not be made too far into the future without controlling and adjusting them. There should be shorter planning stops (I9). Another interview partner said that this is not the only solution, but planning should rather be more flexible. This means that one should first plan with the surrounding municipalities and then, if necessary, involve the larger region. Depending on the project, not always everyone needs to be included in a development

process. The approach of always including all possible kinds of stakeholders lags behind an old federal image (15).

In the future, it should be clarified whether the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› remains a guiding principle or whether it becomes more binding. If it became more binding, it would become more political. Consequently, spatial decisions would be done like in the case of the action space ‹Hauptstadtregion Schweiz›. The decision for this action space is by many seen as a purely political motivated decision. What is more, one should be aware of the consequences of using concepts such as the one of the action spaces for the allocation of resources. The allocation of resources becomes more difficult when such concepts of functional spaces with fuzzy boundaries are used because it is not clearly demarcated in such concepts where one space ends and the other begins (19).

5.2 Answers to Research Questions

In this part, it is outlined to what extent the action spaces of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› are an example of the current discussion of soft spaces in the planning literature. The concept of soft spaces with their fuzzy and overlapping boundaries is compared to the demarcation and characteristics of the action spaces of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. Furthermore, it is shown why ‹rigid boundaries› no longer seem to be the appropriate tools for spatial planning in Switzerland.

5.2.1 How were the Action Spaces of the Raumkonzept Schweiz developed?

Concepts used for the Demarcation of the Action Spaces

- *Which concepts and approaches were used to define the different action spaces of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›?*
 - *Are the action spaces an example of territory making regarding network relations?*
 - *Are the action spaces an example of territory making according to social processes?*

Two traditional structuring concepts were deliberately broken through in the development process of the action spaces: the institutional and the cultural concept. The action

spaces do neither adhere to the cantonal boundaries nor to the language regions. However, their demarcation takes the traditional threefold division into «natural spaces» of the Jura, Midland and the Alps more or less into account. The development of the action spaces was therefore, at least partly, based on a morphological concept. At the same time, it is also a functional division. The arrangement and delineation of the soft spaces is oriented towards the urban and metropolitan centres of the midland. In fact, the spatial layout of the action spaces corresponds very well with the structural pattern of the economic specialisation of the different regions of Switzerland (Schuler & Dessemontet, 2016, 10). Even though it is nowhere clearly stated in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» that a network-based approach was used for the preparation of the action spaces, the analysis of Schuler and Dessemontet (2016) provides reason to believe that the action spaces were at least partly defined by economic performances and relationships. The determination of the action spaces was neither made according to institutional nor to cultural concepts. I therefore argue that the action spaces were developed by a network-based approach with regard to morphological, functional and structural processes, and economic specialisation and social processes influenced their demarcation.

Economic Development versus Environmental Protection

- *Is there a risk of prioritising economic development at the expense of environmental protection?*

As outlined above, it can be argued that the action spaces of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» are, to a certain extent, defined by economic reasons. Hence, economic development could be prioritised over environmental issues. However, when analysing the goals for the different action spaces of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz», it does not seem to be the case that there is a risk of over-prioritising economic development at the expense of environmental protection. This can be inferred from the fact that the protection and securing of natural resources is already mentioned in the second goal of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 17). In general, it is not only the economic performance that matters, but also the protection of natural spaces and resources seems to be an important issue in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». The fifth goal stated in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» is «Solidarität leben» [to live solidarity] (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 29). Therefore, the state,

cantons, cities and municipalities should promote cooperation between the living and economic spaces. They should acknowledge that it is not useful and sustainable to have everything everywhere and that the different regions should rather specialise in their already existing strengths. They should also examine new approaches to balance benefits and encumbrances within and between regions. Despite the overall common goals, depending on the action space, the specific intentions vary and the emphases are put on different development aspects. However, environmental aspects are a key concern of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› because the protection of the environment occurs repeatedly in the document. It can be concluded that the demarcation of action spaces was economically influenced, but not at the expense of environmental protection.

Traditional Administrative Boundaries versus the Reality of transboundary Processes

- *Is there a mismatch between the traditional administrative boundaries and the boundaries of decisive everyday processes?*
- *Is the hierarchical politics no longer suitable for the governance of issues and processes so that the role of the Swiss Federal Government has changed?*

One approach in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is the cooperation in functional spaces (Bächtold, 2010, 34). Within the scope of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, the federal government, the cantons as well as the cities and municipalities agreed on the fundamental objectives and strategies, which all three levels of government should pursue in spatial development. As a product of the three state levels, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› presents, for the first time in the Swiss spatial planning history, a framework, in which joint strategies for a more sustainable spatial development are formulated. In order to be able to achieve a common direction and consensus over goals and strategies, a new regionalisation of Switzerland had to be developed. This new regionalisation is the concept of the so-called ‹Handlungsräume› [action spaces] (Schuler & Dessemontet, 2016, 6). Among other aspects, the development of the action spaces was based on social and economic processes. To achieve the elaborated goals, it was not possible to implement the strategies within the rigid statutory boundaries of the cantons. The reason for this is that most of objectives and plans, such as regional concepts, need cooperation beyond municipalities', cantons' and even the state's borders. Hence, the traditional administrative boundaries no longer matched the reality of supra-regional planning. ‹Das Auseinanderklaffen

der politisch-administrativen und der funktionalen Räume ist ein wesentlicher Grund für die unbefriedigende Siedlungsentwicklung» [The divergence of the political-administrative and functional spaces is a major reason for the unsatisfactory development of settlements] (Bächtold, 2010, 34). This statement clearly shows that there is a mismatch between the action spaces, which take social and economic processes into account, and the traditional boundaries, which match the administrative government entities. The elaboration of the regional concepts caused the cantons to enter into more intensive discussions with their neighbouring cantons and with other stakeholders. Within such processes, a hierarchical politics is no longer suitable. The amount of dialogue among cantonal and communal government levels increased, which weakened the importance of top-down statutory provisions of the Swiss Federal Government.

5.2.2 In what Respect do the Action Spaces of the Raumkonzept Schweiz represent the social, porous and networked Nature of Soft Spaces?

- *Are there many multilayer interactions between the action spaces?*
- *Are the action spaces of a Social, Porous And Networked Nature?*
- *What roles do the different action space have?*

One of the aims of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» is to achieve that the different levels of government coordinate their goals and strategies. Therefore, they have to interact more intensely with one another. In addition, there are many tasks that, due to their nature, have to be planned beyond the statutory borders (e.g. mobility planning and economic development). Therefore, municipalities and cantons have to coordinate their activities not only with federal offices but also with each other. The action spaces in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» do neither have rigid boundaries nor do they correlate with the communal or cantonal borders. In so much, parts of a canton may belong to different action spaces. The canton of St. Gallen is a good example for this. Even though the majority of this canton belongs to the action space «Nordostschweiz», some parts are attached to the «Metropolitanraum Zürich». This implies that planning not only needs to be vertically coordinated with different levels of government, but also horizontally with other communal and cantonal governments. This results in a variety of multilayer interactions that account for everyday social processes and whose performance coordination may vary depending on the tasks to be performed.

The action spaces of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› are sub-regions of Switzerland, which are divided into three broader groups and twelve subgroups. The three broader groups are metropolitan action spaces, small- and middle-town characterised action spaces and alpine action spaces. These groups have different characteristics, strengths and face various challenges. The metropolitan action spaces, for example, are the centres of decision-making. They have a significant international and national impact, but are also strongly affected by developments abroad. The challenge is to preserve and strengthen their international and national competitiveness without jeopardising the high quality of life, recreation areas and urbanity (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 65). Small- and middle-town characterised action space consist of various agglomerations and are marked by a rural countryside. The challenge is to strengthen their small, but versatile urban and rural residences and workplaces. These spaces should help, together with the metropolitan spaces, to internationally optimally position Switzerland (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 78). The alpine action space is affected by economic stagnation and emigration. However, this area also has its qualities and strengths. The alpine spaces therefore play an important role for Switzerland in at least two ways. On the one hand, their qualities (nature, culture, energy production, tourism) are of high economic potential and, on the other hand, their natural and cultural landscapes need to be preserved (Schweizerischer Bundesrat; KdK; BPUK; SSV & SGV, 2012, 89). The different action spaces within these broader spaces also have their own characteristics, strengths and difficulties. In my view, the largest difference is between the three broader groups and less within the subgroups themselves. However, it can be clearly said that the different action spaces do have different roles and variously contribute to the development of Switzerland (see also chapter 5.1 ‹Case Studies of four Action Spaces› or for additional information ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz. Überarbeitete Fassung›).

5.2.3 In what Way does the Raumkonzept Schweiz make Spatial Planning more efficient and effective?

- *Has the communication between different actors been improved since the implementation of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›?*
- *In what way has the transboundary, vertical and horizontal cooperation changed since the introduction of the action spaces?*
- *Are there struggles with questions about competencies?*

In order to answer these questions, information given by the interview partners was used. All of the interviewed cantonal and communal representatives mentioned that there has not really been an improvement in the communication between the different actors since the implementation of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. The majority said that the quality of the communication has been good before and that it has not genuinely changed since the implementation of the action spaces. On the other hand, 80% of the interviewees also mentioned that there is now more direct contact between communal and state government. This however, has not changed the quality of the communication but rather shifted it away from communal-cantonal communication towards direct communal-federal communication. The communication quality is not perceived to have changed, but the amount of communication between the different levels of authority has been redistributed. Hence, the amount of horizontal and transboundary discourses has not much changed, but the vertical one has. One of the interview partners (I13) mentioned that some cantons thereupon are concerned to lose their pre-eminence in spatial planning. Such worrying shows that there is some kind of struggles over the allocation of competencies. Furthermore, uncertainties about responsibilities can also stimulate the dialogue between the different levels of spatial planning offices because they have to enter into dialogue to clarify the allocation of competencies.

None of the interviewees could confirm that the introduction of the action spaces has made spatial planning more efficient in terms of costs. It was mentioned that coordinating spatial tasks between different regions had worked properly before the introduction of the action spaces. However, one important point that was mentioned many times during the various interviews was, that the existence of the action spaces can help to start conversations and to more quickly find a common starting point to base discussions on. The ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› works as a document that all stakeholders can use as a basis for discussions. In cases of supra-regional planning tasks, the involved parties have to find a common ground to start planning from. In the process of establishing the basis for the future planning, the participants can come back to the document ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› to find a common starting point more quickly. The use of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› can therefore make spatial planning beyond statutory borders more time efficient. Nevertheless, to evaluate all stakeholders' opinions can be very time-consuming. Thus, the involvement of a large number of stakeholders can also make planning less efficient and might decrease its effectiveness if discussions fail.

6 Discussion of the Results

The way of thinking has changed since the implementation of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› because its focus is on functionality, which was and still is conceptual helpful for people involved in spatial planning. There is now a much stronger thinking in functional and networked spaces and in concepts in general. This has fostered the further development of the agglomeration programs. Within these programs, the boundaries do not match the statutory borders, but incorporate regions, areas or spaces that are similar in their characteristics and therefore also have comparable strengths and face equivalent challenges. These agglomeration programs in turn, have altered cantonal and communal planning. Since they are made for particular regions and address their specific issues, they are much more used in spatial planning than the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. The change in thinking and development of the agglomeration programs has also led to an altered vertical cooperation. The federal government interacts more intensely with communal and especially with city planners. The cantons might therefore feel left out of planning processes and are apprehensive about losing their supremacy in spatial planning. However, not only did the vertical cooperation change, but so did horizontal interactions. As cantons and municipalities have to work together more closely to achieve their common goals for a region, more intensive communication between them is needed. One such task that requires intense cooperation is to steer mobility. This assignment demands for long-term transboundary investments, for which the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› can provide assistance. The concept can serve as a basis for cooperation and can be used as an opening for discussions since it provides an overview over the different regions. What is more, since spatial planning means to plan for the future and the future is always unknown to a certain degree, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› can work as a baseline, so that all stakeholders can use the same future scenario for discussions. However, when the discussions go into the details, for example the actual planning, execution and financing of a mobility infrastructure project, then it is rather the cantonal structure plans that are being used as a legal planning basis. This does not mean that the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is not beneficial during the whole process of a planning project. By being a starting point and functioning as a base line for discussions, planners can more quickly determine where the problems are and what should be done. In general, tasks can be more quickly figured out and addressed. Therefore, spatial planning has become more efficient since the implementation of to the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. How-

ever, distributing and fulfilling tasks within action spaces, can be more time consuming than within traditional administrative clearly bounded spaces because competencies and jurisdictions have to be sorted out first, and a large number of possible stakeholders have to be considered.

At first, the non-binding nature of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» was considered to be a positive aspect of the concept. All cantonal representatives that were interviewed said they were glad that the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» is not another binding document so that they were not obliged to change their cantonal spatial concepts. Additionally, as the concept is rather generally kept, it would anyway be difficult to implement it. Nevertheless, many cantons have adapted their spatial concepts after the publication of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» as a result of acknowledging and understanding the importance of spatial planning. Even though the concept's usefulness for the cantons does not appear at first sight, changes in the cantonal planning have occurred since the document's publishing. For example, it was a stimulus to think more about spatial planning and it had a thought-provoking impulse to recognise that more has to be done in the field of spatial planning. Moreover, the concept highlights long-standing problems and it has encouraged the cantons to think about how to position and promote themselves. This in turn, helped to recognise their locational advantages and to specifically improve them. Such thoughts and elaborations were, at least in part, integrated into the structure plans.

Municipalities, however, do not see much use of the concept because it is too generally kept to be used as a planning tool on this level. This lack of clarity causes municipalities to rather apply federal and especially cantonal and communal planning strategies and documents to work out their planning programs (e.g. structure plans, sectoral plans and the agglomeration programs). An interview partner (I4) said that, due to the demographic changes, such as an ageing population, it is more important that spatial planners push forward the collaboration with other policy areas that affect the spatial development, such as the healthcare sector, than to search for new spatial alliances. Yet another interviewee (I1) pointed out that the problem of an ageing population is not even mentioned in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». The issue of ageing is not the only topic to be missing in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». The issue of dealing with nuclear waste is not addressed either, even though it concerns every region and for which the whole country needs to seek solutions together. Another topic that does not appear in the

«Raumkonzept Schweiz», which is especially an issue in the action space «Ostalpen», is emigration. In this action space there are whole valleys struggling with people moving away and for which the loss of population is one of the biggest, if not the biggest, problem (I1). It is quite astonishing that the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» has not taken up this issue. The interviewees not only addressed the lack of topics, but also deprecated that the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» does not give information about the role of spatial planning (I12). General ideas and goals, as well as strategic guidelines for each action space are outlined, but it does not say what exactly spatial planners can do to reach these goals. Moreover, it was criticised that the private sector is not addressed in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». The integration of this sector, however, is important because private companies do most of the construction activity in Switzerland («Private Bauen die Schweiz» [The private sector builds Switzerland] (I6)). By reason of being a non-binding concept, private parties do not have much incentive consider its aspects. For example, if a private company were offered to build new houses, they would most likely do it regardless of whether or not it would lead to increases in urban sprawl. This behaviour is understandable in that the companies want to make revenue and profit. In this sense, the non-binding characteristic of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» can be seen as a weakness. Therefore, the spatial and economic concepts should be coordinated. Thereby, the two concepts would aim for the same direction, would not state contradictory goals and would not prevent each other from achieving their respective goals.

Besides the lack of topics, the interviewees highlighted that several subjects were not sufficiently linked or that connections were missing at all in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». It was criticised that the various subjects were not sufficiently linked. For example, in order to secure natural resources, urban sprawl should be stopped. This means it should be built more compact and the spreading of settlements should be limited. However, in the first goal of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» it is written that the Swiss population should identify with the polycentric network of cities and municipalities of Switzerland. The question arising is, how these two goals can be connected, especially against the background of historically scattered settlements. These scattered settlements are characteristic for particular landscapes in Switzerland and people identify with them. If the development of urban settlements should be more compact, these landscapes may lose their much-appreciated characteristics. In addition, there are also examples showing the connectivity of the different topics. Moreover, it was criticised that the action spaces are

not sufficiently linked. Each action space has its own strategies, but they are not much connected to the ones of the other action spaces. If there are connections, it remains unclear why they were set in that manner. For example, the action space ‹Ostalpen› is connected to Zurich, St. Gallen and the Rheintal but it is not much linked to the canton of Ticino. One interviewee (I1) asked for the reasons of this missing link. He said that the canton of Graubünden does in fact have many interactions with the canton of Ticino. In the third goal of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› it says to manage mobility by having short distances between work, living and leisure activities. To achieve this, an inward urban development is required. This in turn corresponds well with the objective to stop urban sprawl that is mentioned in the second goal of the concept. These fields are, thus not mutually exclusive, but rather closely interrelated and coordinated. However, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is not only a contradictory document in terms of competing targets, but also within its spatially differentiated approaches. In the map of the strategy 2 in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› (see Appendix III.II ‹Strategy 2›) one can see areas in the canton of Graubünden that have to be protected and at the same time they are marked as agricultural spaces. These two demands on the landscape oppose each other. Due to the missing links and connections, it can be concluded that the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› does not fully depict the political, institutional and spatial complexity of Switzerland.

Although, as mentioned above, the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is not used on a daily basis in cantonal and communal planning, it has impacts on the communication between and amongst the different planning levels. The trans-regional communication has changed. The increase in horizontal communication is expressed in the fact that cantons and municipalities coordinate their projects more with their surrounding administrative units. The interactions also changed vertically. The federal government is now more involved in spatial planning projects of municipalities than it used to before the introduction of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. This is not only positively perceived: Firstly, there are the cantonal governments who might feel to be left out in planning processes and secondly, municipalities may not be happy when the federal government interferes in their long-established planning ‹traditions›, as they have been able to resolve their issues in the past without federal government ‹barging in› too much (I9). All interviewed cantonal and communal representatives have expressed that no new instruments have emerged since the introduction of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. However, it can be argued that this change in interactions between the federal authority and the municipalities is quite

a new (communication) instrument. While it might not be an instrument that has been created consciously, it has affected and altered the communication in planning processes. If government representatives think and act more in and within functional or action spaces, a hierarchical politics no longer seems to fit. This corresponds well with the characteristics of soft spaces. Within a framework of spaces that do not have fixed and rigid boundaries, communication is not merely just top-down and bottom-up, but also much more among the different stakeholders, i.e. among different municipalities and cantons. This leads to the networked character of soft spaces. Interestingly, all of the interviewees from communal and cantonal level have said that the quality of the communication has not much or not at all improved since the implementation of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». They said that the communication was good before. However, it was then also recognised that the nature of the communication has changed. Due to an increase in thinking in functional spaces, the topics of discussions have changed. The cantonal and municipal planning offices more and more think beyond their cantonal or municipal borders and take wider areas into their spatial planning concepts. The expansion of the space considered has made the discussion topics more diverse.

7 Conclusion

The concept of soft spaces has so far mainly been used as an analytical tool in British spatial planning literature. There are examples in the UK showing the usefulness of applying such an approach. The Thames Gateway near London is a large regeneration project, in which three different subregional partnerships are involved. Therefore, the area includes parts of three different standard government regions. Due to this complexity of involved stakeholders, the Thames Gateway entitles different formal and informal scales and spaces of governance. The incorporation of such various associated parties should help to integrate the reality of the interdependencies of networks into spatial planning. The concept of soft spaces cannot only be applied in the British planning context, but also in other regions of the world. To cope with the increase of supra-national cooperative arrangements in Europe, new spaces emerged within the European Union providing a tool to bridge statutory legal issues with the integrated network-reality. These new spaces are so-called «macro-regions», which can be regarded as an example of soft spaces. Both examples, the Thames Gateway and the macro-regions in the EU, have shown that soft spaces can be a functional planning tool helping to match territorial boundaries with «real world» dynamics and to cope with the complex issue of growth management or urban planning. In so doing, they highlight the multiplicity of societal and institutional issues and integrate non-planning actors in planning processes. The involvement of a variety of stakeholders increases the creativity of thinking and represents the reality of social processes. Moreover, administrative units are, on that ground, able to work more closely with private industry representatives.

The concept of soft spaces developed during the rise of neoliberalism and has gained momentum in the post-political condition after the fall of the Soviet Communism and the rise of neoliberalism. Neoliberalists are critical towards the ability of political authorities to govern well and they argue for marketization and modified regulatory conditions. They want to push forward the economic development. Applying the concept of soft spaces in such a framework increases the risk that wider responsibilities, such as social justice and environmental issues, are bypassed. Soft spaces are generally a challenge for governance tasks because they may create uncertainty over which geographical scale has priority for a specific project. The involvement of a large number of stakeholders can

also be a negative factor. Different associates have different opinions. To listen to all of them and to come to a common denominator is very time-consuming. This cannot only decrease the efficiency of planning processes within soft spaces, but also their effectiveness if discussions fail.

Hard spaces are sometimes seen as the rigid and statutory counterpart of soft spaces. The more dominant perspective though is that soft and hard spaces exist alongside. There are statutory fixed administrative boundaries, within or between which, soft spaces exist for specific tasks. If the use of soft spaces is successful, they can harden. They then persist longer and tile more and more into the formal administrative arena. Concerning the matter of using soft spaces and fuzzy boundaries in spatial planning, and the chance of hardening soft spaces, two sets of questions come to mind. The first one regards governance issues: How can a government operate in soft spaces? How can a government manage tasks that go beyond their spatial jurisdiction? If there are numerous overlapping soft spaces, how can it be decided which space is the relevant one to choose for a specific project or task? The second set concerns the hardening of soft spaces: What happens when soft spaces harden? How does this affect the official regional regulatory planning? Since these questions could not be answered in this thesis, they are subject of further research.

In the development of the *«Raumkonzept Schweiz»*, it was the first time in Swiss spatial planning history, that a set of goals and strategies were formulated, which are valid for the whole of Switzerland. This has changed the role of the different government levels in so far that the fundamental objectives and strategies for spatial planning have to be more intensely negotiated with all government levels of the different parts of the country. Most objectives and plans outlined in the *«Raumkonzept Schweiz»* demand for cooperation beyond statutory borders. Therefore, the statutory administrative boundaries no longer matched the reality of planning. This required a new regionalisation of Switzerland that is based on network relations. The result of this requirement was the formation of the *«action spaces»*. Within and between the different action spaces many multilayer interactions occur. Communication and planning has to be discussed with different government levels (vertically between the federal government, cantons and municipalities, as well as horizontally between individual cantons and municipalities). Based on the interviewees' statements, it can be said that municipalities might still not fully

perceive the importance of cooperation. Therefore, thinking in function spaces should be further promoted. If different governments more intensely cooperate on a project basis, thinking in functional spaces could be strengthened. Thereby, so it was said, the federal government should support municipalities in their projects to enable them to achieve the defined goals (e.g. supra-regional cooperation). Through project support from the federal government, municipalities (and cantons) can better tackle their programs and activities, and thus can also improve trans-regional collaborations. In chapter 5.3.4 «Negative Aspects of the Raumkonzept Schweiz» it was outlined, that the interviewees criticised different aspects of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». Among other things, they said it was too generally kept to be really applied in daily planning business, especially on communal levels. Several missing links, connections and topics were brought up and concerns were raised about possible inconsistencies, for example the opposing land uses on the same spot of land. It was also criticised that the concept did not take into consideration that some regions, for example Zug and Lucerne, will probably strongly develop in the future and that therefore too few future scenarios were included in the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». The non-binding aspect of the concept is most often seen as a positive element, but it also contributes to the fact, that planners do not often use the «Raumkonzept Schweiz». The interviewees said that they have all read the concept with interest, but afterwards they have not been using it regularly. One interview partner said that he had not even received a copy of the concept after its publication. For this reason, a further dissemination of the concept should be initiated.

The «Raumkonzept Schweiz» is a valuable orientation framework for the spatial development of Switzerland. It has stimulated the thinking in functional spaces, whereupon the cooperation between the individual planning entities could have been further improved. It has also increased the awareness of spatial planning's significance in Switzerland, since it was recognized how important spatial planning is for the development of municipalities, cantons and the country. Nonetheless, some aspects of the «Raumkonzept Schweiz» are object of criticism. In my opinion, it is essential to include further issues in the concept, such as challenges arising from demographic changes. Even if the concept re-addresses long-known problems, it only contributes little to solve them. This is why the concept should also offer solutions, so that measures can be taken at the respective planning stage. For example, cantonal and communal governments are largely aware of the difficulty to construct more compact in rural areas, but they often do not know how

to overcome urban sprawl in the current construction behaviour. I also argue that the inclusion of private or semi-private actors is neglected in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›. I do not suggest to address individual companies, but to show where private and semi-private actors in general have potential to contribute to the strategy implementation and to the attainment of goals. There is, however, the risk that such information will not be adopted by non-governmental actors as the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› is a non-binding guiding concept. One could therefore consider turning the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› into a more binding strategic tool. Prior to tackling this endeavour, it would be necessary to investigate the consequences for governance processes and for the distribution of resources.

In conclusion, it can be said that the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› has already greatly contributed to the promotion of networked thinking and the awareness of the importance of spatial planning, but there are still potentials for further developments. The following questions remain after or have emerged from the work on this thesis: If operating in soft spaces, how are transboundary supra-regional tasks managed by cantonal and communal governments? How could be decided, which government entity holds responsibility for a specific assignment? Regarding the future application of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›, what could the consequences of making the concept more legally binding be? What changes of contents would have to be made in the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz› if it was a more binding document and a more applicable planning tool for all government levels? In what way would such a change influence and alter the governance of cantons and municipalities? These are all questions that could be investigated in future master's theses or other research projects.

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9 Figure References

Fig. 1 – Detecting Twelve Action Spaces:

⟨<https://www.bav.admin.ch/bav/de/home/themen/alphabetische-themenliste/raeumliche-abstimmung/sis/sis-objektteil.html>⟩, (Access: 08.03.2017)

Fig. 2 – The Twelve Action Spaces and the Polycentric Network of Cities and Municipalities:

⟨<https://www.are.admin.ch/are/de/home/raumentwicklung-und-raumplanung/strategie-und-planung/raumkonzept-schweiz.html>⟩, (Access: 08.03.2017)

Fig. 3 – The Thames Gateway:

⟨<http://www.tgkp.org/thames-gateway-kent>⟩, (access: 10.02.2017)

Fig. 4 – Canton of Zurich:

⟨<https://maps.google.ch/>⟩, (access: 19.03.2017)

Fig. 5 – Canton of Aargau:

⟨<https://maps.google.ch/>⟩, (access: 19.03.2017)

Fig. 6 – Canton of St. Gallen:

⟨<https://maps.google.ch/>⟩, (access: 19.03.2017)

Fig. 7 – Borders of the Canton of St. Gallen:

⟨http://de.academic.ru/pictures/dewiki/75/Karte_Kanton_St.Gallen_Bezirke.png⟩, (Access: 08.03.2017)

Fig. 8 – Canton of Graubünden:

⟨<https://maps.google.ch/>⟩, (access: 19.03.2017)

Fig. 9 – Positive Aspects of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›:

Own illustration based on interview statements

Fig. 10 – Negative Aspects of the ‹Raumkonzept Schweiz›:

Own illustration based on interview statements

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11 Appendix

I Interview Partners

Gilgen Thétaz Regina & **Poschet** Lena

Eidgenössisches Departement für Umwelt, Verkehr, Energie und Kommunikation UVEK

Bundesamt für Raumentwicklung ARE

Regina Gilgen: Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin Raumkonzept Schweiz, Sektion Bundesplanungen

Lena Poschet: Sektionschefin der Sektion Bundesplanungen

24.06.2016

Ittigen, Bern

90 min

Schneider Kurt

Leiter Stadtentwicklung Aarau

07.09.16

Aarau

60 min

Feiner Jacques

Leiter kantonale Richtplanung Graubünden

09.09.2016

Chur

50min

Atzmüller Richard

Amtsleiter ARE/Kantonsplaner Kanton Graubünden

13.09.2016

Chur

80 min

Hagen Claudio

Projektleiter Siedlungs- & Freiraumentwicklung, Abteilung Raumentwicklung Kanton

Aargau

14.09.2016

Aarau

60 min

Meyer Benjamin

Mitarbeiter Abteilung Raumplanung, Stab Kanton Zürich

16.09.2016

Zürich

45 min

Fuchs Felix

Alt Stadtbaumeister Aarau

18.10.2016

Zürich

75 min

Hauser Michael

Stadtbaumeister & Amtsleiter Amt für Städtebau Winterthur

19.10.2016

Zürich

45 min

Kessler Florian

Leiter Stadtplanungsamt St. Gallen

20.10.2016

St. Gallen

45 min

Würth Mark

Leiter Stadtentwicklung Winterthur

28.10.2016

Winterthur

45 min

Strauss Ueli

Kantonsplaner & Leiter Amt für Raumentwicklung & Geoinformation

31.10.2016

St. Gallen

55 min

Göldi Peter

Geschäftsführer Zentrum for Regionalmanagement Obersee/Linth ZRMOL

17.11.2016

Conducted in writing via e-mail

Loepfe Matthias & **Widmer** Bruno

Projektleiter Regionalplanung Zürich & Umgebung RZU

01.12.2016

Zürich

90 min

II Interview Guides

II.1 Federal Office for Spatial Development, Zentrum für Regionalmanagement ZRMOL and Regionalplanung Zürich und Umgebung RZU

- Das Raumkonzept Schweiz ist kein verbindliches Konzept, sondern steckt einen Rahmen, in dem gemeinsame Strategien zu einer nachhaltigeren Raumentwicklung aufgezeigt werden. Wie wirkt sich diese Unverbindlichkeit auf das Aufgreifen der Inhalte des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz aus?

Auswirkungen:

- Was sind die positiven und negativen Folgen des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz für die verschiedenen Staatsebenen?
 - Horizontale & vertikale Kooperation & Zusammenarbeit → Kostenteilung?
 - Solidarität gefördert?
 - Mobilität steuern: kurze Wege zw. Arbeit, Wohnen & Freizeit → Wohnen in der Stadt vs. Arbeiten auf dem Land?
 - Komplexität wegen Überlappung der Handlungsräume?
- Was sind die Stärken & Schwächen (Vor- & Nachteile) des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz?
 - Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft & Ökologie konkurrieren sich. Gibt es situativ ausgewogene Berücksichtigung?
- Was ist der konkrete Nutzen des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz?
 - Provokativ: CH schon so unterteilt, braucht es da wirklich noch eine weitere Unterteilung?
- Was sind die konkreten Planungstools, welche durch die Einführung des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz entstanden sind?

Handlungsräume (Soft Spaces):

- Welche Konzepte wurden zur Abgrenzung der Handlungsräume angewandt?
 - Funktionale (Einzugsgebiet von Zentrum (Stadt)) & strukturelle (Homogenität v. Merkmal) Regionen
 - Ungleiche Abgrenzungsmuster
- Wie und von wem wurden die „besonders beachtenswerten Stossrichtungen“ der einzelnen Handlungsräume festgelegt?
 - Projektorganisation, technische Arbeitsgruppe, politische Begleitgruppe
 - Regionale Foren & Austauschforum
- Überlappung der Handlungsräume: Wie klärt man Zuständigkeitsfragen? Wie findet die Zusammenarbeit statt?
- Was sagen die verschiedenen Handlungsräume (insb. Zürich, Aareland & Ostalpen) zum Raumkonzept Schweiz? Gibt es da Rückmeldungen? Oder Einschätzungen ihrerseits?

- Hat sich die Einteilung in diese 12 Handlungsräume bewährt? Identifiziert man sich mit den Handlungsräumen?
 - Aareland: Reduziert auf Verkehrsknotenpunkt?
 - Ostalpen: Reduziert auf Naturschutz?
 - Etc.
- Inwiefern hat sich die grenzüberschreitende Kooperation zwischen den verschiedenen Akteuren verändert?
- Inwiefern hat sich die vertikale & horizontale Koordination zwischen den verschiedenen Akteuren verändert?
Zusammenspannen bei Mobilitätsfragen

Zukunft:

- Welche Ideen gibt es z.Z. für die zukünftige Raumplanung?
- Wie trägt das Raumkonzept dazu bei, dass „Solidarität gelebt“ wird?

II.I Cantons und Cities

- Wie fest haben Sie sich mit dem Raumkonzept Schweiz auseinandergesetzt?
- Raumkonzept Schweiz ist kein verbindliches Konzept, sondern steckt einen Rahmen, in dem gemeinsame Strategien zu einer nachhaltigeren Raumentwicklung aufgezeigt werden.
 - Wie wirkt sich diese Unverbindlichkeit auf das Aufgreifen der Inhalte des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz aus?
 - Seit wann & wie wurden die Inhalte des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz beim Kanton/bei der Stadt in die Planungspolitik aufgenommen?

Auswirkungen:

- Was sind Ihrer Meinung nach direkte Folgen und Veränderungen, die durch die Einführung des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz entstanden sind?
 - Kommunikation zwischen Bund, Kantonen, Gemeinden und Städten?
- Was sind Ihrer Meinung nach indirekte Folgen und Veränderungen, die durch die Einführung des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz entstanden sind?
 - Kommunikation zwischen Bund, Kantonen, Gemeinden und Städten?
- Was ist Ihrer Meinung nach der konkrete Nutzen des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz in Bezug auf den Kanton/die Stadt?
 - Wurde das Denken in Handlungsräumen dadurch gefördert?
 - Seit wann ist das Denken in Handlungsräumen prominent im Kanton/in der Stadt?
- Sehen Sie auch negative Folgen oder Schwächen des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz?
 - Arbeiten auf dem Land?
 - Komplexität wegen Überlappung der Handlungsräume
- Welche Vor- und Nachteile haben sich bisher gezeigt?

- Hilft Ihnen das Raumkonzept Schweiz Aufgaben, die an der Kantons- / Stadtgrenze nicht halt machen, zu steuern?
 - Verbessert es die Zusammenarbeit in funktionalen Räumen?
 - Falls ja: Inwiefern?
 - Falls nein: Was könnten Gründe dafür sein?
- Inwiefern hat das Raumkonzept Schweiz das Denken und Handeln von Akteuren bei Bund, Kantonen, Gemeinden und Städten verändert?

Vergleich Ziele des Kantons/der Stadt mit jenen des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz:

- Woran orientiert sich der Kanton/die Stadt bei der Lageanalyse des Kantons/der Stadt mit ihrem Umfeld? Nach was oder wem richtet sie sich aus um „raumwirksame Tätigkeiten“ aufeinander abzustimmen (z.B. Verkehrsfragen)?
- Die strategischen Führungsinstrumente werden periodisch angepasst. Sind seit der Einführung des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz neue Instrumente entstanden und falls ja, welche sind das?
 - Z.B.: Überkommunale Nutzungsplanung.
 - Welche Instrumente sind in Planung?
- Wonach richtet sich der Kanton/die Stadt bei der überkommunalen Planung aus?
 - Orientiert man sich an Nachbardörfern? Oder orientiert man sich an den Grossstädten?
- Ein Ziel des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz ist es die Mobilität zu steuern.
 - Wie hat sich die Mobilität in den letzten 10J. in Ihrer Stadt verändert?
 - Wie gehen Sie mit der steigenden Mobilität bei der Stadt um?
 - Hilft Ihnen das RAUMKONZEPT SCHWEIZ bei der Planung zur Bewältigung der steigenden Mobilität?
- Ein Ziel des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz ist es die Wettbewerbsfähigkeit zu stärken. Wie machen Sie das bei der Stadt?
 - Welche Mittel verwendet die Stadt um konkurrenzfähig zu sein?
- Ein Ziel des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz ist es Solidarität zu leben (d.h. Zusammenarbeit fördern zw. Lebens- & Wirtschaftsräumen; anerkennen, dass nicht alles überall sinnvoll ist; Ausgleich von Nutzen & Lasten). Gibt es neue Ansätze für den Ausgleich von Nutzen und Lasten innerhalb & zwischen den Regionen?

Zukunft:

- Welche Ideen gibt es z.Z. für die zukünftige Kantons-/Stadtentwicklung?
- Wird das Raumkonzept Schweiz Ihnen dabei in Zukunft von Nutzen (od. doch eher hinderlich) sein?
- Welche Vorstellungen und Vorschläge haben die verschiedenen Akteure zur weiteren Umsetzung und Anwendung des Raumkonzeptes Schweiz?
 - Welche Faktoren sind dabei förderlich
 - Welche Faktoren sind dabei hinderlich?

III Maps on the three Strategies of the Raumkonzept Schweiz

III.I Strategy 1

Strategie 1

Handlungsräume bilden und das polyzentrische Netz von Städten und Gemeinden stärken

Für die ganze Schweiz gültige Handlungsansätze

- Polyzentrische Raumentwicklung fördern
- Stärken stärken, nicht überall alles
- In funktionalen Räumen zusammenarbeiten
- Räumliche Abstimmung mit Europa sicherstellen

Räumlich differenzierte Handlungsansätze

In Handlungsräumen planen (innerer / erweiterter Bereich)

- Grossstädtisch geprägte Handlungsräume

Metropolitanräume

Hauptstadregion Schweiz

- Klein- und mittelstädtisch geprägte Handlungsräume

- Alpine Handlungsräume

Bestehende Kooperationen in funktionalen Räumen ausbauen

Partnerschaften zwischen den grossstädtisch geprägten Handlungsräumen fördern

Partnerschaften zwischen den Städten und Agglomerationen fördern

Ländliche Zentren und alpine Tourismuszentren untereinander und mit den Städten vernetzen

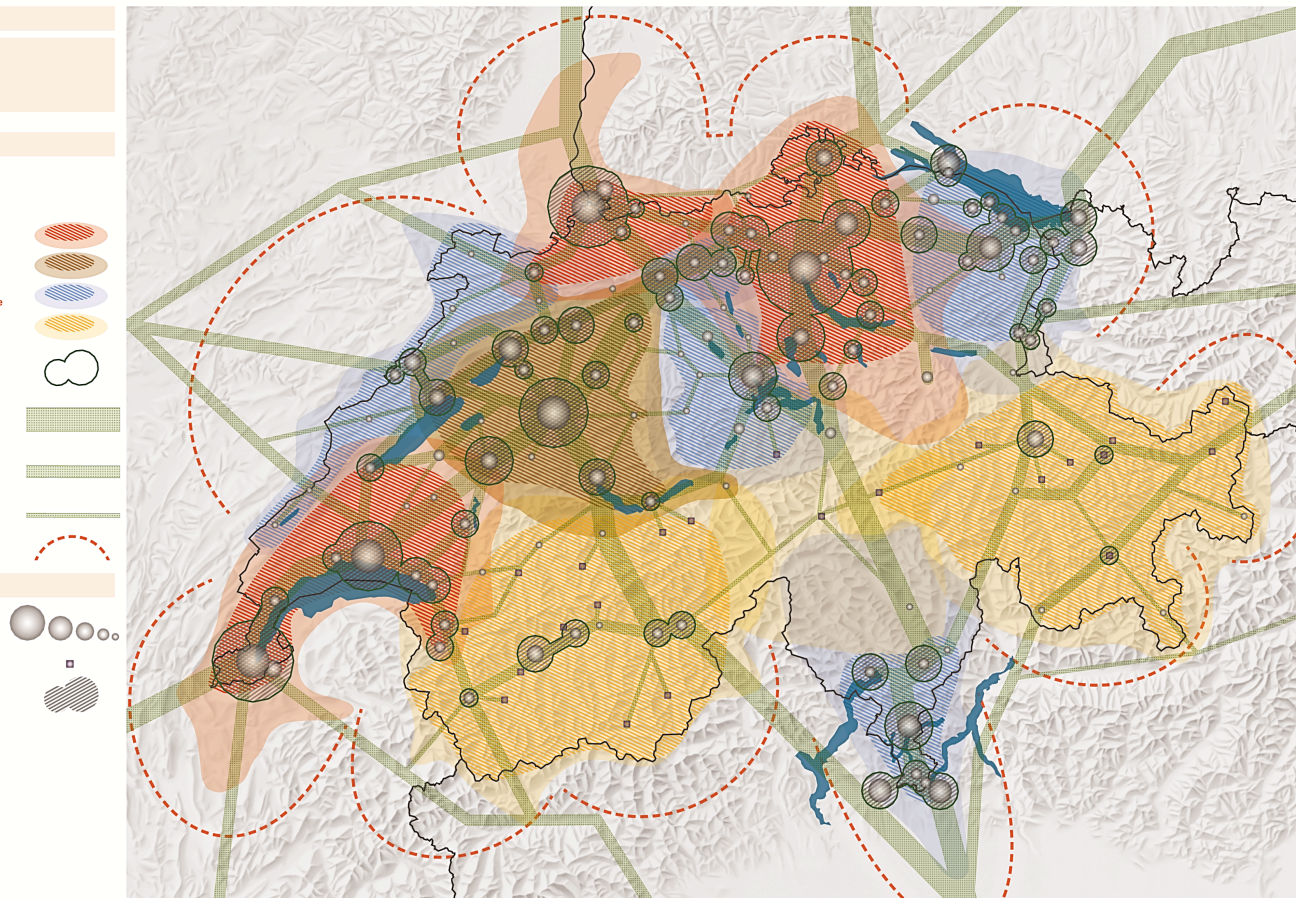
Grenzlage besser nutzen

Ausgangslage

Metropolitane, grossstädtische, mittelstädtische, kleinstädtische und ländliche Zentren

Zentren von grossen alpinen Tourismusgebieten

Agglomerationen



Source: Schweizerischer Bundesrat, KdK, BPUK, SSV, SGV (2012): Raumkonzept Schweiz. Überarbeitete Fassung, Bern.

III.II Strategy 2

Strategie 2

Siedlungen und Landschaften aufwerten

Für die ganze Schweiz gültige Handlungsansätze

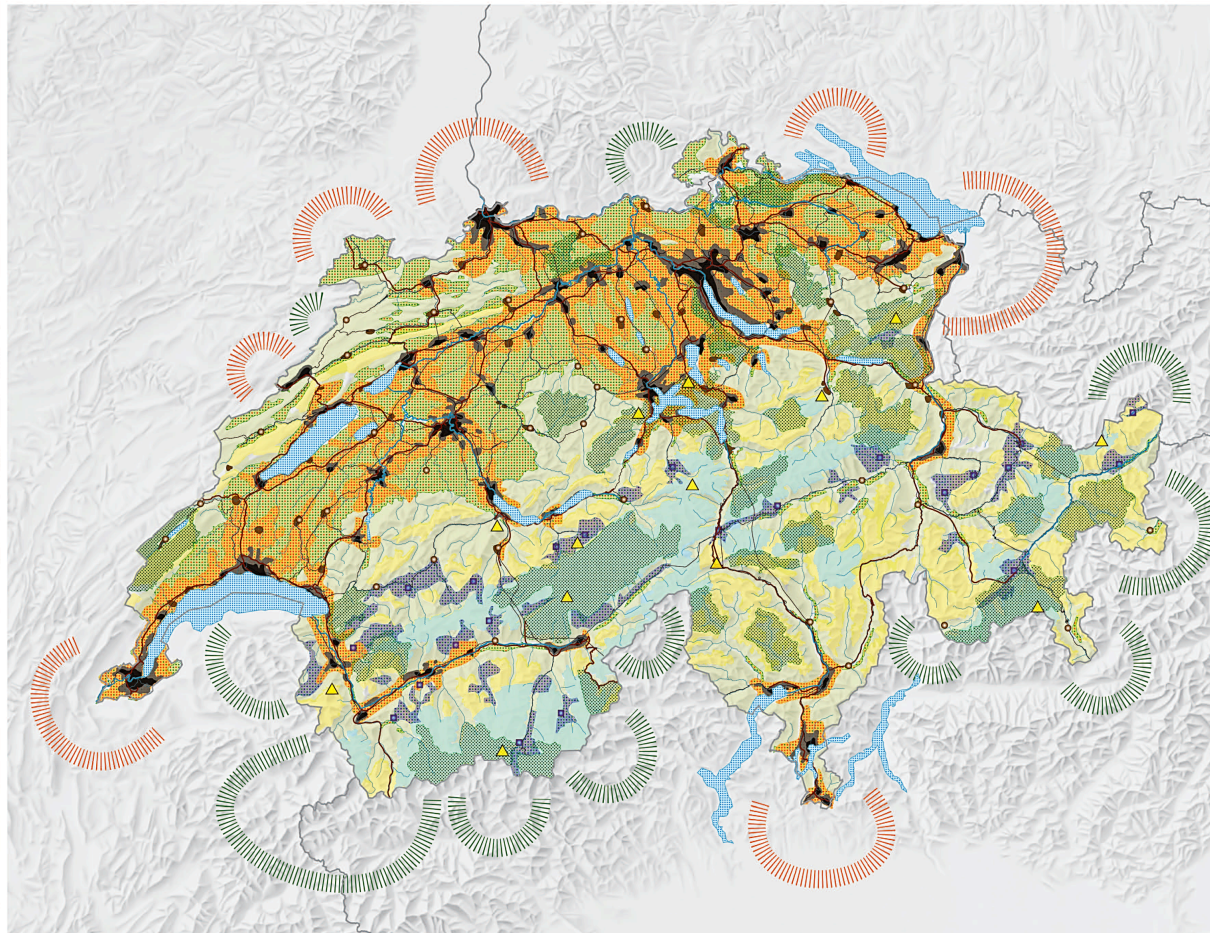
- Siedlungen begrenzen und nach innen entwickeln
- Siedlungsentwicklung optimal mit dem Verkehr verknüpfen
- Lebensqualität in den Ortschaften und Quartieren sichern und verbessern
- Kulturelles Erbe schützen und qualitätsorientiert entwickeln
- Kulturland erhalten, Landwirtschaft stärken
- Bodennutzung mit Naturgefahren abstimmen
- Landschaft in die Planung einbeziehen
- Ansprüche an den Wald koordinieren und Wald aufwerten
- Raum für Biodiversität schaffen

Räumlich differenzierte Handlungsansätze

- Urbanen Raum qualitativ voll verdichten, Grünräume sichern
- Suburbanen Raum aufwerten, eingrenzen und verdichten
- Landschaften unter Siedlungsdruck vor weiterer Zersiedlung schützen und Bodenverbrauch eindämmen
- Zentren im ländlichen Raum stärken und in die Landschaft einordnen
- Zusammenhängende Landwirtschaftsgebiete erhalten
- Touristische Nutzung im Gleichgewicht mit den Gebirgslandschaften entwickeln
- Herausragende Landschaften erhalten und verantwortungsvoll nutzen
- Vielseitige Funktionen der See- und Flussräume unterstützen
- Siedlung und Landschaft grenzüberschreitend koordinieren
- Grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit in den Bereichen Natur und Tourismus weiterführen

Ausgangslage

- Hügel- und Berglandschaften
- Gebirgslandschaften und Jura-areten
- Hochalpine Landschaften
- Alpine Identifikationspunkte
- Bahnnetz
- Nationalstrassen



Source: Schweizerischer Bundesrat, KdK, BPUK, SSV, SGV (2012): Raumkonzept Schweiz. Überarbeitete Fassung, Bern.

III.III Strategy 3

Strategie 3

Verkehr, Energie und Raumentwicklung aufeinander abstimmen

Für die ganze Schweiz gültige Handlungsansätze

- Weiterentwicklung des Verkehrssystems mit der Raumentwicklung optimal abstimmen
- Vernetzung der urbanen Räume optimieren
- Internationale Einbindung verbessern
- Erschliessung der ländlichen Räume gewährleisten
- Verkehrsträger entsprechend ihrer Stärken kombinieren
- Räumliche Voraussetzungen für den sparsamen Umgang mit Energie schaffen
- Effiziente Energieversorgung ermöglichen
- Räume und Trassen für Infrastrukturen freihalten
- Infrastrukturen optimal nutzen und nachteilige Auswirkungen begrenzen

Räumlich differenzierte Handlungsansätze

Verkehrsverbindungen zwischen gross- und mittelstädtischen Zentren erhalten und gezielt verbessern



Agglomerationsverkehr optimieren



Einzugsgebiet der grossstädtischen Zentren kontrolliert erschliessen



Anbindung der ländlichen Zentren und der alpinen Tourismuszentren sicherstellen



Konflikte zwischen Transit, nationalem Verkehr und regionaler Erschliessung angehen



Anbindung an die europäischen Hauptverkehrsachsen verbessern



Internationale Flughäfen räumlich optimal einordnen



Güterumschlagplätze sinnvoll einordnen



Ausgangslage

Schiennetz (Hauptstrecken / Weitere Strecken)



Strassennetz (Grundnetz / Ergänzungsnetz)



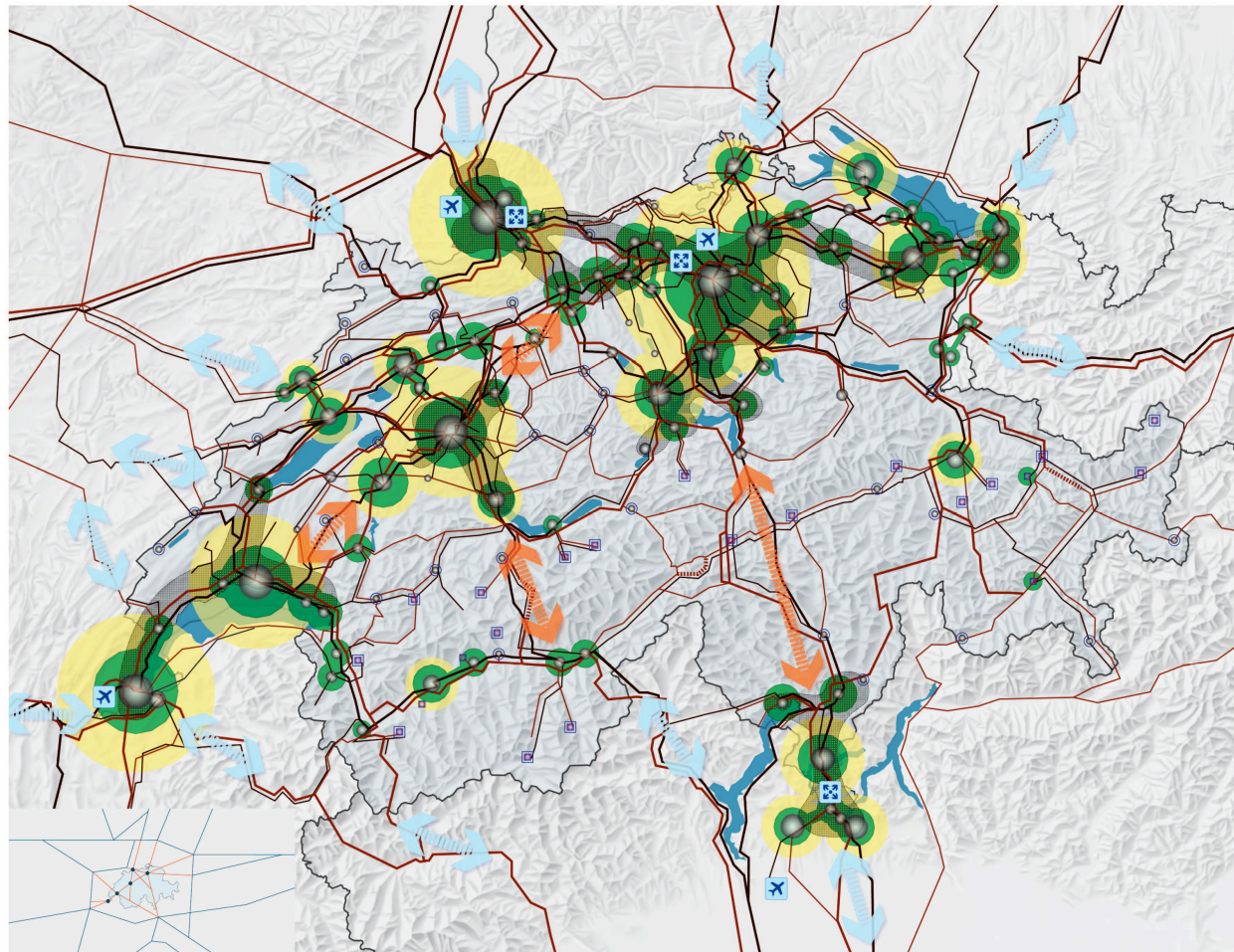
Metropolitane, grossstädtische, mittelstädtische, kleinstädtische und ländliche Zentren



Zentren von grossen alpinen Tourismusgebieten



Europäische Hauptverkehrsachsen



Source: Schweizerischer Bundesrat, KdK, BPUK, SSV, SGV (2012): Raumkonzept Schweiz. Überarbeitete Fassung, Bern.

«Personal declaration: I hereby declare that the submitted thesis is the result of my own, independent work. All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.»

Place, Date

Signature
