Chapter 43

Planning in Relational Space and Time: Responding to New Urban Realities

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Urbanists and planners often tell a familiar story about cities in the modern age, to account for the rise of the twentieth-century planning idea. The appearance of big urban agglomerations, whether through the industrialization of nineteenth-century Western cities, or the explosive development of the cities of the developing world in the second part of the twentieth-century, generates images of chaotic disorder, characterized by appalling living conditions and damaging social, environmental, and economic conditions. The challenge for urban governance was to sort all this out, and produce a harmonious "order," smoothing out conflicts, and creating a framework for improved quality of life, business efficiency and conserving environmental assets. The "planning idea" seemed to provide the answer (Boyer 1983; Ward 1994). Planners brought to this task a conceptual equipment which mixed a designer's imagination with a regional geographer's conception of integrated spatial orders based on analyses of prevailing European settlement patterns of the early twentieth-century. Cities were relationally self-contained, pivoting around the city center, and spreading out across a rural region for which they acted as key markets and sites for relations with the outside world. Land uses in the city were to be separated, to reduce adverse impacts on each other. They were ordered hierarchically in terms of land value, in relation to access to the key location, the city center. Relations with the "outside world" were conducted through the industries which provided the "driver" for this integrated urban system (McLoughlin 1969; Forrester 1969) (see Figure 43.1).

These days, so the story goes, the conception of the self-contained, internally integrated, "uniplex" city is no longer believable, in a world of multiplex and globalized relationships. Cities are referred to as fragmented, in bits and pieces, divided, disorganized, chaotic (Mitchell 1995; Byrne 1996; Davis 1990). Urban governance capacity, once assumed to be located in the municipal office, has now been "distributed," undermined by competition with other sources of power (King and Stoker 1996). Municipalities and their planners have little leverage over the flow of events through which the sociospatial relations of cities are actively being constructed. The planning practices of the "ordering impetus" have become

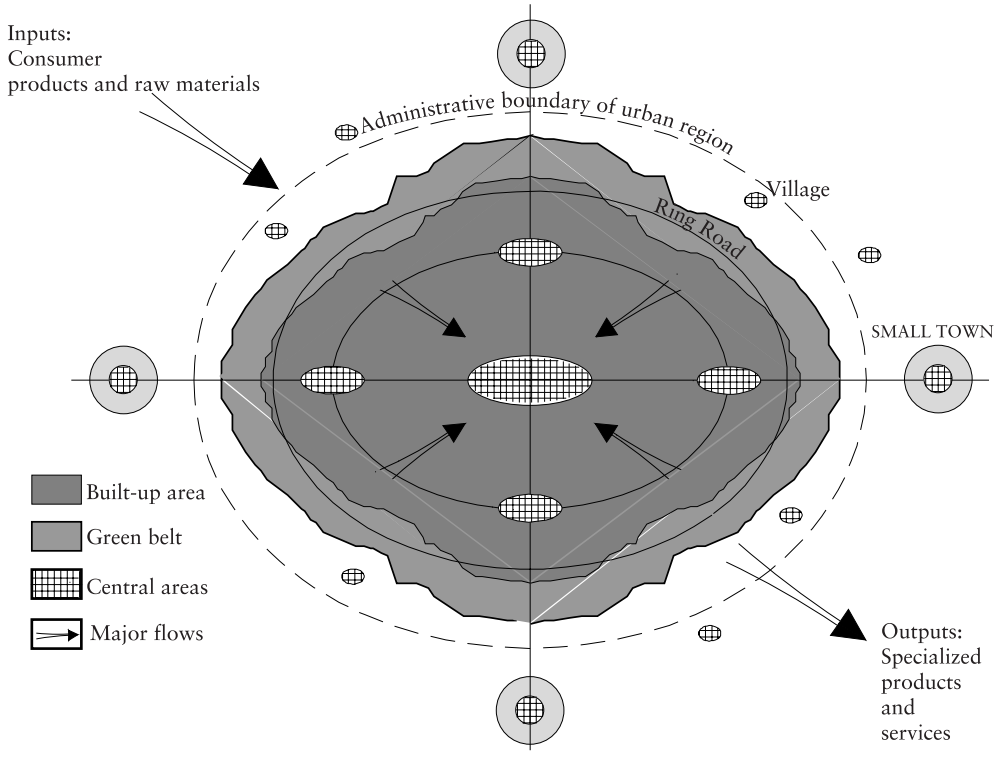

Figure 43.1 The "uniplex city"

part of the problem. Embedded in routine governance practices, planning has been criticized by analysts as class-driven, dominatory, the mode of action of a rationalizing social ordering project (Castells 1977; Boyer 1983; Yiftachel 1998). The planning idea, in one ending to this story, is a relic of the "command and control" welfare state, and of the modernist conceptual equipment of positivist science and utilitarian rationalism which went with it (Dear 1995). The analytical task is then to research urban governance practices, and "excavate" and critique these old ideas as they live on in governance routines (Huxley 1994; Healey 1999; Vigar et al. 2000).

Yet this ending does not seem to fit with another observable reality, the expanding public and political concern, with the quality and "sustainability" of urban conditions. Most people in the world now live in cities. Many of them take what opportunities become available to assert their concerns in public arenas. In some countries, and notably in Britain, the apparatus of planning systems has become a key institutional site for an increasingly complex dialectics of environmental contestation (Grove-White 1991; Owens 1997). The neoliberal strategy (as developed in, for example, Britain and New Zealand) is to seek to transform planning systems into quasi-market regulatory mechanisms for dealing with conflict mediation over complex spatially manifest environmental disputes (Healey 1998; Gleeson and

Grundy 1997). But this strategy fails to attend to the multiplicity of relationships which transect places and the complex ways they intersect in the assertion of place qualities. In particular, it "splits up" into separate issues people's daily life experiences and their sense of the qualities of particular places. Rejecting planners' conceptions of self-contained, integrated sociospatial systems, it assumes that the spatiality of relations and the meanings of places are unimportant dimensions in cities. It ignores the role of the assertion of "place identity" in counteracting the sense of explosive expansion and fragmentation of the relations which used to bind people and firms together in internally integrated urban systems. Places, to the exent that they are of any relevance to contemporary life, are in this conception made and unmade by the forces of market relations.

Such an approach privileges economic and material dimensions of existence over cultural, environmental, and political ones. But this is not the only story line for cities. There is another, arising from cultural studies, the "new" institutionalism, and the environmental movement, which emphasizes the importance of a politics of place-making. This other story line explicitly recognizes the multiple relationships which transect the space–time of cities and locales within them, a politics and governance practice which seeks to shape these relationships in order to cultivate their interrelationships, reduce the harm they cause to each other and actively shape place identities. Is there a new "planning imagination" which can be harnessed to this task, to help generate new practices and refurbish old ones?

In this chapter, I argue that there is such an emerging imagination. It is based in an explicit recognition of the multiple relational webs which transect cities, each with their own time horizons and spatial reach, each "creating," through their conceptions and activities, an imagined city and a socially and physically concrete one. It emphasizes that "making places" is achieved not by the imposition of a technical order by the state, but by the active social construction of place-focused frameworks and through efforts to cultivate a strategic imagination through which key attributes of a "place" can become identified and "owned" by the many stakeholders in the "place" of a city. In this way, "permanences" are created in the dynamic relational dialectics of urban life (Harvey 1996).

The planning idea emerges, in this story, as a form of governance, which is open, driven by inclusionary perspectives on what makes for human flourishing in the urban context, rather than the generalized ideologies of politicians or the self-interest of elites (Healey 1997; Sandercock 1998). Such a planning focuses on developing the qualities of "habitus," the places of daily life, of commercial endeavor, of social exchange, and the public realm. It involves asserting the qualities of places, to be promoted and maintained, against forces pushing in different directions. It involves practices which develop strategies, shape investment programs and frame regulatory judgments in open, visible forms, confronting the forces encouraging behind-the-scenes manipulation and subversion of publicly agreed policy directions. If successful in the struggle for power with competing governance forms, this kind of planning has the capacity to develop sufficient discursive strength to generate the political leverage to assert a broadly shared and "multiplex" "place identity." It then has the capacity to shape market opportunities and influence sociocultural evolutions.

Facing the Challenge of Multiplex Systems: Into the Finegrain of Practice[1]

I return to this normative planning idea at the end of the chapter. Some have argued that it is an ideal without any roots in contemporary planning practices from which it could grow and develop (Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger 1998). Certainly British planning practice has been heavily molded in recent years by neoliberal influences (Thornley 1991; Healey 1998). However, policy systems and practices are not static, but are pushed and pulled to respond to different situations. In this section, I illustrate such evolutions through an examination of two areas of English planning practice. Both cases are from the English context, with its distinctive governance and legal context for planning systems and their practices (CEC 1997). One shows the work of regulatory permitting, focusing on the negotiation of developers' contributions to ameliorating adverse impacts ("development control" and "planning gain/planning obligations" in British planning jargon). The other is of strategic spatial planmaking (the "structure plan" level of "development plans" in the British context). In both cases, models of integrated urban systems, with their two-dimensional "Euclidean" space and linear time, have decayed, to be replaced by conceptions of complex, open relations emerging in new discourses about impacts and about strategy. But these new ideas are developing hesitantly, without a coherent conceptual imagination and discourse to drive across the practice landscape. This creates a conceptual vacuum into which a despatialized neoliberal policy discourse has established itself. The dialectical struggle is now not merely between "uniplex" versus "multiplex" conceptions of urban sociospatial relations. It is overlain by another struggle between "place-blind" and "people-diminishing" urban policy versus "place-aware" and "people-sensitive" approaches.

The impacts of development projects

Many webs of relations are affected by development projects. These could potentially encompass the networks of, and relations between, landowners, developers, financiers, endusers, various third parties, different sectors of central and local government, local politics, national politics, pressure groups of all kinds. Some planning systems attempt to define the universe of potential impacts in advance and convert these into rules to apply to any development project that comes along. The British planning system, characterized by the exercise of administrative-political judgment in determining whether a permit should be given, in contrast provides a flexible formal structure in which new ideas about what impacts can emerge (Davies et al. 1989; Booth 1996; CEC 1997). The system structures the making of judgments so that planning officers pay attention to national statements of planning policy, local statements (primarily embodied in the "development plan"), and other considerations specific to the case (Cullingworth and Nadin 1994; Tewdwr-Jones 1997). Most discussion of the impacts of development traditionally focused on the qualities of the site, or on local impacts, and, in particular, on adjacent impacts. The primary concern was to "fit" a new project into the existing "jigsaw" landscape of buildings and open spaces and deal with the additional loads on infrastructure caused by a development (see Figure 43.2). Wider impacts were assumed to be addressed by the

policy framework. The "development plan" was supposed to specify broadly the amounts of development which might be expected in an area, the general locations where such development might happen, and the time periods over which development might take place. But when a project actually arrives for the regulatory judgment, it comes with a whole nexus of potential relations of its own, which affect its viability and political acceptability. As it "lands" on a particular site at a particular time, it has impacts along all kinds of relations in which the site and the project have significance.

Until the 1980s, the implicit urban model used in assessing development impacts was the hierarchically integrated "uniplex" city. The land use pattern was taken as a proxy for the social processes. The relations of the activities were assumed to be structured by propinquity and utilitarian rationality. The city was presented as a kind of "jigsaw," the separate pieces making up a hierarchically ordered pattern. People went to work in the nearest business. They shopped at the nearest foodstore. They went to the city center for their durable shopping and cultural recreation. They were assumed to care most about what happened nearest to them. The focus of the assessment of development impacts was on "neighborhood" effects, adjacent to the site in question. Propinquity was the dominant principle and "planning gain" negotiations focused on honing the development project so it fitted better into its "jigsaw" space. By the 1980s, however, the conception of impacts widened out. For example, a large residential development project might generate complex drainage problems, as development upstream could damage downstream water flows. Agreements might be negotiated for actions and financial contributions which linked the stage of the building process and the state of the housing market to phased

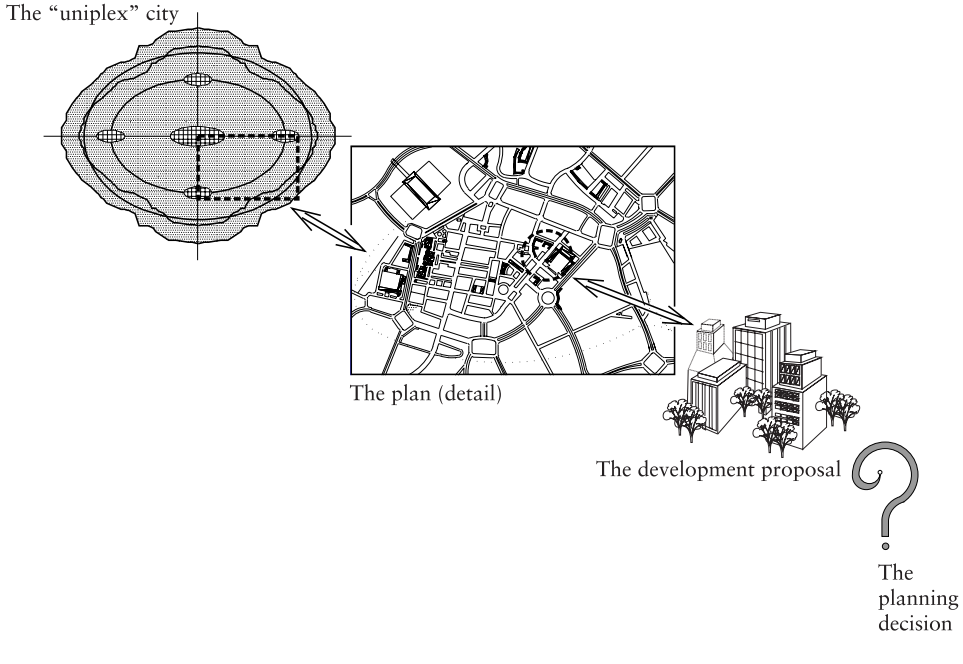

Figure 43.2 Fitting development projects into the "spatial jigsaw"

investment in a system of temporary and permanent balancing lakes and run-off channels across the drainage basin. In such a case, the flow dynamics of a hydrological system and the dynamic relations of a particular market supplement consideration of impacts were based on simple propinquity (Healey, Purdue, and Ennis 1995).

In some situations, local residents organize to demand some compensation for adverse impacts. This may lead to agreements not only for contributions to highway and drainage infrastructure, but to provision of schools and playing fields, recreational and amenity open space, and landscaping features. In one case, a developer of a project of 1,000 dwellings provided half a million pounds to a local parish council for recreational and community purposes. Here, propinquity gave special bargaining power to a particular and visible affected group.[2] This raises questions of legitimacy. Why do adjacent impacts get such consideration compared to more distant ones?

When disputes enter the legal arena, a more relational emphasis opens up, in the legal language of a "reasonable relationship" (Healey, Purdue, and Ennis 1995). In the division of labor between law and policy in the British planning system, it is left to planners to articulate what is a "reasonable" relationship. In principle, this allows the variable space–time linkages of a multiplex world to be brought into play. But these shifts are not underpinned by coherent conceptualizations. In the arenas of government policy, in local negotiations, in public inquiries, and the courts, planners struggle to articulate principles to govern the decisions they make. The pressures of local politics, and national pressure groups promoting conflicting objectives, are pushing them along. This privileges the circuitry of the vocal and powerful. Impacts on those without the power and resources to speak up, and on those distant in space and time, are neglected. This helps governance elites mediate conflicts in the short term. But many stakeholders and many relationships are not represented in these mediations. In a governance context where power is increasingly widely distributed, excluded considerations have a habit of popping up to disturb the apparent consensus and challenge the legitimacy of planning decisions and frameworks.

From development plans to local "visions"

Changing conceptualizations of space and time are more obvious in the arena of planmaking. British development plan practice in the second part of the twentieth-century may be crudely divided into three phases, reflecting the "master narrative" outlined above: the "blueprint" land use plans of the early postwar years, the strategic spatial plans grounded in conceptions of regional sociospatial systems, and the sectoralized policy plans of more recent years. The blueprint style arose in part from a conception that planners could control spatial change, rather than merely shape the flow of processes of change. The plan delineated what was to be built where, in five-year time periods, assuming that the complex relations of multiple development processes could be coordinated in a common time schedule. This managerial viewpoint was attached to a "uniplex" conception of the city, translated into a hierarchical spatial order. Activities and their relationships could be "read off" from the land use pattern. The classic British spatial plan associated with Patrick Abercrombie and others envisaged a city which combined the patterns of Isardian central place theory with the notions of self-contained *gemeinschaft* communities (Ravetz 1980; Hall et al. 1973).

This approach was heavily criticized in the 1960s for its failure to appreciate the dynamics of regional development. Drawing on a more sophisticated geography and ecology, and much influenced by Chapin (1965), British planning theorists sought to imagine the city in relational terms (e.g. McLoughlin 1969). The focus of attention shifted from spatial patterns per se, to the dynamics of the regional economic system and the urban communications system, both in terms of transport and information flows. Drawing heavily on economic base theory and the behavioral urban ecology of the Chicago sociologists, the ambition was to build dynamic "systems" models of the economic and social relations of settlements, and translate these into spatial patterns. Such models, it was hoped, would not only allow the exploration of alternative sociospatial scenarios (primarily to manage the relations between land needs for growth and infrastructure investment), they could also be used in regulatory practice, to allow the impacts of a development to be assessed by checking them out against the relational assumptions in the model, a kind of systematized environmental appraisal (Chapin 1965; McLoughlin 1969, 1973). These "systems models," which dominated the technical planning literature in Britain and the US in the late 1960s and early 1970s, underpinned early British attempts at producing the new kinds of "structure plan" introduced in the 1970s (Cowling and Steeley 1973). However, while more dynamic and relational than their predecessors, these models were still underpinned by hierarchically integrated, "uniplex," conceptions of the city.

A pioneering example in Britain was the South Hampshire Structure Plan (South Hampshire Structure Plan Advisory Committee 1972). This involved an elaborate exercise in modeling existing relationships, forecasting growth and then exploring different development location scenarios. The conceptions underlying the model were very simple: "Three activities and uses (i.e. land uses) are of particular strategic importance . . . – employment, homes and shopping" (para. 4.8, p. 19). Activities are seen to occur on sites connected by movement channels. Drawing on the classic Abercrombie tradition, the urban "structure" is set within a "rural framework" which provides resources of agriculture and recreation opportunities for the urban inhabitants (p. 21). This "largely self-contained city region" (para. 2.28, p. 10) is conceived in terms of a hierarchy of central places, but with a polynodal rather than a uninodal structure.

In the model, the dynamic of regional growth is perceived as largely internal to the area. External inputs are confined to migration flows from the rest of the South East Region. The language of analysis deals in aggregates rather than differentiated dynamics. There is no comment on the relational dynamics or locational preferences of the various firms which are "growing." The plan nevertheless presents a striking attempt to develop an overarching conception of the regional economy. The problem lies in its closure, and in the way it considers internal system relationships. It sets up the regional dynamics of the area as a closed system with internal feedback loops, on the lines of Forrester's conception of urban dynamics (Forrester 1969). This assumes equilibrium-seeking systems rather then evolutionary systems (Hwang 1996). It treats space as Euclidean and time as linear. In retrospect, the approach not only failed to identify the contingencies of the South Hampshire economy, which became obvious as recession and restructuring set in during the 1970s and 1980s. It also failed to consider the political, institutional, and resource context in which the regulation and promotion of development would take place. South Hampshire

was treated as an "object" to which strategies were applied, rather than a dynamic mélange of social relations within which planning actions would be variously articulated and intertwined.

Despite serious economic difficulties in some sections of the regional economy, South Hampshire has continued to grow and the political problem of allocating sites for new development has become increasingly acute for both local and national politicians. By the 1990s, Hampshire County Council was locked in battles with central government over how much of the regional demand for housing in South East England as a whole would be accommodated in the county. Structure plan practice evolved in the 1980s to reflect the institutional context. The presentation of a spatial territory into which development would be fitted (the spatial "jigsaw") was replaced by an "institutional territory" in terms of which projects had to be legitimated (the institutional "jigsaw"). This recognized the power of agency in structuring space, but at the cost of losing the sense of space and place. The plan was no longer even a two-dimensional map. Instead, it became a record of sites and zones affected by particular policy considerations.

Hampshire County Council Structure Plan of 1994 was still concerned with accommodating growth and maintaining the discreteness of urban settlements. "A central theme of the Plan is to preserve the distinction between town and country as two different kinds of environment" (HCC 1994, para. 27, p. 10). "Strategic gaps" of landscape are to be retained between settlements, to sustain the illusion of self-contained settlements. Apart from these "inherited" spatial principles, the plan divides its material into a series of topics, each being discussed largely in isolation from the other. By 1996, however, a new concern with place and identity appears in the plan. The elements of the spatial order remain the same. However, "suburban development has tended to reduce local distinctiveness and sense of place in many parts of the County. . . . Community identity, a sense of place and belonging, which is part of this heritage, also needs to be defended" (HCC 1966, para. 21, p. 6).

The notion of community identity has political attractions in a county where the politics of the defense of place against further growth became acute in the 1990s. The 1996 Plan attempts a more coherent overview of the county as a place, using the marketing language of "vision" and the environmental language of "sustainability." The idea of a "Vision," borrowed from the business-marketing arena and from practices around urban regeneration projects, promotes the qualities of a place. It also potentially offers an "integrative conception" to bind the many, potentially conflicting parties, into a shared approach and/or program of actions (Neuman 1996; Healey et al. 1997; Stevenson 1998). But Hampshire's "Vision" is not developed into a reconception of the sociospatial dynamics of change in the subregion, nor is there any recognition of the multiplex times and places which are evolving in the county area. The topic chapters of the plan provide policy criteria, in the neoliberal mode, intended to be used in assessing actual development projects, at the point where the institutional and spatial "jigsaws" interact. This evolution of the Hampshire Structure Plans illustrates well how the uniplex strategic conception of the 1960s and 1970s decayed into a highly generalized conception of the "space" of the county, with the policy dynamic of the plan structured not by technical analyses of sociospatial dynamics, but by the politics of institutional interactions. In these interactions, multiplex space–time perspectives are consolidated through the voices

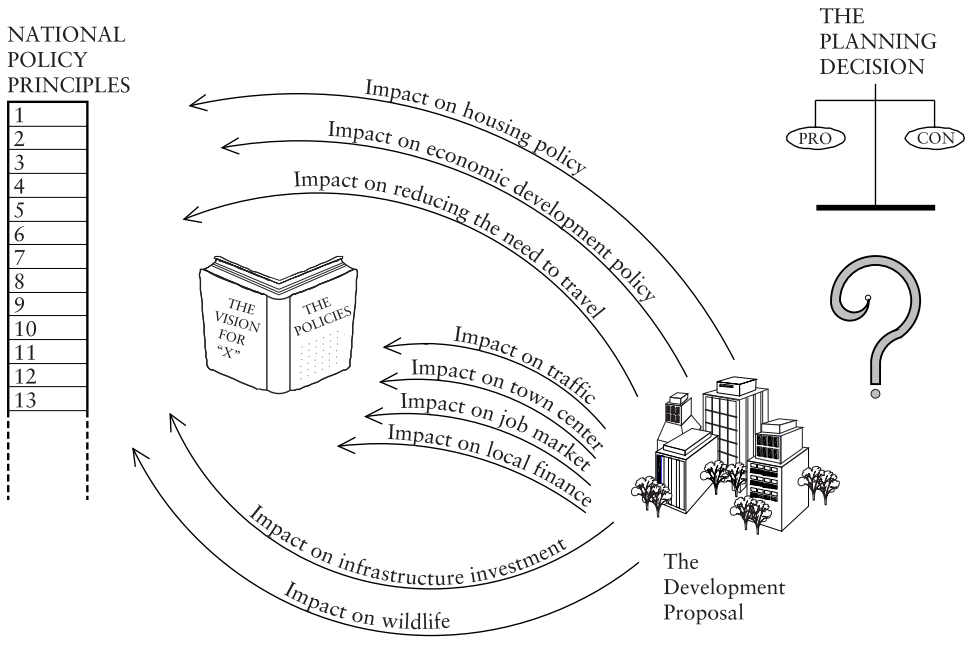

Figure 43.3 Fitting development projects into the "institutional jigsaw"

of powerful local players and the regulatory vocabulary of national planning policy (Tewdwr-Jones 1997; Healey 1998) (see Figure 43.3).

Reconceptualizing Planning in Relational Time and Space

In both these examples, simple models of sociospatial relations have been largely abandoned, though they live on in techniques (such as transport modeling and retail appraisal), in regulatory practices (the continued preoccupation with adjacent or site-based impacts), and in notions of "the local community" and its needs. But there is no coherent reconceptualization of the urban region in multiplex space and time. Instead, strands of understanding from contemporary urban and regional geography filter into analyses of economic issues, and ecosystemic ideas from the environmental sciences flow into policy with respect to the natural environment. Instead of being allowed to intertwine and develop innovatively, they are being forced into the straitjacket of despatialized policy criteria, which limit the relations which are considered and which ignore considerations of place identity. As a consequence, urban planning practice in Britain has become peculiarly unprepared for attention to the qualities of places.

Two evolutions are counteracting this narrowing of the thoughtworlds of English planning practice. The first focuses on developing a new "place imagination." The second emphasizes more inclusive practices for policy development and discussion, through which multiple perceptions can find voice and contribute to the active construction of new conceptions of "place identity."

The resources for new conceptions of urban dynamics and place qualities can be found in the exploding international social science literature on the city, urban economies, societies, environments, and governance – the subject matter of this volume. They can also be found in rich encounters with "local knowledge" about place relations.[3] The "postmodern" turn enabled analysts and policy actors to perceive the diversity and openness of urban relations, which had been drowned out by the holistic simplifications of modernist urban analysis. It gave full play to particularity, complexity, and contingency. But in its extreme forms, too little attention was given to relations and processes, and the interweaving of continuities and innovations in evolving urban dynamics. The new poststructuralist thinking, evident in many strands of analysis[4] takes a dynamic, relational view of urban life. Its focus is on relations and processes, not objects. It emphasizes dynamics not statics, and the complex interactions between local continuities and "social capital" and innovative potential. It "sees" multiple relations transecting the space of the city, each "driven" and "shaped" by different forces, interacting with each other in different ways, bypassing, conflicting, coordinating in complex trajectories. It recognizes that these social relationships, although shaped by powerful forces, often outside the space of a particular urban area, are actively socially constructed. In the social processes of defining meanings and identities and in the routine ways of living in the city, people make the multiplex times and places, its differentiations, cohesions and exclusions, and its power dynamics. The quality of the "places" of the urban lies in both the social resources – in the range and intersections of the relational resources available to people and firms, in the balance between security/stability and creative tension/innovation, in the capacity for collective development of "place quality" – and in the spatial manifestations of places: the key sites of public interaction, the symbolic reference points, the design of both "neighborhoods" and

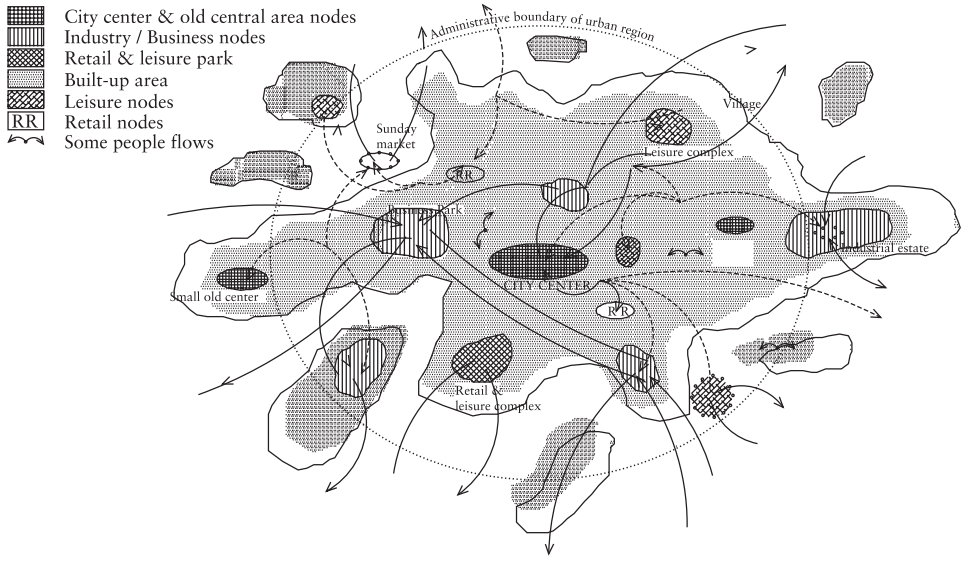

Figure 43.4 The "multiplex city"

"nodal areas" in the urban fabric (see Figure 43.4). The governance of "places" then has a key role in the development of these qualities, in the way governance processes intertwine with the complexity of intersecting relationships, helping to maintain and build meanings and relationships. Such governance can also help to "fix" and transmit place quality and identity in a multivocal context (see Sandercock 1998).[5]

This turns the spotlight on the quality of governance practices themselves. It is here that the alternative planning imagination outlined at the start of this chapter comes into play. It requires a governance dynamics and culture which encourages officials to move outside the city hall, to work interactively with the multiple relational webs which transect the urban. It involves combining formal analysis with "local knowledge" and popular imaginations, to identify the key qualities of places which people want to maintain, develop, enhance, and create. It draws on "conversations" between different relational worlds, through which some kind of shared ownership of strategies and regulatory and investment actions can develop, imbued with recognition of the inherent struggles, tensions, and conflicts which are manifest in any multivocal urban context. The developments within planning theory on communicative, collaborative planning processes provide rich resources for such a reconstruction of planning processes,[6] while the practice of partnership and "enabling governance" has generated an array of practical experience and "local knowledge" in many Western cities (see Douglass and Friedmann 1998).

But these practices also show that interactive governance and collaborative planning initiatives come in several forms. In some instances, such processes get hijacked as a way of reestablishing the hegemony of powerful groups. Specifically, they provide an opportunity for the reentry of local business elites into local governance in situations where they have been pushed aside by the ideological politics of the welfare state which set the "public" interest against "private" interests. This potential for takeover puts a premium on an inclusionary ethics, a commitment by those in governance positions to attend to the range of relations through which people and firms, in diverse ways, "inhabit" and give meaning to the urban. It demands that planners develop skills in facilitating encounters between different groups (Healey 1997) and bringing in voices currently on the margins of governance (Sandercock 1998). Such an inclusionary ethics needs to permeate the processes for building strategies and frameworks through which to promote particular place qualities. It needs to infuse not only the regulatory practices and investment programs through which material resources and opportunities are distributed, but also the way relational resources are developed. It needs to be grounded in broadly distributed rights to challenge governance actions on the grounds of inclusionary failures and in obligations to demonstrate inclusionary intentions (Healey 1997). Such an inclusionary ethics is not just needed to keep alive the idea of social justice in a world where the relations of injustice and domination are multiple and often invisible. They are also needed as a continual challenge to the embedding of a narrow and inflexible imagination as an inward-looking response to the dynamic dialectics of a multiplex world.

In many parts of the world, governance elites are trying to write new stories for their cities, to inscribe these stories in the identities of the key players upon whose actions the core relations of a city depend and to incorporate them into the practices of an urban governance which stretches beyond the town hall to a wide range of

people involved in governance in one way or another.[7] The challenge for planners is to reconstruct their own ways of thinking and acting to provide creative resources for critiquing and facilitating this work of city story-writing. In this role, some of the evangelism of past generations of planners needs to be rediscovered. The planners of midcentury believed in their imagination for the city and what its values should be. This included a deep commitment to quality of life for "ordinary people," and to a more just distribution of life opportunities in the urban environment (Hall 1988, 1995; Ward 1994). Of course, their ideas about urban form, social organization and their power to influence events have all proved in retrospect erroneous and often damaging to these values. But it is not the values which were the problem. It was rather the belief that knowledge resides only with experts and that urban form is the prime determinant of the quality of urban life. A multiplex urban imagination among those who become the expert facilitators in urban governance, along with a commitment to an inclusionary ethic, could make a real difference to the future qualities of urban life. But this imagination needs to be informed by a rich and dynamic appreciation of the diverse everyday experiences and symbolic significances of our contemporary multiplex cities.

NOTES

1. This section is a substanially revised version of Graham and Healey 1999.
2. Such payments are actually very rare and much frowned on in British planning practice (Healey, Purdue, and Ennis 1995).
3. See, for example, Bishop 1998; Burton 1997.
4. Amin and Graham 1998; Healey 1997; Sandercock 1998; Thrift 1996; Amin and Thrift 1997; Castells 1996; Dematteis 1994; King 1996; Storper 1997; Friedmann 1993; Hwang 1996.
5. And thereby generating the kinds of stable meanings and "permanences" which are captured in notions of urban regimes (cf. Harvey 1996; Lauria 1997).
6. Forester 1993; Fischer and Forester 1993; Sager 1994; Innes 1995; Healey 1997; Healey, Hoch, Lauria, and Feldman 1997; Sandercock 1998.
7. The distinction between inscription and incorporation comes from Connerton 1989, but it parallels my own in between ways of thinking and ways of acting (Healey 1997).

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