A STRATEGIC VISION AS A SPATIAL PLANNING INSTRUMENT?
EXAMINING THE PLANNING PROCESS BY MEANS OF NARRATIVE-PERFORMATIVE STORYTELLING IN THE CASE OF MALLEY, LAUSANNE WEST.

Master’s Thesis by Mark L. Vetter
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ABSTRACT

As part of Lausanne’s wider western agglomeration (Ouest lausannois), the Malley brownfield site represents one of the greatest opportunities for (peri-)urban regeneration in Switzerland. After almost 15 years, its ongoing, promising and awarded planning procedure has reached an essential transitional phase: the concretization of projects or the implementation of the plans as urban reality. This thesis aims to investigate selected parts of the planning process at regional (Lausanne West) and local (Malley) levels by identifying both narrative and performative planning elements.

In addition to the main (hi-)story of urban development in the whole Lausanne West region, the planning process is characterized by a variety of intertwined and connected stories forming and transforming planning assemblages. These are explored in a case study and focus on the examination of three local elements surrounding the planning process of the Malley Centre: first, the transformation of the ancient gasometer from an industrial past relic to a symbol of a new neighbourhood identity; second, the restructuring of present public spaces (mainly around the new train station) and the discourses concerning the need for this regeneration in an urban environment; third, the elusive importance of high-rise buildings as persuasive planning means, representing urban landmarks in the future cityscape.

The thesis addresses the performance of the stories of these elements in the planning assemblage, as well as the way in which they have unfolded in different arenas of decision making. To grasp the problem, I make use of an inductive grounded theory-based approach, including a two-step qualitative content analysis to examine planning documents (plans, maps, texts) as primary data and selective expert interviews with planners involved in the process as secondary data. Assemblage thinking and a complexity-based approach function as the ontological framework to tackle the relationships between elements from a multi-perspective viewpoint with the aim of exploring spaces of possibility. Furthermore, stories and storytelling – besides their descriptive and performative capacities – also serve as a methodological tool. They are identified and used to unveil ways of thinking about particularities in planning theory through encountering singularities in planning practice.

The particular way in which this planning procedure is governed also enables conclusions to be drawn concerning planning theory and democratic governance. It positions the planner as navigating mediator in the centre of the process and attributes importance to the vision as an actant itself, having crucial design agency. An implicit use of stories and their telling in an appropriate manner helps to consolidate the vision and make it explicit and indeed increases the chances of its final realization. Spatial planning processes tend to lack the narratives, images and a common vision that would make them more effective.

KEYWORDS

spatial planning; planning theory; vision; storytelling; Ouest lausannois; Malley
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Original term (French)</th>
<th>English translation/significance</th>
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<tr>
<td>EG</td>
<td>Etude générale</td>
<td>General roundup study</td>
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<td>ET</td>
<td>Etude test</td>
<td>Test planning study</td>
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<td>PALM</td>
<td>Plan d’agglomération</td>
<td>Regional structure plan (for the Lausanne-Morges agglomeration)</td>
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<td>PDCn</td>
<td>Plan directeur cantonal</td>
<td>Cantonal structure plan</td>
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<td>PDL</td>
<td>Plan directeur localisé</td>
<td>Localized structure plan</td>
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<td>PPA</td>
<td>Plan partiel d’affectation</td>
<td>Partial allocation plan</td>
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<td>PQ</td>
<td>Plan du quartier</td>
<td>Neighbourhood plan</td>
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<td>SDIM</td>
<td>Schéma directeur intercommunal de Malley</td>
<td>Intercommunal directive structure plan for Malley</td>
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<td>SDOL</td>
<td>Schéma directeur de l’ouest lausannois</td>
<td>Regional structure plan (for the Lausanne West division)</td>
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<td>RER</td>
<td>Réseau Express Régional</td>
<td>Regional train (station in Malley)</td>
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1. INTRODUCTION

It is like being on a small island, surrounded by waves trying to erode the piece of land on which I’m standing, waiting to be reached by boats that blaze a trail through the stormy ocean. What are the stories being told on the water by the boats trying to navigate amid the ships through rain and sunshine? And will they ever reach land to transform the vision into reality?

I can see it clearly and indistinctly at the same time, in the distance, somewhere on the far horizon. It seems concrete and yet illusory. It needs imagination, it needs words and it needs a vision to give it meaning.

Standing on a platform at the newly constructed train station, in the middle of nowhere and yet in the centre, surrounded by empty spaces waiting to be fulfilled with life. Like a lonely stranger awaiting like-minded companions.

Somewhere behind the brownfield sites and their industrial relics, there it is: a sustainable urban future! I hear stories promising equilibrium between society and the environment, work and living, space and place.

Or was it just a dream?

1.1 Preface

My research consists of telling a story. It is the story of a place called Lausanne West and its planning process, which again is its very own story. The reader of my written story is experiencing another story, one that has been told, re-written and visualized many times in many ways by a collaborative authorship, one that is becoming and will probably never come to an end, even though it has a very clear beginning.

Through exploring the city or urban fabrics by means of narratives, the text becomes texture and reveals a latency that can be made visible. In planning, this inherent possibility is used in stories about places (buildings, public spaces, streets), or – in a more abstract sense – about concepts (urban, mobility, sustainability). For research purposes, the most challenging aspect is to make these stories explicit and to expose their performance in the planning process.

Why do I see the planning process of LSW as a story?

Every story has a beginning, but not every story has an end. This is true in literature as well as in planning. The construction moratorium in the year 2000 – executed by political authorities – marked a breakpoint in the development of the western Lausanne agglomeration, but at the same time it is the beginning of a new story and the emergence of a plot in a particular setting with different characters and various conflicts around a theme. In short, authors (who are also usually characters in the story) make use of narratives to perform planning through stories.

A plot includes a network of relations in combination with the setting and different conflicts between characters emerge out of the story. As I shall argue later,
stories imply a strong emphasis on convincing people, their success being related to the degree of persuasiveness in planning. In the story's theme, the author(ship) tries to convey a main idea or an underlying meaning, but as in linguistics when talking about different deixis, the planning stories are embedded in manifold contexts, power relationships, constraints and discourses.

**How do stories work?**

As the planning academic Leonie Sandercock (2003a) stresses, the performance of planning through stories is done either consciously or unconsciously. In my research, I want to become aware of these stories and to make them conscious in order to see what is behind the planning processes. The understanding of the Lausanne West ‘planning stories’ in this environment of transformation is important as “stories and storytelling can be powerful agents or aids in the service of change, as shapers of a new imagination of alternatives” (Sandercock 2003a: 18). By tracing not only the aforementioned dimensions of the story but also the actors performing a role in the story, its functioning becomes clearer and makes a mapping of the planning story possible: in addition to the author/teller, we can identify the (direct) addressee – who is probably also the receiver – and the people named in a story. Furthermore, a story’s utterance can also ‘address’ those who overhear, who are not directly catered for in the story but nonetheless – from my point of view – have a great influence on the story as well as on its success. As I shall argue later, stories have to be performed to make sense and to ‘work’.

**Why do I want to tell this story?**

The aim of the research can be seen as the documentation of an experimental work based on collectively gathered experiences and information concerning a thematic plan with the goal of providing knowledge through the telling of a story. A story leaves space for interpretation, which means that the reader of the story can use and adopt concepts, insights and findings derived from the story in order to write his or her own. It is a means of knowledge transfer: the story serves to represent a complex subject without limiting it.

As it would be impossible to reflect the whole story of the Lausanne West planning process in a thesis of this size, I am obliged to be selective and focus on several characteristics within the planning process, with the aim of making its stories explicit. My focus on stories within the scope of this thesis is based on two views in terms of examining them in the planning process: first, I identified an overall main story, which can be traced from the year 2000 (construction moratorium) until now and which will probably be told again for a long time; second, there are specific stories (concerning elements, concepts or discourses) that either nourish or diminish the main story. The performativity of these secondary stories is an essential element with regard to the vision of the planning process that I aim to investigate.

*The thesis represents a temporary fixed point in the planning story; it is an unstable moment drawing on lines of flight as well as on stable relationships.*
1.2 Context

Between the cities of Lausanne and Morges, an area called ‘Lausanne West’ spreads over more than 15,000 hectares, in which a zone of concerted development is being performed by different actors – but predominantly the regional office for spatial planning called the Bureau SDOL (*Schéma directeur Ouest lausannois*) as the central planner\(^1\) – through their networking activities. In various publications, documents and campaigns, several performers and tellers of stories try to convince politicians, private industries and the public of the importance of and need for a basic renewal of Lausanne West. What emerges, implicitly or explicitly, is a collective vision as perceived by the population and other stakeholders implicated in the development of Lausanne West.

As my focus is on the spatial planning process, this chapter briefly illustrates a typical situation in today’s agglomerations by pointing out features which can be found in various city regions in central Europe and that are generated or caused by processes that are also prevalent in Switzerland. Furthermore, the following sections provide an overview of Lausanne West in terms of the region’s definition and its structure, before concentrating on important elements in the specific local case of Malley and finally leading to consideration of the planning process in the analysis. For introductory purposes, this is done in a rather descriptive manner (*tracing*) and the analysis per se takes place in Chapter 5 (*mapping*). As the planning of the study site of Malley is integrated within a project relating to the canton, the agglomeration and several other institutions, it is important to describe in brief the different scales.

1.2.1 Urban sprawl in the context of Switzerland

Swiss spatial planning is characterized by a division on three levels: federal, cantonal and municipal. In these institutional or administrative spaces the authorities are engaged with their tasks and try to work collaboratively with other institutions to elaborate plans on different scales. However, this rigorous division only exists in political terms as the populations that live in the spaces are unlikely to care about administrative borders, viewing them only as functional spaces (e.g. when living in one municipality and working in another). As the former director of the federal office for spatial planning Pierre-Alain Rumley (2012: 245) argues, huge problems in spatial planning originate from a lack of congruence between administrative and functional spaces and require increased cross-border planning, as is the case, for example, in Lausanne West at a regional level and Malley at an intercommunal level. As agglomerations do not currently have juridical rights in the Swiss system, the federal office is about to create new conventions that can influence the planning landscape. The question of whether a fusion of municipalities is necessary to accomplish this task or whether a strategic intercommunal collaboration without fusion is preferable continues to be contested and depends on the context.\(^2\) In the study case of Lausanne West,

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\(^1\) For different stakeholders in the planning process of Lausanne West, see 5.1.

\(^2\) A positive example of a fusion of municipalities in Switzerland is often seen in the case of Lugano in 2010 (Rumley 2012).
politicians speak neither of fusion nor of an agglomeration policy (ibid: 246) and thus these special types of planning governance will be addressed further in later chapters of the research.

Doubtless, considerations regarding appropriate spatial planning in the Swiss context have resulted from the increased complexity of the urban landscape in recent decades. Thus, a primary focus is placed on agglomerations and peri-urban settings, also sometimes named edge cities, exopolis or network cities (Schmid 2012). As in the case of Lausanne West, patchwork structures have been developed over several decades leading to an ‘unplannable’ situation. The characteristics of this are various networked, complex and polycentric regions encroaching widely into formerly rural areas and also other cities. Heterogeneity is typical and includes both urban settings and peripheral settings (ibid; see also chapter 3).

Omnipresent traffic is not only a feature of peri-urban spaces, but is often considered to be a symptom of as it has negative connotations and demands the development of mobility concepts. Nevertheless, it can also be seen as a driver of urbanization and thus it attracts other forms of urban settings. It is no wonder that (automobile) traffic concepts play an important role in agglomeration programmes and structure plans, albeit more as a means of coping with it than trying to minimize it. This is, I would argue, not the aim of regional or local planning but demands other governance at a higher political level. Concepts addressing an adjusted integration of traffic within the urban landscape are most likely to fail and automobiles (and sometimes public transport) continue to portray the role of a disruptive antagonist in (peri-)urban landscapes.

Very often peri-urban spaces and sprawled agglomerations are considered to be non-places, suggesting that a history or identity is missing and that places are characterized by the production of “loneliness and similarities” (Augé 2010: 211, translation by the author). The following paragraphs show how in the case of Lausanne Malley, the authorities and planners are trying to transform these non-places into places. Furthermore, the thesis also considers the importance of identity and images in planning, related to a making and remaking of a (narrative) history of the region, e.g. on the Malley brownfield site, through examining facets of heritage.

Patsy Healy’s (2007) term urban fabric adequately describes (peripheral) city relations. This implies “complex constructions created by an interaction of actors in multiple networks who invest in material projects and who give meaning to qualities of places” (ibid: 2). Moreover, it is also about moving beyond a simple analysis of spatial patterns to see more than the representations and the traditional maps. As I argue later, there is a narrative component behind this two-dimensional space which significantly affects the urban fabric and influences the future qualities of place.

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3 non-lieux in the sense of Marc Augé’s (2010) definition, which elaborates on a former definition provided by Michel de Certeau.
1.2.2 Introducing the Lausanne West region

The Lausanne-Morges agglomeration is divided into five administrative units, one of which is Lausanne West. Today, this region can best be defined by its eight entire municipalities: Bussigny-près-Lausanne, Chavannes-près-Renens, Crissier, Ecublens, Prilly, Renens, Saint-Sulpice and Villars-Sainte-Croix. A small portion of the municipality of Lausanne of around 10,000 inhabitants (Widmer 2011: 496) in the eastern perimeter also belongs to Lausanne West, constituting the ninth municipality. As the map in Figure 1 illustrates, the municipalities around Lausanne West’s capital Renens (dark blue spot) are all part of the PALM agreement, but the borderline (dashed) is not equivalent to the municipality’s contours.

The Cantonal Office for Statistics predicts a strong increase for the Lausanne-Morges agglomeration in both population and workplaces of 70,000 by 2020 (SDOL 2007: 4). In Lausanne West alone, the population will probably grow by more than 46% by 2040, this being far more than the average population growth projected for the Canton of Vaud of about 33%. In the national Swiss context as well as in the cantonal context, the city of Lausanne – in particular its agglomeration – has played an important role in terms of demographic growth in the contemporary past and will continue to do in the near future.

The author of a publication concerning development in Lausanne West dramatizes the situation in the following way: “The region seems to be destined to become a new Los Angeles” (Coen 2012: 75, translation by the author). The prevention of this – albeit exaggerated – comparison coming to fruition has become the primary task of all actors involved in the planning process. It can be seen as the leading

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4 In speaking of Lausanne West, I refer to the French term Ouest Lausannois, which has been an exactly defined district with legal power is since its official institution in 2008 and is composed of eight municipalities as well as a part of the municipality of Lausanne itself (Jaggi 2012: 187). These municipalities all signed the schéma directeur ouest lausannois (SDOL) which is the regional structural plan for Lausanne West (see Chapter 2 for further detail).

5 PALM stands for Projet d’Agglomération Lausanne-Morges and contains five sectors (Lausanne West, East, North, the Morges region, as well as Lausanne Centre), each with its own regional structural plan. The total PALM area comprises 37 municipalities (see Figure 1).

6 Article in the local newspaper 24heures, 8 October 2013.
motivation and the rationale for clearly necessary change. As Coen (2012: 77) points out, the actors involved agreed that the status quo could no longer be sustained and started a process to transform the area in 2000 (beginning with a moratorium on construction, cf. 5.1.). However, no one knew exactly at that stage how the planning process would progress. Ariane Widmer\(^7\) (2011: 496) defines the Lausanne West region in relation to its ‘heteroclite pieces’ meaning the intact village cores, residential neighbourhoods and large housing blocks, fabrics (in use or not), important transport axis, the switch yard, shopping centres, forests, streams and the lakeside.

The eight municipalities of the administrative division of Lausanne West today contain 69,553 inhabitants on 2,600 hectares\(^8\) and represent the second largest ‘city’ in the Canton of Vaud in terms of population. The ninth municipality, Lausanne, is not included in these statistics as it is part of the Lausanne Centre district. Nonetheless, the role of this community is important and it represents an integral part of the SDOL, not least because of the project in Malley which is situated in three municipalities (Prilly, Renens and Lausanne). The municipality of Lausanne has signed the SDOL agreement but is not part of the administrative division of Lausanne West.

The theoretical planning potential of Lausanne West has been considered to comprise 259 hectares of land for urbanization or re-urbanization, as well as providing 11,000 additional habitants and 13,000 additional workplaces (Rey 2004: 3). In a very early stage of the planning process, the stakeholders realized that these resources would not be accessible a priori, but that various obstacles at administrative, financial, normative and personal levels would have to be overcome. The ensuing process of planning for the western Lausanne agglomeration has thus been above all a process of negotiation between the different actors (mainly between the municipalities and responsible planners), as I explain in the analysis (Chapter 5). Furthermore, these obstacles have had to be overcome in favour of a common vision (see Coen 2012: 78; cf. Chapter 5).

The study site of Malley
Looking at the agglomeration of Lausanne’s western part on a regional scale, an area in the middle noticeably jumps out of the map in terms of its unused land and its huge single property units (Figure 1). This comprises the brownfield areas to the south of the railways, which are an important part of the strategic local site of chantier 2 Secteur Bussigny-Sébeillon. This sector represents a site of key cantonal interest and Malley is considered to be one important sub-sector. It lies almost exactly between the train stations of Lausanne and Renens and is situated in the three municipalities Renens, Prilly and Lausanne.

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\(^7\) Director of the Bureau SDOL, considered one of the main planners of Lausanne West.
The sector of Malley is considered to constitute one of the areas of greatest potential in terms of spatial development in an urban milieu in Switzerland (SDOL 2011: 18), which is why it represents a strategic site in the overall planning process of Lausanne West. Despite its central position, Malley is today considered a non-place (SDOL 2007: 38) and considerable efforts need to be made to change the situation. Approximately 8,000

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9 Maps are from the online cartographic enquiry office of the canton: http://www.geoplanet.vd.ch/ (accessed 4 September 2013).
inhabitants and workplaces are situated in Malley on a surface of about 80 hectares (equal to 100 habitants/workplaces per hectare). An intention defined in the SDIM local structure plan is the doubling of inhabitants/workplaces to 200 per hectare (SDIM 2012).\(^\text{10}\) The ongoing planning activities show that the territory in the plain of Malley is finally being opened up for urbanization. It used to be landlocked by its industrial activities from the past, but it future potential and the size of the site make for an ambitious project.

1.3 Problematic

The particular path Lausanne West has chosen does not involve any fusion of the municipalities, but a shared collaboration with a strong emphasis on the common identity in the form of a collective vision. Intensified planning activities have been observed, especially to create a regional agency and to steer urban development.

On a local scale, the case of Malley is special insofar as the intercommunal situation and important private land ownership (e.g. Swiss federal railways) further increase the degree of complexity. Time-consuming test planning studies were deemed necessary, but the localized PDL plan was elaborated quite independently (none of the bureaus from the test study were included in the PDL elaboration\(^\text{11}\)). At that time, one could only guess if this path was the right one, or if the planning of Lausanne West might even prove to be a role model in the planning and restructuring of agglomerations. After more than 10 years of planning and with the help of analysing the first concrete projects already present in the urban landscape today, a precise intention has been formed and the success of the planning process (e.g. the awarding of the Wakker prize) has proved those involved right. My basic assumption is that a collective vision is needed and prevalent and further that the importance of stories is reflected in the performance of the vision.

The collaborative vision has been established and many stories are told. How can these stories be navigated in the planning process so that their capacities unfold by performing a pivotal role?

**Vision – image – story**

The clear use of both images and stories in the planning process has several implications for decision making and both play a role in the question of what the vision is, how it has been developed and how it is finally translated into decision-making processes. On the one hand, I see images in a narrow sense as pictures or as expressions of something that can generate stories and that are used in stories. On the other hand, when images and

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\(^{10}\) I take up this point in Chapter 5 when speaking about the different neighbourhoods in Malley and their future composition in relation to workplaces and residents and the complex land tenure.

\(^{11}\) Except for one individual person who assisted as an expert in one of the four test study groups as well as being mandatory for the SDIM elaboration with his own architectural bureau (cf. analysis and interviewees).
stories coincide, they circulate and are able to reveal certain capacities. At the same time, images are embedded in stories and stories also generate (new) images.

At the core of this interplay between story and image is the vision, which cannot be held without a *narrative-visual* performance. After the synchronization of images and stories, the former *visual-performative* plane expands to a *narrative-performative* plane. This means that images only reveal significant capacities when encountering stories, respectively being embedded in circulating stories. This hypothesis underlines the importance of storytelling with regard to decision-making processes in planning issues. Likewise, the vision has the ability to perform in different parts of the planning process. The concepts of *planes of consistency* and *planes of immanence*, based on the Deleuzoguattarian-inspired approaches to planning theory developed by Jean Hillier, help to identify and seek the vision and stories in terms of their theoretical dimensions as well as in planning practice. To document this, the consistency of the vision has been examined as have the capacities of images and storytelling which are closely linked to the vision.

The notion of images can be used to view the transformation of urban landscape, while their tracing and their own transformation is linked to planning as storytelling. Furthermore, the transformation of the landscape is connected to my analysis of an image transformation, meaning the circulation of stories. The central point turns around the question of how these stories write themselves back into the process, how they are able to create dynamics and how they can gather together different actors.

As I argue later, navigating through this *ocean* of stories towards a collaborative, strategic vision – the communicative *island* – is the main challenge in the planning procedure and among the relation-ship of planners.

### 1.4 Research questions

As Healey (2007: 10) emphasizes, the “approach to ‘telling stories of planning practices’ is underpinned by a relational conception of social organisation and an institutionalist understanding of governance processes”. In this respect, the aim of the research is to explore the governance structure in the planning process as a basis for further investigations of spatial and temporal characteristics. Concretely, two research objectives can be stated, leading to several research questions:
1) The planning process of Lausanne West is regarded as a story with different elements or chapters that are heading for a common vision of the region, both in terms of different scales and authorities. In that sense, the vision can be seen as a successful story composition about the future that wants to be achieved.

What is the visionary vocabulary used in the different arenas of decision making and what are the story’s performative capacities in the planning assemblages?

2) Within the Lausanne West planning process, three different but interrelated stories can be identified on a local scale regarding Malley:

- The transformation of the Gasometer from an industrial relic to a symbol of the new neighbourhood identity.
- A restructuring of public spaces (especially around the new train station) and the discourses about its necessity in an urban environment.
- The elusive importance of tower buildings representing urban landmarks in the future cityscape as persuasive planning means.

How are the three stories about the industrial heritage buildings, the recent transformation of public spaces and a future urban image of Malley performed in the planning process of Lausanne West and to what extent do they contribute to create a collective strategic vision?

By linking these two fields of research and by examining both story perspectives, I aim to determine the degree of consistency in the vision and the ability of the vision to perform a central role as a ‘tool’ in a planning process, both based on the idea of how stories ‘work’.
2. ONTOLOGY

I see strategic spatial planning not as single tool or procedure which can be applied to planning processes, but as a concept implying a set of them and a necessary adaptation to specific situations. By regarding planning as shaped by a multitude of actors in a complex network, an assemblage perspective can adequately grasp the processes in planning and among planners. From this perspective, it is important to explore the ontological frame behind this set of actors. Thus, I embrace Hillier’s viewpoint:

“The recent introduction of a range of concepts, including complexity, multiplicity, emergence, becoming, assemblage and so on represents a relatively new and important shift in thinking of theorization and, by extension, of methodology (Venn 2006) in planning.”

(Hillier 2010c: 447)

Therefore, this chapter aims to illustrate several important concepts in a post-structural understanding, such as assemblage thinking and including striated and smooth space, planes of immanence and transcendence, as well as Deleuze’s (desert) island. I view ontological approaches in the sense of philosophical paradigmatic patterns which make use of theories, concepts and methods. Through these sorts of ‘lenses’, I aim to grasp meanings encountered in the unfolding of a planning world in the world of daily life. Finally, these considerations lead to a better understanding of the network of planners and non-planners, planning documents, planning theories and practices.

In my opinion, an assemblage approach can best grasp and unveil what the French philosopher Olivier Mongin (2005: 129) calls an apparent paradox of the urban condition: a limited space which renders possible infinite possibilities. Instead, as he argues, the urban condition is part of a time-space of undefined extension due to new technologies and means of communication. According to Antonioli (2003: 13), we do not (yet) possess words and concepts to describe this strange reality, whilst living at the crossroads of multiple territories and temporalities. I consider the Deleuzoguattarian work to offer a wide range of concepts inscribing themselves in this post-structural thinking of space-time:

“*A Deleuzoguattarian framework may help us transform our traditionally rather static and transcendent ways of understanding place, planning and governance.*”

(Hillier 2008: 28)

The link between my ontological approach and planning theory and practice is forged by making use of Jean Hillier’s Deleuzoguattarian-inspired multiplanar theory of spatial planning (see 2.2).

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13 For the notion of complexity see Chapter 3. For me, speaking about complexity in a planning context includes a network language, as also seems to be the case for Healey (e.g. Healey 2007). However, the concept of actor-network theory (ANT) proposed by Bruno Latour is not further elaborated in this thesis.
2.1 Assemblage thinking

The notion of assemblage theory has been developed and made accessible (e.g. for geographers) by Manuel DeLanda, mainly in his work *A New Philosophy of Society* (2006), which is based on conceptions of the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze and the psychoanalyst Félix Guattari (principally in *Mille Plateaux*, 1980). DeLanda develops a new ontological approach to understand social reality by means of describing the process of *assembly*, a sort of an encounter of self-consistent entities and their formation of a whole, called an *assemblage* (see e.g. DeLanda, 2006: 10ff). Assemblages emerge out of the relations and interactions between elements, or as Eriksson ([2005: 601] in Hillier 2010b: 460) simplifies it: “it is nothing other than the occurrence of these relationships”.

Several main ideas that I consider important in the case of my research characterize the assemblage perspective, as follows:

- **Unfolding capacities and emergent properties**

  Each assemblage consists of properties and capacities. The former can be clearly stated, whereas the latter are undefined and depend on interactions with other social entities (DeLanda 2006: 7). Both emerge out of interactions between component parts or, more precisely, out of practices of the components’ capacities. A whole (or an entity) is therefore not to be viewed as the sum of some single elements but as the result of their interactions (ibid: 10). It is these capacities in the planning process that I seek to investigate and that shed light on the stories as their unfolding in or between assemblages makes them accessible. Emergent properties only unfold when components come together and are exhibited as a whole but not individually.  

- **Relations of exteriority**

  When speaking about relations (in) between entities and assemblages, DeLanda rejects the metaphor of organisms (and indeed the relations of interiority), preferring instead the picture of a coevolution. This implies that an interaction between elements is historically grown and linked through relations of exteriority. These processes form assemblages; their component parts keep their identity, even though one loses its relation to another. They can be plugged into another assemblage, taking part in other interactions (ibid: 9ff). The roles in which actors (including non-humans) can engage are transformable and unfold in multiple relations.

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14 I am aware that the word *assemblage* as it is used here is not consistent with the original use by Deleuze and Guattari (1980); they rather preferred to speak about *agencement*. As Hillier (2010c: 459) explains, this is mainly a matter of translation from French to English, in which the term assemblage is common, although it is not exactly the same.

15 Furthermore, the concept of *emergence* also relates strongly to the complexity perspective (see Chapter 4). I view it as synonymous to *becoming*.

16 For the sake of convenience, I adhere to the word *actor* rather than speaking of *actants*, which is seen to be the more general term for both notions (in terms of the non-human dimension).
• The material/expressive axis

An element can play a role in an assemblage that varies between a material and an expressive one. This role can be illustrated on an axis, occurring on a continuum between both extremes (see DeLanda, 2006: 12). For example, buildings, or the built environment in general, represent a material component in a social assemblage. Expressive elements go beyond the material-symbolic ones, implying a subjective, performative dimension. This means that a performative dimension enters into the assemblage, for instance through the expressive qualities of architecture, maps and plans (and images that are generated through materiality). Hereby, the actor’s perception of built space is essential. Furthermore, I would argue that narratives, such as stories and texts about the urban landscape, also have performative effects.

• (Re)/(de)territorialization

The question of how an assemblage might be transformed can be described using DeLanda’s second axis, i.e. the differentiation between the processes of (re)territorialization and (de)territorialization. These processes provoke either the stabilization or destabilization of the assemblage’s identity (DeLanda: 2006: 12). Components can thus lead to a transformation of the assemblage by means of homogenization, having stabilizing consequences. Moreover, being characterized by the heterogeneity of urban fabrics, actors are likely to provoke a destabilization of the assemblage, an aspect on which I shall draw later.

• Striated/smooth space

These concepts refer to two different ways of conceiving and perceiving space, two different ways in which the parts of a multiplicity are related, connected and collected together (Deleuze and Guattari 1980: 600). Striated space is closed, regular and ordered with linear relationships and deterministic laws; smooth space is seemingly undifferentiated, regarded as composed chaos and as a complex web of knots (Hillier 2008: 45). The former is linked to territorialization, the latter to deterritorialization (also see Table 1). Smoothing forces often seem to be a reaction to striated space. In the analysis (Chapter 5), I illustrate such a process of smoothing over striations when regarding different threads in the planning process.

• Virtual/actual

Characteristics in assemblages are a matter of properties being real and ‘non-real’. In Deleuzean vocabulary, this is expressed by the state of the actual and the becoming of the virtual, which implies a continuum (or a trajectory) from the actual to the virtual through spaces of possibilities. In these spaces “[…] agonistic encounters and insurgencies (Deleuzoguattarian lines of flight)” (Hillier 2008: 27) take place; these lines are primarily associated with processes of smoothing over striations and
deterritorialization strategies. Lines of flight are important as they introduce innovative and often radical ideas and can rupture other lines and change trajectories.

By considering the vision in the planning process as something that is not implemented with a one-to-one correspondence within the project, but rather that components of the vision are taken, transformed and assembled again into something (else), it creates a new assemblage with respect to the different actors’ perspectives. The virtual perspective and lines of flight can be crucial elements for the imagination of the future shape of a city.

The transformation is essential to understand the power of assemblages. As I argue in the analysis (Chapter 5), stories (and their success) are important elements in these transformative processes, determining the stability or instability of an assemblage.

In short, assemblage thinking is closely related to a view of ‘things’ from the perspective of an immanent world of relations, from which other ‘things’ may emerge through relations of exteriority. It is like developing ideas, definitions, concepts, etc. on another (ontological) ‘level’ to explore wider spaces of possibilities, as well as their consistencies.

2.2 Multiplanar theory of spatial planning

In the field of planning, a growing number of scholars are working with post-structural ontologies; among these, the British-Australian geographer Jean Hillier has done pioneering work in terms of merging Deleuzoguattarian-inspired concepts and planning. On an ontological basis, from her planning perspective, the principles or preconditions can be summarized in relation to certain tenets: planning as foresighting (rather than forecasting), experimentation and speculation, yet structured (Hillier 2008: 34). Seeking potentialities (the virtual) is essential, as well as exploring new trajectories in a planning process. This perspective encompasses the notion that planning is not about defining fixed end-points, but about forming open-ended ensembles through performance-based methods rather than performance-measured or performance-assessed methods (see Hillier 2008; Hillier 2010a).

In Hillier’s multiplanar theory of planning, she introduces two planes on which planning takes place, but even more so between these planes, both in relation to theoretical ideas and practical terms, as I understand it. Planes of immanence/consistency are contrasted with planes of transcendence/organization. As Table 1 illustrates, the former planes are related to broad trajectories and visions and can be seen as background planes (Hillier 2008: 30). They are virtual spaces, an image of thought, which make them potentially inaccessible to spatial planners, but this does not stop “us figuring it, or constructing images of it” (Massumi [1998: 305] in Hillier 2008:
Furthermore, planes of immanence/consistency are seen in plural ways, “[...] each folding together different potential movements in different trajectories” (ibid: 31).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planes of immanence/consistency</th>
<th>Planes of transcendence/organization</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>emergent</td>
<td>transcendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-ended trajectories</td>
<td>fixed goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>performance-based</td>
<td>performance-measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>dynamic</td>
<td>stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long-term</td>
<td>short-term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virtual</td>
<td>actual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smooth space</td>
<td>striated space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infinite in time</td>
<td>limited in time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaos</td>
<td>organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’global’ vision</td>
<td>local action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tracing</td>
<td>mapping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deterritorialization</td>
<td>reterritorialization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Characteristics of planes of immanence/consistency vs. planes of transcendence/organization (adapted from Hillier 2008; Hillier 2010a; Hillier 2010b; Wood 2009)

In my understanding of Hillier’s multiplanar approach, I see the former plane as a kind of ideal type of planning (or at least indispensable), although it never exists on its own, whereas structuring elements from the latter plane have an important organizational function. Her emphasis on the importance of open-ended, long-term planning makes the plane of consistency more powerful than the latter plane; immanence is privileged over transcendence. Most of the characteristics shown in Table 1 place the planes of immanence in opposition to those of transcendence. However, planning practice is “a turbulent relationship between the two planes, inhabiting both simultaneously” (Hillier 2008: 27, emphasis provided by the author). The aforementioned long-term vision as the emergence of the planes of immanence and local area plans as planes of organization are characteristic examples. In the analysis (Chapter 5), I further illustrate how the navigation in the Lausanne West planning process is performed on these two planes.

The planes produce effects that can be identified using degrees of consistence; consistence properly defines the vision which inhabits a plane of immanence. In conceptual terms, the planning process has many phases of translation which are interesting in research to view explicitly the interplay of vision-action (or theory-practice) and therefore explore the spaces of possibility.

I make the assumption that the Lausanne West planning process is constituted and supported through a consciously constructed collective strategic vision making use of images and storytelling to maintain it. Furthermore, I assume that the performance of images and storytelling in the process unfolds capacities that influence the vision, either in stabilizing or destabilizing terms.

2.3 Conclusion to the approach: the metaphor of the Deleuzean Islands

As a final concept, I draw on Deleuze’s philosophical description of islands and aim to make these islands accessible to planning theories. By exploring a specific island’s particularities and by emphasizing its metaphorical dimension, one can determine the relationship and fascination between the island in terms of its isolation and its
Deleuze speaks about islands as being deserted – even when inhabited – referring to the essence of an island being imaginary (virtual) and not actual (ibid: 11). What is important for me in the context of this thesis is the relation-ship between land and island, in other words, the lines of navigation on water. The seeming isolation of an island is illusory as, through water, it is always connected to the rest of the world and thus can exchange and trade with the outside (Antonioli 2003: 253). Here again, the concept of assemblage is useful as a fragmentary entity, linked to all elements and with ever-changing, unpredictable relations. As the island is as if it were emerging from an immanent plane, it is of a deterritorialized character, bringing out the dream of its population as a virtual component.

Assemblages always face both the actual and the virtual, which makes them part of both the ‘real’ and the imagined world. These metatheoretical considerations may seem manifold and amorphous, but the choice is not without intent. It has to do with an approach that is – in a very general way – based on problems, not on solutions. This implies that approaches can (and should) have blind spots, seeking for others. But every new, different approach that emerges out of others opens up the perspective, as well as the spaces of possibilities, which I aim to explore. Changing glasses is allowed and even a combination should not be off limits. As with theory, processes or arenas in decision making likewise profit from dynamics and flexibilities, discussions and reflections, both in theoretical and in practical terms; it is this space of the potentiality of new trajectories that will (or should) always be part of planning. Seeking beyond representation and categorizations can only be done by means of dynamic and transformable ontologies, as is the case for assemblage thinking. The plurality of approaches needs to be employed efficiently by debating its single components, the resulting conflicts and related divergent perspectives and finally by using them as tool in decision making. In this sense, ontology also has significant implications for methodology.

Deleuze’s desert island is defined by instability and uncertainty; it came out of the ocean but can disappear again at any moment as it is exposed to erosion through wind and water, earthquakes, hazards, etc. It needs a strong imagination (and dreams) to achieve stability and equilibrium. The better an island is connected to its surrounding environment through provision by ships, the more consistency it gains. This is a challenge for navigation, as the emergence of these lines can have territorializing or deterritorializing effects. In the analysis I draw upon this concept to situate the vision in the planning process, or in other words I ask:
Through which means will the vision as an island be reached by a navigation of relation-ships in an ocean of streams of stories\(^{17}\) and between social and physical planning assemblages?

“[…] and because the stories were held here in fluid form, they retained the ability to change, to become new versions of themselves, to join up with other stories and so become yet other stories.”


\(^{17}\) Ocean of Streams of Stories (original title: Kathasaritsagara) is an Indian collection of fairy tales from the 11\(^{th}\) century.
3. THEORY

Planning theory has its very own story line, one that is conflicting and disputed over time; understanding and interpretation are essential when viewing planning processes such as that of Lausanne West. The reader of this story chapter will recognize a plot (planning theory) and the characters (authors and opinions), the conflicts (rationality versus complexity; practice versus theory), as well as the settings (time, place and social conditions). It is the story of a shift from a rational to a relational theory and in planning, a paradigmatic shift from a technical to a communicative rationality. In other words, in this chapter I aim to highlight a brief history of planning theories and provide an overview of different understandings of planning in their theoretical dimensions, as well as pointing out their relevance in the practical field.

The dictionary of the German Academy for Spatial Research and Planning describes planning in very basic terms as the conceptual anticipation of future acting and ascribes a certain function to planning theory to provide a systematic explanation of and support this task (Schönwandt and Jung 2005: 789). In this simple and open description, there is room for considerable interpretation and different views, both in the notion of planning and of theory alone, as well as in relation to planning theory as an assembled concept:

"Planning theory is an elusive subject of study. It draws on a variety of disciplines and has no widely accepted canon."

(Campbell and Fainstein 1996: 1)

Among the manifold ways of addressing planning in theoretical terms, I direct my focus to complexity-based planning theories, allowing me – after investigating the facets of complexity itself – to point out a quite specific and appropriate setting, which will be my own approach to planning theory (explained in 0). I do not view planning theory from a technical or jurisdictional manner only, but always in a dynamic sense, as a mirror for constant change. My understanding of planning is closely related to the understandings of Jean Hillier and Patsy Healy, who both emphasize the collaborative and communicative aspects of planning, as well as the commitment to an interactive relationship between planning theory and practice (see e.g. Hillier 2010a: 11). The last chapter (Chapter 6) finally deals with my own precise understanding of a theoretical planning approach as best viewed in relation to the purposes of this research.

Nevertheless, the main focus is on gaining access to the practical planning problematic through a defined theory, intending to delimit the term’s dimensions and point to a theoretical approach by addressing the ‘post-modern’ planning theory of a collaborative and communicative (complexity) perspective (see Table 1). These two definitions are suitably harmonized with the ontological approach to assemblage thinking (Chapter 2) as well as the practical problems emerging from context of the case
study (Chapter 1). In this part, a short broad overview of spatial planning theory is followed by the explication of recent concepts and understandings of planning.\(^{18}\)

### 3.1 General short overview of (spatial) planning theories

The rational planning model, which is often summarized under the umbrella term of modern or land-use planning, has experienced considerable critique over several decades. It illustrates my starting point in the story of a planning theory as many authors refer to it, as shown in Table 2. The reactions to and reviews of this first generation of planning theories contain simultaneously new perspectives with the aim of substituting or complementing other (older) perspectives. Henceforth, several concepts with different foci and ontologies form the planning discourse in answer to the first generation. Broad lines are indicated in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Keywords</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern Planning (land-use planning)</td>
<td>Phrasing of the problem and its solution as independent, separated phases. Initial belief in progress and in unlimited resources</td>
<td>Rationality, objectivity, neutrality, technocracy, optimization</td>
<td>Howard 1898; Le Corbusier 1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning in a Marxist ideology</td>
<td>Planning as a key nodal point in the network of power relations that characterize contemporary capitalist societies. Planning as an arm of a repressive state</td>
<td>Repression, structuralism, dualism</td>
<td>Fogelsang 1986; Hay 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equity Planning</td>
<td>Planning as answer to class differences in capitalist societies. Advocacy of minorities and poor people</td>
<td>Policy planning, power disparities, normativity</td>
<td>Davidoff 1975; Krumholz 1975</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Outline of different planning theories with various perspectives and ontologies\(^{19}\)

\(^{18}\) For a different overview of planning in the theoretical debate based on so-called ‘empty signifiers’ (e.g. planning itself, sustainability, responsibility, globalization, etc.), see Gunder and Hillier 2009, *Planning in Ten Words or Less – A Lacanian Entanglement with Spatial Planning*. I will take this point up at a later stage.
The main critique of modern planning theory consists of the assumption that human beings act rationally; in other words, humans make decisions with the help of comprehensible reasoning (see e.g. Ritter 2005). This premise leads to unrealistic and hardly achievable planning tasks. The problem-solving however persists in “physical solutions to social or economic problems” (Albrechts 2004 745). In terms of planning, the consideration of humans as acting rationally and objectively implies that the approach to problem-solving is also based on rationality and objectivity – what de Roo (2010a: 22) calls an “utopia that cannot be”.

Furthermore the modern planning model relies on other contested notions, such as ‘expert knowledge’ or the ‘ideal solution’, which imply answers to problems free from conflict and compromise (Schönwandt and Jung 2005: 792). This also means that planning should not be influenced by power structures and I would argue, should sometimes even be non-political. However, although the model is commonly criticized in theoretical terms, planning practitioners still widely use a rational way of working.20

“For some, the hope of rational planning was simply to equate the market with uncertainty and to believe that the logic of the plan would therefore replace the chaos of the market.” (Campbell and Fainstein 1996: 6)

Logically, three possibilities for ‘post-rational’ planning approaches can be discerned: first, to abide by the rational planning model; second, to avoid it; third, to react to it by searching for alternative ways. Only the latter perspective can address the multifaceted and multilayered aspects of spatial planning. It represents an essential critical point of inflection in the story of planning theory, a new strand of the plot with the aim of making the ancient one(s) forgotten. The change in the understanding of planning goes along with a change from the technical-rational to a communicative paradigm, evoked by philosophers like Jürgen Habermas (Selle 1996).

Investigating the complexity and complexities in the field of the new approach called collaborative planning allows the exploration of a relevant theoretical understanding as well as encountering the ‘chaos’ in the story.

**3.2 Complexity in Collaborative Planning Theory**

This section illustrates the variety of definitions in the field of planning and aims to find an adequate complexity-based perspective of the term to discover its theoretical dimensions.

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20 I am aware that the list could be several pages long and the unities themselves again subdivided. What I want to show is an essential shift in ‘planning paradigms’ which are based on different understandings of the world (ontologies). Even though a chronological order can be detected, in my opinion the recent theories do not replace the former ones, but interrelate with and refer to each other, especially in between the bottom categories of complexity planning after the ‘communicative turn’.

21 The relationship between planning theory and practice is a central point in my work and will be highlighted further when describing the role of the planners and different rationalities they employ. An empirical study about this ‘gap’ is described, for example, in Brooks, *Planning Theory for Practitioners* (2002: 81).
“Complexity stands for a ‘reset’ of our positivist mind frame, to be able to view the world differently, to make the switch from ‘normal’ science to a ‘post-normal’ science [...]”
(de Roo and Silva 2010: Preface)

Besides this ontological view on complexity the notion has several other significations in the planning field, which will be explained in the following chapters after a short summary of important key-terms and relevant concepts related to complexity.

3.2.1 Characteristics of complexity

Perhaps the most perspicuous definition of complexity or complex systems is to view them in the sense of generated structures and not as fabricated ones (Alexander 2002 in Batty 2010: 99). Along these lines, it is useful to make clear the difference between complexity and complicacy and not to see the two as synonymous. A complex system (e.g. the social reality) must be considered a product of the interactions and not as the simple addition of its elements. By looking at the components, it is only possible to explain them and also their interactions with some other elements, but the complex system – as a whole – cannot be reduced to a single ‘solution’ and cannot be understood as the sum of its elements (see e.g. Van Wezemael 2012; de Roo and Silva 2010). A complicated system can be understood both in terms of its component parts and the sum of its parts.21 In claiming that complex systems are organized but unpredictable, it is important to see how the interconnected parts, which exhibit properties as a whole, are different from the components when regarding them individually. Besides these characteristics, there are four key concepts that are inevitably connected to complexity (after Van Wezemael 2012: 93ff):

- **Non-linearity**: changes with regard to time and unpredictable effects (e.g. through small causes and vice versa).
- **Emergence**: a generated effect from the interaction of elements, often conflicting (see also Chapter 2 about ontology with regard to emergent properties in assemblages).
- **Co-evolution**: interaction between elements is historically grown and linked through relations of exteriority. These processes form assemblages (cf. 2.1).
- **Adaptability**: a property denoting that the system is not static but can react and adapt to changing environmental conditions.

3.2.2 Complex planning or planning complexity?

The relationship between planning and complexity is a mutually interrelated one; it is possible to combine both terms by relating one to the other and vice versa. First of all, complexity is useful to describe ‘reality’. This is not in the negative sense that things are

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21 Typical examples of complex systems are society, the climate and the human body (non-deterministic and unpredictable); complicated systems are, for example, the functioning of a clock’s works, a car or computer (full knowledge of the system is possible).
'too complex' but as a challenge to encounter a wider perspective of the world. This implies at the same time an acceptance of uncertainty and of an uncertain, even chaotic world which then cannot be encountered (only) through object-oriented approaches.

“If full certainty is a reality that does not exist and does not lead to a true and clearly defined world [...], could it be that it is worthwhile looking at uncertainty?”

(de Roo 2010a: 24)

By answering ‘yes’ to de Roo’s metaphorical question and by assuming that uncertainty is equal to complexity, the question is then if complex problems can only be solved by complex solutions. An important issue from this perspective is the consideration of a multitude of actors as being component parts of a complex system, with their different concerns, interests and perspectives as well as their interrelations.

In terms of governance, this could mean that interventions have to be adapted to complex situations and to the “dynamically evolving relations between multiple proximities and connectivities of places” (Healey 2007: 268).

“Should we conclude that planning theory could benefit from complexity thinking [...] or should we take complexity theory as a whole as the starting point for our consideration of how planning theory should reinvent itself?”

(de Roo 2010b: 10)

Complexity aims to cope with the uncertainty and insecurity of the world and therefore with complex social phenomena themselves. It is this seeking for possibility spaces that is central to this concept, which is based on an understanding of the world as complex on the one hand and on problem-solving methods accounting for a great number of sets of relationships that govern the system on the other hand. Planning can (or should) give an answer to the growing complexity. In other words, it makes sense to see complexity as a ‘language’ that provides a bridge between a complex system and practical applications.

To conclude, complexity as a concept does not only “influence our understanding of planning” (de Roo 2010b: 2, emphasis in original) but also has significant consequences in planning. It can obviously function as a criterion for decision making. Furthermore, complexity makes it possible to deal with a multitude of actors and is – last but not least – a description of reality. Brand and Gaffikin (2007: 285) come to the conclusion that “[...] the object of any planning endeavour must not be treated as a blank slate but as a unique component of an incredibly complex larger system”.

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22 Chaos is – in contrast to complexity – deterministic.
23 This latter point is further explained in the chapter concerning ontology (Chapter 2).
3.3 Why planning theory?

Without completely processing the discursive debate concerning this topic, I briefly focus on the priority of theory in planning – as well as in other disciplines – here.

“Practice is a set of relays from one theoretical point to another, and theory is a relay from one practice to another. No theory can develop without eventually encountering a wall, and practice is necessary for piercing this wall”

(Foucault and Deleuze [1972: 3] cited in Hillier 2010a: 11)

As the interplay between theory and the practical field is often – among various disciplines – a contested one, the resulting tension between them has to be used in efficient ways in concrete planning projects by exploring the spaces of possibility that lie inside them. This is supposed to be the challenge and chance to deal with concepts of planning in planning.

Many planning scholars identify a gap between theory and practice in this field and claim planning practitioners disregard the theoretical aspects of the discipline (see e.g. Campbell and Fainstein 1996; Brooks 2002). Nevertheless, the “gap can structure a powerful creative tension between the two” (Campbell and Fainstein 1996: 3).

Furthermore, I would argue, theory can show practitioners how to act. In the case of planners, this means an appropriate theoretical understanding of planning can simply help them to plan if the possibilities and perspectives of a theory are correctly encountered and made visible in the planning process. In order to “see the conditions of this ‘pragmatism’”, which Campbell and Fainstein (1996: 2) ascribe to practitioners, the role of planners and their interpretation of the role are important issues and are further examined in the following sections.

3.4 In what role do planners engage?

First of all, planners can be characterized by the emergent roles they perform. What they plan does not come from an exclusive influence over cities; rather, it is the result of a negotiation among planners and other actors (politicians, area developers, the public, landowners, etc.) who significantly shape urban development. If the planner is involved in a public-private partnership, he becomes a developer with greater power (Campbell and Fainstein 1996: 8). This emphasizes the important nature of the interplay between actors in a network in which the planner has to act.

Often, in the context of the collaborative and communicative planning paradigm, planners are likely to take on the role of mediators (see e.g. Campbell and Fainstein 1996; Van Wezemael 2012). There seems to be a discrepancy between conceptual understanding and the reality: “[...] despite the planning ideal of a holistic, proactive vision, planners are frequently restricted to playing frustratingly reactive, regulatory roles” (Campbell and Fainstein 1996: 8, emphasis by the author). De Roo and Silva (2010: Preface) not only see the planner as an interactive mediator, but as a “manager of
change” and Albrechts (2004: 752) as an “initiator of change”. As Van Wezemael (2012: 86) puts it:

“Planning cultivated both a stance that recognized the planner as an active participant – a trend watcher, enabler, advocate, transition manager, mediator – and a positive reception of the fluidity and the openness of the world.”

Based on this communicative rationality, a planner is (or should be) an ‘enabler’ of processes of interrelated communication among actors and groups of actors. This communication should stimulate as well as frame the whole planning process. The planner’s role as an experimental learner is important in this respect, also in the sense of trial-and-error procedures.

Whatever role we ascribe to planners, there is a need to consider those actors who are seemingly outside the planning network, or as Campbell and Fainstein (1996: 2) put it: “Planners don’t just plan and non-planners also plan”. Furthermore, the individual conditions of the planning environment have to be considered, as the planner can only achieve full capacity when not restricted. The apparently frequent neglect of this ‘ideal case’ of planning actors is perhaps also due to the matter of related issues. Does this mean that planners in planning processes that appear to be non-linear and based on communicative means have less power and influence in the sense of controlling the planning process? Is the role changing so that planners ‘only’ guide but do not control planning practice?

3.5 Conclusion: my approach to planning theory

The transformation in and of planning in the last few decades describes both a dilemma and a challenge at one and the same time. A concept which is tied to logical positivism is not (any longer) acceptable; the rational model must be replaced by a relational-complex one. I suggest considering the central point of planning as situated in a relationship between the physical world and linguistic-symbolic realities. In this respect, the obvious approach is to incorporate complex models and the four key notions of non-linearity, emergence, adaptability and co-evolution into the perspective on problem-solving. The development of an urban area, for example, is shaped by a complex understanding of the relational interplay of physical materiality (for example traffic, energy consumption or water use) and discourses, interpretations and images concerning the development (often in the context of sustainability). This is what de Roo and Silva (2010: 6) call “intersubjective interactions”, meaning to encounter the complexity behind simple facts and objects.

Complexity is not a panacea, but it is impossible for me to think of the concept of an evolving urban environment without imagining it in complex ways. What else should it be? Concretely, a planning approach based on complexity is appropriate when positively addressing the question ‘How can planning best leverage the unplannable?’ The question ‘Who does what, when, how, and to what effect?’ is central when undertaking
research into the interplay between planning theory and practice and needs to be addressed in empirical study.

The shifts in planning paradigms not only constitute a changing re-configuration of forms of governance, but are based on different angles of vision in terms of how spatial development is perceived (Loepfe 2008: 32). What changes from one approach to another is the perspective – from the inside (the planner and the planner’s problem) as well as from the outside – and in consequence, also the methods employed in problem-solving (decision-making processes). In a wider sense, this means that places on different scales – e.g. in the form of cities, agglomerations, neighbourhoods – are generated by the emergence of components in different networks and their relations. A planner’s emergent role is situated between a relational field of discourses, regulations, material conditions, economic constraints, etc.

“Technically speaking a planning perimeter can no longer be deduced from zoning or administrative territories, but it must be experimentally explored in a process of scaling up and down in order to perform the ‘right’ size of the site […]”

(Van Wezemael 2012: 87)

Last but not least, these considerations regarding planning theory lead inevitably to the role of the researcher and therefore also to the account of theory in the thesis. My role, the role of the teller of the story of the Lausanne West planning process, is based on a theoretical understanding of planning trying to encounter and explore the practical side of the process through the lenses of planning theory as described above. As Healey notes:

“[T]ellers of stories and academic analysts are not outside the worlds they explore, but are part of the dynamic, unfolding realities to which their work contributes.”

(2007: 10)
4. METHODOLOGY

The Lausanne West planning process represents a remarkable and in some ways unusual approach, showing many singularities that need to be addressed and unveiled. To do so and to grasp the problematic, I make use of a grounded theory-based approach including a two-step qualitative content analysis for the purpose of examining the primary and secondary data.

Storytelling, too, has implications for methodology. I consider stories – besides their descriptive and performative capacities – as a tool that can unveil the singularities of planning practice, but also link them to theoretical thoughts and concepts. By identifying some of these stories, I gain access to the planning procedure in both practical and conceptual ways; telling and interpreting them has implications for the very understanding of the problematic. Hence, planning stories play an essential methodological role; their use is quickly recapitulated in 4.3.

Looking at the relationship between elements rather than the elements themselves is an initial position in assemblage thinking and also has implications at a methodological level. A short summary provides an explanation of the implications of post-structural approaches (4.4). Finally, the biases and limitations of the methodological process provide an idea of the complexity of planning analyses, recognizing the limitations of particular constraints (4.5).

4.1 Principles of data collection

The case study presented is based on two kinds of material: the first is what I consider to be primary data, including some of the official planning documents (plans, texts, maps, visualizations, images) from all levels of governance.24

- reports on the planning process (official and external; in the form of articles, videos);
- important official planning documents (see secondary data);
- feasibility studies;
- brochures and publications;
- participation in expositions and events;
- informal talks with people engaged in the planning process.

Most of these are accessible to the public, others requiring permission from the authorities for use in the thesis.

24 The Appendix contains a complete list of all further documents used for the collection of primary data that do not appear in the bibliography, including participation in events and relevant report/articles.
Furthermore, **secondary data** were collected through in-depth analysis of the following official planning documents, as well as through selective expert interviews:

- PDC – Canton of Vaud;
- PALM – agglomeration Lausanne-Morges;
- SDOL – Lausanne West region;
- ET – Test planning studies (four group results + synthesizing documents)
- Chantier 2 – the Sébeillon-Bussigny strategic study site, including the Malley sub-sector;
- EG – general study
- PDL – localized structure plan for Malley;
- SDIMalley – intercommunal structure plan.

At the end of my data collection, I conducted two expert interviews, the interviewees being chosen selectively and the questions based upon all the data gathered beforehand. *Interviewee A* has a private planning bureau and worked on the planning of Lausanne West in various stages (including informal reflections in the early years, the test planning study and the elaboration of the SDIM). *Interviewee B* is currently the responsible planner of the Malley site working for the Bureau SDOL. Both were identified in planning documents and were contacted to set an interview date. The interviews lasted 90 minutes each and were fully transcribed for inclusion in the data analysis.25

The method I chose for conducting the interviews can be described as semi-structured. This implies a relatively open interview scenario in which a loose grid leads the interview. Thus, the questions are not strictly pre-defined; rather, they serve as guidance to follow a certain structure, which is adaptive and flexible, leaving space for reactions, modifications and a certain liberty in speaking. Flick (1995) views semi-structured interviews as advantageous in that the interview does not take place on a general level with universally applicable statements, but is characterized by very few restrictions for the interviewee and a relatively open discussion. The flexibility during the interview allows the researcher to valorize aspects that the interviewee brings up in order to elaborate them. Thus, the interview design contained – besides several important precisely defined questions – a pre-established interview scenario that could be adapted in view of the progression of the interview.

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25 The interviews were conducted in German (Interviewee A) and French (Interviewee B) and were transcribed in the original language. Citations in the thesis are translations into English, aiming to remain true to the original statement as much as possible. This is the same for translations from French into English from other documents from primary and secondary data.
4.2 Two-step qualitative content analysis

To deal with the considerable amount of data generated, I drew on qualitative content analysis based on principles of grounded theory, namely through thematic coding, building categorizations and relationships and synthesizing theory. Qualitative content analysis made it possible to work with the variety of sources within the common framework employed. The overall data processing approach is therefore characterized by inductive reasoning, which aims at the generation of theory by building up a reliable and transferable account of the phenomenon studied.

Qualitative content analysis can be divided into two main steps, equivalent to the phases of categorization and coding in the principles of grounded theory (see Mayring 2000), or initial and focused coding.27

- Inductive development of categories (initial coding)

In this first step, I identified and constructed thematic categories through perusal of the main official planning documents, newspaper articles, television reports, etc. Participation in expositions, presentations and events around the Lausanne West planning broadened my knowledge about the process and gave me an insight into the complex actor relationships. The categories were based upon different scales and related to my research questions. This coding step is not just a simple classification, but the building of theoretical concepts that have an explanatory power for the phenomena investigated.

- Deductive application of categories (focused coding)

The second step consisted of a selective in-depth analysis based on the initial coding, predominantly through studying the secondary data, including the two expert interviews. This step in building relationships is essential to establish relationships between the categories identified, which does not exclude tracing back to initial data production (or a focused re-reading of documents). Feedback loops and a switching between the primary and secondary data were common and a later review of the primary data was also frequent. The focused coding helped me to identify and build the relationships that – once consolidated – again had implications for the initial codes.

What can be considered an overall goal – and indeed advantage – of the grounded theory approach is the emergence of theory out of the data. On this basis, the integration addresses analytical elements and synthesizes the main categories and their relationships, posing the question ‘what is at the core of my research?’ This step provides the last opportunity to rephrase or make the previously defined research questions more precise before finally answering them.

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27 An exemplary table with an initial and focused coding sample is provided in the Appendix.
In terms of data processing, I made use of different software, namely F4 to transcribe the interviews, videos and different discussions, as well as Evernote Premium to collect, code and structure the data.

4.3 Purpose of stories and storytelling

Stories and storytelling have recently been discovered by a growing number of planning scholars. However, the use of the term ‘storytelling’ is wide ranging, from considering it a concept or a tool to a simple metaphor. Some even speak about a ‘storytelling turn’ in the field of urban and regional planning (see Soja 2003: 207). It is therefore impossible to state a clear definition, but I would summarize the main aspects by accentuating three dimensions of storytelling that seem clear to me, i.e. that they are descriptive (tracing), performative (mapping) and are of use as an analytical tool (unfolding). For the purpose of this chapter, I give a short overview concerning the first two dimensions, which are rather self-explanatory and appear again in the analysis; the last dimension considers storytelling as means of looking at plans and planning documents to see behind the façade, which makes this dimension more important in relation to the methodology.

“Much of what planners do can be understood as performed story [...], yet the importance of story has rarely been understood, let alone validated in planning.”

(Sandercock 2003a: 12)

The first dimension refers to ‘story’ in the sense of history or biography. As I argue, planning always involves storytelling, as it refers inevitably to some sort of history or narrative. Yet, it is not enough to adhere to this descriptive and uncritical history of “minihistories [...] with their vast storehouse of knowledge of what has gone before” but also to make “vital ties to the immediate present and imminent future” (Soja 2003: 207).

The second dimension considers the content of a story. As I would argue, stories only work (and therefore reveal capacities and properties) when making sense in relation to other component parts of an assemblage. Stories can be seen as expressive elements in a planning assemblage, containing performative properties in relation to other elements and further assemblages. In the analysis I aim to unveil some of these stories to make them explicit and show their emergent properties, in the sense that “stories manipulate time, voice and space to produce forms that are intended to be compelling” (Eckstein 2003: 25).

I look on storytelling in the way it performs in planning processes (or how planning is performed through the telling of stories). This leads inevitably to a better understanding of the role of storytelling in planning, as “rhetoric is a level in planning that is beyond rationality and communicative action [and] stories are at the root of spatially relevant human action” (van Dijk 2011: 133). Furthermore, by referring to the unfolding capacities of stories, I try to see them as a tool when viewing plans and planning documents. These contain concepts, discourses or simple statements, which
'tell' a story that someone 'hears' and interprets. Through retracing this story and unfolding its dimensions, I try to see further perspectives in a planning document, for example through building relationships and unfolding discourses beyond the plan, offering a chance to be critical in the planner's definition of the environment through plans. This is precisely how Leonie Sandercock (2003a: 22) states the objective of storytelling in a double sense: "We need to understand the mechanisms of story both in order to tell good stories ourselves, and to be more critical of the stories we have to listen to". Jean Hillier (2010b: 7) emphasizes the potential of a story's performance: “By investigating specific stories about specific situations [...] we can make sense of the roles of actants (both human and non-human) in what took place and the processes which were performed”.

The objective of setting storytelling prominently in the thesis is simply that it is related to a perception of urban transformation, which in my opinion cannot be ‘thought’ without a language outside the rational discourse and within the realm of emotions (see Sandercock 2003a: 153). I argue that these often ignored elements (including, for example, memory, desire, dreams and hopes) can be told through and captured by stories and are essential to an understanding of processes in the urban fabric. Exploring the storytelling in planning practice demands an explorative approach as the story is never explicit and always filtered through the author's (my) and others’ understanding of meaning. The plans and planning documents in my analysis all reveal meaning, but do not necessarily take place in the story. However, as stories are about meaning, they help explain why things could happen in a certain way; “they give order and meaning to events – a crucial aspect of understanding the future possibilities” (Schwartz 1996, cited in Eckstein 2003: 23).

4.4 Ontological motivation and implications for methods

A general advantage of using assemblage theory in urban studies is considered to be that the multiplicity of a city is highlighted and it is not seen as a static whole; indeed, as Farias (2011: 369) states: “It allows us to move away from [...] the study of ‘the’ urban environment to the study of multiple urban assemblages”. It is in this sense that I see the planning process and governance as an assemblage, composed of planners (people directly involved in the planning process: developers, politicians, architects and investors) and inhabitants, but also planning instruments (plans, maps, representations, images,28 and stories) and infrastructures.

For the analysis, I draw on the concepts of territorialization and de/reterritorialization as described in the chapter on ontology (Chapter 2). This gives a

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28 I refer to images in a constructivist, performative sense, such as that in Gillian Rose’s definition, seeing images and emphasizing their variety of means to create visual materiality: “Images are made and used in all sorts of ways [...] for different reasons, and these makings and uses are crucial to the meanings an image carries” (Rose 2001: 14). An image carries more than just ‘the visual’ in a proper sense; it also (re-)produces meanings and intentions and therefore performs a role in storytelling, as I illustrate at a later stage.
structure to the analysis and allows different events and actants to be situated in the planning procedure. Thus, the link to Hillier’s planes of immanence/transcendence is made explicit.

The ontological framework, consisting of assemblage theory and complexity thinking, also has concrete implications for methodology. In addition, it focuses on relations between elements rather than on the elements themselves, thus opening up the perspective when viewing plans, texts, illustrations or maps. The non-linearity in planning processes is in contrast to those in methodology.

4.5 Limitations and biases

The case study of Lausanne West offers considerable potential for examining the planning process as it deals in an innovative way with the problematic of peri-urban transformations by recognizing certain limitations and attempting to work creatively and experimentally in a long-term environment. It has thus far been a success story in both medial representation and collaboration between public and private stakeholders.

Barbara Eckstein (2003) describes this phenomenon as ‘spaces that stories make’; I would argue that this occurs as soon as they make sense and therefore perform. This is not an effect that occurs accidentally; rather, “the storyteller is the one who actively makes space for the story(s) to be heard” (ibid: 35, emphasis added). Implicit story-making is probably the most common and the space created from these stories can be very different from one ‘hearer’ to another.

“If one listens to others’ stories with ears tuned to how their stories will serve one’s own storytelling, how they will fit one’s grander narrative, then one risks not hearing them at all.”

(Eckstein 2003: 16)

Undoubtedly, stories and storytelling have potential for methodology, or as Soja (2003: 211) calls it, provide a “powerful alternative to scientific analysis”. However, there is a risk of viewing it as too powerful a tool and compelling method, which silences alternative modes of critical thinking (ibid: 207). By choosing which story to pick up, re-tell, re-write or re-think, I – as a researcher, being the author of my own and part of others’ stories – have a significant role and considerable power in the way I proceed.

It is a challenge to grasp the complexity of the planning procedure arising from the multiplicity of actors and relations in a thesis, but the methodology of using the vision to see the whole and stories to engage with several particularities offers access to the problematic. It is nevertheless only a choice that I can make, being far from objective. As the overall approach is to generate theory and seek possibility spaces rather than undertake closed appraisals, this does not mean a contradiction. In contrast, as I believe, it is the only way to look beyond planning devices; the acceptance of incompleteness, blind spots and subjectivity entails a critical qualitative view of phenomena.
The methodological framework I have chosen is orientated to the case study and the planning process; the way I see and examine elements of it can best be evaluated by means of a multi-perspective and post-structural approach as described above. Or, as Hillier (2010b: 2) claims, this transpires through an analysis that “entails tracing of the conditions of possibility of how things/places/problems came to be constituted as products of particular contingencies through unfolding power-laden relations between elements and of mapping them into the future”.

However, in practical terms, a predominance of transcendent planning activities can be stated, as I would also argue, because time is often a limited resource in planning projects and therefore immanent tendencies must play a secondary role. On this basis, planning practice is situated somewhere between a dream world (which can be expressed in a vision) and hard fact realities (e.g. regulations), in spaces of possibilities and in an actual-virtual field of vision, influenced by emerging lines of flight and other elements that destabilize the assemblage. When exploring the possibility spaces, Deleuze and Guattari (1987 cited in Hillier 2010c: 462) urge us to “make a map, not a tracing”. It is through mapping that foresight becomes possible, while tracing is related to description and analysis ‘only’ (see Hillier 2010c: 460).

I believe that concepts and methods considered unusual or unorthodox, manifold, even eclectic, yet structured, can best deal with unconventional strategic planning, as is the case for Lausanne West. The way of thinking about the particularities in planning theory through encountering singularities in planning practice represents a challenge, one in which it is necessary to incorporate a framework of methodological tools and theoretical implications.

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29 In a critical reaction to Hillier’s planes of immanence and transcendence, Loepfe and Van Wezemael (forthcoming) see planning practice as being concerned with processes of closure rather than open endings; this contradicts the prevalence of immanent planes in Hillier’s (theoretical) understanding.
5. ANALYSIS

5.1 Case

The story of the planning process of Lausanne West started in 2000 and has continued to be told in recent years; it began as a reaction to another story, which happened in the last decades of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. This prior story was anything but a success and ended abruptly in 2000 with the emergence of its successor. The mistakes in the original planning process provoked serious problems in the region, manifested in a chaotic urban physiognomy. Several characteristics marking primarily the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s can be stated (see Coen 2012: 76ff):

- The decline of formerly important manufacturing industries led to the location of the tertiary sector. The industrial sites were often abandoned and today represent remarkable areas of brownfield sites and deserted land.

- Increased traffic resulted from a highly frequented highway in the \textit{arc lemanique} between Lausanne and Geneva, which transformed the western part of Lausanne into a transit zone. A proper public transport system hardly existed at that time.

- The uncoordinated construction and location of shopping centres, vast car parks, numerous garages, but also different housing complexes and the rapidly growing academic campus of the university resulted in a fragmented \textit{mosaic} of various urban settings.

\textbf{Figure 2: Photographic impressions of Lausanne West (by the author, 2012–2013)}
The uncontrolled growth of the western Lausanne agglomeration towards a clearly chaotic state provided the main rationale for politicians – amongst whom the Green Party member Philippe Biéler, as director of the cantonal Department for Infrastructure, was the leading force – to put the brakes on. The canton passed a law placing a moratorium on building projects which generate traffic, such as shopping centres or single family houses, in November 2000 (see also Table 3). Furthermore, accompanying measures besides the moratorium consisted of launching a first study of regional spatial planning and the entire transport system of Lausanne West (see Rey 2004: 27). In technical terms, traffic was limited to 500 car movements per day and hectare, committing the authorities to apply this measure in their local plans. This forceful decision signified the starting point of a complex planning process concerning the spatial restructuring of a whole region between the cities of Lausanne and Renens called ‘Lausanne West’. It was the trigger for change, but also signified the beginning of a new story with various tellers in a chaotic urban setting: a “big mess” (Coen 2012: 75, own translation).

A short overview illustrates different chapters in the story of this planning process with enormous significance in the further development of the region. Today, Lausanne West is a “city in the process of becoming, conceived by many minds” (Widmer 2013: 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Actor(s)</th>
<th>Story line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30/11/2000</td>
<td>Construction Moratorium</td>
<td>Philippe Biéler; Canton of Vaud</td>
<td>Trigger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Landscape study of the Lausanne West region</td>
<td>Feddersen &amp; Klostermann Architects</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Completion of the regional directive plan, SDOL</td>
<td>GROPIL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/2003</td>
<td>Opening of the ‘Bureau SDOL’: main actor in the planning process</td>
<td>One employee in the agency</td>
<td>Increasing action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/2003</td>
<td>Adoption of SDOL (Schéma directeur de l’Ouest lausannois): regional structure plan (master plan)</td>
<td>Signed by nine participating municipalities and the canton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/2007</td>
<td>Embedment of Lausanne West into PALM (Projet d’agglomération Lausanne-Morges)</td>
<td>Signed by the Bureau SDOL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Legal validity of the Bureau SDOL as part of the new cantonal structure plan, PALM</td>
<td>Municipalities, canton, Bureau SDOL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>One official region Ouest lausannois</td>
<td>Municipalities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Budget of the Bureau SDOL: CHF 1.4 million</td>
<td>Six employees in the agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>‘Wakker’ prize (awarded by the Swiss Heritage Society) for the planning and development strategy</td>
<td>Nine signatory municipalities of SDOL</td>
<td>Climax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06/2012</td>
<td>Inauguration of the train station in Malley</td>
<td>CFF/SBB (Swiss Federal Railways), SDIM, PALM</td>
<td>Drop in action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06/2013</td>
<td>CHF 135 million for PALM</td>
<td>From the confederation</td>
<td>Denouement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Milestones and their significance in the story of the Lausanne West planning process

30 The story’s elements are further explained in the analysis (Chapter 5).
What is interesting about the beginning of the planning story is that it did not arise from a participatory process, particular agitation in the population or purely economic needs, but simply by virtue of the fact that there was an urgency in terms of improving the qualities of place in the western Lausanne agglomeration. The political reaction triggered a process without knowing what would come next. The pressure seemed too great and the reset of Lausanne West was launched with the construction moratorium. This change afforded planning power and legitimation at the same time. From that moment, the planning assemblage took form.

In the following months no panic reactions ensued in the sense of getting ahead of oneself; on the contrary, a strategic planning procedure was developed. But even before this phase, a study of the landscape was conducted by Pierre Feddersen and his architectural agency. They conceptualized the region by regarding the landscape from different perspectives and emphasized its value for urban development. Besides the fact that this study marked the introduction of the planning story, it has had great influence on development and continues to do so today in the planning process (see Widmer 2011). Their propositions for the spatial re-configuration of Lausanne West have notably been coined in the regional structure plan (SDOL), which was elaborated in the following years (Coen 2012: 77). In the discussion (Chapter 5), I address this important aspect of the landscape further as the beginning of the planning story.

The potential of the site had to be emphasized strongly to get the stakeholders ‘on board’. In an early stage of the planning process, this was mainly a question of persuasion on the part of some initiators from politics – besides Philippe Biéler, this included Philippe Sordet from the cantonal office for Economy, Housing and Tourism (Coen and Lambelet 2012). Later on, the elaboration and application of the SDOL structure plan was the main task of the stakeholders; in this period, the Renens Mayor Anne-Marie Depoisier (until 2006) and her successor Marianne Huguenin were bent on keeping it that way. Both had been officiated to preside over the technical group, ABC, which checks all projects in the perimeter with regard to conformity with the guidelines in the SDOL. In terms of the important role of the Bureau SDOL, it was mainly their director, Ariane Widmer, who was the central figure in the planning process. When drafted in 2003, this bureau was first established for three years only. It still exists today and continues to navigate the planning process, as I show in the discussion (Chapter 5) when talking about the important actors.
In the case of Malley, where the intercommunal aspect increased the degree of complexity yet further, a multi-step procedure was necessary to define a common project strategy and to establish the goals of the site. The main phases – in chronological order – comprise the following:31

- An elaboration of a regional structure plan (SDOL 2001–2003) with general guidelines for the Lausanne West agglomeration developed by the GROPIL (groupe de pilotage).
- The composition of different planning sites/themes by the GROPIL and later the Bureau SDOL: Chantier 1–7, among which Malley is defined as local strategic site of cantonal interest in Chantier 2 Bussigny-Sébeillon.
- The elaboration of a synthesis document EG (étude générale, general roundup study with future guidelines and confirmation of the previously defined strategy for a mixed and dense urban centre) by the private bureau Feddersen+Klostermann and ad-hoc (groupe de suivi technique), adopted as an SDOL annexe in 2006.
- A test planning procedure (ET, étude test) by four groups of architects in 2006 (under the general direction of urban planner, Carl Fingerhuth): Wehrlin, Europan, KCAP, Tribu’Architecture. Synthesized by a groupe decisionnel composed of the municipality, canton, CFF (Swiss Federal Railways) and invited experts.
- The elaboration of a localized structure plan PDL – technically independent of the test planning groups – by the private bureau Bauart in 2007 (revisiting test planning groups).
- Conversion of the PDL into another structure plan, SDIM (intercommunal structure plan of Malley), by public planners of the Bureau SDOL and ad-hoc members in 2011.

It is important to understand that both the directive structure plans (SDIM and SDOL) are voluntary, non-binding documents that serve as a leitbild and fundamentally form the vision of Lausanne West (see Chapter 6). The agglomeration programme PALM, to which the SDOL belongs, is an important instrument in relation to the federation and finding of financial means.

Different scales form the planning process and their explanation is crucial to understanding. Table 4 gives a first overview and introduces the planning instruments at the cantonal, regional and local levels; their interaction is further examined in Chapter 5.

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31 For the sake of convenience and the tangibility of the processes, I only summarize selectively the most important steps, i.e. those that seem the most relevant to understand the planning procedure of Malley. The list could be expanded by further studies (different consultants, invited experts, population, etc.). An extended description of all stakeholders and processes can be found in the planning documents, e.g. in SDIM (2012: 2ff).
## Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Name (example for case study)</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canton</td>
<td>Vaud</td>
<td>PCDn (cantonal structure plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agglomeration</td>
<td>Lausanne-Morges</td>
<td>PALM (agglomeration structure plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td><em>Ouest lausannois</em> (Lausanne West as an administrative division)</td>
<td>SDOL (regional structure plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipalities</td>
<td>Bussigny-près Lausanne, Chavannes-près-Renens, Crissier, Ecublens, Prilly, Renens, Saint-Sulpice, Villars-Sainte-Croix (+ part of Lausanne)</td>
<td>Thematic and spatial sites (Chantier 1–7, here: Chantier 2 Bussigny-Sébeillon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local site</td>
<td>Sector Malley (Municipalities of Renens, Prilly and Lausanne)</td>
<td>PDL (localized structure plan), part of SDIM (intercommunal structure plan of Malley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood; local projects</td>
<td>e.g. Malley Centre; Av. du Chablais; Parc du Gazomètre</td>
<td>PQ (neighbourhood plan), PPA (partial allocation plan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Planning actors and instruments from the cantonal to the local scale

The spatial planning of Lausanne West is a collective project which aims to valorize the characteristics of one region, but seeks to preserve the singularities of each element (intact municipalities) at the same time (see e.g. Widmer 2011; Coen 2012; Jaggi 2012). This is a balancing act as there is a certain pride on the part of the municipalities which existed and still exist independently of each other and the region to which they belong – since it was properly defined in 2008 – does not have a great historical value, at least not a common one. With the regional structure plan, *Schéma directeur Ouest lausannois* (SDOL), the communities have become part of this project, which is binding on their administrative bodies and describes objectives and general measures for future land use, as well as specifying the activities necessary for that purpose (e.g. in terms of mobility, urbanity, etc.). It can be seen as the *leitbild* of the region. As I illustrate in Chapter 5.2, it is now matter of creating a relationship among different actors in Lausanne West to translate a *vision* of a common future identity into concrete values. The Bureau SDOL took on a central role in terms of communication in this process in the past and is aware of the fact that the mediation between the municipalities and their responsible politicians remains a sizable task for the future.
In short, the planning process is characterized by three main levels on which the instruments unfold: an overall guideline is provided by the *regional* structure plan, SDOL, which is embedded in the *cantonal* PALM programme, among which the Malley site and its SDIM plan can considered one of several strategic *local* foci. The intercommunal plan, SDIM, is based on voluntary agreements and serves as a directive on a local scale. Operative planning within the Malley sector is conducted either formally or ad hoc (ARE 2013a). In the architectural competition, which took place for the Malley Centre between 2011 and 2012, some important aspects with regard to future urban quality (such as the typology of buildings and public spaces) have already been introduced by the organization of the SDOL bureau. They are likewise incorporated in the SDIM plan and are intended to help translate the vision into a concrete urban landscape. In the following discussion I argue this point further and present fundamental characteristics of the work of the competition winner (IN SITU/FHY) to ensure the success of the evolution from an visionary idea to a concrete plan, serving as a basis in relation to future partial allocation plans. This is also the actual state of the planning process, meaning that the phase from planning to operative construction is in the process of becoming and marks an important step in the translation from public planning to private realization. The Malley site illustrates the most advanced projects of that size in the SDOL perimeter. However, few concrete projects have been realized so far; the Les Coulisses neighbourhood will be the first to be built soon, among many others to follow.
Figure 4: Important planning projects on the SDIM perimeter

- **Hockey Patinoire/sports complex**: Regeneration planned, feasibility studies ongoing. Initially independent from SDOL planning.


- **Avenue du Chablais**: Central street axis/public space. Pre-study pending (Urbaplan SA).

- **Halte RER**: Train station Prilly-Malley, inaugurated 2011.

- **Parc du Gazomètre**: Green area and public space around the former gas holder; pending.

- **Quartier du Censuy**: Sports and leisure neighbourhood, pending.

- **Quartier du Chêne**: Neighbourhood designated for residential purposes, pending.

- **Les Coulisses**: First concrete living/working neighbourhood, to be constructed from 2014 on, first residents in around 2016. Planning by competition awardee IN SITU/FHY.
5.2 Discussion

The discussion is divided into three main sections. The first focuses on the notion of vision in the planning process of Lausanne West, both in terms of different scales and authorities. How is a visionary vocabulary used in the different arenas of decision making and what are the story’s performative capacities in the planning assemblage? To answer this, I make use of a story structure (chapters as illustrated in Table 3) and trace the evolution of events: the construction moratorium in 2000 as a trigger is followed by a process of participant advocacy (seen as an introduction), running into a long chapter of rising action characterized by actual planning in the sense of testing, negotiating, building relationships, etc. The story’s climax can be seen – on a regional scale – in the surprise awarding of the Wakker prize (Swiss Heritage Foundation) in 2011 and – on a local scale – in the new Malley train station as a first visible, distinctive building in 2012. The consistency of the vision crucially influences the further evolution of the planning story and will show the way towards eventual chapters, illustrating a drop in action and denouement, as well as their potential significance in the future. This framing from virtual to actual is part of the process of territorialization and leads to the consistency of the vision.

The second thread of deterritorialization is related to the test planning procedure and temporary destabilization of planning elements. Furthermore, the role of SDOL as the central planner is highlighted according to its position in a network of planners. The third part concerns reterritorialization and aims to illustrate three important stories characterized in the process as part of different planning documents all referring to the future vision of Malley but embedded in different time-space settings: the transformation of the Gasometer, the restructuring of public spaces and the importance of urban landmarks in the future cityscape.

5.2.1 Territorialization: building the vision’s capacities on planes of immanence

From the beginning of the Lausanne West planning story, the notion of vision – in all its facets – had been employed and built up upon various platforms of communication. As Interviewee B confirmed, the vision generally represents an indispensable means in the planning process and is something that was particularly missing in the western Lausanne agglomeration in earlier years and hence had to be implemented first:

“I became aware of the fact that a phase of ‘urban design’ was missing here, something that proceeds to a phase of imagination, of conception [which is] actually the beginning of a planning process. For example, setting a directive plan that defines the rules is difficult without a long-term vision.”

(Interviewee B)

The importance of vision in planning is not only mentioned by practitioners such as Interviewee B, but also occurs in theory. In recent planning literature, authors refer to
visionary vocabulary and their importance in planning practice either through (mental) frames (e.g. van Dijk 2011; Ernste 2012) or (good) designs (Healey 2007: 184ff) rather than using the term vision. Hillier (2008) speaks of broad trajectories of possible visions, meaning a long-term strategy, by referring to Deleuzean planes of consistency/immanence. Albrechts (2004: 748) highlights the shift from traditional land-use planning to strategic plans, including a combination of long-term vision and short-term action. However, these definitions all have one thing in common: the need for a long-term strategy in urban development to tell the future of a place as well as the injection of meaning in the planning process. The theoretical way in which planners should proceed or perform this task is thus not as clear as it first seems. As a practical example, the analysis of the case study helps to develop a better understanding in terms of visionary vocabulary.

Before going into detail concerning the transformation and different use of vision in the elaboration of the SDOL and SDIM plans and the planning process, I take a look at the three main scales (federal, cantonal and regional) and their implementation of visionary thinking used in these arenas of planning and production.

- Federal/state level: financial incentives for agglomerations

It was at the beginning of the 21st century that the Swiss confederation started to launch an agglomeration programme, which offered significant financial support for transport infrastructures and it was at about the same time that the (Bureau) SDOL emerged. In several Swiss regions, agglomerations were formed concurrently with the aim of obtaining funding from the state.

The spatial strategy for Switzerland (Raumkonzept Schweiz, Projet du territoire Suisse), elaborated in federal, cantonal and municipal collaborations from 2005 to 2010, has created – according to its own statements – a vision illustrating the future living space and showing how to develop agglomerations (ARE 2013b). Densification is considered to be the top priority and is to be obtained through sustainable spatial settlement development, i.e. through more intensive use of already built-up areas in agglomerations and peri-urban zones (including brownfield sites). The vision in this sense signifies a simple description of the future, a prospective desire for urban transformations on the one hand and defining broad requirements with the aim of stopping sprawl in the form of densification concepts on the other hand. Implicitly, it also sets broad standards for agglomerations to be accepted. In a recent publication, the Swiss Federal Office for Spatial Development gives two recommendations for municipalities before starting a planning project concerned with inner densification: the first states that a common consciousness of the problem as well as a common vision are essential to the success of the project; the second states that all relevant actors must be identified and included in time for the process (ARE 2013b: 23). By explicitly mentioning these default settings, which seem more than obvious at first glance, one can guess that projects concerning spatial developments are not always that simple to conduct, above all when several municipalities are engaged in the process.

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During an event organized by the Northern Lausanne agglomeration planning structure, the SDNL (which is in many aspects comparable to the SDOL planning, i.e. in terms of their procedure through directive plans), the invited speaker Doris Leuthard – a member of the Swiss Federal Council and responsible at the state level for transport and the environment, among others – referred several times to the notion of vision:

“*We need a common vision; a vision of housing, of planning, of mobility, as well as of interests in nature, and different interests of the population. With such a vision, with such cooperation we understand each other; and afterwards we concretise together how the society of tomorrow shall be created [...].*”

On the one hand, referring to vision here as an essential way of conceiving the environment, Doris Leuthard emphasizes a uniform understanding of space. On the other hand, by putting vision on a level with cooperation, she reminds cantonal and local planners that they must accept the federal definition of vision and almost subject their own understanding(s) to those of the state. Only then can cooperation be successful and scale hurdles possibly be overcome. As another quote from her, speaking to regional planning authorities and their concepts, puts it: “We see that you really think about how to plan the needs of transport with those of residential planning. Really, this is exactly the vision of the confederation, and I congratulate you on doing so!” If regional planners do not follow the principles defined by the confederation, financial support is not guaranteed and aid for projects can be refused or withheld. Once more, this aims at a powerful agglomeration policy defending standpoints at the confederation level, but also a strong collaboration between regional planning and the cantonal institutions. This seems to be the case in the western Lausanne agglomeration, where the PALM and regional directive plans (e.g. those of the SDOL) represent role models in terms of the intertwining of different plans.

The fact that agglomeration programmes can apply for financial contributions from the state for important infrastructural projects makes the PALM an essential device for future directions in relation to both the state and local/regional plans. The state defines rules by stating that traffic projects must support urbanization and that inner densification is to be promoted. The regional planning instruments (e.g. the SDOL), developed in collaboration with the agglomeration and the canton (e.g. the PALM) contain concrete projects which correspond to the state’s requirements and thus aim to obtain financial contributions, including study sites. The new Prilly-Malley train station is just such an example of the importance attributed to an infrastructure project; half of the total costs were subsidized by the Federal State. At the same time, it is seen as a promoter for several other projects on the Malley site and in the environs (cf. 0). It

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33 The costs of the Prilly-Malley train station were CHF 65 million, divided equally between the Canton of Vaud and the Swiss Federal State [http://www.rts.ch/info/regions/vaud/4107230-les-trains-s-arretent-desormais-a-la-gare-de-prilly-malley.html, accessed 21 December 2013].
differs in terms of an overall strategy for the agglomeration insofar as other infrastructure projects (e.g. the tramway line between Lausanne Centre and Renens proposed for 2018) are planned to be built simultaneously with the construction of neighbourhoods on the Malley brownfield site.

- Regional level: cantonal and agglomeration policy (PALM)

Referring to the term ‘vision’ and citing it in planning publications is very fashionable; it comes in almost everywhere on different scales. However, the meaning differs quite considerably from one reference to another. The PALM explicitly mentions vision in several of its official brochures, yet in different terms than those of the Federal State:

“The new vision is more sensible and respectful towards the environment. It implies a modification of what exists, in coordination with partners and stakeholders of change (politicians, specialists, citizens). Such a conception marks a deep and sustainable transformation in the life of everyone.”

(PALM 2011: 1, emphasis added)

The vision, as cited here, is directed towards the population and by talking about transformation, it makes the people aware of a different future that has implications for everyone. At the same time, it emphasizes collaboration and includes the environment within the vision strategy by making it clear that change is necessary and that maintaining the status quo is not an appropriate solution.

“This common vision makes it possible to improve life of the agglomeration’s inhabitants as it considerably moderates the routes for commuters’ private cars, which represent a source of stress and nuisance, and at the same time limits the costs related to mobility.”

(PALM 2012: 18)

On the basis of this very general, traffic-based connotation of vision, the agglomeration aims to make their vision acceptable to the (future) population, pointing to the actual problems of street overload by saying ‘everything will be fine if you adopt this vision’. At the same time, the vision is also used at the local level to mention more concrete action taking place: “This planning brings a detailed and local vision of urban development” (PALM 2012: 18).

It makes explicit a vision that works on several scales and the objective is clear: vision is change and change is both motivation and legitimation. The status quo had already been abandoned in 2000, but the ensuing emphasis on a vision that argues for change and transformation has continued in recent years and has become increasingly concrete and local. The building of the first visible elements in different sub-sectors reinforces this strategy and intertwines the PALM with the SDOL and the SDIM. Again, the construction of the train station in Malley (RER Prilly-Malley) can be cited as a major example, influencing both the regional and local dimensions as it takes effect in terms of
traffic improvement as well as quality of life. Thus, the vision works within a wider (Lausanne West) and a narrow perspective (Malley), and even on a neighbourhood scale. The RER is used as a quality driver when referring to the surrounding public spaces (see stories in 0). How these different story lines are interlinked and yet try to work in very different settings will be analysed further in later sections.

![Figure 5: Visual conceptualization of the train station in 2007 (RER Prilly-Malley, Luscher-Architectes Lausanne)](image)

- **Unfolding capacities through the landscape study: setting pre-conditions for the vision**

In a first step after the moratorium – representing the beginning of the story – the main task was to unify the actors concerned around a table, notably the municipalities in Lausanne West. This was realized at the beginning of the 21st century and signified a task for Pierre Feddersen and others in terms of convincing those involved, aiming to trigger the willingness to do something together by highlighting the potential of the region. These initial events were in part informal and demanded the realization of a bureau of coordination, which was installed in the Bureau SDOL from 2003 on.

"And at that time, there was a really pessimistic spirit for Lausanne West; almost no existing public transport, too many cars and we could not improve the region as the conditions weren’t present."

(Interviewee A, speaking about the years after the moratorium)

An important document, having release effects on the whole region and its politicians, was the landscape study published by the bureau Feddersen+Klostermann in 2001. It emphasizes the potential to develop a region by stating that the landscape has the same value as built-up areas (Feddersen+Klostermann 2001: 4). The way in which it represents the landscape of Lausanne West is illustrated in a synthesizing map, which
highlights parks, forests and rivers in colour and leaves the ‘empty’ spaces white (Figure 6). In the legend, these white spots have several functions: on the one hand they are described as manifold spaces – residuals, space in transformation or waiting to be built on, the surroundings of buildings and brownfield sites (cf. original legend in Feddersen+Klostermann 2001: 10). By merging all these categories into one (colour), this newly constructed space is unified and represents one territory. The space has been striated to give one an understanding of potential places for regeneration. These places are considered to be non-lieux and their existence is unwanted, legitimated by the (further) potential these places can provide when they undergo change.

![Figure 6: Earlier sketch of the Lausanne West landscape concept by Pierre Feddersen, including legend extract](image)

The second aspect of significance of the white parts on the map is even more important as it refers to an existing and future connecting component of centralities. Empty spaces can be transformed into centralities and relate the existing fragments in the landscape. The territorialization of the region takes place by defining its landscape elements...
(existing and virtual), as well as by highlighting several components of it. This happens in the second map (Figure 7), where the railways (in yellow) and the high-voltage lines (dashed lines) have been joined to the previous elements. Street axes are coloured and made more visible; together with the newly added elements, they represent the aspect of infrastructure. These constituents are nonetheless characterized as ‘permanent landscape elements’, together with the rivers and the future centralities. The step from the earlier map to the later map in the official landscape study is impressive as it segments space into the landscape(s) by classifying it and giving meaning to its importance. The infrastructural elements are not to be seen as obstacles, but as presenting potential and as linking different parts of the whole agglomeration, exhorting actors to stick together: “The municipalities cannot work each on their own and in isolation, but must absolutely collaborate in order to reach a uniform concept in terms of planning continuities in the progression of Lausanne West” (Feddersen+Klostermann 2001: 20). This early statement in an official planning document goes along with the creation of study sites (Chantier 1–7) which had a relational and territorializing character by defining them across municipal borders.

As Ariane Widmer admits in a television report, the decision to overlap the municipality borders in relation to the SDOL’s strategic sites and important projects (e.g. Malley) was a pretext to get different community stakeholders around one table.34 This artificially created intercommunity is an important strategy in the way in which the Bureau SDOL works and navigates indirectly the processes that happen at the political level.

“And then it was a matter of visions; visions that emphasize the spatial qualities, which Lausanne West undoubtedly has […]. Visions in order to put a face on non-places, like Malley for example.”

(Interviewee A)

The landscape study by Pierre Feddersen had several implications, marking an indispensable initial step in the planning process: First, it transferred unusual ‘landscape’ elements, such as railways, streets and electricity infrastructure, into the planning assemblage, not by considering them as non-lieux. They were placed on the same level as the usual elements (e.g. rivers, parks and the lakeside) and synthesized with the same colour in a map. These former elements, indispensable for future development but unpopular and overrepresented in Lausanne West at that time, were transformed through striating tendencies. Furthermore, they became part of the region’s story and the planning assemblage, bringing a positive image to the region by making these places acceptable, even indispensable, by stating their potential. However, the claim was for cautious land exploitation: “The non-constructed, the free spaces and the ‘empty’ represent the most vulnerable elements in an urban condition” (Feddersen+Klostermann 2001: 4).

Second, the western Lausanne agglomeration was for the first time considered to be something approaching one entity by combining common elements of the landscape and linking them through infrastructure and future potential places. This ‘informal’ territorialization occurred long before the official definition of Ouest lausannois in 2008 and it is clear that municipal borders are completely missing in the landscape study plans. The question of how space is conceived by these newly created components of the planning assemblage is the object of further consideration when focusing in on regional and local planning.

- Complex roles of municipalities and land properties at a local level

Malley, as defined in the SDIM perimeter, is characterized by a complex situation in terms of the repartition of land tenure and building properties. The two main owners of the land are the municipality of Lausanne and the Swiss Federal Railways CFF (cf. Figure 8). However, most land lies on the administrative ground of the Renens municipality. In the middle of the Malley plain, where the industrial sector is still active, land primarily belongs to private owners, as well as in the eastern part. Although owning almost no land, the municipality of Prilly is important as the new train station lies on its ground, as well as parts of important future public spaces north and south of it (‘Avenue du Chablais’ and the viaduct).

As already mentioned, the study sites (chantiers) and projects were spread over several municipalities to get stakeholders to work together. The train station, as the first visible element of a common vision, is considered to be a success story in terms of collaboration:

“For me this represents the vision very well. It is a project that has been done in collaboration with the Bureau SDOL that works intercommunally, with the municipalities, the canton and the Swiss Federal Railways; from the beginning, it integrated all the constraints and intentions of the SDIM vision.”

(Interviewee B, speaking about the RER train station)

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Figure 8: Geographical repartition of complex land tenure in the Malley perimeter (SDIM 2012: 6; Widmer 2008: 11)
Negotiation processes are essential and actively sought in order to tackle the “very complex technical and relational constraints” (Interviewee B). In this case, complex situations can probably even help to establish a common vision and to convince the different actors of the need for collaboration. They forces municipalities and private organizations to work together, to adopt or to change the pre-defined vision. It is not surprising that land from the first neighbourhood, Les Coulisses, belongs in great parts to the municipality of Lausanne (blue), yet lies partly in the administrative unit of Prilly and Renens. The centre of Lausanne thus takes its place in the development of the periphery, being implicated in the project as a matter of necessity. This also shows that independent change is not possible and that central places have an influence on the periphery, even though the SDOL credo is for independent inner development.

In this first neighbourhood, the Bureau SDOL invested “all its energy”, as it became the “face of the transformation” (Interviewee B). It is considered to be a trigger, a model for other projects to follow, probably and presumably with less influence from the public sector. Interviewee B speaks about a “motivation and instigation” for other sub-sites to follow the first. The success of the whole Malley site in the sense of the SDOL vision is thus strongly related to the success of Les Coulisses, as the vision was first transferred here into concrete physical buildings and has created the identity of a place. Secondary effects are expected from the inclusion of the public sector (SDOL) on further sites that are going to be built in the future at Malley. This is both a chance and risk, or as Interviewee B states:
“It is a vision and in 30 years we will see if it was right or not. Today, we estimate that the vision is right and we try to follow that direction [...]. We think that this is the way to make a city today. Maybe we are wrong...”

5.2.2 Deterritorialization: test planning as the exploration of possibility spaces by smoothing over striation

The role of both the SDOL as the regional planning instrument and the Bureau SDOL as the coordinator and navigator of the planning process are key factors in the territorial development of Lausanne West and Malley in particular.

The groupe de pilotage (GROPIL), which initiated the SDOL, was composed of municipal and cantonal politicians. They not only developed guidelines, but also defined the study sites, steps for realization and a common strategy (Coen 2012: 78), including the decision to build a regional train station (RER Prilly-Malley). They can be seen as the main actors in the first planning years, before they engaged Ariane Widmer in 2003, who implemented the Bureau SDOL. From that moment on, the planning navigation was assigned to a small group of architect planners with limited financial means but great vision and competence. As already mentioned in 5.1, the series plans for Lausanne West and Malley, conducted through the Bureau SDOL, mainly consisted of an elaboration of the EG (étude générale), ET (étude test), PDL (plan directeur localisé) and SDIM (Schéma directeur intercommunal de Malley). Below, I refer to all these planning documents, but mainly take up elements from the test planning study (ET) and the SDIM, the directive intercommunal structure plan for Malley.

Two important instruments that accompany the SDOL are the CPT (cellule de pilotage technique) and the ABC group, representing cantonal office members. Both examine projects in terms of their technical conformity and feasibility. The ABC can stop projects that do not conform to prior agreements and the partial or general allocation plans. However, if already tested by the CPT or SDOL study site groups, the ABC no longer has any effect. Presumably, the ABC and GROPIL members are likely to be the same persons with different tasks depending on the project. As GROPIL and the SDOL work in a very close relationship, the main planner within the process continues to be the Bureau SDOL.

The manner in which the Bureau SDOL works – both literally and figuratively – can be summarized as navigation. Examining its role in the process is interesting as it provides the key to understanding the Lausanne West planning, and planning practice in a more general way. In my opinion, the SDOL strategy relies on three main instruments: first, the vision’s construction and development by including different stakeholders; second, the publication of various image-performing materials and a presence in the media; third, the implementation of filter planning tools, such as test planning studies, to improve the projects’ qualities.

The tradition of test planning studies comes from Germany and Swiss-German regions, as attested by Carl Fingerhuth, the president of the Malley test planning studies (in SDOL 2007a: 12). The goal is to develop an urbanism and not ‘only’ to ensure the
quality of a project in terms of its architectural dimensions; furthermore, it creates the conditions for a dialogue and its interaction produces energies (ibid.). To cope with the complexity of the process, the need for such an approach is a given.

In the case of Lausanne Malley, the ET had the important advantage that “everyone develops an own, very different vision and allows rapid identification of the problems” as Fingerhuth (in SDOL 2007a: 12) states. However, as Interviewee A points out, these studies were not conducted independently of each other. Participating groups would have known for the most part what the other groups were doing, but this would be a common procedure during test studies. He explains and also criticizes the procedure, arguing that the groups (and their architectural bureaus) had no role in obtaining a follow-up mandate. This was as arranged in the beginning, yet the bureaus expected other opportunities for participation. However, the SDOL gave permission to finalize a localized structure plan, PDL, to the Bauart bureau, which did not take part in the test planning procedure. Yet, in terms of quality for the progression of the projects, Interviewee A claimed that test planning studies are very helpful. As the SDIM – or the former PDL – were essentially based on these studies, taking up elements from all participating groups, this later plan can almost be seen as a synthesis of the former in the sense of a follow-up study.

The test planning studies have had smoothing tendencies on the striations from the former territorialization thread. To detect this, selective elements from the test planning
ateliers’ neighbourhood plans and the repartition of different sub-sectors defined in the test planning documents are examined. I will come to the different representations when talking about the local stories and the public spaces in particular (cf. 5.2.3.). At this stage, what was important was not only the idea to divide the Malley site into different neighbourhoods, but also to relate them to concepts and typologies. The most illustrative and simplest conception of the future composition was elaborated by the Europan/Luscher team, which branded the neighbourhoods with letters related to their future size (Figure 11).

![Figure 11: Malley neighbourhood composition through size categorization by the Europan/Luscher test planning team (SDOL 2007b: 20)](image)

With the implementation of these different neighbourhood names, a typology was established and retained in the further planning process; Malley's (future) space was thus segmented. The elementary emergence of the size morphology developed by Europan/Luscher and others provoked a temporary destabilization. Common notions were collected and highlighted by the Bureau SDOL in the Bauart master plan and a coding system was established, again leading to stabilization. The *strip* (the area north of the railways) and *Malley Centre* are examples figuring prominently in successive plans.

The more different these representations seem from those of the test planning ateliers at first glance, the more similar they are on a second inspection, having the same overall intentions for the broad composition of Malley. This is certainly due to the fact that those involved were known to each other during the test planning procedure and furthermore due to the predefined regulation of SDOL principles. One of these, referring to sub-sectors of the site, states that “in order to reduce the complexity of projects and the number of stakeholders concerned, the size of operational perimeters also has to be reduced” (SDOL 2006a: 35).
Instead of branding the neighbourhoods in terms of the future size of the buildings, the Wehrlin group labels them according to their functional use (Figure 12). This broad composition was established very early on and found a consensus among the other test planning groups as well as for further plans. This is particularly true of highly dense parts in Malley Centre and the park to the south, showing that in fact both categorizations from Europan/Luscher and Wehrlin coincide in significant ways, but using different tools of representation. This variety of representations, further accentuated by the two other remaining test planning groups, leads to a decomposition of the planning assemblage into several different, overlapping and complementary elements. At this time, ideas were gathered and opened up the perspective for the future use of the site through means of large-area measures. The test planning results created possibility spaces in the sense that the information collected represented a working basis for further exploration. The subsequent consolidation was undertaken by means of combining and synthesizing former results, as well as adapting and developing them to improve their quality.

Both representations have one thing in common: they try to link places together by defining categories, over sites that are in use and that are wasteland, creating borders in the smooth. However, this distribution of ideas and concepts across an open space considers a smoothing over striations afterwards. The work of synthesis is therefore considered to be even more important than the actual test planning procedure.

SDOL is the main navigator in the Lausanne West planning process, defining test studies, announcing and evaluating competitions, producing publications, releases and
so on. Here again, the Bureau SDOL as the navigator of planning relations applies the concept, gathering the best possible quality through provoking destabilization of the assemblage and reaching for acceptance of the vision at the same time. This navigation is done not only to keep the ship on course but also to a great extent to formulate that course (see also Conclusion, 5.3.). As Chapter 6 illustrates, the Bureau SDOL is also a storyteller.

5.2.3 Reterritorialization: the adoption of Malley’s local storytelling in the planning process
I consider the three stories identified in the local planning of Malley as negotiating processes and events emerging from the vision and having reterritorializing effects. They are constitutive elements of the global story and the vision and also work with emotional affect. The aim is to trace the story elements in the SDOL process and to explore the meanings and reasoning to relate their consistency to the vision. Examples revolve around the previously defined stories about the Gasometer, the public spaces and high-rise buildings.

I. Gasometer: from industrial past through heritage significance to future symbol
The most obvious of various, still visible, industrial footprints on the Malley brownfield site is the Gasometer (boule à gaz) to the south of the site, which represents a relic serving in the past as a gasholder from its original construction in 1933/1934 onwards. It is to be made accessible and restructured with a public park around it (parc du gazomètre) in the near future. This object has figured prominently in recent plans (SDIM, PDL) as a symbol of the new neighbourhood. It was first considered as such during test planning studies conducted by the KCAP group (Figure 14). When the idea first came up, it did not have much ‘form’, but was illustrated in the test planning and further studies, “giving the neighbourhood an image that will be more and more specific” (SDOL 2007a).

Interviewee B concedes that the Gasometer has no or very little heritage value; nevertheless, people living in the new neighbourhoods would then always have in mind the industrial past. As he continues, he remarks that the purpose is to keep some past elements, or ‘traces’ as they are mentioned in the SDIM. The Gasometer represents only one of several elements for which the local directive structure plan distinguishes between protection and conservation (SDIM 2012: 42). Among the elements to be protected – besides the Gasometer – are some residential buildings in the Avenue de Chablais as well as the viaduct, giving a “strong identity to that place” (ibid.). Their qualities shall be valorized, as well as
those elements that are to be conserved and potentially used in later planning, such as railway relics and ancient oil depots (ibid.).

“I imagine that people who live that neighbourhood will always have in mind that this used to be an industrial zone before. It is simply that, to keep certain past elements.”

(Interviewee B)

What is interesting from a theoretical point of view about brownfield and heritage sites is the discursive legitimation and redevelopment of its preservation, which represents an emergent quality of actor interactions that generate meaning (Karadimitriou et al. 2010: 264). As I argue, it is not about the intrinsic value of the ‘bowl’, but the attached meaning related to actors’ purposes and interests in these places. Thus, the stories occur around a valorization of the history of place. As the preservation of heritage can only play a minor role in the case of the Malley Gasometer, the stories are furthermore important in giving meaning to the heritage aspect. Referring to Karadimitriou et al. (2010: 273), the distinction between history and heritage is that the latter is clearly the product of the consumption of the former. Making selective use of the past and the history of place thus helps to build facets of heritage and create identity. In heritage, as indeed in stories, the current and future use of an object of the past becomes predominant.

In a description of the new neighbourhood from the award-winning project Les Coulisses, the planners state that “industrial footprints and macro activities create the identity of the territory [and they] propose to re-write the fascination given by industrial macro architectures – which are experienced like extraordinary church naves – in the future urban morphology” (IN SITU/FHY 2012: n.p.).

A re-writing here explicitly refers to an insignificant account of the Gasometer as such, but also to the potential of that element in future application. This goes along with the striking promotion of the Gasometer in several planning publications and events, very different one from another but all intending to valorize and give prominence to the object in the new neighbourhood (cf. Figures 15–17). The concept of identity in this case is particularly important when trying to change a negative perception of a place and reformulate it into something positive. This involves a positive discourse about the heritage aspects of Malley’s industrial relics and excludes the negative connotations normally attributed to brownfield sites, wasteland or ‘previously developed land’.

“There are many elements – or objects we could state – that are part of today’s imagination, and that are going to be the neighbourhood’s image tomorrow.”

(Interviewee B)
Karadimitriou et al. (2010: 264) state that brownfield sites “are not an empty vessel but a place where the complex dynamics of varying socio-spatial networks are reflected and reciprocally affected”. Establishing the Malley Gasometer as a symbol of the new neighbourhood generates value in the object itself. Furthermore, heritage sites can disclose a social component in the sense of a re-construction and re-negotiation of places. “As such, brownfield sites do possess a past and their present and future is under constant negotiation by human and non-human elements [...]” (ibid.). It can be supposed that beyond the revitalization of the city, the historic preservation of the Gasometer has effects on small businesses, neighbourhood stability and diversity and heritage tourism. In this sense, the plan was to link the Gasometer and its park to a community centre (maison de quartier); however these ideas have disappeared in recent plans.

Another interesting aspect is the reasoning of the landscape architects and the winner of the competition for Malley Centre, IN SITU/FHY (2012, n.p.): “By conserving industrial activities, the effect of ‘too young cities’ and trivialization of territory will be avoided”. The Gasometer as a representation of a certain old age is thus used to invent the life and activity of the young site. At the same time, it conceals the fact that the site has never been used for residential living but shows that it was not an ‘empty space’. Future residents can clearly identify with objects that had a certain value in the past and that served for something, rather than a newly built monument. Representations and illustrations show that the overall appearance will not be changed but that slight modifications in the sense of ‘refreshment’ are intended. The newest version provided by the competition-winners IN SITU/FHY foresees mirroring on the bowl’s exterior, as well as a pond system around the Gasometer.
However, as the neighbourhood plan is not yet complete, the final look and use of the Gasometer is still undefined. As is the case for other sub-sites (e.g. Avenue du Chablais), the Bureau SDOL has tried to garner as much quality as possible through the international competition for the Malley Centre, yet the winner does not have a mandate for the further elaboration of plans. This succession of plans relies on the same principle as those of the test study synthesis and elaboration of PDL, simply being applied on a smaller scale.

The transformation of the appearance would have the advantage of providing other uses for the Gasometer; a ‘bowl-mirror’ could provide the basis for light projections, as was the case once in the past. Like many of the ideas and intentions concerning the Malley site, this one remains uncertain. It is – amongst other things – a question of the persuasiveness of the stories around the Gasometer and other elements that are part of Malley’s future. Another example, related to the envisaged Parc de Gazomètre, shows that stories probably have not been told consciously enough: the so-called cultural axis (axe culturel), a pedestrian north-south trail which should traverse the whole Malley area and include different culturally interesting objects (Théâtre Kléber-Méleau, industrial traces, etc.). Still prominently figuring in the SDIM and in the proposition Les Coulisses, its concretization is today more than questionable, as Interviewee B confirms. It is certain that an axis will be created, but presumably without the cultural aspect. The following section aims to investigate the stories around Malley’s recent and future public spaces.

Figure 16: Gasometer representation as part of the Parc du Gazomètre (IN SITU, Lyon. Official webpage: http://www.in-situ.fr/#/projets/tous/les-coulisses, consulted 24 January 2014)
II. Public spaces: from public through shared to multimodal use of space

The stories about Malley's public spaces are of quite a different nature as they refer to existing and already used elements, but it is intended to change their face radically in the future. I shall mainly illustrate the examples of the restructuring of public spaces around the train station (RER), which are notably sites expanding from the Avenue du Chablais in the south (Place de Malley) to the viaduct in the north (Place du Galicien). I do not explicitly refer to the construction of parks and green spaces, but rather to mixed zones in the future urban environment related to already existing places.

The "network of public spaces" (SDOL 2007: 38; SDIM 2012: 44) has been retained as a crucial element in plans for the future neighbourhood, aiming to combine an urban morphology with traffic concepts and residential quality. These three principles are reflected in plans for the aforementioned places around the train station (cf. Figure 17).

Figure 17: Plan extract of public spaces on the Malley site (original figure: SDIM 2012: 45)

It is not surprising that public space and non-motorized traffic build one common SDOL study thematic (chantier 5: Espaces publics et mobilité douce). This shows how much importance is attached to these topics and to Malley, as they also figure prominently in regional plans concerning this aspect. In an early directive study, two main principles for the Avenue du Chablais were identified: transforming it into a 'veritable' central public space and installing a transport interface in the area to improve access from the north (SDOL 2006b: 76). These two ambitions remain interlinked in all following plans. However, in more recent publications, the focus is more on public transport and less on non-motorized traffic. The latter comprises a separate chapter in the SDIM and highlights the bike rental station in front of the train station. Another chapter focuses on pedestrian ways, mainly linking the parks (balade fleurie) inside the future neighbourhoods. These ideas remain imprecise and are to be the subject of further concretization. It seems that non-motorized traffic concepts have been segregated from planning of the central places and are predominant inside the residential zones only.

As the surrounding streets of the RER remain open to motorized traffic, the concept of a shared zone is employed. The Place du Galicien is to link the train station to the future tramway line and the bus connections. The contact between mobility and living is done through the Place de Malley, serving as a kind of access to the residential neighbourhood. The Avenue de Chablais represents a junction between east and west...
and serves as a connection from the existing metro station to the future tramway line, crossing the RER. It is to be expected that this street and future multi-shared space is going to be the central place of the new neighbourhood Les Coulisses and indeed the whole Malley site. If the concept of creating a new town from the inside is to be applied, the restructuring of this area is the most important element in terms of mobility, recreation and quality of life. It represents a daily passage way for future residents and also has to deal with fundamental transit traffic from elsewhere. Today the Avenue de Chablais represents a significant traffic intersection and is, like the whole Lausanne West region, massively populated by cars. Motorized traffic circulation was the reason for the moratorium in the past and its method of resolution will be the key to future development. A transformation towards public transport with a reduction in the volume of traffic must be the objective. Its legitimacy is based on the stories around traffic and its concepts, on the one hand in the sense of a necessary condition for change and on the other hand as a component in problem-solving.

In the example of public spaces and mobility concepts, we can see a common reasoning in the planning of the central places of cities (or those in the becoming). Public spaces are related to traffic and mobility, considered as one rather than separate. Both human and non-human actors cohabit in that place and thus their planning is combined: “A public space structured by various places and streets between viaduct and metro station must be constituted by a particular vocation of the transport interface” (SDIM 2012: 44). However, one must be allowed to ask whether problems are not hidden by emphasizing the positive aspect (public space) and concealing the negative (traffic issues).

The way in which the SDOL treats this thematically different problematic on geographically the same sites is interesting. As the merging of public space and traffic is very evident in plans, we can almost state that one is flattened by the other. The impact on different study sites shall result in the emergence of innovative concepts, also against the background that the land belongs to three different municipalities, or private enterprises. The Avenue du Chablais combines all the challenges related to future urban development.

The shared-space concept is an example of such a consensus (no exclusion of any road user), which takes a very local view. As traffic is generated elsewhere and its origins are manifold, this concept remains unsustainable unless accompanied by complementary measures (e.g. bypass roads). Whether a consolidation of the public transport system can significantly decrease the motorized traffic remains questionable, at least in view of the anticipated increase in the population. The careful manner of reasoning which argues that shared spaces will provide incentives for car users to change to public transport is unlikely to bear fruit, as the origins are in the majority of 35 From my knowledge of the Malley planning, it is not yet certain precisely what type of ‘shared space’ the Avenue de Chablais will be as it is subject to further concretization. Moreover, the final determination of such zones differs from one concept to another and also in terminology (German: Begegnungszone; French: zone de rencontre). Switzerland is regarded as innovative in establishing ‘shared spaces’ in cities.
cases far from the places concerned and thus the actual problems of the volume of cars remain.

Figure 18: View from the Avenue du Chablais of the train station (Place de Malley). Illustration from IN SITU, Lyon (official webpage: http://www.in-situ.fr/#/projets/tous/les-coulisses, consulted 24 January 2014)

With the additional important dimension of public transport, which was poorly established in the past and has arisen slowly since the creation of the RER, the Malley site has to deal with manifold types of traffic user. The aim of not excluding any one of these and pleasing everybody is ambitious, not least in terms of the persuasive storytelling needed to convince the different camps. Here the stories are directed at future users of the (public) space and differ from those related to the Gasometer and high-rise buildings.

Figure 19: Photograph by the author from the Place de Malley, February 2014

The importance of shaping the future centre is attributed to coping with different mobility flows rather than designing user-friendly space. It seems that the latter is a delayed objective which is not of the highest priority at the moment and the same is true of the phase of concretization. If Malley and Lausanne West can deal appropriately with the (motorized) traffic, public spaces may consequently develop themselves. If the traffic
volume remains high, even the best concept for public space will be ineffective. A shared space can only – if at all – mitigate the traffic problem and yet the total amount of vehicles will not be reduced.

What became clear during the research period, especially when visiting the site, was the impression that public spaces can only be considered as such when they contain human activity. As the first new Malley neighbourhoods have not yet been constructed, it would be premature to argue from the empty and dull places that they are not accepted or frequented (cf. Figure 19).

Joining mobility and public space concepts is interesting as they do not always complement each other. Here again, an intentional enfolding of several contact points was undertaken purposefully to prompt innovative solutions. On the Malley site and especially around the RER, many different voices and stories come together. Study sites in chantier 2 (geographic) and chantier 5 (thematic) clash with each other and create tensions that have to be faced. As it is a succession plan which will one day create this veritable public space, the steps of realization are highly interlinked: construction of the train station, infrastructure, street circulation, buildings and commercial industry. Yet, the multimodal space around the RER train station can only become a real shared space when people make use of it as it is designed for them.

The discourse surrounding public spaces on the Malley site not only concerns traffic concepts, but is further related to those of high-rise buildings, as the following section illustrates.

III. High-rise buildings: creating an elusive local and regional importance by telling actor-centred persuasive stories

Urban signals in the sense of local landmarks (repères) of the future Malley cityscape have played an important role in recent planning documents. They already arose in the test planning studies; however, their account and argumentation changed significantly from one document to another, both in visual planning representations and in texts.
In Feddersen’s landscape study, the aspect of landmark elements was mentioned, although without explicitly naming towers, but rather parks, playgrounds, etc. (Feddersen+Klostermann 2001: 28). In future projects, the visual quality of Lausanne West should be singled out and benchmarks accentuated: “In the diffuse urbanization of such a territory, the absence of clearly identifiable visual landmarks makes orientation for the users difficult” (ibid: 19).

In 2005, the same planners conducted a study concerning the density of the region (in that case for the sub-sector chantier 2) and calculated ‘human density indices’ for different sites of the perimeter. It transpired that there was a need for high density around the new train station, later called the Malley Centre (the area around the RER, see also Chapter 4), of more than 400 residents and workplaces per hectare to reach the projected numbers of new residents and employees. In other constructible sub-sites of Malley density has been calculated at 200 to 400 (SDOL 2006a). The locations of high-rise buildings have been set, but the stories for their acceptance are still unwritten.

In the test planning, Wehrlin and Tribu’Architecture both talk about urban signal elements that shall represent the future Malley Centre, the former referring to its significance as visual signs for the population, the latter to a silhouette that these elements could represent in the future. The already existing silo tower in Renens would be another such landmark in the near distance (SDOL 2007: 18;36). Europan/Luscher talk about a strong urban image around the train station without providing further detail and KCAP call it an ‘urban islet’ which should mark the future centre of Malley (ibid: 29, 24). Not surprisingly, a synthesis of the test studies reveals claims for the introduction of landmark elements related to major public spaces to orientate the Malley Centre in the sector as a basic element for the elaboration of the PDL master plan (SDOL 2006a: 17).

In another synthesis of the planning studies, the building of high-risers in the future centre is linked to free spaces, proposing that if the density is reached around the train station, the necessary implementation of parks could be guaranteed. So far, the (future) tower encapsulates manifold roles in very different settings of argumentation. The features mentioned positively throughout are summarized again and even more accentuated in the PDL/SDIM. Here, the silhouette not only includes the Renens silo tower, but also refers to the centre of
Lausanne and Renens with comparably high buildings (SDIM 2012: 40). As the Malley Centre lies almost exactly between these two centres, the future high-risers would thus perfectly fit in the silhouette; they would even “form a game” (ibid: 40, translation by the author) with the other elements. Furthermore, the argumentation of providing a visual signal, orientation for the population, signalling an urban centre, as well as providing the capacity for work and residential places is mentioned and explicitly described in the SDIM. A new story aspect has the advantage not only of affording a good panoramic view from buildings but also towards them, which is valorized as an ‘urban view’ developed in recent publications.

The line of argumentation is interesting as we can observe an evolution from a technical reasoning towards one that aims at acceptance from future Malley residents (towers as an integral part of the neighbourhood) as well as the wider population (towers as representational urban signs). The silhouette argument emphasizes Malley’s importance as a third centre, apart from Lausanne and Renens. However, in this story about the centre, high-rise buildings are only one component among several (public spaces, infrastructure, shopping facilities, etc.). The height of buildings, often criticized and considered as needless and disturbing, is made emblematic as an indispensable part of the future urban environment of the place.

This reasoning strongly aims at acceptance from the wider population and future residents and it further valorizes this type of building to give legitimacy to the place and indeed the whole site. In this respect, the stories are forward-looking and well-conceived. The storytellers are presumably aware of the time that follows public planning, trying to gain as much acceptance as possible for ‘their’ concepts. This case is maybe the most obvious in terms of persuasive storytelling as it argues in manifold ways the importance and necessity of towers. These ‘artificially’ created stories, being employed consciously to convince actors, finally reflect only one constraint: the requirement of sufficient work and residential places in particular sub-sites as defined by the human density index, such as those around the train station. Thus, an urban image is created long before construction begins, aimed at gaining acceptance. The argument of silhouette somehow contradicts the initial broad story of an urban development from the inside, independently of other places, such as of the Lausanne or Renens centres. By taking elements from outside the perimeter, such as the silo in Renens, the planning assemblage is modified by an external component that is primarily independent of the case. A story around near places related to the future Malley space enters into the planning assemblage and leads to consolidation. But once again, the
Bureau SDOL, as the central storyteller, is aware that the time of ‘post-public’ planning will come and sees this ‘problematic’ in very pragmatic terms:

“The city that we imagine today will certainly not be the one we live tomorrow [...]. The existence of all these landmarks is a story that we tell, but it doesn’t necessarily become reality. This depends on the private stakeholders...”

(Interviewee B)

Yet, the planning documents, expositions, publications and media releases show that there is considerable understatement in these words. Although giving “only orientations, a frame and trying to be the most flexible” (Interviewee B), the Bureau SDOL, as the navigator and central planner, is aware of the potential power of the vision as a planning instrument. The conclusion to the analysis further summarizes this interaction between the stories, the global story and the vision.
5.3 Conclusion to analysis

Analysing elements from the Lausanne West planning procedure and the local Malley process has revealed a series of findings both in terms of vision and stories. The planning governance of Lausanne West neither resulted from a fusion nor is it a pure agglomeration policy, but rather applies the concept of variable, flexible geometry depending on context and project. The perimeter can vary; it can overlap municipalities and agglomerations. In this planning assemblage, the vision and stories inhabit as many roles as there are actor-relations.

The word vision, but also its implicit meaning in plans, encompasses many different roles, from federal to local scales. The state and its representatives try to engage planners in adopting their vision; the agglomeration policy alerts people, referring to vision in rather negative, challenging terms. The SDOL, as a regional planner, is on the one hand very realistic, knowing that in the end private stakeholders have to accept their vision and they will sooner or later lose direct influence. On the other hand, the Bureau SDOL makes every endeavour to manifest their vision, which is one that aims to address future residents and occupants of space, one that is rather individual and targets different groups of actors. Moreover, a common vision propagated by authorities helps to hold actors’ ideas together, combining different planning devices and stabilizing the vision’s performance as a whole. The inherent political dimension of vision becomes visible and is an important actor in relation to the population and their understanding, as well as their acceptance of it.

The vision ‘discourse’ is manifold and has become popular, not only in spatial planning, but in questions concerning ‘sustainable’ development in general. Excessively employed on all scales, there are nevertheless significant differences in meaning, yet always related to the addressee and originator. This is related to the use of terms similar to vision, such as ‘frame’ and ‘design’. In my understanding, the words ‘frame’ and ‘design’ imply an active involvement in the process and a conscious ‘construction’ of the future. By framing or designing urban transformations and setting conditions, for example through the making of plans, these concepts become strategies and aim to guide land-use change and shape people’s decision making. As I would argue, frames and designs have a rather defined end point (or pre-defined goal) and necessarily require short- and medium-term implementation, which is not the case for an overall vision. For visioning to work, stakeholders must be concerned and eager for dialogue; public inclusion is necessary as well as enthusiasm in the community and support of different kinds (see Steiner and Butler 2012: 10ff).

A planning (or planner’s) vision is broader and aims for a trajectory rather than an end point. The Lausanne West planning story is a vision, functions with a vision and establishes this vision, for example through storytelling. In that sense, the vision itself becomes a crucial strategic actor. It inhabits mainly the planes of immanence, but fixed goal projects with rather short-term action can essentially shape the form of the vision. An example would be the RER train station, which has a wide influence on both a regional and local scale and yet is considered to inhabit planes of transcendence. Its
striating effects transform the planning assemblage by shaping the future trajectory of Malley, as is the case for every other relevant project that is going to be built.

However, the question of how planning processes can be transformed by visions and stories remains rather indistinct. As I have shown, these planning devices can disclose performative capacities, mainly in the mental field of convincing stakeholders. For these narratives to work, it is, after all, a matter of application, appropriate use and conviction. Many constraints have to be overcome and stories have to be told consciously; if not, the effect is unsatisfactory.

The approach is to tackle both vision and story by illustrating them with several examples and confronting responsible planners with these, demonstrating how planning functions in the realm of intertwined and connected stories, revealing not only the narrative side of planning. Concrete effects taking place every time a story or vision reveals agency and I considered the best way to report this would be to illustrate their implications for other actors. It is through the actor-relations that effects become visible, yet a clear compilation and illustration is impossible and was not primarily the goal of the thesis.

Moreover, the link from vision to stories and vice-versa is the key to encountering the narrative component of the planning process. As introduced in the methodology chapter, the different stories’ dimensions unfold in various process constellations: first, stories operate at a descriptive level, making use of narratives to define terms such as city, neighbourhood, region, etc. This is done in mostly unconsciously. The other dimension is situated on a performative level, for example when ‘making’ and developing a planning process. Here the use of stories is, as I have shown, consciously employed; its performative capacity is clear.

Furthermore, I argue that in the ‘right’ use of stories, by applying and respecting their typical composition (mainly by accentuating the introduction, plot, characters and theme), the story’s performance is more successful and therefore the planning process gains higher relevance. It is here that the performative capacities of stories and the vision enter into the planning assemblages. The better stories are told, written and gain consistency, the more transparent the planning process is in the end for the population. This lends credit to the planning procedure and can have a positive effect on the vision in the public eye.

Local stories are not necessarily dependent on one another. Through choosing different time dimensions in the story’s significance (past Gasometer; present public spaces; future high-risers), the initial positions from which the stories to run are different. Whereas the Gasometer’s stories account for the value of the ‘thing’, those for public spaces aim for quality. The ones for high-rise buildings are probably the most complex, as the obvious need for such structures is unveiled by a story construction arguing in manifold ways. This example shows most prominently the multi-faceted meanings a (future) object can acquire, long before being concretely planned or constructed. Yet the implications are immediate, as the success of the planning process and the consolidation of involved actors manifests.
Whereas an earlier vision was helpful to bring the stakeholders together and to launch a process of regeneration in the whole region, the later story and vision elements act more to represent the planning to the outside. These are various roles a story can have and they perform differently depending on the target group. This type of planning ‘model’ is, in the end, a time-consuming procedure which can have positive effects in the long-term for all the actors involved. Not least, real-estate investors gain a ‘better’ product in the sense that a vision generates a future identity of the place and therefore stabilizes the assemblage. Stories, both in the descriptive and the performative dimensions, contribute significantly to this vision and can therefore properly be seen as a support for successful planning. Nevertheless, the vision itself is a fragile construction, potentially destabilizing itself through externalities, such as changing governance, differentiated conditions, financial shortages, or simply a redefined *leitmotiv* in the planning environment to which the process needs to react, thus imperilling the consistency of the vision. Plans as such can perform on planes of immanence or transcendence, but they mainly inhabit spaces in between. The vision is formed through processes that are driven by a combination of social, political and economic imagination.

The first “raft of community stories” (Sandercock 2003a: 16) that Feddersen and others collected and developed at the beginning of the planning process shows the need for such stories to build a vision. The territorializing thread in starting the story contains – by its striating tendencies – elements of closure, for example when defining Lausanne West as a region, as well as of fragmentation, for example in specifying the study sites. Here again, planning practice takes place between background planes of consistency (such as the vision) and those of transcendence (e.g. fixed-goal short-term projects such as the building of the train station). Different authorities on different scales are responsible for this ‘jumping’ on and between planes, as they define laws (the cantonal directive plan and PALM), set guidelines (SDOL), trigger financial incentives (the agglomeration programme instituted by the Federal State) and so on. Once a rather concrete plan is established, for example the PDL master plan, this does not mean no further abstraction is possible in the sense of ideas being synthesized and brought back to a ‘visionary’ level, as it is the case for the SDIM. This example illustrates a circulation of planning (and a plan’s) elements between the planes of immanence and transcendence.

The SDOL strategy is evident: many professional voices want to be heard, collected, integrated and summarized to attain the best possible quality. As I have argued, another reason for hearing the voices is to make space for stories to be heard. The more the stories are heard, the more space there is to re-write or re-tell them, with the possibility of breaking ancient connections, redefining them, or transform the assemblage. Identities change, leading to territorialization or deterritorialization.
6. SYNTHESIS

This thesis has introduced a region with the help of a local study site, Malley, embedded in the planning story which tells the regeneration of a whole region, clearly framed by a relationship between the centre and the periphery, the inside and outside, private and public domains and by processes of territorialization and deterritorialization. As Olivier Mongin (2005: 129) argues, this urban condition only seems to be based upon a paradox: a limited space which makes possible unlimited trajectories and practices. Instead, by seeing sprawled cities in a way built upon generic processes, these dialectic oppositions mentioned are replaced by conditioning flows of organization and a power of the unlimited (ibid.: 130). The territorial reconfiguration creates a transformation of urban space in places subordinated by a pressure of external flows (ibid.). In this understanding of urban and peri-urban space being part of a network of flows and relations, the Lausanne West planning story is made up of many intricate sub-systems. Urban development and the related processes in planning can only fully be understood in the context of considering the city as a whole system. Yet this conception can also be applied to brownfield regeneration. The complexity of these processes is challenged through a complex planning procedure on different scales and in relation to different authorities and the wider dynamics of the urban fabric taking account of this.

The planning procedure of Lausanne West has not only allowed me to deliver insights into actual problematic of the region, but has permitted the drawing of conclusions upon a further reflection on spatial planning. The following table highlights terms and concepts discovered during the research, representing mainly concrete planning intentions in my field of study, but being brought to a more theoretical level. It can be seen as an opposition between ‘bad’ and ‘good’ planning and their convenient narratives. Furthermore, it illustrates the potential of visionary planning vocabulary and the capacities that words can unfold in relation to old-established planning narratives.

The vision as a good design is able to travel into all kinds of arenas without losing its core ideas and motivational capacities. Vision becomes an actant itself, having design agency. The potential in the form of resources is only a narrative used to describe the urgency in the urban context to build and respond to demographic growth. Of course, these narratives finally lead to the creation of living space, the sale of products and profit. Too often, the field of vision is not directed towards the future residents or users of space, but profiteers in the estate market. Whether they finally adopt the ‘good’ vision and follow that path is a matter of the persuasiveness of stories. The vision is a means to convince people and to ‘take everyone on board’, to transform heteroclite spaces into heterogeneous functional spaces and to striate territories. Clearly, there is considerable discrepancy in public plans – about the effect on future residents on the one hand and politics, investors and reputations on the other hand.
The vision is also an answer to history, which shows that Lausanne West has been developed and constructed out of a certain field of vision, almost forgotten in favour of the centre of Lausanne. It is even more important now to construct a vision and to do so persuasively. Here we see the aspect of learning from the mistakes of the past. Now that agglomerations have become pivotal due to demographic growth and high pressure in terms of housing demand, the focus has drifted away from the city centre to peri-urban areas. Potential living, work and recreational spaces are identified and transformed almost everywhere possible. State authorities stimulate these developments to weaken the pressure on rural areas and to stop urban sprawl. The canton profits through improvement in infrastructure and it can polish its image, as well as that of the cities. In the Malley case, it seems to be a ‘win-win’ situation. Every new building has a stake in the reduction of urban sprawl and recovers a brownfield site into new land. It seems that change alone is legitimation enough and appears totally accepted and yet the vision is still to be adopted.

However, the Lausanne West planning process is particular and the manner of planning deserves special attention, for several reasons. First, the thread of deterritorialization, which I consider indispensable to sustain the quality of future places, might correlate with trial-and-error processes. It provokes a destabilization of the assemblage each time

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36 I am aware that this list is anything else than exhaustive; however it covers most parts of the research problematic and opposes what I would call ‘modern’ to ‘post-modern’ planning approaches in relation to narratives and discourses.
when set by the Bureau SDOL in the form of test planning, feasibility studies, conformity measures, or public involvement. It is what John Pløger (2004: 73) calls “agonism and strife [that] are the shadows of democratic planning and public participation, communication and processes of negotiation and consensus-building”. The precondition for these shadows to appear is the existence of an established and accepted vision as well as a capable navigator leading the way through the planning process. Everything else is a question of the assemblage’s consistency.

The elaboration of a master plan as leitbild gives a flexible and technically imprecise strategy and yet establishes a standard support for reflexion in urban development in the region. The following reformulation of ideas and further concepts is designed in favour of the inclusion of different stakeholders to take part in the concretization. This can be considered an integral aspect of ‘participation’ in the Lausanne West case, but one that differs significantly from its usual functioning. Through adopting the vision or elements of it, people become part of the vision itself. The conscious advertising and targeting of the vision through public planners takes stakeholders (the population, politicians, private stakeholders) on board and makes them believe in the constitution of the vision. Participation thus works on the basis of sharing an idea on the one hand and in terms of obtaining concrete expert opinions, for example through test-planning studies, on the other hand. Both ways are designed, navigated and mediated through the Bureau SDOL, which pulls the strings of the planning process. By fixing a broad, long-term target (“improving the living environment and the image of Lausanne West”) the trajectory is given. However, through openness and flexibility, other paths leading towards this trajectory are not faded out. This is an appropriate concept in relation to ‘solving’ complex problems. Furthermore, if the escorting of the process is consciously employed – as seems to be the case in Lausanne West – the chance of realizing the vision is high.

SDOL as the central planner works implicitly with stories and explicitly with the notion of vision. Its importance is mentioned in several official documents, but also in publications, for example when the chief planner for Lausanne West, Ariane Widmer (2011: 497), states: “There is the possibility […] to consider the situation differently, […] to work the territory with the imaginary, with the vision and to use every project as a way of sewing it together, of replacing life”.

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37 The first objective stated in SDOL (2007b: 5) is: “D’améliorer le cadre de vie et l’image de l’Ouest lausannois”.
38 Wolfgang Zierhofer (1999: 8) describes planning as an “escort service”.

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So far, SDOL has kept that promise and has proved willing to create something particular in that region, having the actors follow the trajectory. However, the construction is fragile, marked by uncertainty with respect to the future composition of events, projects and collaborations. So the stories will still be heard and the vision will one day become reality, we can only hope that Ariane Widmer (ibid: 498), when metaphorically describing Lausanne West as a “sculpture à la Tinguely”, will think only about its positive qualities: “A sculpture made by dispersed and disseminated pieces of different values, but one that is finally ready to be looked at”. Another feature that people ascribe to Jean Tinguely’s sculptures would be self-destruction... In that case, the story would be over before it even really began and a ‘sustainable’ urban future of Lausanne West and Malley would only remain a dream.
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7. BIBLIOGRAPHY

7.1 Publications related to Lausanne West Planning


7.2 Theory and other sources


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8. APPENDIX

A1. Lists of primary data (complementary to 7.1)

Newspaper articles (in chronological order):

- Chantiers urbanistiques à l’horizon, 24 heures, 3 November 2004
- Une ville intercommunale, 24 heures, 9 June 2005
- La ville nouvelle de l’Ouest lausannois, Le Temps, 3 January 2006
- Après les années noires, l’Ouest lausannois se tournent vers l’avenir, 24 heures, 19 November 2007
- Le SDOL passe des études à la réalisation, 24 heures, le 5 décembre 2008
- L’Ouest lausannois affirme son envie de prolonger le tram, 24 heures, le 16 septembre 2010
- Aus dem Chaos wachsen Visionen, NZZ (Neue Zürcher Zeitung), 19 January 2011
- Avec l’obtention du Prix Wakker, l’Ouest lausannois est devenu tendance, 24 heures, 18 June 2011
- Die Wüste lebt auf, Tagesanzeiger (online), 25 July 2011
- L’Ouest lausannois peut servir d’exemple à Zurich, 24 heures (online), 16 December 2011
- L’ouest lausannois se développe et choisit l’urbanisation durable, Tout l’Immobilier, 16 January 2012
- Un nouveau quartier de dessine, Tout l’Immobilier, 30 January 2012
- Archizoom fait un bon dans l’Ouest de demain, 24 heures, 7 March 2012
- Le SDOL, une référence pour l’Ouest lausannois de demain, 24 heures, 28 March 2012
- Chavannes dit oui à la plus grande tour de Suisse, 24 heures, 7 July 2012
- Un quartier à 500 millions, 24 heures, le 2 décembre 2012
- L’Ouest lausannois se mue en eldorado de la densification, 24 heures, 25 March 2013
- Le chantier ferroviaire du siècle sur la voie des mises à l’enquête, 24 heures, 26 April 2013
- Dix ans de chantiers (édition speciale), 24 heures, 7 June 2013
- Avec son tram, l’ouest lausannois a séduit Berne, 24 heures, 15 July 2013
Videos:

- La nouvelle gare de Prilly-Malley s'inscrit dans un changement beaucoup plus large du trafic à Lausanne, 19:30 Le Journal RTS, 29 June 2012
- Le projet d’agglomération Lausanne-Morges (PALM), La Télé, 18 September 2013
- L’urbanisation dans l’agglomération, La Télé, 25 September 2013
- La mobilité dans l’agglomération, La Télé, 2 October 2013
- Le paysage et l’environnement dans l’agglomération, La Télé, 9 October 2013
- Les sites stratégiques, La Télé, 16 October 2013
- Allier densité et qualité, La Télé, 23 October 2013
- Les villes centres, La Télé, 30 October 2013
- Développement du réseau des transports publics, La Télé, 13 November 2013
- Les paysages bâtis et les paysages naturels, La Télé, 18 December 2013
- Le réseau des espaces verts, La Télé, 15 January 2014

Expositions/Events:

- Von der Peripherie zur Stadt, ETH Zurich, visited in January 2013
- Pièces à conviction, Ouest Expo 2013 in Malley, visited in April 2013
- Exposition Nord Lausannois 2030, La Blécherette, visited in May 2013
- Balade à vélo dans Ouest lausannois, organized by Bureau SDOL, participated in September 2013

Personal interviews:

- Interviewee 1: 9 December 2013 in Zurich
- Interviewee 2: 10 December 2013 in Lausanne
### A2. Coding example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Coding</th>
<th>Focused Coding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| R1 landscape as development potential | R1.1 empty spaces  
R1.2 economic potential  
R1.3 nature  
R1.4 periphery-centre |
| R2 intercommunal governance | R2.1 Municipalities  
R2.2 Privates  
R2.3 CFF  
R2.4 Public planner  
R2.5 land owner – property owner |
| R3 vision in texts | R3.1 State-PALM-SDOL  
R3.2 precondition-transformation-chance  
R3.3 change |
| R4 vision in images | R4.1 visualization  
R4.2 reliance  
R4.3 crossing borders  
R4.4 concealment of negative |
| Local          |                |
| L1 gasometer as industrial relic | L1.1 representation  
L1.2 symbol  
L1.3 concrete use (installations, tourism)  
L1.4 history, ‘aging’ the neighbourhood |
| L2 public spaces in the urban context | L2.1 recreation  
L2.2 compensation  
L2.3 attractiveness  
L2.4 traffic implementation  
L2.5 mobility concepts, shared space |
| L3 high-rise buildings in the cityscape | L3.1 densification  
L3.2 means of persuasion  
L3.3 object of orientation  
L3.4 forming a silhouette |
A3. Maps and plans (agglomeration, regional, local, neighbourhood)
