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# **An Ontological Investigation of Urban Growth Management Policies under Neoliberalism**

**by**

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Planning,  
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# **Abstract**

This thesis ontologically investigates the function of planning in relation to the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism. It argues that since planning emanated from the contradictory operations of capitalism, it largely influenced by these paradoxical characteristics. As the result, planning undertakes a paradoxical role in performing its plans and policies and often fails in adequate achievement of its aims. Urban Growth Management Policy (UGMP) is considered to provide an in-depth understanding of the function of planning under the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism. A logic approach based on the Essex School of Discourse Analysis (ESDA) studies is applied as the methodology of the research. The method is a complicated approach taken from political studies and is applied for the first time in a planning research. The method is proposed by this thesis as it is anticipated it will bring a beneficial approach to planning whereby different logics for the possibility of a practice can be considered including the social, political and fantasmatic logics. In particular, it is considered useful for planning theory and practice because it attempts to bridge the usual dichotomies in planning, such as those of theory and practice of planning. In addition, it is worthwhile due to its intrinsic ability to propose an alternative or counter-logic for the status quo of planning with an emphasis on the contextual characteristics of empirical cases.

Based on the retroductive/abductive modes of reasoning that the logic approach suggests, this research creates a critical theory of neoliberal housing policy in the form of UGMP. Then, the thesis examines the validity of the theory in two chosen case studies from Western Australia, Perth-Ellenbrook and from Iran, Tehran-Parand. The validation of the theory in two cases shows which logics of social, political and fantasmatic make a practice of UGMP possible in each case. It also shows to what extent the practice of UGMP in each case is in alignment with neoliberalism as the hegemonic ideology. Furthermore, an ontological investigation of the logics of possibility of something inherently inscribes the logics of the impossibility/vulnerability of that thing. Indeed, a logic approach provides a twofold aim for this research, which is to systematically uncover different logics of the possibilities of a practice of planning such as that of an UGMP, as well as the impossibility of that practice. Therefore, deployment of logic approach provides an appropriate tool to discuss for at least one alternative to the practice of UGMP in each case of Perth and Tehran.

## **Dedication**

To my parents, Vajihe and Hossein, who raised me with a love of learning, nurtured my curiosity with the art of questioning, educated me to believe in good deeds, good thoughts, and good words, and supported me in all my pursuits.

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## **Abbreviations**

- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)
- Arm Length Entity (ALE)
- City of Swan Administration Centre (CSAC)
- Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)
- Demographia International Housing Affordability Survey (DIHAS)
- Department for Planning and Infrastructure (DPI)
- Department of Transport (DT)
- Discourse Analysis (DA)
- Essex School of Discourse Analysis (ESDA)
- First Home Buyer (FHB)
- Higher Council of Urban Planning and Architecture of Iran (HCUPAI)
- Housing Scheme of Kindness (HSK)
- Management and Planning Organisation of Iran (MPOI)
- Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority (MRPA)
- Ministry of Roads and Urban Development of Iran (MRUDI)
- National Housing Comprehensive Plan (NHCP)
- National Land and Housing Organization (NLHO)
- New Towns Development Company (NTDC)
- Northern Territory (NT)
- Parand Development Company (PDC)
- Public-private partnership (PPP)
- Reserve Bank of Australia (RBA)
- State Housing Commission (SHC)
- State Government's Affordable Housing Strategy (SGAHS)

Secretariat of the Higher Council of Urban Planning and Architecture of Iran (SHCUPAI)

Small and Middle Enterprises (SMEs)

Statistical Centre of Iran (SCI)

There Is No Alternative (TINA)

The State Planning Commission (SPC)

Urban Growth Management Policy (UGMP)

Western Australia (WA)

Western Australia Planning Commission (WAPC)

# Chapter One: Introduction

"I have always believed that, no matter how abstract our theories may sound or how consistent our arguments may appear, there are incidents and stories behind them which, at least for ourselves, contain as in a nutshell the full meaning of what we have to say."

(Arendt in Bernstein, 2008, p.1)

## 1-1. Preface

I begin my thesis with the above quotation, which emphasises how theories engage with our attempts to comprehend incidents and our reactions to them. Similarly, this thesis illustrates the story and outcomes of my investigations amongst different approaches and schools of thought as part of the journey to comprehend my own role and practice as a planner. The problems and challenges that I faced while working at the Ministry of Road and Urban Development of Iran [MRUDI] resulted in the idea and subject of this thesis. My experiences and frustrations drove me to know more about the mechanisms of planning, how planning engages and interacts with wider society, as well as the positions and roles of different planning actants<sup>1</sup>. I was interested to discover the causes and factors that create the ambiguities of my practice.

The problems and challenges, which I faced during my tenure at MRUDI, included a series of repetitious normative, imperative conventions, and enacted rules and obligations that I found difficult to follow. I had to act within a framework of obligations, responsibilities, schedules, enacted rules, laws and administrative orders, which I often found had inappropriate spatial and social impacts at the scale of the city, region or province and even nationally. At the same time, I realised that the consequences of my inability to understand and be able to challenge those norms and rules as a planner directly constrained my ability to mitigate these adverse effects.

Working in the MRUDI provided me with the opportunity to focus on planning regulations and policies within Iran. I found that many regulations, plans, and policies had contradictory objectives and mechanisms that failed to achieve their public policy promises. In particular, one of the most confusing and problematical examples was the Ministry's contradicting set of land supply policies for urban growth management. These were allegedly created to prevent informal settlements and poor quality housing so as to provide affordable housing. In practice, these

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<sup>1</sup> "The term after Gremisas and Latour implies either a human or non-human entity as an agent" (Hillier, 2011, p. 506). Following Hillier, this thesis deploys the term actants to refer to different agents of planning including planners, planning institutions and organisations, politicians and decision makers, citizens as well as planning documents, plans, policies, social conventions, sub-divisions, land and infrastructures, etc.

contradictory policies relating to the supply of land and urban growth not only failed to provide affordable housing but also excluded the poor (Bahmanteymouri, 2007). However, I could not fully understand the reasons and causes underlying these specific policy perspectives and I did not see any existing effective solution to the problems that they created.

As an example of the above mentioned policies, I will briefly discuss Iran's new town policy that I have selected as one of the two cases in this thesis. Since the 1970s, industrialisation, the 1979 revolution, and the Iran-Iraq war resulted in population displacement and internal migration to the bigger cities. Consequently, informal settlement problems around these cities became one of the major issues for Iran (MRUDI, 2004b). Accordingly, the planning system recognised a lack of supply for affordable housing. The government, in an attempt to solve these problems, ratified an Urban Growth Management Policy (UGMP) in the form of new town policies.

The 1987 New Town Law was created to prevent the expansion of existing cities, to discourage the formation of informal settlements and to provide housing for government employees. Later, the Higher Council of Urban Planning and Architecture of Iran [HCUPAI] identified criteria for the supply of land to construct these new towns which, in practice, allocated lands to high-ranking employees and the wealthy, whilst excluding migrants and the unemployed (MRUDI, 1992a). In 2002, a bylaw was enacted by the Parliament of Islamic republic of Iran which, allowed New Town Development Companies [NTDC] to finance services and infrastructures from the value-added of sales activities at the sites (Sixth Act MRUDI, 2002, p. 133). These sales activities caused a paradoxically ambiguous system, involving speculation activities in the new town areas and a shift from the initial policy promises for affordable housing. Over approximately 28 years, the new towns policy failed to achieve its promises and objectives in two aspects. First, it failed to provide any solution, or obstruction, to migration and urban expansion in the form of informal settlements. Thus, despite the construction of 26 new towns and spending billions of dollars, around 10 million people still reside in the previously informal-based towns. The second major problem is the failure to attract residents. According to 2011 statistics, only about 200,000 people actually lived in these 26 new towns (Vice-Presidency, 2011; Ziari, 2006).

During the presidency of Ahmadinejad<sup>2</sup>, in 2007, the 'Housing Scheme of Kindness' [HSK] was introduced by the government as a new housing policy. The main objective of the policy was

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<sup>2</sup> The sixth President of Iran from 2005 to 2013. Based on his problematic economic, political, social and international policies, his presidency has been reviewed and criticized as a controversial period in the history of Iran.

allegedly to provide affordable housing for the poor. It was also supposed to attract people to reside in the new towns to amend the failures of the previous new town policy (MRUDI, 2007a). Once more, the policy mainly focused on the land supply in low price sites including those adjacent to the new towns' land. Thereupon, governmental institutions and media encouraged low-income groups to register on the list of applicants to obtain a home at the new sites. Through radical, egalitarian rhetorics, the policy promised to improve the lives of the poor. Initially, over 4 million people registered to obtain a home or a piece of land. However, in actuality, the government had the capacity to provide housing for only 900,000 people. After several months, many cases of infringement of the Iran's land laws and of the HSK's items were reported to the Deputy of Planning and Urban Development where I was working at the MRUDI. In response, a special office was established to supervise the implementation of the policy. Yet only, after seven years, in 2014, was the implementation of the policy slowed down due to the many difficulties experienced such as a lack of adequate budget, the low building quality of houses and the inappropriate allocation of lands (Young Journalists Club, 2014).

Working at the MRUDI and investigating the function of planning, I observed that the housing and growth policies, with their vague aims and ambiguous and rhetorical objectives, had resulted in a further increase in the level of inequality by creating uneven economic growth within metropolitan areas. At the same time, these laws and policies provided both the promise of a better life for the urban poor and the promise of a wealthy and luxurious life for the middle classes. Not only the public, but also planners, believed they were being offered something different and better than the situation to which they had become accustomed. However, in reality, these policies achieved few, if any, of their stated promises. The main result was, rather, that the Ahmadinejad government had managed to maintain their necessary support to remain in power.

Consequently, I found myself in a confusing and conflicting situation. It was my duty to work as an actant promoting these policies and laws, despite the fact that I observed their dysfunction and their inevitable consequences. I found myself in an untenable situation, causing a considerable level of indecisiveness on my part. In many cases, I could not decide on what was the right course of action even when involved in discussions at informal meetings with my colleagues. I was perplexed – did I wish to retain my position in the Ministry, or should I risk criticising policies and duties? I was no longer sure of myself. I asked myself whether or not I was sufficiently well-qualified to criticise or whether I was just a dissatisfied person who criticised others. I asked myself why other colleagues, despite their hidden criticism and dissatisfaction, appeared to sit in silence in order to gain promotion. Should I similarly keep my

mouth shut, take orders, and blindly comply with the laws and duties? Or should I voice my doubts concerning the practicality of the policies?

These observations and experiences resulted in many questions, such as why is planning a messy, eclectic, and confusing discipline to the extent that it fails to achieve its promises including the provision of a better life for all, or affordable housing? What is the real beneficial outcomes from these plans and policies? What are the reasons for the continuation of these kinds of policies despite their failure? In general, what are the underlying principles or the essence of the planning discipline? Does it just operate as an apparatus for a government/state to maintain itself in power?

Unfortunately, my Master's degree in planning had not equipped me with the necessary skills to deal with the above-mentioned questions and challenges and I was unable to find a solution to overcome my ambiguities raised by these contradictory policies. I therefore undertook to search through the relevant international literature to see if I could identify a way forward. In so doing, I found many other practitioners and academics in the discipline of planning who had experienced similar challenges within their own planning systems. Briefly, a study on the MRUDI regulations alongside the international literature of planning revealed that the history of planning shows many similar examples and concerns not only in terms of the planning mechanism in Iran but also around the world. Therefore, I was extremely curious to know how I should deal with the failures and ambiguities of and in the planning discipline.

## **1-2. What is planning: is it a Janus-faced discipline?**

As a first step, I acquired a book entitled *Planning Theory* (Allmendinger, 2002), which provided me with a new attitude towards planning. One aspect of planning that contributed to my existing knowledge was learning about the theoretical and philosophical bases of planning and the challenges of power relations. Other resources helped me to find more answers to my questions which concerned such matters as the way in which power defines and specifies the context of planning (Flyvbjerg, 1998), the need for planning academics and practitioners to apply new attitudes and values in the future (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 2001) and the way in which planners act in regard to dominant obligations, rules, norms and expectations (Gunder & Hillier, 2004).

On the other hand, some urban scholars such as Friedmann (1987), Flyvbjerg (2001), and Gunder and Hillier (2009) have demonstrated that the positivist and scientific – semi-engineering – narratives of planning are unable to fully discern urban problems. I realised that the scientific approach operates often as a yardstick in the methodology of planning via presenting a partial

gesture to apply technical methods in order to test verifiable hypotheses (Allmendinger, 2002; Flyvbjerg, 2001; Lefebvre, 2003).

Importantly, Lefebvre's (1991, 2003) works helped me to comprehend my situation at my workplace. Lefebvre (1991) criticised the roles and responsibilities of planners as agents of a technosstructure which attempt to command and control the spatial city via a much-simplified view of social reality that overlooks and negates the complexity of lived space. Lefebvre (2003, p. 27) contended that a planner "passively obeys the pressures of number and least cost; the functionality he thinks he has created is reduced to an absence of 'real' functions, to a function of passive observation".

Lefebvre (1991) explained how planners work in an abstract ideological space, while space actually works like an absolute suppressive political and metaphysical space, resulting in a reductionist and blind reading of space by planning, which ignores many of the immeasurable circumstances and entities pertaining to society. Lefebvre (1991, 2003) explained the "blind field" of urban and spatial studies or the ideological dimension of the planning discipline. To Lefebvre, as a Marxist, the ambiguities of planners and the dysfunctions of planning emanate from capitalism as the dominant system and ideology of our time.

Fine and Sandstrom (cited in Gunder, 2011c, p. 333) defined "ideology as being a collective emotive identity", or selective framework that structures an individuals' consciousness, derived from "a set of interconnected beliefs and their associated attitudes, shared and used by members of a group or population, that relate to problematic aspects of social and political topics ... [that] have an explicit evaluative and implicit behavioural component". Consequently, ideology "provides – not necessarily naive, but often quite sophisticated – cultural patterns for the perception, understanding, judgment, and manipulation of the world and renders otherwise incomprehensible social situations meaningful so that we can purposefully act within and on them" (Celikates, 2006, p. 28).

Particularly, Althusser, stated that "those who are in ideology believe themselves by definition outside ideology: one of the effects of ideology is the practical denegation of the ideological character of ideology by ideology: ideology never says 'I am ideological'" (Althusser cited in Žižek, 1994, p. 131). Thus, ideology is often beyond our ability to recognise it. According to Lefebvre (2003), planners work in a reductionist field created by this ideology that is both social and mental. At this point, when the ideology is taken for granted at both social and mental levels and when it dominates over all other alternative ideologies, it becomes a hegemonic ideology.

In this hegemonic ideology, planners accept assumptions without question and work in an everydayness that is supported and confirmed by a widespread familiar rationality, which is taken for granted (Gunder, 2011b).

Retroactively, and with a genealogy investigation into the history of planning, I found that planning emerged with the modern era to pacify the side effects of capitalism (in particular industrial capitalism) (Friedmann, 1987; Harvey, 1985). Planning was largely created as an agent of the state to facilitate market relations, that is, to help in the provision of labour and resources to secure capital formation (Harvey, 1985, 1989b; Yiftachel, 1998). In this manner, planning has had to undertake a paradoxical role to achieve these paradoxical aims. Often, planning engages in the promotion of economic growth rather than its initial ‘public good’ promises such as providing affordable housing. Indeed, planning is entangled in the contradictions of capitalism such as use value versus exchange value, as well as the right to private property against common property rights (Harvey, 2014). Yet, planning is designated to mitigate the adverse effects of these contradictory traits of capitalism.

Therefore, planning can be seen as a Janus-faced discipline. It is necessary to iterate that the problem stems from the essence of planning which operates as an apparatus of the state to adjust the failures of the market economy, such as providing affordable housing for the poor, or as Harvey (2003) terms it, for labourers. In terms of housing policies, as one of the most important dimensions of planning, Harvey (2014) argues that planning policies aim to provide affordable housing; yet, these policies often result in price rises that make houses unaffordable for low-income groups.

As Lefebvre (2003) stated as a consequence of the contradiction between exchange value and use value in the urban phenomena, and particularly for housing, the function of home-ownership changes to a form of saving as a speculative financial mechanism. This contradiction works as a driver for most housing policies (Harvey, 2014). In particular, neoliberalism as the hegemonic ideology of our time relies on this contradiction through the financial innovative mechanisms, derivatives, alongside housing policies (Harvey, 2014). Harvey (2014, 121) maintained that neoliberalism is characterised via “accumulation by dispossession through debt encumbrancy and debt peonage (and less legal predatory practices) provide a lucrative supplement [intertwined with global financialisation] to boost the overall rate of return on capital”. However, this mechanism of the housing and real estate markets halted in the 2008 economic crisis, when the enormous housing bubble burst in many parts of the world (Baker, 2008).

According to the above-discussions, this thesis assumes a specific definition of the planning mechanism that presents a Janus-faced discipline for planning in relationship with capitalism, particularly neoliberalism. The research investigates planning practices, policies and plans in relation to the capitalism as a western approach – specifically Anglo Saxon or American approach – of planning. Harvey (cited in Roberts, Hite, & Chorev, 2015, p.333-334) argued that many people in non-English speaking countries for example Brazil may think neoliberalism and its crises and failures are “Anglo Saxon disease and have nothing to do with” other cultures and countries; however, neoliberalism as the hegemonic ideology of our time have internationally influenced local planning policies and plans since the 1980s (Harvey, 2014). This thesis intends to investigate how two countries – Australia and Iran – have been influenced by neoliberalism as an ideological framework which raised from western countries since the 1980s.

Accordingly, I have selected to analyse the land supply policies and UGMPs as the subject of this thesis for two reasons. First, because different kinds of housing schemes including land supply and UGMP have been applied as one of the most important tools of the planning function under the hegemony of neoliberalism. Importantly, I have selected to investigate UGMP because since the late 1970s and the rise of neoliberalism, discussions regarding the removal of planning controls, and also the relationship between restricting urban growth management and perceived failures of planning to provide sufficient housing, has widely been one of the most controversial issues of neoliberal planning (Allmendinger, 2016). Second, these practices of planning were my main concern during my work as a planner at the Ministry.

I assume practices of Urban Growth Management (UGM) and the land supply in the fringe areas of cities as a policy rather than as plan. Policy is a problem-solving or problem-oriented process that can be undertaken through deploying different skills and approaches; policy can be implemented in different stages and through the use of different plans such as a town plan, structure plan, comprehensive plan, detail plan, etc. (Patton, Sawicki & Clark, 2013).

UGMP as a practice of planning often begins with a demographic housing demand forecast and then an economic assessment often resulting in a recognised lack of sufficient housing in the market operation. The increasing population in cities has been one of the determinants of the availability of land supply. In other words, population growth is regarded as a new induced demand; consequently, market reasoning offers an increase in supply of housing to respond to the new demand in the market. Through a series of zoning and land use policies including UGMP, planning is often deployed to resolve these housing market deficiencies (Austin, Gurran, & Whitehead, 2013).

Internationally, planning actants – people, planners, and politicians – accept that urban containment policies make housing less affordable; conversely, new suburbs supply cheaper land and more affordable housing (Gurran, 2008). However, as soon as policies and plans are ratified, high demand is often shaped because people anticipate future increases in property prices (Balchin, Bull, & Kieve, 1988). These newly planned areas turn into ripe areas for market speculation. Indeed, market speculation ends in the over-valued price of assets or a ‘housing bubble’ (Evanoff, Kaufman, & Malliaris, 2012). Many speculative buyers often do not even intend to reside in their properties, because of the lack of appropriate transport services, and inefficient services and infrastructure (Balchin et al., 2012). Instead, they anticipate increases in property prices in the future, or in the Marxian terminology ‘surplus value’. In this manner, housing becomes a speculative investment for one group while an unaffordable, but essential good for another.

Although, buyers may rent out their assets or add value to their lands by building on it, the main motivation for this act is to gain surplus value. Finally, “the pursuit of exchange value destroys access to housing as a use value” (Harvey, 2014, p. 21). Therefore, because of the high prices of houses, many of these new housing areas cannot provide affordable housing for disadvantaged groups. Often, asset speculation causes large numbers of properties to be held idle in the form of empty lands or empty buildings and the over-valued price makes the assets unaffordable for many groups (Healy & Rosenberg, 1979).

Therefore, I realised that the discipline of planning has inherent limitations, including that of many of its functions, roles and responsibilities as well as, its fundamental definition and the role of planners and citizens as actants involved in planning functions. These issues have been examined by many planning scholars, including Friedmann (1987, 2011), Gunder and Hillier (2004, 2009) and Purcell (Purcell & Nevins, 2005). Furthermore, some planning scholars, such as Bell (2005), Fainstein (2005), Gunder (2011a), Harvey (1985), and McGurick and Dowling (2009) and even urban designers such as Cuthbert (2011), have criticised the blind actions of planners and urbanists.

It became clear to me that a great deal of the planning literature is involved in questioning the essence and ontology of planning, for example, what is planning’s purpose? And what are the roles and responsibilities of planning actants? I did not find any research undertaking an Aristotelian ontological investigation of planning to systematically investigate the logics concerning the existence of planning practices, or to reveal why a specific practice of planning exists, or why another kind does not exist. An Aristotelian ontological investigation clarifies the

relationships and identifies the causes that bring an entity into existence and I found a lack of Aristotelian ontological investigation on the essence and the existence of the planning practices in the literature. Therefore, discovering the need to undertake an Aristotelian ontological study of planning, I have decided to categorise my research as an ontological investigation on planning that aims to achieve an in-depth understanding of planning practices and their actants.

The next section will explain the Aristotelian meanings of ontology and ontological research, what ontological research may reveal about the planning discipline and how it provides a beneficial and essential approach for planning.

### **1.3. What does ontology mean? What does an ontological investigation refer to?**

Ontology is a compound of two Greek words ‘onto-’ means ‘being’ and ‘-logia’ means ‘study of’. “Philosophical ontology deals with such questions as what is meant by the concept of being [and] why there exists something rather than nothing” (Jacquette, 2002, p. 12). An ontological investigation is involved in “our underlying presuppositions about the way the world goes round” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. ii). This approach can provide a framework to answer questions about “what sorts of things exist ... and how they exist” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 11).

In particular, this thesis deploys an Aristotelian ontological method of research that is different from the more general meaning of the terms of ontology and ontological investigation. The Aristotelian ontological investigation suggests a logic approach to discuss logic of possibility and consequently impossibility of phenomena or practices (Aristotle, 2001[1807]). Therefore, an Aristotelian ontological framework of planning investigation reveals the reasons for the existence of a practice of planning, for example, an UGMP (why the practice exists), and also how and under which conditions a practice is created (for example under neoliberalism).

Discussion and analysis of ontology is possible only in the light of logic. Logic and questions concerning the logical possibility of the existence of objects provides a window on ontological studies of issues, entities, and essences (Jacquette, 2002). Namely, what kinds of logics make a practice possible is the subject of an ontological investigation. Thus, applying a logic framework can provide a systematic ontological study of a practice to find the failures and the causes of the failures.

Therefore, the main questions of an ontological investigation are as follows: What is the essence of a phenomenon (e.g., a planning practice such as UGMP)? How is it created? Where does it locate and why? Moreover, what are the relations of that phenomenon to other beings? The

responses to these questions present the logics of possibilities or impossibilities of the phenomenon's existence. In fact, a logical necessity of something inscribes its impossibilities (contingencies) in itself (Jacquette, 2002).

Nevertheless, what is logic and what is a logics approach? Indeed, logic does not simply indicate the mathematical validity of phenomena. For Aristotle (2001[1807]) logic was the study of fallacies in order to distinguish fallacies from valid reasoning. According to Heidegger (2010[1976]) the Greek word λογική or ‘logic’ means ‘science of speaking’. Thus, the subject matter of logic is speech which assists to expose “the world, human existence, and things in general” (Heidegger, 2010[1976], p. 6). Namely, logic uncovers the hiddenness of being via the study of human existence. In this manner, Heidegger believed that logical reasoning clarifies the essence of truth. However, Wittgenstein (cited in Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 135) argued that a logic distills “‘the essence’ of a practice”. To Wittgenstein this usage of logic is not an essentialist operation; rather logic seeks to investigate the possibilities of phenomena as a language game. Indeed, logic “connotes a range of grammars in which logic is uttered, articulated, and implied” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 134). In Wittgenstein’s deployment of logic, logic criss-crosses in an open-ended network of practices and social phenomena to find overlaps and resemblances “against particular background contexts of history, purposes, motivations and so on” (p. 134).

Therefore, “the logic of a practice comprises the rules or grammars of the practice, as well as the conditions which make the practice both possible and vulnerable” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 136). Laclau (in Butler, Laclau, & Žižek, 2000, p. 283) compared the logic of social and political practices with the rules of the practice of playing chess; namely, with basic entities, rules and relationships we can have “myriad moves at the level of tactics and strategy” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 136).

In addition, an ontological investigation is involved in many philosophical dichotomies including that of universalism and particularism (Inwood, 1992). This research deploys the discussion on the ontological dichotomy of universalism and particularism as its main methodology in order to perform research on the two different case studies of Australia and Iran. This will be extensively elucidated in Chapter 3.

#### **1-4. Aims and objectives**

This research presents an ontological investigation of the planning discipline. The research also endeavours to identify the way in which the values, norms, relationships and responsibilities of

planning are ontologically defined and codified by different actants. It attempts to elucidate the roles of the planning actants that are engaged in producing and maintaining the hegemonic ideology of the market (capitalism). As mentioned, a logic approach provides an appropriate tool to perform an Aristotelian ontological investigation. Thus, the first objective of the thesis is applying an Aristotelian logic approach to investigate the ontology of planning and the current ontological roles of planning actants, particularly in relation to the hegemonic ideology of the market. In addition, the thesis investigates whether the current function of planning is an effective mechanism to deliver many of the aims that its planning policies set out to achieve, such as an adequate supply of affordable housing.

Furthermore, as explained, an Aristotelian ontological investigation of the logics of possibility of something inherently inscribes the logics of the impossibility/vulnerability of that thing. Indeed, a logic approach provides a twofold aim for this research, which is to systematically uncover different logics of the possibilities of a practice of planning such as that of an UGMP, as well as the impossibility of that practice. Not only does the research investigate to reveal the logics of the creation of a practice of UGMP, but it is also involved in a discussion on the logics of impossibility or an alternative for the practice. Therefore, a quest for an answer to the question of the current ontology of the planning function intrinsically provides a response to this question: Is there any counter-logic for the status quo of planning practice?

Thus, the two following research objectives are addressed in this thesis:

**1-4-1. To present an in-depth understanding of the Aristotelian ontological function of planning and its actants under the hegemonic ideology of the market/capitalism.**

As mentioned in section 1-2, planning largely emanated from the contradictory operations and characteristics of market reasoning to pacify the side effects of the market operation and it is influenced by these paradoxical characteristics. Thus, it undertakes a paradoxical role in performing its plans, policies and regulations and often fails in adequate achievement of its aims. Deploying an ontological investigation through a logic approach, this thesis endeavours to present an in-depth understanding of the function of planning to find what kinds of logics make possible a practice of planning. Following the Althusserian (1977) notion of ideology, planning organisations, as the apparatuses of the state, are reproducers of hegemonic ideology of the market in their production of public policy, plans and bylaws. This research attempts to analyse how a hegemonic ideology constructs the actions of planning actants and how the actions may reproduce and regenerate hegemonic ideological beliefs.

#### **1-4-2. To develop a discussion for an alternative to the current ontology of planning and its actants.**

As mentioned above, to address the second objective, the research utilises the logic approach to find the logics of impossibility/vulnerability of the practice of UGMP. To achieve the first objective, this thesis seeks to ascertain what logics are working to create and maintain the practice. An analysis of the logics of possibility leads to a discussion on the counter-logics of possibility of the planning practice. It scrutinises which counter-logics of the possibility of the practice may provide the appropriate criteria to make the practice impossible. Indeed, these logics of impossibility of the planning practice, for example, an UGMP, suggest an ontological alternative for the status quo of that planning practice.

To achieve these two objectives requires resolution of the following research questions.

#### **1-5. The research questions**

1. What is the Aristotelian ontology of Urban Growth Management Policy (UGMP), as a core practice of contemporary planning?
2. What are the current ontological roles and functions of planning's actants?
3. Do the existing ontological functions of planning and its actants, as personified by UGMP, provide an effective mechanism to achieve the aims of its planning policies?
4. What can a logic-based approach illuminate the ontological roles, operations, and responsibilities of planning and its actants?
5. What can be a counter-logic for the current ontology of planning practice?

#### **1-6. The logic-based research methodology**

Based on the previously described aims and objectives, the thesis attempts to achieve two main contributions. Firstly, an Aristotelian ontological investigation of the ways in which capitalism as the hegemonic ideology of our time constructs the logics of a planning practice. Secondly, identifying what might be a counter-logic for the status quo of planning.

To respond to the thesis questions and to achieve the thesis objectives, this thesis applies a logic

approach as the methodology of the research based on a post-Marxist approach through a Lacanian lens. This logic approach is a method of Discourse Analysis [DA], which I identified as an appropriate tool to investigate ontologically what sorts of logics make possible the existence of the planning operation. The methodology relies on the Essex School of Discourse Analysis [ESDA] and an in-depth detailed explanation of its principles, concepts and theories will be presented in Chapters 3 and 4. The following section will briefly introduce the method and highlight its kernel characteristics, which will assist this thesis to achieve its objectives.

I have chosen this methodology because it provides one of the most dynamic sets of means available for discourse analysis<sup>3</sup>, as ESDA combines a variety of effective perspectives in order to analyse social and political phenomena. This perspective has mainly relied on four theoretical, sophisticated traditions: post-Marxism, post-structuralism and psychoanalysis as well as (post)analytical philosophy. Laclau and Mouffe (1985) developed this approach through reading Marx, Althusser, Gramsci and Lacan. Moreover, the approach focuses on a deep analysis of political discourse through the works of a wide variety of thinkers including Wittgenstein, Foucault and Žižek to avoid a reductionist view in analysis of phenomena. This approach provides me with a wide range of ideas, which I can apply in this thesis.

The main concerns of ESDA are the concepts of “logic approach”, “ideology”, “ontological investigations of practices”, “hegemony” and “counter-hegemonic logics”, just as they are the main concerns of the founders – Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985). Therefore, these concepts will be at the core of analysis in this research.

In particular, ESDA approach explores a phenomenon via a focus on specific practices or policies through texts, speeches, rhetoric and interactions or in other words, linguistic/non-linguistic axes (Glynos, Howarth, Norval, & Speed, 2009). Thus, following ESDA, this research endeavours to investigate the mechanism of planning in relation to hegemonic ideology via analysis of urban plans and projects, policies, laws, bylaws, planning codes and contracts, and official reports. It also includes documented speeches or orders of authorities.

The following four sub-sections will explain the core arguments and principles of ESDA. In fact, this research has chosen ESDA as the research methodology because the following principles

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<sup>3</sup> There are a number of approaches for analysing written or spoken discourse. These include Foucaultian Discourse Analysis, Interpretive Policy Analysis, Rhetorical Political Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis amongst others. The differences between discourses and the reasons that persuaded me to choose ESDA method will be explained in detail in Chapter 3.

and arguments provide the most appropriate tools to achieve the research objectives.

### **1-6-1. Abductive and retroductive modes of reasoning**

In addition to the above-mentioned perspectives, ESDA also relies on logical reasoning particularly that of abductive and retroductive reasoning.

The focus of retroductive and abductive reasoning is on prediction rather than prognosis. Prognosis refers to events in the future; it generates insight into the future mostly by deductive reasoning. Prediction also refers to events in the future; however, it is related to the process of theory-formation and theory-testing and the explanatory capacity of scientific theories (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

Every new and progressive idea and concept, which leads to change is derived from retrodiction/abduction (Peirce, 2004[1994]). Retroductive/abductive inference is built on the premise that social reality consists of structures and internally related objects, but we can attain knowledge of this social reality if we go beyond what is empirically observable by asking questions about and developing concepts that are fundamental to the phenomena under study (Peirce, 2004[1994], 2010). For example, Sober (2009, pp. 30-31) explained these modes of reasoning through the following example;

Suppose you see someone crossing campus carrying several philosophy books. You wonder whether the person is a philosophy major. Two hypotheses to consider are,

H1: The person is a philosophy major

H2: The person is an engineering major

According to [your supposition which is related to what is familiar for you], the observation you have made favours H1 over H2.

However, according to Sober, if you doubt whether the result is true because you have found something that has been missed, you have to examine whether the observation strongly supports the hypothesis. You may “ask yourself what the alternative hypotheses are and you might consider a third hypothesis such as H3: The person isn't a student, but is in the business of buying and selling philosophy books.” At this stage, you have already applied an abductive inference through the process of your making an alternative hypothesis.

According to Peirce (2004[1994]), in social science, retrodiction is an essential mode of inference. It is a means of knowing the conditions fundamental to the existence of phenomena. These two modes of reasoning present a way of naming the process of getting-to-know. They

refer to a process of presenting a new explanation of phenomena. The abductive/retroductive process can be creative, imaginative, intuitive, and sometimes revolutionary (Danermark, 2002; Sober, 2009).

Therefore, both abductive and retroductive inferences present those types of theory and explanation that may seem farfetched or unlikely. Moreover, both provide an appropriate tool for unpredictable phenomena in theory and empirical fields of social science. They provide effective analytical tools for critical realism – the critique of structures, norms, circumstances, or any other actual and real data that have been obscured (Danermark, 2002). The line between abductive and retroductive reasoning is porous and these two terms of inference have been used interchangeably by Peirce (2004[1994]) – the originator of these terms – as well as ESDA theorists. Nevertheless, this thesis requires considering their differences in achieving the research objectives as follows.

Both abductive and retroductive inferences primarily focus on “inferring what is not observed” (Sober, 2009). Retroductive inference conceptualises constitutive circumstances and logics, without them something cannot exist; furthermore, it involves overlooked data and logics that must be reconsidered in theory-formation. Moreover, a retroductive mode of reasoning is applied alongside a more critical realist post-positivist approach in ESDA (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Abductive inference also involves those data that fall outside the initial theoretical frame or premise, however, it attempts to reconsider them in the theoretical frame (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). “Philosophers sometimes use the longer label ‘inference to the best explanation’ to describe what Peirce meant by abduction.” (Sober, 2009, p. 9)

To exemplify, Karl Marx deployed a retroductive mode of reasoning to comprehend, to analyse, and to criticise both the observable and unobservable conditions and mechanisms of the dominant metrics, theories and knowledge of political economy of his time. However, Marx applied abductive reasoning, when he reinterpreted and redescribed the history of humankind and presented a new framework for political economy based on a new theory of value (Danermark, 2002, pp. 80-98). Later, when Marx wanted to test his theory framework of capitalism in different empirical contexts such as Asian countries (Asian mode of production) he deployed a retroductive inference to test it as a universal mechanism in particular contexts (Danermark, 2002; Glynos & Howarth, 2007). In sum, abduction is a way of (re)interpreting data and is used in conjunction with retrodiction that leads to the formation of a new concept or theory for a phenomenon or a practice.

Another example of these two modes of reasoning can be seen in Lefebvre's works. Throughout all of his works, Lefebvre tried to present a reinterpretation and a new description of urban spaces in relation to the ideology of capitalism. Criticising the existing knowledge of urban studies, he theorised a triad space of perceived, conceived and lived spaces to explain how urban experts including planners and architects naively analyse urban phenomena and ignore the complexity of space (Lefebvre, 1991).

This means the stage of making theory and hypothesis are not separated from their justification; rather, they happen simultaneously. Namely, criteria for validation and justification are internal to the process of constructing theory and hypothesis. Furthermore, although abductive/retroductive reasoning reveals some universal similarities in theory-making, some of the criteria are not universal and the result is limited to empirical investigations. Retroductive inference provides ESDA with the possibility of "complex mediating movement between problematisation, interpretation, and ontological projection" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 35). Chapters 3 and 4 will explain how ESDA as the methodology of this research deploys retroductive reasoning to problematise, interpret, and ontologically project and investigate a phenomenon.

Thus, I firstly deploy retroductive inference to achieve the first objective of this thesis, which is an ontological explanation of a planning practice and the operations of its actants within the two case studies of the research. The ontological investigation is a critique of the existing logic – population growth and the market equilibrium – that planning presents to justify UGMP as a practice. This ontological investigation attempts to reveal the overlooked logics as a critical theory that make possible this practice. Secondly, I utilise abductive reasoning in developing an ethical aspect to the status quo of planning as an alternative approach of planning within each case from an empirical point of view.

### **1-6-2. Beyond the dichotomy of universalism and particularism**

The discussion on the dichotomy between universalism and particularism comprises the foundation of this methodology. ESDA's special explanation of the dichotomy – from Laclau's point of view – is developed in section 3-8 of this thesis. The analysis of the philosophical dichotomy of universalism and particularism alongside the above-mentioned mode of reasoning provides a methodology to apply in the two case studies of this research and it explains why I have selected two cases for this research. Furthermore, the special perspective of ESDA towards this ontological dichotomy explains the status of ESDA in social science. Indeed, applying the

retroductive/abductive mode of reasoning provides ESDA a capacity to go beyond the dichotomy of universalism and particularism and present a new approach.

Following Laclau, Torfing (1999) undertook a genealogical scrutiny of universalism and particularism. He explained how these philosophical terms derived from classical ancient philosophy and the interpretation of the transcendental and immanent notions of god. This thesis avoids repeating the long history of these terms. The discussion is limited to what is related to the subject of the research. Briefly, the discourse of modernity replaced the universal rationality of god, as a foundation and reference, by science, that of natural science or ‘causal law’ (Torfing, 1999). However, in both logics of divine foundation and modernity, a universal transcendental mode of rationality is the foundation of human reason. This displacement of god by human science is encapsulated in Descartes’ famous dictum “Cogito ergo sum”, “I think therefore, I am”. This universality continued with Enlightenment thinkers, such as Hegel and Marx, amongst others, through the hegemonic thoughts of historicism, structuralism and the materialistic approach. Later, post-modernists and post-structuralists challenged this metaphysically privileged universal approach. Thus, with increasing hermeneutical insights in social and political science, the context-dependent and particular approach has gained privilege in many discourses (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Torfing, 1999).

Although the hermeneutical critique of positivism, naturalism and structuralism has provided effective insight into social science, close and careful interrogation of this approach shows that particular context-dependent rationality and perspective loses a common ontological ground, which without universal norms and rules will lead to antagonistic clashes between incommensurable identities (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Torfing, 1999). Indeed, while hermeneutists highlight a number of deficiencies in the scientific paradigm, they replace the subsumptive universalism with a descriptive or normative particularism which still is not fully responsive to social phenomena (Torfing, 1999). Žižek (2008b) as an opposition thinker against hermeneutics, post-structuralist and post-modernist approaches in social studies, criticises these approaches for providing the possibility for distortion of meanings and reducing truth to “one of the style effects of the discursive articulation” (Žižek, 2008b, p. 172). To deny poststructuralism as an appropriate approach, Žižek (2008b, p. 172) argues that “Lacan always insists on psychoanalysis as a truth-experience ... [which] has nothing to do with a post-structuralist reduction of the truth-dimension to textual truth effect”.

In sum, structuralism, positivism, and naturalism, or the scientific perspective – universalism – are criticised for being reductionist. These approaches universalise theories and generalise

scientific laws for particular cases in social science through deductive or inductive modes of reasoning. Universal approaches overemphasise the ideals of prediction and underemphasise contexts and particulars. However, the later approaches including post-structuralism, post-modernism and hermeneutics – particularism – are criticised because they failed to consider different dimensions of phenomena and social and political events and a lack of clear and coherent methodology. In fact, the particularistic approaches fail to see similarities and differences as well as logical universal relations between phenomena due to considering context-dependent descriptions of events. These approaches focus on contextualized self-interpretations, which overemphasise the particularity of context (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

Laclau, Mouffe and their followers have attempted to find a way beyond this dichotomy. In this regard, ESDA presents a possibility to use both rationalities – universalism and particularism – to investigate social phenomena. Indeed, the method of the *logics of critical explanation* (Glynos & Howarth, 2007) presents one of these attempts. The turn to the logic approach in political discourse theory responds to the mentioned dichotomy and challenge in contemporary social science.

Torffing (1999, p. 168) states that “the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe accepts the chasm between the particular and universal; however, it challenges the idea that a radical choice must be made between universalization of the particular and particularization of the universal”. Therefore, one of the fundamental principles of ESDA is the existence of the circular relation between universalism and particularism. “As a consequence, the *metaphysical hierarchies* privileging either a pure universality or pure particularism are revealed as political and ideological attempts to arrest the *undecidable game* between the universal and the particular” (Torffing, 1999, p. 168).

Therefore, following the ESDA, it is necessary to accept two assumptions: 1) there are some universal functions, theories and rules to make commensurabilities possible, while 2) these rules may operate quite different in different contexts. First, as a universal theory or “a complete explanation that is not reducible to the contextualized phenomenon”, planning ontologically exists and operates in relation to the hegemonic ideology of capitalism (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 83). Second, a context-dependent analysis is “an indispensable element of any properly constituted” research of planning (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 83). Thus, every context presents its own mechanism in a series of complex relations. In this manner, although a counter-logic of the status quo of planning may emanate from a counter-logic to market reasoning/capitalism, it can be as varied as the many cases and practices of planning.

The key methodological response of ESDA is a problem-driven approach or practice of problematisation instead of the technique-driven and purely theory-driven approach (Glynos et al., 2009). However, it avoids any kind of relativism or subjectivism in order to avoid any constraint on the critical evaluations of practices. This means the focus of the methodology is on the empirical problems, retroductive explanations of the identified problems, logics for actions of professional and non-professional actors, articulation of actors and critiques of them (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Therefore, investigation of a practice (for example UGMP) within more than one case study presents a better and in-depth understanding and analysis of the practice and circular relation between universalism and particularism (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). It shows differences and similarities of a planning practice such as UGMP within different contexts. It clarifies how a universal practice of planning works through different logics in different contexts.

Consequently, I have chosen two diverse case studies to examine how the mentioned universal mechanism of planning works through different contexts and how it causes differing effects which require differing planning practices. The thesis uses the mentioned method to evaluate the role of ideology in two planning case studies: Australia - Perth and Iran - Tehran.

### **1-6-3. The logic approach as a solution for the methodological and normative deficits of poststructuralism**

In addition to dealing with the dichotomy of universalism and particularism, Glynos and Howarth (2007) contend that this logic approach provides an appropriate method to respond to two deficits of post-structuralism: the methodological and normative/ethical deficits.

In terms of the methodological aspects of poststructuralism, the main argument is that this approach applies a range of theoretical issues and philosophical concepts in social science. However, it may neglect some parts of the problems that arise from the status of empirical cases such as the techniques of data collection as well as techniques of analysis and modes of reasoning pertinent to a particular concrete case. Furthermore, poststructuralism fails to properly bridge theories and the empirical field as do structuralist works and analysis. Lacking a methodological dimension, poststructuralism fails to provide the means to evaluate its studies and the results (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, pp. 6-8).

Normative/ethical failures of poststructuralism emanate from the philosophical denial of a truth that consequently avoids a fully-fledged normative scheme or prescriptive policies and practices. In fact, poststructuralists utilise this denial in order to prevent the risk of a new oppression or social domination. The most illustrative example of the philosophical denial of a truth can be

seen in the Foucault's works that denies any kind of universal truth and natural law for a subject (Foucault, 2003). However, this perspective causes a lack of ethical consideration in empirical analysis; moreover, poststructuralism limits itself to a more descriptive analysis of phenomena rather than a normative and ethical analysis. The normative challenges of poststructuralism that ESDA has tried to overcome are related to any form of moral or ethical framework including dominant oppressive norms or "communicative conditions for a 'rational consensus'" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 7).

The methodological and normative/ethical dimensions are more crucial in the planning discipline, since planning must be engaged in empirical cases and practices. Indeed, a strong relation between theory and practice and an involvement in empirical cases is compulsory for planning. Moreover, the major responsibilities of planning are normative duties. The planning discipline must be able to prescribe policies, plans and regulations and evaluate the outcomes of its prescriptions. Some planning theorists including Gunder (2002) have tried to bridge theory and practice at least in planning education; however, planning lacks an appropriate relation between its empirical fields and theories. As Thompson (cited in Allmendinger & Haughton, 2012, p. 90) argued, planning theorists are "a small tribe of experts speaking to each other in strange tongues" and the field of their work has nothing to do with the empirical areas of planning. This is especially problematic in terms of poststructuralist planning theorists who follow the Foucaultian, Derridean approaches as well as early Laclau and Mouffe perspectives.

To resolve the problem, ESDA proposed a logic approach to systematically cover and analyse different logics of a practice, an empirical case, an event, or a policy. ESDA solves these methodological and normative/ethical dimensions via three logics of the 'social', 'political' and 'fantasmatic' which will be explained in Chapter 3, sections 3-3.1. Therefore, the logic approach proposes a clear methodology, which contains different aspects of the economic, social, political and psychoanalytical elements of a practice.

Briefly, an ESDA analyst endeavours to provide the conceptual resources to explore the political constitution and dissolution of social identities, while striving to account for the dynamics of human subjectivity to cover different aspects of a practice in an analysis. Importantly, to offer an alternative conception of ethics for the critical evaluation of the existing political and moral norms and structures, it is necessary to move beyond the simple critique and deconstruction of texts, practices, and institutions. ESDA focuses on the logics of possibility and vulnerability of a practice in order to offer a normative/ethical dimension for the analysis and an alternative to the hegemonic orders and practices.

#### **1-6-4. Logics**

According to Laclau and Mouffe and following Wittgenstein and Lacan, every social or political practice works based on three logics: the social logics including economic, financial and institutional operations and structures, the political logics, and the fantasmatic logics which support the possibility of a practice (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). As mentioned above, the three logics will be extensively explained in Chapter 3. Planning and policy-making also function based on a series of logics including social, political, and fantasmatic logics. This thesis develops the three logics approach to investigate the practice of land supply in the form of UGMP as a planning practice to clarify which logics are working to make the practice possible and vulnerable/impossible.

#### **1-7. Case studies**

As explained, to apply the methodology of ESDA and its logic approach, two quite different case studies have been chosen, each reflecting an alternative system of government to analyse how planning operates under the hegemonic ideology of capitalism. Considering two cases assists in understanding the relationship between universalism and particularism in a better way. It clarifies how a universal ideology of capitalism is applied through the universal practice of UGMP in two cases. Following the ESDA methodology, the logics of possibility of the practice are explained within the two cases through the three logics of the social, political and fantasmatic. Applying ESDA achieves a twofold aim in this research. The investigation reveals similarities and differences between the two cases. In addition, it assists in explaining how the logics of vulnerability or counter-logics may be different in each case.

The first case study is the UGMP in the Perth metropolitan area, the capital of Western Australia. Perth and its growth mechanism has been chosen as a more market-based economy. The second case chosen as a mechanism of planning is Iran's "New Towns" policy (MRUDI, 1992a) in the Tehran Conurbation area.

The study of each case is carried out through detailed analysis of the relevant documents. These include the body of published material, incorporating speeches, plans and policies, laws, bylaws, enacted rules and statements. The analysis attempts to represent the tensions, contradictions, paradoxical decisions, and unfair and biased points in rules and laws through fine-grained textual analysis in order to find how rules, laws and bylaws are influenced by hegemonic ideology. The analysis endeavours to unravel the logics of planning functions alongside ideology by testing

and potentially revealing the ways through which planning is influenced by ideology.

### **1-7-1. Urban growth management in the Perth metropolitan area**

Western Australia [WA] represents a federative and market-oriented system of government. The greatest portion of capital in this state is obtained from the production and export of minerals, gas and oil. The hegemonic ideology of planning has been market ideology in Australia and specifically WA. Perth is the capital of WA and the fourth most populous city in Australia with a population of about 1.75 million living in the Perth metropolitan region (Alexander et al., 2010). The population is distributed over more than 1000 square kilometres. “Perth has been assessed as being one of the most car dependent and sprawling metropolitan regions in the world; and it is also distinguished by having one of the world’s lowest urban area footprint to population ratios” (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 33). The Perth metropolitan area functions as a major centre of services relating to the mining, petroleum, and agricultural export industries. These include businesses and services for people who work in occupations relating to economic functions (Graetz et al., 1998).

WA has often been portrayed as a “boom and bust” state. For around two decades from the late 1980s until 2008, the state boomed with the accelerated production of mineral resources. Then, with “the 2008-9 global recession the boom evaporated, many mining projects were cancelled and thousands of workers were laid off” (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 11). However, due to the presence of a large number of mines and natural resources in WA, Perth as the capital city has been the destination of immigrants and new labour forces (Alexander et al., 2010). Thus, Perth has been faced with many problems, including rapid sprawl, demand for new infrastructure, a high demand for housing and consequently lack of affordable housing. The Western Australian Planning Commission [WAPC] has provided policies and plans to improve the working, living and visiting situations in the state of WA, and specifically, Perth. Metroplan<sup>4</sup> policies have released new lands in the metropolitan region to respond to the demand. This research has chosen Ellenbrook as one of the examples of new urban areas in the Perth metropolitan region (Figure 5-1). Construction of Ellenbrook was started in the late 1980s and was planned to house 30,000 people by 2020.

The Ellenbrook plan and Perth UGMPs have been enacted based on many objectives and promises such as providing affordable housing for low to moderate-income groups. However,

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<sup>4</sup> A planning strategy for the Perth metropolitan region enacted by Western Australia Ministry of Urban Planning in 1990.

many planners in Australia have criticised the policies for failing to meet their promises and providing affordable housing for the target groups (Alexander et al., 2010; Hillier, 2002). Based on the existing literature of planning in WA/Perth and plans and policies documents, Chapter 5 of this research endeavours to provide an in-depth analysis of the planning mechanism in the form of UGMPs in Ellenbrook/Perth.

Perth has also been chosen as a case study as it is an Australian metropolitan area, and the most dependant on natural resources – mineral, oil and gas – extraction for its economic base. This is an economic base that parallels that of the second case study (which follows). Indeed, income from the export of natural resource has created substantial financial assets in both case studies. For example, the rate of capital formation within Perth has resulted in a greater propensity to invest in the construction industry in urban areas. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012), Perth had the fastest growth of all capital cities in Australia (26%) between June 2001 and June 2011. Most of this growth was in the outer suburban fringes of the city. The following section will explain how the second case study engages with the consequences of rapid growth and the accumulation of capital from oil exports in an urban area.

### **1-7-2. New Towns policy in the Tehran conurbation area**

Although it has a similar economic base of resource extraction (mineral, oil and gas), the Tehran Conurbation case differs from the Perth case in a number of ways. For example, firstly, Tehran is the capital of Iran. Iran is an Islamic republic and has a centralised system of government. Secondly, since 1979, the planning ideology of the post-revolutionary Iranian government has allegedly been pro-poor and planning has worked in a less market-oriented ideological sphere in comparison to WA. According to the Iranian system of government and because of the Iran-Iraq war and post-revolutionary sanctions on Iran by western governments, policies are centralised by the government and Tehran as the capital city receives the biggest portion of the national budget. Most of the facilities, the best-qualified services, several industries and financial institutions are situated in provincial capital cities particularly in Tehran. The population of the Tehran province has increased fivefold over the last 40 years. Consequently, Tehran has confronted many problems, including huge internal migration, rapid sprawl, lack of affordable housing and the formation of informal settlements in the outskirts of the Tehran metropolitan area.

The MRUDI and the planning system created the New Town Policy (MRUDI, 1992a) in order to resolve the problems. Parand as the second case of this thesis is one of the new towns in the

southwest of Tehran (Figure 6-1). Based on the Parand Comprehensive Plan (Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98), the city was planned to house 80,500 people by 2008. However, in 2011 less than 29,000 people lived in Parand (SCI, 2011). Between the early 1980s and 2012, while planners were busy with the New Towns Projects, five to six areas of informal settlement with a population of approximately 1 million, were growing within a distance of about 30 kilometres from Parand.

Using ESDA, the Tehran case study is carried out through the analysis of documents, plans and policies that I collected during my work as an employee in the MRUDI. I based my Master's thesis on informal settlements problems and I participated in several meetings that specifically focused on informal settlements in the area of my case study. To this extent, I am aware of the details of plans and decisions. Chapter 6 will investigate how the universal mechanism of UGMP has been applied in the case of Parand.

### **1-7-3. Meta-analysis, data collection and content analysis**

ESDA as a problem-driven approach informs the method of data collection and analysis for this thesis. The ESDA's concern and focus is on the empirical problem and the problem under investigation. According to a problem-driven approach, the problematisation of social phenomena constitutes the starting-point of the research strategy. The identified problem – such as the subject of this thesis that is a contradiction between initial objectives and outcomes of UGMP – constructs and constitutes the research objectives as well as the research questions. Consequently, the problem and subject under investigation have a main role to play at both data collection and data analysis. Generally, the selection of texts, documents, and data depends upon the construction of particular research questions.

Therefore, the data collection's strategy for this thesis are selected based on the research objectives and questions. For example, to investigate how plan objectives have been realised, it is necessary to analyse the two cases' initial plans and revision plans as well as reports of the outcomes. Furthermore, this thesis's emphasis is focused on the plans' paradoxical objectives, which are rooted in the paradoxical mechanisms of exchange value and use value materialised in generating and pursuing the surplus value. To answer questions regarding surplus value, it is necessary to find and investigate relevant reports, articles, or other documents in relation to the financial issues in the two cases.

This thesis applies 'meta-analysis and content analysis' (Gaber & Gaber, 2007) in order to find, select, and collect the most relevant, appropriate, and important documents and data and then to

analyse them. Based on this meta-analysis, I considered and investigated published secondary data including plans, policies, reports, and articles written by government agencies, as well as newspapers, academic articles and books written by non-profit research-based and service-based organisations. Then, I undertook content analysis to “analyse each publication *within* the meta-analysis research project” (Gaber & Gaber, 2007, 103).

In addition, this thesis deploys snowballing and eyeballing methods to conduct the data collections stages. For the Perth case, these methods provided a chain of connections and acquaintances to find representatives from the Swan City Office and the RobertsDay Company in order to direct me to the plans, documents and maps from Ellenbrook. I refer to the Curtin University, the University of Western Australia, the Swan City Office and the RobertsDay Company to select and collect the relevant, appropriate and publicly available data and documents. In the case of Parand, I use the published and publicly available documents plans and reports from the MRUDI library, having worked as a planning official of that ministry.

## **1-8. Thesis structure and chapter summaries**

- ***Chapter One – Introduction***

Chapter one has introduced the subject of the research, an Aristotelian ontological investigation of planning practices, specifically land release policy in the form of UGMP and the problems that arise from this. The chapter has explained the rationale of the research and the research aims and objectives. It has discussed the justification for the research questions. It has outlined the methodology and modes of reasoning as well as the theories and philosophical concepts that are deployed in this research. Based on the methodology and its concepts, the chapter has depicted the reasons for selecting the case studies and described their characteristics.

- ***Chapter Two – Literature review***

This chapter presents a discussion on the existing literature of planning in terms of the essence and function of planning and specifically UGMP and its actants in relation to the ideology of capitalism and specifically neoliberalism. Chapter two reveals that in the prevailing relationship between planning and the hegemonic ideology of capitalism, planning tends to confirm and underpin this ideology. The second chapter points out the gaps in the literature of planning regarding the subject of the thesis.

- ***Chapter Three – Logic approach as the methodology of the research***

Chapter 3 explains and develops the ESDA method and theoretical framework. The chapter explains the three logics of the social, political and fantasmatic. It then develops a logic approach framework to explicate the logics of UGMPs in relation to neoliberalism as the universal hegemonic ideology. Applying the abductive mode of reasoning, the chapter suggests a theory about the logics that make an UGMP possible. The aims of this theory-making is to investigate different dimensions of the practice. The theory is later tested in the two case studies of the research to clarify the similarities and differences between the cases. The logic approach provides the tools for critique of the ontological problems with planning and highlights the need to make changes in planning principles. This presents the quest for further steps in finding counter-logics in each case to create a bridge to the next chapter.

- ***Chapter Four – Counter- logic of a practice of planning***

The chapter critically considers the existing literature of planning pertinent to the counter-hegemonic notions of capitalism in order to identify gaps in the literature and to propose a counter logic for the status quo of planning based on ESDA. Extending the discussion of ESDA concerning the deployment of the normative/ethical dimension of the logic approach, Chapter 4 describes the counter-logics or logics of vulnerability of a planning practice under the hegemony of capitalism.

- ***Chapter Five – Case study: Perth, Australia***

Chapter 5 critically analyses the details of the UGMP of Ellenbrook as a suburb within the metropolitan area of Perth in Western Australia. Applying the logic approach, the chapter explains the logics of possibility of the practice of urban growth. It concludes with a counter-logic discussion on the practice of urban growth management in Perth.

- ***Chapter Six- Case study: Tehran, Iran***

Chapter 6 investigates the details of new town policy in Iran by analysing the case study of Parand in the Tehran metropolitan area. It examines the function of planning through the triad logics and presents a discussion of a possible counter logic for the status quo of planning in Tehran.

- ***Chapter Seven – Findings***

Chapter 7 analyses the findings from Chapters 5 and 6 in relation to theories and discussions from Chapters 2, 3 and 4. The chapter presents a discussion on the similarities and differences

of planning mechanisms in the two cases. It evaluates to what extent the research questions are resolved. In addition, Chapter 7 evaluates whether the thesis objectives are achieved. It discusses the fact that although planning functions within a universal mechanism and relationships, it demands a different set of roles, attitudes and responsibilities in different contexts based on their specific characteristics.

- ***Chapter Eight – Conclusion***

Chapter 8 identifies the limitations and constraints of the thesis. It explains in which area the thesis has contributed in terms of the knowledge of planning. Finally, the chapter also identifies possible questions or areas of further research that are uncovered by the findings of the thesis.

# **Chapter Two: What Makes Planning What It Is?**

## **2-1. Introduction**

This chapter selectively explores the existing literature in planning, political studies, and human and social science to provide explanations in response to the first three questions of this research. The first question asks: “What is the Aristotelian ontology of Urban Growth Management Policy (UGMP), as a core practice of contemporary planning?”, The second question asks: “What are the current ontological roles and functions of planning’s actants?” Finally, the third question asks: “Do the existing ontological functions of planning and its actants, as personified by UGMP, provide an effective mechanism to achieve the aims of its planning policies?” This chapter will also endeavour to provide a foundation for explanation as to how the deployment of the methodology of this research is a necessity for planning.

As explained in the first chapter, when we talk about the ontology of something, it refers to the question of the logical possibilities of that thing. Namely, we ask what makes the existence of that thing possible and what makes it impossible. It is not merely a question of its causes; ontology also investigates its historical background, and the essential relations that make a thing possible. Thus, the Aristotelian ontology of planning focuses on what makes planning possible. The ontological relations of planning are those relations that make its existence possible; therefore, the following questions may lead us to the ontology of planning: What is planning? How has planning appeared as knowledge or as a series of practices? What and who are the actants of planning? What are the indispensable relations between these actants? How do these actants operate in order to make planning possible as a current set of knowledge and practices? Responding to these kinds of questions, which define the Aristotelian ontology of planning, will be the focus of this chapter.

Many planning scholars such as Friedmann (1987), Gunder and Hillier (2009), Hillier (2011), Hillier and Abrahams (2013), and Miraftab (2009) have explored different aspects of planning to find answers to the questions concerning the essence of planning and to propose a more effective apparatus. This chapter investigates and analyses the approach and works of planning scholars in more detail and in relation to the objectives and questions of this research. The chapter

deploys three sections to engage with the first three research questions. To answer the first research question that relates to the Aristotelian ontology of planning, the first section explores the literature regarding the genealogy of planning. The section also reveals the most important elements of planning. This section concludes that planning should be considered and challenged as an ontologically problematic discipline concerning the nature of its relationship with hegemonic ideology, its different levels of national, state, and local actors, and its expertise.

To provide answers to the questions of the ontology of planning, section 2-2.1 focuses on the concern of this thesis and explains the principles of metropolitan growth management as one of the main practices of contemporary planning. As Hall and Tewdwr-Jones (2011) stated, people might regard planning as a discipline that is used in the production of new buildings or whole towns. However, planning, specifically through its different hierarchies of plans, is specially responsible for land-use planning, as the main branch of planning includes the systematic assessment of the physical, social, and economic characteristics of land in order to allocate it to appropriate use. Moreover, planning objectives comprise responses to a range of issues, such as climate change, ecological problems, housing, equitable access to public services, and job creation (Gurran, 2011). In this regard, Metropolitan Growth Management Policy (UGMP), as a practice of planning, comprises most of the relevant duties and dimensions of planning such as the allocation of housing provision, land-use planning, infrastructure provision, transportation, as well as engaging with and responding to environmental challenges.

Finally, the first section maps a gap in the existing planning literature concerning the Aristotelian ontological role of planning. It also provides a ground for the next chapter, which illuminates that a specific method based on logics is necessary to challenge the ontology of the planning function; a specific method that the planning literature has not generally and sufficiently engaged.

Based on a review of the existing literature of planning, the second section addresses the second research question: “What are the current ontological roles and functions of planning’s actants?” The section reviews the literature on the roles and operations of planning’s actants in their existing relationship between planning and hegemonic ideology. It explains how in the prevailing mechanism of planning, planners are enmeshed in the norms, values, and responsibilities materialised by the state and defined by the hegemonic ideology of the market. This review explicates that planning and the state are intertwined with each other through ideology and in two dimensions: capital and legitimisation.

The chapter concludes with the third section, which provides an answer to the third research question: “Do the existing ontological functions of planning and its actants, as personified by UGMP provide an effective mechanism to achieve the aims of planning policies?” It discusses the effectiveness of the existing mechanism of planning in solving problems. Subsequently, based on the gaps in the existing literature of planning, this chapter provides an introduction to the methodology of this thesis, which is the logics of critical explanation methodology. This will be explained further in Chapter 3.

## **2-2. The ontology of planning**

What is planning? What makes planning what it is? Friedmann (1987) discussed the difficulties that we as planners face when attempting to present a definition of the essence of the planning discipline. Furthermore, Gunder (2005), through a Lacanian approach, elucidated the linguistic reasons for the difficulty in presenting a concise definition of planning, specifically where we present contradictory significations for the dominant concepts of planning such as smart growth, sustainability, and public interest. As Gunder and Hillier (2009) argued, it seems planning is signified with a series of terms and phrases which inherently have diverse and sometimes contradictory meanings that are open to contestation for its actants.

To answer the first research question, “What is the Aristotelian ontology of Urban Growth Management Policy (UGMP), as a core practice of contemporary planning?” this section investigates the literature of planning in order to find the reasons underlying the essence of planning. As discussed in Chapter 1, through a study into the history of planning, we find that planning emerged with the modern era to pacify the side effects of capitalism and to interfere and intervene in modern urban space relations – included social, economic, state, and power relations (Allmendinger, 2002; Foucault, 1979; Friedmann, 1987; Lefebvre, 1991; Roy, 2008; Sandercock, 1998). Planning purportedly renders a better life via the promise of housing allocation, infrastructure, services, and amenities for the labour force to secure consumption and conserve the environment to enable the procurement of resources (Allmendinger, 2001; Harvey, 1989a, 1989b). The first chapter explained that planning has undertaken a paradoxical role in order to achieve these promises. This paradoxical role includes the provision of a better life for greater consumption, assistance to the market to pursue self-interest to achieve the public interest (Roy, 2008), the maximisation of profit against the distribution of public goods and services (Harvey, 1985) and environmental conservation, and the provision of modern and rational social conventions, such as property rights and democratic ways of decision making (Allmendinger, 2001; Castells, 2002). Therefore, the paradoxical role of planning derives from the ontological

emergence of planning. Namely, while planning provides facilities for a better condition of life through the construction of building and roads, it also facilitates economic investment and benefits for the market. Admittedly, the promises of planning include a better quality of life, public good, environmental conservation, and liberal rights, all of which help to facilitate a good surface appearance for the accumulation of capital, the reproduction of market-leading interests, and individualist desires. Indeed, these inherent biases in planning practices are hidden under a camouflage of fantasy of protecting the public interest (Gunder, 2003b; Gunder & Hillier, 2009; Harvey, 1985; Marcuse & Kempen, 2001).

In particular, based on the Marxist and neo-Marxist perspectives, planning operates as an apparatus of power for the ruling capitalist class (Smith, 2003). Planning as an apparatus of the modern state has provided for the interest of hegemonic groups – the ruling class – in society. However, the problem is not simply that of providing for the interest of power. Not only is planning a productive investment for power (the hegemony of capitalism) but also it underpins power through normative, prescriptive laws and bylaws, and plans or decisions (Harvey, 1985). According to neo-Marxist thinkers such as Harvey (1985) and Tajbakhsh (2001), planning and its policies are the instrument of investment in the secondary circuit of capital<sup>5</sup>, including investment in buildings, huge projects for housing the poor, roads, and health care and education. According to Harvey (1985, p. 11) “the main thrust of the modern commitment to planning (whether at the state or corporate level) rests on the idea that certain forms of investment in the secondary and tertiary circuits are potentially productive”, as the “whole apparatus of cost-benefit analysis, of programming and budgeting, and of analysis of social benefits, as well as notions regarding investment in human capital” reveals the hidden side of these plans and decisions.

Further, as Harvey (2014) explained in terms of the neoliberal form of the state, the mentioned role continues to occur under several tools and policies such as different housing schemes and policies, national bank policies regarding interest rates, fiscal and financial policies, as well as

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<sup>5</sup> Capitalism needs a constant dynamic accumulation, or as Marx explained, capitalism needs the principle of accumulation for more accumulation and production for more production (Marx & Engels, 2000). This increasing accumulation demands more surplus value in order to increase investment. This process of reinvestment occurs in three circuits. Following the Marxian theory of capital and later Lefebvre (2003), Harvey (1985) referred to the three circuits of capital accumulation which are necessary for capitalism to work. The primary circuit is the realm of mass production and the creation of surplus value; however, this surplus accumulation ends in overaccumulation and consequently, a reduction in the profit rate. Here, referring to the inherent contradiction of capitalism, Harvey argued that as a temporary solution, capital switches to the second circuit which is fixed capital. The secondary circuit is the built environment investment; but, based on the Law of Diminishing (Marginal) Returns the same problem again happens: a slowdown in the return scale needs another booster. The tertiary circuit includes not only investment in science and technology but also new ethnic or religious conflicts and wars provide the last resort to solve the problem (Petras, 2014).

international treaties and alliances. The state intervenes in urban space via the regulation of patterns of landownership, profit-oriented deregulation and liberalisation plans, and speculative housing policies. Therefore, via planning and its policies, the state plays the most important role in opening, channelling and enhancing the flows of capital. The point here is that the state has the role of leader in this decision-making. The state, (in all significations of its governance), as a representative of hegemonic and powerful groups, makes the final decisions on public investments and the implementation of plans. Harvey (2014, p. 4) explained how “an increasingly powerful plutocracy both within countries and … upon the world stage” controls and leads the policies in the favour of the billionaires’ club.

As Žižek (2008b) contended, rhetorical words, through their attributed significations, are often utilised as ideological apparatuses to quilt a discourse, or narrative as an unassailable object of importance (see: Gunder & Hillier, 2009). One key quilting concept for planning is “the public interest” (Harvey, 1985) which provides a justification for the state to take the main role in public policies. With its claim of serving the public interest, planning has emerged as a tool of dominant ideology and power relations, sometimes improving life and at other times, repressing human rights in order to reproduce power and provide increased aggregate societal benefit and wealth. In this light, planning provides a comprehensive apparatus of state in order to control and interfere in social and economic relations in favour of dominant groups, with an overall goal of maintaining an economically effective capitalist state (Harvey, 1985).

Using a Marxist point of view, many researchers have investigated the ways in which planning interrelates with the state and capital accumulation to produce the built environment (Balaban, 2008; Feagin, 1987; Feagin & Parker, 2002; Gotham, 2006, 2009; Harvey, 1985). Indeed, the critical school of thought based on the Marxist frame of political economy has presented a strong and systematic method of evaluation and analysis of social, political, and economic phenomena. The Marxian (1999) criticism of capitalism is reflected in the Labour Theory of Value (LTV) which targets the simplistic logic of market value (equilibrium price) that overlooks the problems and difficulties of transferring labour and nature values into price. In this regard, Marx emphasised the necessity of new methods of pricing and calculation to include overlooked values such as those of labour, nature, the individual, and the social. The difficulties of transferring these values to price and failures to achieve a fair value cause contradictions which Marx (1973) summarised as the inherent contradictions of the capitalist mode of production.

Following Marx, Harvey (2005, 2010, 2012, 2014) argued that the inherent contradictions of capital can be categorised into three fatal categories: capital versus labour, impossible and

unsustainable compounding growth, and natural universal law (independent of human's desire). Overall, capital's contradictions have resulted in seventeen contradictions of capitalism. According to Harvey (2014), these contradictions include those of: use value versus exchange value, value and money, the right to private property or individuals against the right to common/social property or common good, and equality and inequality; all of which operate in urban space especially through assets. As mentioned in the first chapter, in particular, the contradiction between exchange value and use value in the housing market changes the function of home-ownership to a form of saving as a speculative financial activity.

Thus, planning is one of the most important apparatuses of not only neoliberal ideology but also the state. Some researchers referred to Harvey's works in different contexts, such as Fainstein (1994), without directly referring to Marxism in their criticism of planning as an apparatus of capitalism. For example, Fainstein criticised the responsibilities of planners as passive viewers of the process of planning in relations to market, state, and capital. In general, from the Marxist point of view (e.g., Harvey and Lefebvre's works), to analyse an event requires deep understanding of the forces at work shaping spaces and conflicts. Indeed, we cannot understand events and phenomena without contextualising phenomena in the political-economic backgrounds of space.

However, Lefebvre's analysis of phenomena in the field of the political economy of space is different from other Marxists, since he attempted to realise urban phenomena not only through a Marxist approach but also with a turn into the linguistic and psychoanalytical dimensions of urban studies – partially by presenting an analysis of everyday life. In his books *Writing on Cities* (1996) and *The Urban Revolution* (2003), Lefebvre maintained that the urban problematic is the most crucial matter of political concern. He believed that the urbanisation praxis including planning may lead to a system of the “right to the city” as the ultimate rationality of spatial existence. While Lefebvre emphasised the capacity of planning in leading civilisation to a better way of life, he radically criticised planning knowledge for its failures.

Lefebvre (1991) criticised the myth of technocracy as a tool – a fantasy – of urbanism. He believed that technocrats do not use actual technology, as “technology should be put at the service of everyday life, of social life rather than being precisely the condition of its suppression and control” (Elden, 2004, p. 145). Lefebvre concluded that a radical change in the status quo of planning is reliant on the concept of the right to the city which needs a new form of rationality as a new way of life (Lefebvre, 1991, 1996).

Lefebvre (1996) argued that planning must be educated through investigations of its roles in capitalism not only as a mode of production but also as an ideology. He analysed urban contradictions in relation to inherent contradictions in capitalism. He argued that planning as the knowledge of urban life, is entangled in capital, state, and ideology. Therefore, if Marx addressed capitalism as an economic mode of production, Lefebvre saw it as an ideology of everyday life (Elden, 2004) and according to Lefebvre, “Marx’s ‘estranged labour’ is now generalized into an ‘estranged life’” (Merrifield, 2006, p. 11). Importantly, and in relation to the subject of this thesis, Lefebvre (2003) also discussed how market ideology subordinates use value to exchange value in urban space.

In actuality, spatial plans, architectural projects, and many urban activities are involved in exchange value; however, they also maintain use value. Thereupon, space – shaped through a specific hegemonic discourse – is provided for specific interested groups while excluding others. This space, under the influence of state and capital, is provided for those who have the right to the city, including the right to affordable housing, to a job, to services, and to public health. According to Lefebvre (1991), the roles and responsibilities of planners as agents of a technos-structure are to command and control the spatial city via a much simplified view of social reality that overlooks and negates the complexity of lived space.

Compounding Lefebvre’s critique of the simplification of urban phenomena via architectural apparatus as a machine for sustaining power relations, Foucault (1984, p. 241) argued that governments have based their conceptualisation of territorial management on the model of the city: “Cities with the problems that they raised and the particular forms that they took, served as the models for the governmental rationality that was to apply to the whole of the territory”. According to Foucault (1984, p. 240), since “the 18<sup>th</sup> century, every discussion of politics, as to the art of government of men [sic], has necessarily included a chapter, or series of chapters, on urbanism”. These have ranged from the micro to macro scale on urbanism issues, such as those that deal with the provision of facilities, public services, hygiene, housing, and even “private architecture”. Thus, Foucault (2008) considered planning to be one of the most important apparatuses of power. Planning often allows power to homogenise and conceal the undesirable space of urban spaces (Foucault, 1976).

Howarth (2002, p. 1) argued that “[d]espite Foucault’s epistemological reservations about the concept of ideology”, his archaeological and genealogical methods helped to develop the function and concept of ideology when he explained the function and relations of power and subjects in his works. Briefly, Foucault explained how power produces its own knowledge and

discourse to homogenise lives and bodies in society based on specific norms and values. Consequently, planning as an apparatus of dominant power eliminates the malformed spaces of marginal norms and values that stand external to the discourse of dominant power. Following Foucault, Pløger (2006) argued, zoning, housing, and physical planning creates a new perspective of everyday life that obliterates other forms external to that of hegemonic ideology.

Yiftachel (1998), following Nietzsche and the Frankfurt School, applied the term *the dark side* of planning to address the failures of planning and to explain the contradictory objectives and aims of planning. He considered that planning, as a modern project, even though still premised as a project of the Enlightenment, inevitably and inherently became entangled with its dark side because of the biased influence of power. The outcomes of planning may manifest themselves in the form of a spectrum, ranging from a political act in favour of human and citizens' rights, to those of repression (Allmendinger, 2002; Allmendinger & Gunder, 2005; Allmendinger & Haughton, 2012). However, planners in all areas of planning, from consulting companies, governmental sectors, employers, to academia, have so far been unable to achieve a consensus over a precise explanation or definition in regard to planning and the responsibilities of planners at least in regard to their actions (Gunder & Hillier, 2007).

Many planning theorists, such as Allmendinger and Haughton (2012), Gunder (2010), Gunder and Hillier (2009), Purcell (2009), Swyngedouw (2010b), and Inch (2012a), have argued that planning still works as the apparatus of the state under the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism. Mark Purcell (2009) elucidated how communicative and collaborative planning provides a stable tool for neoliberal ideology to depoliticise urban politics and underpin market rationality in policy-making. In this regard, communicative planning takes advantage of liberal political equality principles in the form of participation and win-win games to cover over the tensions of increasing social inequality that are the upshot of neoliberal ideology and its market-based reasoning (Purcell, 2009). Purcell explained the parallel logics of consensus-building and neoliberalism and concluded that communicative planning actions offer "a 'de-hegemonizing' of political life such that ...[it] reinscribe[s] and legitimize[s] the current hegemony" (Purcell, 2009, p. 158). Furthermore, Swyngedouw (2009, 2010b) and Allmendinger and Haughton (2012) have discussed the ways within which neoliberal ideology has been obscured by participatory implementations or green and environmentalist attitudes.

Accordingly, not only did planning initially emerge to deal with the needs and results of capitalism as a mode of production and as an ideology, but also in this era, neoliberalism as a hegemonic ideology, dominates contemporary planning discourse. Planning is used as a

bureaucratic instrument to regulate and homogenise everyday life. In actuality, planning techniques and models have been generally used to attract investors by presenting viable images of future urban projects which mainly promise maximum benefit with minimum risk to investors (Brenner & Theodore, 2005).

Baeten and Taşan-Kok in *Contradiction of Neoliberal Planning* (2012) categorised different contradictions of neoliberal planning via a series of experiences from different contexts including from Sweden, Turkey, New Zealand, and South Africa. Taşan-Kok (2012, p. 1) argued that the neoliberal approach of planning “does not necessarily mean catering to the needs and demands of private market actors” but the term can explain how planning is involved in and responds to the process of neoliberalisation and contradictions of neoliberalism. According to Baeten (2012, p. 25) under neoliberalism, the responsibilities of planners have changed from

‘good planning’ (judging short-term gain from investments and their land claims against the long-term needs of the city), and now [have] become co-responsible for a ‘good ranking’ of the city in various international ranking exercises based on ‘quality of life’, ‘business climate’, ‘ecological city’, etcetera.

Following Laclau (2005) and Žižek (2008b) and through a Lacanian psychoanalytical approach, Gunder and Hillier (2009) elucidated the relationship between hegemonic ideology and planning/policy-making. They contended that some words such as *planning* are empty signifiers. The words have different definitions, or indices, and can result in regressive aims such as oppression, inequality, exclusion, deprivation, limitation, exploitation, or undemocratic domination. These planning theorists criticise that concepts such as rationality, equity, social and environmental justice, sustainability, and the ‘public good’ are empty signifiers of the discipline, with conveniently shifting meanings, which are defined by a dominant minority and applied through plans (Gunder & Hillier, 2009).

Based on this psychoanalysis theory, an ideology arises based on its promise to fill a ‘lack’ or ‘deficiency’ in the social orders (Allmendinger & Gunder, 2005). As Laclau (2005) illustrated, the identification of a lack of equality, security, enough housing, and so on, needs a solution. The solution frames a necessary specific ideological response. According to Stavrakakis (cited in Gunder, 2010, p. 306), “the ideological articulation of the solution provides an emotive and powerful political tool for the implementation and desirous materialization of public planning policy”. Therefore, planning and policies work to provide the desired solution of hegemonic ideology – to fill the lack. In fact, the work of planners is based on the desire of power to fill an

identifiable lack – plans provide objectives relating to desirous wants of security and harmony that overcome the threatening deficiencies of insecurity and potential strife, such as homelessness, economic dysfunction, and environmental degradation (Gunder and Hillier, 2009).

To sum up, ontologically, planning has emerged from the contradictions of capitalism. As Friedmann (1987, p. 7) explained, after two World Wars, planning was given more roles and responsibilities to renovate demolished cities and to provide social services. Planning became one of the apparatuses of Keynesian economics “to ensure full employment and stable economic growth”. In this manner, planning, through its policies and plans such as housing, transportation, and design projects, is constantly involved in both the distribution and accumulation of capital. Planning has been part of the apparatus of state power that intervenes in the market and assists in the distribution of interests and resources for the achievement of the desired ends of the state including economic growth.

Nevertheless, the role of planning has gradually changed with the coming of the post-industrial era and the emerging new ideology of capitalism – neoliberalism. Neoliberalism offers free market policies – the invisible hand of the market – consequently, minimum intervention of planning as the solution for deficiencies or lacks in social orders (Cassidy, 2010). However, this public image of the market solution for deficiencies does not refer to the elimination of the government or planning institutions’ authority. Instead, neoliberal planning signifies the plans and regulations which are oriented towards a maximisation of profit and economic growth for privileged groups without any appropriate institutional dimension for the just distribution of wealth and services (Harvey, 2014).

As Harvey (2014) argued neoliberalism offers a series of policies that include accumulation of capital through innovative financial markets, different sorts of housing schemes, and globalisation. Moreover, neoliberal planning, through different forms of housing schemes and policies, fiscal and financial policies, and privatisation of assets and services has aimed to maximise profit through land related policies. The next section will explain the mechanism and paradigms through which land supply and UGMPs are created and applied as a practice of planning.

### **2-2-1. Metropolitan growth management as a practice of planning**

As mentioned above, ontologically, planning involves contradictory objectives. While these objectives are supposed to fill a lack in a social order, such as the lack of affordable housing,

they instead often represent a paradoxical Janus face in filling that lack. Namely, planning policy often makes promises that it does not fulfil. Often, planning facilitates the maximisation of profit rather than providing public good such as affordable housing. As soon as a lack is displayed or emerges as a public need, politicians, different levels of planning organisations from central government to local, and the private sector as planning's actants become involved in providing a solution for the identified lack (Gunder, 2015). The way that planning's actants deal with the lack defines the dominant ideology of planning concerned with that particular lack (Gunder, 2016). As mentioned, since planning emanated from the ideology of capitalism, planning deals with the identified deficiencies in a manner that tends to align with the hegemonic reasoning of the market, which encourages profit maximisation. This section investigates UGMPs to explain how the market reasoning and the maximisation of profit influence and shape a planning practice.

Urban populations are rapidly increasing. In 1900, 13% of the world's population lived in urban areas. By 2010, 50% of the world's population were urban dwellers (Cohen, 2004). Based on the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) and the Statistical Centre of Iran (SCI), the two case studies of this research – Australia and Iran – are faced with a highly urbanised population, which is heavily concentrated in large urban areas, representing more than 60% of the population. This increasing urban population in the cities has been one of the determinants of land supply policy and UGMP. In fact, population projection is not only one of the first topics in planning education but it is also the first step in many plans and policies. On the other hand, anticipated population growth impacts in many ways on urban areas including an increasing demand for housing and infrastructure. In other words, population growth is regarded as new demand and with increased demand; a new market equilibrium is needed as well as a new supply of housing with a variety of styles and levels or affordability for different income groups. Planning is involved in this supply generally through a series of zoning and land use policies that intervene to resolve market deficiencies (Austin et al., 2013; Gurran & Whitehead, 2011).

Therefore, based on population projections and density policies, land use plans consider urban infill housing and development policies or suggest new outward development in the form of new towns or metropolitan extensions (Gurran, 2008; Tighe & Mueller, 2013). Internationally and based on planning actants' (people, planners, and politicians) general beliefs, it is accepted that containment policies make housing less affordable; conversely, new suburbs and fringe areas supply cheaper land and more affordable housing (Gurran, 2008). Therefore, in many countries, the main policy for more affordable housing is the provision of land in the suburbs or new metropolitan extensions to provide affordable dwellings for low-income groups and in some

cases, government employees. As Chapters 5 and 6 will document, the same logic has been applied to set the planning objectives of this thesis's cases. The first case is Ellenbrook – a case of Perth metropolitan growth policies – which developed through “an agreement between the State Department of Works and a private syndicate, Morilla Pty Ltd” (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 58). The second case is a case of Tehran metropolitan growth policies – Parand. In both cases, one of the initial objectives of both growth policies is to provide affordable housing.

As explained in Chapter 1, as soon as policies and plans are ratified, high demand is shaped because people anticipate future increases in property prices (Balchin et al., 1988; Nijkamp, Mills, & Cheshire, 1986). These newly planned areas become favourable areas for market speculation. This market speculation ends in the over-valued price of assets or a ‘housing bubble’ (Dufwenberg, Lindqvist, & Moore, 2005; Evanoff et al., 2012). Many land and asset buyers often do not intend to reside in their properties because of delay in the development of appropriate transport services, and inefficient services and infrastructures (Balchin et al., 1988). Rather, they anticipate increases in property prices in the future or ‘surplus value’. Thus, housing becomes a speculative investment for one group while an unaffordable essential goods for another.

Many economists have criticised the logic of market equilibrium and the resultant provision of an increased supply of land and UGMPs (Ball, et al., 2010; Glaeser, et al., 2008; Nijkamp et al., 1986; Tighe & Mueller, 2013). The main argument is that the supply of affordable housing cannot be formulated through a naïve logic of market equilibrium between supply and demand. It is intertwined with several determinants such as the price elasticity of supply, elasticity of demand, income elasticity, the amount of demand, tax, average land per capita, the ratio of price to income and density, among a myriad of other determinants in planning practice and policy-making. Accordingly, housing policies in the form of new developments or metropolitan extensions cannot be calculated based on some simple equation comprised of two determinants; that is, population growth as demand and land supply as the supply of affordable housing. Moreover, many researchers such as Ball, et al. (2010) and McLaughlin (2011) believe that these complexities mean they cannot be considered in their entirety; even with the most complex equations, as immeasurable factors are always missed and an exact prediction of rises in price or demand are not possible. Accordingly, in most cases, a simple metric of supply of new developable land to cities, especially in the metropolitan areas, is used as the basis for housing policies (Murphy, 2014; Prince, 2012).

However, the influence of neoliberal ideology is not limited to the trends and mechanisms of relying on housing schemes and financial markets as an engine of the economy. These changes

in planning under the hegemony of neoliberalism have had a two-fold impact on planning. The first is rooted in the most important contradiction in capitalism: exchange value takes the place of use value. According to this Marxist perspective, speculative investment in property is not a productive investment; that is, buying and saving a piece of land or a property does not produce value (Marx, 1973). Therefore, the resultant rising price represents a bubble rather than fair value. This method of speculative investment in the housing market, accompanied by innovative financial markets and systems, has been relied on by neoliberalism (Baker, 2009, 2011).

The second impact is related to the professional and institutional dimensions of planning policies. Jacob and Manzi (2013a, 2013b), Murphy (2014), and Prince (2012, p. 191) argued that neoliberal market-based solutions to the lack of affordable housing include “fast policy” and “evidence-based policy” that are constructed by “actors associated with particular think-tanks, consultancies and international institutions [as well as relevant stakeholders]” rather than academic peer-reviewed research. In fact, the mentioned consultancies and institutions present simple analyses and metrics as key benchmarks “and rhetoric resonates with the national government’s own political agenda” (Murphy, 2014, p. 14).

Jacobs and Manzi (2013a, p. 3) explained that the mentioned trend in policy making is the result of a “‘retreat from the priesthood’ in professional practice and power wherein a reluctance to trust officialdom and expert judgement has fuelled wider demands to produce evidence-based rationalities to justify decisions”. Crawford (cited in Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a, p. 2) argued that “governments are prone to act cynically by adopting ideologies that obscure their true intention”. In this manner, the UK government interpreted and applied the trend whereby policymaking became an ideological commitment to the maximisation of profit (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a).

Therefore, the state under the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism selects specific paradigms and metrics as the appropriate knowledge for planning. This knowledge assists with the maximisation of profit and eliminates more critical and complicated metrics, paradigms and knowledge that would challenge the nativity of the dominant knowledge and inform a clearer understanding of the market mechanisms (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a). Prince (2012) identified the role of private consultants in the creation of particular metrics such as market equilibrium – a land supply policy to meet an identified demand based on population projection – that underpins a specific policy. He argued that:

[C]onsultants order the world into particular policy logics. And the knowledge they produce, particularly in quantitative form, can become the kind of universalizing

knowledge ... that would seem to be able to order the world anywhere . . . . So consultants . . . play a central role in making global connections by using their techniques to create equivalence between different places, making policy transfer, and global policy networks, possible. (Prince, 2012, p. 199)

Thus, many academic experts in the field of housing, land, and property policies have criticised the operation of neoliberal housing schemes because these schemes, based on selected evidence-based policies, simply offer a residential land supply and extensive urban growth, particularly in the US and Australia, whereas in practice these schemes have failed to provide any solution to affordable housing deficiencies (Beer, Kearins, & Pieters, 2007; Gurran, 2008, 2011; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a, 2013b). Murphy (2014) undertook to examine the political construction of housing affordability issues and policies within central government in New Zealand and made use of publicly available government documents that include cabinet papers and policy advice from different government ministries. He revealed that a US-based private consultancy suggested a metric of housing affordability that led to a new legislation designed to frame policies for housing affordability. Murphy depicted the influence of the consultancy's key publication, 'The Annual Demographia International Housing Affordability Survey' (DIHAS) (US/NZ co-authored), on policy discourse and practice in New Zealand.

The metric offered by DIHAS originated outside of academic debates on housing affordability measures. DIHAS presented the metric as a reliable technique and a base for a technical policy. Murphy (2014, p. 3) argued that what is presented as a technically constructed policy "within the context of evolving expressions of neoliberal governance" is increasingly subject to global flows of the simplistic logics of selective evidence-based survey. Jacobs and Manzi (2013a, p. 1) contended that the increasing reliance on selective evidence-based policy "serves as a convenient device for governments to present policy-making to a wider public, gaining legitimacy through an appeal to technical rationality and thereby shielding from scrutiny the underlying ideologies and politics that constitute housing practice".

Murphy (2014) criticised the role and influence of international consultants and fast policy circuits on national housing systems. These international consultants and circuits offer a naïve logic as a universalising knowledge such as land supply policies "as a major contributor to housing affordability issues" (Murphy, 2014, p. 11); however, in most cases this logic fails. He argued that in the case of the New Zealand National Party, Ministers have espoused the same logic that underpins Demographia's analysis of housing affordability using the 'Houston Model'

of Housing' as a successful model. However, the model has not only failed to deal with a complex problem, but has not been developed and transferred to the New Zealand context.

In summary, to address the first question of this research, the current logic that makes metropolitan extensions possible are as follows. A population projection identifies a new demand in the market that shows the need for a new supply of affordable housing. Based on a selected evidence-based policy, a land supply is made available to meet the demand. In fact, the land supply and urban extension policies are counted as the response to the need and as the policy for providing affordable housing. As Murphy (2014) stated such policies pursue a rhetoric that includes "affordable housing for a wide variety of groups" that it is politically powerful. The rhetoric is supported by one or a series of publicly acceptable and popular research centres such as the World Bank, the United Nations, OECD, the Harvard University Joint Centre on Housing, DIHAS, or/and other institutions. An increasing number of private consultants, who appear to be independent from the state but are instead politically powerful, are also involved in these policies (Murphy, 2014). In most cases, land supply policy fails to provide affordable housing because increasing prices make houses unaffordable for a particular group (e.g., First Home Buyers (FHBs)), while the land area provides a speculative investment for major investors.

The above-mentioned simplistic logics, such as market equilibrium, reduce the drivers of house price dynamics to a single cause and fail to take cognisance of institutional and other factors that shape house prices. In fact, there are numerous effects on housing prices: a series of logics is needed to explain the immeasurable determinants and causes of price such as the complex impacts of mortgage finance liberalisation, tax policies (on land development and house purchase), and international political agreements which influence immigration patterns. Often, a quickly transferred policy becomes a discursive device that reduces a very complex issue to a simple causal relationship between house prices and assumed planning constraints on the land supply.

Randolph (2004) explained how cities are growing in Australia by following the above-mentioned simplistic global pattern. Surprisingly, despite the many critiques that have tried to address the failures of metropolitan growth policies and the side effects of the land supply issues, these policies have been the main drivers of housing policies in capital cities around the world including in Australia and Iran.

This section has explained the neoliberal principles of land supply and UGMPs. As this section explained, these policies often are deployed as the solution to respond an identified demand of

housing and fill the lack of affordable housing. The literature review of this section revealed two main neoliberal principles regarding metropolitan growth policies. Firstly, these policies take advantage of the contradictions between the use and exchange values of property to facilitate market operations and to maximise profit. Secondly, in the processes of providing these policies, planning knowledge has often retreated from critical and academic research and the complicated logics and metrics that are able to uncover different layers of a practice such as the complicated political, economic, and psychoanalytical dimensions. Instead, planning often relies on simplistic knowledge, logics and metrics including evidence-based investigations. Importantly, this reductionist knowledge is produced by the consultants, companies, and international circuits to legitimate accumulation and concentration of power and wealth in few hands (Harvey, 2014).

The next section will discuss planning actants and explain how they are involved in the planning function.

### **2-3. The role and function of planning actants**

The previous section attempted to depict a picture of the ontology of planning including the officially asserted and underlying logics that make it possible. As mentioned, an analysis of the planning function as an apparatus of ideology for the accumulation of capital has risen from the Marxist approach; however, planning scholars have widely and variously applied it in different analyses of planning to elucidate some of the failures in the ontological roles of planning.

This section provides a review of the literature of planning and political studies to address the second research question: “What are the current ontological roles and functions of planning’s actants?” As explained in the previous sections, planning actants include planners, non-planner residents, organisations and institutions, planning documents, plans and policies, regulation and even land which are related to planning directly or indirectly and are involved in the networks of power relations, established under the dominant neoliberal ideology to create the contemporary phenomenon named planning (Gunder, 2013). Therefore, planning’s actants comprise planners as individuals, a series of state and private organisations, international institutions, citizens, as well as planning documents (plans and policies), capital, and land.

This section reviews the existing literature on the ontological roles and functions of politicians-planners-citizens, planning organisations and institutions, and codes, plans, policies, and the state polity in relation to the capitalism and particularly neoliberalism.

### **2-3-1. Politicians, planners, and plans**

As previously discussed, planning largely emerged to alleviate the side effects of the contradictions of capitalism. Thus, planning is involved in wide varieties of actions including the side effects of industrialism, environment problems, urban revolutions, and unending economic growth and the distribution of capital through the production of public commodities, such as infrastructure and waste-management (Allmendinger, 2002; Harvey, 2005). Particularly, after the Second World War, the main roles of planning were production of the built-environment. Therefore, as Allmendinger (2002) and Friedmann (1987) explained, the dominant approach in planning during that period was based on modernist and positivist narratives.

However, the positivist and modernist narratives have been criticised by many urban scholars such as Friedmann (1987), Flyvbjerg (2001), Gunder and Hillier (2009), and also Lefebvre (1991, 2003), who have demonstrated that the positivist scientific – semi-engineering – narratives of planning are unable to fully display and discern urban problems. In addition, the traditional positivistic epistemological ways of thinking in planning tend to exacerbate problems and even create new ones. Nonetheless, the problem cannot be solved by a criticism of scientific or positivist methodologies. As previous sections explained, a politically powerful group signifies the dominant methods and knowledge in planning while eliminating and suppressing alternatives.

Since the 1980s, a review of the history of planning shows that neoliberalism appeared with the emergence of New Right and conservative approaches in some countries including the UK, the US, Denmark, Norway, Canada, Belgium, Australia, and New Zealand (Allmendinger, 2002). Now, neoliberalism encompasses the majority of governments around the globe as reflected by global trends, treaties, regulations, and laws that have been made and spread by specifically nominated institutions and organisations (Harvey, 2005).

As Allmendinger (2002) explained, based on the Hayek perspective concerning the primacy of the market as the best way of organising society, neoliberal planning offered an alternative to the modernist Keynesian welfare state, centralised or government planning. Neoliberal planning also allegedly opposed the modernist approach of planning, including its strict laws, regulations, and rules, arduous and complicated metrics, and domination of professionals so as to remove any constraints against the free market (Allmendinger, 2002). “The irony of neoliberalism” (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 125) is that although it damns planning and institutions of government as the product of modernity and an imperfect solution, this hegemonic ideology continues to

offer some of the Enlightenment's and modernity's promises through planning as a 'neoliberal public good' for example, by providing 'the most liveable cities', and 'democratic values'. Neoliberal planning is supposed to facilitate different ways of participation for all citizens – who are accepted as citizens – to participate in a free market, where planning itself takes a pragmatic position in a participatory process that includes free market consultants, advocate planners, post-modern planners, and green or environmentalist activists. However, "neoliberalism functions based on a combination of a market-oriented competitive state (liberalism) and an authoritarian strong state (conservatism)" (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 107). This combination is obvious within planning's organisations and documents that will be explained in the next section (2-3.2).

Following Lefebvre (1991), planning has always had ideological dimensions and planners are working in an abstract ideological space that is now a neoliberal ideological space. Gunder (2003b, 2005, 2010), Hillier (2002), and Gunder and Hillier (2009) maintained that power relations and the ideological space of planning have governed and controlled the knowledge of planning in a way which appears separated from the economic, political, and social functions of planning. However, this relationship between capital, politically powerful groups, and planning is not limited to neoliberalism. Wildavsky (1973) described how planners work in relation to political leaders, take orders, and apply norms and policies. Planners and political leaders are both "overwhelmed by the gap between the future they promise and the present [that] they cannot change" (Wildavsky, 1973, p. 152). In such a relation of planning and political power, planners apply the will of power to citizens' everyday life without fully understanding what constitutes lived space and what constitutes planners' duties (Lefebvre, 1991).

Thus, there is a strong relationship between power and the knowledge which planners apply in their actions (Flyvbjerg, 1998). As Foucault (1980), Gunder (2005, 2010), and Lefebvre (1991) argued, dominant power produces and codifies its own knowledge. Based on this notion, dominant knowledge is made by dominant power (Foucault, 1980, 1984). Knowledge can be seen as a discourse to be argued in order to mask power and politics. In fact, "power suppresses that knowledge and rationality for which it has no use" (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 36) in the interests of certain groups and for capital accumulation. The best use of planning by a government, or by the market, is to achieve a political end; however, through this, urban planning is presented as a non-political instrument, and construed as a knowledge designed for an apolitical, value-free technocratic field (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2012; Bylund, 2012).

In this view, contrary to orthodox Marxism, power is not unidirectional. It is found at all levels of society. It works through a complex network of functions, agents and agencies, or actants.

The judges of normality are present everywhere. The best description of the role of planners can be derived from the Foucaultian notion of power:

We are in the society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the social-worker-judge; it is on them that the universal reign of the normative is based; and each individual, wherever he may find himself, subjects to it his body, his gestures, his behaviour, his aptitudes, his achievements. (Foucault, 1979, p. 304)

Indeed, following Foucault we should add, the ‘planner-judge’ to this list of judges of normality. As Allmendinger (2002, p. 13) observed, planners act as agents of power, or judges of normality, as they monitor, regulate, identify, and codify internalised rules of knowledge and discourses. Thereupon, “[p]ower is legitimized in the name of scientific ‘truth’ that is valued above other forms of knowledge because the discourse around science has granted it a valuable status. Because of this, society has a ‘will to truth’, valuing scientific truth which masks power” (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 14).

As discussed, although Foucault did not utilise the term ideology in his analysis of the power relations in society, his concept of power and the post-Marxian notion of ideology have many things in common; indeed, dominant power and hegemonic ideology are different names for the same mechanism (Carpentier, 2011). Gramsci (2001) used hegemony to analyse how power, in the form of a dominant social class, creates a world view to justify its domination. Laclau and Mouffe (1985) defined hegemony as an articulation within political discourse, it is a political, military, economic relationship of power that dominates sub-ordinate parts of a society. Indeed, dominant power, or hegemonic ideology, generates a series of special social tasks and normative or prescriptive processes – regulation, laws, plans, policies – that are not beneficial to sub-ordinate groups but are for the benefit of the interests of hegemonic ideology or dominant power. Following Laclau (1977, 2005) and Žižek (2008b), this section argues that planning as one of these social tasks adheres to hegemonic ideology. Consequently, ubiquitous ideology encompasses and identifies planning policy, planners’ responsibilities, their concerns, and even people’s expectations of planning (Butler et al., 2000; Laclau, 2005).

As Žižek (2008b, p. 49) states, ideology can hold us only “when we do not feel any opposition between it and reality – that is, when the ideology succeeds in determining the mode of our everyday experience of reality itself”. This routine, everyday life and ordinary behaviour of ideology often entangles planning actants in their roles and perceptions. Namely, effective deployment of a dominant ideology needs good planners who appear as apolitical providers of

the correct apparatuses for the exact implementation of laws, plans, and decisions that obscure the political aims and ends and are therefore without question. Accordingly, planners can often easily back out of their responsibilities by blaming the state or the other actants (e.g. economists and sub-prime homebuyers) for the missed promises of their policies.

### **2-3-2. State, bureaucracy and institutions of planning**

As Hillier (2007, p. 214) contended, in the interwoven relationships of power, planning's actants establish standards and criteria via “selecting, electing and filtering” data in order to produce and reproduce the interests of specific groups and exclude others. Gunder (2003a; 2005, p. 91) argued that in New Zealand, planning acts as an apparatus for “a minority who constructs the dominant vision of social reality and what is desirous and good within it”. As a consequence, planning functions to exclude the “disruptive other” even if they constitute the majority.

In fact, the polity of a state usually comprises the powerful minority who constructs the standards, regulations, and criteria for planning. Referring to the arguments of planning scholars such as Gunder (2013), planning cannot exist external to the role of the state and the role of planning and state are interwoven. Nevertheless, what is the role of different levels of planning's institutions and organisations in relation to the state and market ideology?

The work of Alexander, Mazza, and Moroni (2012) can assist with an institutional investigation to explain how the neoliberal mode of planning through a new pseudo-anarchic approach and specifically post-modern social order still works in the realms of both state decisions and market rationality. The emergence of the democratic, post-modern type of nation-state has not separated state from planning; instead, it has changed planning to a new strong legitimisation for capitalist relations and neoliberal principles.

As explained in the previous section of this chapter, in the years following the Second World War, planning functioned as a state apparatus and was involved in the production and distribution of wealth. The top-down system of planning or the teleologic<sup>6</sup> approach of planning produced directive planning such as comprehensive plans. This teleological and positivist approach of planning has been criticised for being unable to deal adequately with challenges of post-modern society and its pluralist needs. The emergence of neoliberalism was supposed to reduce the influence and role of the state and strict planning regulation or at least governmental planning.

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<sup>6</sup> Teleology is concerned with aiming or striving towards goals (Woodfield, 1998). The teleocratic approach applies in planning when all policies or plans cover just one goal such as affordable housing, or sustainability as one public good for all.

In doing so, nomocratic planning emanated from Hayek's (1941) notions of a laissez-faire economic approach to face limited human knowledge of uncertain conditions, because the market allegedly responds to ignorance and failures of the planning system. Nomocracy rose in accordance with free social orders from government restrictions and regulations. Communicative and collaborative planning also arose in alignment with the nomocratic approach of planning (Healey, 2003, 2006).

In actuality, spatial and strategic planning reflect an approach based on nomocracy which prefers radical pluralism, protecting individuals' freedom for their own ends or deliberative consensus building instead of the arbitrary will and technical autonomy of rules and regulations (Alexander et al., 2012). Nevertheless, both teleocracy and nomocracy constitute two prevailing approaches in institutional aspects of planning and originate from the ontological modernist position of the planning organisation which is equipped with general tools of land use planning including zoning, urban codes, and regulations (Alexander et al., 2012). The investigation of the changes in the polity of planning shows that planning implementation still relies on both the state and market operations.

The investigation of institutional dimensions of planning through the two systems of teleocracy and nomocracy reveals a "juxtaposition of planning and market" (Alexander et al., 2012, p. 39). Alexander et al. (2012) showed how in both nomocracy and teleocracy, planning mechanisms and neoliberal principles work together in a complementary manner rather than competing to shape social ordering systems within the prevailing institutions of planning.

Importantly, nomocracy as the prevailing approach in planning's institutional design emphasises a libertarian ideology to maximise individual freedom and promote a radical pluralist approach to society where "the primary public interest [good] is protecting individual freedom" (Alexander et al., 2012, p. 40). Furthermore, as Alexander et al. (2012) explained the state in a pragmatic manner plays a teleological role to complete the agglomerative role of the market in order to secure economic growth and the constant intensification of capital. Therefore, instead of the pure form of planning intervention or the absolute free market, both mechanisms work in practice to maximise individualistic profit.

In summary, an investigation of the institutional aspects of planning shows that since the emergence of planning, the state has been responsible to construct the regulations, standards, values, codes, knowledge and institutional structure of planning. In particular, planning and the

market pragmatically work together for economic growth, capital accumulation and individualistic profit/freedom as the neoliberal public good.

### **2-3-3. The mutual relationship of planning and state: legitimization and profit**

Allmendinger (2002), Inch (2012b) and Johnson (1995) argued that there is a symbiotic relationship between the state and the planning profession. This relationship is a mutual legitimisation for both the profession and the state. Planners work under and in the frame of dominant power and need power to legitimise and implement their decisions and policies. Inch (2012b, p. 515) stated that:

[W]hile the institutionalisation of planning within the state greatly increased the employment prospects of planning professionals, it also came at a cost to professional autonomy. The profession's power to define the field of planning practice became increasingly subject to other mechanisms of control, notably the political power of government to control the scope and purpose of planning as an activity.

Inch (2012a) analysed an example of the legitimisation process through planning reform in England, where planning acts as a coping mechanism and a set of prophylactic practices against political contestation. Inch referred to the role of the state in managing/leading the politics of urban development; for instance, he criticised the prevailing discourses and practices used in England in which political displacement covers up the causes of antagonism generated by the logic of urban development.

Gunder and Hillier (2004) explained how planners through their social relations and in the process of identification take up new roles or accept confirmed roles and responsibilities. Indeed, planners identify themselves as being creative, responsible, and committed to their values and agendas in order to be accepted by power, authorities, or even other non-planners (Gunder, 2012; Gunder & Hillier, 2004). Inch (2012b) contended that even though the planning structure in England has changed from land-use to spatial planning, planners, influenced by an internalised bureaucratic commitment to the neutrality of prevailing norms and values, have difficulty in evolving new roles and responsibilities. In fact, the planning literature reveals that actants of planning – planners, citizens, structures, and organisations – in the process of identification, are identified and codified by the hegemonic ideology. In this process, actants actively reproduce and regenerate the hegemonic ideology – that is, the doxa of the day – the status quo.

Therefore, the current ontological roles and responsibilities of planners function as a limitation to any alternative to the current ontology of planning as an apparatus of state and hegemonic ideology. Allmendinger (2002), Gunder (2013) and Inch (2012b) contended that there is no professional autonomy for planners – which means “the profession’s power to define the field of planning practice becomes increasingly subject to other mechanisms of control, notably the political power of government to control the scope and purpose of planning as an activity” (Inch, 2012b, p. 515). Allmendinger (2002, p. 21) argued that when we consider “planning and planners as being involved in a continuous power game, then every absolute claim to truth in planning theory would involve a loss of power and discretion by planners”. In fact, “planning is a battle for the creation of knowledge and theory, a battle for distribution and (mis)use of power” and a battle for (re)distribution of resources and capital (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 21).

Therefore, there is a mutual relationship between the planner and the state and the common point of this relationship is generating more societal capital and profit. Gunder (2013) argued that planning legitimacy is rooted in statistics, authorities and dominant ideology, and is therefore inherently entangled in the values of neoliberal hegemonic ideology. With or without, regard to equitable distribution, both sides – planning and the state – need legitimisation, resources and/or financial capital, and a mutual relationship to continue their existence. In this mutual relationship, they provide for each other’s needs. In fact, planners as experts seek to control the disciplinary content of their job and prefer to embrace the influence of power rather than to criticise it to secure their own profession (Allmendinger, 2002; Inch, 2012b). Planners know that they “live as long as capital and the states pay them and no one pays them unless their works somehow help to increase capital” (Berman, 1983, p. 117). However, as mentioned above, planning is ontologically entangled in its power relationships and “it is not the individual planner’s fault *per se*; they are [ontologically] caught in an unresolvable dilemma” (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 24).

Therefore, planning functions as an apparatus of the state and of societal ideology and planners collectively follow the rules and laws enacted by the institutions and organisations of planning. All actants ontologically and inevitably work in this complicated nexus of power relations focusing on capital, surplus value, and “surplus enjoyment” (Žižek, 2008b). In addition, the existence of planners as professionals depends on the state and its specific ideology. Planning beyond the state and its hegemonic ideology involves a strange, unusual, and controversial discussion and people as non-planner actants are not able to imagine planning separated from the state. As Stavrakakis (2011, pp. 304, 305) argued, planning beyond this power relation can

end in “a danger of fetishizing the moment of the political, of the radical act, in an attempt to guarantee the possibility of a total refoundation of social life”. This radical act in planning can be compared with the moment of a miraculous event, an event that would not happen in reality at all.

The three previous sub-sections have been concerned with the relationships and roles of planning actants. In response to the second research question on the ontological functions of planning actants, the planner as an actant of planning is entangled in the norms and values defined by hegemonic ideology and the state’s regulations and agencies. Accordingly, for the planner as a subject who works under a hegemonic ideology, the questioning of dominant norms, values, and imposed responsibilities is always troublesome. As previously mentioned, in the existing function of planning, these roles and responsibilities are defined under the influence of the discourse of the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism. Nonetheless, do the existing ontological functions of planning and its actants, as personified by UGMP, provide an effective mechanism to achieve the aims of its planning policies? Based on the previously presented discussions, the next section will offer a response to this question of this research.

#### **2-4. Do the existing ontological functions of planning and its actants provide an effective mechanism to achieve the aims of its planning policies?**

Drawing upon the discussions presented in the previous sections, this section sets about answering the third question of this research: “Do the existing ontological functions of planning and its actants, as personified by UGMP, provide an effective mechanism to meet planning policies’ initial promises?”

The following summarises the discussions of the previous sections to conclude whether planning practice is an effective tool or not. As mentioned, planning mechanism works through different promises for the future, such as affordable housing policies. The literature showed that the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism defines simplistic metrics and reductionist paradigms as the knowledge of planning such as selected evidence-based studies. These selected studies deploy as a convincing method to deal with the deficiency of affordable housing. As discussed, these methods eliminate determinants and logics that are more complicated and accusing. One of the outcomes of this specific knowledge are materialised in the form metropolitan growth and land supply policies in the practice of planning.

Consequently, while some aspects of planning’s promises are realised, including economic growth, many of them have never actualised. Thus, while some people benefit from a policy, for

example, through speculative investment in land within new development areas, there exists other groups who do not benefit, for instance, those who have been excluded from the market by rising house prices. This does not mean that planning is unable to be an effective mechanism; planning meets some of the initial promises, based on the market reasoning of the maximisation of value-added. In this manner, planning and zoning policies have been one of the most effective drivers of economic growth.

The most important point is that to achieve the maximisation of value-added and consequently economic growth, the planning mechanism should be involved in activities that are inherently useful and productive. These activities include the management of economic resources – labour, capital and land – particularly land (Ratcliffe, Stubbs, & Shepherd, 2004). Planning also has provided public services and infrastructures such as transportation and networks including sanitation, water, and energy and post-war revitalisation (Friedmann, 1987). Also, we should not forget that although planning has been associated with the state and capital, it has coped “with enormous social problems that industrialisation had engendered” (Friedmann, 1987, p. 22).

However, while planning has accomplished the creation of a number of public services, it has often failed to provide affordable housing. As expressed, the problem stems from the ontology of planning as an apparatus of the state in relation to the maximisation of individual profit as the core principle of the market operation. Planning is one of those apparatuses which have been evolved to “save capitalism from itself” (Keynes cited in Fitzpatrick, 2011, p. 90). Planning is one of the apparatuses that assist in correcting supply and demand deficiencies in the market and improving life situations (Harvey, 2003). However, as many planning theorists, including Allmendinger (2002), Flyvbjerg (1998), Friedmann (2011), Gunder (2012) and Hillier (2002), have criticized, the market reasoning of planning provides for the interests of some specific groups and ignores others. Indeed, policies may end in a devastating fall in net wages and wealth, creating unemployment and poverty for disadvantaged groups. In general, planning has performed this mission through a combination of “conservation and exploitation of land, as the background or stage for human activities” (Ratcliffe et al., 2004, p. 3). In doing so, planning’s land-related policies constitute one of the most important elements in economic growth.

Following Marx (1973), Minsky (1992a), and Harvey (2014), as has been explained in the previous sections, the contradictory characteristics of capitalism are reflected in the paradoxical and contradictory objectives of plans and policies. The contradiction between use and exchange values results in rising prices and speculative investments rather than providing adequate and affordable homes. Policies and their complementary institutional and financial systems

concentrate on increasing economic growth and excess values rather than producing a built environment and infrastructure for the public. The excess value of property often, result in speculative bubbles. When bubbles burst, the result is economic crises such as that of 2008. The effects of such crises are not limited to housing and planning issues alone; they influence other aspects of the economy and human society even on a global scale such as the high rate of global unemployment, bankruptcies, widespread poverty, strikes, riots, civil wars, revolutions, and so on.

As Baker (2010) and Cassidy (2010) explained, market actors – including planning actants – are often unable to recognise both market warnings and the adverse effects of a burst housing bubble for two reasons: the lack of comprehensive knowledge about the mechanisms of the market and the hegemonic ideological belief of market reasoning as an effective solution to deficiencies. Actors often ignore pre-crisis warnings and do not talk about arising problems unless the crisis and its aftermath has occurred. Baker (2011) explained how despite the failures of neoliberal housing schemes, the same policies continue such as deregulations of mortgage sectors, creating tax policies that encourage more investment in property, stimulating people's aspiration to own a home as an investment, and innovative financial systems.

Therefore, planning would be more effective if planning actants had more knowledge about what they do – an ontology of planning – and how they do it – the ontological relationships between planning's actants.

To summarise, there is no definite answer to the third question, “Do the existing ontological functions of planning and its actants, as personified by UGMP, present an effective mechanism to achieve the aims of its planning policies?” While planning achieves some of its aims and promises, it is unable to meet many others. Planning policies achieve their aims and objectives related to economic growth and maximisation of value-added. However, achieving objectives pertaining to the equitable distribution of capital and the creation of public and social services has faced a number of difficulties in practice (Fainstein, 2010). With the emergence of neoliberalism, this inherent contradiction of planning has become both evident and tangible.

As explained, UGMPs ontologically start with land supply (land release) policies in undeveloped areas based on the anticipated market equilibrium between demand and housing supply. They continue with a combination of zoning policies, in alignment with new financial and institutional innovations. Land supply and constant innovative systems lead to rises in land price and speculative investments. The literature review of economics and urban studies including the

works of Baker (2009), Cassidy (2010), Harvey (2014), and Ratcliffe et al. (2004) criticised the market reasoning that offers the returns on investments can provide a way for construction of affordable housing for lower income groups. Initially, this reasoning works well and it yields above normal returns. Then, speculation about subsequent returns fuels an over-investment in property. The initial returns drive large increases in asset prices. Gradually, more sources of funding are needed to sustain the build-up, typically in the form of increased leverage and liquidity in the financial system. The combination of these factors eventually give rise to an asset price bubble. However, based on the law of diminishing returns, there are limits to this rise, and the market expect a downturn. “Then an event sparks a downward reassessment of the new asset and price expectations” (Duca, Muellbauer, & Murphy, 2010, p. 204). During the downward reassessment, the market desists the over-optimism and the bubble is set to burst.

Therefore, in terms of the housing schemes of neoliberal planning, urban planning is effective in meeting promises concerning short-run economic growth and (re)investment, it is not so effective in meeting promises related to affordable housing and the just distribution of capital and wealth.

## **2-5. Conclusion**

This section summarises insights into the nature of planning functions under the hegemonic ideology of the market. To respond to the first research question, “What is the Aristotelian ontology of Urban Growth Management Policy (UGMP), as a core practice of contemporary planning?” this chapter concludes that planning works as an apparatus for the hegemonic ideology of capitalism. Specifically, in terms of UGMP, land use planning is deployed to meet the desire for an increase in surplus value. Some neo-Marxist thinkers, such as Harvey (2005) have argued that the mechanism of planning and its relation to power work as the state apparatus based on the ideology of neoliberalism. Planning is a state apparatus, which functions through a constant combination of factors of production – land, capital, and labour. Therefore, planning as an apparatus of the state reproduces dominant social orders. Other planning scholars, such as Gunder (2003a, 2005), see the function of planning in terms of market ideology using the more complicated logics of psychoanalytical factors. This research attempts to investigate planning’s operation using both the above-mentioned approaches.

Ontologically, planning and policymaking act as operating elements in a cycle of production and reproduction of capital and the hegemonic ideology. However, planning’s actants often do not have a clear idea of planning’s ontology or what logically makes a policy possible. This chapter

has argued that planning knowledge is the reductionist knowledge of its determinants. Planning is a product of the hegemonic ideology of capitalism in the form and the frame of a signified knowledge, which is produced by an advantaged group of planning and related actants to assist in the reproduction of capital for plutocrats who control the social orders. Moreover, these social orders include innovative investment policies, land regulations, and new areas of planning research, which operate in a way to reproduce the interest of advantaged groups. In this manner, within a society there always exists a group of disadvantaged people who are deprived of their interests and the accumulation of capital. Meanwhile, the criteria for being advantaged or disadvantaged are signified via the hegemonic ideology and by advantaged groups who take the power within state or government.

To comprehend the ontology of a policy such as urban growth management, it is necessary to know how and which logics make the function of the policy possible. In fact, the mechanisms of planning and policies-making operate through a very complicated set of political, economic, social and ideological logics (Glynos, Klimecki, & Willmott, 2012). However, the knowledge of planning often eliminates complexity and uses the more easily understood metrics as the logic of the actions taken. This simplistic reasoning of market logic – the invisible hand of market – also is prevalent in other disciplines such as economics, as Cassidy (2010, pp. 8-10) argued:

Even today, many books about economics give the impression that general equilibrium theory provides “scientific” support for the idea of the economy as a stable and self-correcting mechanism. ... [While other perspectives of economics such as] market failure economics, economics of incomplete markets, behavioural economy, reality-based economics ... [and other theories including] monopoly power, strategic interactions (game theory), hidden information, uncertainty, and speculative bubbles [have] received a lot less attention than the economics of market success.

This chapter has elucidated how planning applies simplistic determinants of demand and supply to draft the policies of metropolitan growth, while eliminating and overlooking more complex determinants and logics which have ontologically constituted the social reality attempting to be, often inadvertently, concealed. In particular, the dominant ideology of neoliberalism, relying on a market reasoning solution, offers a simple logic such as an adequate land supply to provide a solution for the lack of affordable housing. The simple metrics used by planning surveys are not able to show the (over)accumulation of capital, inefficient financial mechanisms, institutional problems, and the fallacies that have been produced by planning’s actants.

Therefore, the response to the second question, “What are the current ontological roles and functions of planning’s actants?” is that planning actants including planners, institutions, organisations, and planning documents and plans are entangled in the universal mechanism of planning as the producers and reproducers of the current social order. This role has been taken by actants through a complicated mechanism of logics of legitimacy and capital formation. This has been discussed to clarify how planning actants are entangled in their roles and responsibilities as objects of neoliberalism as the hegemonic ideology.

The third question of this research asks, “Do the existing ontological functions of planning and its actants, as personified by UGMP, provide an effective mechanism to achieve the aims of its planning policies?” The answer is that the universal mechanism of planning, particularly UGMP, may meet economic growth policies but misses some of the policy promises regarding the provision of affordable housing. As mentioned, the contradictions between use value and exchange value under neoliberalism ideology of the free market yields a substantial return for one group while other groups are often displaced from the market.

Since planning often treats the problem of housing with a simplistic logic, which blindly exacerbated the problem of affordability, it cannot meet its promises in an effective manner. The review of the works of planning scholars revealed that as long as planning operates with the dominant global logic of the market, it will fail to be an effective tool for all groups of human society. As has been asserted, it is not reliable and sufficient to simply analyse housing policy and affordable housing through models of new housing supply in relation to price (McLaughlin, 2011) or the general theory of an equilibrium between housing demand and land supply. Even if we consider many economic tools and factors such as institutional factors, geological variations, infrastructure and constructions costs, many immeasurable problems are overlooked such as political and social matters and the bifurcation of land characteristic as a shelter and as an investment.

In addition, any critique or alternative to the status quo of planning has been obstructed because of the dominant norms and duties, constructed by powerful groups and the hegemonic ideology. In the planning literature, Gunder (2010, p. 309) contended that “planning has always had an ideological component … and this ideological component largely reflects the dominant ideology of the time”. In fact, planning has ideologically eluded any method of critique that could demystify and deconstruct the fallacies of the dominant logics of planning. Hegemonic ideology represents the ideas, values, and orders that encompass planning’s actants.

Furthermore, the literature review of political studies, including those of Gramsci (Mouffe, 1979b), Laclau (Butler et al., 2000; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) and Žižek (2008b), has supported this chapter's suggestion that it is prohibited to criticise the fact that the critical logic of planning is framed by the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism which masks over any contingencies or alternatives. Many thinkers, including Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and Stavrakakis and Glynos (2008) have addressed theories as to how society functions ideologically via a psychoanalytical analysis within political theory. In addition, Žižek (2008a) deployed psychoanalysis to clarify the function of policies and politics in the field of hegemony and ideology. In the planning literature, Gunder (2010, 2011c), Gunder and Hillier (2009), Inch (2012a), and Swyngedouw (2010a, 2011) applied psychoanalysis theory to analyse the prevailing logics of planning's function.

As Stavrakakis (2007) argued, hegemonic ideology and power mechanisms cannot be explained without considering the dimensions of desire, enjoyment, and identity via a psychoanalytical analysis specifically of the capitalist world. In this regard, Gunder (2015) discussed the prevalent concepts in planning, such as better quality of life, public good, participatory planning, environmental conservation, all of which as fantasies help to facilitate a good surface appearance for the hegemonic ideology and its failures. Indeed, these inherent biases in planning practices are hidden under a camouflage of fantasy of protecting the public interest.

To conclude, the above review of the planning literature reveals that there is still a gap in the literature concerning the ontology of planning in terms of the complex nexus of relations between different actants and elements including political causes of social phenomena, promises, and psychoanalytical dimensions. Since the ontological analysis of phenomena necessitates a study based on logic, the gap in the planning literature is related to the use of a logics approach in planning to investigate both the political-economic and psychoanalytical aspects of planning. In this regard, the logics of critical explanation in social and political studies, which have been deployed by the Essex school of discourse analysis, is the methodology of this research, and will be explained in the next chapter.

Accordingly, this thesis attempts to develop a critical and logical approach to planning by compounding categories of the logics of ideological fantasy and economic, social, and political logics in order to achieve an insight into the modes of actants' function in planning and policy making. To develop this argument, this chapter has considered existing literatures that appeal to the analysis of planning and policy-making. As mentioned above, many planning theorists and scholars have investigated planning functions from different approaches. However, few studies

have been undertaken based on an ontological approach or developed based on logic and fallacies, and logical contingency. I endeavour to contribute to planning theory as well as its empirical aspects from the ontological point of view to argue how the dominant logics in planning work and what is their outcome. I also examine how a logical contingency can create further steps in planning and this will be explained in Chapter 4. To address the problem properly it is necessary to consider the logical relations between Marxism and psychoanalysis to see, for example, in the case of affordable housing, how the dislocation between exchange value and surplus value takes places at the hermeneutical level for the subjects of planning.

The next chapter will explain the concept and the methodology of the research. The methodology is grounded in the post-Marxist and Lacanian approaches of political theories in order to develop a logics approach to the practices of planning specifically in two cases from Australia and Iran.

# **Chapter Three: What Can a Logic Approach Say about Planning?**

“A likely impossibility is always preferable to an unconvincing possibility.”

The Complete Works of Aristotle (1984), Vol. 2, 2337.

## **3-1. Introduction**

Chapter 3 provides an explanation of the methodology of the thesis to respond to the fourth question of this research: “What can a logic-based approach illuminate about the ontological roles, operations, and responsibilities of planning and its actants?” In addition, this chapter develops concepts and theories regarding the first research objective “To present an in-depth understanding of the ontological function of planning and its actants under the hegemonic ideology of the market/neoliberalism.

As explained in Chapter 1, ESDA is the methodology of this research that renders an appropriate logic-based approach for critical investigation of social and political fields. Chapter 1 explicated the main principles of ESDA, for example, it is a methodology based on abductive and retroductive modes of reasoning, it suggests a solution for the ethical/normative and methodological deficiencies of poststructuralism, and it goes beyond the dichotomy of universalism/particularism. Referring to the arguments presented in Chapter 1, ESDA provides a process of understanding for the different layers of observable and unobservable logics of a planning practice or policy. These logics include social, political and psychoanalytical/fantasmatic logics of that practice.

This chapter in Section 3-2 discusses the reasons to explain why ESDA presents the best methodology for this research. Section 3-3 develops the principles of ESDA in more details. Section 3-3.1 explains the Lacanian concepts that the method of this research relies on. Then, it discusses how poststructuralism (Section 3-3.2), post-Marxism (Section 3-3.3) and post-analytical schools of thought (Section 3-3.4) provide the appropriate principles for the methodology.

Sections (3-4), (3-5), and (3-6) are respectively involved in a detailed explanation of the social, political and fantasmatic logics. Section 3-7 renders an explanation of ideology and hegemony in relation to the subject of this thesis and the ideology of neoliberalism. Section 3-8 presents a

discussion about the philosophical dichotomy of universalism and particularism from the Laclauian point of view.

### **3-2. Why does Essex School of Discourse Analysis [ESDA] present the best methodology for this research?**

Many planning scholars and urban philosophers emphasise the necessity of considering the importance of different factors in planning knowledge. These include, but are not limited to, the political economy of the market operation as a perspective to frame, contextualize, and ultimately understand the role of housing in society (Aalbers & Christophers, 2014), economic relations (Campbell & Henneberry, 2005), psychoanalytical impacts (Gunder, 1999, 2005), political and power relations (Flyvbjerg, 2001), and linguistics (Lefebvre, 1996). In fact, the problems and areas that planners must be involved in to gain a proper knowledge about their work are extremely diversified.

In particular, this research intends to investigate the role of neoliberalism as the dominant ideology in shaping the ontology of contemporary planning functions. Therefore, not only plans, projects, behaviours, speeches, and actions but also the techniques and economic aspects of policies and plans are the subjects of this research to show the underlying drivers and mechanism of policies.

In this section, I will explain ESDA as a Discourse Analysis [DA] method in order to determine how it can deal with the complexities involved in planning and particularly the subject of this research.

The deployment of ESDA, as the methodology, categorises this thesis as DA research. Nonetheless, what does discourse mean? Although the term ‘discourse’ originated from the Latin *discurrere* meaning ‘wander off course’ (Payne & Barbera, 2010, p. 190) and in general refers to written and spoken communication, it has been deployed as an essential instrument to analyse elements of human beings and social interaction in linguistics, philosophy, political studies, and wider social science.

Linguistics, using a layered system of signs and signification, can contribute to an analysis of urban phenomenon. DA aims at revealing the socio-psychological characteristics of a person/persons rather than simply text structure. Discourse consists of multitude representations that are chained together in a complex network. DA makes it possible to consider a precondition of a system as a succession of operations including encoding and decoding of rules, sentences

and meaning (Dijk, 1985). In fact, this method assists to reveal how in the process of a planning practice we produce signs and significations, and how we use rhetorical and visual elements for our policies and plans (Gunder, 2010; Laclau, 2005; Lefebvre, 2003; Stavrakakis, 2007).

Saussure's interpretation and perception of language was the foundation for what was later referred to in social science as discourse. Saussure treated "language as a trans-individual network or economy of signifying elements, conceived in ideal abstraction from the individual speech act" (Payne & Barbera, 2010, p. 190). There are large philosophical implications concerning Saussure and his subsequent poststructuralist followers' idea of the social-communicative aspects of language or discourse. Saussurean interpretation of language assists political studies to overcome dualities in social and political analysis such as subject-object problems and interrelations between structure and agency (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). In this manner, subjectivity is constructed in and through discourse and the subject is entangled in a position within the play of endless signifiers in a signifying chain. As a result, instead of dualities we have an endless interwoven network of relations between actants. In fact, the term 'discourse' covers a series of concepts, knowledge and actions that are associated with the multi-dimensional logics of planning.

Lacan (2006) developed the Saussurean linguistic formula based on two elements – the signifier and the signified – to express his own psychoanalytical approach. According to Lacan, a signifier does not refer directly to the signified; rather, it refers to another signifier/signifiers which it generates in an endless process of signification as a signifying chain. "A signifying chain can never be complete, since it is always possible to add another signifier to it" (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 190). Namely, a signifier represents a subject for another signifier rather than presenting something for someone. "To be more precise, one signifier (called the master signifier, and written S<sub>1</sub>) represents the subject for all other signifiers (written S<sub>2</sub>). However, no signifier can signify the subject" (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 189). The signified is logically produced as "a mere effect of the play of signifiers, an effect of the process of signification" (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 189). Furthermore, for Lacan (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 189), language is a system of signifiers and "the effects of the signifier on the subject constitute the unconscious, and hence also constitute the whole of the field of psychoanalysis". Consequently, for Lacan, the field of the signifier is the field of the Other.

Indeed, deployment of linguistics in the third quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was not limited to the works of Saussure. Wittgensteinian language games, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and Foucaultian archaeologies and genealogies, have all in their way contributed to today's so-called era of

Discourse Analysis (Glynos et al., 2009). Thereupon, due to the efficiency of this insight, it has seeped into the humanities and social sciences to re-articulate traditional categories such as object and subject, or structure and agency.

Yet, it is very difficult to present a sole definition of the DA research method as it includes different ways of thinking and approaching phenomena. There are differences between DA methods notwithstanding their similarities (Glynos et al., 2009). Three distinctive dimensions of ontology, focus, and purpose provide us with a scale to expose differences and similarities of the different methods of DA such as interpretative policy analysis and discursive psychology, ESDA and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). However, the lines between these dimensions are not clear and boundaries between different approaches are porous rather than exact and firm.

First, the dimension of ontology is concerned with the ontological presuppositions of a discourse; for example, the essence of social relations and structures, the essence of subjectivity and agency, and the nature of their interaction. This dimension focuses on how different approaches delimit their objects and levels of analysis and on how linguistic and non-linguistic elements are treated. ESDA is categorised in this distinctive dimension. Second, focus, as another dimension, refers to which levels of analysis are involved. For example, the study can be focused on a single interaction or just text or a practice through a focus on speech, text, images, or sounds. As an example, CDA and some discursive psychology methods often focus on the micro-detail of text and interaction, whereas ESDA tends to spread its analysis on a wider canvas. Third, the dimension of purpose determines the incentive of the discourse analyst. For example, the analyst decides that the research must be merely an explanatory or critical analysis or both (Glynos et al., 2009).

Therefore, different concerns “with the structure of meaning, different attitudes about the process of producing the meaning, and different approaches towards the conceptualisation of subjectivity drives the selection of different methods, techniques, levels, and analysis in discourses” (Glynos et al., 2009, p. 6). This research has chosen ESDA since this method focuses on the dimension of ontology, which is concerned with the ontological presuppositions of a discourse such as that of planning. In addition, it assists to investigate the nature of the relations and interaction between planning’s actants, and the nature of the subjective levels of planning.

### **3-3. The methodology of this research: ESDA**

The history of ESDA dates back to the publication in 1985 of the book *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* by Laclau and Mouffe. This publication “not only established a new direction to

Gramsci's notion of hegemony, but also represented a turn to poststructuralist theory within Marxism" (Butler et al., 2000, p. v). Following Laclau and Mouffe (1985), ESDA applies the logic of Lacanian psychoanalysis to formulate an anti-totalitarian, anti-capitalist, and radical democratic project. Laclau and Mouffe's political objectives were to formulate pluralistic, radical and democratic politics based upon the aspirations mainly of the new social movements in response to the "crisis" of Marxism promoted by the decline of class politics in the West and by the existence of totalitarian Marxist states in the East.

Laclau and Mouffe – albeit not uncritically – retained Gramscian and Althusserian concepts of Marxism; in addition, they invoked the ideas of other thinkers, such as Derrida, Foucault, and Lacan, as well as Wittgenstein's notions regarding language and psychoanalysis (Glynos et al., 2009).

Similar to the Foucaultian practice of problematisation, "ES[DA] as a political discourse theory adopts a problem-driven approach to political analysis" (Glynos et al., 2009, p. 9). Namely, it involves an analysis of the construction of particular problems in a specific historical context. The crucial questions and challenges that ESDA analysts must respond to might include the following: How is it possible to realise and characterise the logics of a particular policy – a series of quasi-fixed chains of rules, norms, and practices through which actants are linked together? How and why is policy as a dominant discourse sedimented and sustained? How can the discourse be evaluated and criticised? What would be the criteria for possible changes to the dominant discourse and policy if there were any? (Glynos et al., 2009) Thus, ESDA provides an appropriate tool for an Aristotelian ontological analysis of a practice such as the policy of metropolitan growth management.

ESDA presents a logic approach based on the Lacanian, post-Marxist, poststructuralist, and post-analytical approaches that has been applied to social and political phenomena (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). The following paragraphs explain how ESDA is shaped based on these school of thoughts.

### **3-3-1. Lacanian approach**

As explained in the previous section, Lacan developed the Saussurean formula of linguistics to theorise his own approach of psychoanalysis. Although Freudian psychoanalysis methods shaped the foundation of this perspective. In addition, Lacan borrowed the term 'Other' from Hegel (Evans, 2006[1996]). The history of the concept goes back to Hegel's master-slave dialectical bonds as a constituent of a subject and its self-consciousness (Kojève & Queneau,

1969). Namely, what defines a subject is his/her relationship with other actants. For Lacan, the other referred to a pole between a “subject-object dialectic, to alterity in general and, usually when capitalised (big Other), to the ‘symbolic order’ and unconscious” (Payne & Barbera, 2010, p. 521).

The Symbolic order is one of the three orders – Symbolic, Real<sup>7</sup>, and Imaginary<sup>8</sup> – on which Lacan based his work. For Lacan, the symbolic is the realm of language, social structures and social bonds, law and regulations, Other, constituting culture and society. “The signifier is the constitutive unit of the symbolic order” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 189); however, there is not “any fixed relations between signifier and signified” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 204). The Symbolic order is a heterogeneous domain, a universe of symbols and relations. According to Lacan (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 204), “it is the symbolic order which is the determinant of subjectivity and the imaginary realms … are merely effects of the symbolic. Psychoanalysis must therefore penetrate beyond the imaginary and work in the symbolic order.”

ESDA applies the Lacanian interpretation of ‘Other’ the meaning that is inscribed in symbolic order. “Lacan equates Other as the radical alterity with language and the law” (Evans, 2006[1996]). For Lacan, Other is not another subject but is designated as “a locus, the locus in which speech is constituted” (Lacan, 1993, p. 272). In fact, any actants which constitute our colleagues and other agents in society such as leaders, market interests, decision-making institutions, government, laws, values, and norms – may occupy this position.

In arguing that speech originates not in the ego or even in the subject, but in the Other, Lacan is stressing that speech and language are beyond one’s conscious control; they come from another place, outside consciousness, and hence from the unconsciousness that is the discourse of the Other. (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 136)

Therefore, the Lacanian concept of the Other provides an effective analytical concept by which ESDA is able to cover both subjective and objective dimensions of phenomena.

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<sup>7</sup> The Real is a Lacanian term, which refers to things which are outside of language and elude representation, or as Lacan said: “it is that which resists symbolization absolutely” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 159). Žižek (2008b, p. 184) defines the Real “as such a paradoxical, chimerical entity which, although it does not exist, has a series of properties and can produce a series of effects, … it is impossible but it produces a number of traumatic effects”. In *Welcome To The Desert Of The Real*, Žižek (2002, pp. 5-6) adds that “the ultimate and defining moment of the twentieth century was the direct experience of the Real as opposed to everyday social reality – the Real in its extreme violence as the price to be paid for peeling off the deceptive layers of reality”.

<sup>8</sup> Gunder (2016, p. 28) explained that the Imaginary “embodies our attempt through fantasy to conceal this elemental disjunction between the Symbolic and the Real”.

In addition, the Lacanian notion of ‘lack’ is located at the core of ESDA. “We put forward an ‘ontology of lack’, which is a negative ontology premised on the radical contingency of social relations”(Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 14). According to Lacan, everything – subject, structures and discourse – is incomplete and that there is always a ‘lack’ or structural incompleteness or ontological deficiency in the symbolic order. The analysis of reactions and relations of the subjects to the lack is the subject matter of the Lacanian School of psychoanalysis (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Following Lacan’s notion of ‘lack’, this approach,

posits structures as ontologically incomplete entities, affirming thereby the radical contingency of social objectivity. From this perspective, a key aspect of analysing social practices as a function of logics involves appreciating how practices are animated by incomplete structures on the one hand, and by the collective acts of identification that sustain or transform those incomplete structures, on the other.

(Glynos et al., 2012, p. 298)

The notion of lack presents the key term for ESDA and also for this thesis. It establishes a way to emphasise the historical and contingent characteristics of phenomena. Although this thesis applies many Lacanian concepts in its analysis, lack is at the core of its arguments.

### **3-3-2. Poststructuralism**

Post-structuralism refers to a movement of critical thought, which cannot be simply reduced to a state of shared assumptions, a method, a theory, or even a school. Post-structuralism is a critical response to scientific pretensions, particularly structuralism that was once a dominant school of thought in social science. Post-structuralism is not an abandonment of structure but rather a critical reflection upon its dynamics. In fact,

while systematically opposing rigid, oppressive, and monolithic structure, poststructuralism is not an invitation to irresponsible formlessness. Instead, poststructuralist critique celebrates the liberating potential within human forms and accepts the responsibility of reflecting upon them. In this respect, it is a kind of critical reading that champions writing, although its procedures can be extended, at least by analogy, to all human activities. (Payne & Barbera, 2010, p. 576)

Derrida (cited in Williams, 2005, p. 25) argued that poststructuralism does not mean “after” or over structuralism, conversely “‘post’ means ‘with but also different’”; namely, we accept and apply structural concepts, but develop them a step further. The poststructuralist point of view

provides a complementary view to the Marxist political economy approach in the policy-analysis and planning specially in terms of housing markets, as will be developed in subsequent chapters.

### **3-3-3. (Post)Marxism**

In the analysis of class struggle, Marx used concepts such as fetishism and alienation to explain the subjective dimensions of the political-economy, although he emphasised that they are not as important as structures. Marx (1999, p. 168) believed that,

it must never be forgotten that the production of this surplus value ... is the immediate purpose and compelling motive of capitalist production. It will never do, therefore, to represent capitalist production as something which it is not, namely as production whose immediate purpose is enjoyment of the manufacture of the means of enjoyment for the capitalist. This would be overlooking its specific character, which is revealed in all its inner essence.

In fact, Marx referred to a sort of psychological dimension in his analysis. He argued that there is a contradiction between desire for enjoyment, which emanates from consumption, and desire for investment for more interest or passion for accumulation. This contradiction is rooted in the immanent laws of capitalism which compel capitalists to “keep constantly extending [their] capital, in order to preserve capital” (Marx & Engels, 2008, p. 411). However, he later argued that “trade facilitates the production of surplus-products destined for exchange, in order to increase the enjoyments, or the wealth” (Marx, 1999, p. 222). This shows that Marx was aware of or at least mindful of the psychological aspects of political economy, particularly the capitalist mode of production; however, he could not develop it properly due to the limitation of knowledge in his time.

In this regard, ESDA assists in the analysis of the complex interrelation between structures and agencies as well as the economy and individual subjects via a combination of psychoanalysis and post-Marxism from a Lacanian view and through useful concepts such as ideology and hegemony, and different modes of enjoyment. As Sartre argued,

everyone knows and everyone admits that psychoanalysis and Marxism should be able to find the mediations necessary to allow a combination of the two. Everyone adds, of course, that psychoanalysis is not primary, but that correctly coupled and rationalized with Marxism, it can be useful. ... Everyone, in fact says it – but who has tried to do it? (Sartre, 1969, p. 43)

Following Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and Žižek (2008b), the founders of ESDA have attempted to develop an attitude, which intertwines with both Marxism and psychoanalysis. This research endeavours to apply this method to consider both subjective and objective dimensions of planning. The aim is to respond to the questions about subjective aspects of planning; for example, what are the drivers of actants' action in terms of surplus value? In addition, why do humans act in such a way that ignores the side effects and consequences of his decisions and sometimes exacerbates situations?

### **3-3-4. (Post)analytical school of thought**

Post-analytical philosophy is derived from analytical philosophy, particularly from Wittgenstein's works. However, this school of thought has developed as a dominant school of thought in English-speaking countries. American philosophers such as Richard Rorty, Hilary Putnam, and Charles Sanders Peirce have all advanced this philosophy. The term is closely associated with the much broader movement of contemporary pragmatism. As Chapter 1 explained, the post-analytical approach offers abductive and retroductive modes of reasoning for social science. Moreover, the main idea of the logic approach as a methodological solution for poststructuralist deficiencies has been developed based on this school of thought, particularly the early 20<sup>th</sup> century notions of Wittgenstein and Peirce (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

Drawing on Wittgenstein's language game, ESDA investigate a discourse as a relational configuration of elements that consist of agents or subjects, words and actions. Each element obtains meaning merely in relation to the others and within the context of a particular practice. A discourse consists of a system of signifiers and binds together a particular system of meaning or "chain of signifying" (Howarth, Norval, & Stavrakakis, 2000, p. 8). In fact, discourse holds the features of language for all meaningful structures and objects.

Institutions such as states and governance networks are conceptualised as sedimented systems of discourse. They render a partially fixed system of rules, norms, resources, practices and subjectivities that are linked together in particular ways. (Glynos et al., 2009, p. 8)

Thus, as Glynos and Howarth (2007, p. iii) argued ESDA "avoids the problems of scientism and subjectivism by steering a careful course between law-like explanation and thick [hermeneutical] description".

In sum, with recourse to Lacanian concepts, poststructuralism, (post)Marxism, and (post)analytical approaches, ESDA provides an appropriate tool to analyse social, political, and economic phenomena. To achieve this aim, ESDA offers a particular set of logics – social, political, and fantasmatic – to perform the ontological analyses of phenomena, practices, and regimes (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). As explained in Chapter 1, every practice works based on social or political logics with at least a dimension of fantasmatic logic, which supports the possibility of the practice. The next section explains the social, political, and fantasmatic logics of ESDA in detail.

### **3-4. Social logics**

Social logics are not simply equal to social orders; rather, social logics intervene to different degrees in the constitution of every social order (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Social logics are not formal logics, or even general dialectical logics or causal logics; rather, social logics imply a “rarefied system of objects, as a ‘grammar’ or cluster of rules which make some combinations and substitutions possible and exclude others” (Butler et al., 2000, pp. 76,77). Social logics often characterise what has been called ‘discourses’ such as ‘the logic of kinship’, ‘the logic of the market’, and so forth. Laclau (Butler et al., 2000, p. 76) stated that this kind of logic “coincides what in Lacanian theory is called the ‘symbolic’”. Therefore, the symbolic implies all terms of social life, social logics, or social practices. Each discourse works based on a system of relations between objects and practices, “while providing subjects different positions within this system of relations as agents” (Howarth et al., 2000, p. 3).

Social logics “characterise practices in a particular social domain, say the practices of consumption and exchange within an economy, or an entire regime of practices, egalitarian policies, Thatcherism, apartheid, or even the audit regime of a particular university” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 133). Furthermore, “social logics characterise the patterns of established practices by dominant organising principles” such as financial practices “with a whole range of managerial, technological, and economic norms and processes” (Glynos et al., 2012, p. 298). Social logics count as social insofar as the norms and process “are not put into question in the mode of public contestation” (Glynos et al., 2012, p. 298). Thus, social logics explain the dominant and accepted situations and relations within them so that everything looks natural to the eye of the beholder.

Every social order has its own political logics in the background. Indeed, political logics extend the ESDA argument beyond social logics to find what kind of power relations construct the current social logics. The next section explains how political logics are involved in a practice.

### **3-5. Political logics**

Political logics provide the means to explore how social practices are instituted, contested, and defended (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 133). Political logics explain the ways in which actants are involved in a practice and signify the social logic. Political logics can be explained through different logics such as the logics of equivalence and difference, and sameness which are the most important components of political logics. In addition, the Lacanian concepts of identification and identity assist to explain political logics, which are related to the different ways within which a subject is confronted with an identified lack. The Marxist and Gramscian notions of ideology and hegemony play important roles in the realm of political logics. Through a Lacanian lens, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) deployed the Marxist concepts of ideology and hegemony to explain the political forces and formations in a society. In this regard, ideology and hegemony will be explained in sections 3-7. Importantly, political logics relate to the formation and/or the contestation or challenges against a hegemonic social logic (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

As explained previously, one of the most important notions of Lacan is ontological lack, which is at the core of this thesis. As discussed, lack is located in the realm of the symbolic order. Žižek (2008b) argued that the constitutive lack in the symbolic order has a contingent entity which forces subjects to struggle over recognition of the pressure of lack on the symbolic order. Here, Laclau (2005) argues that a promising empty signifier emerges (what Lacan termed a master signifier), which “signals the introjection of this signifier as ‘enigma-plus-promise’ that accounts for a *common identification (yet) a common identity*” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 130). This is in itself the cause for another series of struggles between subjects over its meaning. The result of these struggles (political logics) is a new symbolic order (social logic) as a series of signifiers and significations, which are constituted around and in relation to an identified lack.

Therefore, the axiom is that every system of social relations, or every system of meaning, is constitutively lacking for a (human)subject. Namely, “every symbolic order is penetrated by an impossibility that has to be filled or covered-over for it to constitute itself” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 14). Hence, a new signifying chain is often set in order to cover over the lack in the symbolic order. The new signifying chain frames a new symbolic order or alternatively, a new

discourse. The new discourse with a series of institutions, organisations, actors, and regulations makes what is named by ESDA as a new social logic.

In order to establish and distinguish a new discursive formation, it is necessary to put limitations and boundaries (e.g. regulations) on the discourse. This is possible by means of political logics including a sameness logic that is referred to the subjects' identification with these new boundaries as signifiers in the symbolic order. It makes collective actions and consequently changes possible. Namely, new discourse operates via "hypergoods" such as god, justice, democracy, or "self-determining freedom" as boundaries which "are constituted, reproduced, and transformed through political identification and collective mobilisation" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, pp. 72-73). These boundaries or regulations are compulsory for political identification and power struggles or political oppression.

To understand the political logic function, it is necessary to distinguish between identity and identification. "The subject is thus no more than a void in the symbolic order whose identity and character is determined only by its identifications and mode of enjoyment" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 119). Empty signifiers (Laclau, 2005) play an important role in this regard; within a discourse, signifiers define and attribute a chosen meaning by specific actors without a common identity. The empty signifiers function as enigma-plus-promise. The empty signifiers promise a meaning, which make a political struggle possible – "subjects are engaged in a search for identity and a struggle over meaning" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 131). While, the promise, in itself, implies eventual completeness in a symbolic order.

However, from the Lacanian point of view, ontologically, every symbolic order is penetrated by a lack or an impossibility. Accordingly, the promise is not always valid and the subject's mode of being in some situations and moments – dislocatory moments such as an economic crisis or antagonistic reaction of a minority or an isolated group – "is disrupted by an experience that cannot be symbolised within and by the pre-existing means of discursive representation" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 14). The dislocatory event re-activates the contingent foundations of a discourse, which previously emerged to cover over an identified lack. The dislocatory event most likely causes change in individuals' behavioural responses and collective actions. The dislocation makes the lack visible and puts the dominant norms in public contestation. As a result, the initial promised meaning/identity fails. Therefore, the contingency or the undecidability of social structures will be visible. Namely, the subject is not able to analyse and decide on whether the existing promises and identifications are valid or not. Here, "subjects are literally compelled to engage in acts of identification" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 129).

Alignment with existing dominant identifications appear to be compulsory for actants. At this moment,

[t]he incorporation of the individual into the symbolic order occurs through identification. The individual is not simply an identity within the structure but is transformed by it into a subject, and this requires acts of identifications. (Laclau, 1990, p. 211)

This act of subject identification is a necessity for the discourse to cover the void in the symbolic. Nevertheless, the dislocatory event might end in new chains of signifiers as a new discourse/a new social logic.

Two sets of logics of equivalence and difference (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) assist us to explain the ways within which discourses associated their radical contingencies construct new signifiers and meanings. ESDA “invoke[s] Laclau and Mouffe’s logics of equivalence and difference to investigate the way in which the traces of radical contingency associated with the original institution of practices and regimes can in certain circumstances be reactivated by subjects, thus enabling them to construct new meanings, practices and identities” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 15).

Equivalence logic involves providing a series of signifiers and significations – identifications – in order to exclude “radical otherness that has no measure with the differential system from which it is excluded” (Torfing, 1999, p. 124). Therefore, equivalence logic asserts what are the criteria or limitations of the new emergent discourse for being otherness. Consequently, otherness is posited as a threat to the constituted discourse. As a result, the logic of equivalence makes two opposite antagonistic poles in society. It divides social space into two opposite groups of friends and enemies.

Conversely, as Laclau and Mouffe (cited in Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 144) explained “if the logic of equivalence involves the simplification of signifying space, the logic of difference involves its expansion and complexification”. However, difference logic usually retains the two opposite groups of the included and excluded; it breaks the frontier lines into more groups to maintain a dominant social logic. For example, the government’s policy in South Africa prior to apartheid divided inhabitants into two groups of white and non-white. The logic of apartheid applied a difference logic to divide black people into several nations in order to “ensure their continued economic exploitation and political domination by ‘whites’” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 138). Therefore, the logic of difference tries to keep elements distinct, separate, and

autonomous; that is, the logic of difference is the application of “the age-old practice of ‘divide and rule’” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 145). The difference logic can act as an indirect system of rule to raise differences and separate people into different ethnic groups to prevent a united generalised challenge to the dominant regime.

Furthermore, the concept of ‘articulation’ was initially used by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) in order to explain how social practices occur and social actants behave through two logics of equivalence and difference. In fact, these two logics function through logics of convergence and divergence to make political and social phenomena possible. Articulation is a practice which

[C]onsists in the construction of nodal points<sup>9</sup> which partially fix meaning; and the partial character of this fixation proceeds from the openness of the social, a result, in its turn, of the constant overflowing of every discourse by the infinitude of the field of discursivity. (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, p. 113)

Therefore, every social practice is a result of an articulatory practice. Since the subjects’ identifications will never be completed, each articulation is merely a result of a singular moment, when a singular meaning is fixed by a common identity.

In addition, a dominant discourse may apply different kinds of logics including political technologics, financial tools, modelling, and advanced computerised techno-logics (Glynos et al., 2012) as well as economic logics or metrics to legitimise its suggested solutions for filling the lack.

To sum up, political logics explain those situations through which contingency is reflected and posed in public contestation. In these public contestation, subjects defend or challenge the norms of a specific social practice. Political logics explain how social practices are signified by subjects. Political logics may operate as pre-empted contestation or restore social logics and norms. In addition, these logics may sometimes challenge social realities and practices. Hence, the concept of contingency not only acts as the initiator for a new discourse but also it is the terminator for the previous one (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

It seems the two mentioned logics of the social and political can assist to explain social phenomena. The two logics elucidate a “subject-dependent” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 15) explanation of how subjects individually and collectively are involved in practices; however,

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<sup>9</sup> Nodal Point: According to Laclau (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) nodal points are the moments within which signifying chains “stabilize the flow of meanings”(Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 179). Thus, a certain, fixed meaning is attributed to a signifier which relatively constitutes identification. These momentary identification unify social and political logics.

these logics need “something more”, another dimension beyond subjects but connected to the interrelation and inter-subjectivity dimensions of social reality to render an approach appropriate to the hermeneutical multi-layered challenges in social science (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 15). This “something more” has been explained by Althusser, Žižek, Laclau, Butler, Glynos and Howarth as an ideological and ethical dimension. These “ideological and ethical dimensions of social reality capture the way subjects are either complicit in concealing the radical contingency of social relations (the ideological), or are attentive to its constitutive character (the ethical)” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 14). The next section explains how the ideological and ethical aspects including different modes of enjoyment, are involved in a social practice. ESDA sets these dimensions of social reality as fantasmatic logics.

### **3-6. Fantasmatic logics**

Fantasmatic logics can be explained by drawing on a range of different concepts including ideology, different modes of enjoyment, need, demand, big Other, object petit *a*, desire, drive, and the explanations of those feelings and emotions, which assist a particular ideology to act normally and consistently in terms of society’s beliefs. These concepts will be explained in this section. According to Glynos and Howarth (2007, p. 15):

if political logics are most closely associated with the political dimension of social relations, *fantasmatic logics* are closely linked to the ideological dimension. More precisely, with the logic of fantasy we aim to capture a particularly powerful way in which subjects are rendered complicit in concealing or covering over the radical contingency of social relations.

Following Žižek (2008a), the ideological dimension is manifest not in what we know, but in what we do, in the practices and behaviours in which we persist, even when we know better. Namely, Žižek “is calling our attention to the way that we all, in contemporary consumer-driven entertainment society, enjoy popular culture and the way this enjoyment binds us into ideological formation that supports global capital” (Dean, 2006, p. xvi). In fact, fantasmatic logic reveals our emotional investment in that promise that rewards us with more enjoyment (Žižek, 2008a).

If social and political logics provide the reasons and explanations for *how* practices and policies come into being, fantasmatic logics provide “the means to understand *why* specific practices grip subjects” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 145). Fantasmatic logics assist social orders and political practices to appear as normal and natural. Accordingly, “the logic of fantasy provides us with the means to talk about the subject’s mode of enjoyment, and thus about the way the ideological

and ethical dimensions of socio-political reality are foregrounded or backgrounded” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 132).

As mentioned, the critical-explanatory concepts of ESDA – social, political, and fantasmatic logics – “are explicitly linked to the ‘lack’ … in any given symbolic order or the radical contingency at the heart of Being” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 82). Therefore, all other concepts are meaningful in their relation to this ontological lack.

As the discussion on political logics (section 3-5) explained, every symbolic order is ontologically penetrated by a lack or an impossibility. In dislocatory moments such as an economic crisis, the symbolic order “is disrupted by an experience that cannot be symbolised within and by the pre-existing means of discursive representation”. As explained, this experience or thing that cannot be symbolised – the Real – creates pressure on the symbolic order. The dislocatory event re-activates the contingent foundations of a discourse and makes the lack – the lack of the Real – visible.

The lack is the cause of a series of struggles between subjects to present a new social logic in order to cover over the lack. Political logics revealed that subjects deploy promises or empty signifiers to create a fantasy to cover over the lack and maintain the existing social order. In doing so, fantasmatic logics assist social logics and political logics in two phases: first, in shaping new social orders and subsequently, in their maintenance. In short and as Laclau stated, “if political logics concern signifying operations”, fantasmatic logics attempt to explain “the force behind those operations” (Laclau, 2005, p. 101).

Glynos and Howarth (2007, p. 82) stressed, this lack shows a “radical contingency at the heart of being, or more particularly a ‘lack’” in social orders such as foundational primary human needs including education, shelter, and health care. According to Lacan, when the need is articulated in language it is introduced as a “demand” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 124). Needs articulated in demands are responded to by the Other. In Lacanian methodology, the locus of the Other is filled by any subject, for example a mother who is supposed “to minister to the infant’s needs” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 38) or an institution including a government, cabinet, or planning institution which is supposed to provide for a lack such as that of housing. According to Žižek (Butler et al., 2000, p. 133), “‘the Other’ does not designate merely the explicit symbolic rules, regulations, and social interactions,” it also indicates the sets of “unwritten ‘implicit’ rules” which indeed regulate our actions.

Regarding political logics, responses to demands such as social or public problems, or at least claims to respond to these, are always the subject of political debates, especially at the time of elections within societies (Laclau, 2005).

When subjects face a revealed lack in the social order – rules or situations that they cannot decide how to deal with or comply with – both the symbolic order itself and the subject try to articulate themselves in that specific moment through different processes and types of identification. This is what Lacan named a trauma in the case of finding a constitutive lack in the symbolic order when “no imaginable experience could enable us to deduce from datum” (Lacan, 2006, p. 376). Facing lack creates anxiety in the subject. Lacan argued that fantasy is “a way of defending oneself against [facing]… the lack in Other” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 61). “Fantasy is understood as a narrative that covers-over the subject’s lack by providing an image of fullness, wholeness, or harmony, on the one hand, while conjuring up threats and obstacles to its realization on the other” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 130). Adding to the discussion on the political logics (section 3-5), the function and process of identification within the existing symbolic order defines the individual and collective responses to the revealed lack.

According to Glynos and Howarth (2007), Dean (2008, 2012), and Žižek (2008a), the Lacanian concept of ‘enjoyment’ assists us to understand how subjects are faced by the lack and involved in a particular practice. In fact, when a fantasy through the deployment of an empty signifier, such as the promise of ‘affordable housing’<sup>10</sup> is “successfully installed, a fantasmatic narrative hooks the subject – via the enjoyment it procures – to a given practice or order, or a promised future practice or order, thus conferring identity” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 130). Therefore, the fantasy represents an enigma that promises meaning or a common identity. This suggests that the categories of enjoyment and fantasy are related to the issues of ideology and fantasmatic logics – according to ESDA, as fantasmatic logics explain the logics within which subjects are involved in complicity or collaboration with social and political logics; they present the ethical logics of our practices.

Namely, fantasmatic logics contain suppressive dimensions for a social practice and suppress its political dimensions – contingencies. Fantasmatic logics in the case of a revealed lack or abyss “give us a direction and energy with a new promising enjoyment to cover the abyss and to capture

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<sup>10</sup> In most policies, the aim is allegedly to provide affordable housing. However, affordable housing may refer to a wide range of products such as rental housing, social housing, shared ownership, and individual ownership for low to moderate income groups. In many cases, it is not clear what kinds of affordable housing the policy refers to or which decile groups are supposedly able to afford the house. Does the criteria include household or personal income? There are many questions and challenges that in practice give rise to ambiguities and problems.

us in the existing symbolic order” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 147). Thus, if political logics can be explained based on the logic of equivalence and difference, fantasmatic logics are defined on the basis of obscuring/closing the lack or “the function of closure” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 151).

Essentially, this feeling of closure and apparent completeness brings enjoyment to the subject. As Žižek (2008a) argued, the subject’s mode of enjoyment is what captures a subject’s mode of being. Based on the Lacanian attitude, some concepts, particularly desire, drive, and *jouissance*, assist us to interpret and to analyse how the mode of enjoyment can be categorised.

In fact, drive and desire refer to two ways in which “the subject arranges her[his] enjoyment (*jouissance*)” (Dean, 2012, p. 65). The following paragraphs will explain these concepts in relation to the concern of this thesis.

Lacan distinguished between need, demand, desire, and drive. As mentioned above, a need must be articulated in language in the form of a demand to be addressed and to be satisfied. However, in the process of articulating needs into demands, “something else [is] introduced which causes a split between needs and demands” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 124). Lacan argued that the result of this split “is an insatiable leftover which is desire” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 125). Thus, needs articulated in demands can be responded to and satisfied. However, desire can never be satisfied; it is “neither the appetite for satisfaction, nor the demand for love” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 38). Desire is the surplus produced by the articulation of need to demand. “The realisation of desire does not consist in being fulfilled, but in the reproduction of desire as such” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 38).

Nevertheless, why can desire never be satisfied? In fact, while there is an object, whose needs and demands the big Other can help to materialise, there is not a relation to an object for desire; rather, the object of desire is object petit *a* which is the cause of desire. In Hegelian terms, it can be defined as desire for being ‘desired’, or ‘loved’, or ‘recognised’ (Kojève & Queneau, 1969); for example, prestige can be a series of characteristics that we desire to have in the face of others within our communities.

For Lacan, the object petit *a*, which is inspired by Marx’s concept of surplus value, is both a surplus meaning, and a surplus enjoyment; namely, object petit *a* is not an object; rather, it is the excess of enjoyment “which has no ‘use value’, but persists for the mere sake of enjoyment” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 129). Specifically, Žižek (2008b, p. 51) considered the homology between Marxist surplus value and Lacanian surplus enjoyment in the continuity of capitalism

and as the logic of capitalism. Therefore, for Žižek, the approach to surplus enjoyment assists to open a complementary ground for the critique of capitalism. Briefly, the logic of lack and excess in subjectivity is the fantasmatic logic of capitalism. The subject's desire can never be satisfied; the subject wants more and more in a never-ending process. Žižek explained how according to Marx, a commodity is not simply buying and consuming something; rather, it is also a metaphysical and ideological thing; it presents and reflects an invisible transcendent mysterious thing. Žižek explains how manipulation of surplus enjoyment is a source of surplus and profit. Namely, the homologous logic of existence of lack which produces a constitutive and constant surplus for both Marxian surplus value and Lacanian surplus enjoyment is, according to Žižek, a logic that "Marx did not succeed in taking into account" (Žižek, 2008b, p. 51) – it is the logic for the operation of capitalism as a totality.

Although desire emerges originally in the field of the Other, such as law, government, and in the ideological dimension of practices, it still exists in relation to others – other actors in a society.

The most important point to emerge from Lacan's phrase is that desire is a social product. Desire is not the private affair it appears to be but is always constituted in a dialectical relationship with the perceived desires of other subjects. (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 39)

As mentioned, an ontological lack, such as an 'economic crisis', 'lack of affordable shelter', or any other failures in providing equitable rights for citizens, causes desire for a 'public good', 'housing', or 'democracy' within a symbolic order (a dominant discourse). Indeed, emergence of the identified lack creates desire for a subject to cover it. In this regard, the desire is always unique and requires a search for a common meaning. A fantasmatic logic, such as the 'free market as the best mechanism for a common good' or 'affordable housing for all' produced by the symbolic order in the form of a signifying chain, attempts to hold this desire for completeness. Hence, the fantasy, by promising a discourse to cover the lack, is supposed to provide the subject's particular mode of *jouissance* – enjoyment.

However, Lacan refers to two concepts, or functions, in relation to desire for filling the lack: desire and drive. Object petit *a* is a surplus of enjoyment, if only a tiny one. It is an excess, an annoyingly impossible object between the three Lacanian spaces of the imaginary, the symbolic, and the Real. Fantasy promises to provide a subject with this kind of excess, this mysterious *jouissance*. This is what policies and plans do in the subjective level of planning by providing fantasies such as 'liveable cities', 'housing for all', 'sustainability', among many words or empty

signifiers (Gunder & Hillier, 2009). Plans and policies promise to cover lack – for instance lack of housing – by provision of the object of desire. However, to Lacan, drive and desire are different but closely related in relation to the identified lack. “Desire is one and undivided, whereas the drives are partial manifestations of desire” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 49). In other words, if object petit *a* sets desire in motion to seek an object, “drive do not seek to attain the object petit *a*, but rather circle around it” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 128). As Žižek (Žižek, 2008a, p. 147) argued, drive is a “stuckness” for a subject on a “certain impossible point around which it circulates, obeying a ‘compulsion to repeat’”. Namely, “desire is ground in its constitutive lack, while drive circulates around [it]” (Žižek, 2008a, p. 327).

If the aim of desire is to attain the object petit *a* or *jouissance* through filling the lack, drive knows that it is easier and more joyful to attain and maintain *jouissance* through circulation around the lack. Žižek (2008a) and Dean (2012) explained that the drive function is possible only in the case of inverting fantasy. Therefore, drive is the remainder of desire after its subject inverts the fantasy and makes us able to attain excess enjoyment from the ontological lack itself instead of over striving to fill the lack (Žižek, 2008a).

Lacan argued that objects of drives are partial objects not because they are parts of a total object, but because “they represent only partially the function that produces them. In other words, in the unconscious only the pleasure-giving function of these objects is presented” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 138). In this manner, during the function of drive, the whole function or other dimensions of function are missed. According to Žižek (2008a, p. 328),

While, as Lacan emphasizes, the *objet a* is also the object of the drive, the relationship is here thoroughly different: although, in both cases, the link between object and loss is crucial, in the case of the *objet a* as the object-cause of *desire*, we have an object which is originally lost, which coincides with its own loss, which emerges as lost, while, in the case of the *objet a* as the object of the drive, the ‘object’ is *directly the loss itself* – in the shift from desire to drive, we pass from the *lost object to loss itself as an object*. That is to say, the weird movement called ‘drive’ is not driven by the ‘impossible’ quest for the lost object; it is a *push to directly enact the ‘loss’ – the gap, cut, distance – itself*. There is thus a *double* distinction to be drawn here: not only between the *objet a* in its fantasmatic and post-fantasmatic status, but also, within this post-fantasmatic domain itself, between the lost object-cause of desire and the object-loss of drive.

Accordingly, the Lacanian fantasmatic logics must be understood as the ways within which subjects organise their enjoyment; however, it is not limited to the function of fantasy (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Žižek, 2008a). As explained above, the mode of enjoyment for subjects has been constructed based on different functions of both desire and drive. As Dean (2006) and Žižek (2008a) argued, the function of current social reality can be analysed based on the politics of *jouissance*/enjoyment and economies of enjoyment. Therefore, the ideological dimensions of our society are more than a discursive formation covering over the fundamental incompleteness or ontological lack and impossibility of society; moreover, these dimensions determine our “irrational nugget of enjoyment” (Dean, 2008, p. 52) which exceeds the meaning or significance that an ideological formation provides. Ideological fantasies organise and arrange this excess thereby providing – or promising to provide – the subject with enjoyment.

In this regard, this thesis deploys the difference between the functions of drive and desire to determine the ways that subjects arrange their enjoyment to explain how a policy such as metropolitan growth management works but without meeting its actual objectives. Desire is unique; we have an object of desire, an extra enjoyment, which the subject expects to gain through filling the lack in the symbolic order, even though it is impossible to achieve. Namely, the aim and goal of the subject is filling the revealed lack such as affordable housing. Dean (2012, p. 65) stated that “drive differs in that enjoyment comes from missing one’s goal; it’s what the subject gets even if she doesn’t want it”. Therefore, for drive, “enjoyment is that little extra charge which keeps the subject keeping on. The subject’s repeated yet ever failing efforts to reach her goal become satisfying on their own” (Dean, 2012, p. 66). Dean (2012, p. 66) argued that drive structures our action in a circle that goes around and around, so that

[w]e perpetually miss our goal and get satisfaction through this very missing. Or we don’t even have an actual goal, and we take the absence of a goal to be a strength. We talk, complain, and protest. We make groups on Facebook. We sign petitions and forward them to everyone in our contact list. Activity becomes passivity, our stuckness in a circuit, which is then mourned as the absence of ideas or even the loss of the political itself and then routed yet again through a plea for democracy, although it doesn’t take a genius to know the real problem is capitalism.

This thesis contends that what has been happening in the area of planning concerning housing policies and particularly UGMPs has a fantasmatic logics which can be explained based on the different functions of subjective desire and drive. Indeed, fantasmatic logics explains how we as planners have a desire to fill the lack of housing in a society. We usually start with a land supply

policy to provide affordable housing for wide varieties of groups. However, we end in the circuits of drive to gain more surplus value/enjoyment from speculative investment in the new areas of development. In fact, contemporary capitalism through the structuring drive in actants – planners, households, citizens, planning organisations, and the state – encourages them to take an “amplified role of speculative finance” for “an extra and more, new opportunities, unforeseen pleasures, chances, and risks that if we don’t take someone else will, the very chances and risks that derivatives commodify and on which high finance speculates” (Dean, 2012, p. 148).

To summarise, Glynos et al. (2012) clarify that fantasmatic logics encompass and helps determine social reality. Indeed, the ways within which actants act in a dominant hegemonic social order and its values can be explained via three logics – fantasmatic logics, political logics and social logics. According to Glynos (2001), fantasmatic logics provides both the social and political logics with their ideological grip on the actants of planning.

### **3-7. Ideology and hegemony**

In addition to the three logics – social, political, and fantasmatic – concepts of ideology and hegemony assist us to explain different social practices. In fact, ideology and hegemony assist us to comprehend the operations of the three mentioned logics of a phenomenon/practice in more depth.

#### **3-7-1. What is ideology?**

In the beliefs of most people, ideology belongs to totalitarian and non-democratic regimes and the contemporary Western world lives freely in the democratic post-ideological era. While the current political situation in the world shows that most states only pretend to have a democratic system of government, the question is, what does the concept of ideology refer to? This thesis contends that the Lacanian approach in combination with a post-Marxist notion of ideology presents an appropriate answer to this question. In this regard, the notion of ideology as an “intersubjective phenomena” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 220) can be explained in the relationship between subject and others within every form of governmentality and society. In order to comprehend what the Lacanian derived approach may signify about ideology, it is necessary to discuss the origin of the concept and its historical background.

To respond to the question of ideology, ESDA refers to a combination of Althusserian Marxism, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and Saussurean linguistics. Therefore, ideology has been shaped on the basis of an intellectual tradition which refers to the unconscious medium of habitual

behaviour (Payne & Barbera, 2010). In ESDA, the concept of ideology has been influenced by the work of many thinkers, including Marx, Gramsci, Althusser, Laclau, Mouffe, and Žižek (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

According to McLellan (1986), ideology is the most elusive yet most essential and contested concept in social science. As Žižek (2008b) argued, the very elementary definition of ideology goes back to Marx. Orthodox Marxism believed that ruling class-interests determine and justify ideology; consequently, ideology, as a dominant ideology, integrates superstructures (law, political systems, religion). Orthodox Marxism attributes negative meanings to ideology such as misrecognition, distorted representation, false consciousness, and the commodity fetishism. Marx's famous quotation describes his concept of ideology: "They don't know it, but they are doing it" (cited in Žižek, 2008b, p. 16). Therefore, ideology is merely presented as an epiphenomenal illusion to be dispelled by positive science. Positivism and consciousness are deemed a resolution to the false-consciousness or ideology of humans. Later, Marxism was criticised because it believed that the human mind spontaneously misrepresents external objects presented in sense experience (Torfing, 1999).

Althusser (2008[1971]) elaborated the notion of ideology, which Marx (Marx & Engels, 1970) had initiated and Gramsci (2001) had developed. However, Althusser was greatly influenced by Lacan (Gunder, 2010; Payne & Barbera, 2010). In fact, an articulation between Marxism and psychoanalysis provided a materialist account of how subjects were constituted in, and by, ideology. Althusser (2008[1971]) built on the work of Lacan to understand the way that ideology functions in society. He approximated ideology to Lacan's understanding of the "social reality" of the world we construct around us after our entrance into the symbolic order as opposed to the Marxist understanding of ideology or false consciousness. Namely, it is impossible to access the "real conditions of existence" due to our reliance on language (Žižek, 1994, p. 124). However, through a rigorous and profound investigation of society, economics, and history, at least, we can come close to perceiving the ways that we are inscribed in ideology by complex processes of recognition. Althusser's understanding of ideology has in turn influenced a number of important (post)Marxist thinkers, including Mouffe, Laclau, and Žižek.

As Žižek (2008b, p. 50) maintains, Marxist ideology is different from Lacanian in that according to the Marxist perspective, the "ideological gaze is a partial gaze overlooking the totality of social relations, whereas the Lacanian perspective ... designates [ideology as] a totality set on effacing the traces of its own impossibility", or its contingency. Freedon (cited in Gunder, 2010) maintains that the Lacanian approach provides a new way of understanding ideology as the unconscious.

Lacan (2006, p. 10) emphasised that “the unconscious is the Other’s discourse”. According to Lacan, the Other must first of all be considered as a locus, a locus in which discourse is constituted. Therefore, Other as government, market interest, ruler, leader, law-making institution, or decision-making institution, takes this locus to produce a widespread discourse as an ideology. In this regard, ideology constitutes a set of fantasmatic, social and political logics to make possible a specific practice or social order.

Laclau (1977, 2005) contended that meaning is not inherent in elements of an ideology; rather, these elements function as empty signifiers whose meaning is only fixed by political logics such as articulation and equivalence. An ideology is signified in relation to a ‘lack’ or ‘contingency’. “Ideology’s very function is to fantastically conceal such relations and structures of domination by keeping radical contingency at bay” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 198).

The ideological dimension signals the way in which the subject becomes complicit in covering over the radical contingency of social relations by identifying with a particular discourse. In this sense, ideology involves the way a subject *misrecognizes* its real conditions of existence. Indeed, the hold of this misrecognition inures or insulates the subject from the vagaries of the structural dislocation that always threaten to disrupt it. (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 117)

According to the Žižekian interpretation of ideology “it is a fantasy-construction” or an “illusion which structures our effective, real social relations and thereby masks some insupportable, real, impossible kernel” (Žižek, 2008b, p. 45). In this regard, ideology assists to explain the fantasmatic logics of our practices. However, ideology exhibits symptoms instead of causes. It blurs the distinction between surface and depth. Ideology renders incomprehensible social situations, the meaningful and the reasonable; thereupon, we can spontaneously act within and on them (Žižek, 2008b).

“Žižek believes that ideology is manifest not in what we know, but in what we do, in the practices and behaviours in which we persist even as we know better” (Dean, 2006, p. xvii). Following Lacan, Žižek argued that the way of ideological formation is explained through the function of the economy of enjoyment and by the politics of enjoyment to “forbid, permit, direct, and command enjoyment” (Dean, 2006, p. 8). Accordingly, ideological formation is not only a set of different elements constituted as a set of virtues at a certain nodal point, or as a discursive formation that covers over the fundamental incompleteness and impossibility of society, it also works and needs a fantasy construction to support and hold it. To perform this, the fantasy

explains the completeness of lack in a way that promises and produces enjoyment for the subject. Žižek (2008b, p. 43) offered a play on the words ideological “jouis-sense, in sense (enjoy-meant)” to utter how through an ideology a meaning is performed by irrational enjoyment.

In addition, Laclau and Mouffe (1985), through a Lacanian approach, clarified how an ideology takes a hegemonic situation in a society, as has been explained in the discussion on political logics (section 3-5) and will be explained in more detail in the following sections.

### **3-7-2. What is hegemony?**

As Mouffe (1979a, p. 3) expounded, Gramsci inverted Marxist theory by theorising the hegemonic ideology of capitalism: first, a preference for the ideological superstructures over economic structures, and second, the primacy of civil society (consensus) over political society (force). Accordingly, the concepts of ideology and hegemony are not separable and they can be defined alongside each other. Furthermore, under the hegemonic regime of fascism, Gramsci (Gramsci, 2001; Mouffe, 1979b) endeavoured to analyse everyday life based on his theory of cultural hegemony. According to Gramsci, everyday life is not merely a political and ideological superstructure as a subordinate to an economic base; rather, Gramsci developed the theory of hegemony to emphasise the importance of everyday life in either maintaining or fracturing the status quo of structures.

Gramsci (2001) exerted the term ‘hegemony’ to analyse the way in which the ruling – capitalist – class or integral state establishes and maintains its power and control. Indeed, he argued that capitalism, in the form of the integral state, permeates all superstructures and maintains and justifies its dominance through two principles of coercion and hegemonic ideology; for example, managing an election to win through active consensus. According to Mouffe (1979a, p. 11), Gramsci contended that hegemony is “a general interpretative category which applies to all forms of articulation of the interests of a fundamental class to those of other social groups in the creation of collective will”. In addition, Gramsci coined the phrase ‘passive revolution’ to explicate the most usual form of hegemony of the bourgeoisie involving a mode of articulation whose aim is to neutralise other social forces.

Later, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) developed the theory of hegemony and ideology from the Gramscian concept of ‘war of position’ as the starting point but through a Lacanian approach. As Laclau and Mouffe (1985) contended, hegemony expresses the successful contestation of power. They argued that hegemony is the consequence of an articulation of different political, economic, and governmental relations as a linkage of different discursive elements (Carpentier

& Cammaerts, 2006). Consequently, hegemony often works through ideology to impose its conquering logics (social, political, and fantasmatic) on all aspects of a society.

According to Laclau, what characterises a hegemonic ideology is its attempt to cover over its ontological lack, its contingent character, its radical historicity, and the ultimate susceptibility to dislocation (Stavrakakis, 1997). Despite the solidity and impenetrable appearance of a hegemonic ideology, it is rendered vulnerable by its attempt to conceal its contingency. In fact, ideology is accepted by the idea of homogeneity. Through homogeneity, hegemony tries to overcome every contingency as a rival discourse or a resistance. As mentioned in the fantasmatic logics section (3-6), fantasy attempts to negate, to master, the symptoms (pressures) of a lack. If social fantasy produces the self-consistency of a certain ideological manner and structure “it can do so only by presenting the symptom as an alien, disturbing intrusion, and not as the point of the otherwise hidden truth of the existing social order” (Žižek, 1991, p. 40). When a series of meanings and structures constituting a discourse are assisted by a fantasmatic logic – the specific mode of enjoyment attributed to the discourse – when successfully they become hegemonic. The social logic(s) under this hegemonic ideology appear so normal and natural that members of a society fail to see that they are the result of political practices. At this point, the discourse reaches the level of ‘common sense’, in that its origins and intrinsic contingency are obscured and forgotten (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985).

The practices of articulation through which a given order is created and the meaning of social institutions is fixed, are what we call ‘hegemonic practice’. ... What is at a given moment accepted as ‘natural order’, jointly with the common sense that accompanies it, is the result of sedimented hegemonic practices (Mouffe, 2008, p. 4).

A hegemonic theory of ideology contends that an ideology is hegemonic if its perceptions, attempts, terms of debates, regulations, and orders – fantasies – are taken for granted (Glynos, 2001). Therefore, according to Laclau and Mouffe (Glynos, 2001; Laclau, 1998; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985), counter hegemonic logic would make contingencies visible. The most elementary social observation shows that the dislocatory events, by producing a certain lack, generates continuous attempts at the ideological level to cover over that lack which is always re-emerging. Thus, these dislocations have a dual characteristic: “on the one hand they threaten identities, on the other, they are the foundation on which new identities are founded” (Laclau, 1990, p. 39).

As “hegemony is never fully complete and the condition of the politics is the incompleteness” (Torfing, 1999, p. 183), it should come out as protest followed by the collapse and overthrow of the hegemony. Nevertheless, this often does not happen; because, the hegemonic ideology attempts to apply further fantasy to continue its hegemonic relations over alternative claims or ideologies (Žižek, 2008a).

In short, “ideology describes the situation in which the social subject misrecognises the lack in the symbolic Other by identifying a particular concrete content with what Laclau calls an empty signifier” (Glynos, 2001, p. 198). To Laclau (1996), this empty signifier promises to make possible the fullness of a lack; for example, ‘Justice for All’ is an empty signifier that promises justice for an unjust situation. Fantasy as a means of ideology is “the centrality of dislocation in human experience; it is the repression of every trace of the Real of the social [interconnectivity]” (Stavrakakis, 1997, p. 6).

To Laclau and Mouffe (1985), the Derridean notion of indecisiveness or undecidability is related to the concept of hegemony. Therefore, hegemony can be seen as a “theory of the decision taken in an undecidable terrain” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, p. xi). At the moment of undecidability, a particular discourse by means of political logics can take a hegemonic place in a society, whereas fantasmatic logics provide assistance in shaping and maintaining the hegemonic discourse through the ideological levels of that particular discourse (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

During the constant and complicated functions of political, social and fantasmatic logics, the meanings of signs can become relatively fixed or unfixed. The moment of fixed meaning is the hegemonic moment for the discourse and the ideology (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). The constitution of a discourse involves the deployment of a series of signifiers to structure a meaning. Every signifier is meaningful merely in relation to other signifiers; thus, a signifier that signifies a certain meaning in one discourse may have another meaning in another discourse. When a series of signifiers attempt to fix a meaning, this function happens through a nodal point or ‘point de capiton’. To Lacan (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 151) “the point de capiton are points at which ‘signified and signifiers are knotted together’”. They bind together a particular system of meaning or chain of signification to other signifiers within a discourse. The nodal points make it possible for a hegemonic ideology to emerge and take advantage over other discourses. Finally, a hegemonic discourse makes a particular institution possible and another institution impossible.

At this point, most subjects accept the hegemonic discourse/ideology as ‘reality’ or ‘natural’. Therefore, hegemony is reliant less on repressive state apparatuses of the police than it is on

those Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) by which ideology is inculcated in all subjects. As Althusser (1977, p. 182) argued:

The individual is interpellated as a (free) subject in order that he [sic] shall submit freely to the commandments of the Subject, i.e. in order that he [sic] shall (freely) accept his[sic] subjection, i.e. in order that he shall make the gestures and actions of his subjection ‘all by himself’.

In particular, hegemonic ideology through fantasy construction provides a cushion for subjects to maintain and hold the hegemony.

However, as Laclau (Butler et al., 2000; Laclau, 1990) argued, sometimes a desire emerges at times of dislocation when events occur that cannot be symbolised and integrated into existing discourses. Namely, subjects attempt to overcome dislocation, suture dislocated spaces and fill an identified lack through construction of a new discourse. “According to Laclau desire is required for structure of a hegemony” (Žižek, 2008a, p. 328). As mentioned in the discussion on fantasmatic logics (section 3-6), desire is unique and wistful in filling a lack. This works through the provision of a fantasy to fill an identified lack such as lack of affordable housing. Here, a fantasy is formed based on a promise to fill the lack or deficiency (Allmendinger & Gunder, 2005; Gunder, 2003a, 2011b). The fantasy of a better life that housing policies will provide for people and specifically for low-income groups can support a justice-oriented ideology of a government.

Thus, planning as an apparatus of government/state (Other) plays the role of state assistant in filling the lack and covering over the contingency. According to Gunder (2010, p. 305), planning is a facilitator for the state to “normalize and internalize the dominant logic of state in the minds and bodies of citizens, so that planning is integral to governmentality and is an important ideological state apparatus”.

In particular, neoliberalism has taken the hegemonic place of ideology as the accepted, normal, and unquestionable dominant discourse of human society. As has been explained, this hegemonic ideology commands by a mode of enjoyment structured through surplus value/surplus enjoyment. As Chapter 2 explained, one of the neoliberal solutions for the deficiency of housing that planning as an apparatus provides is materialised in the form of land supply policies to meet the demand side of the housing market.

The notions of ideology and hegemony have been defined and challenged by ESDA followers through two philosophical concepts: universalism and particularism. The next section will provide an explanation of universalism and particularism that can be applied in the analysis of two quite different contexts of planning in Perth and Tehran.

### **3-8. Universalism versus particularism**

As explained in Chapter 1 (section 1-5.2), Laclau attempted to rethink universalism and particularism within a new attitude to provide a methodology beyond a particularistic context-dependent (poststructuralist/postmodern) approach and universal law-like and scientific (structuralist) approach. The following paragraphs explain how Laclau's attitude towards the dichotomy of universalism and particularism, in alignment with the three mentioned logics, present an analysis of the terms 'hegemony' and 'contingency'.

Laclau maintained that "the universal emerges out of the particular as an irreducible dimension of the chain of equivalence expanded as a result of the particular identities" (Laclau cited in Torfing, 1999, p. 174). Laclau (1996) explained the empty place of universalism deploying the concept of what he called the "empty signifier". Following Laclau (2005), ESDA also applies the concepts of 'empty' signifiers in political studies in order to present a logics interpretation and explanation of universalism and particularism for political and social phenomena.

The fluidity of meanings – signification – has enormous implications for the language of politics and related subjects such as planning, giving rise to 'empty signifiers' including 'justice', 'freedom', and 'equality', of which the meanings become fixed within a certain discourse. Signifiers may also be 'empty', with a meaning sufficiently broad or 'universal', such as 'order', to allow particular identities to use the term to form political alliances through constructing a 'chain of equivalents'. "Thus, a 'political frontier' against what is perceived as a common enemy is created. Yet this frontier is vulnerable to subversion because these alliances rest on the promise of an [im]possible fullness" (Howarth et al., 2000, pp. 8-9). Thus, the world of politics is the world of contingent 'hegemonisations', an arena of incommensurable choices, of 'undecidability' and acts of power, which are the products of the interplaying both logics of 'equivalence' and 'difference' that acknowledge particularity and have been explained in the political logics section.

The foundation of this specific approach regarding the dichotomic characteristics of universalism and particularism was therefore set by Laclau and Mouffe's work (1985), and later continued in Laclau's work *Emancipation(s)* (1996). Subsequently, through a series of deeply

dialogic essays, in *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality*: Butler, Laclau and Žižek (2000) rethought the question of universal and particular logic in different ways. What Butler, Laclau, and Žižek have in common is that without the notion of a universal dimension, emancipatory political practice, especially a renewed Left, is incapable of being conceived. They regarded universalism as an on-going project. In addition, they all contended “that universality is not a static presumption or *a priori* given and that it ought instead to be understood as a process or condition irreducible to any of its determinate modes of appearance” (Butler et al., 2000, p. 3). They attempted to refigure a universal for our time in accordance with the rise of neo-liberalism, and the demise of socialism and radical forms of democracy.

Žižek (in Butler et al., 2000) contended that class struggle is a more fundamental and universal form of political struggle than any other struggle. He further contended that to confront global capitalism, class solidarity is needed to renew a universal for the Left.

However, what Laclau called hegemonic is the result of the struggle to occupy the place of the universal. Who or what will assume this place is a strictly political question; it cannot be posed at the level of any philosophical notion of necessity or of a social totality prior to and independent of the practices of hegemony. Laclau asserted (in Butler et al., 2000, pp. 210-211) that “there is no universality, as we have seen, except through an equivalence between particularities, and such equivalences are always contingent and context dependent”. Therefore, universality in this way has been reckoned as a horizon rather than ground and any step beyond this limit falls into “historical teleology, with the result that universality, which should become a horizon, would become a ground”. Consequently, with this interpretation, we escape a certain picture of the binary of universalism/particularism. Indeed, both “universalism and particularism are two ineradicable dimensions in the making of political identities, but the articulation between is far from being evident” (Laclau, 1996, p. viii).

To conclude, although Laclau maintained that every discourse can take the place of universalism, all three thinkers more or less agreed that the discourse of capitalism – neo-liberalism – in our current world has taken the empty place of universalism. Laclau (Butler et al., 2000, p. 306) asserted that “there is no future for the Left if it is unable to create an expansive universal discourse, constructed out of, not against, the proliferation of particularisms of the last few decades”. Therefore, the only way to compete against neoliberal universality is to improve the task of organising particular demands and issue-oriented politics. Žižek (2012a) argued that the success of the Left is dependent on realising the fetishes, fantasies, and drives of capitalism such as those of fundamentalism or any other fetishist religion or belief. ESDA is an attempt to

promote the logics approach to render a series of counter hegemonic logics for the hegemonic ideology of our time. In particular, ESDA emphasise fantasmatic logics as the ethical dimension of its analysis.

Finally, following Butler, Dean, Laclau, Žižek and ESDA thinkers, this research posits neoliberalism in the empty place of universalism as the hegemonic discourse of our time. Accordingly, the function of planning's actants in relation to this universal hegemonic ideology will be analysed within two different, particular contexts. Specifically, the research considers the metropolitan growth management policies in diverse parts of the world as examples of the manifestations of the discourse/ideology of neo-liberalism. This creates a dialectical relation of hegemony – universalism – and contingent – particularism – that provides the possibility of asking a question of ontology concerning this hegemonic discourse of planning.

### **3-9. Conclusion**

To address the fourth question of the research “What can a logic-based approach illuminate about the ontological roles, operations, and responsibilities of planning and its actants?”, this chapter has explicated ESDA as the methodology of this research which presents a logic-based approach. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the planning literature lacks an ontological investigation. Moreover, an ontological investigation is best approached possible via a logic-based methodology (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). ESDA provides an appropriate method for adequate ontological analysis of planning and policymaking to fill this gap in planning literature. Again, Chapter 2 explained that a series of complicated logics make a practice of planning possible, and this thesis endeavours to provide a complex but more comprehensible method for planning in the face of its problems. It explains the ways through which actants of planning take a particular position in dealing with an identified lack, such as affordable housing deficiencies in a particular polity.

The chapter firstly explained why this method provides an appropriate way for an ontological investigation of planning. Then, it explained the philosophical principles of the method. The chapter then described particular concepts and the triad logics of ESDA in relation to the concerns of the thesis. It was explained that this logic approach may be applied in different historiographical phases to reveal how each phase operate differently within different contexts (Glynos et al., 2012). Based on this logic approach, the next chapter (Chapter 4) endeavours to develop an ethical or an alternative discussion for the status quo of planning.

# **Chapter Four: Counter-Hegemonic Logics of Planning**

## **4-1. Introduction**

Chapter 3 presented a detailed explanation of the methodology of this research – ESDA – to provide answer to the fourth question of this research that is “What can a logic-based approach illuminate about the ontological roles, operations, and responsibilities of planning and its actants?”. Chapter 4 develops the ethical and normative aspects of ESDA to achieve a foundation for the second research objective: “To develop a discussion for an alternative to the current ontology of planning and its actants”. Moreover, this chapter also attempts to provide an answer to the fifth and last question of this research: “What can be a counter-logic for the current ontology of planning practice?”

To reply to the fifth question, this chapter first in section 4-2 investigates some of the counter-hegemonic trends in planning to reveal their weaknesses and strengths as well as the potentialities and limitations of the existing literature of counter-hegemonic planning. Indeed, few planners in both realms of theory and practice have attempted to do an ontological investigation of an alternative conceptualisation or practice of planning to the prevailing definition of planning. Therefore, this investigation provides a starting point for further discussion in section 4-3 to respond to question five concerning a counter logic for the current ontology of planning through the methodology of this research.

Then, section 4-3 develops the ethical and normative dimensions of ESDA in order to present a discussion of a logic of contingency for the current ontological function of planning. Section 4-4 concludes with a discussion about the logic of vulnerability/contingency of the neoliberal ideology that can suggest an alternative to the neoliberal schemes of planning particularly in practice.

Based on the investigation of the literature of planning presented in chapter 2, the ESDA approach explained in Chapter 3, and the logic of contingency which will be explained in chapter 4, Section 4-5 suggests a theory to explain which sort of logics – social, political, and fantasmatic

– make possible a neoliberal practice of planning in particular for a neoliberal housing scheme. Thus, retroductive reasoning is deployed in the process of revealing different logics of the planning practice. The theory explains how social relations, actors' identifications, knowledge, and hegemonic ideology are constructed.

The process of creating the theory includes the main logics of the possibility of the practice of planning such as UGMP as a neoliberal housing policy. The theory points out that the issues and challenges of planning, which this thesis argues and documents, are part of the more general and substantial social phenomena concerning the intersubjective relations between social actants under the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism. The theory develops drawing on the arguments of Harvey (2006, 2014) and Žižek (2010), where neoliberalism is the current encompassing universal ideology of global human society. At this point, the analysis moves to the abductive mode to create a theory based on the triad logics to explain overlooked/unobservable logics. Then, the theory will be examined within two diverse cases of the research in Chapters 5 and 6.

#### **4-2. Counter-hegemonic planning**

Focusing on the second objective and fifth question of my research, which is the question of the counter-hegemonic entity or function of planning; this section explores the existing literature concerning counter-hegemonic planning practices and theories to set up the groundwork for any alternative to the current ontology of planning. According to the two previous chapters, planning functions as a part of the state mechanism in relation to capital and the ideology of capitalism. As previously mentioned, few planning theorists have attempted to present an alternative conceptualisation of planning to that of the prevailing definition of planning and its roles and responsibilities, which are constructed through the hegemonic ideology of the day. This section critically investigates the limited planning literature that proposes a counter-hegemonic alternative to conventional planning. As I conduct my thesis research, attention is given to where the potential may lie for an alternative approach.

Firstly, based on the review of the planning literature and following the Nietzschean and Foucaultian notions of power and resistance, since critique and resistance normally are not part of our norms, values, or human common sense, this thesis postulates that there are very few planners who are able argue for resistance to the discourse of the Other. In real life, when planners have to challenge the Other – state and hegemonic ideology – about a difficult situation, they are posited in a marginalised and insecure position (Grange, 2016). None-the-less, some planning theorists have ignored this enmeshed characteristic of planning, and have instead tried

to present a counter-hegemonic story/role for planning. Drawing on the indigenous paradoxical characteristics and structural weaknesses of capitalism, they have tried to achieve a point of resistance or autonomy for planning.

An example of such a theorist is Roy (2008), who offered an ethico-politics of planning instead of taking the position that geo-politics puts forward. She argued for post-liberalism as an interrogation of prevailing liberal planning. Roy criticised liberalism's contradictions in planning: those of the public interest and those of the market. She saw liberalism as "an agonistic site, at war with itself" (Roy, 2008, p. 96). Roy argued how planning, acting as a collectivist reaction via its moral logics, can provide certain forms of freedom. She suggested that planning, using the paradoxical characteristics of capitalism, could take a more effective role towards a democratic function beyond its existing relations. In this regard, Roy (2008, p. 93) argued that "the view from global South provides a particular important set of insights into the organisation and transformation of spaces".

She continued by mentioning the deficiencies of her own work in that the location of the global South cannot "necessarily lead us to a critical theory and radical praxis in planning". However, Roy did not integrate the limitations of planners into their relationship with power, hegemonic ideology, and capital. Dealing with the paradoxical characteristics of capitalism in order to establish a more effective discourse of planning requires further studies of the subjective and objective levels of planning in both theory and practice.

The second scholar who has worked on the counter-hegemonic concept of planning is Miraftab. Based on Gramscian notions, Miraftab (2009) rendered a form of counter-hegemonic planning in the context of insurgent planning or radical planning. She offered a set of counter-hegemonic planning practices via a historicised view and post-colonialism theory. Following Said (2003) and Fanon (2008[1952]), she suggested a form of insurgent planning for the global South by decolonising the planning imagination through a recognition of the South's own values and rules, rather than those of Western prescriptions and fantasies. She contended that if neoliberal and "colonial power suppress memory, conversely, anti-colonial struggles teach us to locate politicized historical memory at the very heart of liberation practices and this notion of decolonization defines the notion of political career and citizen participation" (Miraftab, 2009, p. 45). Miraftab's insurgent planning practices are characterised by three principles: counter-hegemony, transgression, and imagination. She analysed the struggles for citizenship as insurgent planning in Cape Town (as a space from the global South). She addressed insurgent planning by the action of grassroots insurgent citizens to resist the inclusion of neoliberalism in

the context of planning. In Miraftab's argument, the notion of insurgent planning practices is supposed to respond to neoliberal hegemony. She observed that

insurgent movements do not constrain themselves to the spaces for citizen participation sanctioned by the authorities (invited spaces); they invent new spaces or re-appropriate old ones where they can invoke their citizenship rights to further their counter-hegemonic interests. Fluidity characterizes insurgent citizenship practices: through the entanglement of inclusion and resistance, they move across the invited and the invented spaces of citizenship. (Miraftab, 2009, p. 35)

Accordingly, she offered a set of planning practices with external norms and values to those of the state and its hegemonic ideology. This is a set of planning practices that are implemented mostly by citizens and likely by a few planning scholars, rather than the planning system itself. Of course, here some questions may be raised: is this form of insurgent planning undertaken by the indigenous or dissatisfied public, still planning? And more fundamentally, can we really call these kinds of mobilisations counter-hegemonic and anti-colonialisation struggle? Would these movements effectively work in their counter-hegemonic role? Who can take the responsibility of creating new invented spaces?

Stavrakakis (2011, p. 319) maintained that “[n]o doubt a category such as ‘insurgent planning’ itself involves a paradox, a topological contradiction, it refers to a plurality of impure, multiple and shifting counter-hegemonic movements that ‘through the entanglement of inclusion and resistance move across the invited and the invented spaces of citizenship’”. Insurgent planning thus attempts to open the possibility of “planning to beyond its professionalized borders” (Miraftab cited in Stavrakakis, 2011, p. 319). Indeed, Miraftab’s insurgent planning is a counter-hegemonic use of the inherent contradictions of neoliberalism in order to enhance democratic participation beyond the inclusion and consensus promoted by neoliberal hegemony.

Nevertheless, the most crucial point regarding Miraftab’s (2009) work is that insurgent planning should be in the form of a variety of actions based on the context. In addition, insurgent planning practices can be extremely limited in a less or non-democratic context, where the global view has not changed due to the interests of capital. For example, in the case of South Africa, insurgent planning became possible only after the extension of political citizens’ rights under the post-Apartheid new constitution. Furthermore, radical and counter-hegemonic practices can be more difficult in more complex contexts, where citizens and planners actively embrace, confirm, and underpin the hegemonic ideology as their everyday and routine life. Here, the main question

would be, when do subjects – planners and citizens – feel they should start to take different actions rather than neoliberal or colonial ones and how can they recognise the difference between neoliberal or anti-neoliberal actions?

In addition, Newman (2011) suggested another type of radical alternative for planning. Using a post-anarchist approach, he attempted to conceptualise spaces for radical political movements. To achieve this aim, he deployed a Lacanian approach through critical analysis of Mouffe in combination with the tradition of anarchists, such as Bakunin, in order to challenge the hegemonic space of planning. He discussed the subject's desire for revolutionary transgression toward affirmation of a new master or 'big Other'. He argued for new movements rather than the contemporary anarchist movements, which tend to aim merely at ecological despoliation. Criticising Mouffe's concept of antagonism, Newman (2011) stated that 'anarchic or agonistic' democracy can be presented as democracy against the state. Referring to Tahrir Square in Egypt, he concluded that this movement could be regarded as a demonstration of autonomous planning.

However, this research criticises Newman's (2011) idea about anarchic democracy. The experiences and evidences of history have proven that in most cases, the anarchist revolutionary actions of actants – here, I do not refer to the multi-layered causes behind social actions and movements – end in catastrophe. In the recent case of Egypt, following Morsi's election and the subsequent army coup d'état, the Egyptian revolution ended in the return of suppression and terror that can be seen as a new form of totalitarian regime. In fact, riots and social movements for citizens' rights are part of the Gramscian "war of manoeuvre" which is not separated from the process of change for social order; however, it cannot end in betterment without war on the hegemonic ideology of capitalism (war of position).

Purcell (2009, 2013b) applied the Laclau, Mouffe and Gramscian notions of hegemony in combination with Deleuze and Guattari to argue how the political logic of equivalence – explained in Chapter 3 – can be applied as a counter hegemonic strategy for the right to the city. In addition, he criticised the current democratic gesture, which covers over many political claims and social realities.

In sum, regarding the counter logic to the status quo of planning, the mentioned works put forward different counter hegemonic modes of planning in an attempt to present and theorise a counter planning practice versus the hegemonic principles of capitalism.

Both Miraftab (2009) and Roy (2009) deployed the Gramscian notion of hegemony in their analysis. Furthermore, although Newman (2011) considered an anarchist approach to planning,

he invoked the Laclau and Mouffe notions of radical democracy that were developed based on the Gramscian theory of hegemony. Amongst the mentioned planning scholars who have worked on a counter-hegemonic concept of planning, Miraftab (2009) deployed the Gramscian concepts of hegemony and ideology in more depth and more importantly, in practice. She argued that insurgent planning involves analysis of a range of phenomena such as marginalised populations, alienation, the hegemony of neoliberal ideology, relationships between oppressors and the oppressed, and grassroots movements. Miraftab maintained that insurgent planning is transgressive and imaginative and should assist “to simulate historical collective memories” (Miraftab, 2009, p. 45) to mediate capitalist collective social amnesia. Nonetheless, she provided a limited analysis of the subjective level by which insurgent planning may simulate historical collective memories or of what are the probable limitations to a form of insurgent planning.

In terms of Purcell’s work (2013b), he developed a counter-hegemonic approach, however, he was not involved in an ontological method and the logics approach in his analysis at either the subjective or objective level.

In a same vein, through a post-Marxist notion of ideology and following the approach of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) about radical democracy, Grange (2014) attempted to provide planners with the appropriate tools to achieve an awareness of the ideological dimensions of planning. She deployed some of the Laclauian concepts to suggest a true culture change in planning for a democratic society. However, she has not covered the later works of Laclau and Mouffe and their students regarding universalism and particularism, logic-based approach, and their attempts to deal with the ethical, normative and methodological failures of poststructuralism.

The above-mentioned planning literatures have not addressed the issues of the counter-hegemonic planning through an ontological investigation and a logic-based approach. Despite this, they – particularly Miraftab’s work – have provided a reliable base for this research. Indeed, this research suggests that to answer the fifth proposed thesis research question, “What can be a counter-logic for the current ontology of planning practice?” and to achieve the second thesis objective, the research contributes to developing an understanding of the ESDA approach in respect to the ontological function of planning in the hegemony of capitalism.

This thesis focuses on a logic approach (ESDA) drawing on the notions of Dean (2012), Mouffe and Laclau (1985), Žižek (2008), Glynnos, Howarth, Norval and Speed (2007; 2009), and Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis (2000) amongst many others. These studies have deployed an

ontological investigation of hegemony, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic actions within social and political phenomena through a combination of post-Marxism, and Lacanian psychoanalysis.

More importantly, Gunder (2011b, 2015, 2016) and Gunder and Hillier (2009) have attempted to reveal some planning fallacies to illustrate the hidden causes of some of planning's failure. Following Lacan, Gunder named these fallacies as the fantasies of a dominant ideology to cover over the fissures of the dominant discourse. Gunder (2013) argued that planning legitimacy is rooted in statistics, authorities, and dominant ideology, and planning is inherently entangled itself in the values of neoliberal hegemonic ideology. Gunder concluded that the circular process of legitimisation and justification between planners and authorities as a belief in the Other enmeshes planning in the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism and planning forever remains a state apparatus of ideological power. In this manner, even though Gunder (2016) was not involved in any counter-hegemonic notion or practice of planning, he put forward a method of criticism of the hegemonic principles of planning specifically in the subjective and hermeneutical levels of the actants of planning. Therefore, this research sees this method of subjective criticism as a counter-hegemonic principle for planning; however, the thesis will apply a logic approach similar to that of Aristotle against fallacies made by the hegemonic ideology of capitalism. This is the duty of us as planners to reveal the logics of contingency of the hegemonic ideology.

In addition, I evoke Hillier's method to find how it may be possible to deploy ESDA in planning as a new approach and an alternative to the current methods of and in planning. Hillier (2013, p. 4) argued that if we want to apply a philosophical concept, we should understand what this concept ontologically means in relation to reality; then, if we are able to find any relation between the concept and planning we need to understand how it would offer any help "to re-think some our most fundamental assumptions and tools". In particular, Hillier criticised the dominant approach of planners and politicians, which is a solution defines a problem. In this manner, she talks about a kind of fallacy in planning which controls and frames plans and policies; that is, one that creates solutions prior to finding the problems. In keeping with Hillier (Hillier & Abrahams, 2013), this research argues that to recognise and to understand the relations between the different actants of a policy, it is necessary to deploy new methods and perspectives.

I will, metaphorically, "stand on the shoulders" of several critical planning theorists to offer an alternative to the prevailing mechanism of planning. Such planning theorists include Gunder (2010, 2011b, 2012) through his Lacanian methods of analysis towards a mechanism of planning, Hillier (2002, 2007) via her problem-driven analysis of planning, and Gunder and Hillier (2007, 2009), and Miraftab (2009).

However, this research argues that, at the subjective level and according to the Lacanian approach, planning is not involved in capitalism merely by producing fantasies to justify capitalism. Rather, planning and planning's actants often work with neoliberal policies based on the Lacanian concept of drive to deviate from their promises – what Gunder named fantasies – in order to directly involve themselves in economic growth and the capitalist way of production. In addition, this research suggests an ethical point of view and proposes a counter-logic for the hegemonic ideology of planning in order to overcome the descriptive and apolitical characteristics of poststructuralism.

The next section will discuss the concepts and methods within which this research offers counter-hegemonic logics of the status quo of planning.

#### **4-3. Ethical and normative dimensions of ESDA**

The following paragraphs explain how the ontological presupposition of ESDA presents a proper perspective for a counter-hegemonic approach. Chapter 1 mentioned that this thesis applies abductive/reductive reasoning in developing an ethical aspect to the status quo of planning as an alternative approach. Chapter 3 explained that to surmount the critics of poststructuralist approaches, the ethical and normative dimensions are two important principles that should be added to a poststructuralist research. The method of logics explanation – social, political, and fantasmatic logics – which attempts to illuminate the two ethical and normative dimensions, provides an ability to elaborate an alternative to a hegemonic discourse.

According to ESDA, both political and fantasmatic logics offer the ethical and normative dimensions of analysis to the poststructuralism school of thought. As explained, the focal notions of this research are explicated by these two logics – the political and the fantasmatic – which stand in relation to the critical analysis and evaluation of practices. These two tasks are “internally connected to the practices of problematisation, characterisation, and political engagement” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 214). Again, as developed in Chapter 3, the functions of political and fantasmatic logics are based on the relationships of subjects to an identified ontological lack. Indeed, “the logic approach heeds the lack of the Real – radical contingency of objectivity (e.g. structures, subjects, discourses) – as the ontological presupposition” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 212) and as the core concepts of the method. This approach inherently provides a counter hegemonic dimension, which is at the core of both political and fantasmatic logics.

First, the normative dimension involves the historical analysis of relations, domination, and oppression. These relations are not limited to a truncated scene of history; rather, they are a series of signifying chains which present a historical approach (Butler et al., 2000; Glynos & Howarth, 2007). The normative dimensions of the methodology for this research can be summarised as follows (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 193):

- a) Commitment to a radical contingency such as those universal ethical principles and values that challenge market-oriented concepts of democracy,
- b) Sensitivity to the context of a particular problematisation,
- c) Reactivation of the New Left to contest the current neoliberal consensus.

Second, the ethical dimension of the logics approach acknowledges “the radical contingency of social existence and responding to its demands” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 198). As Glynos and Howarth (2007, p. 197) explained:

if the focus on the political dimension can disclose the contingency of the emergence and formation of hegemonic projects, thus focussing our critique on the historical and normative specificity of a practice or regime, as well as those options that have been foreclosed in the latter’s institution, then our concept of ethics sharpens the critical focus on the ways in which subjects identify and are gripped by discourses.

As discussed in Chapter 3, a dislocatory event, such as an economic crisis, re-activates the contingent foundations of a discourse and make the lack – the lack of the Real – visible. The Real is impossible to integrate into the symbolic order but creates pressure on the symbolic order. As explained, the contingency of the discourse of capitalism is the factor that wants to reveal the impossibilities of capitalism in providing increasing surplus value and continuing economic growth. This factor is located in the Real and endeavours to penetrate into the symbolic order and the signifying chain. To exemplify, Dean (2012, p. 2), as a communist, contended that the Real can be communism “in the sense of *impossible* – we can never reach it”.

Thus, responding to the following questions provide the ethical dimension of the logics approach. How should we figure out the impossibility of structures? Is there any possibility for “acknowledging the radical contingency of social existence and responding to its demands”, as Glynos and Howarth argue? If there is, what is that possibility? Namely, what is the Real? Is it outside of the symbolic order or inside the chain?

The ethical dimension must be able to explain how subjects see and recognise a lack as a problem, as a symptom of the Real and how they address that problem. The ways that we attempt to realise, or characterise, the lack can define our political engagement. Namely, how and with which logics subjects treat the lack – for example creating a fantasy, providing a new symbolic order, or the way they enjoy the lack – discloses the ethical point of view pertaining to a practice including that of a research practice.

As developed in Chapter 3, the figure of the impossible is socially structured; it is an empty place in which a possible series of orders or discourses can emerge that claim to fill the lack, such as lack of affordable housing or a just distribution of wealth or democracy. The place of the impossible or lack may mean an ideality for each of the mentioned lacks in the social orders. We may see different reactions regarding housing deficiencies or democracy; some may argue that providing housing for all, or democracy in its ideal form, is an impossible; therefore, we should remain content and limit ourselves to the status quo. On the other hand, some may believe that filling the lack of adequate housing provision is possible. We have to deploy resources properly; that means if we want to actually address the lack we should endeavour to express the logic of contingency to say there is a lack, which is the reason for pressure on the symbolic order and thus we have to face it and resolve this deficiency.

Some other group may argue that there is no lack; for example, capitalist discourse maintains that if we only rely on market rules, the market will provide enough housing for all, or if we merely rely on Western democracy all groups' rights will be eventually fully vested.

Emphatically, the commitment to radical contingency and ontological lack are the central concepts of the methodology of this research and also define the ethical perspective of this research. These central concepts of lack and radical contingency are not limited to hegemonic discourses at the objective levels of society; rather, these concepts assist our understanding of actants' behaviours including at their subjective level of a practice.

As Dean (cited in Gunder, 2005, p. 86) contended “Lacan’s account of symbolic subjectivity contributes more to social theory than to psychological theories of the individual”. Therefore, the following sections deploy a Lacanian approach in more detail to explain what is contingency, what are the reactions of actants to lack and radical contingency, and how these reactions can be categorised to discuss an ethical point of view for this thesis.

#### **4-3-1. Counter-logic or logic of contingency for a hegemonic ideology**

The history of philosophy and logic shows that Aristotle coined the concept of contingency as a status of proposition in logic. Aristotle used this term to analyse the possibility or impossibility of future events (Zalta, 1995). Laclau and Mouffe used this term to explain there is a “logic of contingency” vis-a-vis every “logic of necessity” or hegemony in politics and in society (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, p. 25). Therefore, the logic of hegemony has been postulated as an empty place of universality by Laclau and Mouffe to fill up a hiatus that opened in the chain of historical necessity to overcome contingency. In fact, the logic of contingency is what hinders hegemony from being necessary for all subjects (Butler et al., 2000). In more mathematical terms, contingency can reveal the probability of impossibility of something happening.

According to this logic, contingency presents itself as a pressure from the Real – what has not been expressed in the symbolic order – but it has a dual relation with the symbolic order (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

As explained in Chapter 3, political logic explains how a discourse based on different sorts of political logics such as equivalence and difference emerges as a new social or symbolic order. This new order presents itself as a complete discourse and tries to take the empty place of hegemony, and then appears as a hegemonic discourse. This hegemonic discourse logically constitutes at least one particular condition, which if revealed, can make that hegemonic discourse impossible. The logic of being of that particular condition is the logic of contingency. This logic of contingency reveals a lack of the Real or proves the impossible completeness in the hegemonic symbolic order. On the other hand, the logic of “contingency exists in the Real” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 25); that is, contingency is located in the Real which sometimes manifests itself or places pressure on the symbolic order.

A hegemonic discourse always attempts to conceal its contingencies and to show itself as a complete discourse. As explained, fantasmatic logics reveal the ways within which hegemonic discourse attempts to conceal the logic of contingencies. Hegemonic discourse operates through its specific ideology that tries to present its logic as a universal, complete, and accepted way of thinking and living. In this manner, hegemonic ideology may work based on different modes of enjoyment to maintain its hegemony. In the Lacanian approach, different modes of enjoyment (*jouissance*) show “how subjects are rendered complicit in concealing or covering over the radical contingency of social orders” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 15). Thus, fantasmatic logics

assist in the discussion about different modes of enjoyment in maintenance of a practice such as a specific planning practice.

As discussed, in the case of a dislocatory event such as an economic crisis, at least one logic of contingency emerges to show the failures of the dominant discourse. At the moment of dislocation, subjects may react to the event in different ways; how they identify themselves explains the subjects' positions towards contingency and it reveals an ethical dimension in our analysis of the subjective level of the phenomenon.

However, "individuals acquire an identity of who they are and about their roles in society by being positioned in certain ways by a whole series of unconscious practices, rituals, customs and beliefs" (Howarth et al., 2000, p. 13). Subjects' identifications "are discursively constructed" and subjects can take different positions in society such as being a Muslim, Black, a labourer, or homosexual. In some cases, it is possible subjects can take paradoxical positions from the perspective of the dominant norms of a society. The paradoxical situation may cause a traumatic effect on the subject such as being born both Muslim and homosexual. Laclau argues that in some particular cases, subjects may take a politically subjective position when a dislocatory event makes the contingency of discursive structure visible. In the case of capitalism, sometimes the extension of capitalist relations to a new sphere of social life, such as increasing taxes, lack of housing, unemployment, or inefficient insurance, shows a failure as lack in the structure. The important point is that these dislocations are not always traumatic; they are sometimes productive. When dislocations are productive, they threaten previous identities and make "the foundation on which new identities are constituted" (Howarth et al., 2000, p. 13).

In fact, the dislocation reveals a lack of meaning in the dominant hegemonic discourse and when subjects start to make a new meaning to fill the lack, the lack works as a productive operation. As Laclau (Butler et al., 2000) argued, a unique desire can emerge to fill the lack and to create a new discourse to replace the old one.

Nevertheless, at the dislocatory time, how can the desire of the subject materialise as a productive operation? ESDA argues that the situation of subjectivity in relation to the logic of contingency "is a key step in breaking out of this apparent impasse" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 128). As argued in Chapter 3, when subjects face rules or situations – a constitutive lack in the symbolic order – that they cannot decide how to deal with or comply with, subjects experience a trauma (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Thus, how should we face the trauma, make a decision and act properly? To respond to this question, I refer to Laclau's notion of the logic of contingency.

Laclau concluded that contingency is not an external logic to the internal articulated elements, rather,

the structure is not fully reconciled with itself, if it is inhabited by an original lack, by a radical undecidability that needs to be constantly superseded by acts of decision. These acts are, precisely, what constitute the subject, who can only exist as a will transcending the structure. Because this will has no place of constitution external to the structure but is the result of the failure of the structure to constitute itself, it can be formed only through acts of identification. If I need to identify with something it is because I do not have a full identity in the first place. These acts of identification are thinkable only as a result of the lack within the structure and have the permanent trace of the latter. Contingency is shown in this way: as the inherent distance of the structure from itself (Laclau, 1996, p. 92).

Žižek (in Butler et al., 2000, p. 91) maintained that Laclau's concept of hegemony provides an effective pattern for "the relationship between universality, historical contingency and the limit of an impossible Real". Contingency is a mystery entity: the condition of the impossibility of the exercise of power becomes its condition of the possibility of hegemonic power. Namely, the conditions/contexts – political and fantasmatic logics – for a particular social practice can offer a counter for that practice.

Therefore, contingency or a counter-logic of a practice is whatever has "the effect of weakening or contesting [the dominant practice or order]" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 194). Butler (Butler et al., 2000, p. 151) argued we should think about addressing the contingencies even though we find ourselves "always-already trapped, and that there is no point of resistance to regulation or to the form of subjection that regulation takes". However, we face many problems in addressing contingencies. For example, we find that subjects' identifications are not static; for instance, people constantly take a new point of view depending on their own economic interest. Furthermore, we have to find new ways to address, reveal, and express contingencies.

Žižek proposed that "the Lacanian Real is strictly internal to the Symbolic: it is nothing but its inherent limitation, the impossibility of the symbolic fully to 'become itself'" (Butler et al., 2000, p. 120). The missing signifier or lack is not merely a pre-social signifier but is also signified by numerous indefinite signifiers during an infinite moment of history. If a claim wants to be a hegemonic discourse and if it is to take the place of universality, it should be translated into various rhetorical and cultural norms as an expansion logic. According to Žižek (Butler et al.,

2000), the best example of the entity of the Real as an inherent lack is Laclau's notion of antagonism as conflicts between differences inside a society itself which operate as the Real: antagonism cannot be symbolised even though it exists inside the symbolic order. Žižek argued,

Precisely because of this internality of the Real to the Symbolic, it is possible to touch the Real through the Symbolic – that is the whole point of Lacan's notion of psychoanalytic treatment; this is what the Lacanian notion of the psychoanalytic act is about. (Butler et al., 2000, p. 121)

Yet, the most important barriers to recognising the logic of contingency are those of the subjective levels of complexity in the identification process. In this regard, the value and salience of psychoanalysis is in “consideration of how identification and its failures are crucial to the thinking of hegemony” (Butler et al., 2000, p. 149). Psychoanalysis assists us to comprehend “how it is that those who are oppressed by certain operations of power also come to be invested in that oppression, and how, in fact, their very self-definition becomes bound up with the terms by which they are regulated, marginalized, or erased from the sphere of cultural life” (Butler et al., 2000, p. 149). Indeed, sometimes the attachments that grip the subjects in an oppressive definition are too complicated to understand easily. Butler (in Butler et al., 2000, p. 149) argued that we cannot understand and remember “why any of us stay in situations that are manifestly inimical to our interests, and why our collective interests are so difficult to know”. She argued that the mystery is in the reality of the instability of identification.

Facing the symptoms/pressures of the Real – lack – as limitation or failures always causes anxiety for us. The important point is recognising the lack as the cause of our anxiety. However, the subject continuously attempts to replace the lack, and the sense of anxiety that it creates, with enjoyment. Lacan analysed and categorised different psyche statuses to explain how subjects react to the lack – a missing signifier – or misrecognise one of the (main) signifiers. The subject may have different behavioural reactions to fill the lack, deal with it, or avoid it and escape the anxiety. In the Lacanian approach, this categorisation of reactions has a close relation with the ethical position of the subject. Here, just three which are related to the subject of this thesis will be explained. The ethical dimension is directly related to the logics of the operation of fantasy, drive, and disavowal which can be regarded as ideological misdirections (Žižek, 2008a).

## I. Disavowal

According to Lacan, disavowal is one way of responding to a lack. As explained when subjects face a lack, this touching or feeling of the Real causes anxiety for a subject. One way of dealing

with anxiety is disavowal as a radical defence against recognising this lack. To Lacan, “disavowal is at the root of the perverse structure” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 24). Therefore, disavowal is one of the different types of denial of lack that subjects attach to it to face the lack of the Real.

The important point about disavowal is that disavowal is the fundamental operation in all forms of perversion. Because it shows both sides of the subject, “disavowal is always accompanied by a simultaneous acknowledgment of what is disavowed. Thus the pervert is not simply ignorant of castration – [lack of the Real] – he simultaneously knows it and denies it” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 44). Disavowal with denial of lack dispels the feeling of anxiety. Thereupon, in the operation of disavowal, denial is involved and correlated with the mode of enjoyment in the subject.

Gunder (2016, p. 33) argued that “ideological disavowal is what permits ideology to work”. He explained how neoliberal fantasies disavow its lack such as those of “devastating Gini coefficients”, exploited labour, ecological crises, and housing unaffordability issues. Gunder (2016, p. 34) explained that our over-attachment to the fantasies provided by neoliberalism “inherently leave us individually and collectively open to external manipulation, be it through mechanisms of governance/governmentality, the market or simple traditional political promise”. These neoliberal fantasies include the logic of the free market as the fundamental fantasy of capitalism, which is supposed to provide a solution for any kinds of lack within the social order, including the lack of an affordable dwelling. Gunder (2016) contends that although we may never inherently trust a specific politician, it is less painful to believe her/his promise, for example, of providing affordable housing through applying free market-based policies, rather than to challenge the politician by questioning the validity of his/her policies. In fact, the over-attachment to the fundamental fantasy of the market as a solution for everything makes us disavow any alternative – the logic of contingency – to capitalism.

## II. Drive

In Chapter 3, the Žižekian explanation of the mechanism of drive and capitalism was fully described. Lacan asserted that ethical thought “is at the centre of our work as analysts” (Lacan, 1992[1986], p. 38). In seminars VII and VIII between 1959 and 1960, he specifically explained the mechanism of drive as a navigation towards the ethics of psychoanalysis (Lacan, 1992[1986], pp. 78-114). Lacan explained how drive suggests a potential mode of satisfaction, which provides a way between sublimation and idealisation around an object. Referring to Freud, he explained that “idealisation involves an identification of the subject with the object, whereas, sublimation is something quite different” (Lacan, 1992[1986], p. 111). As explained in Chapter

3, the subject operation is influenced by drive, when the structure of “fantasy is inverted” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 142).

Therefore, “the subject here makes himself [sic] the instrument of the Other’s jouissance” (Lacan, 2006, p. 697). Lacan (2008) argued that in capitalism, the capitalist subject puts herself/himself as the object-instrument of the Other, which is the market. Then, the subject, through the market, deploys the most appropriate knowledge and technology in order to produce the structure of her/his enjoyment. Indeed, the only knowledge which is allowed is what is related to capitalist production and development. Copjec (cited in Olivier 2011, p. 29) argued that this surplus of enjoyment cannot be abided by capitalism:

the pleasure that the unconscious sets to work accumulating is a surplus pleasure which has no use for material reward or even well-being; it contributes nothing to the subject’s inclination towards survival. This less-than-useless surplus pleasure cannot, therefore, enter the calculus of capitalism except to undermine it.

In addition, Dean (2012) similarly interpreted the relations between capitalism and drive. To Dean, what is important about the mechanism of drive is the way drive provides the subject with another way to enjoy. Unable to satisfy or maintain desire, the subject enjoys in another way.

Drive is not a quest for a fantastic lost object; it’s the force loss exerts on the field of desire. Drives don’t circulate around a space that was once occupied by an ideal, impossible object. Rather, drive is the sublimation of desire as it turns back in on itself. (Dean, 2012, p. 173)

Therefore, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the difference between desire and drive can explain the reasons behind the rejection of possible contingency in a hegemonic ideology. In fact, we sublimate a desire for a caring society into several drives. We “renounce any project of a global social transformation, and limit ourselves to partial problems to be solved” (Butler et al., 2000, p. 101).

### **III. Fantasy**

According to Lacan (2006, p. 532), fantasy “is defined as an image set to work in the signifying structure [the symbolic order]”. Lacan (2006, p. 532) argued that although fantasy appears as an image, it shouldn’t be reduced to imagination as the fantasy’s “fundamental use is the means by which the subject maintains himself [sic] at the level of his vanishing desire” to fill the lack. Thus, fantasy has the role of defence “against castration, against the lack in the Other” (Evans,

2006[1996], p. 61) and it is used to veil fissures within a hegemonic discourse. In the case of dislocatory events, when contingency logics attempt to reveal failures of a hegemonic discourse, the discourse deploys a fantasy to defend its integrity and consistency and to present itself as a fixed and infallible discourse (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). A hegemonic discourse may maintain its hegemony through different kinds of fantasies and different fantasmatic scenarios.

As previously discussed, a new discourse emerges based on a particular desire to fill a lack in a former dominant discourse; therefore, filling the lack is the object of that desire which provides a particular mode of *jouissance* for subjects. However, the newly emerged discourse, which has already taken the empty place of hegemony, in the face of its own lack, applies a distorted way or fantasy to maintain the primary mode of *jouissance* comes from the fullness of the discourse. Namely, “[t]he distortion evident in the fantasy marks it as a compromise formation; the fantasy is thus ... that which enables the subject to sustain his desire” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 61).

Žižek (in Butler et al., 2000) argued that fantasy and ideology have the same functions, both operate to conceal the logic of contingency. As Althusser contended, “ideology has a material existence because an ideology always exists in an apparatus, ... ideology always manifests itself through actions, which are inserted into practices, for example, rituals, conventional behaviour, and so on” (cited in Žižek, 1994, p. 11). It is our performance of our relationship with others and with social institutions that continually instantiates us as subjects. As discussed, hegemonic ideology signifies its norms as well as its knowledge, a discourse of unconscious which is produced in the symbolic order and takes the place of hegemony as the universal knowledge. According to Žižek (in Butler et al., 2000, pp. 311-312) “the social norm (the set of symbolic rules) is sustained by fantasies; it can operate only through this phantasmic support, but the fantasy that sustains it had none the less to be disavowed, excluded from the public domain”.

Therefore, Žižek (in Butler et al., 2000) explained that the dominant knowledge is whatever the hegemonic symbolic order, which has taken the place of universal order, produces by/as its fantasies and is whatever the Other speaks about such as the dominant paradigm and metrics.

The next section discusses some of the fantasies of capitalism and specifically neoliberalism as the hegemonic ideology of our time in relation to the subject of this thesis.

#### **4-3-2. Neoliberal fantasies**

Based on the discussions in Chapter 3 and in this chapter, different fantasies sustain a hegemonic symbolic order. In terms of neoliberalism, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the key mode

of enjoyment emanates from a constantly increasing surplus value for reinvestment. This system of increasing surplus value and accumulation of capital is possible only through some specific fantasies such as invisible hand of market and democracy in the form of free trade, global trade, and access to free markets to “bring all human action into the domain of the market” (Harvey, 2005, p. 3).

The ideology of the free market – the general equilibrium theory of market – convinces people that if they follow the free markets’ rules and operations, then they will be able to gain increasing profit/value-added without any harm. Therefore, the more you obtain, the more you feel motivated to become involved in this system of market reasoning. The lack is revealed when the actants feel a lack of enjoyment due to the market failures in providing increasing profit. To exemplify, actants may experience this lack of enjoyment when they start losing money and assets or feel harm when they can no longer gain the same profit; namely, when they feel a kind of discrimination or unjust rules or laws working against them. In these events, Dean (2009) argued that fantasies are created by the hegemonic discourse of capitalism to fix the problem. And the fundamental fantasy of the market is always a return to the invisible hand of the market theory.

Several thinkers, including Davies, Dean, Gunder, Hillier, Laclau, Mouffe, Žižek, and ESDA followers, have pointed to the fantasies which capitalism, including its current version neoliberalism, uses to cover its failures and incompleteness. For example, Mouffe (1993) and Davies (2012, 2013) argued that communitarianism emerged to operate as a fake alternative to the social, which was expelled from human societies and replaced by individual incentive, a concept at the very core of the ideology of capitalism. It would not be fair to fail to mention that Marx was the first thinker who described the reality of capitalism as a fantasy of capital, “what individuals believe, although they don’t know” (Marx cited in Žižek, 2006a, p. 58).

Gunder (2011c) explained the ways that planning as an apparatus of hegemonic ideology is deployed through the manipulation of mass media in order to impose new fantasies on the perceptions of a society for a desirous future. In this way, the media helps to underpin fantasies through the everyday life of citizens. Indeed, the media facilitates the reproduction of ideology via the process of providing identifications for its audience. Therefore, in many cases, hegemonic ideology frames the perception of the public and consequently, even civil demands will be often in alignment with the values of the hegemonic ideology.

However, perhaps the most popular and known fantasy regarding neoliberalism is encapsulated in Thatcher's phrase – ‘There Is No Alternative’ (TINA). Werlhof (2008, 2010) criticised this idea in that it prohibits all possible thoughts. TINA stands for the fact that “there is no point in analysing and discussing” the global idea of neoliberalism since globalisation and neoliberalism are inevitable parts of human nature. Hence: go with it! (Werlhof, 2010, p. 1). “The charge led by Margaret Thatcher as she dismantled the British welfare state and defeated the trade unions in the name of ending increasing competition now prevails as the common sense of neoliberal ideology – There Is No Alternative” (Dean, 2008, p. 51).

Dean (2009) in her book *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies* attempted to illuminate neoliberal fantasies including, but not limited to, free trade, the fantasy of abundance, democracy, and technological innovations. Especially, “[n]eoliberal ideology relies on the fantasy of free trade” (Dean, 2009, p. 55). The invisible hand of market in the form of the fantasy of free trade, or as the fundamental fantasy of neoliberalism, can be explained more clearly by distinguishing between free trade’s staging of the lack of enjoyment as a loss or theft and its figuring of the corresponding excess of *jouissance*. According to the fantasy of the liberal and neoliberal ideology of free trade – which is the dominant ideology of our time – everybody wins. Namely, the fantasy of free market “promises that an unfettered market benefits everyone” (Dean, 2009, p. 55). The most important arguments of the free trade fantasy in the face of any economic crisis is an inherently contradictory operation of this fantasy: “the wise investor should believe in the market, but not too much” (Dean, 2009, p. 59). If someone loses, this simply indicates that trade was not free. The losers were greedy, or someone cheated; she/he did not play by the rules or had secret information, the benefits of insider knowledge, or the advantages of an unfair monopoly. Within the terms of the fantasy, the solution to this problem is oversight, preferably by those familiar with the industry or practice in question. The government can merely make sure that others are not out there stealing our enjoyment, the fruits of our labour, through their dishonest and unfair dealings.

The fantasy of the free market operation is doomed to fail because it is never clear how much is enough to invest and how much is enough to save or to what extent is enough to participate in the market. “How much is necessary and for what? The fantasy of a free market defers insofar as buying and selling, investing, and even bequeathing never stop” (Dean, 2009, p. 61). On the other hand, as Dean (2009, p. 61) contended,

The free-marketeer, the fantasmic businessman, corporation, or investment banker (in each of us) has to be careful and not be too absorbed, too captivated, by the

delights of the free market. The sacrifice is too much when it involves the marketeer's friends, family, and soul. Charles Dickens's character of Ebenezer Scrooge is perhaps the most familiar reminder of what happens to those who fail to enjoy precisely because of their excessive investment in the market.

According to Žižek and Dean, in neoliberal ideology and in what has been shown in media and images, “injustice is what happens to the victim; the victim is the one unjustly deprived of opportunity, life, and *jouissance*. The criminal is imagined as the monstrous instrument of deprivation” (Dean, 2008, p. 66). In fact, criminals are those actants who are not able to properly follow the routine modes of enjoyment. Namely, those groups or minorities, which do not act in accordance with the rules and values of market reasoning, are brutally dismissed from the global symbolic order. Therefore, a person who cannot respond properly to market incentives is doomed to be blamed by other actors and to be dismissed if she/he acts as a hindrance to the market. While “appropriate measures keep *us* away from *criminals*. The daily business of the community has to be secured against the criminal disruption” (Dean, 2008, p. 71) such as sub-prime home buyers. “The neoliberal criminal, then, is outside the domain of calculable risk: we can never be insured against the loss he inflicts upon us” (Dean, 2009, p. 71).

Dean (2009, p. 66) argued that neoliberal ideology does not provide “symbolic identities – that is, sites from which we can see ourselves. Conversely, it offers an imaginary identity for us sustained by excess *jouissance*” or,

opportunities for new ways for me to imagine myself, a variety of lifestyles with which I can experiment. The variety of available identities and the mutability which characterizes contemporary subjects’ relations to their identities render imaginary identity extremely vulnerable – the frames of reference that give it meaning and value are forever shifting; the others who might challenge it, rupture it, can appear at any moment. Their successes, their achievements, their capacities to enjoy can all too easily call mine into question – I could have had more; I could have been better; I could have really enjoyed. Symbolic prohibitive norms are increasingly replaced by imaginary ideals (of social success, of bodily fitness). (Dean, 2008, p. 61)

As an example, what has happened in neoliberalism is that people who are overwhelmed with enjoyment with the existing virtual public space of the internet are not interested in inter-subjectivity relations; instead, they prefer to enjoy the illusion of sharing their ideas with others, such as through different social networks and websites that ends in more ignorance and apolitical

reactions. “Speaking a liberal language of autonomy and a capitalist language of choice, they neglect the biases, misconceptions, and attachments structuring individual subjects. It’s almost as if they fail to get their own critique, stopping it too soon” (Dean, 2012, p. 227).

In the case of neoliberal housing policies, when planning actants, including planners, decision-makers, developers, and plans as well as advertisements, provide a fantasy of an imaginary scene, such as a great home or a great opportunity for investment, it encourages people to come and participate in the market. However, as mentioned, these speculative investments in the housing market often end in housing bubbles as a consequence of overvalued assets. Bubbles eventually burst, as was the case in the economic crisis of 2008. Some of the main market actors, such as policy-makers, attempted to explain the problem by pointing out that if sub-prime buyers had not been given an excess of loans, this would not have happened to the market (Dean, 2013). Here, as the fundamental fantasy of neoliberalism, free trade returned to the realm of discourse and tried to cover over the failures and adjust the lost trust. As a result, a number of rules and laws have since been created to prevent sub-prime loans; thus causing lower income groups to be pushed out of the market (Wright, 2015). However, these restrictive rules are in themselves a breach of the free trade fantasy.

On the other hand, when a bubble bursts, a hysterical desire for speculative investment has ensued within a society. People imitate each other by buying and selling assets and lands out of fear they may lose out by not participating, while others gain. According to Lacan (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 80) hysteria “as a particular form of social bond” works here; in fact, the market discourse as the Other produces a fantasy to attract people to become involved in mass hysterical behaviour.

The next section provides a discussion on how the Lacanian perspective offers an ethical response to the lack and to the demand of the Real. In other words, it discusses if there is any way to manage the ideological and fantasy-making dimensions of our life.

#### **4-3-3. Traversing of the fundamental fantasy**

Lacan conceived that one of “the operations that has to be accomplished” to lead to the end point of analysis is “traversing of the [fundamental] fantasy” (Feldstein, Fink, & Jaanus, 1995, p. 253). Fink (2009, p. 240) explained that for Lacan the “fundamental fantasy is what he calls one’s ‘subject position’ or ‘subjective position’” in facing the ontological lack and its traumatic experience. “In the fundamental fantasy we see ourselves in relation to object *a*, when we imagine the Other being fascinated by us” (Straker, 2007, p. 12). “The fundamental fantasy

stages the relationship between the subject and the lost object – [impossible] – that provided [a] prohibited satisfaction” (Fink, 2009, p. 67).

To Lacan, there is always one fundamental fantasy “beyond all the myriad images [and fantasies]” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 61), and that fundamental fantasy “plays a fundamental role in the constitution” (Fink, 2009, p. 57) of all other fantasies in the life of the subject. Therefore, the psychoanalytical “treatment produces some modification of the subject’s fundamental [fantasy] as some alteration in his [sic] mode of *jouissance*” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 61). Traversing of the fundamental fantasy is a process that “can lead to a new configuration of the [subject’s] fundamental fantasy, and thus to a new relation (stance or position)” (Fink, 2009, p. 70) to the lack and the Other. Importantly, in a clinical psychoanalytic treatment, “traversing of fundamental fantasy means that object petit *a* [which, as explained in Chapter 3, is related to the functions of both desire and the drive] has to be separated from the patient” (Feldstein et al., 1995).

According to Brousse (in Feldstein et al., 1995, p. 117), since the functions of both the drive and desire are connected to object *a*,

The drive is [also] connected to the fundamental fantasy … as object *a*. In psychoanalytical treatment, work[ing] on the fundamental fantasy, you can bring about change in the subject position of *jouissance* or [a new object *a* as surplus-enjoyment].

In this regard, the Lacanian term of *sinthome* is a key term:

In his twenty-third seminar, Jacques Lacan framed the *sinthome* as a radical unknotting of the symbolic, the imaginary and the real. He offered *le sinthome* not as a mere technical addition to the battery of psychoanalytic tools, but as a concept of paramount importance, for its unique adequation to what he found to be a significant change in the conventional relation of subject to culture and of ego to other. The *sinthome* denoted for Lacan a new way that the subject could confront the challenge posed by the rancid politics of our time. (MacCannell, 2008, p. 1)

For Lacan, James Joyce was an example of *sinthome* that is “the reinvention of the psychoanalytic symptom [that is derived from a pun on the word] *saint homme*<sup>11</sup> sainthood entailing transcendence of the limits of human” (Thurston, 2004, pp. 95-96). In the case of Joyce,

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<sup>11</sup> Holy Man

*sinthome* refers to “an identification with something outside the discursive bounds and bonds of social reality – in other words with what refuses to be the subject to the constraints that constitute that reality” (Thurston, 2004, p. 96). Therefore,

The *sinthome* is the site of a ‘disinvestment’ (Lacan’s term is *désabonnement* literally ‘withdrawal of subscription’) from the repetitious social circulation of signifiers; an act that entails a mysterious or terrifying apparition beyond the forms of identity imposed by the Other. (Thurston, 2004, p. 96)

The important point in relation to the argument of this thesis is that “the constitutive act of the *sinthome* also takes place away from the domain of imaginary – [the structure of fantasy] – legibility” (Thurston, 2004, p. 197). As Thurston (in Evans, 2006[1996], pp. 191-192) explained “refusing any imaginary solution [in facing a lack]” and identifying a specific “formulation beyond analysis, a kernel of enjoyment immune to the efficacy of the symbolic that allows one to live by providing a unique organisation of *jouissance*” are designated by Lacan as the end of psychoanalysis. To clarify this notion of the end of analysis, Lacan (cited in Evans, 2006[1996], p. 55) argued that happiness and “the disappearance of the symptoms” are not the end of psychoanalysis, because “analysis is not essentially a therapeutic process but it is a search for truth, and the truth is not always beneficial”.

According to Butler, Laclau and Žižek (2000), the ontological lack is not a pre-social unhistorical lack that desires wealth, happiness, security, and prestige. Conversely, as the lack refers to a missing signifier, which has failed to be expressed, it has a historical trait. It is a hole within a symbolic order that is socially constructed. Importantly, the ways within which we as planners promise to fill the hole signify our decisions and policies as well as the methods of filling the lack address the ethical dimension of this research.

According to Žižek, resistance to the hegemonic order can be interpreted by the Lacanian psychoanalytical term “‘traversing of the fundamental fantasy’” (in Butler et al., 2000, p. 220) to “radically disturb” the very attachment of subjects to their fantasmatic mode of enjoyment which they obtain from different fantasies, and to offer some alteration to the previous ones and to define a new organisation of *jouissance*. For example, while covering the lack with fantasies as a mechanism of defence against insecurity involves enjoyment, addressing the lack normally involves pain, feelings of insecurity, and anxiety. In this sense, *jouissance* may come from a unique desire to construct a new meaning, which might bring a new school of thought or an artistic piece of work, such occurred in Lacan’s explanation about James Joyce.

#### **4-4. The normative and ethical dimensions of planning: the radical contingency of neoliberal planning**

As has been explained in this chapter, the ethical and normative dimensions of ESDA can assist to answer question five of this research: “What can be a counter-logic for the current ontology of planning practice?” Furthermore, this ethical dimension assists to achieve the second research objective: “To develop a discussion for an alternative to the current ontology of planning and its actants”. As argued, these two dimensions are clarified through the two logics of the political and fantasmatic. This chapter has argued how the normative and ethical dimensions of ESDA may assist to reveal at least one logic of contingency (impossibility) of the neoliberal practices of planning.

Firstly, normative critiques should be involved in an analysis of the historical substantive content of the norms and rules that govern a practice. A normative framework should be seen through historical investigations as well as a political-economic analysis of the emergence of political logics. This means an investigation of how the interactions between actants makes a practice, such as a UGMP, possible or impossible. As mentioned before, these interactions and relations between actants are social struggles over filling a lack. Importantly, to apply a normative framework in the research, we should have a commitment to a logic of contingency – for example, radical democracy, class struggle, or socialism – to challenge the universal neoliberal consensus.

Second, ethical critiques take aim at the way a subject relates to both the lack and the hegemonic norms. An ethical framework places greater emphasis on fantasmatic logics: how a particular mode of enjoyment suggests a subject engages with the norms in relation to the lack. Therefore, recognising the lack, and understanding the ways that we face this lack – via different modes of enjoyment – is an ethical aspect of this investigation. In addition, traversing the fundamental fantasy of the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism – the free market – provides another principle for an ethical dimension of a counter-logic or contingency of a neoliberal practice of planning.

As discussed, the ‘fundamental fantasy’<sup>12</sup> of neoliberalism is the free market/invisible hand of the market which occults the original deadlock of “persistent market failures, structural inequalities, the prominence of monopolies, the privilege of no-bid contracts, the violence of

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<sup>12</sup> Following Žižek and Dean, this thesis applies the Lacanian concept of “the fundamental fantasy of a subject” as a metaphor to that of wider society.

privatisation, and the distribution of wealth to the ‘have mores’” (Dean, 2009, p. 56). As Dean (2009, p. 51) contended,

Neoliberalism is a philosophy viewing market exchange as a guide for all human action. Redefining social and ethical life in accordance with economic criteria and expectations, neoliberalism holds that human freedom is best achieved through operation of markets. Freedom (rather than justice or equality) is the fundamental political value.

Indeed, neoliberal ideology puts a subject in a relationship with her/his interests in the moment of decision-making. The main value which subjects measure themselves by in this relationship is the cost and benefit analysis “of a certain act as opposed to other alternative acts” (Dean, 2009, p. 52).

In terms of neoliberal UGMP as a planning practice, fantasmatic logics explain how the subjective level of the practice through different mechanisms and concepts of fantasy, drive, and disavowal maintain the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism. As explained, since these concepts explicate the reactions of subjects in relation to the lack, they illuminate the ethical statuses of the subjective levels of actants in the practice.

As previously discussed, Gunder and Hillier (2009) referred to some of the fantasies in planning and it seems we must constantly add further fantasies to their list in the realm of spatial planning. According to the ethical dimensions of the logic approach, addressing fantasies or fallacies must take place when addressing the kind of contingencies – logics of impossibilities – that the fantasies are supposed to conceal. The ethical dimension of the methodology of this research emphasises that fantasmatic logics should not only address the fantasies but also the logic of contingency. For example, the question can be, if the dominant hegemonic discourse of planning is driven by the fantasy of contemporary liberal capitalist “urban (smart) growth” (Gunder & Hillier, 2009, p. 88), what is its contingency logic(s) that the fantasy is trying to cover over?

In fact, responding to the above-mentioned question provides a way to achieve the second objective of this research, which has been presented in this chapter. Since every fantasy is an operation to conceal a (series of) logic of contingency, addressing the fantasy should end in the illumination of the contingency. As explained, the fundamental fantasy of neoliberalism is the efficiency of the invisible hand of the free market, which has taken the place of any alternative knowledge. The invisible hand of the free market claims it is able to provide better solution than any other alternative. Therefore, the logic of contingency should reveal the

failures/impossibilities of the fundamental fantasy of the free market and address overlooked relations and knowledge. In this manner, applying **a retroductive reasoning** is able to operate as a logic of contingency for a neoliberal planning fantasy or fallacy. The logic of contingency must comprise an appropriate method to reveal and deconstruct the fundamental fantasy. In doing so, ESDA provides an appropriate method through utilising the three logics of the social, political and fantasmatic.

The research contends that the method of this research, which is a logic approach based on ESDA, through the three logics of the social, political, and fantasmatic provides an appropriate method to analyse a specific planning practice such as that of housing land provision as a component of an UGMP. The three logics, through a retroductive mode of explanation, is able to provide a theory to analyse the practice. The theory provides an analysis of the possibility of the practice in relation to the fundamental fantasy of the free market as a hegemonic discourse that claims to have the ability to fill the lack. Simultaneously, this theory reveals at least one logic of contingency/impossibility for the hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism.

In this manner, deployment of the logic approach (ESDA) for planning provides a new method, which is able to cover different kinds of logics of the possibility and vulnerability of a planning practice. The logic of contingency operates as the normative and ethical dimensions of the method and provides a resistance/vulnerability to the logics of hegemonic orders, knowledge, rules, regulations, and norms of a planning practice. This logic of contingency does not show a merely theoretical alternative. The normative dimension shows the practical alternative to the neoliberal schemes of planning.

Based on abductive reasoning, the next section suggests a theory for a logic explanation of the possibility of a neoliberal practice. Then, this theory is examined in two case studies in Chapters 5 and 6.

#### **4-5. Methodological discussion: what are the logics of possibility of a neoliberal practice?**

As the methodology of this research is problem-driven rather than merely abstract theoretical, a specific problem, which is housing policy in the form of metropolitan growth management policy, has been considered to perform the ontological investigation. The focus of the research is on the empirical problem of housing policies which have been the cause of “the biggest bubble in history” (Marazzi, 2011, p. 12) and the root of the economic crisis in 2008. Thus, the focus is

on the problematisation: How UGMP as a form of housing policy is a problem, not in terms of shelter, but as a means of investment and in relation to planning and neo-liberal ideology.

The research attempts to focus on the logics, which assist to conceive this policy as a social practice and to clarify different dimensions involved in the practice. To apply ESDA, this thesis divides UGMPs into different historical phases within two cases. A policy may experience many changes from the start point through an evolutionary process. The historical phases clarify how different political, fantasmatic, and social logics operate to make possible the changes in terms of the objectives and process of the policy.

As section 3-8 explained, the axiom of this research is that the hegemonic ideology shaping the existing symbolic order of planning practices is capitalism, especially in the form of neoliberalism. According to the mentioned principles and concepts, ESDA provides a methodology to answer the questions and challenges in this research regarding the existing ontology of planning in relation to neoliberalism.

On the other hand, the methodology of this research insists on “the primacy of politics” (Howarth et al., 2000, p. 7) to critically engage with social phenomena. In doing this, the main notion that ESDA focuses on is the “ontology of lack” and “the radical contingency of social relations” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 14). As explained, Laclau (1990, p. 39) argued “that every social identity is always-already dislocated” and this characteristic causes an ontological lack in every symbolic order. Namely, every symbolic order has to face incompleteness, and this lack is obscured through the deployment of fantasies. Yet, the lack occurs and is revealed during dislocations. Dislocation is a moment in which the subject’s mode of being is disrupted by an experience that cannot be symbolised within and by the pre-existing means of discursive representation. Thus, social practices are governed by a dialectic defined by an incomplete structure on the one hand, and the collective acts of subjective identification that sustain or change those incomplete structures on the other.

Using ESDA, this research scrutinises and conceptualises the underlying grammars, rules, or norms, which create the ways a certain planning policy and its social practices remain or become hegemonic. To illuminate the ontology of the certain policy – UGMP – two different cases have been chosen in varying historical and geographical contexts. This research attempts to render a study of the relationships and interaction between states and a range of other social actors and forces, which operate on the national and international levels within both cases.

In addition, the research discusses and explores the dynamics of public policy-making and its implementation at a national and local level in two cases in relation to the international context. Attention is also paid to the uneven logics of globalisation, specifically in the case of Iran, as well as to the role of the media in shaping discourses and identities. Not only does the methodology of research focus on the identified lack – problem – but also the state/government and planning institutions responses to the identified lack are critically challenged to reveal how neoliberal solutions have changed the situation. Therefore, the procedure of the analysis is to first consider the ways in which the processes of a practice (an UGMP) have been realised. In this manner, investigation of plans, laws, orders, conversations, facts, speeches, and reports explains the problems in their historiographical phases. This investigation is aligned with the deployment of the triad-logic to ontologically explain the planning function and the operation of its actants within each case.

Through a summary of what has been explained so far in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, the next section suggests a ‘critical theory of neoliberal UGM policy’ particularly in the form of UGMP and land supply policies. This theory will be tested in Chapters 5 and 6 within two cases to realise to what extent and how each case is involved in this neoliberal reasoning.

Through retroductive and abductive reasoning, this theory explains the logics that make possible a neoliberal housing policy in the form of UGMP. This theory will be examined within two cases to reveal their similarities and differences. As argued, the research not only attempts to explain and evaluate social and political phenomena, it also commences to create an alternative approach in planning. The logic explanation intrinsically reveals both the possibility and the vulnerability of the practice. Thus, the examination of the theory in each case uncovers the logic of vulnerability – the contingencies in each case – and opens a discussion about an alternative logic for the current mechanism of each case.

#### **4-5-1. Logic of the market: neoliberalism**

Here, the logic of the market is taken into consideration. When we discuss the logic of the market, we inevitably start to express some particular economic meanings, concepts, arguments, and wordings such as the ‘efficient allocation of resources’, ‘market equilibrium’, ‘fair price’, ‘supply and demand’, ‘bubbles’, ‘financial and monetary policies and relations or formulas’ depending on the way that we problematise a phenomenon and the way we understand the key actors and terms associated with the specific market paradigm we have adopted. In addition,

what is clear is that a logic approach toward the market must try to capture and name a series of relational networks, concepts, and theories.

The “logic [approach] aims to capture the conditions that make possible the continued operation of a particular market practice, as well as its potential vulnerabilities” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 136). Therefore, the logic approach assists us to explicate that how “the logic of the market comprises a particular set of subject positions (buyers and sellers), objects (commodities and means of exchange) and a system of relations and meanings connecting subjects and objects, as well as certain sorts of institutional parameters (such as a well-functioning legal system)” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 136). Based on what has been explained about the methodology of this research (Chapters 3 and 4), as well as the literature of planning presented in Chapter 2, the following sections will summarise the three logics that have been made neoliberal UGMP possible. This summary presents a ‘critical theory of neoliberal UGMP’.

#### **4-5-2. Social logics**

As previously explained, the Lacanian ontological lack in symbolic orders, or what ESDA explains as “ontological incompleteness of social objectivities” (Glynos et al., 2012, p. 298), is the core of this research and is the starting point of a planning practice. The practice, which this research focuses on, is related to the lack of housing. This research considers the lack of housing as a fundamental lack because it “becomes evident in moments of dislocation” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 129), when the dominant system fails to supply (affordable) housing to meet the equilibrium point of the market. As explained in Chapter 2, under the ideology of neoliberalism, the invisible hand of the market – the general equilibrium theory of the market – as the basis of market logic is allegedly presented as the best solution for the lack of housing. Contemporary neoliberal planning systems often deploy land supply, different housing schemes and UGMPs when facing this lack.

Thus, social logics, in this research, investigate and reveal the economic, social, institutional and financial logics involved in the above-mentioned policies in the two cases. Chapter 2 explained extensively these aspects for neoliberal planning, in particular in relation to the neoliberal housing schemes. Flows of money from other market sectors to the construction and housing, higher housing demand, and new governmental and official law, orders, and land use plans are enumerated in social logics. According to the analysis, they may change during the analyses of each historical phase within its cases.

As Chapter 2 explained, neoliberalism has tried to achieve accumulation and unending economic growth through financial processes rather than by just production and labour processes. This is what leads to bubbles which eventually burst, as well as falls in the housing and stock market (Harvey, 2005, 2014). As explained in different sections of this thesis, neoliberalism began with the ideology of the invisible hand of market, the perfect market, free trade, and globalisation – *Laissez faire et laissez passer* (Let us do and let pass). It has continued and materialised by deregulations of economic, planning and political policies. However, as explained these practices have become the root cause of the recent crisis.

Werlhof (2008, 2010) argued that capitalism through its new form of neoliberalism has turned to the model of liberal economy put forward in the 18th and 19th centuries with its three inseparable characteristics of free trade, piracy, and war. What can be seen via a neoliberal policy or approach is maximisation of profit through accepted rules that argue for “the fewest possible obstacles, preferably, through speculation and ‘shareholder value’” (Werlhof, 2008, p. 96).

Harvey (2005), Marazzi (2011), and McKenzie (2011) argued that the neoliberal speculative system of housing and its associated finance functions operate essentially as a type of Ponzi scheme<sup>13</sup>; namely, this system will not lead to a productive process but a speculative one. People compete to enter into the market because they expect to obtain more profit in the future; however, the system is not able to ensure the continuity of financial profits. In addition, those who come in first gain more. Finally, for the mentioned reasons, the bubble is doomed to burst and economic growth ends in a slump. The most important characteristics of the housing and property markets have been realised in the recent economic crisis (2008) throughout the world, during which many people suffered.

Many researchers, economists, and thinkers have tried to address the issue through investigations into the housing market’s failures before the 2008 crisis. One of these contemporary economists is Baker (1998, 2006) who was one of the few economists that predicted the collapse of housing bubbles and recession in the US and criticised the new economy based on the financial and housing sectors. In addition, some economists such as Minsky (1992b) contended that financial policies and affluent economies based on debt-accumulation and speculative bubbles end in circular crises in the capitalist economy. Indeed, in the 1990s, many years before the recent

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<sup>13</sup> A Ponzi scheme is a speculative investment. It accounts to a system of investment within which an organisation or an individual pays returns from new profit obtained from a speculative financial deal (buying and selling) with another operator in a market, rather than from profit earned through the work of the first investors. Operators of Ponzi schemes usually entice new investors/consumers by offering higher returns than other investments, in the form of short-term returns that are either abnormally high or unusually consistent.

financial crisis (2008), Minsky predicted that the new method of accumulation in capitalist economies would end in big crises. Unfortunately, his works did not receive attention until the crisis, to the extent that after 2008, the economic crash was called the ‘Minsky moment’ or the ‘Minsky crisis’ (Hoffmann & Schnabl, 2011; Prychitko, 2010).

On the other hand, as discussed in Chapter 2, under the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism, academic surveys of housing and related market have diminished and several semi-private research groups and organisations have often taken the place of academic professional research; as a result, the initial warnings from some thinkers and experts such as Minsky, Baker, and Harvey have generally been neglected. Land and property owners, or others who wish to receive the portion in this growing market, join and work as ‘experts’ in these groups and provide data, knowledge, and new tools for the housing market (Murphy, 2014). They are the main reference for the media after government organisations. Furthermore, these private research organisations and Reserve Banks, housing and urban development departments refer to each other’s data and information. These new emerged semi-private neoliberal oriented organisations now act as a bridge between different layers of actors including people, small investors, labourers, decision makers, investors, and politicians.

These private companies and agents have been established in accordance with the Hayek (1960) theory of the perfect market concerning access to free information in the market. According to the Hayekian neoliberal reasoning, humans mind face finite intellectual limitation and are not able to gain all information and understand complex layers of knowledge in the market (Nafissi, 2000). While Hayek (1949; 1947) criticised planners and intellectuals for providing unnecessary information and knowledge and for oppressive intervening into the market; he argued the only possible way that an agent must be allowed to intervene into the market can be providing accessible information about price for public and fair opportunity for all to participate in the market. Looking at these agencies’ websites such as ‘Metropole Property Investment Strategists’ and ‘propertyupdate.com.au’ shows that these agencies allegedly ensure that they are capable of providing their clients with information, calculated decisions, regulations, and risks regarding their investment. By doing the ‘right’ research and seeking the ‘right’ information about capital growth, tax systems and benefits, the private real estate agencies claim to assist individual investors to maximise their information from markets to gain the highest profits. Therefore, the justification for the emergence of these agencies is that they provide ‘free’ information for all participants in the free market.

Finally, the pressure of ontological incompleteness or the radical contingency of the hegemonic ideology of the market on the social order is materialised in economic crises or market failures including the deficiencies of affordable housing (Dean, 2012). The constant and circular crises of capitalism are accepted by economists from Marx to Keynes and Friedmann and many of the contemporary economists (e.g., Acemoglu, 2009; Cassidy, 2010; Colander et al., 2009; Stiglitz, 2009) all of whom have discussed the reasons and solutions for market failure. These crises are represented in the form of economic phenomena such as a drop in the rate of capital returns, bankruptcies, redundancies, lack of efficient insurance policies or social services, and/or different kinds of scarcity such as affordable housing emanating from specific practices.

The next section explains some political logics, which frame the above-mentioned practical, institutional, and financial logics.

#### **4-5-3. Political logics**

Political logics reveal how the ideology of neoliberalism has been shaped through logics of articulation, equivalences, and differences as well as political techno-logics. As explained, although the analysis starts with problematisation to explain a practice and its social logics, political logics come first to ontologically make existing practices possible. Nonetheless, it is very difficult to recognise which of the political logics or social logics precedes the other. As Gramsci (2001) pointed out, the task of demarcating the social and the political dimensions of phenomena is difficult if we want to hold a rigid division between social and political realities or between private and public issues. At the first phases of most practices, political logics operate primarily in an institution mode. Political logics “serve to establish and facilitate the operation of innovative social logics” (Glynos et al., 2012, p. 300).

Regarding neoliberalism, it “was launched as an attack on socialism/communism, as a state-centric project” (Davies, 2013, p. 1). The defeat of communism and the Soviet Union as the last important barrier to globalisation (Harvey, 2005) set in motion extreme free market practices in the hope of ongoing capital accumulation and infinite growth. Two logics of articulation and equivalence against socialism/communism have worked to make neoliberal reasoning possible globally. Importantly, the logic of equivalence explains how people come together spontaneously and act automatically in a homogeneous way based on shared economic interests in housing markets.

Furthermore, the logic of difference has had a great impact in making neoliberal housing schemes possible; in particular, through the division of organisations into many sectors including

innovative institutions and financial sectors. Indeed, the logic of difference has been applied to institutional modes, which it pre-empts, and reserves the practice through the definition of implementations based on ‘privatisation’, ‘individualism’, and ‘free market’ fantasies and rhetorics (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). As explained, the numerous private and semi-private institutions that operate alongside the state are examples of the function of this political logic.

Based on the notion of Hayek (1960), the pioneer of neoliberalism, the ethic of neoliberalism as the market principle is the ability to consider individual profit and loss or cost and benefit and a separation between economic objectives and political objectives guarantees individual freedom. Indeed, the enjoyment gained from individual freedom is emphasised and legitimised by neoliberalism. This ethical dimension of neoliberalism materialised in the institutional logics of policies through logic of difference.

The logic of difference operates as the main operator for the ideology of neoliberalism in order to stimulate actors to pursue their individual interest. However, the logic of difference is possible only with an equivalence political logic that unites forces with the fantasy of democracy and liberal fantasmatic logics. Since the picture imagined by this logic is very attractive and desirous for individuals, it easily eliminates the contingency or opposite frontier who argue for the social aspects of human society (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Glynos et al., 2012).

In this manner, neoliberal fantasies cover up other expectations and the meaning of the existence of human and social life and stimulates citizens to an indefinite competition for more and more investment and individual interest. This ideology infuses people with the idea that the meaning of a citizen’s right is equivalent to the right to have more wealth and private property (Dean, 2009).

Prior to Thatcher and Regan, under the welfare state, capitalism operated through seeking full employment and an increase in wages in response to higher demands and more investment, and economic growth – the Keynesian model. However, with neoliberalism, economic growth shifted to speculative activities, including inflated housing and property market prices, as well as in the stocks and shares market, and the debt-financed mechanism of economy. These new trends of debt-saturated and increasingly deregulated global financialisation through different political techno-logics in the hegemonic ideology of capitalism began in order to solve the labour conflicts and to lose the relationship between wage, efficiency and capital return. In fact, with this system of economy, the monetary and financial system imposed a kind of accumulation through “unrealised incomes” such as credit cards (Baker, 2009; Harvey, 2005; Marazzi, 2011).

Furthermore, Glynos and Howarth (2007, p. 177) explained how the equivalence logic operates in order to make possible the practice of retreating from academic professionals,

By criticizing universities for failing the economy throughout the 1980s, accusing academics of being snobbishly out of *touch* with the real world, and by painting a general picture of higher education as overly bureaucratic and inefficient in the face of an imminent and threateningly aggressive global market, ‘modernizers’ facilitate the process by which certain key signifiers are detached from their signified and rearticulated to reinforce market-friendly equivalences.

Chapters 5 and 6 will document how particular political logics work in the processes of UGMPs. For example, in the case of Iran, there are several political moments at the international level, which influence the policy.

Nevertheless, how actants become interested and involved in the housing market in a way that made this practice possible has another dimension, which can be explained, through the subjective levels of actants or fantasmatic logics.

#### **4-5-4. Fantasmatic logics**

Within this thesis, fantasmatic logics focus mainly on the psychoanalytical aspects of the most important contradiction in capitalism – that is, the contradiction between use value and exchange value specifically in housing, which according to Harvey (2014), gave rise to the 2008 economic crisis. Based on the Lacanian concepts previously explained, such as drive, desire, and fantasy, these logics attempt to demystify the root cause of the fallacies and unachievable objectives.

The thesis conceptualises fantasmatic logics as what we are joyfully involved in doing without thinking about it, or what we keep at a cynical distance and refrain from thinking or talking about. It can be any mode of enjoyment, the enjoyment of shopping, religion, egalitarian promises, poverty alleviation rhetoric, individualistic interest, or a better life for all. Moreover, the focus in this thesis is on the fantasmatic logics as ethical aspects of planning and policy-making. To deploy these logics, the thesis focuses on the Žižekian concept of the politics of surplus enjoyment.

Žižek follows Lacan in thinking of this excess and lack in terms of enjoyment, an irrational remainder or reminder to which the subject is forever tied in a complex push-pull dynamic: in drive the subject pushes enjoyment away but still gets it; in desire the subject pulls enjoyment toward but continues to miss it (Dean, 2006, p. 7).

Žižek (2008b) famously argued that Marx ‘invented’ the Lacanian symptom by detecting a constitutive exception within capitalism, a necessary excess or imbalance which, rather than signalling the imperfect realisation of these principles, reveals the truth of their constitution. Referring to Marx, Lacan (2008, p. 60) asserts that the thing that makes the system of capitalism function is surplus value which has an analogy with psychoanalytical “surplus enjoyment [plus-de-jouir]”.

In the seminars of 1962-3 and of 1964, *objet petit a* is defined as the leftover, the remainder, the remnant left behind by the introduction of the symbolic in the Real. This is developed further in the seminar of 1969-70, in which Lacan elaborated his formulae of the four discourses. In the discourse of the master, one signifier attempts to represent the subject for all other signifiers, but inevitably a surplus is always produced; this surplus is *objet petit a*, a surplus meaning, and a surplus enjoyment. This concept is inspired by Marx’s concept of surplus value; *a* is the excess of *jouissance* which has no ‘use value’ but persists for the mere sake of enjoyment. (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 129)

Similar to Marx, Žižek (2008a) maintained that capitalism cannot be stable; rather it has to operate in a condition of constant revolution of its own conditions – creative destruction – in order to continue to function. Indeed, capitalism survives by producing new commodities, selling existing commodities in new markets, or a combination of both. Thus, the crucial point is that capitalism is never in a state of rest. In such circumstances, there is never just value; capitalism is a system based on circulation and the constant production of excess. In this regard, profit embodies the fantasmatic logic of *objet petit a*, in that it simultaneously operates as the condition of possibility and impossibility of the capitalist logic. Therefore, following Marx, Žižek inscribed surplus value as an inner contradiction within capitalism, while it operates as the condition of possibility of capitalistic discourse. At the subjective level, as explained previously, drive, through a special function of fantasmatic logic, makes this characteristic possible for capitalism (Dean, 2006; Žižek, 2008a).

As mentioned, a series of fantasmatic logics ideologically grip subjects within a hegemonic discourse. In the case of the hegemony of capitalism, different types of fantasies work through the process of providing objects of desire to fill the constitutive lack within capitalism. Therefore, the contingency of the discourse of capitalism is the factor that wants to reveal the impossibilities – lack – within discourse of capitalism. However, capitalism deploys every opportunity to sustain and to recover itself through covering over the lack. These opportunities are supported by the

mechanisms of disavowal, fantasy and drive at the subjective level. All these three mechanisms shape our mode of enjoyment and work in relation to the fundamental fantasy of perceiving the free market as the most appropriate operation for human society. Following Žižek, we as planners should recognise and take responsibility for our enjoyment.

#### **4-6. Conclusion**

To sum up, as the method of this research is retroductive and abductive, this chapter concluded with a particular theory including logics of the social, political, and fantasmatic to consider those logics that make possible the existence of UGMP as one form of the neoliberal housing policy but have not yet been taken into consideration. The theory has attempted to suggest an ontological explanation of the logic of the market regarding UGMP. The two next chapters (5 and 6) will examine the theory created based on the three logics of social, political, and fantasmatic. This theory reveals both logics of possibility/hegemony and vulnerability/contingency of housing policies within the two cases of Australia and Iran. Importantly, chapter 4 illuminated that the ethical, normative and logical contingency for the neoliberal schemes and practices can be revealed through ‘traversing the fundamental fantasy’ of the free market.

# **Chapter Five: Ellenbrook: An Urban Growth Policy for the Perth Metropolitan Area**

“When the capital development of a country becomes a by-product of the activities of a casino, the job is likely to be ill-done.”

John Maynard Keynes (1973[1936], p.159)

## **5-1. Introduction**

Chapter 5 investigates a case study in Perth, Western Australia (WA), to examine the theory of the neoliberal UGMP as a practice of planning, which was suggested in Chapter 4 (section 4-5). This chapter examines the theory to reveal to what extent and how neoliberal logics – social, political, and fantasmatic – make possible the development of Ellenbrook. In doing so, over four phases, this chapter explains and provides an in-depth understanding of the existing ontological roles and functions of planning and its actants in the area in relation to the ideology of neoliberalism to achieve the first aim of this research.

Since the second aim of this research is to offer a logical contingency for the status quo of planning within each case, it is therefore expected that the method and historical investigation itself will assist in revealing the contingencies during the explanation of each phase. As explained, the application of retroductive inference in this thesis assists in achieving a discussion on logical contingency because it is built on the premise that social reality consists of the triad logics of the social, political and fantasmatic. We can attain knowledge of these and go beyond what is empirically observable by asking questions and developing concepts that are fundamental to the phenomena under study. The chapter concludes by discussing if this existing ontology of UGMP is an effective mechanism in Perth and if it is not, what an alternative for this practice of planning might be.

To analyse the Ellenbrook case study, the chapter divides the process of policy-making and implementation of the policy into four phases: (1) a venture, (2) a rhetoric of no bust only boom, (3) economic slowdown, and (4) policy’s outcomes as a re-emerging the lack. This chapter investigates the roles and functions of planning’s actants – planners, politicians, citizens, organisations, documents, as well as the state – to find the ways in which policies emerge, continue, and are legitimised. The difficulty of applying the ESDA method is that even though the logics of possibility of a practice are categorised into the three logics of the social, political, and fantasmatic, these three logics are entwined in every moment of shaping and implementing

a practice of planning. The discussions of the four phases will be presented in a way that reveal the interconnections as well as the distinctions of these logics.

The focus of the chapter is on the critique of structures, norms, circumstances, or any other actual data and existing knowledge that have been obscured. To explain the practice of UGMP in Ellenbrook, this chapter considers social logics including financial and economic logics, political, and ideological aspects of the practice through investigation of international, national, and local economies, the patterns of urban development plans and policies, and housing supply in Perth, particularly in Ellenbrook. Through different phases, the main aims and objectives of the urban development plan and policy, and changing directions and contradictory objectives are outlined with some attention to certain legislation and policies. In this regard, this chapter, through historical investigations of plans, land laws, and rules in Western Australia – Perth, depicts the explanations behind contradictory rules, and the root and mystery of the fallacies and failed objectives.

## **5-2. First phase: A venture**

The following section will discuss which social, political, and fantasmatic logics made possible the development of Ellenbrook and appeared as a necessary practice of planning, and to what extent these three logics are in alignment with the theory of a neoliberal practice presented in Chapter 4. The three logics will present a chronological picture of the economic, geographical, ideological, and political background of Australia, Western Australia, and Perth that has resulted in the practice which has created Ellenbrook.

### **5-2-1. Social and political logics**

As Chapter 3 explained, social logics characterise established discourses, which are materialised through different economic, managerial, institutional, and financial norms and processes. They are social logics as far as they appear neutralised and natural to the eye of the beholder. This section explains what kind of social logics make possible the existence of Ellenbrook as an acceptable practice of planning in its start point. In addition, the section explains how political techno-logics assisted to justify the Ellenbrook proposed plan in this phase.

Ellenbrook is located in the north-east of Perth, the capital city of Western Australia, within the City of Swan and by road is about 45 minutes, approximately 25km, from Perth City (figure 5-1). Ellenbrook's plans, policies, and design regulations are governed and controlled by the City of Swan Administration Centre.

Hillier (2002) referred to special policies for the future development of the Perth Metropolitan Region that started at the end of the 1980s. In this regard, the State Planning Commission (SPC) “and later the Ministry for Planning (MfP)” (Hillier, 2002, p. 100) released documents regarding policies for further development and urban expansion in the Swan Valley and north-east of Perth. According to Hillier (2002, p. 101):

The land at Ellenbrook had been speculatively purchased at the end of the 1980s/early 1990s by a small number of private actors (dominated by one Japanese-owned and one Perth-owned development company) consolidating holdings around land transferred to Homeswest (the state housing authority) from other government departments, and implicitly rezonable as ‘residential’. Once word spread of Homeswest’s interest in a parcel of non-urban land, other speculative purchases were also made in the locality.

The critical theory of neoliberal UGMP – provided in section 4-5 – explained that the political logics, specifically the logics of difference, are functioning in many modes including institutional aspects to make possible neoliberal practices for housing. These neoliberal institutional aspects operate through numerous private and semi-private institutions alongside that of the state. Associated with neoliberal trends, different private and semi-private institutions and organisations have emerged, purportedly facilitating the free market mechanism. One of these innovative mechanisms in Australia include Arm’s Length Entities (ALEs) that work under a wide national policy of public-private partnership to attract private finance for public projects (Wettenhall, 2003).

According to Wettenhall (2013), as a statutory authority, ALEs are essentially as old as organised government in Australia using “statutory corporation for special purposes” for local functions such as road and bridge construction, railways and tramways, water and irrigation systems, convict assignment, land registration, and even telecommunication services. The practice continued into “the self-government period, and after federation in 1901 was also adopted by the new Commonwealth jurisdiction” (Wettenhall, 2013, p. 27). Wettenhall argued that the drivers for these ALEs included the high policy importance of economic development and the lack of adequate private capital resources.

Ellenbrook was developed by Ellenbrook Joint Venture based on an agreement between the State Housing Commission (SHC) of WA through Homeswest, which is its housing Arm Length Entity (ALE), and private companies, Sanwa Vines Pty Ltd, Multiplex Pty Ltd and Mt Lawley

Ltd (City of Swan, 2011). The land for Ellenbrook was rezoned from “general rural” and “special rural” to “special purpose zone” during a process started in the late 1980s and completed by 1993 as result of revisions in the *Corridor Plan* (WA State Planning Commission, 1993).

Most of the rezoned lands were within or on the sides of the legislatively protected Swan Valley lands. Environmentally, Ellenbrook was a valuable wetland and during the first stages of buying lands and land-use changes, it was criticised by many environmentalists and planning researchers such as Alexander (2010) and Hillier (2002). However, the Ellenbrook development continued over or close to wetland in the area (See Figure 5-2) (Homeswest & Sanwa Vines Pty Ltd, 1992). Although “settlement of the areas dates from the 1830s when the first land grant was made” (City of Swan, 2011, p. 9), the development was not significant and rapid until the 1990s.



Figure 5-1. Perth and the location of Ellenbrook (source: Khan; & Schapper, 2012, p. 4)

The main economic logic as one of the components of the social logics for Ellenbrook's development was the necessity of government intervention into the market during that special period when mortgage rates were extremely "high between 17-19% and homebuilding industry could not provide enough housing in comparison to projected flows of immigrant and money from export" (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 59). In fact, the Australian government intervened in the market during the early 1990s by providing land-use plans, financial facilities, infrastructure, and subsidised land at Ellenbrook in order to respond to the need for affordable housing.

In particular, the rationality of the practice emanated from an economic assessment in the 1992 SPC report, a population projection showed a need for the growth of 400,000 dwellings in Perth by 2021. At least 320,000 of the dwellings were predicted to be accommodated in new urban areas. The Ellenbrook development was considered as an important component of the growth strategies by the SPC for Metropolitan Perth. "Ellenbrook will assist in putting into effect government policies for the development of Perth set out in the Urban Expansion Policy (November 1990) and in Metroplan (December 1990)" (McLeod et al., 1992, p. 9).



Figure 5-2. Wetlands in the area of Ellenbrook (resource: author)

The 1992 SPC report (McLeod et al., 1992) explained that Ellenbrook was planned to accommodate approximately 20,000 new homes, which represented 10% of the next 15 years of metropolitan expansion and supply of land. The economic impacts assessments of the report explained that a 10% reduction in land supply in Perth would cause an 11% increase in land prices over the metropolis. Moreover, using a mathematical and technical logic, the report explained that with an 11% increase in price, the average price of \$50,000 would increase to \$55,000 and cause costs in land prices of \$825,000,000 over the next 15 years. This economic logic justified the establishment of Ellenbrook as a necessity.

Importantly, the Ellenbrook Development Plan was aligned with the land-supply policies for housing affordability in Perth:

The development of Ellenbrook has major implications for housing affordability.

The failure to ensure a sufficient supply of land imposes a cost on intending consumers, and on the general community. By ensuring an adequate supply of new land, the possibility for short-term land speculation and subsequent land value instability are significantly reduced, which in turn reduces the likelihood of excessive price escalation. (McLeod et al., 1992, p. 12)

The state and local planning organisations promised to provide at Ellenbrook a choice of accommodation and lifestyle in a diverse and picturesque community of approximately 35,000 people over a 15-year period. Therewith, it was predicted that the implementation of the urban extension of Ellenbrook would result in many economic outputs such as the creation of 1500 full-time equivalent jobs for 15 years and \$2.7 billion of direct and indirect investment (McLeod et al., 1992). The economic impact assessment and population projection made the Ellenbrook construction possible and presented this practice of planning as natural and necessary to the eyes of the public.

One of the most important objectives in the first development proposal was “to employ strategies and designs aimed at optimising accessibility to local centres by the use of comprehensive movement networks and by other means which [would] facilitate connection with public transport and arterial road links to Midland, Perth and other parts of the Metropolitan Region” (McLeod et al., 1992, p. iii).

In addition, the Ellenbrook development proposal proposed a mechanism for the preparation of a *Development Plan* and *Structure Plan* to control the form and the content of the planning practice in Ellenbrook (McLeod et al., 1992, p. 15). The *Structure Plan* was intended to set the

broad framework for development of the whole site at a larger scale (1:5,000 or 1:10,000). Moreover, the *Structure Plan* was responsible for providing plans for transportation systems and movements systems. The *Ellenbrook Development Plan* was supposed to contain a higher level of planning detail and identified reserves and zones for different land-use at a scale of between 1:2,000 and 1:5,000.

Based on the initial development proposed in “Town Planning Scheme No. 9 and Special Purpose Zone”, the first commitments for Ellenbrook made by the Western Australia Planning Commission included the following measures to make the new community: a town centre, hospital, service/commercial areas, retail outlets, offices, civic educational & community facilities, residential areas, conservation areas, local employment, and movement networks to maximise accessibility to local centres by private and public transport and arterial road links to Midland, Perth and the metropolitan areas (McLeod et al., 1992).

This section explained the social logics and revealed how an identified lack of affordability and population projection, supported by an economic impact assessment, made the practice of the Ellenbrook development plan possible to begin with. In addition, this section showed the first commitments and promises of the Ellenbrook development plan.

### **5-2-2. Political and fantasmatic logics**

This section discusses political logics in order to clarify the historical background and political relations in Perth and WA prior to the Ellenbrook development plan that assisted to make the plan possible. Furthermore, this section shows the psychoanalytical and ideological dimensions of the practice as the dominant fantasmatic logics in Australia and WA that resulted in the construction of Ellenbrook as an acceptable and necessary practice of planning.

Globalisation and economic rationalism have been two key features in Australian economic history (Stilwell, 1998). The following paragraphs explain how these two features have been the two important political logics that made the practice of Ellenbrook construction possible. In fact, the establishment of Australia “was a manifestation of the British state’s territorial ambitions” (Stilwell, 1998, p. 5). Namely, the initial urban settlers in Australia were supposed to serve as focal points for colonial plans of the 19<sup>th</sup> century such as administration, commerce, and trade. Stilwell (1998, p. 5) argued that the very first economic surplus emanated from “the exploitation of resources from the urban hinterlands”; consequently, the initial role of these semi-urban settlements was to manage the generation of this kind of economic surplus. This role continued in many capital cities such as Perth, which “is a city serving as a focal point for capital engaged

in the extraction of Western Australia's vast mineral wealth" (Stilwell, 1998, p. 5). In addition, as the urbanisation in Australia has not previously been under a process of transforming pre-existing rural areas to urban, Australian urbanisation has been "the subject of the influence of international political economic impulses" (Stilwell, 1998, p. 6) as well as international flows of capital and immigrants. Thereupon, all these international flows have directly moulded the capital cities and have particularly changed the size and growth models of these cities.

Furthermore, as Murphy (2014, p. 2) contended, governments are subject to international trends; "ministries that include housing, finance/treasury and business development briefs, housing policy formulation, which is usually set within a dominant economic logic, has the potential to draw upon a cornucopia of policy ideas and perspectives that increasingly borrow from international contexts". Similarly, the expansion of Australian cities started based on pervasive post World War II suburbanisation and urban sprawl emanating from the US models. "In Australia and North America the post-war period precipitated significant economic and population growth so ... there was an urgent need for the rapid provision of new urban areas" (Gurran, 2011, p. 20).

Fantasmatic logics of the practice in this phase were those fantasies that pictured an ideal imaginary of home ownership as the materialisation of success and a better lifestyle, as well as a special economic projection for future income and investment. Importantly, these fantasmatic logics made both political and social logics compelling and natural. Between the 1950s and 1970s, "Australia's major cities entered a period of significant suburban development [that] was facilitated by government home ownership policies" (Gurran, 2011, p. 21). The main ideology was that home ownership led to a better life and a sense of success and security (Apps, 1976; Forrest & Hirayama, 2014). This ideology, through the rhetoric of the Australian Dream, was "the centrepiece of the spread of middle class lifestyles" in Australia (Forrest & Hirayama, 2014, p. 2). Within the capital cities of Australia, the Australian Dream was the fantasy that framed housing policies and UGMPs "with their distinct economic, institutional and cultural elements" (Forrest & Hirayama, 2014, p. 2). Typically, the Australian Dream focused on particular operations to achieve the Australian desire for a better life, success, and security. The dream was supposed to materialise as the ownership of a detached house, with a garden and barbecues in suburban areas of the capital cities. Following this dream, by 2006 78% of Australians lived in detached houses (Moran, 2006). Subsequently, suburbanism and UGMPs have been considered as the most important and influential policies in relation to the supply of housing policies in Australia (McLaughlin, 2011).

Gurran (2011, p. 22) explained that during the post-war era, planning, as a component of the welfare state set various social and environmental goals; however, “a desire to facilitate ‘free market’ economic development processes has never been far from the surface”. Following this free market ideology, planning has often received criticism; for example, Moran, former Director of the Deregulation Unit at the Institute of Public Affairs, (2006, p. 1) criticised planning restrictions and regulation on land supplies and UGMPs, because they “are choking our cities and increasingly pushing up the prices”. According to Moran, planning restrictions have caused the loss of the Great Australian Dream.

Following the emergence of neoliberal ideology in the 1980s, the capitalist “logic of commodification has served to undermine the post-war ‘social project’ of home ownership” (Forrest & Hirayama, 2014, p. 1) and to intensify the free market operation within many countries such as the US and Australia. As Forrest and Hirayama (2014, p. 4) argued, during the process of neoliberalisation, the status of housing “shifted from being *socially special* in relation to status, stability and aspiration to being *economically special* as a source of income and magnet for investment”. Therefore, historically Australia has been largely influenced by the ideologies of globalisation, free trade, and neoliberalism.

As the result of the ideology of the market, “most Australians today live in low-density suburbs in regions that were once of high biological diversity prior to European settlements. Perth was settled in 1829 and both early visitors and settlers noted Perth’s rich flora” (Grose, 2010, p. 26). Perth, with a population of 1.97 million (ABS, 2013) is the capital city of Western Australia, the largest state of Australia in terms of total land area. The first settled area was the Swan River after which Perth grew to metropolitan size with a 641,789(ha) area (ABS, 2011). A flow of immigrants after the Second World War and mining booms increased the population of Perth and resulted in a surge in economic activities.

By 1910, the population of Perth was 115,700 and by 1970, it had reached 680,000. Between 1977 and 2007, “Perth’s population … doubled to an estimated 1.5 million, and is currently growing at a rate of over 1.6% per annum” (SoE, 2007, p. 199). Although a series of regulations, such as the R-code, have been in force for local planning schemes towards increased housing densities in the metropolitan region since the 1990s, fewer people are being accommodated per hectare (Grose, 2010). Indeed, national policies and the state level of planning are influenced by one dominant approach to planning – that of deregulation in favour of UGMP and low-density housing in suburbs (Gurran, 2011).

WA and Perth receive high revenue from mines and their relevant industries including, but not limited to, gold, iron ore, coal, diamonds, oil, and natural gas. Perth is a capital related to services for mining related industries. Correspondingly, the money from the export of these resources acts as a magnet for business, different industries, employment, and economic growth (Alexander et al., 2010; WAPC, 1997). Although this is a great advantage for economic development in the area, it has resulted in the removal of growth restrictions of the metropolitan area of Perth (WAPC, 1995). As a result of this expansion, Perth is an extremely car-based metropolis (Alexander et al., 2010).

The planning literature in Australia and WA including studies by Alexander et al. (2010) and Gurran (2011), as well as planning documents related to the state planning strategy (WAPC, 1995, 1997), reveal that the situation and characteristics of WA and Perth such as the substantial immigration of mining workers into the area and the mineral and oil revenue flowing into WA, have provided appropriate conditions for neoliberal changes and policies to attract investors' attention to invest in property and housing. Mining exports and immigration policies framed a projection for demands on housing and a trend for the supply of lands and urban growth. Based on this projection, which predicted a larger population and increased flows of money from mineral exports, investment in housing and construction has been considered as a profitable economic activity. This based on further activities in the mining sector, population projection encompassed the two intertwined logics of the political and fantasmatic that made the creation of Ellenbrook possible.

### **5-2-3. A history of institutional and social logics of the Ellenbrook development plan**

The following paragraphs specifically explain how planning documents and institutional dimensions worked and changed between post World War II years and the 1980s to make possible an expansion of the Perth metropolitan area, including the development of Ellenbrook.

The Perth Town Planning Board of 1929 was the city's first formal planning agency (Hill, 2005). In 1951, an Honorary Royal Commission of the Legislative Council was established for both the Perth and Fremantle areas (Hill, 2005). In 1955, a report was provided by the commission that focused on density, the annual rate of growth, and the past and predicted future rate of growth of the population in the state and in Perth. The report provided major guidance for later plans, particularly the *Corridor Plan*. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority (MRPA) released a publication to discuss two possible approaches of UGMP: corridors and cluster (Hill, 2005). However, it was the *Corridor Plan*, which gained the most attention and support. In November 1970, MRPA released the *Corridor Plan*.

This first of Perth's plans was released in the 1970s in response to rapid population growth and economic development associated with successive mineral booms with the aim of accelerating areal expansion toward a greater Perth. The *Corridor Plan* received the most support because it argued that development in accordance with the proposed corridor would result in a framework with maximum economically efficient expansion, preservation of the character of the non-urban areas, and provision of better access to public transportation along the Indian Ocean (WA State Planning Commission, 1990). The first aim of planning in the *Corridor Plan* was to prevent ungovernable urban sprawl and expensive and wasteful requirements for public utility, social services, and transport (WA Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990). These first expansion policies considered the rationality of growth based on geographical, natural, and economic efficiency boundaries.

In 1985, a Labour State Government was elected and it agglomerated all planning offices into the State Planning Commission (SPC) for more direct ministerial control (Kennewell & Shaw, 2008). At this time, a review of the *Corridor Plan* showed failures in some projections such as the population projection that predicted 1.4 million by 1989, whereas a new projection showed 1.4 million by 2005. In addition, the location and direction of Perth's UGMP was changed from the *Corridor Plan* directions to 68% in the outer corridors (WAPC, 1990). In 1985, the *Corridor Plan* and the *Metropolitan Region Scheme* were reviewed and a new framework that included an additional 37,500 hectares of land – mostly outer areas of the existing corridor – was created to develop Perth as a metropolitan area. The objectives of these decisions were to settle a higher population, to maintain flexibility to meet changing needs for urban land – zoning flexibility – and to produce more housing and a more modern planning framework (Hill, 2005). The new framework was named '*Metroplan*' and it predicted and recommended intensification in the centre of Perth and contained spillover of commercial and residential development from the Perth Central Area to adjacent suburbs with eight regional centres including Midland – Ellenbrook (Hill, 2005).

Indeed, Perth's "voracious appetite for growth caused it to consume two and a half times the land that Perth's first comprehensive metropolitan region plan [1960s] allocated to accommodate its present population of 1.5 million" (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 48). In this fashion, Ellenbrook became one of those extensions in Perth that began based on the themes of the *Metroplan*. Ellenbrook was one of the first of Perth's metropolitan extensions that were rezoned outside the designated corridors. It started with "the rezoning of 15 sq.km of state forest in the area to be renamed Ellenbrook" (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 58).

Thus, Ellenbrook represents the practice of new extensions, which started with several changes from a welfare state mechanism and strict regulations to the mechanism of the accumulation of capital and making more profit through UGMPs and a higher number of immigrants. These changes reflected in institutional, political, and social logics including new plans and zoning policies, which were in alignment with and related to further mining activities. Importantly, as this section has explained, the state and government adopted the policies from the US models. The paragraphs above have explained the changes in dominant discourses and their institutional aspects, and the historical conditions of planning in Australia and Western Australia that led to the formation of Ellenbrook.

The Ellenbrook development was the result of suburban development policies in the Perth region which were characterised by large-scale land-clearing and new zoning for special purposes, prompting the question of whether these new suburbs, both in the process and result, were the best to achieve initial promises of the policy responding to demand projections.

#### **5-2-4. A summary of phase 1**

As a corollary of the first phase description, the Ellenbrook development as a metropolitan extension policy began in response to a projection of higher demand for housing and the necessity of a supply of land in order to provide a series of commitments such as affordable housing for a wide range of income groups. An economic assessment showed that the construction of Ellenbrook prevented increase in housing prices in Perth. Furthermore, government and state started and supported the construction of Ellenbrook through changes in different institutional (privatisation and ALEs), social and political logics in Perth such as growth management plans – *Metroplan* –, strategies, and regulations. These two social and political logics with the fantasmatic logics of a better life style and homeownership showed that the triad of logic of phase one was in alignment with the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP discussed in section 4-5.

In term of the intertwined operation of political and fantasmatic logics, WA's economy is largely driven by the revenue from mineral export industries and energy resource products. Head (1985) and McQueen (1982) believed that the development rhetoric of the 21<sup>st</sup> Premier of Western Australia Sir Charles Court and the entrepreneurial ideology of mining investor Lang Hancock were in line with the ideology of “prosperity through growth” in WA. Therefore, referring to the rhetoric of “without mining there can be no civilisation” (Hancock & George, 1979, p. 27); undoubtedly, the conclusion for this phase is that the flow of money from mines and natural

resources in WA and its consequences such as immigration were ontologically the main drivers for the UGMP and the practice of Ellenbrook development. The political logics of the practice during the first phase was in alignment with the neoliberal political logics explained in Chapter 4 section 4-5 including those of the logics of equivalence that paved the way for globalisation and extreme free market practices after the collapse of the Soviet Union. They also ushered in the logics of difference such as innovative institutions and ALEs that made a neoliberal UGMP possible. Fantasmatic logics, which contributed to making the practice possible, included those rhetorics and fantasies that supported homeownership as a source of income and investment.



The following will investigate outcomes through plans, reports, and other documents to find out to what extent the first aims were followed and met in the period between the beginning of the 1990s and 2007-8, in which a small slowdown appeared in the WA economy due to the world economic crisis.

### **5-3. Second phase: A rhetoric of no bust, only boom (1992-2008)**

As explained in the discussion on the first phase, based on projections of population growth and increasing demand for housing, the urban land area expanded faster than the urban population size, leading to a decline in average urban population density in Perth. Ellenbrook's main social and political logics were to provide a supply of land to meet demand in order to ensure filling the lack of affordable housing and to prevent speculative increases in price. This section will analyse which logics made it possible this practice to continue working and what the outcome was regarding the promise of affordable housing by the end of the phase between 1990 and 2007-8. As explained in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, after 1990 and the collapse of Soviet Union, a series of interwoven political and fantasmatic logics dominated the global economy. In particular, relying on the free market practices in their extreme forms in the hope of infinite growth was possible only through fantasies such as Thatcher's rhetoric 'TINA', and the headline fantasy 'no bust, only boom' (Glynos et al., 2012) in the markets. Globally, these fantasies and rhetorics provided incentives and drivers in the markets to attract more participants and capital into the market and helped the neoliberal practices continue working.

#### **5-3-1. Social, political and fantasmatic logics work altogether**

In the second phase, political, social and fantasmatic logics that made it possible for the practice to continue working were interwoven and worked closely altogether. Specifically, more mining activities and exports as well as a higher rate of immigration continued working as the social and political logics of the Ellenbrook development. In the 10 years between 2001 and 2011, statistics show that Perth had the fastest urban growth of all capital cities in Australia (26%) and most of this growth took place in the outer suburban areas of Perth (ABS, 2011). However, after Melbourne, Perth also had the greatest inner-city growth. In addition, WA had the fastest growth in population in the same period at 24%. WA was one of the "champions of unrestrained economic growth" in Australia (Head, 1985). Hillier (2002, p. 99) stated that "the strategic planning policy system in WA attempts to achieve broad policy objectives through speculation of private rights in land and property development through a regulatory approach to the zoning of land". Referring to the critical theory of neoliberal housing policies discussed in section 4-5

and fantasies explained in Chapter 3, the speculative activities masked as the fantasy of the right to homeownership resulted in the fantasmatic logic as the logic of the possibility of neoliberalism.

Perth is one of the three capital cities that hosts three out of five of Australia's migrants (ABS, 2013). Therefore, relying on mining industries and a higher rate of immigration reflected the political logics which maintained the practice. Particularly, Ellenbrook was "one of the fastest-growing residential developments in WA, with a growth rate of 9.8% per annum between 2001 and 2006" (City of Swan, 2011, p. 9).

The Ellenbrook construction project with a value of \$1.5 billion included seven villages (figure 5-3) and was inaugurated in 1994 with the following commitments:

- Plan, develop and market 1200ha of land 20 kilometres north-east of Perth
- Provide 10,500 dwellings between 1994-2015
- Provide housing, associated education, recreation, retail and community facilities for wide range of housing choice for 30,000 residents
- Provide Ellenbrook in 7 phases called villages each accommodating between 5,000 and 7,000 people
- Provide a significant portion 1:12 of affordable public housing (RobertsDay Company, 2005)

In September 2014, I had a meeting with the principal of the RobertsDay Company – the planning and design company that has planned, designed and managed the construction Ellenbrook new town since 1992. The principal explained that the commitment was originally a new town comprising seven villages, with each village planned to accommodate different groups of artists. This presented Ellenbrook as a unique place to attract people. Thus, Ellenbrook was planned to include "self-contained" villages (City of Swan, 2011), each with its own services and job opportunities including shops and local communities.

According to Hillier (2002) and Alexander et al. (2010), as soon as the revision of the *Corridor Plan* in the 1980s recommended extensions in the north-east of Perth, including Ellenbrook, speculative trade of lands began in the area. In addition, "as a significant northern extension of the proposed corridor in the *Metroplan*, ... Ellenbrook was developed prematurely" which led to problematisation of service and infrastructure provision (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 60).

In 1995, an amendment (NO.249) was approved by the Ministry for Planning to allow new “logical zoning of the land” in the Ellenbrook area. This amendment permitted rezoned land to develop for “Special Purposes” in accordance with the approved *Ellenbrook Structure Plan and Development Plan* including but not limited to the following items (RobertsDay Group, 1995):

- Development of a “New Town” offering a unique lifestyle within the Perth Metropolitan Region.
- “While signifying a return to the more traditional values of community living, Ellenbrook will also pursue a leadership role in the more efficient delivery of infrastructure and in the adoption of improved environmental management techniques”.
- Six neighbourhoods within the Ellenbrook project area each comprising 5,000 to 7,000 people, focusing on a Town Centre.
- A public transport rapid transit alignment to eventually connect Ellenbrook to the Perth CBD and Midland.

Once more, at this phase public transportation was emphasised. The rezoned land was supposed to provide appropriate conditions to develop efficient infrastructure and public transportation as these were identified problems of Ellenbrook as a New Town and required for its further development. Accordingly, based on the Perth’s planning literatures and documents at least two problems can be diagnosed in 1995: The first was the land and property speculation trade and the second was related to the location of Ellenbrook, which made the provision of infrastructure and transportation problematic.

In 2001, amendment no.384 (RobertsDay Group, 2001) explained the statutory planning framework in Ellenbrook. The framework specified the location of Ellenbrook as being adjacent to the Perth-Darwin Highway and Ellenbrook’s main access to Perth’s city centre.

### **5-3-2. The business of land sale and the triad logic**

This section investigates the reports and the operations of the SHC and its ALEs to reveal how the land trade activities within Ellenbrook have shaped and materialised the financial and institutional dimensions of the social, political, and fantasmatic logics of the practice. Particularly, the investigation of the ALEs’ operations illuminates how the fantasmatic logic of capitalism that is pursuing homeownership as the object cause of desire – explained in the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP (Chapter 3 and section 4-5) – makes market incentives and is embodied in continuous increasing profit or surplus value from land sales activities in new

development policies. In this manner, the triad logic of neoliberal UGMP (section 4-5) made possible the continuance of the practice of the Ellenbrook development.

As explained in the first phase, Ellenbrook was shaped based on a venture – a neoliberal socio-political logic – between the State Department of Housing and Homeswest as an ALE as well as other private companies. The reports explained that the main role for these ALEs, including Homeswest, was to assist low to moderate-income groups in WA to purchase their own homes through the financial mechanism of home loans, or to enable renters in WA state public housing to enter the private rental market. The mission statement was “responding to the hopes of all Western Australians for their housing and construction needs” (SHC, 2002-03, p. 10).

On the other hand, these ALEs are “self-funding organisations or, even, generate surplus funds or a dividend to the council” (ANZSOG, 2013, p. 5) or to other managerial organisations of cities such as the SHC. A political-techno logic makes possible the operation of these entities; the logic is an economic theory that assumes there is a time lag between demand and supply and may never be possible to reach the optimum point of the housing market and/or affordability. This time lag theory is based on another important theory of economics that argues land – consequently housing – is a scarce commodity with a fixed supply and the demand side always is greater than the supply side. Therefore, this logic leads to an expectation that the market’s participants will profit from the time lag and consequently a constant surplus value. Particularly, this political-techno logic operates as a guarantee for the self-funding of organisations. In this regard, the expectation of higher prices in the future encourages ALEs such as Joint Venture to yield more lots for sale in order to obtain higher revenue for the next year to yield more lots. The expectation of higher prices and profit from the housing market encourages more numbers of actors and higher participation in the market; this leads to higher prices and consequently to the higher supply of land-use (particularly residential and commercial). Despite the mission statement and objectives of the SHC and its ALEs regarding provision of affordable housing, the increasing trade activities and the higher number of sold and bought lands have not resulted in housing affordability. The Reserve Bank of Australia (RBA) released a report which clarified that “the apparent decline in affordability over the long term may partly result from the collective decision of households to spend a greater share of their income on housing” (Commission, 2004, p. 7). However, the annual reports and publications failed to mention the results and consequences of the increased prices and profits from the selling activities.

To find how surplus value has been working as the driver of continuous construction in Ellenbrook and of the metropolitan growth in Perth, I investigated and analysed all annual

financial and housing reports and their outcomes over a period of 14 years between 1999 and 2013. The annual reports revealed many facts on the function and operation of the SHC and the Ministry of Housing in Perth's new extensions including Ellenbrook. The reports showed that annual value-added and received revenue from land sales in the area operate as the most important driver for the housing organisations and their operation. Therefore, there is always a need for a constant surplus value from property sales for ALEs to continue working. The following paragraphs will summarise the financial operation of ALEs such as Homeswest in Perth and Ellenbrook between 1999 and 2008. Table 5A in the appendix summarises the financial and lots sales operation of the SHC and its ALEs in both Ellenbrook and the whole Perth region.

The 1999-2000 SHC report introduced the SHC as the ALE of the Ministry of Housing for State. The SHC itself worked through other entities such as Homeswest to "provide rental accommodation and subsidies for thousands of families on low to moderate-income incomes". in addition, the SHC "[assisted] people on low to moderate income to realise their dream of home ownership through safe, affordable loan schemes including Keystart, Goodstart, Access home loans [and others] (SHC, 1999-2000, p. 20 and 46). The Ministry of Housing and the SHC were supposed to function as self-funding entities through development of land and property.

From 1999 onwards, the SHC reports introduced Ellenbrook as a successful experiment in Joint Venture for land partnership and development: "land sales commenced in 1993 and the result of these sales has been beneficial for Ministry and the SHC to access private sectors in innovative presentation and marketing and creation a share of the risk in major development" (SHC, 1999-2000, p. 32). Because of these beneficial results for the Ministry and the SHC, eight more ventures began in the late 1990s to develop new towns in the Perth metropolitan area. During this period, further political and social institutional logics including different innovative construction technologies and the construction of a retirement village made it possible for Ellenbrook to obtain good surplus from lots sales and attract more investment. These logics helped to sustain the practice, which led to further development.

The report (SHC, 1999-2000) showed that profit from land sales for further development funded other Joint Ventures housing projects. Indeed, the operations of the SHC and ALEs overall relied on a financial logic – the materialisation of both social and fantasmatic logics – indicating that increasing land release for more sales and more profit and consequently reinvestment in other development plans in the Perth metropolitan was a compulsory. This system of operation made it possible for the WA Ministry of Housing to act as a corporation and the report considered that

the number of lots and the amount of revenue and profit gained from them was an achievement and a reason for continuous development.

The SHC report (2000-01, p. 59) explained that the outcomes of “Landstart’s<sup>14</sup> Joint Venture include some of the most respected and progressive community developers, and projects have attracted Australia-wide interest”. Ellenbrook in particular was introduced as the most successful project amongst others for specific design, concepts, and use of progressive technology such as TV cables, which was “attracting strong interest” (SHC, 2000-01, p. 60).

The 2001-02 report showed that the most sold lots were the largest ones, which were not affordable for low to moderate incomes.

In the 2002-03 report, Joint Ventures sold a total of 1,541 lots yielding a revenue of \$51.4 million. A total of \$37.9 million of this revenue was expended for a yield of 1,655 more lots. The SHC report (2002-03, p. 43) more specifically outlined the outcomes of Ellenbrook:

Four successful villages have been developed and the project continues to mature. The fifth, Charlottes Vineyard, has been presold, attracting considerable interest. Work on the town centre development is commencing. Lot sizes range from 348-3,000m<sup>2</sup>, at prices of \$68,000-\$127,000. 18% of purchasers in Ellenbrook are existing residents who have experienced the benefits of living in a superior subdivision. These residents are selling their original homes and re-investing within the development to take advantage of increased property prices and to build a more substantial dwelling.

In the 2003-04 report, the importance of the Joint Ventures operations for the SHC was re-emphasised (SHC, 2003-04, p. 40):

The Joint Ventures enable the Commission to access the innovative presentation and marketing strengths of the private sector and partnerships for sharing the risk in major developments. The Joint Venture method also reduces the demands on the Commission’s cash flow, releasing funds for other activities.

However, the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institution (AHURI) (Newman, Thrope, Greive, & Armstrong, 2003) revealed that Ellenbrook was faced with serious difficulties concerning infrastructure, transportation, employment and youth facilities and failed to provide

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<sup>14</sup> Landstart as an ALE is a business unit of the Ministry of Housing as the major developer and seller of land in Western Australia (SHC, 2000-01, p. 3).

affordable housing. “The nearest sub regional employment centre is 15km away, … [and] many of Ellenbrook’s working population could well face daily commutes of more than 60 km” (Newman et al., 2003, p. 7).

In the period 2004-05, Ellenbrook achieved its highest sales and prices due to the buoyant condition of the market. “Ellenbrook developed 541 lots with expenditure of \$16.9 million in 2004-05 whilst achieving 499 sales with revenue of \$25.1 million” (SHC, 2004-05, p. 27).

In 2005, the SHC announced a fall in the number of loans to FHB: “the reduction in expenditure for Loans to Homebuyers is mainly due to the decline in loan applications as a result of the increased property prices adversely affecting the lower to middle income earners ability to purchase a property” (SHC, 2005-06, p. 102). Once again, land supply was suggested as a solution with the Commission considering up to 545 blocks of land for sale at Ellenbrook. The SHC and Landstart released vacant land for sale to,

- Assist in the supply of lots for the construction of public housing
- Encourage home ownership by providing a continual supply of affordable land in attractive and sustainable communities
- Bring in revenues to fund the Commission’s social housing programs (SHC, 2005-06, p. 25).

Therefore, revenue from land sales was one of the most important resources relied on by the SHC and the Ministry of Housing.

The SHC report (2006-07, p. 9) showed that Ellenbrook received its 27<sup>th</sup> awards for innovative, sustainable, and affordable urban development. On the other hand, it reported that the number of applications for public rental housing increased from 13,780 in 2006 to 15,438 in 2007. In addition, the average waiting time for public rental housing increased from 74 to 83 weeks, while the number of approved home loans showed a fall from 4,135 in 2006 to 3,155 in 2007. In the 2006-07 report, it was explicitly expressed that “the rapid increase in property prices over the past two years” had adversely affected affordability (SHC, 2006-07, p. 71). Thus, despite the successful operation of the SHC, nine Joint Ventures (ALEs) and high revenue from land yields and sales activities, numbers and statistics from reports revealed a rollback in achieving the SHC’s aim of provision of affordable housing.

Greive and McKenzie (in Alexander et al., 2010, p. 71) argued that the portion of public housing dropped significantly in the 15 years between 1993-2008 – the boom time in Perth. In addition, most of the funding assistance went towards rental housing rather homeownership.

Funding for public housing through the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement has been reduced by 20% over the last decade, while funding for Commonwealth Rental Assistance has increased by 66%. The CRA assists low-income households to pay private rental costs, however the gap between rents and the government ceiling has continued to increase, forcing more and more people into rental stress when more than 30% of their weekly income goes towards paying for accommodation. (Greive and McKenzie, 2010, p. 71)

In Ellenbrook, a 1:12 portion was planned for public housing, in which 8% of lots were supposed to be produced for public rental housing. However, the presence of public housing aimed to remain unnoticed with the quality of landscaping and built form being consistent with private sector development (RobertsDay Company, 2005). Referring to my meeting with the principal of the RobertsDay Company in September 2014, he explained that the construction of affordable and public rental housing had started and some of the projects had been established and people settled in houses; and other projects were in progress. However, I could not find published numbers or statistics among the available relevant documents to show to what extent the target (1:12) had been reached by October 2014.

In terms of provision of infrastructure and transportation, documents and reports showed that by the end of 2007, not enough infrastructure and public transportation facilities had been provided. The reports (SHC, 1999-2007) showed that urban design projects, land activities, and the projected profit from lots were fulfilled.

### **5-3-3. A summary of phase 2**

Based on the Perth planning documents, reports, statistics, and literature, phase 2 showed how prices in the housing market were raised to the point of unaffordability in the Perth metropolitan area including Ellenbrook. The focus of activities in the second phase (1999-2007/8) were on achieving a greater number of land sales and higher revenue. Importantly, institutional and financial aspects of planning relied on the operation of constant land sale in order to provide infrastructure, facilities, services, and further land development.

As previously discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, a new discourse such as an urban development policy emerges based on a particular desire to fill a lack, for example, lack of affordable housing. Therefore, filling the lack is the object of that desire which provides a particular mode of *jouissance* for subjects. However, the mechanism of drive provides the subjects with another way of enjoyment other than maintaining the desire of filling the lack.

In the case of the desire to fill the lack of affordable housing, the lack of affordability was inverted to the mechanism of drive. Accordingly, the housing market's actors including planning actants such as institutions and ALEs, gained an increasing surplus value/enjoyment through circling around the lack of housing rather than maintaining a desire for filling the lack. In this manner, two fantasmatic logics, over-attachment to the fantasy and the drive, worked to assist the practice of development to continue. First, over-attachment to the fantasy of the free market or invisible hand – through the political logics of new Joint Ventures for continuous land yields and sales – supported the neoliberal practice as the best operation of the housing market. Second, drive as the inherent mechanism of capitalism worked at the subjective levels of actants to gain increasing surplus enjoyment and value.

As table 5A shows once again, after 2005-06, the lack of affordability remerged. A fall in the number of loans to FHBs, a higher number of applicants waiting for public rental homes, and high and unaffordable prices in the market revealed that the market was in crisis again. However, in response to the re-emerged lack, the SHC suggested new Joint Ventures to yield and sell more lands (545 in Ellenbrook alone), as well as a project of 6-8 sustainable, affordable houses for FHBs. These new projects and policies aimed to attract FHBs and speculative buyers to the area to gain a cheaper piece of land, sometimes even before the land had been properly subdivided.

Although SHC reports showed some of the profit from land sales was spent on the construction of public rental housing, the main point is that this continuous business of buying and selling lands focused on increasing revenue from lot sales to achieve the maximum interest for higher reinvestment to continue ALEs' functions. At the end of each financial year, the SHC reported a shortage, which needed more land release to recover both finance and land shortages. Thus, the Commission was involved in the continuous creation and allocation of lots for the current or future activities.

Therefore, referring to the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP provided in section 4-5, phase 2 was absolutely in alignment with neoliberalism and all three neoliberal logics of the social, political, and fantasmatic, closely interwoven to make the development policy possible and assisting it to continue working.

#### **5-4. Third phase: economic slowdown as a dislocatory event (2008-09)**

The third phase underlines the 2008 universal economic crisis, which adversely impacted on the housing markets of Australia, Perth, and Ellenbrook. It explains the practice of Ellenbrook development and the housing market between 2008 and 2010, and whether the neoliberal logics

helped the practice to continue working or not. Phase 3 shows how the 2008 economic crisis created the dislocatory event for the practice of Ellenbrook development as the political logic of this phase and exposed the lack of affordable housing once again in the dominant discourse of market reasoning. In addition, this section explains how different actants reacted to the dislocatory event and the re-emerged lack.

In 2008, in the face of rising prices ratio to income and an increasing population, concerns were raised about the affordability of housing in the form of rental and ownership with the main concern focusing on FHBs with statistics showing “how the affordability reduced during two decades (1987 - 2007)” (Richards, 2008, p. 26). Moreover, the RBA introduced a new paradigm – ‘the proportion of dwellings affordable for median younger households’ (people aged between 25 and 39) – showed that on a nationwide average basis, around 33% of transacted dwellings would have been affordable for the median young household in 2006/7; while, in Perth only around 10% of the dwellings were affordable for the same group (Richards, 2008).

WA was in a state of boom and bust between 1990 and 2008-09. For about two decades, the state “boomed from the accelerated production of mineral resources in its regions. Then with the 2008-09 global economic recession the boom evaporated, many mining projects were cancelled and thousands of workers laid off” (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 11). However, the Perth metropolitan areas did not stop growing. Perth received a further boost not only in its population but also in the area of the city. “The 2007-08 periods saw a severe drop-off in new housing construction, and a sharp rise in rents. As in the past, the state may intervene to prop up housing construction and associated by subsidising cost of land” (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 63).

In the 2007-08 report, most of “the Joint Ventures experienced a significant reduction in demand. ... due to a sudden downturn in the market during 2007-08, especially for the median and upper quartile” (SHC, 2007-08, p. 32). The lot sales and yield sales from 2,083 and 2,306 in 2007 reduced to 1,481 and 1,722 in 2008. However, the revenue and interest from land sales increased in the period between 2007 and 2008 by \$16.7 million from the original budget. The reasons for the SHC’s revenue increase was stated as being the result of new Venture projects’ involvement in providing new lots for sale as well as increasing interest received from mortgage activities.

The SHC report (2008-09) exposed a downturn in demand which was considered to be the result of market conditions in that period of time. The number of lots produced fell by 41%. The reduction was a result of the WA housing market experiencing a severe reduction in demand in

2008-09 flowing from the global financial crisis. Sales revenue decreased by \$88.1 million due to a dramatic fall in the demand for land as a result of the downturn in the economic situation.

As mentioned, after 2005, the SHC reports, Australian planning literature, and statistics revealed an increasing market deficiency and failures in providing affordable housing in Perth. These failures excluded FHBs and low and moderate-income groups from the market. Moreover, the literature and the SHC reports revealed that the 2008 global economic crisis resulted in a downturn in the WA housing market including Ellenbrook. These failures and the economic downturn, as dislocatory events, re-activated the logic of contingency and revealed the identified lack of housing affordability again. In addition to the vacant lands released for sale, the SHC applied the following policies and projects as fantasies to cover over the deficiencies of the market and the remerged lack and to sustain the policy of further urban growth in Perth and particularly in Ellenbrook.

The SHC report (2008-09) explained that five innovative, sustainable, and affordable homes out of eight planned homes, were constructed in alignment with the initial commitment of provision of affordable housing in Ellenbrook. Furthermore, a new financial system deployed to assist the increase in demand: “The First Home Owner’s Grant Boost, introduced in late 2008, increased demand for affordable lots at Ellenbrook, Banksia Grove and Dalyellup” (SHC, 2008-09, p. 36). Furthermore, the ‘Authority’s land function’ within the SHC was established as another

[s]elf-funded, integrated provider of land and housing to lower and moderate-income families. In 2008-09, the land function provided \$36.9 million funding for the social housing programme. This is significantly less than 2007-08 due to reduced revenue from land sales as a result of the strong market contraction. In response to the severe market contraction the Authority curtailed or deferred development and land acquisition expenditure as much as possible to preserve cash for the social housing program. (SHC, 2008-09, p. 34)

However, the report confidently showed that with the emerging lack of affordability, the SHC as a planning actant was involved in the market operation through a new self-funding organisation and with a focus on buying and selling lands.

Despite the activities of the Authority being severely impacted by the 45% decline in housing demand across Western Australia during 2008-09, the Authority achieved a market share of 20% of lots released and developed, which was above its longer term market average of 14 % market share. The Authority continued to perform well

in the affordable land segment with 32.9 % of its sales in the lower quartile, and 72 % below the median price. (SHC, 2008-09, p. 33)

Reading the SHC reports (2007-2010) exposed that Ellenbrook was advertised as a place with diverse communities with different types of dwellings such as family homes, villas, apartments, individual houses of brick and tile or corrugated metal rooftops, retirement homes, nursing homes, and independent living units with a promise of increasing prices as a good and reasonable investment for the future. In this manner, advertising operated as the fantasmatic logic to attract more investors, especially the elderly, the retired, and repeat homebuyers (figure 5-4).

Concurrent with the crisis happening in the housing situation in Australia, the Labour Party candidate – Kevin Rudd – was elected Prime Minister in November 2007. The housing policies for affordability once more re-emphasised the increasing trends of land supply, subsidising the development of affordable rental housing with a particular focus on first homebuyers and homeless people (Alexander et al., 2010; Gurran, 2011). In 2009, a new agreement – the Affordable Housing Agreement which replaced the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement – proposed “a greater attention to a wider range of issues affecting buyers and renters including the impact of government’s economic, taxation, infrastructure, planning and regional development policies” (Greive and McKenzie, 2010, p. 71). However, the most emphasis was on the participation of housing associations and other not-for-profit housing investment providers rather than government or planning roles and implementations.



Figure 5-4. Advertisement of Ellenbrook growth (source: author)

Therefore, even though the Labour Government reformed some of the policies and drew on affordable housing and social housing policies from 2009, the reformed policies focused on private companies and corporations and were within the scope of the local housing strategy. Nevertheless, none of these companies and corporations showed capacity, power, or interest in providing an effective response to the lack of affordable housing. In fact, responding to the increasing needs for affordable housing required “efforts and resources of a broader network” (Grieve & McKenzie, 2010, p. 72) from national or even the global level and harmonising policies between different departments and levels of planning.

The over-attachment to the fantasy of free market was the fantasmatic logic of the subjective level of the actants, since the Federal Government and the state tended to give most of the housing and construction issues to the private sector; while, according to the executive director of the Property Council of WA, private investors were reluctant to put their money into the residential sector because they could receive better returns in commercial, industrial, and retail properties (Trenwith, 2012).

#### **5-4-1. A summary of phase 3**

Chapter 4 explained that a dislocatory event reveals a lack in hegemonic ideology and shows the logic of impossibility or contingency of the dominant discourse. Phase 3 coincided with the 2008 global economic downturn as a dislocatory event for the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism. As explained, this hegemonic ideology is a creative ideology in creating fantasies such as innovative financial systems, sustainable housing projects, and advertisements to hide its failures and contingencies. As phase 3 showed, these fantasies materialised in the social logics of this phase including innovative financial mechanisms, increasing land release policies, provision of affordable rental housing, and private sectors investment in housing as the market solution. Despite revealing the logic of contingency or market deficiencies, the neoliberal reasoning continued working through the fantasmatic logic of over-attachment to the fantasy of the free market as the best approach for provision of affordable housing for FHBs, low-income groups, and homeless people. The next section shows how the practice continued in phase 4.

#### **5-5. Fourth phase: policy outcomes (2010 - 2015)**

This phase depicts the status quo of Perth and Ellenbrook, and explains to what extent the initial commitments have been fulfilled. The section then addresses the failure of the Ellenbrook urban development policy to achieve its initial objectives including affordable and accessible public transportation (section 5-5-1) as well as affordable housing in Perth (5-5-2). Based on the ethical dimension of ESDA, section 5-5-3 explains how planning actants have faced and responded to the re-emerged lack of affordable housing. Therefore, phase 4 discusses the failures of the practice and the ethical dimension and actants' behaviours as well as the triad logic of the practice between 2010 and 2015.

Between 2001 and 2011, Ellenbrook had rapid growth of 4.5% annually and the resident population grew dramatically to 16,284 people as of the 2011 census. “Ellenbrook currently has a population of approximately 15,000 people spread throughout the various villages (and has a forecast population of 45,000 by 2031)” (City of Swan, 2011, p. 9). The original plan for Ellenbrook predicted it would “become a regional centre sustaining a population of 70,000 with 60% of the workforce employed locally”. However, the first aim (stated in the first phase) for a 35,000 population by 2015 was clearly not achieved.

The SHC annual reports (2011-2012 and 2012-2013) showed that the main measures in Ellenbrook between 2011 and 2013 were focused on town centre constructions, and infrastructures and services such as a petrol station, roads and streets, and stores. In addition, the

Authority had a strategic approach to land development, which involved acquiring parcels of land and planning future releases. Continuity in the supply of land for affordable housing relied on the timely acquisition and planning of land.

In 2009-10, the Authority's Joint Venture developments in some areas including Ellenbrook received valuable industry recognition for excellence in affordable development and community planning. The Department of Planning in its latest strategy in 2012 that focused on non-heavy industrial development in the Perth metropolitan north-east area considered "Ellenbrook as one of the strategically well-located land parcels to provide more non-heavy industries for higher employment levels in the area" (WAPC, 2012, p. 90). Therefore, the strategy was supposed to gain more land through zoning plans and buying from private owners to develop and utilise more lands on more future extensions in the area. This means that planning was regarded as a horizon for future growth – in fact, non-stop growth. It provided images of a greater population as well as speculation and investment in the area. The public perception was that cheaper properties were available because the price of land was at first close to its agricultural value before subdivision and zoning when the cost of average subdivision plots would increase.

In 2013, another area was proposed to add to Ellenbrook as village 8 (figure 5-3), – Annie's Landing village. In the meetings that I had with the local government and the RobertsDay Company – the planning and design consultants for Ellenbrook – the authorities announced that the new village had been added to the area in order to provide funds and budget for missed facilities and infrastructures through selling lands for the new village. On 6 November 2014, Housing Minister Bill Marmion opened Ellenbrook's eighth village on Ellenbrook's 20<sup>th</sup> birthday (Government of Western Australia, 6/11/2014). Since 1994, Ellenbrook has won 30 building industry awards for its contribution to the economy and job creation (SHC, 1994-2013).

### **5-5-1. Failures in provision of transportation**

Based on my discussions with a senior planner from Swan City and one of the managers of the RobertsDay Company, as well as my site visit in 2014, Ellenbrook now faces two main difficulties and problems: a lack of efficient public transportation and inappropriate access to the city and other regions. At the state and local government levels, many planning experts and politicians are quite aware of the poor conditions of transportation in the area; for example, Judi Moylan, MP member of the Australian House of Representatives from 1993 to 2013, stated that public transportation and highways in the area are two important problems in WA. She re-emphasised that the projects need serious attention and the communities in the area of Swan City,

Midland, and Ellenbrook “deserve a 21st Century road system instead of a 19th Century one, and I will continue to work with the community to ensure this is a priority” (Moylan, 2008).

The main arterial road to Ellenbrook is Gnangara Road (Figure 5-3), which is accessed via Middle Swan Road at the east end, and Wanneroo Road in the west. Ellenbrook is also located in the area between Lord Street, Beechboro Road, and Alexander Drive. These roads appear to provide appropriate access to Ellenbrook. Despite several adjacent main roads, which encircle Ellenbrook, it faces inconvenience due to having only one main road into and out of the town. There is some government talk of projects to improve traffic flow around Ellenbrook. Ellenbrook now has a regular bus service that will take passengers into or out of the area; a journey to Perth city centre is possible through a journey to the nearest train station by bus service and it takes one hour.

As explained in phases 2 and 3, both the *Structure Plan* (1992) and then *Ellenbrook Plan Amendment no: 384* (2001) suggested and emphasised the Perth-Darwin Highway as the main access to Ellenbrook, although construction of the highway has not yet started. In 2007, a strategy was created by project team representatives from the Australian Government Department of Transport and Regional Services, the Department of Planning and Infrastructure of Northern Territory (DPI NT), and the Department for Planning and Infrastructure of Western Australia (DPI WA) to provide facilities in order to develop the Perth-Darwin Highway project (DPI WA & DPI NT, 2007). The project is the longest corridor in Australia and covers more than 4,000km. One of the main access routes to Ellenbrook is part of this big project. Within the strategy, one of the short-term deficiencies which should be reconsidered to solve it is the “conflict between adjacent community land use and heavy vehicles in the Swan Valley [including Ellenbrook]” (DPI WA & DPI NT, 2007, p. 19). The longer-term aims and programs of the project is that it should be finished between 20 and 48 years. It can be seen, therefore, that different kinds of problems such as the clash between local access and heavy vehicle transit and mixed traffic conditions are some of the hindrances that make starting the project more difficult.

In addition, shaping the future of the corridor will influence the construction of the highway. It will also be influenced by future industrial growth and mineral exports and “China’s import demand for iron ore will play a key role in this outlook and is projected to grow strongly over the period 2005-2025” (DPI WA & DPI NT, 2007, p. 13). Therefore, the access problems in the area are under the influence of and intertwined with the construction of the highway which not only is beyond the responsibility and authority of the local government in Swan City Administration office but also the WA state.

The *Transit-Oriented Development revised plan for Public Transport for Perth in 2031* (Department of Transport, 2011) showed that provision of public transportation for Ellenbrook will be in the form of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) before 2020 (figure 5-5). Legitimised by passengers who were introduced as supporters for a road-based rapid transit service, the plan is supposed to provide better infrastructure for the BRT in the next 10 to 20 years. However, obviously people in the area now face many problems in this regard.

During October and November 2010, a series of seven community forums on public transport were held across Perth's Eastern Region with the aim of recognising the communities' demand for an effective public transport system (Khan; & Schapper, 2012). The community forum for Ellenbrook was sponsored by LWP Property Group and RobertsDay Companies to support and to resolve the transport problems in Ellenbrook. The outcome of the forum placed Ellenbrook in an equally important position as Perth Airport and this fact needs to be taken into consideration seriously and strongly.

Place plans dispositions are another type of community-based planning which are aligned with the strategic plan 2008-2012. The stated aim of the place plan is to "allow residents to identify local solutions" (City of Swan, 2011, p. 6). The place plan and community-based organisations made up of residents have shown a great deal of progress in Ellenbrook by providing infrastructure, services, and a suitable living environment that includes activities arranged by non-government organisations, for security, business, and other services and needs. However, they have not been able to provide heavy and special infrastructures and services. There are certain public services that should be provided by the state and Federal Government, especially in terms of traffic congestion, infrastructure, and transportation.

To summarise, through different studies and implementations, the local governments, communities, and residents have tried to find desirable solutions to deficiencies in order to not only attract state or government funding, but also to attract private stakeholders and investors to invest in the infrastructure and transportation projects as a necessary precaution against the likelihood of the state and government failing to meet their promises. Essentially, many of the unachieved promises from the first phase were the state and Federal Government's responsibility. Although the Swan City Office tried to take full responsibility by responding to the residents' major concerns and problems, the key issues and problems were felt to be beyond the authority and ability of the community and Swan

City Local Government, and their support was only possible through lobbying the state (City of Swan, 2011).



The next section analyses the outcomes of the policy regarding housing affordability in WA, Perth and Ellenbrook.

### **5-5-2. The lack re-emerged: we are in crisis but we disavow it**

As explained in the discussion on phase 3, after 2006, prices in the housing markets in Perth including Ellenbrook increased to the point of unaffordability and planning institutions such as the SHC and other actants suggested different policies to solve the problem (see table 5A). This section presents a further investigation of housing affordability and prices in the Perth metropolitan area including Ellenbrook between 2010 and 2015. The section then explains how different actants have reacted and responded to the current situation of the market. Discussion in this section explains that the disavowal mechanism is functioning at a subjective level in some of the planning actants in the case study. Through the disavowal mechanism, they attach to free market rationality as the fundamental fantasy of neoliberalism. Actants accept that the free market is the most possible logic in achieving affordable housing. In this regard, planning actants disavow the existence of any lack in the market. Finally, this section concludes with an explanation of the latest Ellenbrook plans and strategies in facing the deficiencies in the Perth housing market.

A survey by Moody's Corporation (Levine & Gibson, March 2014, p. 6) showed that "for every 1% of a state's economy dedicated to mining, house prices rose by an additional 3 percentage points during the mining boom". Specifically, two mining-dependent states – Western Australia and the Northern Territory – show that a rise in commodity prices parallels house price augmentation.

McLaughlin (2011, p. 63) compared housing prices and weekly wages for both the detached home and apartment price index for the five major Australian capital cities between 1993 and 2010. "For Adelaide, income grew by 72% while house prices grew by 259%; income in Brisbane grew by 96% and house prices by 250%; income in Melbourne increased by 72% and house prices by 294%; income in Perth rose by 102% and house prices by 323%; and income in Sydney grew 77% and house prices by 208%".

In WA, house prices rose 206% between 2001 and 2013, "but rents ... increased 191% (national average is 89%) and incomes 100% (national average is 61%). Despite this, the WA housing market is still vulnerable to a range of shocks" (Levine & Gibson, March 2014, p. 10). Evidence of WA's high dependence on mining is that house prices fell by 30% during the global recession and by 10% during the global slowdown, the largest falls of all the states in Australia.

Despite these falls in the housing market, affordability appears to be a continuing problem in Perth. At the end of July 2012, a report and plan were released based on a meeting of the

Australian Affordability Housing Committee with the Select Council on Housing and Homelessness with the aim of improving and facilitating housing affordability in WA. According to the report from that meeting, there were more than 22,000 applicants waiting for social housing in WA, while 3000 of them had been waiting for two years and were on the priority list. Moreover, a family with an average income of \$73,000AUD per year needed 6.5 times their annual income to purchase a home in WA in September 2010, compared to 3.9 times a decade prior. According to Supreme Court documents, three homes are repossessed in WA every day (Trenwith, 2012).

The news site *WA today* released a report of a family who were paying 80% of their income on rent and pointed out that the government's promise to build 30,000 new affordable house each year had not provided any solution for the family due to the time lag in providing facilities. This lag meant that the family had been on the Homeswest waiting list for more than five years already (Trenwith, 2012). Barry Doyle, Community Housing WA executive director said that "the social housing system through Homeswest is in decline and it's very difficult with the present system to arrest that decline" (Trenwith, 2012).

AHURI made the point that the number of homeless people increased by 17 % between 2006 and 2011, while the Australian population only increased by 8% (Lovering, 2014, p. 1). However, the population of homeless people decreased between 2001 and 2006 by up to 6%. The reasons for these changes are rooted in the changes in economic growth, the employment rate, and incomes. Therefore, housing policies cannot solve the problems, regardless of other economic sectors (Lovering, 2014). The Evidence Review of AHURI showed that the rate of homelessness is now almost 48.9 per 10,000 persons. Since the homelessness rate correlates with unemployment, the Commonwealth Government has an important role in helping to reduce the rate of homelessness, not only in terms of investment in housing, services, and infrastructures, but also in terms of the labour market and providing new jobs and production rather than just financial services.

Furthermore, the statistics showed that the number of people on the public housing rental list increased from 21,728 in 2010 to 24,136 in 2011 (SHC, 2010-11). In 2011, the Opening Doors policy and strategy again maintained that this issue could be solved "through creating new policy options, pathways and market-based solutions to help increase affordable housing options" (SHC, 2010-11, p. 26). Moreover, the main services that self-funding planning organisations such as the SHC and its ALEs provide are limited to the three following categories: "assisting eligible clients to access public rental housing, managing and maintaining the Authority's rental

properties, and providing information and assistance to ineligible clients so that they can access alternative housing and rental options” (SHC, 2010-11, p. 26). In 2010, the revenue from sales was under budget while the interest revenue went up due to the rise in interest rates created by the Western Australian Bank Treasury.

The 2011-12 SHC report revealed that at the end of June 2012, sales revenue was under budget and this time none of the stimulus policies could assist interest revenue to rise. There was a drop in sales revenue of \$51,453,000 because “buyer interest in the land market did not recover as anticipated during 2011-12 due to uncertainty of interest rate movements and less demand for land in some country areas” (SHC, 2011-12, p. 126).

The 2012-13 annual report of the SHC indicated that the crisis was continuing at a larger scale. The sales revenue came in under the original budget by 60% with the reason for the variance of \$472,945,000 being blamed on the lack of suitable vacant land for the Affordable Housing Program. Moreover, interest revenue was below budget again with a variance of \$139,864,000 as a result of fewer borrowings in 2012-13. In addition, the SHC received less funds from Commonwealth organisations, as the SHC had received money ahead of the target in the previous period 2011-12. Due to the increasing number of homeless people, Commonwealth grants and contributions changed from supporting new Ventures to supporting the homelessness strategy and remote indigenous communities. Commonwealth policies attempted to fix the interest rate in order to secure the repayments. All these evidences were signs of the failure of market reasoning and sent an alarm to policy makers and other actants concerning their need to profoundly rethink the whole system.

In Ellenbrook, housing prices plateaued between 2007 and 2009 for a short time, before starting to rise again. The 2009-10 SHC report demonstrated that in 2010 there was an increase in prices and buyers and market activities once again. “Sales revenue has increased by \$89.5 million due to continued government purchase incentives and access to affordable Department developed land which increased buyer activity throughout the year” (SHC, 2009-10, p. 113). In 2010,

With rising housing affordability as an issue, the Ellenbrook Joint Venture undertook a national research program to identify different housing models that could significantly lower the entry price for new housing in Perth’s growth areas. Together with the Homebuyers Centre, the Joint Venture has developed ‘green title’ homes consisting of two bedrooms, one bathroom and a garage on 150 sq.m. of land with a five-metre frontage. At \$100,000, the land component is approximately 40% of the

price of a traditional 550 sq.m. in each lot. The total house-and-land package was priced from \$260,000, compared to the traditional house-and-land average at Ellenbrook of approximately \$400,000. (SHC, 2010-11, p. 66)

Here, the important point that should be considered is that the average property sale in Ellenbrook was \$101,357 in the first six months of 2004, while in 2011 the average price was reported as \$160,000. A comparison between these two shows that over seven years the price increased 1.5 times.

Nonetheless, the statistics show that the current residents in Ellenbrook cannot be considered as low-income groups. As Table 5-2 reveals, the median weekly income in 2011 for Ellenbrook dwellers was considerably higher than the median income of the rest of WA and Australia.

Median weekly incomes <i>People aged 15 years and over</i>	Ellenbrook	Western Australia	Australia
Personal	764	662	577
Family	1,789	1,722	1,481
Household	1,677	1,415	1,234

Table 5-1. (ABS, 2011)

### 5-5-3. Ethical dimension of ESDA

As explained in Chapter 4, the ethical dimension of ESDA explains how subjects see, recognise, and face the lack. With housing prices increasing to the extent that it has made housing unaffordable for more people within not only Perth, but in all of Australia's major cities, actants have had different behavioural reactions in facing this market failure and the limitations of market reasoning. Many researchers and analysts have argued that there are no failures in the market operation unless restrictions and regulations are created to hinder market logics. Different approaches and statuses concerning the lack of market reasoning between 2010 and 2015, including economic downturn and issues of housing unaffordability, can be categorised as follows. This categorisation shows a combination of political and fantasmatic logics of the practice after the dislocatory event and in facing the re-emerged lack:

- **Dodgy consultants-experts**

As the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP explained in Section 4-5, the political logic of difference makes the practice possible through privatisation (e.g., ALEs) and the political logic

of equivalence makes neoliberal practices possible through retreating from academic professionals – particularly retreating from academics who criticise market reasoning. As a result, many institutions and agencies have been created to act beyond the state boundaries to realise the free market operation. These institutions present quasi-private independent groups and activities (Murphy, 2014). They provide research and consultancy to show the highest probability of delivering strong returns at low risk as the crucial element of business and investment. In fact, these agencies claim to facilitate a strong understanding of market conditions for participants in order to achieve residential property as the most significant investment of their life (Harvey, 2014).

When the 2008 global economic crisis occurred, many researchers in these private institutions, as well as developers, contended that the invisible hand of the market would adjust the market operation if market rules were followed. In fact, this group of actants disavowed any lack and failure with the market operation and insisted on relying on the market operation as the best solution for lack of affordable housing. Since the 2008 global economic crisis, within countries that have a similar neoliberal housing policies including the US, the UK, many of the European countries, Australia, and New Zealand, planning has often been criticised for restrictions on land access, which creates scarcity, higher costs in building, and more expensive services (O'Toole, 2009). Many pro-market groups have argued that restrictive policies and regulations against growth and new construction not only push people to live in apartments but also destroy the beautiful Australian dream of living in detached houses.

In 2014, Moody's Corporation – one of the components of the global capital market which provide credit rating, research, tools, and solutions for the better function of the market – released a research report, "Stress-testing Australian's Housing Market" (Levine & Gibson, March 2014). This report asserted that Australia was one of the few economies in the world that did not experience a significant correction following the global financial crisis of 2007-2008 and it continued to maintain that housing investors had enjoyed strong returns over the past two decades in Australia. They concluded that despite the variation amongst states in Australia, "house prices are currently near fair value" (Levine & Gibson, March 2014, p. 1). In addition, one of the important results of the research was that "state-specific housing policy could be beneficial, particularly when the market is overheated" (Levine & Gibson, March 2014, p. 1). Despite the statistics and reports of the SHC (2007-2013), the results from Moody's showed that house prices were undervalued in Perth (Levine & Gibson, March 2014).

It seems that Moody's, as one of the world's most popular and reliable investor services, undertook to investigate several valuation metrics and provided results that guaranteed benefit for housing investors, stating that "even with the latest acceleration the market has not reached bubble levels" (Levine & Gibson, March 2014, p. 1). Moody's argued that Canada and Australia were successful countries at managing the situation to avoid a serious housing crisis in comparison to the US because stricter regulations and a limited number of banks controlled the trend of the mortgage market in both countries. As a result, market concentration kept banks' profits and interest healthy, helping them to avoid financial crisis and manage risky lending. Thus, business advisors and investment companies conducted a large number of research projects and surveys in housing markets. As explained in Chapter 2, Murphy (2014) criticised the same problem in the New Zealand housing market; namely, these institutions and those people who are in business companies are the core consultants providing advice for governments.

A statement by David Guren, executive director of the Australian Treasury's macro-economic group, clearly shows the ideological level of housing policies and strategies in Australia. He argued that "in a couple of years, when mining investment does not contribute to growth any more, we will need other things to contribute to growth" (Van Onselen, October 19, 2012). He clearly mentioned the influence of the housing market as one of the most important economic drivers that government needs to balance its budget.

Obviously, despite the economic downturn in Australia, (semi)private companies' researchers and professionals and state and government speakers contend that house prices should and will increase and this increasing trend is totally normal and justifiable. They also provide different statistics and supporting indexes and evidence that shows affordability levels are in a better situation in comparison with 10 years ago, or at least have not changed greatly over the last decade. Australian housing policies are based on the pervasive belief that we should trust the housing market operation in Australia, as it has been efficiently working since the 1990s. Accordingly, every criticism or warning seemingly comes from overseas or rival developers, "mostly from the US" (Richardson, 6/FEB/2014). In this manner, the most obvious rationale is the belief in market ideology or in other words, the belief that the market can adjust itself.

In addition to international corporations, government and statesmen, another groups of actants have been actively involved in the market. For example, Michael Yardney advertises himself as not only one of the Australia's leading experts in wealth creation through property and the best property investment advisor, but also as a successful property investor, property developer, and director of Metropole Property Investment Strategists. He is the author of best-selling books on

property such as *How to Grow a Multi-Million Dollar property portfolio in your spare time* (Yardney, 2012). In addition, he has been publishing his analyses as articles in several on-line magazines and property investment websites.

This section discusses just one example of thousands of analyses and articles which Yardney and similar analysts or ‘housing experts’ have written, published and spread through webpages, websites, magazines, newspapers, and books on property which are being used as references by many people in Australia. Yardney (13 December 2013) in “Who’s right: the property boomers or the bubble busters?” encouraged property investors to refrain from listening to “so-called experts” and to follow his guidance regarding property as a long-term plan whereby everyone is able to own a multi-million-dollar property portfolio that gives them financial freedom.

In particular, these popular experts refuse to acknowledge any problem regarding affordability and economic crisis. They even maintain that pushing the FHBs out of the market does not influence affordability. This group explains their reasoning through another political-techno logic by utilising statistics and charts on median income and home prices. As an example, as affordability is the portion of disposable income that is required to own a median priced home, the claim is that rising wages, lower interest rates, and different loans and financial aids cover the gap between income and home prices. Namely, the image – fantasy – that these analysts depict is that despite the greedy alien investors cheating and transgressing the markets’ rules and pushing FHBs out of the market, the greatness of the Australian dream of owning a home and the good functions of this free market operation provide affordable housing for all. Therefore, every problem will be a temporary matter, which will be fixed by the market’s honest actors. According to Yardney’s (2013) analysis, by managing the interest rate, economic crisis can be avoided.

One of the figures which the media has utilised as a sign of affordability and a vibrant housing market, is sales activities and the number of sales in a given period. Therefore, the most widely read newspapers and media portray a positive and reliable market to their readers or audience who often are not expert in housing in order to encourage them into more investment and to bring more money into the property market. For example, quoting from one of the popular property market analysts and based on the RP Data analysis, the *Weekend Australian Property* showed that in 2013 Perth’s housing affordability was improving, sales activity was up, rents were increasing, and Perth had been the standout city for capital gains over the past decade (Davis, 2013). The broadsheet allegedly revealed evidence of positive changes in property values in Perth including 9.1% growth in Perth’s average annual property values over 10 years. This was

higher than the average annual change in property values, which was 5.2% in Australian capitals over the same period. It gave more evidence for the prediction that infrastructure and rezoning changes would have positive impacts on property prices, more immigrants resulting in price rises, and finally upgrades in the Perth property market.

Therefore, newspapers along with media and other organisations create an optimistic view of investment in Perth's property market. They operate as political "techno-logics" to prove the claim of an optimistic market situation, particularly for non-expert planning actants. New financial systems and sets of data, which are organised, based only on sectional data series, create a scientifically reliable facet for the practice.

These sorts of media and press encourage people to come and buy property, and assure them that their investment will benefit not only them but also all people by creating economic prosperity for their city. In fact, these number graphs and data distort realities and facts. They hide the complexities of the housing market and present the situation as a linear and simple phenomenon whereby the price of property is constantly rising without any failures or drops. Failures and drops are the result of mistakes and if everyone follows the market rules such as free trading investment rather than saving, they would never happen.

#### ➤ **Sustaining academics**

The second group are the academic researchers and planners who attempt to reduce the side effects of the free market and subprime borrowers and to adjust financial problems. Although this group accept market lack and failure within the market, the problem that they are concerned with and focused on is the prevention of economic crises and downturns through different financial policies and planning interventions in the market. This group argues that although there is inflation or sometimes speculative prices in the market, Australian financial policies and local institutional characteristics are able to sustain the market prices and avoid a severe slump in the housing market, and to properly respond to failures should they happen (Girouard, Klyuev and Mills in Berry, 2010; Murphy, 2011).

#### ➤ **Critical academics**

The third group includes a number of academics who predict further economic crises and are concerned with bursting bubbles. Importantly, the emphasis of the arguments of this group is on affordability issues as well as the seriousness of the lack and deficiency of the market operation, especially financial markets, in facing the lack. Taking into consideration the effects of the global

economy, such as the influence of China's and India's economies on the Australia's economy, they argue that in the case of "another round of global economic downturn", not only housing but other economic sectors will find it difficult to sustain themselves through financial policies (Tomlinson, 2012, pp. 78-79). They also argue that housing unaffordability and inequality will intensify as an important issue in the future (Yates & Berry, 2011).

Baker (2013), the economist who predicted and warned about the economic crisis in the US in 2008, contended that similar mistakes are happening in other parts of the world. For instance, he warned that the average house prices in Australia, the UK, and Canada are extraordinarily high – even more than 50% higher than in the US – and the reason for these price levels is low interest rates. Baker argued that these economies cannot survive on a constant and fixed interest rate and as soon as the world economy begins to recover from the previous recession, the interest rate will change. According to Baker a "higher interest rate could send house prices in all three countries plummeting, which will certainly dampen their recoveries, if not actually throw them back into recession" (Baker, 2013, p. 4). In particular, Gurran (2011) contended that the supply of land is not a reliable measure for affordability and close revisions on policies are required.

➤ **Official planning institutions**

After 2010, the government of Western Australia and the SHC accepted that housing unaffordability in Perth was a problematic issue. To solve the increasing ratio of homelessness and the gap in affordable housing, in 2010 the WA Government began to provide policies for more affordable housing. In this regard, following a key objective of the State Government's Affordable Housing Strategy (SGAHS) (2010-2020) 20,000 affordable housing opportunities are to be provided by 2020 (Government of Western Australia, 2010). Government began the policy with a new strategy to attract private sectors to invest, design, and construct affordable housing to help low to moderate-income earners who are struggling in the private rental market, unable to get into homeownership and/or trapped in the social housing system because of a lack of affordable alternatives.

Since a 1:12 ratio in Ellenbrook was supposed to allocate for public housing, the SGAHS strategy allocated a site within the Ellenbrook city centre (figure 5-6) to implement the 2010 affordable housing policy.



Figure 5-6. High-density development for lower-income groups (source: author)

The state Government decided to tackle the shortage of housing through a new system of partnership emphasising a market-oriented rationality. In this manner, the state undertakes the responsibility of providing land, regulations, guidelines, and codes for design which private partners should follow and scope the limitations. Namely, the private sector should deliver a diverse range of affordable, sustainable, and high quality housing (not just social housing) based on an innovative market-led design and financial and value for money solutions, which meet the needs of low to moderate-income households. While the main aim of the strategy was providing affordable public housing, the objectives of the new system of partnership include:

- To transfer operational and risk revenue to the private sector provider where it is economically efficient to do so
  - To achieve exceptional value for money through not only economies of scale but through other innovative and efficiencies such as housing design, materials selection, purchasing arrangements and other supply chain efficiencies.
- (Government of Western Australia, 2013, p. 10)

Nevertheless, again the main objective of affordable public housing was not in accordance with later aims such as transferring risk revenue to the private sector.

#### **5-5-4. A summary of phase 4**

The discussion on phase 4 focused on the current condition of Ellenbrook, the population that resides in this new town, access and transportation to Ellenbrook, and housing affordability. The discussion showed that the Ellenbrook development plan has failed to achieve at least two important objectives: provision of public transportation and access way to Ellenbrook and housing affordability. It was also explained that both these failures are caused by a belief by planning actants that following the free market operation will provide funds and sponsorship for transportation and affordable housing. Based on the above discussions, it can be concluded that planning actants are confused about the reasons for market failures including housing unaffordability and the market slump. Do these reasons include bankers' mistakes, greedy landowners, financial systems, the planning system, or is it more likely to be overseas home buyers or as McLaughlin (2011, p. 11) suggested, the failures are "perhaps enhanced by the complex nature of housing prices themselves"? As explained, complex sets of logics work to make possible an economic downturn. Again as above explained, planning actants have different behavioural reactions to the failures.

The discussion also showed that despite alarms about an impending crisis in Australia, most of the planning actants have continued to support competition and market reasoning in the property market in which low and middle-income groups who need affordable housing have to compete with investors and repeat homebuyers who want to gain increasing profit from the market. Nevertheless, to what extent the new system of partnership – based on market reasoning – can achieve its aims needs further investigation in the future.

#### **5-6. Ellenbrook represents a neoliberal UGMP**

This section provides a summary and analysis of Chapter 5 in order to answer the two following questions: First, to what extent does the Ellenbrook development reflect the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP? In other words, are the logics that made the development of Ellenbrook possible in alignment with the triad-logic that makes possible a neoliberal practice as presented in Chapter 4 section 5? Second, is development of Ellenbrook a successful practice of planning in terms of achieving its objectives? This chapter categorised the Ellenbrook development project as a practice of planning into four phases, starting from the late 1980s to 2015, to illuminate what the ontology of the practice is; namely, what sorts of logics have operated to create the practice as it is now.

In the first phase, the urban expansion policy started with the state Federal Government intervention, allegedly because land supply was required to respond to an identified lack of housing and to prevent increasing prices in the future. Following a universal political logic of free trade and market resolution for the lack of housing, state and Federal Government created a particular type of reasoning and mode of thinking at all levels. From the late 1980s, in terms of the subjective levels of planning's actants, the ideology of neoliberalism or the free market began to develop around the world as an infallible ideology which could never fail – people could rely on it if only actants admitted its laws and identified themselves with its political norms and values.

A series of political logics was associated with neoliberalism's rise to supremacy; for example, since the late 1970s and following the policies of Regan and Thatcher, OECD countries began to do away with welfare states and created new regulations to allegedly reduce the role of governments and states and to free the markets. As part of this process, since the late 1980s neoliberal approaches in Australia suggested new self-funding agencies and ALEs to operate independently from governments in so far as it was possible. During this phase, UGMPs utilised different fantasies such as the Australian dream, as well as technical and institutional political logics to justify and maintain the practice of the Ellenbrook project and to deny any failure with the policy in achieving its promises.

Importantly, neoliberalism operated based on its fundamental fantasy of relying on the free market – the invisible hand of market – which promised the best way to resolve the lack of housing. The mode of enjoyment that make possible the practice of development is a fantasy of providing infrastructure and housing through investment and reinvestment in lots and land markets – participation in the market – with faith in the self-adjusting mechanism of the invisible hand.

In the second phase, actants inverted the structure of the fantasy; that is, actants not only accepted the lack of housing but also enjoyed circling around it and gaining profit from the impossibility of fully filling the lack. As mentioned in Chapter 3, subjects found that it was easier and more joyful to attain partial *jouissance* from circling around the lack – the mechanism of drive – rather than having and following a desire in order to struggle over filling it by providing a new signifying chain. In fact, phase 2 showed a boom-time when profit and a hot market encouraged all actants to participate more and more in the market. The reports of the Ellenbrook operations showed that the second phase was focused on the value-added from sales activities rather than provision of affordable housing.

As explained in the first phase, using a mathematical and technical logic, the economic impacts assessment reported that deletion of Ellenbrook from the Perth UGMP would cause an 11% increase in land prices over the metropolis over the next 15 years (1992-2007). The policy of urban growth in Ellenbrook was shaped and implemented based on the simplest paradigm adopted from economics, leaving it unclear whether land supply caused the price to increase or drop in both local areas and the metropolis. Considering the 189% increase in average lot prices during a 10-year period (1994-2004) in Ellenbrook (RobertsDay Company, 2005), it seems that the simple logic of land supply to approach and identify demand and meet the land-market equilibrium could not justify the practice of UGMP and land release. As land and property are durable capital goods with particular features, which operate in a peculiar conflictual way in the market, several logics operated to make a practice such as Ellenbrook possible.

The third phase was a period of economic crisis as a dislocatory event, which demanded a response to the economic slowdown. As explained, in this phase the hegemonic ideology – the market – tried to sustain *jouissance* by covering over the (re)emerged lack or market failures such as unaffordability, homelessness and housing bubbles/ high inflation.

In doing so, during the fourth phase, the increasing symptoms of market failure and the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism meant that at the subjective levels, actants deployed fantasmatic logics via three intertwined mechanisms. The first of these mechanisms was new fantasies, which supported the fundamental fantasy of the free market or the self-adjusting market and included the eight innovative, sustainable, and affordable homes in Ellenbrook, innovative financial derivatives<sup>15</sup>, and design awards among many others mentioned in this chapter. The second mechanism was the disavowal mechanism that disavows any lack in the market logic by accusing some of the actants of being transgressive. The third mechanism was drive which sustains a partial but repetitive, accessible *jouissance* for the actants to continue association with the practice.

As explained, the mechanisms of fantasy making and disavowal worked to run and maintain the practice through all phases. The disavowal mechanism, that is the over-attachment of the subjects to the fundamental fantasy of the free market as the only solution, encouraged people to bring their money into the housing market and reassured them about taking benefit from the market. Actants also inverted the position of their subjectivity from will-to-fill-the lack to will-to-enjoy from the lack; thus, the structure of the drive mechanism preserved their practice in order to gain

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<sup>15</sup> Derivatives include those financial policies that are supposed to control the risk of speculation impacts of investment activities in the market.

the most profit from the lack of housing. The mechanism of drive operated to attract subjects to obtaining value-added from the deficiencies rather than struggling to respond to them. This was materialised through the new market-led system of partnership as explained in the last paragraphs of the phase 4 discussion.

Table 5-3 summarises the role of the social, political, and fantasmatic logics that ontologically constructed Ellenbrook through four phases of urban growth. Therefore, based on the information, explanation, evidence and analysis presented in this chapter, the theory of the neoliberal UGMP created in this research – section 4-5 – is totally credible for the Ellenbrook development.

**Table 5-2. The social, political, and fantasmatic logics of the Ellenbrook development**

	<b>Phase 1 (prior to 1992)</b>  <b>A venture</b>	<b>Phase 2 (1992-2008)</b>  <b>Boom time</b>	<b>Phase 3 2008-9</b>  <b>Dislocatory event and economic slow down</b>	<b>Phase 4 2010-2015</b>  <b>Outcomes</b>
<b>Social logics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ An identified lack of affordable housing</li> <li>➤ Land supply</li> <li>➤ UGMPs</li> <li>➤ The Ellenbrook venture through ALEs and privatisations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ ALEs</li> <li>➤ Speculative activities in property</li> <li>➤ Regulatory approach to the zoning of land</li> <li>➤ Design projects</li> <li>➤ Media and advertising</li> <li>➤ Innovative financial mechanism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Innovative financial mechanism</li> <li>➤ Re-emphasis of the increasing land supply as the solution to unaffordability</li> <li>➤ Provision of affordable rental housing</li> <li>➤ Not-for-profit housing investment providers as a new market solution</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Failures in achieving the initial objectives</li> <li>➤ Following implementation to solve the lack of affordability: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ New land release (village 8)</li> <li>○ New housing research</li> <li>○ New market-led system of partnership</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Political logics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Retreat from professionals and reliance on evidence-based policies</li> <li>➤ Prediction of further activities in the mining sector</li> <li>➤ Population projection as a result of increasing immigration</li> <li>➤ Political techno-logic as the economic impacts assessment that warned of increasing prices in 15 years</li> <li>➤ Privatisations and ALEs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ More mining export and immigration</li> <li>➤ Political-techno logic of time lag between demand and supply</li> <li>➤ Neoliberal institutional logics</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Global economic crisis as a dislocatory event revealed the lack in the market reasoning and resulted in housing market slump, raising unaffordability and homelessness</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Warning from some academics about bubble and economic downturn, malfunction of the market and financial system as well as inefficiency of housing schemes and land release policies</li> <li>➤ Retreating from professionals and academic</li> </ul>
<b>Fantasmatic logics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Without mining there can be no civilisation</li> <li>➤ The fantasy of Australian dream e.g. the ideology of home ownership leads to a better life, security, and success</li> <li>➤ With the emergence of neoliberal ideology, homeownership shifted from a social project to an economic special project as a source income and investment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ No bust, only boom</li> <li>➤ Over-attachment to the fundamental fantasy of the free market</li> <li>➤ Operation of the drive mechanism: more revenue from lots sales and more development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Deployment of fantasies through media and advertising to bring money to the market</li> <li>➤ Attachment to the fundamental fantasy – the free market</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Disavowal mechanism: attract more people into market to safely pass the crisis</li> </ul>

The answer to the question of whether the Ellenbrook project reflected a successful practice or not is that the practice showed a successful project in terms of its contribution to obtaining value-added from land sales and yields activities, and development of a new residential area as a Perth metropolitan extension. It assisted different ALEs of the SHC, to continue operating as a self-funding agency. Ellenbrook has achieved almost all design and construction objectives. However, it has not achieved its affordability objectives for low to moderate-income groups. Furthermore, the promises regarding infrastructures and access have not been achieved as they were supposed to have been in the first phase. According to the documents, collected data, and meetings and discussions with planners in the City of Swan local government and RobertsDay Company, the main reason for not fulfilling the initial promises is that the changes in the state's and government's priorities have been influenced by global economics and political changes.

### **5-7. Logical contingency of the practice**

As Chapter 4 explained, while the logic of necessity makes a discourse hegemonic, the logic of contingency makes that discourse impossible/vulnerable. The logic of contingency reveals the lack and deficiency of the hegemonic discourse. Importantly, the role of fantasmatic logics is to actively cover over the logic of contingency. It was explicated that fantasmatic logics make possible neoliberal UGMP through the three mechanisms of fantasy, disavowal, and drive. Again, as section 4-3.3 explained, the operations of the three mechanisms are connected to the fundamental fantasy of capitalism/neoliberalism that believes the invisible hand of the market is the best solution for any lack or deficiency. Therefore, traversing this fundamental fantasy provides a logic of radical contingency for this research. This radical contingency has both ethical and normative dimensions. In practice, radical contingency can be materialised in different ways. It can vary not only in different cases but also within each phase of the practice.

As explained, the Ellenbrook development is ontologically in alignment with the theory of neoliberal UGMP. In phase one, the Ellenbrook development began based on a simplistic logic of market reasoning that was a supply-demand balance in the Perth housing market to prevent price augmentation and inflation. As mentioned previously, while the hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism inculcates market equilibrium as the self-adjusting theory of the market, it ignores the economics of incomplete markets, behavioural economy, monopoly theory, hidden information, and speculative bubbles. The neoliberal political logics of retreating from professional and academic research and surveys resulted in considering this simplistic paradigm

rather than more complicated logics and theories. Therefore, in the first phase, more complicated economic impacts assessment based on behavioural economy and speculative bubbles in property and housing markets could have operated as the logic of contingency to reveal the malfunctions of the applied simplistic logics.

While the most important objective of the first phase was allegedly providing affordable housing, during the second phase, Ellenbrook and Perth experienced high inflation in the housing market. Over 10 years, there was 189% increase in average lot prices. It was extensively explained that during the second phase a desire to fill the lack of affordability shifted to drive and the speculative activities of land sales. The second phase was the boom period, when the fundamental fantasy of ‘the free market benefits all’ maintained existing social structures by preventing dislocations from revealing deficiencies of the market. Moreover, the mechanism of drive maintained the mode of enjoyment for the subjects as well as the market operation. At this point, it is very difficult to talk about radical contingency.

In the third and fourth phases, with the 2008 economic crisis, unaffordability, and economic downturn in Australia and WA, not only politicians, public officials, private agencies, and media but also planning authorities were involved in covering over the deficiencies of the free-market fantasy to ensure people continued to believe in boom and no bust in the housing market. Therefore, any kind of argument, formula, calculation, or paradigm that could decipher and deconstruct the fantasies and fallacies of the free market operation and make its dysfunctionality visible offer a logic of contingency for the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism.

As explained, the Ellenbrook UGMP failed to achieve its initial promises regarding access, housing affordability, and infrastructure. This occurred because achievement of these initial promises was assigned to the market operation. Furthermore, state, government and planning’s actants did not actively take any responsibility to adjust the market’s failures with, for example, regional planning or any type of planning concerning the connections between different sectors of the political-economy of space particularly at macroeconomic levels.

Instead of taking measures to adjust the failures by making connections between different actants such as the state, RBA, the Commonwealth, and planning authorities, planning maintains that the market can simply adjust the failures and fill the lack of housing through the deployment of land supply policies, financial tools, and ALEs. Yet, as explained in the last phase, the macro levels of planning’s actants, including the state and the Ministry of Housing, encouraged local levels to find financial sponsors to provide services and infrastructures. In fact, planning actants

assigned their duties to market rationality through different innovative organisations, entities, and systems such as ventures, Private Partnerships, ALEs, and other sorts of mechanisms. However, this rationality cannot make effective connections between different principles and actors of a policy.

Furthermore, housing has a significant impact on the distribution of wealth, the connection between housing policies and the social policy implications, and economic policies. As a logic of contingency with normative dimensions, further consideration is required regarding the power and footprint of large mining companies, especially during boom cycles, when they contribute significant money to government coffers. In this manner, governments set many plans and policies which appear relevant to other sectors, especially immigration, housing, urban growth, and distribution of wealth. However, based on market logics, the state, government, and mining companies are loath to intervene in socioeconomic activities, despite this reluctance having side effects on cities, urban areas, spatial matters, and low to moderate-income groups faced with many difficulties. Therefore, not only is the choice of policy intervention in a given problem influenced by socio-economic and political-institutional forces which are intertwined with the mining sector, but also it is likely impossible that actants with no relations to those forces can accomplish the policy's promises.

A logical corollary from arguments in this chapter is that planning in its ethical position should admit the lack in the existing discourse of capitalism, which dictates the status quo of planning in terms of its policies, education, institutions and regulations. In doing so, traversing the fundamental fantasy of neoliberalism is made possible by challenging the logic of the invisible hand of the market. Namely, when the Treasury, banks or politicians and investors attempt to convince us that we can simply transfer out of the boom time into a debt-fuelled property bubble with no real consequences, planning actants must challenge the idea. However, these challenges need appropriate knowledge and mode of reasoning. Here, changes in planning education are required to traverse the fundamental fantasy of capitalism in order to act ethically.

## **5-8. Conclusion**

Briefly, housing is not a simple problem; complex logics define every policy on land and housing. A UGMP is a complex equation which is influenced by several determinants, including the function of other economic sectors such as exports, imports, commodity consumption, the role of housing and property in national growth (GDP), political changes, global trends, and the psychological impacts of the economic and political phenomena on the actants who behave and

react differently to the events and phenomena. Enhancing the knowledge of actants concerning policy-making and land-use planning is the only way to traverse the fundamental fantasy of the free market, to consider the lack of market discourse. Using a logic approach to analyse the function of the market and policy is a logic of contingency in itself to avoid considering simplistic paradigms or fallacies, and to recognise the underlying logics of a practice.

# **Chapter Six: Parand: A New Town Policy for the Tehran Metropolitan Area**

“Sell your cleverness and buy bewilderment.”

Rumi, (Masnavi Ma'navi, the spiritual couplets of Maula, 1270s)

## **6-1. Introduction**

Chapter 6 investigates a case study from Iran to examine the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP, which was developed in Chapter 4. This chapter examines the theory to reveal to what extent the neoliberal logics – the social, political, and fantasmatic – made possible the development of Parand as a new urban area within the Tehran metropolitan area. Over four phases, this chapter provides an understanding of the ontological roles and functions of planning and its actants in the area in relation to the ideology of neoliberalism.

To provide an ontological investigation of the Parand case study, the chapter divides the process of policy-making and implementation of the policy into four phases: (1) A defined solution, (2) Economic and political liberation, (3) Political and economic crises, (4) Planning returns and the re-emerging lack.

Following ESDA, since phenomena are created in complex chains of signifiers and signification, every signifier is located in relation to numerous signifiers and signified elements in complex chains of significations. As Žižek (in Butler et al., 2000) argued, due to the relations between events and phenomena in the complex chains of signification, the Lacanian approach is a historical explanation of phenomena since missing signifiers always imply the historical causes of phenomena. For this reason, the analysis of Iran's case appears more difficult than the Australian one due to the complex geopolitical situation of Iran within its history. Planning and the policies of Iran cannot be explained without referring to the historical causes. In fact, giving a comprehensive explanation of every policy requires multi-layered, complicated logics that make the analysis very difficult, thus, I have tried to limit my explanation and analysis to the most relevant signifiers/events. Therefore, the underlying historical events that assist in explaining the practice will be considered and addressed.

Since the second aim of this research is to offer a logical contingency for the status quo of planning within each case, the method and historical investigation itself will reveal the contingencies during the explanation of each phase. Similar to the Australian case study,

retroductive inference through the triad logics of the social, political, and fantasmatic assists to achieve a discussion on logical contingency. The chapter concludes by discussing if this existing ontology of UGMP is an effective mechanism in Tehran and if it is not, what an alternative for this practice of planning might be.

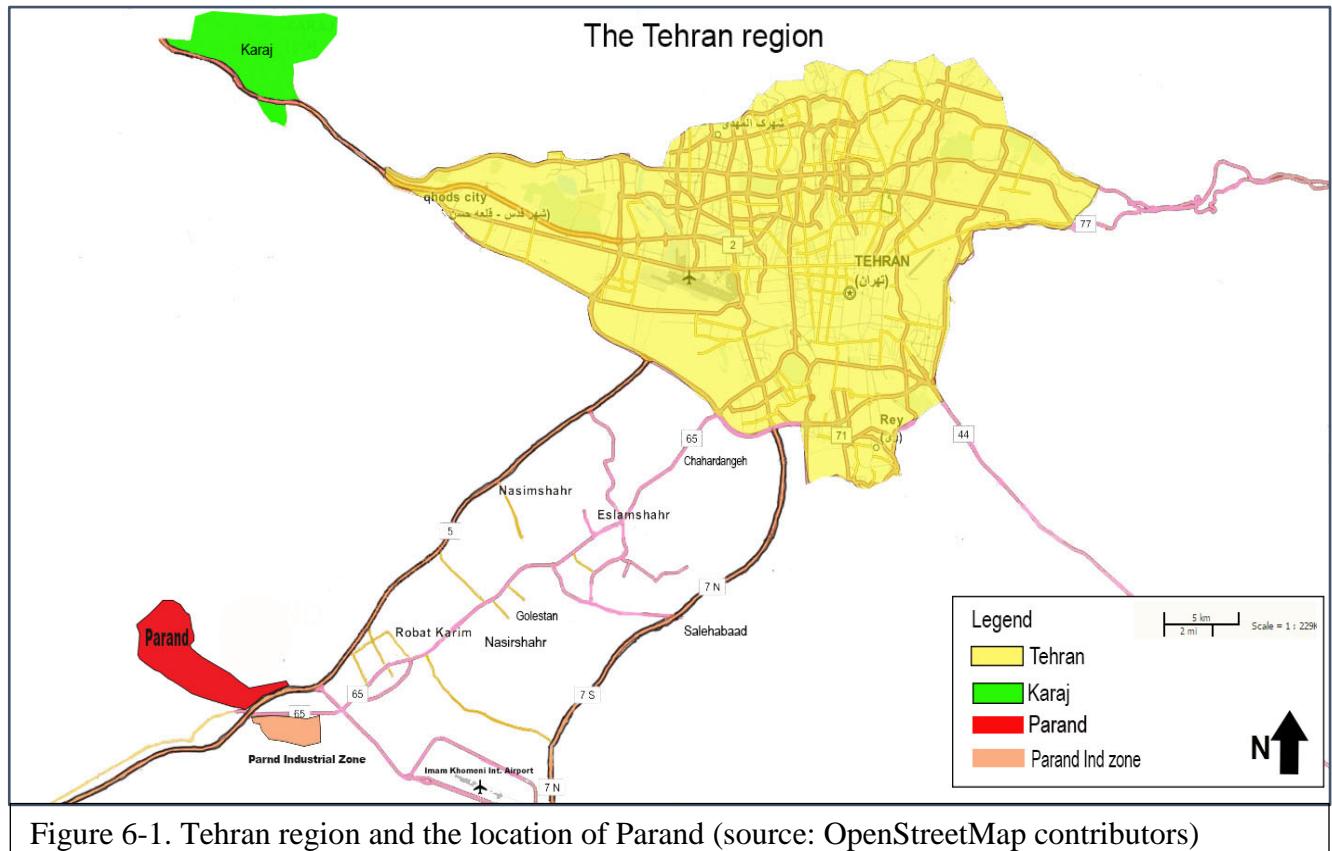


Figure 6-1. Tehran region and the location of Parand (source: OpenStreetMap contributors)

## 6-2. First Phase: The *Parand Development Plan* as a defined solution

The following section will discuss which social, political, and fantasmatic logics made it possible for the development of Parand to be considered as a necessary practice of planning and to what extent these three logics are in alignment with the theory of a neoliberal practice presented in Chapter 4. The three logics will present a historical picture of the economic, geographical, ideological, and political background of Iran, Tehran, and Parand that has resulted in the *Parand Development Plan*.

### 6-2-1. Social and political logics

Parand as a newly constructed town is located in the south-western part of the metropolitan area of Tehran in the Tehran province (figure 6-1). As explained, social logics include established discourses such as the *Parand Development Plan*, which are materialised through different

economic, managerial, institutional, and financial norms and processes. Furthermore, this section shows which political logics made the creation of Parand possible.

After the *Land Reform Plan* in 1962, Iran gradually faced the problem of informal urbanisation in the fringe areas of big cities. With the 1979 Iran revolution and later Iran-Iraq war (from 22 September 1980 to 20 August 1988), the informal settlements problem was exacerbated. People migrated from small cities and rural areas to big cities and stopped at the fringes of cities to occupy vacant lands and settle in informal areas.

To solve the problem of increasing informal settlements around the big cities including Tehran – Tehran CITY population 8,846,782 (SCI, 2011) – in 1992 the *New Town Law* was enacted by the Islamic Parliament. The policy seemed feasible due to the increased oil-revenue that was expected to contribute to increasing economic growth. The following objectives were stipulated for the New Town Law:

- To investigate the demand for housing and undertake a feasibility study for the just and even distribution of population and jobs in the country, and to prevent the uneven and inappropriate growth of cities
- To prevent the formation of informal settlements and to protect agricultural lands and green spaces at the peripheries of cities
- To supply land in order to meet the equilibrium point in the market
- To assist in shaping cities based on Iranian-Islamic architecture and planning principles (MRUDI, 1992b)

Indeed, the policy was the outcome of a series of planning studies as a political-techno logic that suggested how the *New Town Policy* could achieve the above-mentioned objectives. Consequently, an Arm's Length Entity 'New Towns Development Company' (NTDC) was established, with the New Town policy being officially put on the agenda of MRUDI (Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98, p. 2). According to the enacted *New Town Law* of 1992, all government organisations were obliged to become closely involved in the construction of new towns.

Studies on the feasibility of the new towns and literature reviews of the policy began in the early 1990s. These studies provided political logics to make the formation of Parand possible. In the initial reviews of the policy, European, English, and American studies, methods, and approaches were considered as guidance for drafting the policy. The focus of studies was the global practices deployed in order to decentralise a population and the activities undertaken to form metropolitan

areas, as well as to respond to the demand of housing at affordable prices (Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98). In 1992, the Secretariat of the Higher Council of Urban Planning and Architecture of Iran (SHCUPAI) enacted legislation regarding the new towns and specified the criteria for private and government investors to become involved in construction of the city and its infrastructure through authorisation from the New Town Development Company (NTDC) (MRUDI, 1992a). According to the legislation, 17 new towns were proposed to respond to the overflow of emigrants to 12 provincial capital cities. Parand was one of the five new towns proposed for the Tehran metropolitan area.

According to the Charter of NTDC, the company was charged to create a development company for each of proposed new towns. Therefore, Parand Development Company (PDC) was initially established with the following major objectives:

- To provide housing for the overflow population of Tehran
- To provide settlements for Imam Khomeini airport, located in the vicinity of Parand. It was projected that 4,984 out of 10,000 airport employees would reside in Parand.

From the first stages of studies in 1988-89, at least four urban planning consulting companies worked on different issues regarding the construction of a new city including infrastructure and transportation, water and energy, land use planning, and industrial zones within the city. Finally, the results of all the studies were published in the *Parand Development Plan* by Emco Consulting Company in 1998. In these studies, the current choice of location for Parand was recognised as the best site as it was located nearby one of the most important highways with a projected metro to Tehran that would make it very accessible for residents. The proposed site for Parand was located 40km south-west of Tehran. Although the study of Parand commenced in 1993-94, the *Parand Development Plan* was only enacted by SHCUPAI in 1998 (Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98). The main aims, objectives, and projections of the plan were,

- Housing for a population of 80,500
- Preparing Parand as a new town with 3 districts (each of 27,000 peoples) with 9 neighbourhoods
- Providing an appropriate transportation system and infrastructure
- Providing a self-contained and independent city which responds to the needs of residents for work, to avoid the formation of a bedroom or dormitory town
- Preventing irregular industrial expansion in the territory of Tehran province or beyond Tehran's green belt

Parand is located in the Robat Karim zone, which was originally the site for at least two worker cities – Eslamshahr and Akbarabad – suggested in the 5-year Development Plan (1972-1977). Prior to the *Parand Development Plan*, these cities had transformed into informal settlements. The planning for Parand as a new town started while at least six known informal settlements had developed in the Robat Karim zone (see: figure 6-1).

The Robat Karim-Eslamshahr zone is a historical region with some rural areas inside the region. It transformed into a zone of informal settlements as a consequence of the social and economic upheavals of the 1979 Revolution and the eight-year war. The first core of the informal settlements started in the rural area around Tehran in 1976. The first settlement was Eslamshahr. For several reasons such as the proximity to Tehran and low land prices, official planning before the revolution proposed Eslamshahr as a city for workers and low-income groups. Following the revolution and war, and because of substantial emigration, it changed into an informal settlement with 55,000 unplanned settlers by 1985. In this year, a violent protest took place in the area. The settlers blockaded the main roads to Tehran, demanding services and facilities. In 1986, official planning provided a comprehensive plan for the area (Kakouee, Aghabakhshi, & Haj Yousefi, 2003).

Two famous Iranian planners, Athaari and Mashhoudi (MRUDI, 1995), argued that while the informal settlers had built their homes on lands of around 100 m<sup>2</sup> in Eslamshahr, the official plans offered minimum limitations on residential lands and set the minimum size of 158 m<sup>2</sup> in the residential areas. Consequently, land prices jumped up abruptly as the result of enacting an official regulative plan and creating a boundary and a council for the city. Once more, low-income newcomers were excluded from the official lands in the Eslamshahr markets. The result was the development of new informal settlements in the rural area around Eslamshahr. Athaari and Mashhoudi concluded that the increasing prices also occurred in the old informal settlements, especially when they were contained by the formal areas, and this led to the formation of at least six more informal settlement-based cities in the zone. Table 6-1 (provided based on Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98, 2005; Naghshe Mohit Company, 2009-10; PDC, 2015) shows the demographic changes in the most important informal settlement-based cities in the zone.

Town's Name	1966	1976	1986	1996	2006
<b>Rabat karim</b>	-	4,763	17,903	36,488	63,069
<b>Elamshahr</b>	5,830	50,292	215,129	26,5450	357,389
<b>Nasimshahr (Akbarabad)</b>	-	202	13,750	85,124	135,846
<b>Golestan (Soltanabaad)</b>	-	158	10,717	87,242	231,905
<b>Salehabaad</b>	-	-	1,321	14,952	54,228
<b>Chahardangeh</b>	-	-	-	36,736	45,070
<b>Nasirshahr</b>	-	589	1,147	9,490	23,802
<b>Parand</b>	-	-	-	-	Predicted      Realised 47,716      5,791

**Table 6-1. The trend of increasing urban population in the Eslamshahr-Robat Karim zone**

## 6-2-2. Imperialism and colonialism as the political and fantasmatic logics

Although Parand is a new development in the Tehran metropolitan area, the story of the *Parand Plan* dates back to many years before the revolution in Iran in 1979. The 1979 revolution occurred with many aims, one of the most important objectives of the revolution allegedly being emancipation from imperialism. Nevertheless, the Iran-Iraq war, the imposed sanctions on Iran after the revolution for different reasons including foreclosing its nuclear programme, and other international political policies have hampered Iran in achieving this objective. This section explains how imperialism and (post)colonial policies have been the most important fantasmatic and political logic regarding the planning issues in Iran.

Iran is a country in the south-west of Asia. Although Iran has never been occupied directly as a colony by imperialist countries, it has been the subject of competition and power conflicts involving Britain, Russia, France, and sometimes Germany, since these countries relied on colonial policies as their main economic growth strategy (Marx & Engels, 1968[1850]).

With the discovery of oil in the area in 1901, the competition escalated and became more destructive, the only difference was that the US was added to the players. Accordingly, the role of oil exportation has been very important in the political space and policy-making of Iran. Many Iranian scholars, such as Mahadavy (1970) and Abrahamian (2008), have investigated the impacts of oil exportation on both the economy and the daily life of Iranians. Mandel (1968) specifically referred to the conflict between Iran and the UK over the export of Iranian oil in

May 1952 when Mossadegh was Iran's Prime Minister. He explained how imperialism and oil monopolies were interfering in the political issues of Iran and dispossessing citizens of their rights to their own resources. At the end of the conflict, the oil monopolies tried to defeat the nationalisation movement seeking control of the oil industry in Iran, Mossadegh resigned, and many nationalist group members and elites were killed or executed including Fatemi – Foreign Affairs Minister of Iran from 1951 to 1953 – on 10 November 1954 (Abrahamian, 1982). In addition, Britain made an official complaint about the Iranian government and took it to the United Nation's Security Council and the International Court in Den Haag in order to obtain the right to control Iran's oil resources. However, the final decision was in favour of Iran's right to its own resources.

The years of conflict between Iran and Britain coincided with the first National Development Plan between 1948 and 1955. The international conflicts negatively influenced Iranian GDP and Britain placed prohibitions and limitations on many international companies, who sought to trade with Iran. Thus, the projected national income was not realised and the first development plan of Iran failed to achieve its objectives of providing affordable housing for low-income and vulnerable groups (MRUDI, 1995). The plan failed mainly for two reasons: first, financial deficiencies resulting from international conflicts and limitations and secondly, because of uneven budget allocation. This chapter will explain how these two problems have been the reasons for the changes and challenges in the total history of planning in Iran, that is, colonial and international forces along with uneven development and an unjust distribution of wealth. Between 1947 and 1948, 70% of Iran's population lived in rural areas while a large portion of the first development plan and budget were allocated to a list of 50 big cities (MRUDI, 1995). Later, the 'Management and Planning Organisation of Iran' (MPOI) set two 7-year and three 5-year National Development Plans between 1956 and 1979.

In the 1960s, adapting the US approach to policy-making, the King of Iran's reform on land policy abolished the system of feudalism and land ownership in Iran. It was a controversial policy, which faced much protest and objection. The policy confiscated land from large-scale owners and distributed it among the small farmers in rural areas. Several Iranian scholars such as Abrahamian (2008) and Arjomand (1988) believed that this policy, along with industrialisation, forced people to emigrate from small cities and rural areas to the large cities. Since these cities failed to absorb all the newcomers inside their territories, some of the emigrants located at the periphery of the cities created informal settlements on unplanned lands. Although the number of informal settlers at the early stages was not as large as the number of informal

settlers after the 1979 revolution, this is considered as one of the sources underlying the subsequent shaping of informal settlements, as well as the cause of many of the protests and conflicts occurring in the years prior to, and resulting in the revolution.

Nevertheless, several causative reasons ignited the fire, which ended in Iran's revolution on 11 February 1979. In addition to historical anti-colonial feelings, another reason for the revolution was the delay of political demands, especially from nationalists, the leftist elites, and intellectual groups. These demands focused on putting limitations on the King's authority, based on the constitutional law enacted in 1906. On the other hand, changes in some of the King of Iran's foreign policies on oil prices in the 1970s placed him in opposition to many Western countries including the US and the UK. For these reasons, there was a strong push to overthrow the Royal System of Government in Iran. Finally, the popularity of Shia beliefs in Iran supported an Islamic Republic system of government to take the empty locus of hegemonic discourse in the political sphere of Iran derived from winning a referendum in April 1979 (Abrahamian, 2008).

Abolishing most of the previous system of planning, it took a long time for the new government to organise and to establish compulsory organisations, regulations, and mechanisms. Instead, after ending the previous system, a number of revolutionary slogans took the empty place of regulations, plans, and policies such as:

Islam represents the slum-dwellers, not the palace-dwellers  
Islam is not the opiate of the masses  
The oppressed of the world, unite  
Oppressed of the world, create a party of the oppressed  
Neither East nor West, but Islam  
We are for Islam not for capitalism or feudalism  
Islam will eliminate class differences  
The duty of the clergy is to liberate the poor from the clutches of the rich  
In Islam there will be no landless peasant (Abrahamian, 2008, p. 148).

Therefore, with the lack of planning, the only policy which was enacted in the agenda of the government was called the *Law of the Urban Land* which was implemented for five years (Parliament of Islamic republic of Iran, 1982). According to the law, the Ministry of Housing was obliged to utilise the extensive supply of land in the areas of the big cities specifically for low to moderate-income groups. The objective of the law was allegedly to reduce housing prices and create affordable housing for all Iranian citizens. As a consequence of this law, emigration from rural areas and small cities to the urban areas increased dramatically (Bahmanteymouri, 2007).

However, the most important cause of the increasing number of emigrants to the cities was the Iran-Iraq war, which was supported against Iran by several countries such as the US, the UK, Germany, France, and Russia among many others. Furthermore, sanctions on Iran from the early years after the revolution represented a modern method of imperialism/colonialism and caused more economic difficulties for Iran. As a consequence of these political logics, large cities received a huge number of emigrants from small cities and rural areas. In desperation, the Iranian government created national and regional policies, which adversely influenced the distribution of wealth in the border provinces. The reason for these policies was understandable, almost all of Iran's neighbours (Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan) had faced wars and security problems and the borders with the Persian Gulf were threatened by international warships or military bases in the area (Blum, 2013). Accordingly, the new Iranian government did not only have to deal with the previous problems but also faced new dilemmas and burdens. Although parts of the initial objectives of the Iranian revolution were equality and prosperity, the occurrence of the revolution did not mitigate the problems of poverty nor did it meliorate the distribution of wealth.

There were many problems including, but not limited to, the absence of an appropriate planning system, especially in the first years after revolution; the Iran-Iraq war; sanctions; uneven spatial economic policies, along with a malfunction of the policy of land supply, which continued years after war; and the absence of experts in the social sciences, particularly economics and planning. Together, these resulted in a huge number of rural emigrants and resultant informal settlements formation.

In 1982, MPOI, which had been the organisation responsible for planning and budgeting in Iran since 1948, offered a 5-year development plan – as the first post-revolution plan – to the Parliament of Islamic republic of Iran and tried to convince the members of the necessity of the plan. However, the Parliament rejected it due to difficulties with the war, fluctuations in oil exports and oil prices, along with instabilities in the currency rate, devastation caused by the war and many other problems that made it impossible to predict and allocate accurately a budget for different policies. Therefore, Iran, with an almost 10-year lack of official planning, faced many difficulties (Bahmanteymouri, 2007).

As soon as the war finished in August 1988, the first 5-year development (1989-1993) plan was enacted by Parliament. After the war, economic policies changed quickly, many resources became available, the oil industry was renewed, and Iran started to export oil once again. As a result, growth and prosperity returned to the country (Abrahamian, 2008). MPOI has provided

five 5-year development plans since 1989. The plans have acted as macro schedules for all other plans and policies at all economic, social, and political levels.

In fact, the discourse of law and regulation in the Islamic Republic of Iran was shaped based on the duality between the Islamic discourse of Velayat Faghih<sup>16</sup> and Republic constitutional discourse. Nevertheless, the important point is that the Islamic discourse of Velayat Faghih always prioritises the other discourse. Accordingly, many policies and implementations are founded based on the words and advice of the Supreme Leader's discourse (The Iranian Government, 1980). However, in many cases the supreme leader himself has advised government to follow the constitutional law.

Although “the Iran-Iraq war gave the state an immediate impetus to expand” (Abrahamian, 2008, p. 173) and the decisions regarding all issues were concentrated in the central government, the opportunity and right to private ownership and possessions, as well as the right to own a private business, were respected and held sacred by the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran and state authorities. Ayatollah Khomeini, the previous Supreme Leader of Iran praised merchants and guild leaders for “financing mosques and seminaries, upholding Islam throughout history, and playing a key role in the recent revolution” (Abrahamian, 2008, p. 179). Furthermore, Ayatollah Khomeini in his last will and testament “advised future generations to respect property on the grounds that free enterprise turns the ‘wheels of the economy’ and prosperity would produce ‘social justice’ for all, including the poor” (Abrahamian, 2008, p. 179).

The Khomeini’s successor, Ali Khamenei, “continued in the same vein, arguing that the Koran praises commerce, and that socialists, not Muslims, associate business with theft, corruption, greed, and exploitation” (Abrahamian, 2008, p. 179).

In the first years after the war, the Supreme Leader of Iran, Ayatollah Khamenei following Shia’s first Imam, Ali, emphasised economic growth and every year in his special New Year messages reemphasised the economic improvement. However, he criticised Western liberalism styles of economic growth. In addition, Rafsanjani, who was elected as President between 1989 and 1997, took immediate economic measures to protect Iran’s economy including the liberation of many investment and economic activities, reducing controls on imports and some industries, reducing tax on some productive economic activities, and many other implementations in respect to

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<sup>16</sup> Velayat Faghih: a theory for governing in Shia Islam, which gives a faghih (Islamic jurist) guardianship over people.

changes in bureaucratic, institutional, and economic policies. The result of these measures and beliefs was economic growth and social and economic improvements (Abrahamian, 2008).

One of the outcomes of the economic growth was the expansion of urbanisation in the form of metropolitan areas – particularly Tehran. However, while Tehran experienced increasing growth in its population, area, building and construction, prices and cost of living within metropolitan areas, informal settlements continued to develop in the peripheral areas for low-moderate income groups and emigrants. Due to the growing need for housing, the shortage of housing was recognised inside and around the periphery of the metropolitan areas particularly in the Tehran metropolitan area (MRUDI, 2004a). As explained in the previous section (6-2-1), *New Town Law* 1992 was enacted to supply enough housing around provincial capital cities to meet the demand and to contribute to the post-war economic growth.

Here, the important point is that what has been recognised as the lack, the shortage of housing in the metropolitan areas, was the consequence of the imperialist and new and old colonial policies such as retreating from planning in the early years after the revolution, the 8-year war between Iran and Iraq, as well as uneven development within the country and resultant internal migration from border provinces to central provinces and metropolitan areas. Since the first National Development plan in 1948, the planning system of Iran has been continued to be influenced by imperialism and (post)colonial policies; nonetheless, these influences have never been addressed adequately in the Iranian planning studies. Indeed, imperialism and its international policies provide fantasmatic logics that obscure and distort the lack; thus, planning actants are unable to identify the lack.

### **6-2-3. A social logic: Parand a new town for middle-income groups**

This section explains how the objective of the *Parand Development Plan* differs from the objectives of the *New Town Law*. While the initial objectives of *New Town law* included preventing the formation of informal settlements and providing affordable housing, in the *Parand Development Plan* (Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98), it was predicted that 2,000,000 emigrants would enter the Eslamshahr-Robat Karim zone by 2016. Based on the plan documents, the population growth rate in the zone was much higher than in the Tehran urban area. The reasoning was that the zone was attractive for emigrants, especially from rural areas. It was declared that Parand could not provide settlement for all emigrants; the emigrants' destination would be other cities and rural areas of the zone. The projection suggested that Parand

would attract some of the emigrants if the displacement plan for some industries and populations from Tehran to Parand happened by 2015 (Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98).

It was also projected that the population would be 18,645 in 2001 and by the end of 2006 it would increase to 47,716. Moreover, the *Parand Plan* predicted that low-income and untrained workers would emigrate to other worker cities such as Eslamshahr and Akbarabad; thus, Parand would instead accommodate people with higher levels of salary and education (Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98). Clearly, the supply of land in the *Parand Plan* was not aimed at providing housing and facilities for low-income groups particularly from informal settlements. The most important point that should be considered is that while the plan for new towns included strategies for creating a vibrant, self-contained city, these informal settlements had already achieved those characteristics once they had been shaped by their residents (Bahmanteymouri, 2007).

The *Development Plan* predicted a transition for Parand: in the first stages up to 2011, the town was planned to act as a dormitory suburb with less opportunity for jobs inside the town. Gradually and in response to increased job opportunities and investment, the number of people who would work and live in Parand would increase. In this manner, the day population of Parand would be 75,564 while the night population would be 80,548 by 2016. Based on the experiences of previous new towns, statistics, and the character of the area, Parand was also offered a service-industrial role. It meant it would play a role in providing service for Imam Khomeini airport and industrial factories in the area. Moreover, an industrial district was considered in Parand to create nearly a quarter of the jobs in the town. The district was supposed to include 600 industrial units (Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98). Therefore, similar to Ellenbrook, economic assessments projected an important role for Parand in terms of creating job opportunities in the area.

The presence of affordable housing for low-income groups planned to be unnoticed, with the quality of landscaping and built form being consistent with the rest of the Parand development. Furthermore, in the plan, two main problems were considered to attract residents to the town: providing water and transportation (Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98).

Prior to the land-use planning, an estimation of the demand was calculated for future residential land use areas. This is one of the differences between the first phase of Parand new town and Ellenbrook's first phase. Different government organisations listed those employees who were keen on buying property in Parand as well as their expectations. Then an investigation of the different housing types in adjacent informal settlements was compared to the estimation to develop an appropriate plan for housing in Parand. Based on the initial studies, a plan for

different types of housing for different income levels was presented in the *Parand Development Plan* (Emco Consulting Company, 1996-98).

#### **6-2-4. A summary of phase 1**

In the first phase, the Parand development as a new town in the Tehran metropolitan area began with the *New Town Law* enacted in 1992 to prevent the formation of informal settlements and to supply enough housing in the market in order to respond to the increasing demand of housing in the metropolitan areas. Therefore, the social and political logics in phase 1 included the law, institutions, and plans such as NTDC – a type of self-funding and semi-private company – as well as the *Parand Development Plan*. Furthermore, post-war economic development and increased oil-revenue provided other types of political logics that allowed the Iranian government to implement the law and construct of new towns within the Tehran metropolitan area. These two political and social logics are clearly aligned with the theory of the neoliberal UGMP provided in Chapter 4. The social logics discussed in section 6-2-3 showed the *Parand Development Plan* explicitly suggested this new town to be built for the middle income groups rather than low-income groups or migrants from rural areas or small towns.

On the other hand, this phase shows that imperialism and (post)colonial policies have worked as the most important political and fantasmatic logics regarding planning issues in Iran. Planning and policies have been largely influenced by the international and imperialist interventions and policies in Iran and in the Middle East. Development planning policies have often been abolished or impaired by different forms of imperialist policies such as those of war and sanctions. However, Iranian planning actants, ignoring the real causes of shortages such as lack of affordable housing in big cities, have relied on the evidence-based studies, often from Western countries, to deal with the lack (shortages). As explained, planning actants in Iran have overlooked the influences of imperialism and misrecognised the lack and instead of dealing with the lack on a larger international and regional scale, they have followed and applied land release policies, which are able to fill the lack of affordable housing, especially for low-income groups, to prevent the formation of informal settlements.

In conclusion, the social and political logics of the practice during the first phase appeared in alignment with the critical theory of neoliberal policy explained in Chapter 4 section 4-5. Nonetheless, imperialism with its political and fantasmatic logics has created the lack of affordable housing. In fact, colonialism and imperialism caused an uneven development, lack of an appropriate planning system and consequently many economic and political problems

including the lack of affordable housing in Tehran. In addition, imperialism itself caused planning actants to misrecognise the logics behind the creation of lack of housing. This misrecognition as a fantasmatic logic made the practice of the Parand development possible.

The following will investigate the *Revision Plan* and outcomes from 1999 to 2005 to determine to what extent the first aims were followed and met in the second phase, in which Iran experienced a period of political and economic liberation.

### **6-3. Second Phase: Economic and political liberation (Late 1990s to the 2005 *Revision Plan*)**

Discussion of this phase explains to what extent the *Revision Plan 2005* and the political and social logics in the period encompassing the late 1990s to 2005 were in alignment with the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP.

#### **6-3-1. Political, social, and fantasmatic logics**

As explained, the emphasis of the post-war policies including the three 5-year *National Development Policies* between 1989 and 2004, was on economic growth through encouraging the involvement of technocrats, experts, and elite groups in plans and policies. As a result, Iran experienced substantial economic growth for around 15 years. The average economic growth during the three 5-year *National Development Policies* was almost 6% (Tajali, 2002). The Iranian market, including housing markets, experienced significant inflation and resultant high prices. The most important factor in these national policies was oil exports and oil price fluctuations. Although, due to increasing access to oil money, Iran's economy achieved rising liquidity and increases in financial credit, the three 5-year *Development Policy* provided economic growth especially in the industrial sectors through market liberation policies. The outcomes of the above-mentioned policies were inflation as well as increased purchasing-power. The oil income, which was injected into the wider society, caused a collective inclination for more consumption (Alizadeh & Hakimian, 2014).

The period between 1989 and 1998 was not merely a boom time; it also showed mature social and political development in diverse ways. Iran rose from the consequences of the Iran-Iraq war. Economic growth and development indices revealed prosperity, improvement and political stability, particularly with the emergence of the open political space at the time of the reformist president of Iran, Mohammad Khatami, who was elected through almost 70% of the votes in 1997. He started his presidency with a proposal of 'Dialogue among Civilisations' to the United

Nations. Once more a political-imperialist logic through OPEC manipulation adversely influenced the oil prices to make difficulties for the Iranian economy. In 1997, oil prices fell to almost US\$12; however, prices rose later slightly in 2003 and 2004 to US\$28 and US\$39 (Tabatabaei & Shahbazi, 2013). Moreover, in a speech in January 2002, President George Bush stated that “Iran aggressively pursues … weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people’s hope for freedom”. He branded the three nations of Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as the “axis of evil”. Consequently, imperialism as a fantasmatic logic had significant impacts on Iranian social logics to destabilise the political and economic situations in Iran.

The imperialist invasion of Iraq by the US and its allies not only destabilised the whole region but also adversely influenced Iran’s circumstances. Importantly, in a period (1990s-2002/3) when Iran was experiencing its most stable economic period and the best social and political situation, imperialist psychological warfare was applied to destabilise economic relations and investment in Iran and the region (Blum, 2013). Despite the efforts of Iran’s intellectuals, politicians, and people, international pressure and the political attack on Iran and military attack on Iraq by Western countries changed the political and social logics of Iran. These changes included international economic and political pressures and sanctions on Iran and ended the Iranian citizens’ hopes and political activities and struggles. Accordingly, by the end of the Khatami presidential period, the economy had experienced a downturn due to a reduction in oil revenue. In the political atmosphere there was a pessimistic feeling of despair and indifference among Iranians (Mousavian & Shahidsaless, 2015).

Following the economic and international political situation that negatively affected Iran – as political and fantasmatic logics – and the inability of the Iranian government to provide services, in January 2002, an amendment – as a social logic – added by the Parliament to the *New Town Law*, allowed NTDC and its sub-companies as the owner of all new towns’ lands to take advantage of the lot and land sales at the site. The NTDC was allowed to finance services, infrastructure, and other measures related to the development of the town from the value-added of sales activities at the sites (Sixth Act MRUDI, 2002, p. 133).

The *Revision Plan* for Parand coincided with the presidency of Ahmadinejad in 2005. The *Revision Plan* (Emco Consulting Company, 2005) projected an increase in Parand’s population to 150,000 by 2016 and 294,000 by 2026. It also proposed a new direction for Parand; new roles and duties were signified for Parand to attract more residents. Despite the projection of the first phase, not only did Parand fail to settle a population of 47,716 by 2005 but also much of the

promised infrastructure failed to materialise. As explained in Chapter 3, any discourse maintains a desire to fill the lack for the subject through the mechanism of fantasy construction. New roles in the *Parand Revision Plan* operated as fantasies; they were defined to fix the failures of the *Parand Plan* and to attract more residents and capital. The main roles of Parand in the *Revision Plan* (Emco Consulting Company, 2005) were:

- A facilitator role for the airport to set up international exhibitions and oversee tourism sites and services;
- A role concerning telecommunication services to provide strong infrastructure for Information Technologies;
- A research and educational role through an existing international research centre;
- A service centre for different bureaucratic and business functions.

The *Revision Plan* (Emco Consulting Company, 2005) proposed two 10-year development periods for Parand. In the first 10-year period, Parand was to be a dormitory-rental town; then, it was to act as an important service centre for both the airport and Tehran and it would undertake several roles including economic, educational, and tourist roles. The Plan's aim was to transform the social and economic nature of Parand, the types of housing, and the leisure demands in the town in accordance with the changes in the new roles of the town.

In addition, the *Revision Plan* re-emphasised the need to facilitate transportation and water reticulation – as the most important barriers for absorbing the projected population. Moreover, the most important suggested policies were the incentive policies to obtain national and international investment for the town's construction and infrastructure (Emco Consulting Company, 2005, p. 9).

According to the *Revision Plan*, since Parand was initially suggested as a centre providing government administration, business activities, and public service for the region and Tehran, its standards, main directions, and regulations should be followed to lead to future planning of the city. The *Revision Plan* also proposed a series of strategies to facilitate the establishment of a number of industries, with 7,506 job opportunities in the region to attract and maintain Parand's residents. Nonetheless, while the first *Parand Development Plan* proposed land and services for 80,000 residents in four residential districts (0, 1, 2, and 3) within a 714 hectare area, the revision proposed new directions for the future development by at least another 750 hectares in a residential area in a new district (4) to settle an extra 70,000 people inside the town's borders (figure 6-2).

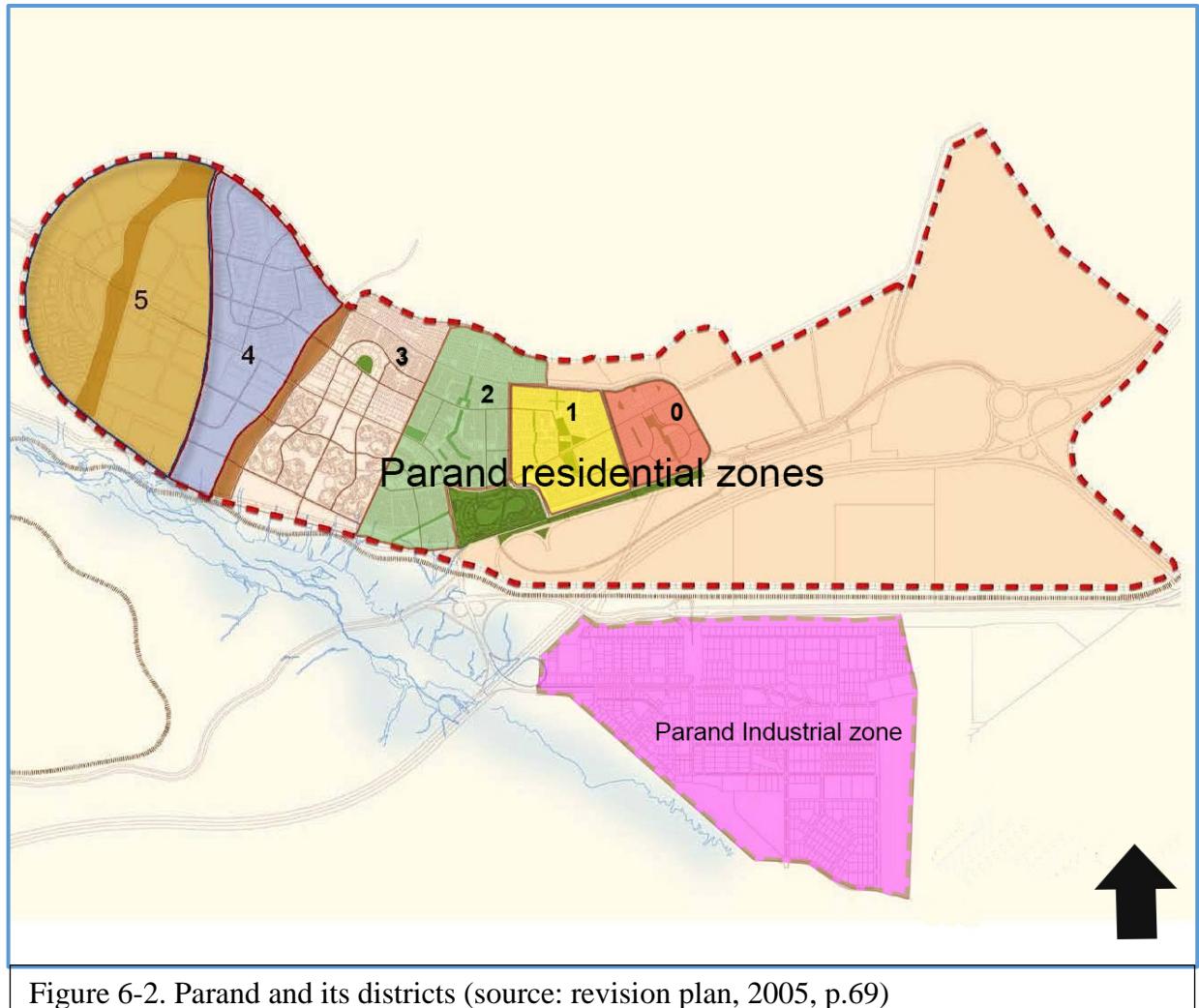


Figure 6-2. Parand and its districts (source: revision plan, 2005, p.69)

The *Revision Plan* re-emphasised the role of the PDC as the investor, planner, designer, and builder in the town as well as an agent that worked between MRUDI and other actants such as large scale developers in the region. The *Revision Plan* (Emco Consulting Company, 2005, p. 21) pointed out the current financial and managerial measures taken by PDC in co-operation with non-government large scale developers to provide housing, building, and infrastructure. Confirming this cooperation as necessary to develop the town, the Plan suggested a close investigation and study of financial planning for managerial purposes.

Although I was unable to access the PDC's annual reports to find the details of land sales and business activities, I found that the Parand *Revision Plan* explicitly emphasised the capacity of land business in the area to finance infrastructure and low-income housing projects. The rationale was that since PDC owns Parand's land and the land of the area requires low preparation costs, land sales can provide a reasonable value-added for the PDC. In this manner, exchange value

obtained from land and lot sales can gradually create an accumulation to invest in other PDC's activities (Emco Consulting Company, 2005).

The PDC was designated to sell lands and lots to attract private investors and residents and to create more jobs through land-use planning, particularly for financing large-scale public land uses such as international exhibitions, an industrial district, and entertainment and recreation sites. Furthermore, district 5 was offered as a land reserved area for possible future development (Emco Consulting Company, 2005).

In 1996, the Research Centre of MRUDI proposed the *Tehran Conurbation Plan* – enacted by the HCUPAI in 2002. The *Tehran Conurbation Plan* amalgamated all the urban and rural areas of the Tehran province as one integrated region. The objective was an integrative policy which united all the areas to provide better urban services and control new informal settlements (Emco Consulting Company, 2005). The conurbation consisted of six zones, which each comprised cities and rural areas in a specific region. Parand was established as a new town within the Eslamshahr-Robat Karim zone. It was planned to take particular roles in relation to other urban and rural areas in the zone as well as the greater Tehran Conurbation.

### **6-3-2. A summary of phase 2**

The second phase reflected a period of economic growth as a social logic from the late 1990s to 2005. It showed that Iran experienced a progress in its economic and political situations with a moderate government that made returns to the planning and elite groups. However, once again political-imperialist logics and its postcolonial policies caused budget deficit and consequently pressure and changes on the interior policies of Iran. Regarding the *New Town Policy*, in 2002, an amendment – operated as a social logic – was added to the *New Town Law* to allow NTDCs to finance their activities through buying and selling lands and lots.

Since 2002, the NTDCs as well as the PDC, officially as self-funding organisations, have been involved in activities related to land sales to private developers and individuals as well as new land release in the form of new districts of residential areas including the new residential area in district 4 of Parand. These land sale activities show the logic of drive as the fantasmatic of the practice introduced in 2002 to gain surplus value and to invest in other PDC operations. Although in appearance, social and fantasmatic logics of the practice of the Parand development in this phase are in alignment with the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP, the political-imperialist logic reveals another layer that is not quite aligned with the theory.

#### **6-4. Third Phase: the dislocatory event as political and economic crises (2005-2013)**

This section explains how a dislocatory event caused the identified lack to re-emerged. It discusses the consequences of the dislocatory event and explains which social, political, and fantasmatic logics were at work to reveal the dislocatory event and the remerged lack. It also explains to what extent the three logics are aligned with the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP provided in Chapter 4.

During the period 2005-2013, which coincided with the third phase of the Parand analysis, Iran experienced one of its worst and hardest periods in terms of strained and conflictual socio-political and economic difficulties. International pressures, imperialist/colonial logics such as sanctions, and competition between oil companies over oil and other resources in the whole of the Middle East influenced and exacerbated the internal political strife in Iran. The reason was that many groups such as radical and conservative groups condemned reformists for being too soft and humane against the colonial policies of Western countries and their allies, regarding them as brutal, impudent, and inhumane.

With the presidency of Ahmadinejad, conservative groups took political power in Iran which operated as the dislocatory event for the political, social/economic, fantasmatic logics in Iran. This caused many changes in national and international strategies – political logics – such as changes in Iran's nuclear program and the closures of international negotiation (Mousavian, 2012). However, these changes were not limited to the nuclear program. Ahmadinejad and other conservative groups who believed in irreconcilability with the West and persisted in policies against the US and its allies returned to the early years of post-revolutionary rhetoric and measures. They attempted to abolish whatever they assumed to be the symbols and representations of Western ideologies. However, the third phase shows, as the following paragraphs discuss, that the measures not only adversely represented neoliberal policies but also benefited global capitalism and market logics.

The first policy dissolved the most important planning organisation of Iran. In 2007, the Management and Planning Organisation of Iran (MPOI), which was an independent organisation, was dissolved on Ahmadinejad's direct order. The rationality behind Ahmadinejad to end the MPOI was an anti-American/Western attitude whereby MPOI was assumed to be a remainder of American systems which had been established during the King period. Parliament and many scholars and economists opposed the decision. Nonetheless, Ahmadinejad dissolved the organisation, and established instead a new budget and planning body under his own direct

control as a budgetary presidential deputy. This meant the President himself decided how and in which sectors the budget should be spent.

The first and foremost phenomena in this period was the “brain drain”. Although Iran had recorded a high rate of well-educated emigration since the 1980s, the brain drain sped up during this period due to government policies, which mainly focused on a retreat from experts, technocrats, well-educated elite groups, and intellectuals who were assumed to be Westernised groups. This approach was in alignment with the neoliberal political logic in Western countries as explained in Chapter 4. It was estimated that every year more than 150,000 highly educated Iranians left the country with an economic consequence estimated at around \$40 billion per year (Milani & McFaul, 2008-2009). The results of this approach were, arguably, several wrong, unprofessional, unresponsive policies and the oppression of any opposing arguments. The following paragraphs explain several of these problematic policies.

Between 2005 and 2008-09, Iran obtained its highest oil income from exportation, and oil revenues reached almost US\$160 billion, which was three times higher than the 1990s. Not only did Iran obtain the highest revenue from oil exports in the history of the country, but also the government dedicated its highest budget to housing during the period 2005-2013 (Chegini Behadivand, 2013). The government applied a series of expansionary fiscal and monetary policies, which, along with high oil money, resulted in a jump in the inflation rate, particularly for housing (NLHO, 2014). Following this, a macro-economic policy cut the interest rate to below the inflation rate by Presidential decree. These policies operated as a neoliberal stimulating financial logic and immediately boosted urban real estate prices by 200% or in some areas three times more than the pre-Ahmadinejad prices. Simultaneously, another economic policy – as social logic – ‘Small and Middle Enterprises’ (SMEs) was enacted and US\$ 47 billion was allocated to the policy (Tasnim news agency, 2015). However, only US\$ 21 billion was practically realised and given to the applicants (Eghtesadonline, 2013). The policy was planned to allocate loans to small scale entrepreneurs. The objectives of the policy allegedly were to provide more job opportunities – rhetorically stating full employment – and economic growth.

However, due to the lack of knowledge, information, and any associated policy to deploy the loans into productive activities, many of the loan recipients, who were the unskilled and unemployed, had no knowledge of what to do with the received funds (The Energy Industry and Mining Studies Office, 2011). The result for many applicants was an unemployed, indebted situation that led to more people below the poverty line. Indeed, a large part of the loans, almost 40% (Karimi Tekanlo, 2013), or according to other resources up to 60% (Eghtesadonline, 2014),

was diverted to the housing market because of the high return rates; furthermore, the nuclear dispute depleted many economic implementations and policies in the last years of Ahmadinejad's presidency. In addition to liquidity and inflation resulting from the neoliberal policy, similar to the case of Australia – and other countries which follow neoliberal policies – the financial sectors and institutions grew substantially in comparison to production industries (Hosseinzadeh & Nosrati, 2014). Small and large, private and semi-private businesses and government financial institutions germinated from everywhere and individuals and organisations from different business activities including, but not limited to, housing, car, manufacturing, foreign exchange facilities, and partnership activities became involved in the financial and credit markets. These worked as the social logic of a neoliberal policy as explained in 4-5.

Consequently, the mentioned policies severely influenced housing prices and market condition. The adverse results of the policies were undeniable in respect of SMEs, in complete contrast to the aims of the policies. Within a very short time, the result ended in brutal inflation and resultant unaffordability of everything including the housing market, for low to medium-income groups. Comparison data from the Statistical Centre of Iran (SCI) shows that the average price of housing went up six-fold between 2006 and 2013 (SCI, 2013). At the end of Ahmadinejad's presidency in 2013, due to questionable interior and foreign policies, the Iranian currency had reduced by 95% in comparison to the Iranian Rial of 1989 (Tabatabaei & Shahbazi, 2013).

As the first reaction to the dislocatory event, in 2006, 60 Iranian critical economists wrote a letter to Ahmadinejad and warned him of the malignant consequences of his risky policies. He denounced these critics and responded that he had chosen the third way rather than capitalism or socialism (Iranian Economy, 2013). Ahmadinejad relied on high oil money and increases in oil global prices and the government redirected subsidies to a wide variety of activities and items such as housing. One of these subsidies was allocated to a very special housing policy named by Ahmadinejad as 'Maskan Mehr' or 'Housing Scheme of Kindness' (HSK) in order to respond to the remerged lack of the affordable housing.

Prior to Ahmadinejad's presidency, the *National Housing Comprehensive Plan* (NHCP) was still at the study stages of housing needs and demands with an aim to suggest the best feasible solution for affordability problems. In 2008, the plan was stopped and replaced by an extensive comprehensive policy named *The Organising and Supporting Law for Production and Supply of Housing* (Iran Government, 2008). The law was enacted by the Parliament to achieve a wide variety of aims concerning housing problems including, but not limited to, supporting new technologies and investment in housing, enabling urban distressed areas and informal

settlements, reducing the cost of housing for low-income groups, and providing affordable housing for all groups. The HSK was then offered in 2008 and emphasised as the main policy of the government. The main objective was the elimination of land costs for the poor. In alignment with this policy, all new towns were obliged to supply land to implement the HSK to provide affordable housing (MRUDI News Website, 2014).

Since I was working as a planner in MRUDI, at the time of this policy implementation, I observed that both the poor and the wealthy rushed to the specified centres of registration. Housing institutions registered 4,234,766 people. However, after seven years, official statistics announced that only 946,890 people were eligible for the HSK. Many cases of infraction and infringement were reported to the Ministry of Housing from different cities and provinces. Therefore, a special office was established to deal with infractions and to supervise the projects in the various cities. Finally, in 2012 due to sanctions, the government had to cut the budget for the policy and announced officially that there was not enough budget to continue the policy.

Athaari (2013), an Iranian urban economist, argued that only 10% of the emigrant low-income groups registered to take advantage of the scheme. In addition, the policy faced many hindrances in practice; for example, there were many ambiguities about the policy such as site provision and land supply, which in the policy were considered as the government's responsibility.

In addition, Ahmadinejad's government policies operated as the dislocatory event for Iran, and had many adverse effects on the economy. The first and most important was the growth of the money supply, and the high rate of liquidity and inflation (Araamiyan, 2013) as the result of high oil revenues and the huge amount of unplanned loans allocated to the two main policies of SMEs and the HSK (Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 2014). For instance, The Central Bank of Iran allocated approximately US\$ 21 billion to the housing scheme (Poolnews, 2012). Overall, money liquidity rose six times during the eight years of Ahmadinejad's presidency (Araamiyan, 2013).

Before the fiasco, a bylaw enacted in 2007 by HCUPAI required NTDC to allocate lands to the HSK. Following the bylaw, PDC began a new study and offered a second revision of the *Parand Development Plan*. In order to contribute to the HSK, the *Revision Plan* surprisingly projected a population of 700,000 by 2036. It offered to add a new site of 1200 hectares to the Parand area to accommodate this population (Naghshe Mohit Company, 2009-10).

Furthermore, the 2009 *Revision Plan* investigated the reasons for the failure to attract permanent residents such as the lack of appropriate job opportunities, the lack of efficient transportation

between Parand and Tehran, and the site location, which was on the borders of the Robat Karim-Eslamshahr informal settlements. The *Revision Plan* (Naghshe Mohit Company, 2009-10) suggested a series of strategies to achieve the objectives of the projected population as soon as possible. As a result, the *Revision Plan* hurriedly offered to change the role of Parand to a metropolitan area within the Tehran conurbation area. It suggested that in this manner the population would move to Parand rather than agglomerating in Tehran. In terms of new development, in the *Revision Plan*, Parand would develop and be located in the lands of two zones of Tehran's conurbation – Robat Karim-Eslamshahr and Karaj-Shahriar. Namely, Parand would undertake a functional role in both zones, which was regarded as a booster for development. Yet, the problem of water supply remained unsolved in the plan.

In addition, the *Revision Comprehensive Plan* (MRUDI, 2007b) provided a study to propose detailed and designed plans and codes. The Plan envisaged Parand with 6 districts which, except for 0 and 1 districts, would be created by national and international large-scale developers particularly in the case of the housing sectors of ministries and government organisations so that they could settle their employees. In particular, district 4 was allocated for the HSK (MRUDI, 2007b). Although this meant Parand would be a dormitory town with around 90% of residents working in Tehran, a large part of the *Revision Plan* comprised suggestions and strategies to change the role and condition of Parand and promote it as a metropolitan independent city from Tehran.

According to the Iranian Bureau of Statistics, in 2011, a population of 28,733 lived in Parand. The statistics also revealed that in 2006, only 5,791 peoples were settled in the town. Once more, the *Revision Plan* (MRUDI, 2007b) confirmed that future residents would be migrants from the informal-based cities in the zone such as Eslamshahr and from the deteriorated areas of Tehran. In fact, an investigation of plans and documents shows that Parand is implicitly and explicitly a planned city to accommodate those residents who are eligible, capable, and prosperous enough to move out from bad housing condition into more well-designed areas (figures 6-3 and 6-4). In this manner and as it was predicted in the 1998 plan, Parand was not planned to provide an alternative to prevent informal settlement formation; conversely, it serves those wealthy residents that are not satisfied with living in low-quality areas and can afford to live in a high-quality area (MRUDI, 2007b).



Figure 6-3. A high-density planned area of Parand (source: author)



Figure 6-4. A low-density planned area of Parand (source: author)

Interestingly, in the *Revision Plan* (MRUDI, 2007b), it was projected that based on the proposed regulation and codes, the emigration trends would reverse from informal settlements to the Parand New Town. It was projected that, in 2026, Parand would experience high rate of population and urban area growth while comparatively informal areas would attract lesser population. However, due to the lack of regional planning, unrealised oil income, global

economic problems such as the global recession, which has largely continued, and unfavourable coalitions between international powers, the presented changes seem less likely.

While the population of Parand was predicted to be around 300,000 people in 2021, due to the lack of transportation, facilities, and services in Parand, the projection far less achievable. Furthermore, since other urban and rural areas have been shaped by emigrants who are closely dependent on family ties, there is strong social capital in these areas and these relations make the areas more attractive than Parand (Figures 6-5 and 6-6).



Figure 6-5. Unplanned shops in Salehabaad (source: author)



Figure 6-6. A planned shopping centre in Parand (source: author)

#### **6-4-1. A summary of phase 3**

Phase 3 explained how different political and fantasmatic logics, including the presidency of Ahmadinejad, retreating from planning and critical academic professions, increased oil-revenue, sanctions, the housing sector as an important driver of the economy supported by postcolonial and imperialist logics, have resulted in the policies that were in alignment with the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP provided in 4-5. These policies resulted in the re-emergence of the lack of affordable housing. To respond to the remerged lack, Parand development practice continued in alignment with the HSK policy. In this phase, fantasmatic and political logics materialised in practice through the dissolution of the MPOI, the emergence of financial institutions, and in the *Parand revision Plan*. The *Revision Plan* suggested new directions and commitments, including Parand as a metropolitan area, acted as the fantasmatic logic to make possible the third of phase of the Parand development. The most important outcome of this phase for the Parand development was high prices in the housing market and housing unaffordability.

#### **6-5. Fourth Phase: Planning returns to deal with a re-emerged lack (2013 - 2015)**

As explained, the lack of affordable housing re-emerged during the third phase as the result of political logics including international postcolonial as well as problematic interior policies. First, this section briefly explains how actants reacted to this lack. As the three previous phases showed, political-imperialist logics have significantly influenced policies and plans in Iran. This section explains how the political presidential change influenced the economic situation in Iran, including the housing sector particularly in the fourth phase of the Parand development between 2013 and 2015. Finally, the section explains to what extent political, social, and fantasmatic logics in the fourth phase are in alignment with the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP provided in Chapter 4.

##### **6-5-1. Ethical dimensions of ESDA: how actants faced the lack**

As discussed in Chapter 3, “*political* dimension refers to those situations in which subjects responding to dislocatory [events]” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 14). The emergence of Ahmadinejad in the political sphere of Iran and the consequences of his approach and policies were a dislocatory event/moment for the economic and political situation in Iran. Phase 3 explained that Iran was internally and globally trapped with different problems including high inflation and economic recession, as well as global sanctions. Chapter 4 extensively explained that the ethical dimension of ESDA discusses how actants react in different ways to a dislocatory event and the revealed lack. Similar to the analysis of the Ellenbrook development in Chapter 5,

the different statuses concerning the lack of affordable housing and the economic downturn between 2009 and 2015 can be categorised as follows:

➤ **Public contestation**

Iranians showed their disagreement with the situation through protests and public unrest. The Green Movement, which became globally known, was mainly the result of discontent with Ahmadinejad's policies.

➤ **Political logic as psychological war**

The global sanctions and the US threat of military attacks on Iran caused psychological warfare for all Iranian citizens. The psychological impacts were represented as different symptoms, such as an increasing rate of corruption, money-laundering activities, crimes or other social misbehaviours and crises, as well as immigration.

➤ **Return to planning and presidential election**

Iran's government had recourse to different methods to fix the situation; the most efficient being the return to the moderate rationality as well as planning system. Post-Ahmadinejad policies have tried to reverse the unwise and hasty policies which were made in his period. The emphasis has been on prudent, well-proportioned and moderate policies and measures to avoid any wrong or hasty strategy, which may exacerbate the status quo. This approach, coupled with political change and a new Iranian president, has solved many problems through a return to the prudential system of planning. The next section explains the political logic in relation to the housing issues in the post-Ahmadinejad period.

### **6-5-2. Political-presidential logics and return to planning**

On 4 August 2013, when Rouhani was elected as the new President, the new Minister of Urban Development reconsidered the *National Housing Comprehensive Plan* (NHCP). In December 2013, the National Land and Housing Organization (NLHO) suggested the revision of the NHCP, which had been halted during Ahmadinejad's presidency. The study for the NHCP started in 2004 but was postponed for eight years between 2005 and 2013. Since the eight-year delay in the plan had caused substantial demographic and economic changes, the MRUDI suggested a revision of the plan. The plan was provided through an expert working group consisting of 24 sub-groups in different areas including land-use planning, economics and tax issues, the construction industry, low-income group housing, urban development and revitalisation of

deteriorated areas, rural housing and informal settlement problems (NLHO, 2014). Accordingly, in October 2014, the government returned to the NHCP and MRUDI and suggested the plan be designed for a 12-year period up to 2026.

Although the NHCP (NLHO, 2014) is still in its first stages and it is very difficult to evaluate its outcomes for now, it seems that it has been prepared based on detailed comprehensive and accurate studies. The only doubtful point is the deployment of the result of a shared-research with the World Bank in providing the plan. In fact, experience has shown that World Bank policies are in line with hegemonic capitalist policies and they are aimed to change the mechanism of all countries to follow a universal program based on the ideology of neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005).

Athaari (2015) criticised Ahmadinejad's HSK as a hasty plan which took the place of the previous NHCP. However, he argued that to avoid any further hasty measures, the HSK policy should be continued and completed by the new government because it has consumed a large amount of national investment and more importantly it has attracted individual investors who hope to attain their own homes via this policy. Athaari suggested this policy should be considered as a part of the NHCP.

Overall, the NHCP has been a realistic plan, and has projected the outcomes of housing policies in line with international relations and influences rather than merely financial policies, interest rates, and (secondary) loans markets. For instance, many items have been investigated and considered in the plan such as international sanctions, macro-economic policies regarding populations, inflation, and economic growth (NLHO, 2014). Indeed, the NHCP has focused on the efficient production of housing, with the aim of striking a balance between housing production and the demand of different income-groups, and housing production for economic growth purposes. The plan suggests reducing housing production and investment and conversely transferring the liquidity from foreign exchange, gold, and financial markets to production and industries (NLHO, 2014). In particular, the emphasis is on recognising the urban and housing poverty line and those mechanisms which may locate residents below the urban poverty line and make housing and services unaffordable for them (NLHO, 2014).

After Rouhani's election as President in 2013, the MPOI returned to the policy-making and political arena. Many researchers, scholars, parliament members, and politicians argued that the dissolution of the MPOI caused deficiencies and damage to the economy, which are in some cases irreversible. Although the return to the system of MPOI has faced many problems and

difficulties, Rouhani's Cabinet has tried to return to an efficient planning system. The struggles of the new government have been focused on the return to the rationality of maintaining balance in all social, political, and economic sectors and aspects. It has also negotiated with global powers to deal with the postcolonial and imperialist political policies; for instance, to lift the sanctions and to provide political security for investment and economic activities and preserve capital in Iran (Government of Iran Information Website, 2016). Thus, the political-presidential logic supported the creation of new fantasmatic and political logics to deal with the colonialism in order to stop destructive imperialist measures.

#### **6-5-3. Social logics of the 2015 Parand Development Plan**

In 2015, Parand with a population of approximately 29,000, was behind the projected population in the previous *Revision Plan*. Nonetheless, the PDC (2015) officially announced that the *Urban Design Plans, Details Plan, Green Infrastructure, and Green Corridors Plans* for Parand was on the agenda of the company to be prepared in the coming year.

The last *Parand Plan* (PDC, 2015) projected a growth tendency in officially planned areas higher than the informal areas – time will show whether the projection is true or not. Comparing the images of two areas of Parand and the informal cities in the Eslamshahr-Robat Karim zone shows that informal settlements have already attracted a major population to the Eslamshahr-Robat Karim zone. For this reason, it is required to allocate higher budgets, services, and plans for future growth of these informal areas. The photos of Parand with its planned empty buildings and streets are set against places where life goes on; people have built their own homes, made their own streets and alleys, and defined and shaped their own jobs including recycling industries (figures 6-7 and 6-8).



Figure 6-7. Different types of business activities in informal settlements



Figure 6-8. Different types of business activities in informal settlements

It is important to say that based on the information provided on the PDC website (29/1/2015), PDC has started to supply housing for low-income groups (apartments) aligned with the HSK at the very low price of between US\$164 and US\$197 per square metre. In addition, the government has provided US\$ 82,000 in loans per family to make these homes more affordable for very low-income groups. Based on the real estate websites which can easily be found, housing prices in the formal urban areas of the zone, such as Eslamshahr and Robat Karim, were around US\$ 328

per square metre in January 2015; and, prices in informal areas were almost identical to HSK prices in Parand. Thus, these low prices for the low-income groups might offer an alternative for informal settlement formation in the area and probably will change the growth direction from the informal settlements to Parand.

#### **6-5-4. A summary of phase 4**

Based on the discussions on phase 4, the social, political and fantasmatic logics of this phase cannot be considered in alignment with the theory of neoliberal UGMP as provided in Chapter 4. In particular, return to planning and the *National Housing Comprehensive Plan* is a counter-logic to one of the neoliberal political logics of UGMP, which is a retreat from professionals and academics in planning. In addition, negotiation with the West to lift sanctions is a political, anti-imperialist logic which provides an opportunity for government to allocate subsidies for affordable housing.

#### **6-6. To what extent is the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP valid for the Parand development?**

In Chapter 6, the ontology of the practice of Parand's development as an example of *New Town policy* in Iran was considered and explained through four phases. As explained, in the first phase, the main objectives were to supply land for market equilibrium, to provide housing for the overflow of population, and to serve the new international airport adjacent to Parand. Parand was supposed to function as a solution to the increasing urban population trend of Tehran, particularly emigrants from towns or rural areas of Iran's other provinces. In accordance with the discussion presented in Chapter 2 on hegemonic policy of land supply and UGMP to solve the housing problem, in the case of Iran – similar to Australia – a simple semi-scientific paradigm – market equilibrium – based on evidence from European and American cities was adopted and defined the ontology of the policy.

Although one of the main aims of the 1989 New Town Law was to prevent the formation of informal settlements, the initial *Parand Development Plan*'s promise (phase 1) was quite different as it admitted that the formation of a new town would not provide affordable housing for internal emigrants who were the main residents of informal settlements. Indeed, the plan envisaged the new town of Parand as a settlement for government employees, those who demanded a better residential environment and who were able to afford residency in a well-designed area at higher prices in comparison to informal settlements and deteriorated areas of Tehran.

Instead of providing policies such as regional planning to reverse the immigration to Tehran and to adjust the uneven economic growth, not only did planning admit the necessity of informal settlements but it also used the opportunity of the lack of housing to become involved in the lucrative development practice of creating Parand. The main drive of the initial phase was higher oil-revenue, which was released after the Iran-Iraq war, and the lack of an efficient mechanism of planning to distribute the wealth. Nevertheless, the government undertook the responsibility of providing facilities and construction.

Therefore, Parand development practice during the first phase is in alignment with the theory of neoliberal UGMP. The *Parand Plan* was justified through an identified lack and started by a semi-private company, PDC. Even at the first phase, the practice was more market-oriented than Ellenbrook, since the plan clearly expressed that the objective was to provide high quality town for middle-income groups and government employees rather than low-income migrants to Tehran.

In the second phase, with imperialist intervention and global pressures and following a budget deficit, in 2002, the parliament enacted a law to provide infrastructure and facilities through exchange value obtained from land sales in the area. In this manner, planning officially followed the universal hegemonic trend to act as a market actant and the NTDC was encouraged to function as a business cooperation. Following this, the lands in the Parand area were the subject of trade and a source of investment for individual investors and government companies. In addition, the large-scale developers, which were typically related to government, were involved in large-scale construction projects and produced huge sites occupied by apartments, which became subjects of speculation activities but remained empty. In this phase, as have been seen, there was a paradoxical operation: although government subsidised housing, the 2002 amendment allowed the planning actants to operate in alignment with the neoliberal UGMP.

In the third phase, the planning policies and approaches adhered to neoliberal market reasoning while planning actants deployed egalitarian rhetorics and fantasies to justify their practices and to cover over their unwise neoliberal policies. Particularly, with the huge amount of oil revenue, the government eliminated and cancelled many planning measures and institutions. On the other hand, in this period it was planned that Parand would settle 700,000 residents; however, due to the inefficiency of infrastructure and inaccurate and blind projections it was unlikely that this aim would be achieved. Importantly, because of similar political and social logics to Australia such as retreating from planning and critical planners and economists as well as the resultant

unaffordability and economic crisis, this phase can be categorised in the realm of the neoliberal logic of the housing market.

In the fourth phase, under the pressure of sanctions and failures resulting from the lack of planning, the system returned to prudential planning. Reviewing the history of practice shows that when the money from oil export rises, actants have a tendency to set the system of planning aside and spend loosely. Conversely, when the government is pinned in a predicament, the planning system is set to the agenda in the hope of solving the problem. To what extent the deficiencies can be resolved is another story, which needs time and close investigation in the future. However, it seems the fourth phase cannot be categorised in the category of neoliberal policies.

Nonetheless, the most important determinant, which is made clear in the historical investigations of the four phases, is international political influences on Iranian housing practices. Indeed, the study of Parand's phases is impossible without considering colonialist and post-colonialist interference in Iran. As discussed previously, the fluctuations in global oil and gas prices, interference in the internal affairs by those countries which intend to continue their hegemonic influence on Iran, and sanctions are part of postcolonial policies. These policies aim to deplete different types of capital – human, assets, financial, and natural – and to take control of the resources in order to gain the possessions of the colony at the cheapest deals and to maximise the profits from the deals.

Here, it is possible to provide a discussion regarding the question of to what extent the theory of neoliberal housing scheme is valid concerning the Parand development. According to the study presented in this chapter, the development of Parand has reflected a neoliberal housing scheme but in a different way from Perth. It has reflected a neoliberal practice because successive governments, in certain periods, have emphasised, highlighted, and enforced mainly that part of planning that provided surplus value. This has included the supply of land in the form of *New Town Policy*, and expanding the Tehran metropolitan to a giant creature, which devours all the wealth and impedes its distribution to other areas in Iran. In total, the government has overlooked the other part of planning – the just distribution of wealth and services, facilitation production, and reduction in poverty indices – as these have not been seen as beneficial in the short term, despite being the most important factors in political and economic stability and development.

Table 6-2 summarises the role of the social, political, and fantasmatic logics that have ontologically signified and constructed Parand through four phases.

**Table 6-2. The social, political, and fantasmatic logics of the Parand development**

	<b>Phase 1 (Prior to 1998)</b> <b>A solution</b>	<b>Phase 2 (Late 1990s to 2005)</b> <b>Economic and political liberation</b>	<b>Phase 3 (2005-2013)</b> <b>Political and economic crises</b>	<b>Phase 4 (2013-2015)</b> <b>Planning returns</b>
<b>Social logics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Informal settlements problem as an identified lack of affordable housing</li> <li>➤ Land supply policies</li> <li>➤ <i>New Town Law</i> as an UGMP</li> <li>➤ <i>Parand Development Plan</i> for middle income groups</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Boom time: economic growth</li> <li>➤ In 2002 an amendment added to the New Town Law: NTDC land sale to finance compulsory services</li> <li>➤ The highlighted role of PDC</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Dissolving the MPOI as the result of the retreat from experts and professionals and planning as a Western approach</li> <li>➤ The highest oil revenue in the history of Iran</li> <li>➤ The highest budget allocation for low-income housing policy</li> <li>➤ Many innovative fiscal and financial policies and institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Return to prudent planning and professionals</li> </ul>
<b>Political logics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Population projection as the result of increasing internal emigration</li> <li>➤ An increase in oil revenue</li> <li>➤ Equivalence logics: Interior census for getting out of the post-war recession and devastation</li> <li>➤ Political-techno logic of the market equilibrium</li> <li>➤ Policies based on the evidence from Western countries</li> <li>➤ Imperialism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Political maturity and a reformist and moderate government</li> <li>➤ Political-imperialist logics. International forces in Iran and postcolonial policies in the last years of this phase</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Return to the anti-Western/American logics</li> <li>➤ Housing policy as the engine or complementary growth policy</li> <li>➤ Increasing global sanctions and isolation</li> <li>➤ Postcolonial policies</li> <li>➤ Retreating from economists and critical thinking especially from planning</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Negotiation with West, hope for people and change of President</li> </ul>
<b>Fantasmatic logics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Misrecognition of the lack</li> <li>➤ Colonialism and imperialism</li> <li>➤ Anti-Western and anti-American discourses (1979) resulted in retreating from planning</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ New roles (fantasies) defined for the town in the revision plan to sell the lands and to attract residents in the area</li> <li>➤ Drive mechanism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ HSK as a pro-poor policy</li> <li>➤ Mechanism of drive and further development</li> <li>➤ Fantasies to attract capital such as a reshaping Parand to a metropolitan centre</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ New government struggles to hinder and overcome the colonial impacts</li> </ul>

## **6-7. Post-colonial study as a logical contingency**

This section explains how in a context like Iran, awareness about post-colonialism/imperialism should be part of the logic of contingency for planning.

Žižek (2012a, p. 802) defines fake anti-capitalism as a universal hegemonic ideology with a mission that involves a “blurring of the differences between capitalist neo-liberalism” and “progressive emancipatory ideologies of real anti-capitalism”. Indeed, through unwise and hasty reactions, anti-capitalism works as a fantasy for capitalism to cover over its failures and malfunctions and to take advantage of the created exclusionary situation of the colonies. Capitalism spoils the line between the fake anti-capitalist and the real anti-capitalist approaches and movements to oppress those actants and discourses which are considered as threats to the hegemonic discourse of capitalism.

In the case of Iran, as previously explained, whenever the government retreats from prudent planning as a Westernised system of thinking and operation – which happened during the period of the early post-revolutionary years as well as during Ahmadinejad’s presidency – the resultant outcomes provided the most benefit for global capitalism. In this manner, if global capitalism plans to take advantage of the dismemberment of Iran, then poverty, unjust distribution of wealth, uneven development, pollution, stagflation, and the depletion of local capital which all are the consequences of a lack of prudent planning are the best ways to assist capitalism in doing so.

Indeed, the global sanctions and unwise policies of Ahmadinejad’s government served global capitalism in the best way. During Ahmadinejad’s presidency, the policies and approaches depleted both material and human capital in Iran. The global colonial/imperialist policies along with Ahmadinejad’s policies situated Iran in a weak and vulnerable position in terms of global relations and exposed the country to the colonial coalitions who aimed to dismember Iran in order to impede capital accumulation in Iran and in the whole of the region.

Therefore, (post)colonial studies of planning offer an alternative to the existing market logic of planning for Iran. Since market logics have specific objective mechanisms that need close investigation, planning actants should be aware and educate themselves about the political economy of their own condition. Moreover, a study is required of the historicised background of their works and the role of planning.

Therefore, the logical contingency of the status quo of planning in Iran that this research suggests is to include post-colonial studies in planning education and practice in order to recognise the reality and causes of problems. In fact, the failures of the Parand new town as a practice of planning are emanated from the lack of colonial and post-colonial knowledge as well as inefficient analysis of the geopolitical, political, and economic situations of Iran in the world.

In this regard, Glynos (2001, p. 196) explains that when the social subject – the planning actant – “misrecognises the lack in the symbolic order, the subject attempts to fill the lack by the fantasy which hegemonic ideology offers”; for example, in terms of Parand, the fantasy that neoliberal planning offers is a new town policy to fill the identified lack of housing. Even though the current situation in Iran is the consequence of global neoliberal logics, actants are not able to recognise the real causes of the problem, which represents itself as the lack of housing. Namely, what presents itself as a lack of affordable housing in Tehran is different from that of Australia.

The lack of affordable housing and informal settlement formations in Iran are the result of two levels of international and national causes: international power relations and colonial policies on the one hand, and the lack of an appropriate national regional planning on the other hand. In the case of Iran, another kind of fantasmatic logic works to make the practice possible, which is related to the psychological warfare of colonialism. In addition to the mechanism of drive, within which the subject recognises the lack but enjoys moving around the lack and gaining surplus value and surplus enjoyment, subjects misrecognise the lack as a lack of (affordable) housing.

As explained, planning actants utilised the evidence-based methods from American and European studies and suggested the deployment of the land supply policies and new development in remote areas of a metropolis. In fact, they adopted a solution from the West that was suggested in order to solve a problem, which was inherently different from theirs. Here, only a deep understanding of the political economy, Iran's problem, and postcolonial knowledge could prevent planning from worsening the situation.

Chapter 4 explicated different counter-hegemonic arguments of planning, the most relevant one to the Iranian case can be Miraftab's insurgent planning. Miraftab (2009) accurately argued that a ‘historicalized understanding of ‘Critical Planning’ must rely on contextualizing planning – that is, recognizing the power struggle within which it is practised’. In this regard, she emphasised that grassroots mobilisations and initiatives in South Africa outside the formal arena of politics should be carefully characterised according to their historical origins, their political and cultural roots, and their agendas (Miraftab, 2009, p. 43). Hence, Miraftab considers insurgent movements

and oppositional practices as historicised practices of planning which resist the inequalities produced by “colonialism, apartheid – and now, neoliberalism”. In this regard, not only planners’ role but also citizens’ role as actants of planning are important.

Nonetheless, the emphasis of this thesis is on the planners and planning organisations, institutions, regulations, and more importantly, authorities and politicians, followed by other planning actants. The ethical dimension of the logic approach can provide a tool for planners and planning organisations in order to deal with the problems and to revise, modify, and improve the structures and planning’s definition and function. In addition, drawing on Fanon’s<sup>17</sup> ideas, Miraftab (2009) discussed how the hegemony of neoliberal ideology deploys colonisation through developers, planners, architects, politicians, and market logics to provide capital accumulation. She then argued that the decolonising planner can act merely through questioning the assumption of every plan and policy related to neoliberal ideology. In doing so, this research suggests that the logic approach, particularly through its ethical dimension, is able to provide a method of analysis and investigation for planning which discerns fallacies and fantasies and takes ethical orders to overcome failures and to represent an anti-colonial stance of planning.

As explained in Chapters 3 and 4, regarding the fantasmatic logics of neoliberal UGMP, drive operates through the mechanism of a deviation from the initial desire for filling the lack of (affordable) housing. Thus, a desire for the just distribution of capital throughout all regions and provinces and providing security for investment in industries can be considered as a counter for the neoliberal fantasmatic logic in Iran. The oppositional practices must be defined based on a historicised attitude to function counter to the inequalities produced by colonialism and neoliberalism.

Thus, providing an alternative for neoliberal planning needs changes in the understanding and structure of planning as follows: Firstly, deployment of the logics approach can provide an awareness and recognition of the triad logics of ontology of neoliberal UGMP. This is a step toward a counter-hegemonic approach in the status quo of planning; namely, recognising those logics which make the practice of neoliberal housing possible. Secondly, avoiding neoliberal solutions can provide the next steps. Finally, regional planning that focuses on the distribution of wealth – because in the current situation of planning, regional planning is ridiculously

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<sup>17</sup> Using post-colonialist analysis, Fanon (2008[1952]) explained how people strongly hold a belief and cannot accept new evidence on the dysfunction of that belief; rather, they regard their core belief as catering to their everyday life and feel extremely uncomfortable without it. He elucidated that people ignore and even deny those things that they find inconsistent with their core belief.

compared with the Soviet Union style of planning – to bring security of investment in the border areas can signify a logic of contingency for planning in Iran.

#### **6-8. Conclusion**

Chapter 6 explained the ontology of the Parand development practice during four phases. It discussed how because of the misrecognition of the lack and international postcolonial policies, planning might play a role in uneven development policies, different planning policies, and most importantly land policies associated with capitalism in the form of both colonialism and imperialism. Planning laws have at times allocated large portions of land and facilities to a group of people in Tehran while dispossessed and depriving others in other areas, especially those in borders provinces. As Lefebvre (2003, p. 91) argued, “the large city, monstrous and tentacular, is always political. It serves as the most favourable environment for the formation of authoritarian power. ... Large cities legitimise inequality”.

Accordingly, to become anti-capitalist, the most important planning policy should be a historicised reading of even regional planning in order to achieve a just distribution of wealth to all provinces and regions, which would stabilise the political situation rather than providing new towns around a megalopolis like Tehran.

# **Chapter Seven: Findings**

“It is one of the peculiar ironies of history that there are no limits to the misunderstanding and distortion of theories, even in an age when there is unlimited access to the sources ...”

Erich Fromm, (Marx's Concept of Man,2004[1961], p.1)

## **7-1. Introduction**

This chapter summarises and consolidates the findings of the thesis. In this chapter, through addressing the research questions, I will summarise how I applied Essex School of Discourse Analysis to investigate the Urban Growth Management Policies in the two presented cases.

Following ESDA as the methodology of this research, I have used Lacanian ethical thought as the core of my thesis. This ethical approach and its resultant mechanism demonstrate one of the main findings of this thesis. Principally, I have focused on ontological lack as the heart of this ethical argument. The emphasis has been placed on the analysis of the different mechanisms of fantasmatic logics deployed in the case studies, and, where a revealed lack has been identified, the political logics then deployed. In particular, the fantasmatic logic and ethical dimensions of ESDA have assisted this research to investigate the ways different modes of enjoyment obscure ‘the lack’ and the logic of contingency in the existing symbolic order. I have developed this theoretical ethical approach to perform an ontological investigation of neoliberal UGMP as an important planning practice.

As I explained previously, this ethical approach was initially formulated by Lacan, and later developed by Laclau, Mouffe, and their followers, and resulted in the ESDA methodology in political studies. Thus, my contribution to planning theory emanates from the Lacanian notion of ethics and its later development in the frame of ESDA as a logic-based approach. In addition, ESDA as the methodology of this research has amplified poststructuralism through filling its gaps, as discussed previously.

## **7-2. An ethical approach as the key finding of this research**

Based on ESDA, Chapter 3 explained that every symbolic order comprises signifying chain(s) and that there is an ontological lack in every symbolic order. The lack is designated as at least one missing signifier including a phenomenon, a historical event, an organisation, or any

discourse in addressing a subject as the Other. Indeed, “no matter how many signifiers one adds to the signifying chain, the chain is always incomplete; it always lacks the signifier that could complete it” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 99). A dislocatory event and its resultant lack causes a trauma and/or anxiety about a possible danger that the subject tries to avoid. It was explained that a lack, or logic of contingency, presents itself as a pressure from the Real – what has not been expressed in the symbolic order. Based on this ESDA ethical dimension, different modes of enjoyment such as drive, desire and disavowal explain how subjects derive their complicity in concealing or covering over the radical contingency of social orders and in maintenance of a practice such as a UGMP.

Importantly, the ethical and normative dimensions of ESDA provides a method to analyse and categorise how subjects react to the lack – to fill the lack, deal with it, and avoid it in escaping from an anxiety. Accordingly, a wide variety of modes of enjoyment can be categorised through this Lacanian approach. This categorisation of reactions has a close relation with the ethical position of the subject.

In particular, Lacan (2006, p. 573) clarified that the mechanism of drive is “the political secret of moralists to incite the subject” in order to remove the desire for humanism; he explained how drive converts ethics “to silence not by way of fear, but of a [practical] desire”. Lacan believed that in the face of lack, the ego offers an imaginary solution to the subject – “the overly indeterminate exit that diverts him from an overly difficult pathway” to an easier and more joyful game: “In this game, humanism is no longer anything but a dilettante’s profession” (Lacan, 2006, p. 573).

According to Lacan (1992[1986], p. 38), ethical thought “is at the centre of our work as analysts”. He explained how specifically the mechanism of drive is a navigation towards the ethics of psychoanalysis. Referring to Freud, Lacan (1992[1986], p. 111) explained that “idealisation involves an identification of the subject with the object, whereas, sublimation is something quite different”. Drive suggests a potential mode of satisfaction, which provides a way between sublimation and idealisation around an object. Lacan (1992[1986], p. 111) argued that subjects substitute enjoyment from filling the lack – their desire to fill the lack – with one of enjoying the lack itself; namely, the subject derives “a satisfaction different from its aim” so as to enjoy from “elsewhere [rather] than where its aim is”.

In this manner, there is a close relationship between the status of a subject’s attitude to lack, organising her/his mode of *jouissance* (enjoyment), and what Lacan referred to at the core of his

works as ‘the end of psychoanalysis’. From the Lacanian point of view, the ethic of analysts is strongly related to their skill to put an end to the process of psychoanalysis. According to Lacan, “traversing of the fundamental fantasy is the end point of analysis” (Feldstein et al., 1995, p. 273) and, more importantly, organising and changing in the position of *jouissance* is not an impossible. This end of analysis is a process of skills for both analyst and analysand: the analyst must help the analysand address the lack, to name her/his desire to fill the lack, and to recognise how she/he directs this desire to fill the lack; for example, which fantasies she/he follows to fill the lack. Finally, the analyst assists the analysand to organise her/his enjoyment in facing this lack (Feldstein et al., 1995).

The ESDA ethical and normative dimensions clarify that addressing the logic of contingency or the logic of impossibility of a hegemonic discourse provides an ethical stance for subjects. This thesis suggests that in planning practice, such a commitment to the logic of contingency to challenge the neoliberal consensus can provide both normative and ethical dimensions for planning actants. Importantly, this thesis suggests that the “traversing of the fundamental fantasy” provides an important ethical dimension for planning practice. In the case of the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism, the traversing of the fundamental fantasy of neoliberal ideology – that of a belief in the free market – provides a logic of contingency for the dominant discourse of neoliberal planning.

Deconstructing fantasmatic logics provides an appropriate tool used in ESDA to explain how subjects are gripped by a dominant ideology. It also assists in revealing a logic of contingency. In many cases, numerous multilayer fantasmatic logics may work together to make a specific practice possible under the hegemony of free market ideology. This research considered and analysed these logics to investigate housing policies in the two cases of Perth and Tehran as explained in Chapters 5 and 6. It was explained in Chapters 3 and 4 that political and fantasmatic logics furnish the means for ethical critique and normative evaluation of the policy within each case.

In the following sections, I will review how I resolved the questions of this research and what have been the key findings concerning the analysis of the housing policies within the two cases of the thesis.

### **7-3. Question 1: What is the Aristotelian ontology of Urban Growth Management Policy (UGMP), as a core practice of contemporary planning?**

Planners in all areas of planning – from consulting companies, governmental sectors, and academia – so far have been unable to achieve a consensus over a precise explanation or definition of planning and the responsibilities of planners (Gunder & Hillier, 2007). However, an appropriate answer to this question of the ontology of planning might arise from Marxist critics of the functions of capitalism (Harvey, 1985). Planning emerged to pacify the side effects of capitalism and to help capitalism's continued working, particularly by providing public goods and services. According to the Marxist point of view, the main criticism of the planning mechanism is related to the different methods of capital accumulation and economic growth that exacerbate inequality. More importantly, critical thinking inspired by Marxism criticises those simplistic metrics that overlook the complexity of phenomena and their connections and replaces them with reductionist market reasoning. This thesis criticised this prevalent simplistic reasoning of market logic that overlooks the complexities of economic problems – for instance, problems concerning the overlooked values of objects, market failures, economics of incomplete markets, and behavioural economy.

Chapter 2 presented a literature review of the practice of housing policy in the form of UGMP. Based on the literature review, a simplistic logic of population projection is assumed to equal that of the demand for housing; consequently, a land release policy – as the supply side of the market – is applied to meet the projected demand. In this manner, the land supply is assumed to lead to the supply of affordable housing and, as such, it is expected to impede rising prices in a housing market. Nevertheless, adequate land release does not necessarily result in controlling prices. More importantly, this logic tends to take dominance over all other alternatives.

Specifically, neoliberal planning has devoted its authority to promote economic growth and the creation of value-added. This economic growth, in particular, has been implemented through:

1. Different forms of housing schemes and land-supply policies;
2. Operation of innovative fiscal and financial system and policies;
3. The two aforementioned mechanisms working in combination with the privatisation of assets and services.

In this manner, neoliberal planning in alignment with the neoliberal state is focused on facilitating value-added through financial capital obtained from real estate, new systems of rent, land and housing schemes, land supply policies, and UGMP. As explained, during the 2008

global economic crisis, “the reliance of capital gains on net credit inflows into a given asset market [turned] the whole market into a giant Ponzi scheme with the derivative as the key transmission mechanism of financial instability” (McKenzie, 2011, p. 202).

Furthermore, the literature review showed a close relation between planning as an apparatus of the state, which is the representative of powerful interest groups. Planning and state relations under the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism have changed to a more ambiguous role in regard to undertaking responsibilities to provide public services.

Neoliberal planning retreated from the approach of providing a public good or ‘good planning’ and has deployed an approach of ‘good ranking’ that represents international ranking and branding systems (Baeten & Taşan-Kok, 2012). Planning has implemented this system through attributing arbitrary criteria to some rhetorical (empty) signifiers, such as making the ‘most liveable’ city, the ‘most resilient’, the ‘best market climate’ and the ‘most affordable’ city. These have been recently joined by such criteria as the best cities for ‘raising a family’, ‘for the young’, ‘for singles’, ‘to start a career’, and many others to attract more capital in different forms, including human and financial, to those cities. On the other hand, these signifiers operate as promises and objectives for plans and policies that are supposed to be achieved. In sum, planning in reality functions with the fallacies of its promises.

Harvey (1989a, 2006) believed that capitalism takes advantage of trends and conditions to develop and to expand in all areas and to revitalise itself through its creativity. Planning has conformed to the ideology of its time, that is, neoliberal capitalism. In this way, planning as an apparatus works closely with capitalism. The ideology of capitalism defines particular solutions to achieve publicly accepted signifiers that capitalism as a hegemonic encompassing ideology has signified. Thus, a universal mechanism of planning policies – including neoliberal housing schemes – dominates all aspects of planning activities.

However, relying on neoliberal housing policies and consequently a gigantic innovative financial mechanism as the engine of the economy was the cause of one of “the biggest bubbles of history” in the 2008 economic crisis (Marazzi, 2011, p. 12). The practice of UGMP and the supply of new residential areas are still extensively widespread and popular and investment in housing is celebrated as one of the main engines of economic growth (Baker, 2009). Yet, despite failures, side effects, and undesirable outcomes, these housing schemes are considered as one of the main economic drivers in many countries, including both Australia and Iran.

The development of Ellenbrook as a planning practice started with an economic assessment that projected population growth and economic boom as the results of increasing mining activities and exports. The assessment and studies demonstrated that the supply of land in Ellenbrook would prevent a housing price rising; yet any impediment in the construction of Ellenbrook would cause an 11% increase in price in the Perth metropolitan area.

With a similar logic, in the case of Iran, discussed in Chapter 6, a lack of housing was identified; subsequently, a land supply policy in the form of Parand new town was implemented to countervail the market shortage. In Iran, the new town policies were also supposed to provide enough residential areas to prevent the formation of informal settlements. For both policies, the aims allegedly were provision of affordable housing for a range of different income groups.

Therefore, in both cases, the practice ontologically started with the logic of market supply and demand so as to control prices. In fact, the solution for housing problems and shortages was reduced to one of simply the supply of residential land. This exemplified a short-sighted analysis of the political and social aspects of urban growth management. It seems that planning operated in a similar manner for UGMP in Australia under neoliberal market-oriented secular government and in Iran with its Islamic Republic state. It shows that even if we think and claim we are not working with capitalism, the dominant ideology of capitalism has defined the base of our daily activities as planners.

As the thesis developed, most of the problems with which planning has been involved, including housing unaffordability and urban growth pressures, are complex functions of different and paradoxical factors due to the inherent contradictions of capitalism as a system of economy and ideology that has framed its own self-serving knowledge. For example, a metropolitan extension as an equation comprises a number of determinants including population, capital, investment, behavioural factors of actants related to the contradictory characteristics of land and housing, and marginal utility along cultural priorities, political issues, and many immeasurable factors, such as the impact of a universal ideology on the policy and the psychological influences of events and phenomena.

However, as the critical theory of neoliberal housing explained, a simple metric based on the theory of market equilibrium led to a single form of policy that became endemic and made the ontology of UGMP a near universal practice of planning. Ontologically, planning as an apparatus of the state has undertaken a mission to justify politicians' decisions and the hegemonic ideology of the time. In terms of neoliberal housing policy including UGMP, this happened through

applying simplistic metrics and the elimination of complicated logics that revealed the failures of the market.

From the Marxist and neo-Marxist point of view, an analysis based on political economy may provide a more comprehensive and exact method to deal with the problems in planning and policy-making. Although the focus of the Marxist view is allegedly on the economic and political structures of practices, Harvey, Lefebvre, and even Marx himself attempted to consider the behavioural aspects of the phenomena through the notions of, respectively, ideology, linguistics and psychoanalysis, and fetish and bourgeoisie ideology. Feagin (1987) argued that a psychoanalytical investigation is a missed point in Harvey's works. Lefebvre and Harvey believed the domain of planning is the space or realm of everyday life and ideology. From the (post)Marxist point of view, the realm of everyday life activities and the psychoanalytical analysis of political and social phenomena have been investigated via deployment of the term 'ideology' and through the works of thinkers including, but not limited to, Gramsci, Lefebvre, Althusser, Laclau, Mouffe, and Žižek. In addition, Dean, Laclau, Mouffe, Žižek and many other thinkers have tried to make a stronger connection between the Marxian approach and psychoanalysis in order to achieve an efficient analysis approach to the function of capitalism. Following these studies and endeavours, this research has attempted to develop and apply a methodology enforced by knowledge of the political economy of space with a Lacanian psychoanalytical approach to policy analysis and planning.

Particularly in the field of planning, Purcell (2013a), attempted to make connections between Marxism and schizoanalysis<sup>18</sup>. Furthermore, Gunder (2003b, 2010, 2012) and Hillier (2002, 2007) analysed the planning phenomena through a turn to psychoanalytic investigations. Hillier contributed to the psychoanalytical analysis of power relations from a Deleuze and Guattari point of view. Gunder endeavoured to bring Lacanian notions, including fantasy, into planning. Yet, many applicable notions of Lacan and psychoanalysis, especially in the field of the practice of planning, have not been applied and are missed opportunities. It is essential to make connections between the political economy of space and the psychoanalytical aspects of planning, not only in theory but also in the reality of planning practice. Therefore, I have tried to apply the methodology of the logic approach and a different interpretation of Lacan to develop the efforts of these planning scholars and provide a new, effective method of ontological analysis in

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<sup>18</sup> Critics of psychoanalysis that developed by Deleuze and Guattari

planning that is able to take different causes and logics of a practice of planning into consideration.

#### **7-4. Question 2: What are the current ontological roles and functions of planning's actants?**

To reply to the second research question regarding the current ontological roles and functions of planning actants – state, planners, institutions, citizens, as well as codes, rules, and regulations – Chapter 2 investigated the literature of planning concerning actants' roles and responsibilities. Since this research has provided a definition of the ontology of planning based on the (post)Marxian critical point of view, it has investigated the relations and roles of planning actants in respect to the market logic of economic growth and increasing value-added/profit.

Many planning scholars, including Alexander (2005), Friedmann (1987), and Gunder (2013), believe that the institutional design of planning for a polity in both the welfare state and then the neoliberal state were codified and signified by the state as the representative of a minority – the dominant group – not all groups. Nonetheless, the most important problems with neoliberal reasoning are: 1) a retreat from government reliance on academic research; and, 2) a defensive retreat from critical ethical discourses and complicated methods of investigation. This retreat from critical ethical discourses has meant the end of critical and complicated metrics and knowledge that could challenge the nativity of the dominant doxa of the day and impart an informed understanding of market operations. Thus, neoliberal planning in alignment with the neoliberal state has refused to undertake complicated or critical approaches to look beyond the status quo of a problem. Indeed, planning tends to often select simplistic approaches; as Lefebvre argued, planning operates through “fragmented and disconnected” (1996, p. 15) discourses, metrics, and knowledge that ignores and denies complicated alternatives.

Nonetheless, the state needs specific knowledge and expertise – for instance, in the form of land-use plans and policies such as UGMP – in order to obtain legitimacy to continue gaining and producing value-added. This specific knowledge is constructed based on the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism to provide norms, values, and codes of conducts that good planners must follow to obtain legitimacy and authority in order to implement plans and policies and preserve their professional positions. Therefore, there are complicated relations between ideology, planning, and the state that often insulate planning from fundamental criticism and from proposing an alternative approach to the status quo. For example, as explained throughout this research,

planning has relied on evidence-based studies and rationalities as the dominant method of justifying decisions by the dominant group or agents of the hegemonic ideology.

Regarding housing policies and UGMPs, the government has a significant influence on housing markets through its control over land release and development. In addition, the government/state plays a critical role in creating the demand for housing and then the resulting market response. Other sectors of the economy such as mining and the export of oil and gas have provided the economic base for the economies of the two case studies, resulting in an economic boom and an inflow of labour, capital, and money, which are directly related to the housing sector. However, these industries are neither directly nor indirectly responsible for providing services and shelters for new immigrants. Here, it is the state, both central and local government that is to intervene in the market for a fairer distribution of wealth through its housing policies. Gallent (2009) criticised governments' unwillingness to take housing undersupply issues seriously and for the lack of planning to accommodate counter-urbanisation. Often, housing policies are doomed in a vicious circle of supply of land and rising property prices, rather than fair distribution of flows of capital to metropolises.

Under the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism, metropolitan growth and the supply of new lands for affordable housing are involved in a complex system of regulations and financial functions. Planning regulations, development controls, taxes, and interest rates are instruments that can be used to support the provision of affordable housing units, or to prevent them. Planning regulations may exclude lower-income groups or particular household types from certain areas by mandating more expensive, lower density housing typologies or other restrictive planning controls. These systems of regulation and financial mechanisms all are possible merely through reciprocating relations between the state and different levels of planning. In most cases, new metropolitan growth is a cost burden for the state and often needs fiscal innovations, including blending public and private finance sectors and investors, and new investing and financial skills to provide an appropriate residential area. In this manner, planners must distinguish tools that aim for more efficiently oriented market systems from those with more distribution-oriented administrative allocation mechanisms (Gurran & Whitehead, 2011).

Based on the investigation of the research in both case studies, in the initial phases, planning institutions implemented economic assessments and population projections. Following these assessments, a macro-policy was enacted that obliged the local planning institutions to release land and to set new ALEs – the SHC in Perth and the PTDC in Tehran – in order to prepare a new area for development. Then, from the second phases, public-private companies in both

Ellenbrook and Parand were involved in the buying and selling of lands to produce infrastructures and services through value-added obtained from the yields produced from the selling of lots. Following phase 2 of both practices, planning actants applied different kinds of urban design codes and projects to attract capital and populations into the area.

The main actants who set the practice in Ellenbrook as a new metropolitan area in the first phase were the Australian government, WA state government, and ALEs involved in the venture. However, in the following stages, actants shifted to local government organisations that operated as self-funding institutions, planning consulting companies, and private companies and corporations.

In the case of Ellenbrook, both the Commonwealth government, indirectly, and the state government, directly, have had more market-oriented ideological roles to expand and sometimes impose a specific way of thinking and method of planning for planning actants. In Parand, the role of the national government was more visible, tangible, and important through all stages. In some stages, the government operated as a market agent and the practice was designated to the market operation; however, the direct intervention of the government and the international colonial influences were more powerful than market reasoning.

#### **7-5. Question 3: Do the existing ontological functions of planning and its actants, as personified by UGMP, provide an effective mechanism to achieve the aims of planning policies?**

Planning is a Janus-faced mechanism. Since planning emanated from the inherent contradictions of capitalism, it evolved with contradictory aims and objectives. Planning policies work through different promises such as providing affordable housing, transportation, and economic growth. However, planning is not able to meet all these contradictory promises and objectives, and the planning system is often involved in providing promises so far as it can maximise profit and sometimes adjust market failures.

The investigations in both case studies of this thesis have proved the validity of this function of planning. Both urban growth policy initiatives began based on population projections as a change in demand in the market. Consequently, policies of urban growth management directed each land supply to reach an equilibrium point in the market and achieve the promise of providing wide varieties of affordable housing for different income groups. The outcomes materialised as developed areas. Although housing policies, particularly in the form of UGMPs, were involved in complex logics that operated together, planning actants overlooked these interconnected

operations. Without enough knowledge of the interwoven logics and different aspects of the planning function, many aims remained unachieved. Land supply policies particularly ended in increasing housing prices – bubbles – not only in each specific case study area but also in the whole of the metropolitan region.

The cause of the high prices was not just an insufficient supply of housing and speculation creating higher prices. As soon as an UGMP was approved, complementary policies emerged: subsidies, loans, institutional and financial innovations, and regulations/deregulations to support the land supply policy. These combinations ended in more speculation and higher prices (Duca et al., 2010). Therefore, land supply policies, financial supports, and complementary financial policies – especially derivatives – fed the housing market speculation. As explained, this speculative operation of the neoliberal economy applied in the housing sector created a Ponzi-like mechanism in the global economy or as McKenzie (2011), following Strange (2015[1986]), Minsky (1992a), and Keynes (1973[1936]), named it – casino capitalism. In this instance, capital development and productive activities of a country becomes a by-product of speculative investment and financial activities.

As Chapter 2 developed, Duca, Muellbauer and Murphy (2010) argued that although the land supply and affordable housing policies in the US were aimed at FHBs, the housing bubbles rose in second buyers' mortgages, finally, raising prices throughout property and asset markets. Since the 2008 US crisis, many subsequent policy analyses and surveys have been limited to a simple logic, as if it were only the financial problem of sub-prime mortgages that caused the crisis (Cassidy, 2010). Many studies have overlooked the reality of the complicated problems with speculative investments in housing and of financial systems as the economic engine that operated as a Ponzi scheme, resulting in bubbles. Planners and policy makers often have offered solutions that only address the surface of the problem, such as restrictions on loans, strict tax rules, and deregulations on land release, rather than undertaking deeper and more radical analyses. In this manner, these policies not only continue to eliminate more groups from the market but also they transgress the free-market principle by displacing some actors out of the market. Investigations of the two cases showed that institutional and financial innovations and regulations worked as drivers for the maximisation of profit, regardless of the primary objectives and aims of the housing policies.

In respect to achieving the initial aims and objectives and mitigating the identified deficiencies, the results of Ellenbrook can be summarised as follows:

- 1) Based on the 2011 census, Ellenbrook with a population of around 15,000 is far below the initial forecast of 35,000 people by 2015.
- 2) Ellenbrook has obtained more awards than any other similar initiatives in Australia for a range of issues: these include affordable development, community planning, design projects and codes, the most effective contribution in producing value-added for HCS and related companies.
- 3) Ellenbrook has had the largest land yields and land sales among the new developments in the Perth metropolitan area.
- 4) However, after 2008, the area experienced a drop in the number of lots sales and lot yields; consequently, the SHC faced a budget deficiency and reduction in sales revenue. Therefore, the SHC tried to obtain funds through more land release and supply in the form of new villages. Loans repayment and a Commonwealth stimulus interest rate package provided other forms of revenue resource for the ALEs. Borrowing from other organisations such as the Commonwealth has recouped some of the revenue lost.
- 5) Ellenbrook experienced a huge price increase in property, land, and housing. The average price of land between 1994 and 2004 increased by 189% and in the next six to seven years (2004-2011) there was a 157% increase in land prices. Interestingly, the price shifts during the 15-year period invalidate the initial economic assessment that warned of the danger of 11% increase in land prices if the Ellenbrook development did not go ahead. The important result of the housing policies in both Ellenbrook and in Perth is the high prices in the Perth metropolitan area.
- 6) As a result, FHB pulled away from further market involvement and the number of homeless people increased in the whole of the Perth metropolitan area. A family with an average income of AUS\$73,000 per year had to pay 6.5 times their income to purchase a home in 2010. Unaffordability as an important issue has been raised in Perth. Ellenbrook has been suggested as a site for different models of affordable housing such as green title types and affordable apartments and units in the Ellenbrook centre.
- 7) New land-use such as non-heavy industries, and new zoning schemes such as retirement villages have been defined to attract more residents.
- 8) Some initial promises have not yet been met including infrastructure, connecting roads, and efficient public transportation. Indeed, transportation and commuting to Perth is the biggest difficulty for Ellenbrook's residents.

In Parand, achievements or failures can be summarised as follows:

- 1) Parand's population of 29,000 in 2015 was far less than the projected population 80,000 for the first phase.
- 2) In the first phase, the *Parand Development Plan* clearly stated that the plan would not provide affordable housing for low-income groups and it was expected that the wealthiest residents from deteriorated areas of Tehran and informal settlements would move to Parand. This was not compatible with the objective of the 1992 New Town Law.
- 3) However, during the two last phases, different models of affordable housing were produced by government subsidies and within the new supplied lands in Parand.
- 4) The main identified role for Parand was providing service for the adjacent airport's employees and other industrial factories in the area.
- 5) Water, transportation, and other basic infrastructures had not yet been provided in the last phase.
- 6) In the last phase, telecommunication services, information technologies and recreation zoning as well as non-heavy industries were suggested to attract more residents to the area.

In both cases, despite the first promises at the macro levels of UGMPs, and later in the location and development plans, particularly for the second phases, the emphasis was more on selling lots and lands and gaining revenue out of the development. The augmentative effect on prices in the new area has proved stronger than the affordability outcomes in the housing market.

#### **7-6. Question 4: What can a logic-based approach illuminate about the ontological roles, operations, and responsibilities of planning and its actants?**

Lefebvre (2003) criticised the knowledge of planning. He argued that the fragmented knowledge of planning causes a confusing paradoxical status for the urban decision-making process, as the urban phenomenon can only be comprehended as a totality; however, this is a totality that cannot be grasped. For this reason, Lefebvre put forward the concept of “the right to the city” as a tool to bring integrity into the knowledge of space, including planning. “The right to the city therefore signifies the constitution or reconstitution of a spatial-temporal unit, of a gathering together instead of fragmentation” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 195). The “fragmentation and compartmentalization of science and pseudoconcept” in planning such as environment, landscape, global issues, urban issues, regional issues, planning theory, urban design, housing and infrastructure among others, are associated with the synoptic understanding of phenomena. In this fashion, planners are not able to comprehend the relations and impacts of different phenomena. Lefebvre contended that in market-oriented reasoning “ideology and positivist

pseudoscientificity, justifies the most extreme fragmentation, motivates the most cynical forms of compartmentalisation” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 186).

Indeed, those things that planners think are not important or relevant may have the most important influence on planning operations. For instance, Hillier (in Hillier & Abrahams, 2013, p. 62) contended that planners should have the ability to recognise the effects of oil on planning and its relevant relations and operations. Hillier argued that planning should apply those concepts and theories borrowed from other disciplines in order to,

[c]reate awareness of ‘what might be’, offering an array of broad trajectories of possibilities, which can open actors’ minds to the potential transformation of clichéd attitudes, norms and practices. The objective is not to forecast the future, for no-one can tell what the future will be. The objective is to take responsibility as an organisation for the future. (Hillier & Abrahams, 2013, p. 61)

Considering the same concerns with the planning discipline, this thesis has offered a methodology based on the logics approach to face planning’s problems and complexities. The two logics of the political and fantasmatic provide the critical and ethical dimensions for ESDA not only to demystify fallacies but also to bring overlooked data and political relations into consideration. In particular, the retroductive and abductive modes of reasoning may offer a hypothesis of those immeasurable or hidden social and political factors that shape the subjective levels of actants but cannot be easily seen or calculated, such as those discussed in this thesis including colonial causes and different modes of enjoyment. The political and fantasmatic logics clarify that even when the hidden immeasurable factors are recognised, or at least the pressure of the lack can be felt in the existing discourse, the hegemonic ideology of the time prevents it appearing in the official discourse of planning.

This logic-based approach is a critical investigation applied in political studies initially by ESDA followers. The method endeavours to consider hidden immeasurable political and psychoanalytical aspects of social phenomena through the three logics of the social, political, and fantasmatic.

The discernment of *social logics* enables us to characterise practices or regimes by setting out the rules informing the practice and the kinds of entities populating it; *political logics* allow us to account for their historical emergence and formation by focusing on the conflicts and contestations surrounding their constitution; and

*fantasmatic logics* furnish us with the means to explain the way subjects are gripped or held by a practice or regime of practices. (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 213)

The logic approach is a more inclusive and complicated methodology that takes more aspects of a practice of planning into consideration. The method comprises different theories and concepts from different disciplines to cover political-economic and psychoanalytical aspects while it is equipped by specific tools to analyse the efficiency of the technical, mathematical metrics, as well as the linguistic paradigms that can be deployed as instruments of planning and policy-making. To undertake this complicated method of investigation, the logics approach was comprehensively introduced in Chapter 3 to clarify how different logics of the social, political, and fantasmatic are able to cover and analyse different aspects of planning practice. In this regard, this methodology was used as an ontological investigation of phenomena to elucidate which logics work together to make a practice possible and how the practice may continue working despite failures and problems.

In addition, the efficiency of ESDA as a DA method of research is based on its ability to overcome dichotomies of theory/practice, agent/structure, and universalism/particularism. This method analyses how subjects organise their actions under different economic and political circumstances and what kind of mode of enjoyment frames their actions. Based on ESDA and the retroductive method of reasoning, Chapter 4 suggested a critical theory of neoliberal UGMP. The thesis then examined the theory in the Ellenbrook and Parand development plans.

The theory was developed on the grounds of the logics of critical explanation – the logic approach – and based on the triad logics of the social, political and fantasmatic. Following Žižek, the universal locus of the hegemonic ideology as an axiom is filled by capitalism/neoliberalism. This research explained how the deployment of the three logics illuminates the operation of neoliberalism, particularly in the realm of housing policies and UGMPs.

Applying the logics approach in the analyses of this thesis, social logics explained several institutional, financial, and academic logics that facilitate market competition, such as fragmented knowledge and simplistic metrics, privatisation of public services, and institutional changes for the implementation of practices – for both public and private corporations. More importantly, housing markets and speculative investments as the main drivers for neoliberalism were investigated in the two cases. In particular, it seems that at first sight, housing policy in the form of UGMP is ontologically formed, based merely on the market equilibrium between the

demand and supply of housing. However, there are other sorts of logics – political and fantasmatic – that operate to make the policy possible.

Political logics work through different logics such as those of equivalence and difference, as well as articulations between different political forces to put the logic of the market in the hegemonic – universal – place of ideology. Briefly, these logics help shape the social logics; for example, equivalence logic works to organise forces for privatisation, attracting an individualistic rationality that materialises in institutional aspects of planning against the social dimensions of planning practices.

In terms of fantasmatic logics, the thesis extensively discussed the details of the Lacanian approach of ESDA and how it may assist in housing policy analysis. It was explained that hegemonic ideology is vulnerable to its contingencies – the logic that reveals the ontological lack and puts pressure on the hegemonic symbolic order. A dislocatory moment such as an economic crisis may reveal the lack of a hegemonic ideology such as capitalism. At the dislocatory moment, fantasmatic logics operate to cope with the lack. When a fantasy alleges to fill the lack, a series of meanings and structures as a new discourse may appear. Once again, this new discourse is assisted by a series of fantasmatic logics and is taken for granted by actants of a practice.

Fantasmatic logics reveal how different modes of enjoyment attach a subject to a specific practice or reaction in a particular circumstance. In doing so, this research invoked the works of Dean, Laclau, Mouffe, Žižek and ESDA followers. Žižek emphasised the role of enjoyment in political phenomena and argued that “a nation *exists* only as long as its specific enjoyment continues to be materialized in a set of social practices and transmitted through national myths that structure these practices” (Žižek 1993: 202). Moreover, actants operate in ways that can maintain their enjoyment because “it is very painful to be deprived of the ideological surplus-enjoyment” (Žižek, 2012a, p. 715).

For example, the fundamental fantasy of capitalism – the invisible hand of the market – is working alongside the new culture of postmodernity through offering an attractive “cool way of life” (Haselstein, 2013, p. 263), that proposes enjoyment as an advanced individual freedom that nourishes capitalism in the form of neoliberalism. As Žižek (2009) stated, we are in the era of “postmodern capitalism”; accordingly, neoliberalism uses extreme individualism and the dynamic approach of postmodernism to improve itself and tackle its difficulties and its limitations.

As discussed, one of the most important social and political logics that has allowed neoliberalism to function as the hegemonic ideology is its retreat from engaging with critical ethical approaches. Flyvbjerg argued that “the marginalisation of intellect and mind by power is the central problem for planning” (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 37). Following Žižek (2012a, 2012b), this thesis explained that fantasmatic logics illuminate how our mind may be blind to what constitutes our knowledge of the objective entities around us. Therefore, the logic approach through fantasmatic logics encourages us in “thinking of what frames thoughts itself” (Žižek, 2005, p. xvi). In terms of neoliberal reasoning, fantasmatic logics illuminate why the state and other planning actants still assign the responsibility of providing public services to the market, even though what has been named as market reasoning has experienced many failures, deficiencies, and crises.

Based on the abductive and retroductive modes of reasoning, a critical theory of neoliberal UGMP was created in Chapter 4. This theory was used to find and summarise which social, political, and fantasmatic logics make a neoliberal UGMP possible. Then, through investigation of evidence from the Ellenbrook and Parand case studies, the theory was used to examine to what extent each case is in alignment with the critical theory of neoliberal housing.

The ontology of a practice is defined based on the logics that make it possible. In terms of UGMP, policy as a practice of planning often starts with a population projection and a need for further housing production. Usually, a simple paradigm is applied to show that adequate provision of land supply can control the price of housing. However, the issue is not limited to this simplistic logic; the complicated characteristics of land and property, a multilayer political logic, and behavioural dimensions of a society define the traits and functions of the housing and property market. For example, housing and land can be categorised as basic needs and take the role of necessary goods, while they act as capital, durable, or excludable goods. Particularly in the neoliberal economy, the role of property and housing in combination with the financial sectors has changed to become an important engine of economic growth. As a result, these policies often fail to meet their commitments in providing affordable housing and metropolitan regions face increasing numbers of citizens pushed away from the housing markets. Finally, we might have to deal with more economic crises and their resultant negative consequences. The following section explains how the logic approach was applied to the two cases.

### **7-6-1. How did ESDA assist the thesis to compare the two different case studies?**

According to ESDA, an ontological investigation through two case studies not only helps to develop empirical and theoretical understanding of the problematisation of phenomena, “or a way of generating hypothetical explanation”, but also provides a basis for “generalisation, comparison, and lending support to proto-explanations” (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 202). In addition, having more than one case study is crucial and useful in applying abductive reasoning to create a theoretical framework for analysis of a particular practice.

Based on the normative dimension and political logic of ESDA, the analyses of two cases were categorised into four historical/chronological phases in order to make a clear comparison and discern differences and similarities. In the early 1990s with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the global neoliberal trends that started in the Thatcher and Reagan period took the empty place of universal hegemonic ideology. Different neoliberal policies, including the speculative activities related to property, were deployed at all levels and throughout the world. The following summarises how this universal hegemonic ideology has operated in the two particular case studies from Perth and Tehran and what has been their differences and commonalities.

#### **Phase 1**

The social and political logics of the UGMPs in the two cases of Ellenbrook and Parand are significantly similar. The first phases of both cases started with evidence-based studies. Policies emerged from the literature review of existing practices, especially from the US responses to the lack of housing. Accordingly, not only did Australia as an Anglophone country adopt the similar mechanism and system of planning – the creation of new towns in the US and UK – but Iran also applied the experience of UGMPs. One reason for this is that the English language has taken the hegemonic locus, which makes the experience of the US and UK an easily accessible guide for other countries. Thus, Australia is no exception in its intention to use British and American planning practices and theories. Also Iran developed its new town policy in way similar to many other countries around the world.

As the critical theory presented in section 4-5 explained, the system of UGMP as a practice of planning starts with the identified lack of housing and a population projection. The first phases of both cases started with statistics and an economic assessment that showed the necessity of involvement by governmental planning organisations in the form of land supply. In Perth and Tehran, with further flows of money from the mining and oil sectors as well as (im)migrants, metropolitan expansion policies were shaped by planning through rezoning policies and

management of the supply of land. Additionally, in Iran, the New Town policy was enacted to prevent the formation of informal settlements around Tehran. Both cases pursued the ideology of modern urbanism via design codes and projects. In addition, self-funding public sector enterprises emerged as the main actors that were responsible for all the plans, policies, and projects in both Ellenbrook and Parand.

While the political and social logics of both cases resemble each other, the actual political and fantasmatic logics are quite different and complicated. Importantly, the political logics of the Parand development showed that the New Town Law was enacted to 1) respond to high demand of housing in large cities as the result of the internal migration between provinces and 2) to prevent the formation of informal settlements especially around Tehran. These two problems derived from political-imperialist logics in the history of Iran, starting many years before the 1979 Iranian revolution. Although both cases began in the same period of history (1990s) and many similarities can be seen in the analyses of the cases, the case in Iran experienced more difficulties – in different aspects of the social, political and economic – in this period from the negative impacts of global political changes.

The Iranian UGMP in the form of new towns was shaped by a particular fantasmatic logic; that is, misrecognition of the lack. The problem in Iran was not similar to the Western case. The lack of housing in Tehran was the result of the uneven urban and economic development in Iran and the adverse impacts of colonial policies that resulted in internal migration from other provinces to Tehran. In addition, the New Town policies were planned to generate economic growth. Similar to Ellenbrook, the economic assessments projected an important role for Parand to create job opportunities in the area and for the wider Tehran metropolitan area.

## **Phase 2**

The second phase of both cases was a time of prosperity and development; however, the political, social, and fantasmatic logics of Ellenbrook are totally different from Parand. Yet the outcomes are similar – while the objectives of providing affordable housing for a wide variety of residents were initially emphasised, they were not considered as important in the second phase as they were in the first.

Dodson (2013, p. 7) argued, “The mode of intervention undertaken by the Commonwealth during the 1991-1996 period, put the major focus on economic efficiency concerns around metropolitan land markets and spatial functionality, particularly in outer and fringe zones rather than the redress of social justice issues of the post-War housing programs.” Following this trends and

focusing on economic efficiency, between 1998 and 2006-7, Ellenbrook experienced a boom time. In this phase, a mechanism based on the buying and selling of land was working to provide finance for other activities of the SHC and other ALEs as well as infrastructure for Ellenbrook.

During the second phase of the Ellenbrook development, the fantasmatic logic of over-attachment to the fantasy of the invisible hand of the market created a booming land market in the area. After 2006, the practice turned to a bust period, while actants disavowed, enjoyed, or covered over the lack of affordable housing rather than making the effort to provide the means to fill it. Therefore, political and fantasmatic logics via different mechanisms worked closely to sustain the practice and maximise the profit.

In the case of Parand, although Iran experienced a period of economic and political liberation with a moderate government, the land sale activities by NTDC and PDC started after 2002 with an amendment to the New Town Law and followed a global trend, international forces, and political-imperialist logics.

### **Phase 3**

The third phase was a period of crisis for both the cases of Perth and Tehran but in different ways. Following the global economic crisis, between 2007 and 2009 Western Australia and Perth experienced an economic slowdown. The SHC reported a downturn in economic activities of planning institutions, increased housing prices, and further land release policies in both Ellenbrook and the Perth metropolitan region. This economic downturn was a dislocatory moment or a failure for the dominant economic discourse in Perth when a lack re-emerged in the discourse.

In regard to the Iranian case, Ahmadinejad's presidency and the toughest sanctions that have been imposed on any country was the dislocatory event. Parand, likewise Iran and Tehran, faced a wide variety of problems such as unaffordability and economic difficulties that made life stressful for its citizens. Although the Housing Scheme of Kindness was implemented in this period, many projects stopped or were terminated due to the economic difficulties.

### **Phase 4**

This thesis aimed to explain how the policy emerged and how it continued despite its failures to achieve the initial promises. Phase 4 in both cases explained how actants faced the dislocatory event that resulted in the re-emergence of lack and the failures of the dominant discourses.

The fantasmatic logics presented in Ellenbrook show the ways in which these failures are represented as the transgressive failures of the market's actants rather than an ontological lack in the hegemonic discourse of the time – neoliberalism. Although the actants see the signs of failures, they prefer not to consider them. The point is that while the signs can be seen as the increasing list of homelessness or the statistics that show unaffordability, planning actants avoid taking them into consideration. As developed in the thesis, actants know the existing lack in the structure is serious and they know how it might be filled but they prefer to enjoy circulating around the lack rather than aiming to fill it – the mechanism of drive as the fantasmatic logic of neoliberalism.

The case of Ellenbrook has proved more complicated than that of Parand, as it began based on the free market reasoning within a boom period in Australia. Finding and following the traces of market failures are more difficult and less obvious. In Parand, the centralised authority of the planning system makes the failures of market reasoning – equilibrium and land supply – more obvious and they are materialised in the informal settlements that are external to the official planning system.

In the case of Ellenbrook, planning was supposed to respond to the basic needs for shelter and security; thus, planning presented a discourse to show its ability to provide these responses. However, under the ideology of capitalism and through conventions, institutions, and everyday beliefs and actions, it created a desire for further economic growth, capital accumulation, and rivalry for finite private property.

As discussed, the hegemonic neoliberal approach has framed UGMP as a housing policy practice throughout the world of planning. Retreating from experts and critical academics associated with neoliberal trends, different private and semi-private institutions and organisations emerged to facilitate the free market mechanisms contributing to the decentralisation of government and the rise of wider governance. One of these innovative mechanisms in “Australia has been ALEs that work under a wide national policy of public-private partnership to attract private financing for public projects” (Wettenhall, 2003).

As the fourth phase of Ellenbrook showed, even local government was encouraged to attract (quasi)private sponsors for local projects, particularly for delivering typical services such as water and waste management, and for conducting non-typical business operations on a for-profit basis. According to Wettenhall (2013), ALEs are largely used for urban development in Australia. However, he argued that relying on this system of development has caused several

problems such as confusion and difficulties in understanding the roles, relationships, and responsibilities, the legislative inconsistency in providing services, and the lack of readability, transparency, and accountability in both government and governance. Wettenhall (2013) argued that the whole system must be reviewed and reformed in order to achieve betterment in provision of public services.

Based on the logic-based investigation of the Ellenbrook development, the planning actants can be divided into at least four categories:

- Initiator pro-development actants: planning institutions including the Federal Government; the Government of Western Australia; Ministry of Housing; ALEs such as the State Commission Planning, local institutions and private companies, planners, and policy makers who have the ultimate power to “define, organise”, and signify knowledge of concepts and spaces, to attract and frame minds to the new areas. These actants have “a pro-development mind-set with regard to the area since the 1980s” (Hillier, 2002, p. 103). Although in the first stages the structure plan was proposed for public contestation, the local representatives were “only allowed to influence minor details of government proposals” (Hillier, 2002, p. 103). Despite many objections from local residents, the development of the North East Corridor, including Ellenbrook, started and continued.
- Several local landowners and residents supported the proposed development plan because they regarded their property as an economic investment, imagining prices would significantly rise in the future.
- Speculative buyers whose aims and expectations sometimes contradict residential objectives such as affordability. As Hillier (2002) pointed out, these land and asset buyers are “transient” residents and cannot be long-term residents who value the community and the area.
- First homebuyers, young families and public housing tenants attracted to the new area as an affordable place to live. This group suffer the most from the failures of policy promises. Considering the isolation of Ellenbrook from Perth and even from Swan City, residents face “high time and transport costs to access employment and other basic living requirements” (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 60), while the initial provision of infrastructure adds more costs for those who planned for long-term residency in the area.

Overall, pro-development actants and speculative repeat buyers have received benefits, while based on the official statistics and reports, FHB, young families, and low to moderate-income

groups have been excluded from the market. As the RBA's report admitted, lower income households tend to suffer from rising housing prices and higher income households tend to gain (Richards, 2008).

Housing policies in Australia have not resulted in affordability. Between 1980 and 2008, the housing market experienced a very large increase (90% or more) – similar to New Zealand, Ireland, Spain, and the UK – which was higher than the US and Greece (OECD, 2011, p. 6). The OECD Economic Surveys Australia (2014) showed an increasing trend in housing prices and strongly recommended deep micro-prudential oversight, tools, and policies. These would bolster credit safeguards, reduce risks, and increase Federal-state accountabilities especially for public services efficiency, as well as fiscal and financial stability.

Alexander and Grieve (Alexander et al., 2010, p. 65), Gurran (2011), and Hillier (2002) mentioned many contradictions between government and state policies, regulations, and legislation systems for housing and land use planning in Australia and WA. Gurran explained how the Australian system of planning operates in an idiosyncratic way in providing policies, legislation, and approaches; particularly, the planning system has been used “to fund infrastructure for new development” (Gurran, 2011, p. 105) in Australian metropolitan areas. Gurran and Whitehead (2011) argued that in Australia, political will is less embedded in policy, leading to far greater emphasis on private solutions. Namely, the ideological dimensions and fantasmatic logics of a practice are initially materialised in the regulations by state and Federal Government, then become pervasive in all other levels.

In the Perth case study, a deviation from the first promises of providing affordable housing in Ellenbrook represented contradictions in the regulations and plans, as well as contradictions between the different levels of planning. Importantly, these conflicts and contradictions, even at institutional levels, were derived from the inherent characteristics of the property market. Consequently, the contradiction between the first aims – promises – and the process of implementation of the Ellenbrook development plan has not only ended in the failure to achieve its objectives of providing affordable dwellings, but also has caused inconvenience and suffering in access to basic urban services, infrastructure, and appropriate transportation for the long-term residents. At the same time, other actants have been involved in an indefinite circle of making profit. The basis of the substantial price increases has not been a lack of enough land supply, but its opposite, the land release mechanisms have induced speculative investment and resultant price rises.

However, the basic problem and the resultant lack of housing in Tehran is ontologically different from that of Perth. Accordingly, the Parand development has not impeded informal settlements formation and has not achieved its economic purposes as effectively as Ellenbrook. Significantly, the analyses of the phases in the Iranian case illustrated that the policy was largely influenced by international political logics as an important factor in the creation or changes in the process, aims, and outcomes of Parand as a practice of planning and development. Considering the differences and similarities of the two cases, the ideological global trends of neoliberalism have favoured Australia rather than Iran.

In this regard, planning actants can be divided into at least into four categories in the Parand development policies:

- Initiators of the new town policy such as the government, the planning organisations such as MRUDI, and the public private sector enterprises. In Parand, the policy was in alignment with the triad logics of the neoliberal UGMP such as numerous semi-public foundations, financial institutions and banks to facilitate and improve the mechanism of market.
- Landowners – individuals normally from middle to high-income groups, corporations, government organisations, and speculative buyers – who plan to enjoy and take benefits from the increasing prices in the future.
- Middle-income groups, mainly employees of the governmental sectors.
- Low-income groups, mainly internal migrants from other provinces and informal settlements.

In the fourth phase, with the implementation of the HSK policy, particularly after the presidential election in 2013, the new President of Iran, and the emergence of post-sanctions policies, Parand provided special affordable housing for the low-income groups besides other higher decile income groups.

The practice of UGMP in Perth is different from Tehran in mainly two aspects.

First, the identified lack in the case of Perth is ontologically different from Iran; however, the same solution as urban development policy has been suggested for different problems. This misrecognition ontologically created Parand's logic of existence.

The second difference appears at the fantasy-making levels. In Ellenbrook, two main fantasmatic logics sustain and support the practice: the fantasy and rhetoric of free and competitive market operation for provision of affordable housing for low-income groups in alignment with the

mechanism of drive. The fundamental fantasy of market discourse – relying on the free market to provide everything – justifies the speculative operations of the actants. Conversely, in Parand, the objective of the *Development Plan* in the first phase was not affordable housing for low-income groups. The plan predicted that low-income internal migrants first would enter informal settlements and then moderate-income groups would move to Parand.

Finally, the most important similarity between the Australian and Iranian cases is the political and fantasmatic logics of retreating from planning, and from critical complicated approaches and alternative discourses. While retreating from planning and critical thinking in Iran was the sign of anti-American and anti-Western discourses, retreating from planning and critical complicated discourses in Australia is at the core of neoliberalism. However, the outcomes of these political and fantasmatic logics of retreating from planning and critical academia have shown many similarities in the practice of planning. As explained in Chapter 6 and following Žižek (2012 a), the outcomes of fake anti-capitalist discourses and neoliberal discourse are the same and include imprudent policies, on-going speculative investment, and ignored failures and deficiencies.

### **7-7. Question 5: What can be a counter-logic for the current ontology of planning practice?**

ESDA as a logic approach is itself a counter logic against the status quo of planning. Not only does this method emphasise the necessity of a political economic framework for the making and evaluation of policies but also the method helps analyse the political logics and relations in subjective levels of planning in both policymaking and policy analysis. Through its normative and ethical dimensions, this logic approach offers a tool for planners and specifically critical academics to investigate the political and behavioural relations of development. This methodology provides a way to understand how and for whom advantages accrue through urban development, the role of state in these relations, how other actants are involved or trapped in the relations, and finally, how actants may suffer or gain from the practices of, for instance, the supply of land.

Applying a logic approach in planning also produces an inherent counter logic. The reason is that the methodology of this research has emanated from principles that inherently make the method counter-hegemonic and present it as a contingency. Considering the method of this research, which is both abductive and retroductive, the logic approach attempts to take into consideration those far-fetched logics that may influence a practice or a phenomenon but have been overlooked. The logic of contingency reveals the alternative forces located in the

ontological lack as a hole, as a fissure within the hegemonic symbolic order that cannot be expressed and revealed, due to the hegemonic ideology that strives to disavow the existence of any lack. The most important point of the logic approach is that not only is the focus of the method on the existence of the ontological lack, particularly through deployment of political and fantasmatic logics, but also this ontological lack is the locus of the logic of contingency.

Importantly, ESDA through its methods of reasoning and its ethical and normative dimensions presents a methodology beyond poststructuralism and positivism/science-based approaches. The notions of particularism and universalism illuminate a way to deal with and overcome the failures and weaknesses of both mentioned approaches. This method proposes its normative and ethical dimensions through both political and fantasmatic logics. In particular, the logical contingency presents an ethical approach through the concept of ontological lack and facing that lack.

This thesis has applied ESDA as a logic-based approach in two cases for the first time in planning. Although Gunder has been a pioneer in applying a Lacanian approach in planning, he has not applied it through the mentioned logic approach and has not addressed the ethical and normative deficiencies of poststructuralism.

Based on the ethical dimension of ESDA, Chapter 4 in section 4-3-3 discussed the logic of contingency against the logics of possibility of a practice. The logic of contingency is developed based on the Lacanian concept of “traversing of the fundamental fantasy”. This thesis argues that since the most important logic of possibility of UGMP is the fantasy of the invisible hand of the market, traversing of this fundamental fantasy of the hegemonic discourse of capitalism can offer a counter-logic for the market-based practices. This logic of contingency can be also offered as the universal counter-logic or the logic of impossibility of all market-based practices. As argued in Chapter 4, based on the Lacanian concept of *Sintheorie*, traversing of the fundamental fantasy in the subjective level can be materialised through “an identification with something outside the discursive repetitious bounds and bonds that constitute social reality” (Thurston, 2004, p.86).

In particular, in the case of capitalism and specifically the Hayekian theory of neoliberalism, this fundamental fantasy of the invisible hand of the market purports to act as a guide for all human activities that brings prosperity, economic growth and security as well as freedom has taken the locus place of hegemonic ideology. The fantasy of the invisible of the market is widely accepted and deployed in planning practices. As explained in this thesis, housing policies often begin with a discussion of market equilibrium and how we may provide facilities for the invisible hand of the market from supply side to meet the demand. However, we are aware that this equilibrium is

an assumption and one which may never reach in the reality of the actual economy. Therefore, this thesis suggests that we should use other theories and paradigms that have been ignored or received less attention in our policies and plans. As Cassidy (2010, pp. 8-10) argued, we overemphasised “the idea of the market economy and general equilibrium theory as a stable and self-correcting mechanism”. Instead, we should work on new discourses beyond these repetitious theories and their bounds and bonds. This is possible through other perspectives of economics such as market failure economics, economics of incomplete markets, behavioural economy, and also as Harvey (2017) argued value theories of Marxist economy, monopoly powers, and hidden information of the market. It is crucial to address the failures of the fundamental fantasy of market-based logics, and develop new discourses based on overlooked, new or more relevant economic theories.

In the case of UGMP, this thesis suggests that if we remove the fundamental fantasy of the invisible hand of the market, the practice of UGMP would be impossible to be created. If we respond to the identified lack of sufficient or affordable housing through other theories of economics, for example, differences among exchange value, use value and fair value, the outcome would be a practice such as public or rental housing, or for instance the Comprehensive Housing Plan of Iran which was mentioned in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Considering different decile income groups, the Iran Comprehensive Housing Plan suggests different housing strategies to resolve their housing issues.

Furthermore, the perspective of this research has not merely been concerned with a descriptive context-dependent analysis of the practice in the two cases, as a poststructuralist explanation of the practice, the thesis has also considered different logics of the planning practice of urban growth and has questioned whether there is any alternative to the status quo within each case – an ethical-normative perspective to the practice. The following paragraphs will explain how at least one logical contingency can be considered or materialised in each particular case as the logic of impossibility of UGMP.

- 1) The socioeconomic trajectories of resource based – mining, oil, and gas – economies are highly nuanced. In the two cases, UGMP and urban development are intertwined with the flows of money from the export of natural resources. However, growing levels of inequality are noticeable which lead to significant disadvantages for those on lower incomes. McKenzie and Rowley (2013, p. 374) found that the “oft-repeated scenario of resource-dependent communities is the pressure on prices and cost of living due to a sudden increase in migration and demand for labour”. Therefore, the first counter-logic

is that the consequence of natural resource exports on housing and UGMP should be directly considered in policy-making. The portion of mining boom and oil exports that influence UGMP and how it can be calculated and measured should be accounted for in housing mechanisms, policies, and planning in both Perth and Tehran. In this manner, resource industries that are the cause of increasing economic growth and population should be involved in subsequent outcomes, labour market, and supporting services among others in the new metropolitan's extensions.

- 2) The second logic of contingency rendered by this thesis is addressing the fundamental fantasy of the market, which alleges that the invisible hand of the market can benefit everyone and solve all problems, as is particularly the case in the Ellenbrook practice. Providing transportation and infrastructure in Ellenbrook has been postponed, because the state and Federal Governments have emphasised free market operations rather than planning interventions. Indeed, the free market operation causes a high ambiguity in providing services, infrastructure, and other aspects of planning responsibilities. As Dodson (2013, p. 2) explained, "Australia's Federal government is strongly predominated on macro policies which regulate issues concerning immigration and population flows, UGMPs, tax rates and interest rate settings and as a result revenue raising powers, health funding, currency and employment rate." All these areas influence both sizes of cities and housing. Yet, state responsibilities include housing, land, urban development plans, and regulations, and provision of transportation, services, and infrastructure. While the state governments have weak revenue powers to fund such services and infrastructure, the Commonwealth is a well-resourced organisation that holds population and capital flows and their pertinent policies. In fact, these levels of the organisations must be responsible for spatial issues too; however, they often operate in fragmented spaces. In addition, it is not clear how and where the market must provide the lacks in these ambiguous relations. Indeed, what has been implemented in the name of the free market is always the result of different political interactions and interest groups. In this regard, the ALEs mechanism as 'cooperative planning' has emerged with the role of facilitating arrangements and conditions in order to lead to the desired ends – even though this neoliberal role for planning cannot achieve its promises and cannot provide compulsory services. At least, the state and local governments encourage communities to find sponsors that may assist in meeting part of their needs.

Furthermore, discordance between state planning organisations has meant their aims remain unachieved. In this regard, Grieve and McKenzie (2010, p. 72) argued that “traditionally, there has been little dialogue between the Department of Housing and Works (DHW) and the Department for Planning and Infrastructure (DPI)”. These interactions between different departments and levels of planning are formulated separately through technically and administratively bureaucratic networks. Essentially, the states and their governments are the initiators and take the role of leadership for housing trends through their macro policies, universal regulations, main agreements, and contracts. However, it is the local level actors – local government planning and development companies – that are focal points for tensions and implementations, although their role, authority, and their influences are limited to density, neighbourhood amenities, and design codes. On the other hand, other powerful interest groups who control the authority and capital are involved in housing policies in different levels of government, state, and local levels in order to influence decisions at all levels. The logic of the invisible hand of the market is not able to provide an effective tool, because it is not possible to have a perfect free market while many forces act to maximise profits from the market. Accordingly, the free market is a fantasy that only justifies and hides the malfunctions of its mechanisms rather than making any efforts for its improvement.

- 3) According to the case of Parand development, the logical contingency is addressing the fundamental fantasy of the free market. Similar to the case of Ellenbrook, providing infrastructure and transportation in Parand depends on market operation and buying and selling lands as well as further land supply. Namely, the mechanism of drive makes possible the continuous functions of the self-funding organisations and companies rather than the desire for filling the lack of affordable housing. In addition, Iran has faced another problem. Nowadays, neoliberal reasoning has located this country as the object of the exploitation of natural resources and regional conflicts. As the historical phases clarified, the problem in Iran is not simply the lack of housing; rather, global political-imperialist logics have caused uneven spatial policies and development that have resulted in internal migration to Iran’s central provinces including Tehran. What has been represented as the lack of housing in Tehran is the lack of even regional development, along with postcolonial policies that have resulted in the formation of informal settlements, urban poverty, and the substantial migration to the Tehran metropolitan region. Therefore, postcolonial studies as a part of the knowledge of the political-

economy of space can be regarded as compulsory for planning education, especially in countries, such as Iran.

## 7-8. Conclusion

Chapter 7 summarised the presented analyses and studies of this thesis. I attempted to create a bridge between the theory of this research and the findings from the investigations of the practice of UGMPs within the two cases in Australia and Iran. In this chapter, I organised the outcomes of the research, addressing and answering the research questions. To answer the research questions, I tried to provide responses with evidence from the two cases of this research. As a corollary of the study, I contend that I have successfully achieved the two objectives of the research: “to present an in-depth understanding of the Aristotelian ontological function of planning and its actants under the hegemonic ideology of the market/capitalism” and “to develop a discussion for an alternative to the current ontology of planning and its actants”.

To achieve the first objective of the research, I summarised the discussions from Chapters 2 and 3 and answered the first 4 questions of the research to understand what the ontology of the planning practices is; in addition, I brought evidence from two cases to support my responses.

To present an in-depth understanding of the ontological function of planning and its actants, I applied ESDA as a logic-based approach. ESDA, through a discussion of universalism and particularism, provided a method to place an axiom at the core of the research. The axiom accepts neoliberalism as the hegemonic/universal discourse of the planning function. Then, through retroductive reasoning, a critical theory of neoliberal planning was suggested to resolve which social, political, and fantasmatic logics make a practice of neoliberal planning possible. The theory was examined in the two different contexts of Australia and Iran to see to what extent each case is aligned with the neoliberal discourse.

It has been suggested that the ESDA approach is able to fill some of the identified gaps and problems in the existing knowledge and education of planning as mentioned in Chapter 2. I summarised the advantages of this logic approach in dealing with the question of the ontology of planning practice in replying to question four. Based on the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP shaped in Chapter 4, Table 7-1 summarises the logics that make possible a practice of neoliberal planning. Overall, the outcomes of examining the theory in the two cases showed that both the Ellenbrook and Parand development have been in alignment with the theory at least at some stages.

**Table 7-1. The Critical Theory of Neoliberal UGMP**

Social logics	Political logics	Fantasmatic logics
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ An identified lack of affordable housing</li> <li>➤ Land supply policies</li> <li>➤ Urban development policies</li> <li>➤ Institutional social logics: ALEs and public private partnerships</li> <li>➤ Casino capitalism and Ponzi scheme that is a combination of unending economic growth through innovative financial mechanisms with land sales and speculative activities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Defeat of socialism and communism</li> <li>➤ Retreating from academic professional and critical ethical approaches and discourses resultant in evidence-based studies</li> <li>➤ Privatisation and neoliberal institutional policies</li> <li>➤ Political-techno logic of time lag between demand and supply</li> <li>➤ Pursuing individual profit guarantees individual freedom</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ The invisible hand of the market and general theory of the market equilibrium as the fundamental fantasy of neoliberalism</li> <li>➤ Over-attachment to the fundamental fantasy and the mechanism of disavowal</li> <li>➤ Mechanism of drive</li> <li>➤ Different fantasies to sustain the fundamental fantasy and the unending practice of land release</li> </ul>

I have achieved the second objective of this research through applying ESDA itself and by responding to question five of this thesis. Namely, while achieving the first objective of this research exposes the logics of possibility of a neoliberal UGMP, the second objective provides a discussion of logics of impossibility or vulnerability of the practice. I explained the normative and ethical dimensions of ESDA in Chapter 4 to create the foundation for an alternative to the status quo of planning. Moreover, the evidence from the cases (Chapters 5 and 6) materialised the suggested alternatives.

As shown in this thesis, following the methodology of this research, which was explained in Chapters 3 and 4, the current status of planning is entangled in the regulations, norms, and values of the market ideology, particularly neoliberalism. In fact, planning and policies constantly produce a fantasy of self-possession and ownership for citizens. Planning, in this manner, covers over the failures of the market and stimulates citizens to rely on market operation and take part

in an indefinite competition for more and more investment and interest. The existing status of planning and policies infuse people with the idea that the meaning of a citizen's right is equivalent to the right of having more wealth and private property. As Hillier contended, "planning now is stakeholder-led planning practice which is supported by government and states" (Hillier & Abrahams, 2013, p. 64). As the final word, the only alternative for the current situation is traversing or addressing the fundamental fantasy of the hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism – free trade and the invisible hand of the market – that is operating to cover over the ontological lack and failure of the hegemonic ideology. However, practically this alternative is context-dependent and might be materialised in a wide variety of practices.

The next chapter will be concerned with the limitations, hindrances, or deficiencies of this study and will present a word on the potential of the investigations of this thesis for further future studies.

# **Chapter Eight: Conclusion**

"It's not a question of worrying or of hoping for the best, but of finding new weapons."

Gilles Deleuze, (Cited in Marazzi, 2011, p.7)

## **8-1. Introduction**

This thesis has developed the discussion on the ontological investigation of planning and its function, and its relationship with the hegemonic ideology of the day that is, neoliberalism. While many studies have undertaken a critical approach to planning in relation to hegemonic ideology and emphasise the necessity for an alternative responsibility for planning, there are so far few ontological studies that actually offer an alternative methodology or approach. This research has contributed to the literature of planning through the concept of 'counter-hegemonic mode of planning' that is presenting a logical contingency to the status quo of planning. As an original contribution to the planning discipline, the thesis ontologically examined hegemonic ideology and the possibility of a counter-hegemonic planning practice through a logic approach. It developed the logic approach in two different contexts of planning, one from the more market-oriented planning context of Western Australia – Chapter 5 – and the other from the less market-oriented context of Iran – Chapter 6. This thesis suggested an alternative method of planning investigation that inherently includes a counter-logic to the hegemonic discourse.

This chapter summarises key findings and their connectivity with thesis objectives. It concludes the thesis with a short discussion on the difficulties of the research and a suggestion for further research in the future that follows the findings and discussions of this thesis.

## **8-2. Key findings and their connection with thesis objectives**

I chose to undertake an ontological investigation of planning as, in order to respond to the question of why planning fails to meet its promises, it was necessary to know what the status quo of the planning function is, and what the planning relations are. An Aristotelian ontological investigation explicates and reveals those logics, which makes possible the status quo of a practice. In addition, the ontological investigation intrinsically exposes those logics, which make the existence of the practice possible. Thus, to develop an analysis of planning functions, two research objectives were considered: 'to present an in-depth understanding of the Aristotelian

ontological function of planning and its actants under the hegemonic ideology of the market/capitalism', and 'to develop a discussion for an alternative to the current ontology of planning and its actants'. An ontological investigation provided an appropriate method to achieve both objectives of this research. Firstly, to achieve the first objective, the method revealed the conditions that logically provide the possibility of emergence and existence of a practice or a policy. Secondly, to achieve the second objective, the method of ontological study implied the counter logics or those conditions that make the practice or the policy impossible.

Therefore, I chose the ESDA approach as the methodology of this research to achieve the two objectives. As mentioned before, the methodology is the logics of critical explanation in social and political theory that was extensively introduced in Chapter 3. The following paragraphs summarise the key findings of this research in relation to the objectives.

- 1) Deployment of the logic approach into the discipline of planning: The logic approach based on ESDA is a new approach from political studies. The methodology was deployed by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and their students including Glynos and Howarth (2007) and Glynos, Klimecki and Willmott (2012). I am the first to fully apply this method in planning.
- 2) Enhancing the fantasmatic logic of the logic approach: The logic approach examines the possibility of a practice/policy through the three logics of the social, political, and fantasmatic. This thesis applied the method to analyse the possibility and impossibility of the planning practice of UGMP through the social, political and fantasmatic logics of the practice. Through an investigation of the fantasmatic logics of the practice, this research examined the differences between the mechanisms of desire, drive and disavowal in relation to neoliberalism to provide an explanation of the reasons for the unachieved promises of planning. Through this explanation, the thesis has contributed to the fantasmatic logics of the logic approach as well as the application of psychoanalysis in planning. ESDA followers have not previously focused on the differences between the notions of drive and desire and the related ethical analysis. Similarly, this Lacanian ethical notion has not previously been applied in the planning discipline.
- 3) Testing the ESDA approach in terms of the notions of universalism and particularism through two case studies: Going beyond the dichotomies of universalism and particularism is one of the main principles of ESDA. As it was explained in Chapter 3, the dialectical relationship between universalism and particularism, as well as the discussion about this historical bifurcation in philosophy, has been one of the kernel

theories for Laclau (1996) and ESDA followers (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Following ESDA and with recourse to Butler, Laclau, and Žižek (2000), I applied the dialogical relationship between universalism and particularism for two purposes: First, to apply the methodology of this thesis which goes beyond the failures and deficiencies of both structuralism and post-structuralism and in order to conduct an analysis of planning practices. Chapter 3 revealed that while the methodology of this thesis considers a universal theory and applies deductive reasoning to examine its validity, it also takes the special characteristics of different and particular contexts into consideration.

Second, as Chapter 3 explained in the discussion on hegemony and contingency, a hegemonic discourse is the discourse that takes the empty place of universalism and by deploying fantasmatic logics it conceals its contingencies – particular discourses. In this manner, the thesis examined the operation of the hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism and the UGMP in the form of new urban areas as a universal practice of planning within two cases of Ellenbrook and Parand in order to discover and explain differences as well as similarities based on the particular characteristics of each case.

4) Deployment of the ethical approach to overcome and justify the failures and deficiencies of post-structuralism and offer a counter-logic for planning and hegemonic ideology:

Chapter 4 explained that by suggesting a normative and ethical approach the logic approach assists to overcome the deficiencies and failures of post-structuralism. Thus, the methodology of this research is not simply a method; rather, it offers a strategy for planning, policy-making and policy-analysis to find the reasons for planning failures and to avoid those logics that create these failures.

This method is able to explain how different logics makes specific policies or plans hegemonic despite their failures and deficiencies. Therefore, the method can be applied in planning practice by unveiling domination rather than obscuring planning via the imposition of neoliberal fantasies.

UGMP and land supply policy are the subject of this thesis, and the investigation of the cases studies showed that land release policies did not lead to the cheaper asset or affordable housing, since land supply in a specific area is influenced by other factors such as “different sub-markets within a single suburb and local government authority, let alone across an entire metropolitan region” (Gurran, 2008, p. 102). It was concluded that the land supply in a fringe area cannot have necessarily a low-cost effect on other areas of a metropolis. Actants operate in a speculative way to gain the most value-added from the lands. This means, even when planning permission for

development is available, housing shortages are still reported and the price of housing continues to speculatively increase.

Based on the investigations of two cases of this thesis, despite drawbacks and the negative consequences of particular regulations leading up to speculation, zoning laws were provided in such a way that they caused and encouraged these speculative markets. The result was that the two cases policies did not achieve their aims, with zoning policies in particular excluding and depriving some groups of their rights including appropriate shelter, infrastructure and transportation. Paradoxically, “[t]he public is both horrified and fascinated by the workings of the land market. Land speculators are almost universally condemned, while at the same time, the public praises homeownership as an investment” (Healy & Rosenberg, 1979, p. 25).

The research argued that there exist different logics and reasons behind the failures in planning’s aims such as the promise of affordable housing which are hidden under the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism. Accordingly, effective planning must arm itself with more complex knowledge and new approaches to comprehend the function of planning and its consequences; however, hegemonic ideology presents a narrow view and fragmented knowledge prevents the formation of contingent knowledge and logical contingency for the status quo of planning and policymaking.

The thesis offers a more complex methodology to aid planning knowledge. Deployment of historical, ethical and normative investigations, the knowledge not only reflects what has been learnt from the failures and successes of the past, but also it considers underlying political-economic and psychological causes of the failures.

With regard to the ethical discussion in this thesis, it is important to accept that there is at least one logical contingency – lack – within every hegemonic discourse. Importantly, fantasmatic logics assist to understand how hegemonic ideology attempts to cover over or disavow this lack. This helps to be opened to the logical contingency – critique – of the hegemonic discourse. This ethical approach is crucial in planning to avoid repeating the policies that have caused big failures and mistakes such as the housing schemes that ended in the 2008 economic collapses in the global system.

This thesis proposes ESDA as a new and comprehensive analytical tool with which to consider different aspects and principles of planning, policy-analysis and decision-making/taking. The thesis applied this tool into two case studies of the research to examine its validity and

appropriateness in revealing the failures and the logic of the failures of the practice of UGMPs and land release policies.

### **8-3. The primary problems faced in the investigation**

In writing this thesis, the primary challenges that I encountered were related to the methodology of the research and then data collection.

First, as explained, I applied the logic approach to planning for the first time. The methodology was a complicated approach comprising many notions from philosophy, political studies, and psychoanalysis. Thus, it took a considerable time to read the many resources to understand the method properly and to discover in which way it must be applied in the analysis of a practice of planning such as land release and UGMP. Furthermore, I endeavoured to create an appropriate bridge between ESDA and the economics of land to investigate the mechanism of land release and housing policies.

Second, based on the research methodology, I chose two cases. Having two cases and applying the method to these two cases was arduous, as I had to consider the theory in relation to each context to find the similarities and differences and to accurately apply the logic of universalism and particularism as well as the three logics of the social, political, and fantasmatic. In particular, it was challenging to suggest a logical contingency for the practice within each case.

In respect to data collection, I faced different kinds of limitations and problems in both the Ellenbrook and Parand cases. Accessing data about Ellenbrook was difficult, since this case was located in Western Australia. It took a great deal of time to study and understand the planning context of Western Australia and Australia as a whole, and to find the right organisations, institutions, and resources from which to access data and planning documents about the case. In the case of Parand, the most challenging problem was the translation of the planning documents, including several policies, plans, and regulations, from Persian into English.

Therefore, the thesis was a complicated and significant research project for a time limited project constituting a PhD, which necessitated careful reading and studying, significant effort, and careful time management to achieve its objectives.

## **8-4. Opportunity for further research**

Since this research has developed a new approach to planning theory with several new features, it creates many opportunities for further research. Based on the research findings and achievements, the research suggests four areas for further work.

- 1) In terms of the ontological investigation of planning, more research is required that discusses the logics that make a practice possible. Ontological research is able to reveal the essence and relations of planning. In particular, ontological research, through different sorts of logic approaches is crucial to the recognition of the side effects and consequences of policies in the field of policy analysis and planning assessment.
- 2) This thesis began by discussing Lefebvre's critique of planning and the planners' relative ignorance of the planning reality to which he applied the term 'blind field'. In this regard, the thesis proposed the logic approach based on ESDA that present the ability to reveal and discern fallacies/fantasies from the underlying causes and logical relations in planning. Importantly, fantasmatic logics provide an effective tool to understand and analyse the reactions of planning actants in relation to their practices. The logic approach still requires further work to develop the understanding of actants within the planning function.
- 3) As this thesis is an attempt to bridge the psychoanalytical and economic aspects of planning, its initial achievements suggests further investigation in both areas.
  - i) In respect to the economic aspects of planning, for example, one of the important subjects in relation to land release and housing affordability and prices is the characteristics of land as both capital and essential goods. An investigation on the price elasticity of supply of land – land release policies – would be a useful research project in different contexts. It could provide a useful analysis of the relationship between economic causes (land release policies) and actants' behaviours. Another possible economic research area could be measuring the correlation between land release (or land and housing prices) and oil and mineral prices and exports.
  - ii) More importantly, to understand the function and consequence of planning, further investigation into the potential strengthening of connections between the psychoanalytical and economic dimensions of planning and policymaking is required. Based on the discussion in this thesis, and as Žižek (2012b) explains, the current crisis in the world is the crisis in thinking rather than praxis. Žižek terms

this crisis of mind ‘ideological or fetishist disavowal’. He maintains that the logics of disavowal encourage obscene or cynic practices and it is the task of the intellectual to discern these disavowed beliefs of our existence (Žižek, 2006b). It is important to ensure, therefore, that the future task of critical planning theory must include revealing the fantasmatic logics/different modes of enjoyment behind practices, acts, or beliefs. Therefore, doing more research on the intellectual tasks of the planning discipline is required to create changes in both planning education and practice and to determine what frames our thoughts and beliefs as well as regulations and paradigms.

- 4) Finally, significant institutional developments are required to apply the suggested method of ESDA and its logic-based approach and to create changes in the planning discipline. As John Friedmann contends, that institutional design and “institutional transformation [are] … crucial aspect[s] of planning” because “planning is the translation of ideas into action, and the planner’s goal is the transformation of society” (Friedmann cited in Alexander, 2005, p. 210). Changes in a society can only come about by “changing individuals and changing institutions” (Alexander, 2005, p. 210) and we as planners are only able to intervene in the second. Offering a new approach or definition of planning not only needs institutional changes but also a new global ideology and a new form of social relations. However, as Alexander (2005) contends, planning theory and education often contribute little to the institutional aspects of the discipline. Particularly, changes in planning education are strongly required in order to present a view of different logics/causes involved in the practice of planning that are broader than the existing perspectives. Therefore, an investigation of the institutionalisation and materialisation of ESDA as a logic-based approach in planning practice could be another research area for the future.

## **8-5. Conclusion**

According to Badiou (2005, 2012), we live in a crisis-ridden time, where the crises can be divided into two levels: the objective level such as financial and economic crises, and the subjective level including disbelief and humanitarian crises.

However, as the logic approach has clarified, these two levels are inseparable. Through the logic-based approach, it is possible to explain how the objective and subjective levels work together to make possible a socio-political phenomenon. “Today, crisis affects the very condition of our

“social existence” (Badiou, 2005, p. viii) and it appears in our political actions and reactions. In our everyday life, the crises are a mixture of popular cynicism, disbelief, an ultra-sceptical attitude, and disorganisation of thinking about any alternative to the current social and political situation of the world and dominant market rationality. These crises are widespread in all aspect of our lives including planning and its actants. As Žižek (cited in Dean, 2012, p. 46) stated “ruling class ideology wants us to think that radical change is impossible”. Nonetheless, creating changes and dealing with the crises are possible and a logical contingency materialised in practice is not an impossible alternative for the status quo of planning.

The aim of this thesis was to contribute to the task of intellectual that as Žižek stated it is a compulsory to discern the disavowal beliefs and to reveal the fantasmatic, political and social/economic logics behind planning practices. Therefore, the thesis proposed a new method to analyse, to reveal, and to criticise the oversimplification of the problems in the planning discipline. In addition, it attempted to suggest a counter-logic as an alternative for the status quo of planning practice in two different case studies.

Furthermore, it was clarified that neoliberal housing schemes in the form of land release and UGMPs emanate from a global phenomenon. In fact, as the critical theory of neoliberal UGMP (presented in Chapter 4) showed, the market reasoning justifies/covers over its failures and deficiencies by a simplistic logic of market equilibrium that is supported by the fundamental fantasy of the free market as the only solution for everything.

I found that ESDA provides an appropriate method by which to improve our understanding of phenomena, to create a better mechanism with which to overcome the failures and negative impacts of planning and a method that can be utilised to reveal fallacies in each plan or policy. Therefore, this thesis argued that if we really want to make any change in planning, we should change our ways of thinking and expand the educational aspect of planning. According to this research, what should be institutionalised is critical rethinking as well as talking about other possibilities rather than one hegemonic ideology – the market. How this can be materialised in practice needs more research and explanation in each particular case. Moreover, it is very easy to theoretically offer a new approach as a counter-hegemonic logic of planning; however, the way in it can be materialised in practice and in the form of social orders – rules, laws, and institutions – is a complicated problem, which needs more research.

Harvey (2012) argues that part of the struggle against capitalism happens inside the academic world, in the realm of ideas. All academics who demand change must fight for a different kind

of knowledge of production and reproduction and universities should be the place of fierce fighting.

This research is merely the first step on the way – as Saadi Shirazi (born 1210), the Iranian poet, stated: “This book has come to end but there is still a story to be told . . .”

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## Appendix:

**Table 5A. A summary of ALEs activities in the Perth region and the status of Ellenbrook between 1999 and 2013 (resource: the SHC annual reports)**

Year	Expected lots sales	Expected revenue (million)	Actual lots sold	Actual revenue (million)	Profit from land sales (million)	The Ellenbrook status	Housing status in Perth	Solution as a policy	Applications for public rental housing (number)	waiting time for public rental housing
1999-2000	772	\$52.15	760	\$57.28	(\$ 4.340)	The most successful projects among other SHC joint ventures for new development			14,326	57 weeks
2000-01	594	\$48.45	590	\$52.18	(\$ 11.883)	Ellenbrook was awarded the 15th national awards for the best master planned development in Australia. A concept home and display village attracted strong interest.			12,879	62 weeks
2001-02	1167	\$37.12	1290	\$35.356	\$0.825	The Ellenbrook joint venture continued to attract interest and comment with 2919 lots sold to June 2002. The third stage of Ellenbrook – Coolamon - featured an “Australiana” theme and introduced innovative technology features designed to encourage residents wishing to work from home.			15,456	63 weeks
2002-03	1,479	48.402	1,541	\$51.404	\$37.9	Four successful villages have been developed. The fifth, Charlottes Vineyard, has been presold, attracting considerable interest.			14,194	62 weeks
2003-04	1,999	\$83.064	1,825	\$85.5	\$59.6	According to AHURI research Ellenbrook was faced with serious difficulties concerning infrastructure, transportation, employment and youth facilities and failed to provide affordable housing.	The joint ventures enabled the Commission to access the marketing strengths of the private sectors for sharing the risk in major developments. It reduced the demands on the Commission's cash flow, releasing funds for other activities.		12,981	65 weeks
2004-05	2,265	\$87.907	2,265	\$93.133	\$25.1 only from Ellenbrook	Ellenbrook achieved its highest sales 499 lots and prices due to the buoyant condition of the market.			13,125	73 weeks
2005-06	-	-	2,632	-	\$59.9	Sustainable housing project was a joint initiative between the Commission and the Master Builders Association to design and build six	Fall in the number of loans to the FHBs as the result of the increased property price	The Commission's Ellenbrook development sold 545 blocks of land	13,780	74 weeks

					demonstration houses in Ellenbrook for FHBs					
2006-07	-	-	2,083	-	\$91.36	Ellenbrook received 27th awards for innovative, sustainable, and affordable urban development	the rapid increase in property prices over the past two years" had adversely affected affordability	The Ellenbrook sustainable housing project continued to demonstrate to FHBs that it is possible to design innovative, sustainable and affordable housing.	15,438	83weeks
2007-08	-	-	1,481	-	\$16.7 higher than the original budget		SHC's revenue increase was stated as being the result of new venture projects' involvement in providing new lots for sale as well as increasing interest received from mortgage activities	Only 10% of dwellings were affordable for young households	16,932	83weeks
2008-09	-	-	-	-	(\$ 88.1)	-	downturn in demand which was considered to be the result of market conditions-%41 fall in the number of lots	Vacant lands release policies for sale – innovative financial policies	16,932	91weeks
2009-10	-	-	2,243	-	No Info.	Ellenbrook as the location for non-heavy industries for higher employment levels in the area	sales increased by nearly 60 percent – from 1,420 to 2,243 lots.	New non-for-profit investment organisation, new ALEs	21,728	93weeks
2010-2011	-	-	-	-	No Info.	Town centre construction	Main services of SHC are introduced as: assisting eligible clients to access public rental housing, managing and maintaining the Authority's rental properties, and providing information and assistance to ineligible clients so that they can access alternative housing and rental options	creating new policy options, pathways and market-based solutions to help increase affordable housing options	24,136	113weeks
2011-2012	-	-	-	-	(\$51.4)	Town centre construction non-heavy industrial development			23,411	131weeks
2012-2013	-	-	-	-	The sales revenue came in under the original budget by 60%	Village 8 was proposed to add to Ellenbrook 30 national and international awards Between 2004 and 2011 average housing price increased by 1.5 times	The sales revenue came in under the original budget by 60% with the reason for the variance of \$472,945,000 being blamed on the lack of suitable vacant land for the Affordable Housing Program.	Commonwealth grants and contributions changed from supporting new Ventures to supporting homelessness strategy and remote indigenous communities. Commonwealth policies attempted to fix the interest rate in order to secure the repayments	22,871	132weeks