

# ID 1512 | ESSEX SCHOOL OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: A LOGIC-BASED APPROACH TO ONTOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF PLANNING

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Planning discipline historically emerged to modify the side effects of capitalism. Consequently, the discipline has undertaken a paradoxical role: while planning provides facilities for a better condition of life through provision and distribution of public goods and services, it also facilitates accumulation of capital and market operation (Harvey, 1985). Friedmann (1987) discussed the difficulties that we as planners face to present a definition of the essence of planning discipline. Furthermore, Gunder (2005) through a Lacanian approach illuminated the linguistics reasons for difficulties 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 different and sometimes contradictory significations. This paper suggests that planners require an ontological investigation of planning to respond to a question of the planning functions. An ontological analysis is merely possible on the light of logic. Namely, a logic approach is able to provide a window on ontological studies of the essence of phenomena including planning.

This paper deploys Essex School of Discourse Analysis (ESDA) to explain how an Aristotelian logic-based approach may assist to illuminate the functions and relations of planning. ESDA is based on a Logic Approach of Critical Explanation in social and political theory which has been inaugurated initially in political studies by Laclau and Mouffe (1985); then, developed by their students including Glynos and Howarth (2007). The method is not simply a Discourse Analysis method that focuses on reading texts or considering the language of documents. Instead, it has been applied in policy analysis to investigate how and under which political and social circumstances, a particular policy logically supersedes all other alternatives. In this paper, the logic approach critically analyses how three logics social, political and fantasmatic work to make a planning practice such as an urban growth policy possible.

The paper introduces ESDA as a logic-based approach and presents results of applying ESDA in a comparative study of urban development in two case studies: Western Australia (Perth) and Iran (Tehran). Using this logic approach, the paper analyses the factors inherent in these homologous policies, including oil and mineral exports as economic drivers in both cases. Importantly, the research emphasises the need to understand universal trends and their connections with particular context-dependent issues in order to recognise the rationale behind these policies.

This method is being deployed for the first time in planning by the researcher to explicate the logics which have created Ellenbrook and Parand as extensions respectively within Perth and Tehran metropolitan areas. The method will explain how political and fantasmatic logics are associated with the social logic to make the practices and to maintain them at both the social and psychological levels of different actors in the urban development process. Three logics of social, political, and fantasmatic analyse the impacts of different actors including state, citizens, local institutions, as well as regulations upon the policy of urban growth management.

## 2 PLANNING AS A JANUS-FACED DISCIPLINE

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, 1989; 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 encumbrance 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 paper 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, pp. 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). I investigated how two countries – Australia and Iran – have been influenced by neoliberalism as an ideological framework which raised from western countries since the 1980s.

I have selected to analyse the land supply policies and UGMPs as the subject of this investigation 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 actors – 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. It became clear 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.

### 3 ARISTOTELIAN ONTOLOGICAL APPROACH

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). 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).

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). I have chosen Essex School of Discourse Analysis (ESDA) as a logic-based approach to analyse the logics of possibility of a practice of planning. As explained above, I have chosen the policy of UGMP as a practice of planning to ontologically investigate the logics of this practice. The next section introduces ESDA and explains how this method might be deployed in planning and policy analysis.

### 4 ESDA AS AN ARISTOTELIAN LOGIC APPROACH

The method was founded by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and followed by their students in the Essex School of Political Studies. 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.

#### 4.1 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 is developed from Laclau's (1996) point of view. 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 paper 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 generalize scientific laws for particular cases in social science through deductive or inductive modes of reasoning. Universal approaches overemphasise the ideals of prediction and underemphasize contexts and particulars. However, the later approaches including post-structuralism, postmodernism 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 contextdependent 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.

Torfing (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" (Torfing, 1999, p. 168).

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. I have applied the mentioned method to evaluate the role of ideology in two planning case studies from Australia - Perth and Iran - Tehran.

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). The three logics will be explained in the following sections.

## 4.2 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 casual 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. 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).

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.

## 4.3 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 main point of the ESDA methodology is the Lacanian ontological lack – an identified lack in the symbolic order such as lack of affordable housing – that is located at the center of all analyses and logics. The argument is that every hegemonic (dominant) discourse (symbolic order) maintains a lack/a deficiency in the symbolic order. “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). The lack makes pressure on the symbolic order. Indeed, political logics are the subjects’ struggles over recognition of the pressure of the lack and over filling the lack through signifiers. Laclau (2005) argues that in the case of pressure of the lack, a promising empty signifier<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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. An 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).

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.

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 sum up, through political logics such as logic of difference and equivalence, ESDA explains how individual and collective movements and struggles are shaped to make the practices and discourses possible in a society.

#### 4.4 FANTASMATIC LOGICS

Fantasmatic logics can be explained by drawing on a range of different concepts including ideology, different modes of enjoyment, 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<sup>1</sup> of social relations.*

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. 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 symbolized 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 such as an economic crisis re-activates the contingent foundations of a discourse and makes the lack – the lack of the Real – visible.

Based on the Lacanian concepts, 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. 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. 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 desire and drive which are related to the subject of this paper will be explained.

<sup>1</sup> Radical contingency is the logic of impossibility that is located at any given symbolic order (at the heart of being). It makes pressure on the dominant symbolic order to reveal the hidden logics of impossibility of the symbolic order (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

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).

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” (Evans, 2006[1996], p. 111). 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<sup>1</sup>, 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 produced a surplus of enjoyment that 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)

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). Regarding housing policies specifically UGMP, drive mechanism stimulates actors in subjective level to enjoy from speculative activities on land and circulating around the lack of affordable housing.

## 5 A NEOLIBERAL PRACTICE OF UGMP LOGICS

Based on the literature review of economics, planning and political studies and also published evidence and analyses of the 2008 economic crisis, the logics of a neoliberal housing policy can be summarised as a ‘critical theory of neoliberal UGMP’.

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 discourse fails to supply (affordable) housing to meet the equilibrium point of the market. 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. 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.

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 statecentric project”

<sup>1</sup> 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.

(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.

Within this research, 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, these logics attempt to demystify the root cause of the fallacies and unachievable objectives.

## 6 TWO CASES FROM AUSTRALIA AND IRAN: ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

To apply ESDA, I divided 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.

Through retroductive and abductive reasoning, this theory explains the logics including visible and hidden or overlooked 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. 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 may open a discussion about an alternative logic for the current mechanism of each case.

A case study in Perth, Western Australia (WA) was investigated to examine the critical theory of the neoliberal UGMP as a practice of planning, which was suggested above. The theory was examined 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, I investigated and provided an in-depth understanding of the existing ontological roles and functions of planning and its actors in the area in relation to the ideology of neoliberalism to achieve the first aim of this research. To analyse the Ellenbrook case study, the process of policy-making and implementation of the policy were divided 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. Table 1 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, the theory of the neoliberal UGMP created in this research is totally credible for the Ellenbrook development.

Table 1 - The social, political, and fantasmatic logics of the Ellenbrook development (Bahauateymouri, 2016)

	Phase 1 (prior to 1992)	Phase 2 (1992-2008)	Phase 3 2008-9	Phase 4 2010-2015
	A venture	Boom time	Economic slow down	Outcomes
Social logics	<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 5)</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>

A case study from Iran was examined 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. Similarly, the case was divided into four phases, to provide an understanding of the ontological roles and functions of planning and its actants in the area in relation to the ideology of neoliberalism. To perform an ontological investigation of the Parand case study, the process of policy-making and implementation of the policy was divided 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. Table 2 summarises the role of the social, political, and fantasmatic logics that have ontologically signified and constructed Parand through four phases.

**Table 2. The social, political, and fantasmatic logics of the Parand development (Bahmanteymouri, 2016)**

	Phase 1 (Prior to 1998) A solution	Phase 2 (Late 1990s to 2005) Economic and political liberation	Phase 3 (2005-2013) Political and economic crises	Phase 4 (2013-2015) Planning returns
<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>New Town Law as an UGMP</li> <li>Parand Development Plan 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</li> <li>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>

## 7 CONCLUSION

ESDA is a logic-based approach that has initially been applied in political studies. 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 policymaking. In this regard, this methodology was used in this research 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. 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.

Based on the critical theory of neoliberal housing policy mentioned above, Table 3 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.

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## **ID 1513 | EXPLORING THE ZONING AND LAND USE MISMATCH – AN EX-POST EVALUATION OF A DETAILED PLAN IN A LAND READJUSTMENT AREA IN TAINAN**

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**ABSTRACT:** Over the past twenty years, planning scholars have paid more attention to evaluation research as local governments request performance measurements for future decision making, and as citizens and stakeholders request higher accountability and transparency on policy interventions. Planning evaluation can take place at three different times: ex-ante, on-going, and ex-post evaluation. The latter two receive relatively little attention in the literature due to the lack of resources, the norms of organization culture, and the limited availability of data and analytical methods. As the legitimacy of planning and its effects has been increasingly questioned in Taiwan, this study takes on the challenge of the ex-post evaluation, to evaluate the effect on plan implementation on the ground in Taiwan, using a case study of a detailed plan of a land readjustment neighborhood in Tainan City to empirically demonstrate the quantitative evidence for planning implementation. Due to the regulatory planning system in Taiwanese city