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# Report on Stakeholder Workshop **(SUSTAINLUX)**

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**Working Paper 5**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The primary objective of the current and fifth working paper of the SUSTAINLUX research series is to report on the SUSTAINLUX Stakeholder Workshop that was held at the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning of the University of Luxembourg, in March 2013. The purpose of the meeting was two-fold: 1) to present the findings of the interview process to the stakeholders and generate feedback on our analyses; and 2) to consider scenarios concerning Luxembourg's future trajectory with respect to integrated sustainable spatial development. The event was well attended and participants engaged in lively discussion. The stakeholders generally responded quite positively to the results, affirming our evaluation of the data. Participants were also very active in scenario building session, and identifying priorities of development. The workshop was thus a very successful final step in the methodology of the SUSTAINLUX research.

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## FOREWORD

Through its CORE Research Programme, the Government of Luxembourg's *Fonds National de la Recherche* (2010) stated that:

“Luxembourg is facing a number of challenges with an important territorial dimension that have to be addressed by spatial planning and development. [...] It is essential to find new ways of living (manufacturing, housing, mobility) that allow for a sustainable development and sustainable land use [...]. The geographic challenge consists in promoting a controlled urban development,”

The researchers co-ordinating the SUSTAINLUX project aimed at examining and assessing these challenges. Given recent economic and demographic changes and strong pressures on land use, SUSTAINLUX focuses on an evaluation of the existing planning policy instruments and governance patterns with respect to spatial development in the Grand Duchy in general, and of housing policy and transport in particular. In the end, this FNR CORE funded project aims to provide information about the strengths and weaknesses of current policy tools, and hence reveal potentially new tools and approaches towards more sustainable systems of urban and regional spatial development. At the same time, our findings will contribute to the broader international discussion on sustainable development, and thus enhance our wider understanding of urban and regional studies at large.

A series of Working Papers were written for SUSTAINLUX which can be understood as yardsticks that indicate the progress of the three-year project. The first working paper (Carr, Hesse, and Schulz 2010) introduced the conceptual groundwork, identified the central problems and contradictions, and outlined a research methodology. The second working paper (Carr 2011) evolved from the completion of the first stages of the research process,

namely the document analysis and carrying out of exploratory conversational interviews. It aimed to answer some of the preliminary questions that were outlined in the original CORE proposal: How did Luxembourg get to where it is today? Who put sustainability at the top of the policy agenda in Luxembourg, why, and how? What was the political economic context of such a development and what were the implications? To what extent and how has the concept of sustainability become part of spatial development and planning policies in Luxembourg? How consistent is the approach in the realm of housing and mobility policies? What kind of guiding principles and which discourse patterns can be identified? What are the different conceptual “forms”, “modes” or “models” of governance this particular practice can be referred to? The research process was thus able to identify the links between the European and Luxembourg national levels of government and the role of sustainable development as a normative spatial planning policy, in achieving some of the policy agendas defined at those circuits.

The third working paper (Carr 2012), addressed the questions: How do the current administrative and legal structures respond to the requirements of the sustainability objective laid down in the *Programme Directeur d'Aménagement du Territoire*? What kind of barriers and obstacles can be observed in the field of housing, mobility, and spatial development, regarding the implementation of the related sector plans? On-going document analysis and further interviews, both with and eye to governance in Luxembourg revealed significant barriers in place that prevent policy implementation in Luxembourg. Conceptualizing the problem through debates on policy mobility, wider global circuits of sustainable development policy were identified, that Luxembourg taps into.

The objective of the fourth paper (Carr 2012) was to present the findings of the textual data generated from the interviews. The data that was collected from 30 rec-

orded and transcribed interviews, as well as a wide array of relevant policy documents was categorized, structured and synthesised into discursive categories. The fourth working paper thus served as a data source for future and more conceptually oriented peer-reviewed papers.

This document constitutes the fifth working paper of the SUSTAINLUX research. The objective here is to: a) report on the final workshop meetings with the interview participants that took place in March 2013; b) explain in detail some of the scenarios that were considered during the feedback process. This paper thus conforms to the final set of deliverables promised in the original FNR CORE proposal.

This paper, however, also stands parallel to a publishing strategy that seeks to ratify our results in international discourse through the scholarly peer review process. "Discourse Yes, Implementation Maybe: an immobility and paralysis of sustainable development policy" is forthcoming in *European Planning Studies* (IF 0.976). Together with Julia Affolderbach (FNR, NEBOR), a second manuscript was also submitted for review as part of a special issue of the *Journal of the Regional Studies Association* (IF 1.784) on the topic of scale bending. Further publications in progress include: 1) together with Markus Hesse, an article on the contradictions of integrated planning in an environment of fragmentation is headed for the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (IF 1.339), and has been accepted for presentation at the Spaces and Flows conference 2013 as well as at the Transport Research Day of BIVIC-GIBET in May 2013, in Luxembourg – a conference organized by the Benelux Interuniversity Association of Transport Researchers; 2) together with Christian Schulz, an entry to *International Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning* (IF 0.615) on multi-level governance; 3) a chapter entitled, "Luxembourg in the Ephemeral" has been accepted to "Adventures in Urban Sustainable Development:

Theoretical interventions and notes from the field" (MIT Press); and 4) together with Affolderbach, a special issue of the *Local Environment: International Journal of Justice and Sustainability* will be guest edited. The contributing articles are currently under peer review.

Special thanks are extended Professors Markus Hesse and Christian Schulz and the strong team at the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning, for their continual commitment to and feedback on the SUSTAINLUX project. Special recognition and appreciation is also extended to Prof. Dr. Robert Krueger, who also extended continual support during his stay as a Visiting Scholar, and later as an appointed Guest Professor at the University of Luxembourg. The research presented here also of course rests on the co-operation of a variety of research participants, whose names can only be published *in camera*, but whose participation is greatly appreciated.

## INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this fifth paper is to report on the Stakeholder Workshop, held at the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning of the University of Luxembourg, in March 2013, and to discuss some of the implications of the research in terms of scenarios for Luxembourg's development. This paper is structured along those objectives.

## THE STAKEHOLDER WORKSHOP

In March of 2013, interview participants were convened at the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning of the University of Luxembourg for a presentation of results, a discussion thereof, and scenario building.

## Methodological Significance and Agenda

For the SUSTAINLUX project, it was important to obtain voices and perspectives of the participants - and these as little influenced by the researcher as possible. The SUSTAINLUX Stakeholder Workshop

was one forum that could tackle this problem, because participants could affirm or negate our analyses and interpretation of the results. The meeting was thus methodologically important.

The Stakeholder Workshop could be viewed as a variation of the Delphi Technique which is one such method that can be used to:

“...combine expert knowledge and opinion to arrive at an informed group consensus on a complex problem [...where] knowledge is imperfect, where there are no correct answers or hard facts, and consensus of expert opinion is considered an acceptable second choice,” (Donohoe and Needham 2009, 416).

The premise is that a round of experts is better than just a single expert (*ibid.*), and sustainability policy is one domain ideal for such methods because goals of sustainable development are ambivalent, the contextual knowledge needed towards its practice is highly uncertain, and the powers able to implement sustainable objectives are highly distributed (Voss et al. 2007, 194).

Donohoe and Needham (2009) defined consensus as a kind of, “opinion stability” that is:

“...achieved using iterative rounds, that is, sequential questionnaires interspersed with controlled feedback and the interpretation of experts’ opinion. [Delphi] provides an enabling mechanism for organizing conflicting values and experiences, and it facilitates the incorporation of multiple opinions into consensus,” (Donohoe and Needham 2009, 416).

Application of the Delphi method may thus effectively crystallize a consensus among diverse participants. This was the aim of the Stakeholder Workshop.

The research design of Delphi is flexible. For Donohoe and Needham (Donohoe

and Needham 2009) the Delphi process was a sort of funnel process, whereby the same respondents are subjected to two or more rounds of deliberation and remain the same throughout the research process. The metaphor of a funnel is derived from the experience that the number of participants may wane over time. MacMillan and Marshall (MacMillan and Marshall 2006, 13–14), however, used different sets of interviewees each round. The first round of experts was used to extract definitions and typologies. This list was then presented to a second group of experts, who ranked and commented on them. The third round was a conference, to which all experts (from the previous rounds) were invited. During this last round, lively discussion was generated and consensus on certain aspects of the study was reached (MacMillan and Marshall 2006, 13–14).

The SUSTAINLUX Stakeholder Workshop retained characteristics of both models. Over 30 participants were interviewed in 2011 and 2012 (constituting a first Delphi round). All interviewees were then invited to the Stakeholder Workshop. Roughly one third of interview partners attended the workshop (round two). This is a very satisfactory attendance rate, indicating that the participants still retain high interest in the project. Here, the research design resembles the funnel. However, the SUSTAINLUX Stakeholder Workshop was also open to members and students of the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning. This latter group may be conceived of as a second round of experts as described by MacMillan and Marshall (2006). The workshop was thus attended by an approximate total of 26 participants.

The structure of the meeting unfolded according to agenda as can be seen in Box 2. First, the qualitative methods were explained. Second, the major themes were presented, focussing on topical issues related to Luxembourg specifically. Emphasis was placed on highlighting the contrasts and opposing positions in the discourse, and outcomes that were surprising (see Box 3, and Working Paper 4 for de-

tails). The presentation was followed by discussion and feedback. Third, after a break, scenarios were presented to the audience for deliberation and feedback.

## **Presentation**

### *Presentation of Objectives and Methods*

The Principal Investigator, Prof. Dr. Markus Hesse, opened the workshop with a brief welcome and introduction to the session, as well as an explanation of the SUSTAINLUX objectives. This was followed by Dr. Constance Carr who explained to the audience the research methods: that a three-pronged constructivist research approach was undertaken:

- 1) Relevant policy documents in Luxembourg were collected and surveyed, which included policy guidelines developed internationally and domestically;
- 2) Participant observation was undertaken (such as attendance at meetings of the CSDD, Global Footprint Network, but also more informal situations such as exchanges at the *OekoFoire*, and activities organized by the Centre for Ecological Learning Luxembourg); and
- 3) Qualitative conversational interviews were carried out.

It was explained that the first two processes allowed the establishment of a general background understanding of integrated sustainable spatial development in Luxembourg. That is, that through this process we were able to create, for example, an Actor Map, and a timeline of events, and generally determine what is being said, by whom, in which contexts, for what purposes, and when.

The interview process was also explained in detail: that over 30 one-hour conversational interviews were arranged and conducted with key actors from the field. Reiterating that the goal was to achieve a comprehensive overview, it was explained that actors were sought such that a variety of opinions, positions, and

perspectives would be represented in the data; that interviews were thus performed with applied geographers, media analysts, activists, home buyers, real estate agents, bank officials, architects, and government officials.

Finally, the transcription and coding processes that aid textual analyses were explained. At 15 pages per interview, SUSTAINLUX now consisted of approximately 450 pages of text material, and the central challenge consisted of drawing out recurring themes, contested themes, identities, actor positions, and further triangulating meaning from the material against the background of the surveyed documentation. In conclusion, the methodological intent and significant of the Stakeholder Workshop was stressed.

### *Presentation of Five Categories*

After the methods were explained the presentation proceeded with an overview of the five major recurring themes (Box 3). These themes are presented in detail in Working Paper 4. What follows is a review of the five points that were shown at the Stakeholder Workshop.

### Box 1: List of Workshop Participants

Interview Category	Code	N
Geographer	R1	1
Architect/Urbanist	A1	1
Architect/Urbanist	A3	1
Government Official	G4	1
Government Official	G7	1
Government Official	G8	1
Government Official	G10	1
Government Official	G11	1
Government Official	G13	1
NGO	N5	1
Other	O5	1
<b>Other Attendees</b>		
Students of the Masters in Geography and Spatial Planning		ca. 10
Research Associates of the Institute of Geography & Spatial Planning		5
		<b>Total N = 26</b>

### Box 2: Agenda of Workshop

14:00	Introduction, Prof. Dr. Markus Hesse (Principal Investigator)
14:15	Presentation, Dr. Constance Carr (Research Associate) "The SUSTAINLUX Methods and Observations from the Field"
14:45	First Discussion
15:15	Presentation, Dr. Constance Carr, "Scenarios – The IVL and 2013"
15:30	Feedback and Discussion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Towards a solution</li> <li>• What should be done?</li> </ul>
16:00	Wrap-up and Refreshments



**Box 3: Categories along which results were presented (see Working Paper 4 for complete details)**

1. Meaning of Sustainable Development
2. Small State Government Structures
3. Power and Property Markets
4. Integrated Spatial Planning
5. Perceived Challenges for Luxembourg

1. Concerning the first category (Meaning of Sustainable Development), it was confirmed, first, that all the interviewees recognized it, and recognized it as stemming from the United Nations. Some recognized from the get-go that sustainable development was a very general and ambiguous notion. Some viewed this aspect as worthy of closer analysis precisely because it is was open concept and therefore potentially something quite encompassing. Others understood the vastness of the concept negatively because it was potentially meaningless, adding little new to the debates. Second, some viewed it as a scale against which stakeholder or governing interests could be weighed. Third, some viewed sustainable development as primarily a response to societal conditions in the context of a planet with finite resources. Finding practical answers to broad and pressing questions was the motive of sustainable development. In the foreground of this discussion were grave perceptions of failing nature protection, imminent peak oil, and excessive CO2 emissions.

From these observations, it could be seen which issues were perceived as most important, how the issue was framed, and where the emphases were placed. All interviewees framed the problem around human needs, and Luxembourgish development more specifically. There was no mention of more radical ideas circulating around culture-nature relationships, or radical political debates such as animal rights. Finite natural resources were primarily spoken of in regards to peak oil and CO2 emissions – not air or water quality, food production, or any of the other major resource problems. Oil and Climate Change were very much at the centre of attention.

2. The characteristics of small State Government Structures (the second category) also figured prominently in the interview data. Interviewees repeatedly identified perceived imbal-

ances in the government structure. They consistently referred to the size and capacity of the Municipalities, and the relative power and influence of the property market. It was generally agreed that smaller Municipalities lacked specialist staff who could focus on planning, structural and legal instruments to co-ordinate development, as well as of course financial resources. In contrast, those involved in larger Municipalities expressed optimism and potential. Many respondents were very clear that Inter-Municipal or nation-wide development was necessary. It was not clear how participation of interested parties could be consistently and reliably guaranteed.

Some perceived the opacity of top-level officials as a failure in democratic participation, and further, this was often perceived as Top-Down Management. The national government was often charged with not involving the Municipalities in a timely or reliable manner. This was again perceived as a result of limited human resources; at the Municipal and National level.

One interviewee had relayed a Luxembourgish saying: "If a Mayor wants something, he calls the Minister in the Morning and sits with him on the sofa in the afternoon." This again, can be traced back to the smallness of the population, and respective close relations among those active in governmental circles. Nevertheless, many were confused as to who is actually making decisions and how decisions are made.

Top-down was also the perception of those in the building sector, who seek approvals for building projects. Several complained that conditions for one permit conflicted with the conditions set out for another permit, and that regulations for the national approval of Municipal PAGs and PAPs have become so complex that it takes years to complete a single building project. This was having the effect that many

cannot explain (to their client or, project partners, investors) why some projects receive approval and others not, and become thus suspicious of the intransparencies.

The above problems contributed to an overshadowing and perhaps still greater problem: that the National government frequently broke its own rules, and thereby diminishes its own credibility.

From these results, processes that are very specific to a small state could be seen: few actors, limited human resources, people wearing double hats, short distances between actors. To a certain degree they are unavoidable. However, in its current form, they are quite problematic. The end result of these processes is that architects, mayors, real estate agents, and the general public perceive a top-down power at work that operated through an almost a complex administration. Moreover, one gets a sense of deep reaching dissatisfaction, mistrust, and frustration among governing authorities *at both levels*, leaving one to wonder how progress on any one topic can be made, let alone the topic of integrated sustainable development.

3. The third category concerned the property market, which in the view of SUSTAINLUX researchers, was indivisible from planning practice. The market is characterized by private ownership. This was easily seen in the housing sector, which evolved out of an old aspiration of single family detached home living, and now caters to high-end luxury. Perceptions of the property market were that it is characterized by a general absolute limitation in volume because Luxembourg is a small state; high land prices that were not likely to fall; and a probable high degree of speculation. The volatility of the private property further unfolded as a democratic deficit, as it was

feared that politicians were more likely to listen to investors than voters.

Planning in Luxembourg could not be perceived independently of the reality of the market, and the gains that were to be made at various levels. The tight private property market is proving lucrative to landowners, and that those that do own land are potentially wealthy. Interviewees are well aware that one clearly needs more and more capital to enter the property market.

4. Concerning integrated spatial planning, there was a broad concern and call for regional (cross-Municipal) development in Luxembourg. Municipalities that perceive themselves as weak, the perceived incoherent strategies of the national government, the perceived immanent problems that Luxembourg faces, and the volatility of the high-stakes property market, all fed a broad consensus that a coordinated action was urgently needed and desired. It repeatedly came out that a coordinating body is necessary, which could be interpreted as a *call for spatial planning*. While the national government was often criticized, there was sympathy for Spatial Planning - a department that is constantly defending its existence and legitimacy.

In this vein, densification was a popular concept among planners, politicians, and developers, but contested as seen in the failing implementation. Densification was seen in three major spheres: 1) the Ministry of Housing and their strategies associated with the *Pacte Logement*; 2) DATer and the *Programme Directeur* and Sector Plans; 3) other alternative projects (e.g. One Planet, Transition Towns). Although diverse in their paradigmatic approaches, different in terms of their political acceptance, and variegated in terms of implementation, their common denominator is densification. Yet, Municipalities seem to have trouble balancing the conflicting interests.

Sometimes residents do not want densification, and the sudden increase of population and associated pressures of infrastructure provision (e.g. Strassen, Walferdange) present a problem for weaker Municipalities. Sometimes Municipalities looked out for their own strategic interest. A still greater issue, too, is under the rubric of densification, two milieu meet in agreement: planners and property developers. There is thus an outstanding discussion to be had concerning densification.

From these one thus sees some of the contradictions in spatial planning in the specificity of Luxembourg, where one wonders if a co-operatively planned strategic development is possible, and whether or not dreams can be acted on and realised. This might in part be explained by the context: that policy-makers introduced these new planning strategies into a governing system that had no history of cross-sector, cross-disciplinary planning, had mechanisms in place that supported only very localised and compartmentalised development strategies, grounded in a high degree of municipal autonomy; and operated with an apparent circular decision-making structure where many of the Chamber Deputies are land owners, and where one third of them fulfil a simultaneous second function as members of Municipal Councils.

5. Finally, the perceived challenges of Luxembourg were presented in four broad subcategories: a) Luxembourg's sovereign niche strategy; b) social disparities; c) lack of vision for the future; and d) democratic structure.

Concerning the niche strategy, this refers to the observation that Luxembourg, as a small state, has always served the need to pursue a clear geopolitical economic strategy for its sustenance. This is seen in the strategies of networking with the German

Customs Union (Zollverein) that Luxembourgish entrepreneurial elites pursued after the Belgian War, the cross-border relationships that have been discussed by scholars of Luxembourgish history (see Peporte, Kmec, and Majerus 2010), and of course, Luxembourg's current international economy (see Schulz and Walther 2009; Schulz 2009; Beyer 2009; Becker and Hesse 2010; Affolderbach and Carr submitted for review). All demonstrate Luxembourg's ability to adapt to external flows.

Many interviewees expressed concerns about Luxembourg's capacity to continue in its ability to adjust to current shifts in domestic and international political economic climates.

Many of the respondents, at the end of the interview, addressed integration and growing social disparities as the most pressing issue. These were perceived in direct relation to the growth trajectory of Luxembourg

Many of the interview participants perceived a lack of vision for Luxembourg. This arose as either a desire for some form of strategic planning or forecasting or as a desire for more discourse on more fundamental issues.

Several perceived fundamental challenges in democratic structure concerning leadership and participation. This arose as a desire for participation, as mentioned above, but also as a desire for a more deliberate and purposeful approach to decision-making -- one that would make Luxembourg more noticeable on an international stage. Luxembourg's failure to make a mark (e.g. creation of tram) was perceived as a reflection of non-committal governing styles.

From these the priorities that interviewees set can be seen. After an hour of discussions of sustainability, its sovereign niche strategy was the

most pressing issue. Interviewees were surprisingly very keenly aware of the small state's fragility. Many chose social aspects as the most pressing – whether they concerning cultural integration, widening social disparities or democratic restructuring. One might also note the lack of co-ordinated proposals. There seems to be some consensus as to what the dangers are (over reliance on cheap fuel, financial industry, for examples), and lots of ideas. Still, there was a large sense of procedural frustration.

## **First Discussion**

### *General Agreement*

The topics were thus presented in a rather provocative form, and lively discussion was generated. To our surprise, there was little disagreement or objection with our general streams of thought. Comments are summarized in Table 1.

## **SCENARIOS**

The second half of the meeting was spent discussing scenarios. That is, the possible trajectories that Luxembourg may take, given the current framework conditions. First, Carr presented scenarios for 2013, 2020, and 2050. Afterwards, the participants deliberated on priorities that need to be investigated or pursued towards an integrated sustainable development for Luxembourg.

### **Scenario Proposals**

The discussion was structured around the IVL that was published in 2004, and whose goal:

“was firstly a strategic tool for considering different development options, and secondly a working instrument for coordinating sectorial plans, as well as a framework for regional and local authority planning. [It was also] designed to serve as a new planning approach for establishing integrated thinking and coordinated actions in practice in the longer term,” (Innenministerium et al. 2004a)

The IVL built its development strategy on two different scenarios as a way of framing development needs for the nation.

The IVL illuminates what was projected in 2004. Nine years later, it is possible to compare those projections with actual developments that have unfolded since then. Briefly, the IVL scenarios were about external vs. internal development under conditions of growth – on the projection that Luxembourg will have 395,000 jobs by 2020. The “Commuter Scenario” presupposed that 75% of the 91,000 new employment opportunities will be filled by commuters (Innenministerium et al. 2004b). This would take the number of cross-border commuters to a total 168,000, while the number of residents would rise to 511,000. The “Resident Scenario” presupposed that only 40% of the new available jobs are taken by commuters. Since this would entail greater numbers of new residents moving in, the number of residents would rise to 561,000 and the number of cross-border commuters would rise to 136,000,” (Innenministerium et al. 2004b). These scenarios are summarized in Table 2.

## Table 1: Summary of Comments (all paraphrased) from First Discussion

“I am surprised that peak oil and climate change are so in the forefront of the sustainable development discussions. I have the feeling that the social dimension of sustainable development is taking precedence these days. I was at a panel discussion the other day on sustainable development and I was struck by how much the conversation circled around the question of where our children will live when they are older. This was really a topic of great importance in the round.”

“What drives me absolutely crazy is when I speak with a Mayor who does not understand the new laws. Mayors are so busy that they do not know what is going on. Many of the new rules are trickling down from the European level, and parliament passes them without really understanding the impact.”

“Someone once said long ago that we have one of the most ridiculous Parliaments, that they never manage anything. But this may be due to the fact that the Parliament is not a counter-balance to the government apparatus. One might also consider redefining or eliminating the electoral districts (*circonscriptions électorales*) through which the Parliament is voted. We have four and what for? We need a new institutional framework!”

“We also need to change the way to finance the Municipalities through, for example, fiscal incentives, taxes, or regional funds.”

“What I do not agree with is the notion of a “broad consensus”. We are in the process of putting together the Sector Plans, and we will have incredible power to access land, to expropriate land and not at market prices. We will see then what kind of consensus we have.”

“We also have a problem of individual behaviour and planning at the level of the individual: financial stability and what about the younger generation? Their behaviour and choices?”

“We also have a social problem. We have had planning for over 40 years [referring to first *Programme Directeur*], and we have never really had a discourse. Recently, there was an article in the newspaper which covered just about all the central issues and problems that Luxembourg faces, but what happened? It died without discussion. There was really a chance to bring debate into view, but nothing happened.”

“People wonder if the debates are fiction...”

“Also Luxembourgers are not ready to live in cities. Luxembourgers were farmers. Luxembourgers behave differently. The immigrants, however, are ready to live in cities.”

“Luxembourger mentality does not fall from the sky. It is politically driven, and is the product of 50 years of conservative politics.”

“I have a question: Does the City of Luxembourg really want to grow? I’d be interested in that.”

“Investors want to keep land, and they are not worried either. They really believe that their house is a good and safe investment. Also, I do not see a difference between Luxembourgers and immigrants. They all want the same thing – a house, garden etc. – and all try to maximize their investment: searching for the biggest house, good location, and best deal for their money.”

Also in Table 2 are the current statistics concerning population, employment, and commuter growth. The latest statistics from statec.lu show that the population has increased 70,000 since 2004 (roughly 6,990 per year), the total number jobs has increased 91,500 (or roughly 9,150 jobs per year since 2004), and the number of commuters has increased 45,000 (or 4500 per year since 2004) Herewith, one can draw the following conclusions: 1) that population and commuter flows have grown (and one might further wonder if it was controlled growth); 2) that commuters have filled approximately half of new jobs; 3) that the development ratio of residents to commuters was approximately 50:50; and 4) that the growth target was met in 8-9 years, and not the 16 as projected in 2004.

Also in Table 2 are projections for 2020 assuming the same rate growth ratio (which, of course, would likely be disputed given recent slowdowns in economic growth) and a continued 50:50 development. Were this the case, by 2020 the population will reach 573,830, the number of total jobs will reach 444,550, and the number of commuters will reach 188,887. This scenario shows that there will be significant continued pressure on housing and transport infrastructure if framework conditions remain the same.

Lastly, Table 2 also presents projections to 2050 based on other studies that have been completed. According to (Allegrizza 2010; Schroeder 2007; Langers 2007), 1.3 million jobs are required in Luxembourg in order to sustain the pension system alone. The development ratio and extrapolations of population and commuter growth were not completed for this sec-

tion, as the target of 1.3 million already entails a number of assumed variables. The purpose of this third scenario is to deliver a sense of urgency, should growth conditions remain the same.

These scenarios open up a variety of questions: What exactly shall be sustained (the livelihoods of pensioners, citizens, residents, commuters, the Luxembourgish economy, Luxembourg as a nation, Luxembourg as a niche, wildlife)? What will be the spatial distribution of new residents? What will be the modal split? What will citizenship and integration look like? How will contradictions in governance – both horizontal and vertical – be overcome? How will the property market under continued pressure be dealt with? These questions were put in the round for discussion. To structure the discussion, participants were asked to consider their responses along two XY axes: where X equals the degree of urgency and Y equals the degree of importance (See Box 4).

### **Scenario Building**

The proposed scenarios exposed not only the challenge that decision-makers face in terms of how to cope with projected changes which may be quite severe, but also exert a certain pressure for current decision-makers to address current governance problems (exposed in SUSTAINLUX research) in order that capacities are achieved that can address change later.

In the context of scenario building, specific strategies were not developed (as this would be, of course, a long process). Rather, a general consensus was achieved in the group concerning this necessary recognition.

**Table 2: Scenarios of Development**

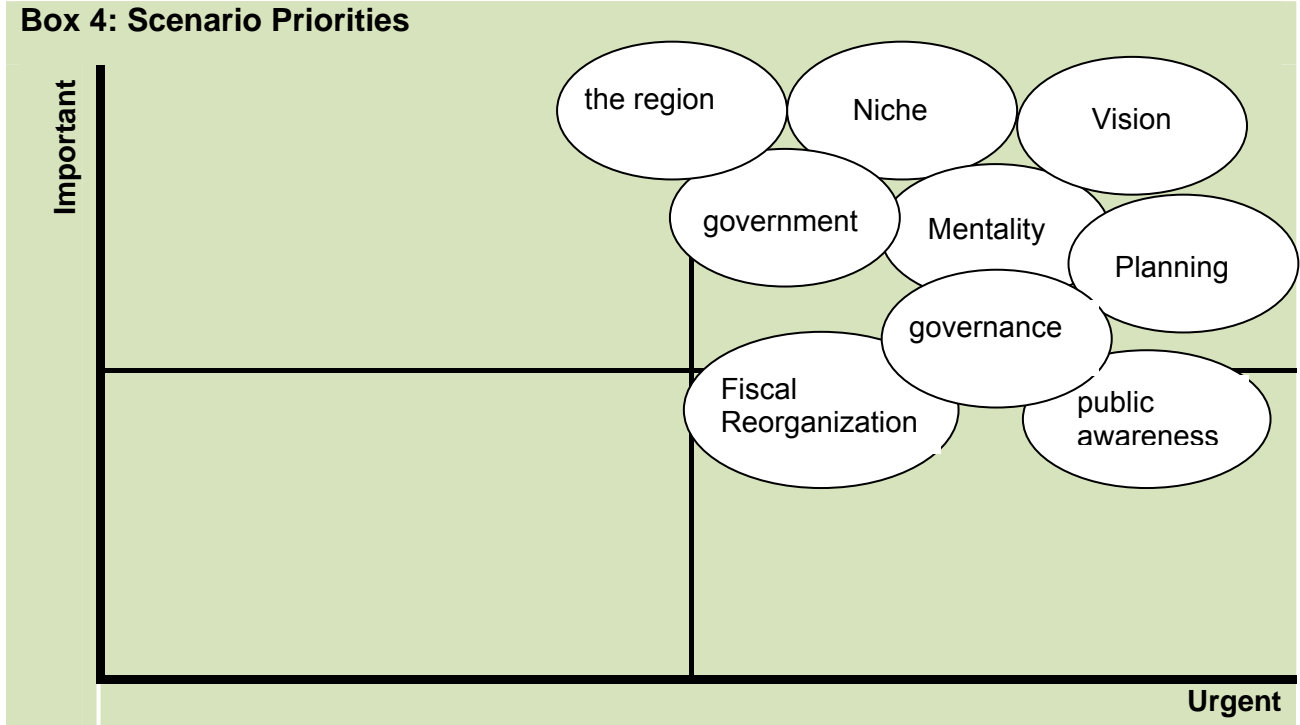
	Actual 2004*	IVL Resident Scenario**	IVL Commuter Scenario**	2013*	2020	Needed to Sustain 2050
<b>Development ratio</b>	ca. 60:40	60:40	25:75	ca. 50:50	ca. 50:50	?
<b>Population</b>	ca. 455,000	561,000	511,000	524,900***	573830	?
<b>Total Jobs</b>	ca. 289,000	395,000	395,000	380,500	444550	1.3 million
<b>No. Commuters</b>	111,855*	136,000	168,000	156,862	188,887	?

\*Except where noted, numbers for 2004 and 2013 from [www.statec.lu](http://www.statec.lu) ([http://www.statistiques.public.lu/stat/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=5237&IF\\_Language=fra&MainTheme=2&FldrName=3](http://www.statistiques.public.lu/stat/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=5237&IF_Language=fra&MainTheme=2&FldrName=3)).

\*\* Innenministerium et al. 2004

\*\*\* Arbeitsmarktbericht der Interregionalen Arbeitsmarktbeobachtungsstelle ([http://www.iba-oie.eu/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Grenzgaenger\\_downloads/IBA\\_2012\\_Kapitel\\_6\\_Grenzgaenger.pdf](http://www.iba-oie.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/Grenzgaenger_downloads/IBA_2012_Kapitel_6_Grenzgaenger.pdf))

**Box 4: Scenario Priorities**





**Table 3: Scenario building brainstorm (paraphrases)**

Keywords	Paraphrases
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning</li> <li>• Vision</li> <li>• “Mentality”</li> <li>• Public</li> <li>• Awareness</li> <li>• Fiscal</li> <li>• Reorganization</li> </ul>	<p>“Our 2020-2030 scenarios forecast strong growth: population and job growth, but 0% economic growth. It also foresees stabilizing housing prices, i.e. long-term decrease in value. The Sector Plans will be a real revolution. We need to reorganize subsidies to Municipalities. We need to change the mentality of people. We will need to generate participation in the new <i>Programme Directeur</i>. We will need to make major investments in mobility in the next 10-12 years.”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coherent Governance</li> <li>• “Mentality”</li> <li>• Fiscal</li> <li>• Reorganization</li> </ul>	<p>“We have to reorganize ourselves. We are very rich.”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public Awareness</li> <li>• “Mentality”</li> </ul>	<p>“We need to look at ourselves: We have 1/3 woodlands, Natura 2000 protection zones, and a political class. We need increased public awareness.”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coherent Government</li> </ul>	<p>“We need to remember that fiscal policy or environmental policy is not only done in the Ministry of Environment and transport is not only considered in DATer and so on, but we need to avoid that we work against one another and that others doing, for example, economic policy and education promote the same.” Increased communication between government sections.”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Region</li> <li>• “Mentality”</li> </ul>	<p>“Luxembourgers are farmers at heart, but we are also a part of the EU. We need to think of the region”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Niche</li> <li>• “Mentality”</li> </ul>	<p>“Luxembourg is so good at finding a way. But if we want to stay as we are, we have to change what we are.”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Mentality”</li> </ul>	<p>“Re: “mentality”. We need to recognize that individual maximum of profit is of high importance. Ownership policy in the minds of Luxembourgers.”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Niche</li> </ul>	<p>“Consider that Luxembourg is a fortress...”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Region</li> </ul>	<p>“We never won a war.”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vision</li> </ul>	<p>“But we don’t have a vision. What we need is a vision.”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Niche</li> </ul>	<p>“We need to develop our niche.”</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Niche</li> <li>• Vision</li> </ul>	<p>“Maybe the lack of vision is the niche.”</p>

G4, A1, G8, G7, O5, G7, G11, G8, A1, R3, A3, A1

A second lively discussion was generated as the participants brainstormed on priorities. These major points raised are summarized in Table 3. It can be seen that planning, improved governance and/or government, fiscal reorganization, "(Luxembourgish) mentality", public awareness, the region, Luxembourg's niche strategy, and a vision of the future were recurring themes that repeatedly cropped up. Some guesswork is needed in order to rank them on the XY axis, which would warrant debate. The ranking shown in Box 4 is based on the frequency with which the topic had arisen in the discussion, and the perceived level of vehemence attached to respective statements.

Concerning improved governance and/or government, the participants never precisely stated which was meant. Governance and government tended to be used interchangeably. It was nevertheless clear to the participants that there were incoherent processes within the government and contradictions of practice with respect to government action and the private property market. The conversation concerning this topic circled around the problem that decision-making and steering (governmental and/or non-governmental) needed improvement. This was seen as a prerequisite for any collectively coordinated future.

A couple of participants were quite clear that the planning strategies in Luxembourg were of top priority. The guidelines outlined in the present Sector Plans as well as those that will be outlined in the upcoming revised *Programme Directeur* all take into account the tremendous pressure that Luxembourg is facing. To endorse and assert these plans substantial changes will be necessary including the sparking of public debate, changing (Luxembourgish) "mentality" (see below), and inducing fiscal restructuring of public funds, particularly the redistribution of funds between the National government and the Municipalities.

Many were concerned about the so called "Luxembourgish mentality." This was, in part, a carry forward from the first round of discussions (See Table 1). Several found that it was necessary to invoke a change in people's perception of their situation. This lies close to the wish for more public awareness. It also concerned with changing peoples' (particularly farmer's) attitudes towards the city and urban living, as well as individual private property. One participant summed it up by playing on a popular Luxembourgish saying, "If we want to stay what we are, we have to change what we are." (The original: We want to stay what we are.)

There was also a significant amount of discussion concerning Luxembourg's niche strategy and position on the international stage as well as within the Greater Region. The comment, "We never won a war" was made in respect to the fact that Luxembourg is small and exists as a result of a compromise made at international levels. There was agreement that Luxembourgers need to remember that they may be "farmers at heart" but that they are also an integral part of wider European flows. The agreement that Luxembourg is situated in international flows is further intimately tied to the notion that Luxembourg's prosperity is largely dependent on the strategies that it develops within this wider network. This again, was a follow-up from the first discussion.

Lastly, there was discussion concerning the idea that Luxembourg requires a vision for its future. This discussion took some surprising turns. Several mentioned that a common vision for Luxembourg was necessary in order to steer Luxembourg on a path that would create a sensible niche for Luxembourg. One proposed that it was precisely Luxembourg's lack of vision, is indeed the niche itself. This lack of vision is accompanied by a certain spontaneity that is beneficial to Luxembourg.

## PROGNOSIS

The objective of the first half of the Stakeholder Workshop was to present the results of the SUSTAINLUX research to the participants, with the express goal of generating feedback in the form of either affirmation or negation of our analyses. Through this process we found that there are three fields of conflict or policy dimensions that are most important, and that were not contested by the participants:

- 1) It was agreed that Luxembourgish institutions are in a struggle: There are conflicts between Municipalities and the National government, between Ministries of the National Government, contradictions with processes in the private property market, and further, that Luxembourg exhibits a multi-level governance setting wrought with respective mismatches.
- 2) It was agreed that the dynamics of the real estate market present a variety of difficulties in terms of governance and planning, as well as a number of social asymmetries.
- 3) It was agreed that a greater public appreciation and enhanced awareness of sustainable development is needed, and that Luxembourg clearly faces some upcoming dilemmas.

The objective of the second half of the Stakeholder Workshop was to consider scenarios; that is, conceivable trajectories that Luxembourg development might unfold. Based on secondary source data, scenarios were presented for 2013, 2020, and 2030. All three were scenarios that were unforeseen in 2004 with the creation of the IVL. Whether development unfolds in this manner is debatable, but the scenarios did expose the challenge and urgency that current decision-makers face.

To tackle the coming challenges and associated pressures, a variety of problem arenas were named. Planning, improved governance and/or government, fiscal reorganization, "(Luxembourgish) mentality",

public awareness, the Luxembourg and the region, Luxembourg's international niche strategy, and vision were named as most urgent and important.

The Stakeholder Workshop was thus a very successful meeting. The meeting was well attended and the participants were very engaged with and interested in the material, demonstrating a high degree of concern for the topic. Foremost, our analyses of the SUSTAINLUX data were affirmed by the participants. An important methodological step was thus successfully undertaken.

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