

Irreconcilable Planning Conflict

– Urbanisation and Military Training Lands



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ABSTRACT

Little is understood about national defence and its unique conflicts in spatial planning. Additionally, a growing body of literature describes agonism applied to planning conflicts. By studying the military training lands in Jægerspris and the conflict surrounding it, this article sheds light on the Danish National Defence's role and authority in spatial planning. This simultaneously contributes to a better understanding of agonism and irreconcilable planning conflict. This is done using Pieter Stallen's work to describe noise conflicts as social events, Chantal Mouffe's concept of agonism applied as fair procedure and Torben Dyrberg's power concept to deconstruct the social aspect of noise management procedures. The conflict history is studied through newspaper articles and interviews with the main actors. The main arguments are that the noise management is perceived widely different by the National Defence, Frederikssund Municipality and the neighbours of the training lands. These perceptions surfaces as antagonism in the procedures of the noise management. The hegemony of the National Defence exiles the other discourses from the noise management, which further entrenches the conflict. Despite this hegemony, the National Defence voluntarily made accommodations, suggesting potential for agonistic discussion to facilitate better cooperation.

1. Introduction

This study will first investigate the case of Jægerspris and how the conflict is perceived by the active parties in the conflict and what the implications of these perceptions are, as this will reveal the underlying political dimension of the conflict, as well as the ideologies of the parties. The implications of these diverging perception are then studied in order to find what role antagonism plays in the conflict. Secondly this paper will discuss why the presently implemented politics have not solved the conflict at a political level and how this case and the concept of agonism in planning might inform a better understanding of and approach to conflict in planning. The paper will conclude how the case of Jægerspris can be understood as a deep conflict. This article contributes to the critique of the post-political forms of governing, in addition to the debate on Chantal Mouffe's ideas of agonism applied to the field of planning, and finally understanding the National Defence as a unique land use, actor and political interest in spatial planning. This is done through an investigation into how the noise regulation of military training lands be understood as cases of deep conflict.

While much has been written about domestic military installation in peace time in military geography, this research focus on a single field of expertise or specific aspects of the technical management of the land use. Previously, nothing has been written about the general characteristic and land use of national defence in the literature of spatial planning. The national defence is understood here as a part of spatial planning systems and as a land use competing against other land uses in a wider context of national politics. The role of this unique type of actor and land owner, is not understood very well in the broader planning context of any country. In the Danish context, there have been increased pressure on land use [Arler et al. 2015]. At the same time military training lands are already running near full capacity, while the standing army is about to increase in size [Ministry of Defence 2017]. At the same time the country's geography leaves no purchasable patches of land that can be bought and adopted as new training lands [Danish Business Authority 2018; Rasmussen 2018]¹. In other words, the demand, scarcity and irreplaceability, means it is time to start paying attention to the national defence in planning. While the spatial planners of the Ministry of Defence oversee many aspects of planning, which can roughly be divided into, buildings interfering with landing trajectories and radar systems, nature preservation, property rights and munitions depots and other hazardous materials, this study focuses on the separation of noise sensitive uses and military training activities. The noise management of the National Defence's military training lands are characterised by a top-down, instrumentalist and preventive approach, however, this regulation has far from solved the noise conflicts around the military training lands. This can be seen in places like Varde and Frederikssund Municipality, where cities already coincided within the noise impact zones, as the regulation was implemented. While the regulation has technically solved the noise conflicts, it has also created a whole new set of dilemmas. These dilemmas are of a social, rather than technical, nature, indicating that there is a lack of understanding of the social dimension. While the social nature of noise conflicts has been debated in a long time [Flindell & Stallen 1999], the social dimension has not been incorporated into the regulation framework.

The paper argues that the noise conflict in a place like the city of Jægerspris, neighbouring Jægerspris Military Training Lands, thus start to fit the description of a type of deep planning conflict caused by rational planning. In this case, the political dimension of the management procedure is effectively excluded, as alternative solutions and compromises are excluded by the presence of a hegemonies model of politics. This is what Chantal Mouffe [2005] describes and critiques as an instrumentalist model of governing, as part of a supposedly post-political society. Mouffe argues that conflict cannot be truly eliminated, as the dominant forms of liberal democracy simply find ways to exclude political ideologies, leaving no real political alternatives to the hegemonies discourse. This paper proposes that the perspective of the post-political and antagonism will also be useful in analysis of fair procedures,

¹ Internship project at the Ministry of Defence, Defence Estates and Infrastructure Organisation.

such as the procedures in noise management. It gives insight into human psychology and behaviour in regards to the political, and with noise conflicts being part of the political domain. While Mouffe's critique goes a long way to describe the problems faced in deep planning problems, such as the one found in the case of Jægerspris, then the prescription of agonism might also be helpful in informing a better approach to managing deep planning conflicts. These ideas has permeated the literature on planning theory and sparked a debate on how the idea of agonism might be applied to the field of planning, hence the study of the case of the National Defence in Jægerspris will add new perspective to the debate.

The following chapter of this paper argues that noise management is a social event and that it hence can be understood in terms of political thinkers such as Mouffe and Dyrberg. Building on these theorists, the paper deliberates a framework for analysis of noise management procedures. The third chapter explains the scientific approach of the paper and the means by which the case has been investigated. The fourth chapter introduces the noise management of Jægerspris military training lands and investigates the conflict. The fifth chapter investigates what implications opposing ideologies have on the noise management. The sixth chapter discusses the inability to solve the conflict and how this can inform better planning procedures. Lastly, the paper concludes as it answers how the noise management of Jægerspris training lands, can be understood as a deep planning conflict.

2. Noise management and the post-political society

This chapter will conceptualise noise management and conflict in the context of the post-political society. First, noise impact will be shown as a social phenomenon. Second, Chantal Mouffe's theory on the political will be applied as a model for fair procedure in noise management. Third, Mouffe's theories are shown applied to planning practice and procedures. Fourth, Dyrberg's circular structure of power will be applied as the social structure of politics and the political. Finally, the framework that has been argued throughout the chapter will be presented.

2.1 The social in noise management

This section will investigate noise management, in order to better understand the how noise conflicts work, as well as the logic behind noise management.

In some noise management the focus is on noise levels, distribution, preventive measures and other such acoustic factors. Studies, however, show a great deal of difference between the annoyances actually caused at the same noise level [Kroesen et al. 2010]. While some can be explained by demography, the greater part can be explained by social-psychological factors [Kroesen et al. 2010]. These are compromising of attitudes, future expectation and feelings of control [Kroesen et al. 2010]. These are thus important non-acoustical factors in the level of annoyance a recipient experience

[Kroesen et al. 2010]. In fact studies have found that noise exposure only accounts for 25-40% of variation in reaction [Job 1988; Guski 1999]. In other words, as soon as noise is manmade and a source is held responsible, it becomes a social problem and hence the relationship becomes a resource [Maris et al. 2007]. Hence noise management is not only about technical problems, but also social ones.

Stallen's [1999] theoretical framework for environmental noise annoyance is one way of understanding the social aspect of noise conflict and has been used in studies regarding the social aspect of noise conflict (e.g. [Kroesen et al. 2010; Suau-Sanchez et al. 2011; Hamersma et al. 2017]). This framework incorporates noise as psychological stress, such that both acoustics and non-acoustics are seen as the stimulus causing annoyance. Among these non-acoustical factors he suggests the following on figure 2.1: [Flindell & Stallen 1999: 11-12; Stallen 1999: 70]

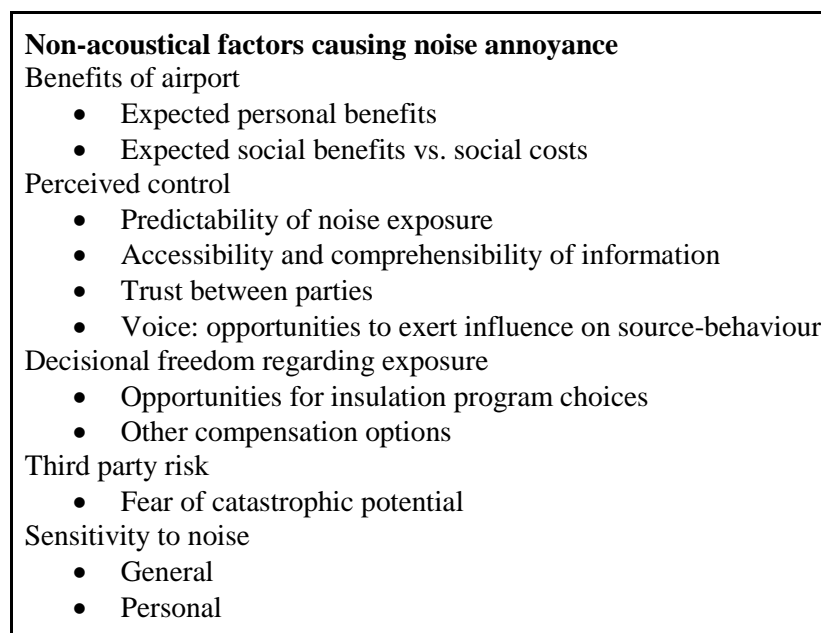


Figure 2.1 - Non-acoustical factors causing noise annoyance [Flindell & Stallen 1999: 11-12; Stallen 1999: 70]

These factors can also be understood in terms of Stallen's [1999: 75] model of noise annoyance as stress response model, on figure 2.2. The model includes both internal and external processes, with the external processes acting as stimuli, both through the noise at the source itself and the noise management at the source. Based on these stimuli the receiver first has to appraise the noise itself and then appraise his ability to cope with it. As the model shows, the ability of the receiver to cope with stress can reduce annoyance, their degree of control will also lessen the annoyance caused and other attitudes might also affect their annoyance, for instance if an individual is opposed to air traffic in general, perhaps due to environmental concerns, then the relative annoyance caused might be greater. As the arrows indicate, there are a lot of these factors and processes that are influencing each other,

and some of these relations go both ways. So overall, sound management and procedures has an influence on the appraisal of the sound.

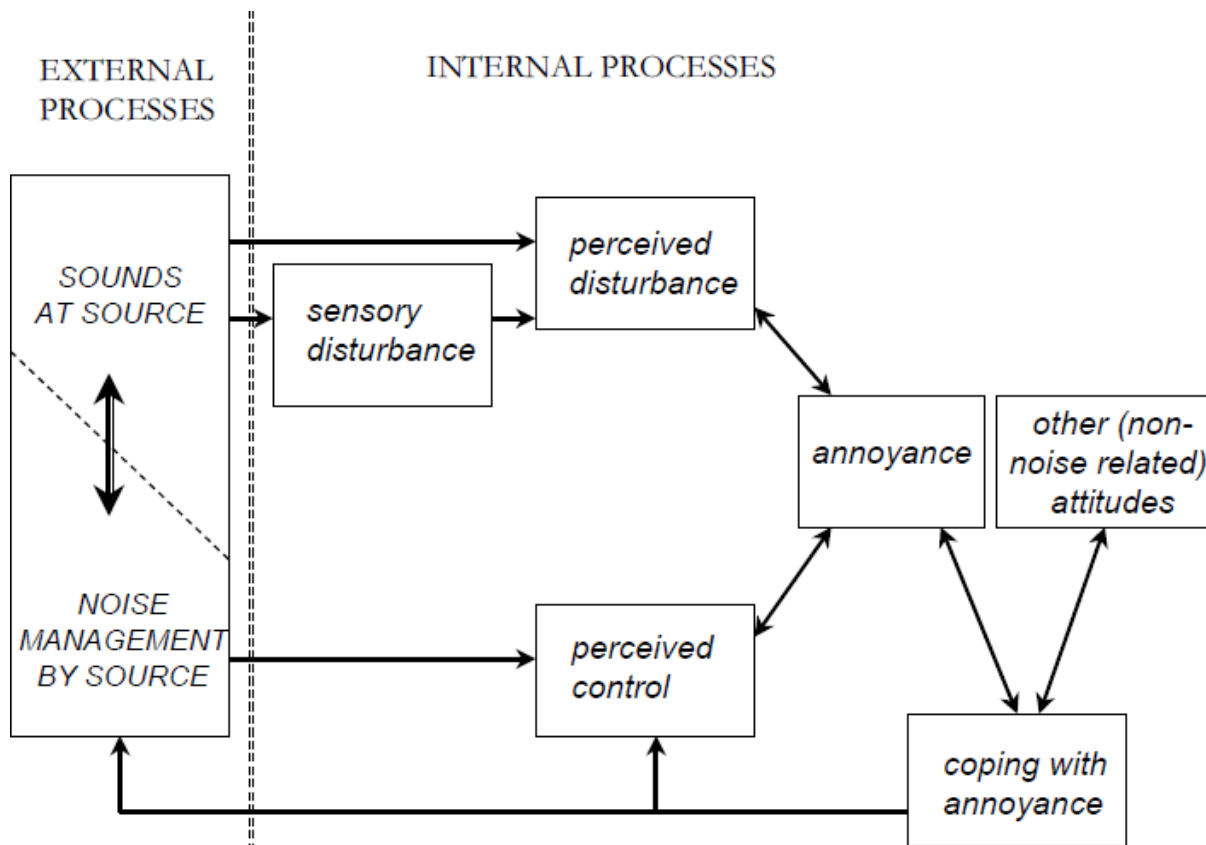


Figure 2.2 - Noise annoyance modelled as a stress-response to the external stimuli 'sounds' and 'noise management' [1999: 75]

As Stallen's framework shows it is important to have a fair procedure in noise management, as "Sound management, or allocation procedure, has an influence on sound evaluation, and [...] social processes modify sound effects" [Maris et al. 2007]. Social justice theory can be drawn on to build an understanding of what a 'fair' noise procedure is. Maris et al.'s [2007: 2003] paper on noise within the social context provides a concise list of criteria, which people use to assess fairness:

"(i) whether there are opportunities to participate in the decision making process "voice", (ii) whether the opinions of all parties involved are taken into account, (iii) whether authorities are free from bias, and whether people trust their motives, (iv) whether people are treated with dignity and respect, (v) whether the information used to come to the decision is accurate and relevant, (vi) whether the provided information about the process and the decision is clear and appropriate, and (vii) whether procedures are applied consistently across people and across time" [Maris et al.'s 2007: 2003]

Maris et al. [2007] studies these criteria in a lab setting and its findings supports Stallen's argument that sound management should be considered a stimulus as well, though the study warns that in a

practical setting the fair process effect might easily be reversed, as noise exposure goes on over a long period of time. However, the Flindell & Witter [1999] and Southgate [2002] has studied and found the value of fair procedure in practical contexts surrounding airports.

So it is clear that noise management is social, just as much as it is technical. The integration of the social side of noise management can be seen as research from psychology is incorporated into noise management models and frameworks, as the previous shows. This has been used in a lot of studies to measure the significance of different factors. I will propose that the perspective of the post-political critique will also be useful in analysis of fair procedures, as it gives insight into human psychology and behaviour in regards to the political, and with noise conflicts being part of the political domain.

2.2 Critique of the post-political models of politics

This paper argues that fair procedures in noise management can gain from the perspective of the post-political critique. As the theory on justice demonstrates, the fair procedure effect is linked to the opportunity to participate in decision making, acknowledgement of the opinions of all actors, authorities being free from bias etc. These elements are constituent of democracy, and inherent parts of Chantal Mouffe's [2005] critique of the post-political liberal democracy and her call for the reintroduction of 'passion' into politics. This section will hence explain this paradigm of the post-political critique.

Mouffe makes a distinction between the political and politics:

“by ‘the political’ I mean the dimension of antagonism which I take to be constitutive of human societies, while by ‘politics’ I mean the set of practices and institutions through which an order is created, organizing human coexistence in the context of conflictuality provided by the political.”

[Mouffe 2005, p. 9]

So the laws, rules and procedures around the management of noise would be considered politics, while the underlying ideological conflict of environment versus industry would be considered part of the political.

Mouffe continues to explain, in her book, that in conventional liberal democracy there have been two main paradigms. The aggregative liberal paradigm where individuals are seen as rational beings trying to maximise their own potential. This she calls economics applied to democratic thinking. Then there is the deliberative liberal paradigm, which she describes as a reaction to the aggregative liberal paradigm. Mouffe explains that instead of having an instrumental rationality it advocates for a communicative rationality. By this she means that it is believed that, given an agreed set of criteria and values, a discussion will always end in a consensus. This thus becomes its model for politics. So in both of these models, Mouffe explains, there is a goal to reduce the political to politics, in order to

avoid conflict and antagonistic relationships. She hence describes the belief that such antagonisms are a thing of the past, as the left 'lost' with the fall of the Soviet Union and that the new politics need to move beyond the political antagonisms that characterised this period. The belief she describes find that the post-political democracy can be reached by making decision based either on finding a technical optimum or reaching a consensus. Mouffe argues that friend/enemy relations are there no matter what and disagree with the previous paradigms insistence that antagonism can be eliminated. In other words, two discourses in conflict over meaning become antagonistic. She argues that instead the lines for these us/them relationships should be drawn and treated in a way that is productive, as agonistic, rather than antagonistic [Mouffe 2005]. Katie McClymont explains this concept elegantly as:

“Two discourses in conflict over meaning become antagonistic. In this situation ‘(e)very opposition is automatically perceived as a sign of irrationality and moral backwardness and as being illegitimate’ [...]. It cannot fit within the other’s framework; therefore it cannot be legitimately denied. However, the purpose of democracy, in Mouffe’s view, is to allow for different interpretations of the world. This is expressed through the idea of agonism. Agonistic discussions accept the legitimacy of an opposing view, although disagreement and argument are integral to them. Discussions are fundamentally political, and hence meaning is deliberately kept open, rather than artificially foreclosed” [2011: 244]

The concept of antagonism hence provides a conceptual framework for how a irreconcilable conflict is constructed, as conflict implies confrontation and irreconcilable implies opposing sides.

While Mouffe’s critique of the post political is directed towards the general state of democracy in society, it has had an impact on the field of planning theory as well. These ideas are being debated in the context spatial planning and how they can be applied in planning practice and policy [e.g. McClymont 2011; Pløger 2004; Parker et al. 2017]. This debate will be explored further in the next section, using two examples.

2.3 Agonism in planning practice

The critique of the post-political model of politics has also found application in planning theory, with planning itself being an institution of ordering politics and the political. The critique of the aggregate and deliberative mode of politics helps to understand certain failures in planning and the theory of agonism can help inform better planning approaches. In the first part of this section, Oosterlynck and Swyngedouw’s [2010] study of the proposed DHL expansion of Brussels airport will serve as an example of how the post political modes of politics can fail to resolve deep planning conflicts. Following this, McClymont’s [2011] research on the development control debates in the UK will serve as an example of how agonism can be beneficial to planning processes.

The case of Brussels Airport was, as mentioned, studied by Oosterlynck and Swyngedouw [2010]. This paragraph will summarise the study. The conflict started as DHL, an air freight company, proposed to expand its operations in Brussels Airport. The conflict revolved around the increased noise impact this would have on the urban areas surrounding the airport. In the article, the Belgian government is criticised for its post-political management of the noise conflict at Brussels airport. As DHL wanted to expand its air freighting operations, the government had to find a plan to deal with the current noise impact situation, as well as a way to manage the expected increase in these externalities. In the conflict the political was reduced to politics, in this study described as institutional social management. The problem was dealt with through administrative, organisational and technical means. During the first phase, the traffic minister wanted to impose a ban on night time flights. Here the political reality was ignored, as the proposal was strictly top-down, with no political consideration, deliberation or involvement. This showed when the public reacted to the proposal, as it turned out not to be politically feasible at all. During the second phase the political leadership tried to solve the issue in a strictly technocratic manner, by deciding to distribute the externalities (the noise) in some consensual way. No alternatives other than proposals on how to distribute the externalities were able to enter the decision arena. Hence the decision on how to deal with the expansion proposal was depoliticised. The real political decision of whether to prioritise economic growth or environment was hence ignored. During the third phase DHL took political initiative, forcing the government to make a decision, by posing an ultimatum. The government was unable to make a political decision across the different stakeholders. The discussion of whether to prioritise economy or environment was again ignored/postponed, as the minister was waiting for a favourable political constellation post-election. The final result was that DHL relocated its operations completely. The article concludes that the possibility of questioning the procedures chosen was not available. The possibility of choosing whether economy or environment should be prioritised was also not available for the public. The political was thus exiled as an autonomous terrain of organising dispute, where actors were able to stage their antagonisms and express their opposition and differences.

In contrast McClymont [2011] did study such arenas. In her article she is advocating for the UK's development control to be valued for its intrinsic agonistic value. The argument of the article will be described throughout this paragraph, in order to present a concept of agonism in planning practice. The article explains development control as a type of public hearing, that culminates in the granting or refusal of planning permission for any activity classified as development and which does not fall into the category of permitted development. Adding to this, the decisions are formally supposed to be made by the elected members of a local planning authority. In practice, the majority of decisions are delegated to the officers, who are meant to provide a recommendation for the council. Additionally there is a set of guidelines that the development control decisions are expected to follow. The article finds that the system has been under critique and is being judged in terms of bureaucratic efficiency,

rather than, as the article argues, a legitimate forum for the discussion of differing opinions on the physical and natural environment. Instead, the critics suggest that these discussions should be collaborative, non-regulatory affairs in which the aim is agreement. While there should be room for negotiation and compromise, there remains a need to legitimate conflict at times, or else these alternative ideas and visions for the area can simply be submerged by the more powerful. Hence, the article argues that development control offers a legitimate arena for dissensus, which is not only of value in itself, but also supports other aspects of planning practice which also aim at consensus. The argument is that by having the development control as a legitimate option to disagree, the consensus might be found in another setting, without this option opposing views then become illegitimate. The removal of dissenting opinions does not make them illegitimate, they are simply not countered in the public debate. The article studies a case of a development control appeal. In the evidence that the two sides presents, it becomes clear that they have opposing worldviews. The same building, for instance, is seen as a mill, implying heritage value from the industrial revolution, and as a factory, implying it being generic and a cause of pollution. Collaborative planning would aim to bring together these different views and voices and come up with a shared solution. When different parties are holding such ideologically opposed world views, a call for consensus can mount to an impossible level of compromise for one of the parties. McClymont concludes that the current system has made it possible to challenge dominant government discourse, as the development control serves a subversive function in the UK planning system. This function is needed since recent government changes to the planning system has removed the substantive debate concerning the values that planning should be promoting the public arena. This has furthered the hegemony of consensus.

Thus, decision making in planning does not seem able to escape the inherently adversarial nature that characterises the political realm. An instrumental approach will not be able to accommodate the multitude of social sensibilities, that several experienced realities bring, when applied to deep planning conflict. The deliberative approach insists on reaching consensus and bringing opposing worldviews together, however this might not be possible, and can in several different ways result in the exclusion of opposing ideas. For instance the DHL case shows, the Belgian government attempted a techno-managerial approach, with a hegemonic discourse of supporting the expansion and attempting to accommodate it. The value of environment was excluded from debate. The value still showed in the reluctance found in the attempts at reaching a consensus on how the externalities of the airport could be distributed. This insistence on making the expansion possible by finding a consensus, persisted until DHL ultimately could not wait any longer and decided to move. An agonistic approach instead offers the capacity for containing opposing ideas and allowing them legitimacy. As was found in the development control case, the citizens were better able to challenge government discourse, as the procedure left room for conflict. The citizens found it easier to engage in the process, as they could identify themselves in the conflictual ideologies.

2.4 Antagonism as ideology and power

With the elements of both agonism and fair procedure being found to be coinciding, it has become clear that the social dimension of noise management is linked to democratic processes. These democratic processes manifests as planning policy and procedure, designed to manage noise. These institutions presumes an authority of some kind, and hence power relations can help understand the structure of politics, as different identities strategies in order to make a difference. Hence, the case of Jægerspris can be understood as a case of deep conflict. While Mouffe's concept of antagonism describes the structure of deep conflict, this paper argues that Torben Dyrberg's theories [1997] adds insight into the human psychology and behaviour in deep conflict.

As Dyrberg sees power, it is not itself posited in either subject or structure, instead it is that which it becomes, the strategies of politics that are always in the process of becoming. Power itself he defines as making a difference. Hence the individual understands him or herself as either powerful or insignificant based on the way the world reacts to his becoming, which denotes his/her acting space. The experience of having a small field of possible action and being insignificant, Dyrberg describes as being subject to inscribed upon in the face of another's process of becoming. This marks the kind of experience of low status, as in the instance where a subject is excluded from decision procedures, that is regarding his/her own becoming, i.e. as unfair. This process of insignificance makes the political realm unavailable to the subject, and the subject will not be able to perform its legitimate actions. Likewise, political authority can be granted to the subject, such that certain pre-authorised actions can be performed. Hence the political authority is being inscribed unto them, marking the political moment. Finally a subject might experience both the political and the legitimate meeting, so that their political becoming, becomes the legitimate course of action as well. [Dyrberg's 1997]

While Mouffe explains the concept of antagonism as opposing ideologies, these ideologies constitute individual identities, created in the reflection of what one is becoming, as argued by Dyrberg. Hence, these concepts of power, politics and identity describes the social make up of irreconcilable conflict.

2.5 Fair procedure and irreconcilable conflict

With the article written by Oosterlynck and Swyngedouw [2010] demonstrates how the critique of the post-political applies to noise management issues, this paper will propose that the same descriptive potential can be used in the case of Jægerspris Training Lands. At the same time the article, written by McClymont [2011], shows that concept of agonism has potential for practical use in planning processes. Since noise management frameworks incorporate psychological factors and fair procedures, this paper argues that fair procedure can be achieved through agonistic democracy. Furthermore, one of the points of the social approaches examined here, is that when people are included into decision making about the noise exposure they tend to accept the final decision more readily and are better at coping with the resulting noise, even if they did not support the decision that

was made in the end. This type of process can also be understood in terms of Dyrberg's Power conception. So, the fair procedure effect is grounded in the fact that it is not only the noise that hurts the recipient, it is also the ramifications of low status that the exclusion from such decision making implies. At the same time Elias Canetti [1960], who is used as an example of a agonistic thinker in Mouffe [2005], likens the psychology behind the parliamentary vote to war, saying it is simply another expression of antagonism, albeit, a domesticated one, i.e. agonism. The act of carrying out a parliamentary vote and losing to a majority is symbolic of losing the war, yielding to the antagonist who has a greater number and strength than yourself. However, here it is expressed as agonism. The symbolic act is enough in itself, the violence is not required and the adversary does not need to perish, as he accepts his defeat and simply settle for harbouring his antagonism for use another day. Thus the agonistic philosophy demonstrates well why a noise conflict management, in the vein that Stallen proposes, is effective. At the same time the political philosophy of Mouffe lends credibility to the inclusion of social consideration to noise management approaches and how they might be more desirable than rational and deliberative planning and regulation. The social elements themselves can then be understood in terms of Dyrberg's power conception.

3. Understanding Irreconcilable conflict

This chapter will outline how the case of Jægerspris can be understood as a case of irreconcilable conflict. The first section will explain the research ontology and epistemology. Then the data generation methods will be explained. And finally the framework for data processing will be presented. This articles research design can be found in appendix 1.

3.1 Ontology and epistemology

As this article leans heavily on Mouffe's political theory, so does the theory of science become post-positivist with truth seen as socially constructed and polyvocal. In other words, any understanding of the world is political and these political ideologies are expressed through articulating a discourse aimed at expressing 'reality' [Torfig 1999]. These discourses cannot articulate all elements of reality, as some parts will inherently contradict each other [McClymont 2011]. This paradigm makes sense in the examination of a case like in Jægerspris, where many different interpretations and stories are being told about the same piece of legislation, i.e. the noise management. Hence, in this paradigm, each actor is seen as simply reporting their ongoing experience, partial though it may be. This paradigm matches the scope of the research well, as it will not propose a comprehensive solution to the conflict in Jægerspris. Instead this research aims to understand Jægerspris as a case of irreconcilable conflict, which is characterised by irreconcilable antagonisms and ideologies.

As the case have contradictory ideologies, it can be understood in terms of the political, politics and identity. Understanding the case in this way helps to bring light to the little understood role of the National Defence in planning and the regulation of its military training lands. As identity is often

rooted in what the subject is not, the case needs to be understood as being polyvocal, having several interest groups articulating and challenging discourse. Furthermore, as the case is an example of post-political noise management, the discussion on fair procedure will result in further arguments for the debate on how Mouffe's idea of agonism can be applied in planning.

3.2 Studying the noise management in Jægerspris

The case of Jægerspris is a single case with three actors. The case is understood in the terms of Bent Flyvbjerg [2006]. The case is chosen for its potential to yield information, both about conflict, as well as about the land management of military training lands. The case is thus seen as deviant, as it has had a persistent conflict for decades. The case additionally studied a sample of three actors that was identified early in the research. The National Defence, Frederikssund Municipality and Neighbours that protested the military training lands in some way. These were chosen on the principle of maximum variation, as these three actors displayed widely different ideologies. They all had the commonality that they were engaging with the noise regulation in some way, the variable was their differing interpretation of the regulation, as a reflection of each of their identity. The National Defence was chosen as this actor is both being regulated and authorised to make the noise. Frederikssund Municipality was chosen as the authority responsible for the municipal planning of the military training lands and surrounding area. The neighbours group consist of particularly engaged citizens, who had experience dealing with the procedures of the noise management.

In the first stage of this study all news articles on the subject was collected, from the written news archive Infomedia. This resulted in 64 articles that was then listed according to date. In a table with columns for each of the three actor groups. The statements made were then compiled as well as date and title of article. This produced three documents that each contained the statements of the National Defence, Frederikssund Municipality and neighbours of the training lands, respectively. Following this the coding software Nvivo was used to organise the statements. The coding is explained in the following section and can be seen on figure 3.1. The data from the document analysis was deemed to be valid data, as the news articles chronicles the incidents and the way actor groups reacted to them. In terms of reliability, the statements made in the newspapers considered to be authentic as they are immediate reactions. However the subject might alter their statement to fit the circumstance of the media, for instance, an activist might exaggerate, in order to gain more support, while a statesman might act tempered, in order to keep up a professional appearance. All in all, the document analysis is well suited to draw a timeline of events and identify actor groupings and their interests.

To supplement the document analysis and to probe deeper into the statements, interviews were conducted. The interviews were semi-structured and the guide used the same coding from the documents analysis. The coding framework on figure 3.1 served as guidance for developed of the interview guide which can be found in Appendix 2. Four interviews were conducted, one with the

commander and security officer at the Jægerspris Camp, the chief municipal planner at Frederikssund Municipality and two local residents that had been engaged in the public debate. The commander responds to phone calls with immediate complaints. Additionally he was instrumental in several projects within the military training land. Apart from interview, additional comments were sent over email. The municipal planner at Frederikssund Municipality was chosen as a representative for the public administration. The planner held the position of senior consultant of the municipalities Department for Plan and GIS. His position and participation in the public debate indicated that he had insight into the noise management system. The first neighbour chosen for interview had been very active in the public debate, being among the residents in closest proximity to the military training lands. This neighbour mainly focussed on opposing new installations in the local planning process and was hence seen as a representative of residents who had engaged in public debate and hearing processes. The other neighbours lived 8 kilometres away and had filed a complaint in regards to the noise. They were seen as representatives of neighbours who had experience with complaint procedures. Two residents participated in the interview. Both the neighbours shared copies of their case files, which supplemented the interviews. Throughout the article, interview sources will be referenced as Commander Petersen, Municipal planner, Kulhuse resident and Store Havelse residents. These will not be published here. Transcripts can be found in appendix 3. The data from the interviews are deemed to be valid, as the actors chosen were central to the action of the previous events and the public debate. The neighbours made reliable statements in the sense that they had no reason to censor themselves, whereas the officials might have held back controversial opinions, in order not to reflect badly on their respective organisations. This still gives a fair representation of the attitudes found within these organisations.

There were certain limits to the data generation. Namely the complexity of the case, as there were three different interpretations of the case. The case itself had several distinct narratives, all revolving around one specific or aspect of the noise management procedure. Some actors would comment on the complaint system, for instance, while others would not. This dictated how the analysis could be structured, as certain actors seemed to 'own' certain of the narratives. Furthermore, the two organisations of the National Defence and Frederikssund Municipality has different levels within their organisation. The municipality has a political leadership and a technical administration. The National Defence has a Defence Estates and Infrastructure organisation overseeing the spatial planning. At the same time the local commander is part of planning the military training lands. The different levels of these organisations might not be congruent. The addition of interviews in the city council and the Defence Estates and Infrastructure Organisation might have yielded some more nuances to the story. Additionally the planner and the commander had not been employed for the entire duration of the time that is investigated. However they had held their positions for long enough to be valid interview candidates, specifically since they participated in the public debates around the 2009-2012 period,

where the conflict was on a high point. Additionally, this research is not meant to indicate the extent of the noise impacts. It requires a large and representative sample to answer such a question, where this study focuses on the depth found in discourses on irreconcilable planning conflicts.

3.3 Elements of irreconcilable conflict

From previous findings the following framework for coding emerged. The list of categories, understanding the conflict, opinion about noise management and opinion of the ‘other’ and the ‘self’ is organised under the three actor groups. This is done in order to compare the paradigm found on each side of the conflict. The entire framework for coding is seen on figure 3.1.

The National Defence ↓	Frederikssund Municipality ↓	Neighbouring residents ↓
Understanding of the conflict	Understanding of the conflict	Understanding of the conflict
Opinion about the noise management	Opinion about the noise management	Opinion about the noise management
Opinion of the Jægerspris Camp <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a location • As an activity • As an actor 	Opinion of the Jægerspris Camp <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a location • As an activity • As an actor 	Opinion of the Jægerspris Camp <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a location • As an activity • As an actor
Opinion of neighbours <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a location • As an activity • As an actor 	Opinion of neighbours <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a location • As an activity • As an actor 	Opinion of neighbours <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a location • As an activity • As an actor
Opinion of the municipality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a location • As an activity • As an actor 	Opinion of the municipality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a location • As an activity • As an actor 	Opinion of the municipality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a location • As an activity • As an actor

Figure 3.1 - Coding framework for data processing in document analysis

Given the post-positivist approach to this study of a deep planning conflict, it also follows that part of the make-up of irreconcilable conflict is individual perceptions and understanding of the problem. Therefore the first category is the actor’s understanding of the conflict. In order to find the cause of the conflict, it is necessary to investigate these perceptions. The way these actors understand and define the conflict will reveal their ideology of what is important to them in their situation. Irreconcilable conflict does not exist without oppositions/antagonism. These will have to be expressed and made explicit through some way of communication. In a planning and noise management context these avenues of communication, to a large degree, are happening through institutionalised procedures

of planning, of which I will highlight public hearings, reader' letters, complaints submitted to bodies of appeal, etc. The discourses within these procedures reveal the character of the conflict, since the communication is shaped by inclusion/exclusion of political opinions, legitimate and political authority and the distribution of these. In other words, the power relationships. Hence the second category holds the opinions of these procedures in noise management. As the Stallen framework showed, the attitudes and potentially conflicting ideologies between parties, might also contribute to the experience of noise [Stallen 1999]. Thus the opinions of different groups becomes part of the story and part of understanding the actors interpreting and reactions towards one another. Hence the last three categories are meant for the understanding of actors, both on practical terms, as in a location/land use, however also in more ideological terms, as in the meaning behind the activity and actor.

In addition to the coding, the analysis of the data will also inquiry into the story lines used by the actors. A story line is a condensed statement that summarizes a complex narrative and is hence used as shorthand in discussions. This follows the natural tendency for individuals to interpret stories and statements. In discourse analysis it is often found that receiver and sender does not interpret the story in the same way. This can create misunderstanding and strife and hence it is useful to pay attention to storylines. [Hajer 2005]

Irreconcilable conflict is defined here, as two discourses in disagreement over meaning. The document analysis and interview methods accommodates for this type of qualitative analysis of the discourse. The coding framework then deconstructs the discourses found in the case.

4. Politics and the political in Jægerspris

This chapter will describe the case in terms of the political and politics. The first section will detail the noise management and the model of politics characterising it. The next section will present the timeline over the conflict, finding which incidents sparked the conflict and who got involved. This will help build the context around the actors' interpretations. The final section will determine the different actors' perceptions of the noise management system and identify their storylines, as a concept of identity.

4.1 Noise management in Jægerspris

This section will introduce the case of Jægerspris as an example of a noise regulated military training land. The time period of the case stretches from 1996-2018 and is informed primarily by the statements found in the written news media's public debate on the issues and interviews conducted as part of this study. The year 1996 was chosen as it has the earliest mention in public discourse about the new noise regulation guidelines of 1997 [Environmental Protection Agency 1997]. The guidelines state that previously the zone had been fixed at 5 km, as an estimated value. With the implementation

of the new guidelines, the zone is calculated in accordance to the activities of the training land and the resulting contour line, at which the noise impact is 55 dB $L_{C,DEN}$. This is a weighted annual average of the impact from the shooting activities. During night hours an additional 10 dB is added to the measurement and 5 dB during evening and weekends. This threshold of 55 dB $L_{C,DEN}$ was chosen as approximately 10% of neighbours would report being strongly affected by military training lands, at this contour line [Environmental Protection Agency 1997]. The act also details, for each of the military training lands, how many days of the year the military's different types of weapons can be shot. Furthermore, executive order nr. 1732 of 2015 additionally restricts the maximum noise level that can be emitted from the training lands and on the nearest neighbour. The municipality issues the environmental permission for the noise emissions, and hence acts as the policing authority. Complaints regarding violations of the noise thresholds are therefore filed at the responsible municipality. The Jægerspris Camp also takes calls directly, and respond immediately if a rule is being broken. It is additionally possible to file complaints at the National Defence's land damage offices, regarding damaged property. In both instances the case management revolves mostly around the noise limit thresholds. If these are within compliance, the complaint is deemed unfounded. Additionally, because of a weather phenomenon called 'inversion', noise impacts can be unpredictable. The Jægerspris Camp owns measuring stations around the area. These are used to monitor and regulate noise impacts, in the surrounding area. The system alarms the commander in case noise levels become too high, and the shooting activities will then be regulated accordingly [Commander Petersen]².

As it can be seen on figure 4.1, the zone covers most of Jægerspris. The rest of the build areas are vacation homes. The Jægerspris Camp is a training facility, and has no troops permanently stationed there, rather a group of military staff work there to maintain the lands and support the units that come to use the lands for training [Commander Petersen]. The commander of the Jægerspris Camp explains that the training land is made up by a training land (east of Kulhuse Vej), a training and shooting land (west of Kulhuse Vej), a safety zone out in the Roskilde Fjord. The shooting ranges are placed in the terrain as to accommodate the appropriate range of the weapons systems present [Commander Petersen]. The map on figure 4.1 also shows the resident in Kulhuse and the residents of Store Havelse (yellow dots). Note that the latter lives in another neighbouring municipality. The approximate extent of the military training lands have been drawn onto the map. The city of Jægerspris has around 4000 residents and was administered by Jægerspris Municipality up until the Danish municipal mergers of 2007, where the new municipality was named after the larger city of Frederikssund. Apart from the noisy shooting activities, the citizens generally see Jægerspris training lands as having nature and heritage preservation values [Berlingske Tidende 1990; Møhl 2011;

² Transcript can be found in Appendix 3

Kulhuse resident]³, as well as a from the site for leisure and recreation [Ellegaard 2001; Frederikssund Avis Weekend 2008; Grønberg 2012b].

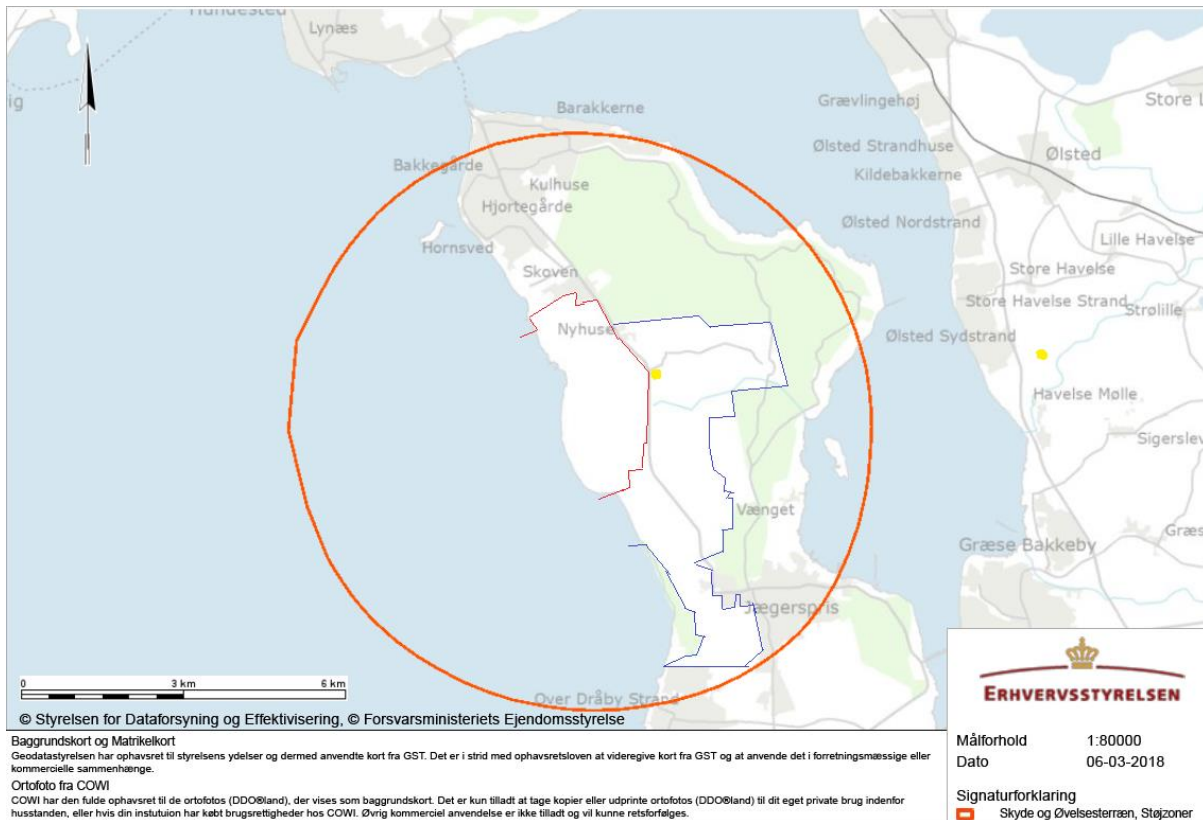


Figure 4.1 - Map of Jægerspris with noise impact zone. Map and data from PlansystemDK. Added by author:

Red = Military training and shooting land,
 Blue = Military training land and other &
 Yellow = Kulhuse resident and Store Havelse Resident.
 These additions are intentionally drawn as approximations.

4.2 Timeline and narratives

In this section the timeline of the case will be introduced in order to better understand the different narratives of the case. Three main narratives were identified. One was about the stagnant urban development in Jægerspris. Another about the establishment of a new shooting range in Jægerspris training lands. The final one regards concerns over explosions from the training land producing shockwaves, leading to damaging effects on properties. Hence this analysis focus on the incidents that sparked antagonism and at what times the conflict was high and low. In order to make the narratives more manageable they will each be described in their own paragraph, although they, to a large degree, happened simultaneously.

The first narrative revolves around the implementation of a new regulation of noise from military training lands [Environmental Protection Agency 1997]. In the year 2000 representatives from

³ Transcript can be found in Appendix 3

Jægerspris Municipality, along with other municipalities, spoke about the issues of urban development within the new regulations noise impact zone. They pushed for a solution that would at least some urban development within the impact zone. In 2005 some local plans, including residential zone within the impact zone, were allowed to be passed in Jægerspris Municipality [Municipal planner]⁴. In 2007 the Danish planning system saw a restructuring of the administrative units at the regional and municipal level, combining Jægerspris with Skibby, Slangerup and Frederikssund, the latter of which gave name to the new municipality. In the new municipality, Jægerspris was considered a Municipal centre in the urban structure, making it among the 4 most significant cities in the municipality [Municipal planner]. The city has little over 4000 residents, and two thirds of the city’s housing coincide with the noise impact zone (see figure 4.1). In 2017 the mayor wrote an article for the local newspaper, ensuring the citizens that he was taking initiative and working towards a solution in dialogue with the Ministry of Industry, Business and Financial Affairs (national planning authority in Denmark) [Andersen 2017]. The interview with the municipalities planning professional revealed that these sorts of attempts at dialogue had been common following the dispensation in 2005. As figure 4.2 shows, the conflict has persisted for a long time, however, it does not surface in the public debate that often. No private citizens submitted readers’ letters addressing the issue. The conflict seems to have cooled after the dispensation in 2005, but is warming up again, as the mayor is actively working on getting another dispensation.

Year	Incident
1997	New regulation on noise around military training lands is enacted
2000	The Danish Municipalities News Paper features an article on the difficulties of urban development within noise impact zones
2005	Jægerspris Municipality is granted dispensation from the noise impact zone
2017	Frederikssund mayor contacts the national planning authorities and calls for another dispensation

Figure 4.2 - Table summarizes the years and details of main events

In another narrative the Kulhuse resident and the most immediate neighbours to Jægerspris Training Land protested the National Defence’s proposal to establish a new shooting range. The public debate started in 2009, invoked by a neighbour hearing on a rural zone permit [Henriksen et al. 2009]. As figure 4.3 shows, the proposal in 2009 sparked a fair amount of attention in the media. The residents continuously contributed their comment and opposition to the plans through the years, from 2009-2012, mostly citing the increase of activity and noise as the issue [Møhl 2011; Frederiksborg Amts Avis 2015]. The planning process was meanwhile complicated by the conflicting interests of nature preservation and national security. The majority of city council supported the argument, that they

⁴ Transcript can be found in Appendix 3

were not the appropriate authority to make such discretionary decision on issues, pertaining to national interests, themselves being a local authority [Frederiksborg Amts Avis 2011c]. This is where the main bulk of the controversy took place, as seen in figure 4.3. Meanwhile the national planning authority decided that the rural zone permit would be issued by the city council, that they would have to make the decision [Frederiksborg Amts Avis 2012a]. During this, both the National Defence and the neighbouring residents criticised the politician's indecisiveness, however advocating for each their own preferred outcome respectively [Henriksen 2009; Commander Petersen]. Representatives from the National Defence actively contributed to the debate, arguing the importance of the new facility [Frederiksborg Amts Avis 2009; Frederiksborg Amts Avis 2011d]. In 2012 the city council asked for more documentation for the proposals implications and the case was put on ice for a while [Grønborg 2012a]. The case was brought up again in 2014 and the permit was finally granted in 2016, with the shooting range expected to be operational in 2018 [Lokalavisen Frederikssund Weekend 2016].

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2015	2016	2017
Articles	6	1	12	4	2	2	1

Figure 4.3 - Articles written about the shooting range case per year

The final narrative found in the public debate is defined by potential damages caused by the shockwaves coming from the military training land. While the same issue was mentioned in the media in 1997, it would become a significant story in the local news in 2011. One residence in nearby village of Store Havelse, placed outside the noise impact zone, filed a compensation claim to the National Defence's Land Damages Office and filed a noise complaint to the municipality [Thønnings 2011]. The residents claimed was that the shockwaves reached their house via inversion layers, ultimately reaching their residents and adding pressure on the house, causing cracks and puncturing windows [Thønnings 2011]. The complaint filed to the municipality claimed the National Defence exceeded its allowed noise limits. The claims were deemed to be unfounded by the National Defence and the Municipality [Sjællands Nyheder 2012; Frederiksborg Amts Avis 2012b]. This case sparked the local media's attention, where several articles were written about the case, and other residents were encouraged to share their experience with the noise impacts from the training land, which resulted in more residents coming forwards [Frederiksborg Amts Avis 2011a]. Some claimed they had given up their own attempts at claiming compensations [Frederiksborg Amts Avis 2011b]. Representatives from both the municipality and the National Defence also contributed comments to the debate [Sjællands Nyheder 2012; Frederiksborg Amts Avis 2012b]. The debate mostly focussed on the procedures and the idea of whether these were fair or not. As figure 4.4 shows, the debate ended in 2012.

Year	1997	2011	2012
Articles	2	9	4

Figure 4.4 - Articles written about complaint cases per year

As this analysis shows, the conflict was strongest during the period between 2009 and 2012. This was mostly due to the controversy over the mobile shooting range project, a case that took many different turns. The 2011-2012 outburst of articles on the complaint system, also made the period more conflict intensive. As figure 4.3 shows, the conflict settled down somewhat after city council finally rejected the proposal for the shooting range, however the case continued with some articles and readers' letters published in reaction. In 2018 the conflict is at a fairly low point in terms of public debate. The Kulhuse resident stated that it was too late to oppose the shooting range [Kulhuse resident] and the Store Havelse residents stated that they had to stop writing readers' letters, otherwise they would be seen as 'moaners' [Store Havelse Residents]⁵. The conflict regarding the urban development in Jægerspris seems to be warming up again.

4.3 Perceptions of the conflict

This section will introduce the different ways that the noise management regulation is perceived and problematized, and hence how the conflict becomes irreconcilable. The identity of the actors are hence found in the way they reflect on the political in the politics of the noise management. The section concludes with storylines found to express the actors' perceptions of the conflict in a condensed and manageable form.

For the municipality, the conflicts revolves around the regulation of urban development within the noise impact zone. The municipality, both political leadership and administration, sees the problem as being unable to developed the city. In the year 2000 a member of Jægerspris Municipality's technical administration described the city as becoming like a deserted island of municipal services, which could not get its fresh supply of citizens from the mainland, as no new housing was built [Petersen 2000]. In 2017 the mayor explained that their attempts to create urban developments, had been up stopped by 'forces that works against us' [Andersen 2017], referring to the National Defence. In the interview with the municipal planner, it was explained that the city was effectively locked in an iron grip, where buildings has to be abandoned to decay, and that the noise management needs to accommodate urban developments, at least within the city limits [Municipal planner]. Specifically, there was found a need for the redevelopment of abandoned industrial plots into residential, as there was little chance of industry moving to Jægerspris, a city which mainly serves the role of residential city in the urban structure of the municipality [Municipal planner]. At the same time the citizens that the municipality represents, were seen as naturally expecting the city to develop [Municipal planner].

⁵ Transcript can be found in Appendix 3

The municipality hence used the metaphor of deserted island, iron grip and forces working against them, which indicates an experience of being cut off from something vital, being unable to move or act and pushing against an invisible wall. Hence their narratives can be condensed into a story line of a sort of ‘invisible wall’ of planning regulation, that they continually run into, when pursuing otherwise sensible acts of planning.

For the National Defence the main issue in the case is to represent the value of national security, within the spatial planning system and in land management. This means providing the prerequisites for the military’s activities, among others, training opportunities. Hence the National Defence’s task is to object to municipal planning that is infringing on national defence land uses without failure. The reason is that once a local plan is enacted, it cannot be retroactively dismantled or objected to. At the same time, increase of population within the noise impact zone might increase the political pressure and demands to limit or shut down the training land. This makes oversight of the Danish municipal planning a priority for the National Defence. The resulting conflicts are characterised by the strong authority of the Minister of Defence to veto local plans that are not in compliance with the national guideline. [Rasmussen 2018] However, from the perspective of the Jægerspris Camp, the conflict generally seems to mostly revolve around local planning within the training lands, as the planning processes has seen quite a bit of resistance from the nearest neighbours (See for instance Henriksen 2010; West & Henriksen 2011; Henriksen et al. 2015) and a complicated cooperation throughout the process with the city council. [Commander Petersen] The National Defence often condenses this narrative into a matter of safety for the troops or ‘troop welfare’. This story line often showed up in the reasoning that the National Defence used in the case of the mobile target shooting range, as they saw it to be unsafe to send troops into war, without proper training.

In the public debate the citizens mainly brought up concern over the noise caused by the activities on the military training land, the possibility of this noise increasing, increase in traffic and damages caused by shockwaves. Apart from the noise itself, the consequences of the noise also leaves its mark in the debate, as some of the neighbours claimed their houses were unsellable because of the Military’s many plans for expansions, and that they practically felt indentured to stay [Henriksen et al. 2015]. The Kulhuse resident that was interviewed stated that the conflict mainly revolved around getting a military that relates to the fact that there are ordinary civilian residents, which are trying to lead ordinary lives [Kulhuse resident]. For the residents that was interviewed in Store Havelse the conflict revolved around alleged damages caused to their property, due to shockwaves from the training activities. They also tell of an unfair procedure and a lack of real acknowledgement from the authorities [Store Havelse Residents]. During the public debate surrounding the mobile target shooting range there was similarly a call for the city council to acknowledge local interests [Erichsen & Scharling 2011]. The neighbours’ narratives refer to a sort of disconnected reality of the military and the civilian world, where there is a lack of acknowledgement of the noise impacts. Hence the

neighbours experience their real life assessment of the noise, met by a black box style, C-weighted annual average, assessment of the noise. While the military consult measurements in order to determine compliance with the regulatory thresholds, the neighbours instead ascertain that they are hearing loud blasts. In other words, the neighbours' story can be condensed into one of a 'black box' of noise management, where they find it difficult to grasp the calculations and logic within it and feel that the black box is put in the place of real acknowledgement.

National Defence	Municipality	Neighbours
Noise management as 'troop welfare'	Noise management as an 'invisible wall'	Noise management as a 'black box'

Figure 4.5 - Story lines about the noise management in Jægerspris, for each of the central actors

From this analysis it becomes clear that the three different actors perceive the noise management system in quite different ways, as can be seen on figure 4.5. The idea of safety for the troops and the invisible wall, implies opposing ideologies, as urban development threatens the training opportunities for troops, in the long term. Underlying this antagonism is an assumption of possible coexistence found in the municipality that is not shared with the National Defence. The black box symbolises the neighbours experience disempowerment in the face of complicated noise regulation. The National Defence on the other hand experience the neighbours as selfish, as training the troops is a matter of life and death. Hence, this antagonism has an underlying conflict national security and local interests, which the neighbours defend with a 'the war is over' rhetoric [West & Henriksen 2011; West et al. 2014; Kulhuse resident]. As the neighbours harbour the belief that living and noise is not able to coexist, an antagonism arises, as the municipality represents the citizens' rights to live and develop in the noise impact zone. Overall, the position of the National Defence is that everything is currently under control, while the municipality is asking for more control, a breaking down of the invisible wall, and the neighbours find that they have no control and hence ask for the black box to be put down and to instead be acknowledged politically.

5. Implications of the noise management

This chapter investigates the implications of the diverging perceptions of noise management in Jægerspris. The focus is on the processes of the conflict in terms of fair procedures and the processes of identification. The three first sections are structured around the narratives accompanying the three story lines. This is done to find the implications of the paradigm they reflect and to see how these identities are asserting themselves in the politics of Jægerspris. The final section summarises the findings.

5.1 Urban development and the invisible wall of planning

In regards to the urban development conflict, the interviewed municipal planner argued that there had to be found some kind of solution, as the city is being negatively impacted by the restriction

[Municipal planner]. This seems more important than minimising noise exposure. The municipality has the perception that they are obliged to secure urban development, as a responsibility to the citizens, who are portrayed as having this expectation [Municipal planner]. The municipal planner claimed that citizens were puzzled over the limitation that the noise impact zone brought and questioned it [Municipal planner]. The mayor stated in a news article that the issue of urban development and noise impacts had to be solved, in order to benefit the citizens inhabiting Jægerspris, present and future [Andersen 2017]. Instead the municipality argues that citizens should be allowed to buy property within the noise impact zone if they both have been briefed on the noise impacts and still choose to do so [Andersen 2017; Municipal planner]. Hence the municipality sees the noise impacts, within the zone, as being manageable and acceptable under certain circumstances [Municipal planner]. The problem is that the dispensation rule, from the Danish Planning Act §15a, item 5, section 5, is interpreted in different ways: *“In connection with urban renewal development, of significant importance to the municipality [...], the Minister for Business can in special cases, and after obtaining permission from the Ministry of Defence, allow lesser derogation, [...] where the noise impact does not significantly exceed an LC, DEN of 55 dB”* [Consolidation act nr. 287 of 16/04/2018]. The National Defence has a literal interpretation. The municipality’s interpretation is more liberal and creative. This understanding might have come from the 2005 dispensation, however, back then the municipality of Jægerspris was dependent on the its development opportunities in Jægerspris [Petersen 2000]. The neighbours display a more real life and experienced, interpretation of the noise levels. They do not see the noise as manageable and hence find a lack of representation in the municipality.

The municipality have difficulty breaking through with this argument of coexistence, as the Ministry of Defence is unwilling to compromise on the current balance between noise impact regulation and urban development [Municipal planner]. The submission of local plans and the resulting hearings are the only official procedure in place. Apart from this the discourse would have to take place in the national parliament, in order to discuss the legislation as a whole. While both the planner and the mayor is calling for a dialogue where the state acknowledges their side of the story [Andersen 2017; Municipal planner], the municipality experienced a lack of interests on the part of the national authorities. The municipal planer suspects that the problem is too small and specific for it to make an impression at the national level, hence there is a low chance of the problem being solved [Municipal planner]. Meanwhile, at the national level, the National Defence’s spatial planners are acutely aware of the limited capacity on the training lands and the irreplaceability of them. Hence the spatial planners hard-line the regulation and consequently objects to all municipal planning that infringes on the National Defence’s land uses. As a public administration the spatial planners follow the mission statement of the Defence Estates and Infrastructure Organisation, which is to secure the continued

operation of the National Defence and its training programmes. [Danish Business Authority (2018); Rasmussen 2018].

The municipality hence, find themselves unable to legitimise the action and value of urban development. The regulation excludes it, as its expressed purpose is reducing noise pollution and securing the National Defence's training opportunities. The National Defence does have the ability to authorise such action, as it did with the 2005 dispensation. As the interpretations of the noise policy showed, the two actors have opposing discourses. There is no political arena, that allows for the discussion on how the noise conflict should be handled, hence exiling the political from the discourse. The political re-emerged, as the mayor involved the national planning authorities in 2017. The municipal planner, revealed that they were not able to challenge the hegemonic discourse, in this political moment. The municipality hence experience being dependent on the authority of the National Defence, and therefore have not got the ability to make a difference. They are not able to participate in the decision making, on how to manage the noise. Instead the political aspect of the issues has been boiled down into a set of rules and regulations instead.

5.2 Shooting ranges and troop welfare

In the case of the shooting range, the procedure in question was not directly related to the noise management system. The proposal was instead processed like any other building permit in the rural zone, however the noise management still played a role. The Commander of the Jægerspris Camp felt that the technical administration had supported the project and deemed it sound, but the politics of city council complicated the process. This started with the city council's technical committee rejecting the project. The National Defence was told by the technical administration that certain aspects needed more documentation. Meanwhile the commander reports having learned from a member on the technical committee that the reason was more political. From what the commander was told, the project was rejected because the National Defence had prevented the municipality from selling a fair portion of plots for residential use, due to the noise impact zone [Commander Petersen]. When the case was later handed to city council, they concluded that they were not the appropriate authority to make such a decision and instead asked the national planning authority to make the decision [Jensen 2011]. At the same time one of the politician, in support of the shooting range, accused colleagues of fearing public opinion [Lokalavisen Hornsherred 2011], as there had been relative opposition in the public debate. The opposition came from the neighbours fearing increased noise and traffic. Later the commander used a chance to 'give' the plots to the municipality, by rearranging the shooting schedule so that the plots no longer coincided with the noise impact zone [Commander Petersen]. In the commander's opinion, this is what swayed the city council, when the project was finally approved. The Kulhuse resident told another version of the story. While having experience as a member of city council, he learned that, the city council was seen as a stepping stone, to the Danish parliament. This

meant that the local politicians' decision would be affected by national politics, as well local interests. [Kulhuse resident] For instance, the resident tells that the mobile target shooting range was passed because of a marriage between a member of city council and the national parliament. Following this the local politician relayed a message to city council that the major parties in the parliament was in support of the shooting range, which swayed the opinion of city council [Kulhuse resident]. In the local media the turnaround was explained by the mayor, that personal feelings should not play a part, what mattered was that the project followed the criteria for dispensation, from the nature regulation [Gregersen 2014]. The commander expressed frustration over the lack of transparency and explanation from the decisions made by city councils politicians, especially since proposals of the National Defence seemed rational and reasonable in his mind [Commander Petersen]. He suspects city council of holding the proposed shooting range hostage, in order to get something in return [Commander Petersen]. The commander finds it peculiar that a city council can overrule a compliant and well deliberated project, like it happened in this case, and believes that there should be a national authority in place to intervene [Commander Petersen]. The commander adds that he finds that there is a big difference between the municipalities, in how they deal with the proposals coming out of the different military training lands. Despite the rules being the same, the stories from other training lands indicate that the other municipalities are more cooperative [Commander Petersen].

The commander had a positive attitude towards the hearings and readers letter [Commander Petersen]. To him they are legitimate and he respected the citizens' concerns, but he had the opinion that they were unwarranted. Noise impacts would not increase, according to their plans [Frederiksborg Amts Avis 2011d]. Overall the Kulhuse resident felt he had been heard throughout the public debate on the military projects. [Kulhuse resident]. Hence the process itself allowed for all ideology to be expressed, however decision making ultimately had to happen in city council. As the stories from the commander and Kulhuse resident shows, they both perceived city council as basing decisions on irrelevant information. Hence the procedure had an element of unfairness, as experienced by the neighbour and commander.

While the commander had plenty of contact with the technical administration that gave comprehensible feedback [Commander Petersen], the politics of city council did not offer that luxury. Instead, he experience political spin, with politicians having two faces, one in city council and one behind closed doors. Furthermore, there are found two different interpretations of the role of city council. The commander believes that the council is supposed to approve, based on the projects compliance with regulations, while the city council seems to judge the project, and based on whether it is appropriate and necessary. This can also be interpreted in the terms used by the politicians. The commander advocates a more instrumental approach to decision making, where politics are used to make decisions, rather than the political discourses of city council. Decision making are not consistent between municipalities, the commander finds, as they interpret the same policy in different ways. The

commander finds he got stuck with an uncooperative municipality. This makes it a moment of insignificance for the commander, as the authority of city council delegitimizes the establishment of the shooting range. The commander makes sense of the situation by understanding the city council's discourse, as an attempt to pressure the National Defence into easing up on the regulation on urbanisation in Jægerspris. He then becomes powerless, a moment of insignificance. The chance to change the extent of the noise impact zone, was thus a political moment, as the commander used his authority in an attempt to improve cooperation. From the perspective of the city council, the delay is instead a question of authority, as they stated publicly. If the story from the Kulhuse resident is taken into account, it seems that the message from the parliament gave political authority, and legitimized the decision, in the eyes of city council. As the shooting range is a physical manifestation of the value of troop welfare, the final approval of the project was a moment of becoming for the National Defence.

5.3 Complaint systems and black boxes

After the Store Havelse residents filed the complaint, the municipality followed procedures and investigated whether the National Defence had kept within legal limits on the day of incident, 29. October 2012. The National Defence hired a consultant that found all rules had been kept. During the proceedings, the Store Havelse residents ascertained that the shockwaves were damaging their property, and they struggled to argue this against the acoustics expert's calculations [Store Havelse Residents]. Furthermore, they were unsatisfied with several aspects of the handling of the case. Following the complaint, it was found that the National Defence used equipment, on their noise measuring stations that measured pascal, while the regulation guidelines use decibel. The Store Havelse residents interpreted this as the equipment being obsolete, which was not the case [Commander Petersen]. Additionally one measuring station was inoperable on the day of the incident. This ultimately breeds distrust towards the authorities, as they interpreted this as an attempt by the National Defence to avoid responsibility [Store Havelse Residents]. The Municipality referred the residence back to the National Defence for any compensation claims. The residence expressed disappointment and perceived the Municipality as unwilling to address the compensation claim [Store Havelse Residents]. The residents distrusted the measurements and calculations, as they could not ascertain how they were made [Store Havelse Residents]. They ultimately felt the ruling was invalid and believed the National Defence to be liable for compensation [Store Havelse Residents]. The commander saw the Store Havelse residents as a serious issue. He believed that they had done every possible thing, in order to document the noise impacts, but was unable to. A building constructor assessed the damages that was claimed, but found no irregularity [Commander Petersen]. The technical administration of Frederikssund Municipality sticks to a professional managerial approach, rather than a political one [Henriksen et al. 2009]. It does not seem like city council picked up on the case.

Another way to complain is the direct phone line. It seems more effective at solving the noise conflicts than the complaining system at the municipalities system. As it is immediate it gives a much more direct influence on the behaviour at the noise source, and hence the neighbour seems to appraise his coping ability is better. The Neighbour from Kulhuse expressed that the staff at the Jægerspris Camp were polite, when he called in to complain, and usually reacted to the calls, though sometimes the resident had to call the police as well, to have infringements corrected. However, the resident pointed out that this did not change the reality of the noise impacts [Kulhuse resident].

The National Defence interpret the noise regulation as being a quite definite boundary between the acceptable and the unacceptable. The Store Havelse residents interpret it as a protection from noise impacts. The National Defence's interpretation implies a fully instrumental way of assessing noise impacts, whereas the neighbours' implies a political one. This explains the neighbours' reluctance to accept the consultant's calculations and the frustrations of being addressed through this 'black box'. Hence the claim of not being acknowledged. After the verdict in the case, the residents kept presenting the case for politicians in Frederikssund Municipality, attempting to get the issue addressed politically. Hence they understand the matter as a political issue, instead of one of politics.

The training lands themselves also become subject of interpretation. The National Defence perceives the lands as important, as their troop welfare argumentation implies. The neighbours, however, described the military training land of Jægerspris as being located irresponsibly on the relatively small and narrow piece of land, owned by the National Defence, between Kulhusvej and Isefjord [Henriksen et al. 2017]. Hence indicating a view that the area is not really suited for military installation, due to the physical limitations of the land. The neighbours, also questioned the military training activities somewhat, with arguments about the recent wars being over. Denmark's participation in the war in Afghanistan ended in 2014, resulting in the mobile shooting range being questioned, as it was meant to prepare troops for this war [West & Henriksen 2011; West et al. 2014]. Hence the Neighbours felt the training lands were redundant [Store Havelse Residents]. The Neighbours hence perceived solutions, such as shutting down the training land or activities, to be a legitimate solution.

Because of the neighbour's alternate interpretation of the noise management, the experience of the complaint procedures becomes a moment of insignificance. The discourse on noise impact is rendered void of the political, as the bureaucracy of the noise management dominates it. The acknowledgement that the neighbours demand does not stem from lack of being addressed, it instead comes from the lack of acknowledgement of the noise impact as a political issue. The complaint system grants the municipality the political authority of being policing authority. The municipality does not use this authority to legitimise its own identity. Hence it does not represent the kind of citizen that the neighbours in Store Havelse are, as it instead identifies with the citizens calling for urban development. The National Defence is able to dominate and solidify the discourse on noise impacts,

as the noise regulation legitimise the action of the training activities. With the training activity being the core identity of the National Defence, it is able to become itself, as the regulation authorises them. The residents in Store Havelse present a dilemma to the National Defence, as this particular neighbour did not seem to believe in the validity of their actions. From the perspective of the National Defence, the commander of the Jægerspris Camp seemed content with the noise complaint system. The fairness of the system was not questioned, instead the commander emphasised the task of the National Defence [Sjællands Nyheder 2012].

5.4 Outcome of antagonism

This analysis shows that the actors' different perceptions of the noise impact, and hence their interpretation of the noise management system. The chapter looked at local planning procedures, within the noise impact zone. It investigated local planning within the training lands and the politics of city council. It also examined the noise complaint system. The actors want the policies to be different things, as their interpretations showed. However, the noise impact zone cannot both be literal and liberal. The decisions made in city council cannot both be instrumental and political. The complaint system cannot both protect the citizen and the soldier. These opposing ideologies cannot be contained within the current noise management system, as the instrumentality replaces the political arena. This divide between acceptable and unacceptable ideology deepens the conflict, as the institutional power of the noise management is perceived as unjust.

6. Irreconcilable and then what?

The noise management deploys an instrumentalist approach, leading to an exclusion of certain political ideas. This is reflected in the storylines, where the discourse on the noise management only really encompasses the point of view of the National Defence. The National Defence's paradigm of 'troop welfare' thus constitutes a hegemony in the discourse of the noise management. The institution of the noise management, hence does not have the capacity to contain the political antagonisms displayed by the neighbours and the municipality. For instance the idea that damages might happen inside legal noise limits is rejected, as well as the idea that some urban development can happen within the noise impact zone. It becomes clear from their stories, that they are excluded from any real participation in deciding how to manage of the noise conflict. The conflict can also go the other way, as the municipality is the local authority over Jægerspris training lands, which showed in the case of the shooting range.

The noise management was discussed and legislation passed back in 1997. The scope of this paper has not been to find how the noise conflicts was discussed in parliament back then. Instead the procedures of today, the complaint systems, the local and municipal planning was investigated instead. The political aspect of the conflict is revolving around the reopening of the debate on how the noise impacts should be managed. Instead the antagonisms of the 'would be' debate can be found in the

existing procedures of local planning and in the complaint system. These procedures are no substitute for this call either, as they are designed around compliance with the regulation. Hence a rational planning approach. As justice theory defines unfair procedure, there are no real opportunity to renegotiate the noise management, yet not all opinions have been taken into consideration. Instead the conflict becomes entrenched by the hegemony of the noise regulation.

The regulation specifically resolves the blurred line between protection of the noise sensitive urban and the protection of the national defence industry. The protection of both are needed, but putting a specific value and weight on the consideration between the two will always be controversial. This divisive line is fair in the sense that it can be applied the same way in all cases. Hence, securing a certain level of protection, on both sides of the fence. This line can be seen as unfair, as there are several interpretations of where that line should be. The conflicts arises, when the urbanites interpret the experienced noise as crossing that line. They can either find that the legal threshold has been exceeded or is unbearable. Then comes the dilemma of how reasonable their complaints and compensation claims are. The pendulum can also swing the other direction, and claims against the National Defence can also be objectively unfair. What really perpetuated the conflict, was the differing interpretations of the noise management, as being either politics or political. Going into the instrumental politics of the noise management, with the expectation of a negotiable political procedure, will make the politics seem dismissive, distrusting and unfair. Furthermore, technical complexity can contribute to this experience, as it can be difficult to comprehend. In the procedures of local planning, the interpretation of the regulation similarly perpetuates conflict. The municipality interprets the separation of noise sensitive uses in a political way. These interpretations can be politically valid, but the noise regulation excludes them from consideration. Whether they are or not is beyond the scope of this research.

These are irreconcilable conflicts that cannot be resolved perfectly by planning. This is not the fault of planning, it is the nature of the political reflected through it. Perhaps planning should not be so instrumental and rational, that it excludes the possibility that there could be something right in the 'other'. The rational planning approach brings order to chaos and certainty to the conflictual. It provides certain boundaries are valuable guiding tools in the oversight of national authorities. However, the character of the political, in this case noise management, means that the discursive approaches also have value to offer. It harbours the capacity to treat every case individually and has a subversive quality, in the face of hegemony. The elusive fair procedure is not found in the absolute rational instrument. Neither is the protection of national interests found in the all-encompassing field of the political. Hence the age old dilemma of balance arises. Perhaps rational plans, ordered by the agonistic democracy, would fare better. But in this case the agonism that produced the noise regulation, was found in parliament, rather than in the inclusion of the citizen. This still removes the substantive debate from the public arena [McClymont 2011; 253]. The concerned citizens

encountered in this study, did not seem to find solace in the fact that elected officials voted to pass the noise regulation. The instances where military training lands and noise impact zones coincides with the urban, might be so few, that a more direct approach can be applied. Direct in the sense, that neighbours, municipality and military training lands find their own local way of managing the noise. This is already seen in the case, in fact. The commander and the National Defence has already made several accommodations, which was not required by the regulation. Voluntarily keeping the distance from noise sensitive uses, altering shooting activities based on the feedback from measuring stations and installing better measuring equipment [Commander Petersen]. Not to mention limiting the extent of the noise impact zone, which allowed the municipality to sell property. This already happened due to communication, directly between actors. This informal communication can be likened to McClymont's finding that parties could engage in dialogue, because there was no pressure to reach any agreement or decision [McClymont 2011: 252]. The National Defence seems willing to accommodate, but not willing to change the regulation. Instead of these accommodations happening informally, they might be part of formalised procedures, even without the authority to change the regulation. The people of Jægerspris might benefit from meeting in such a setting. Not to solve the conflict once and for all, but to find the subtle things, the little details, that make a difference, as illustrated by the examples above. It could both help increase awareness and appreciation of the non-regulated initiatives that can and have been taken. Perhaps planning conflict should not be seen as something to run away from, but as a place to meet in honest and authentic communication, and hence something to maintain in a productive way.

7. Conclusion

In this study the noise conflict of Jægerspris military training lands has been investigated as a case of irreconcilable conflict. Irreconcilable conflict was defined as two opposing discourses in conflict over meaning. In planning this implies that actors each produce their own discourse in order to find meaning. In order to find depth in these diverging interpretations of the world, the concept of the circular structure of power was applied. This revealed how actors attempt to assert themselves, through strategies of politics, against others strategies. Then it was discussed how post-political modes of governing can perpetuate conflicts and whether agonism can alleviate to such planning conflicts.

The case had three actors, the National Defence, Frederikssund Municipality and the neighbours of the training lands. Each of these had their own distinct identity and values. These were found in the form of story lines, as the three main narratives of the case was investigated. One narrative revolved around the urban planning of Jægerspris city, another around establishing a shooting range within Jægerspris training lands and the last narrative was an example of the case management in the complaint system. The National Defence was found to tell a story of the 'troop welfare', mainly

arguing that the purpose of their activities ultimately saved soldiers' lives. The Frederikssund Municipality told a story of an 'invisible wall' of planning, which blocked the city of Jægerspris from essential development. The neighbours told the story of a noise management 'black box', as a metaphor for the discrepancy between the experience reality of people, and the calculated reality of the same people.

These different stories were seen as the actors' perception of the noise management system and hence their expressed identity in the matter of the noise conflict. Their political ideology in relation to how the noise should be managed. These perceptions were found to have implications for the way subsequent procedures of the noise management. These implications mainly derived from the way different identities interpreted the noise regulation. The municipality interpreted the noise as being manageable and hence represented the citizens' right to live within the noise impact zone, while the neighbours group found the noise unbearable. This meant that the conflict was further entrenched, as the distrust grew from the expectation of representation. The residents from Store Havelse furthermore interpreted the noise regulation as being political, rather than politics. Hence the insistence on following standard procedures was experienced as an injustice, as the residents expected politicians to get involved. This experience was amplified by the Store Havelse residents' interpretation of the measuring equipment as obsolete. While seeing these measurement as invalid, they believed the National Defence to be avoiding responsibility, undermining the trust they had. The municipality interprets the dispensation rules, from the noise impact zone, in a liberal way, whereas the National Defence has a literal interpretation. This strains cooperation, as the municipality experience the denial of development as unfair and unfounded. The National Defence delays in the shooting range case further entrenching the conflict on their side. The National Defence interpreted the function of city council as ensuring compliance with regulation, whereas city council focus on whether the shooting range was appropriate and necessary. This was seen as an expression of resistance to the training lands, by the National Defence. Finally, while the National Defence interpreted their training land as vital in the education of troops. The neighbours saw the training land as redundant, as there were no immediate threat to Danish sovereignty. Additionally they believed the training activities could be moved elsewhere. Hence the noise impacts were seen as unnecessary and inappropriate.

The noise management of military training lands can be seen as a rational planning approach. This planning approach serves well, to make the noise conflict manageable. In noise management, it is found that inclusive approaches are more effective at managing noise conflicts, as they produce fair procedure effects. The instrumental regulation is rolled out top-down and does not itself have the capacity to renegotiate and accommodate new ideas. In the case of Jægerspris, however, it is found that certain accommodations have been made, that did not require legislation. These were arranged as a result of informal processes that could be made formal.

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