

**An Opportunity for Renewal:  
The Participatory Process and Social  
and Income Diversity in Brownfield Developments**

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## **Abstract**

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Participatory planning and the redevelopment of brownfield locations have both figured prominently in urban and regional planning strategies in recent decades. Despite their growing importance, these trends have rarely been analysed in concert however. Further, the issues of social and income diversity within this context have received less attention. In recognizing this void, this paper explores the use of participatory planning in brownfield developments, with an emphasis on social and income diversity. Through a review of the participatory planning theories of communicative action and the just city, strategies for promoting participatory planning and social and income diversity, are identified. A case study of Norra Djurgårdsstaden, a brownfield development in Stockholm, Sweden is employed to analyse these strategies. In undertaking the case study, data was collected through interviews and planning documents. This study found that the inherently high cost of redeveloping brownfield locations inhibits social and income diversity and requires an overt response to mitigate it. Participatory planning offers the possibility of engaging stakeholders who may otherwise be ignored, providing the opportunity to create a more inclusive development. It is also clear that an inclusionary goal must be part of a wider strategy, or is otherwise likely to be ignored.

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Mickey Reardon – Stockholm, May 2010

## Summary

This work analyses participatory planning and how it can be used in brownfield developments, such as Norra Djurgårdsstaden, the focus of a case study in this paper. In doing so, the aim is to understand how it is employed, particularly in regards to fostering social and income diversity. Over the course of the study, a series of research questions were posed. They are used to review the participatory process and its effectiveness in Norra Djurgårdsstaden; the regional context in which the development occurred; and whether it helped accomplish the regional goal of reducing segregation. Further, the extent to which social and income diversity are considered, and the values and challenges in promoting these aims, were analyzed. Finally, there is an assessment of who was included and who was ignored during the process, as well as the issues that come with only consulting residents who live in close proximity to the development.

There is an extensive review of the participatory planning theories of communicative action and the just city, which serve as the theoretical basis for this work. This section emphasises the complimentary nature of these theories through a comparison of the key themes which they address. Rather than being considered separately, the theories are better perceived to exist on a spectrum that allows for some interplay.

Through personal interviews and a survey of relevant documents, the case study of Norra Djurgårdsstaden helps to provide a better understanding of the participatory planning issues that have been theorised about. The study provides a review of the participatory process that has occurred and serves as the basis for resolving the research questions.

The study found that participatory planning has been useful in Norra Djurgårdsstaden for meeting the aims for which it was intended and can therefore be considered an effective mechanism in brownfield developments. The process could have gone further however. The emphasis on information rather than consultation made it difficult for the public to affect change in the plans. Additionally, in the regional context, the aim of fostering social and income diversity in Norra Djurgårdsstaden runs counter to the current political program, which has emphasized the privatisation of the housing stock. As a result, the project does not serve as a means of realizing the wider regional goal of reducing segregation. Further, in not actively seeking to reduce segregation, the participatory process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden has not been used to encourage social and income diversity. This reduces the likelihood that a significant degree of social and income diversity can be achieved because nearly all brownfield developments, including Norra Djurgårdsstaden, have inherently high costs that result from a range of factors, including the necessary clean up. This translates into high building costs, which, without some form of targeted intervention, severely reduces the likelihood that those on the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum can afford to live there. Finally, the most significant problem in only seeking to actively consult residents who live in close proximity to the development is that in cases where this group has a high degree of homogeneity, the needs of other groups can easily be overlooked. A concise review of the findings I have made can be found in the *Main Findings*, at the beginning of the *Discussion and Conclusion* section.

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## Introduction

The public role in crafting urban development plans and strategies has long been open to discussion. Although the debate continues, there has been a trend towards increased public participation during the planning stages of a project over the past several decades. Simultaneously, a movement towards developing formerly underused areas, or brownfield sites, in desirable locations, has grown in popularity. While these trends have developed in parallel, there have only been a limited series of committed attempts to analyse them in combination, in theory or in practice. Within this void, the issue of fostering social and income diversity through participatory planning in inner city brownfield developments has received little in the way of detailed academic or practical consideration. The deficiency of literature on the role of public participation in fostering social and income diversity in newly built urban areas suggests that there is a great opportunity to contribute to the field.

Along with participatory planning and brownfield development, the concept of sustainability has figured prominently in development strategies since the release of the Brundtland Report in 1987. The influential position that sustainability has come to occupy has been embraced in brownfield developments. This is exemplified in the case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden, where environmental sustainability is crucial to achieving the development objectives for the project. Sustainability, as defined in the Brundtland Report (1987), is based on three pillars: environmental, economic and social. There has been a great focus on environmental sustainability in recent years, and the need to recoup costs through the development of desirable living and working conditions ensures that economic sustainability is considered. However, social sustainability is often relegated to the margins of planning in brownfield developments. This is evident in the shortage of material, both practical and theoretical, concerning social sustainability in newly redeveloped urban areas. Given the serious societal challenges that accompany segregation social and income diversity are central to social sustainability. Participatory planning offers a significant opportunity to promote these goals by engaging and empowering a range of stakeholders who often occupy disadvantaged positions along the socioeconomic spectrum and who are frequently overlooked. This work will explore such possibilities.

The focus on social and income diversity arises from the ongoing, and in many cases growing, problem of spatial segregation, arguably one of the most serious threats facing urban regions across the developed world, and beyond. This segregation results from a range of factors, one of the most important of which is the high cost of housing in inner city locations. In this context, segregation occurs along economic lines, and given the fact that many of those earning low incomes have a foreign background, ethnic and income segregation are often significantly correlated. The promotion of social and income diversity has less to do with the achievement of some sort of utopic goal for equality, and more to do with ensuring the continued functionality of our cities. The threat posed by segregation has been very well illustrated in France. In 2005, civil unrest exploded in many of the most socially and economically segregated neighbourhoods, beginning in Paris, prior to spreading to similar neighbourhoods in cities across the country. The unrest shook French society and caused an estimated €200 million in damage, along with

an untold number of injuries. While committed efforts to mitigate the underlying issues which fuelled the unrest have been undertaken, it is important to note that another period of unrest, albeit on a smaller scale, occurred in 2007. Nothing close to this degree has occurred in Sweden, but a number of incidents have occurred in Malmö, Goteborg, Uppsala and to some extent in Stockholm. This illustrates the threat that exists if the issue of socioeconomic segregation is not dealt with. In addition to the specific cases mentioned above, the challenges associated with segregation are evident in many cities across the developed world, where immigration serves as the central form of population growth. It is therefore imperative that the threats borne from segregation are dealt with seriously, in part by promoting social and income diversity, which can be encouraged through engagement and empowerment strategies presented in participatory planning. Rather than serving as a reaction to serious social problems, this study intends to consider a form of preventative action whereby the threat of spatial segregation on the basis of income or ethnicity is pre-emptively mitigated.

Beyond the aforementioned threats related to segregation, there is also a considerable cost to the economy. While a 2006 report by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) gave Stockholm a positive review, several of the most significant challenges to the region's competitiveness were the housing shortage and the region's difficulty in integrating immigrants. The need to address these issues is therefore evident on a number of scales.

### ***The Aim***

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the degree to which participatory planning has been employed in Norra Djurgårdsstaden and to understand its effectiveness, particularly in regard to fostering social and income diversity, issues pivotal to social sustainability. To provide a more situated perspective on the project, the development is also considered within the context of the regional strategy for Stockholm. In seeking to take the results of the study further, there is an emphasis on identifying the broader findings that could prove to be useful in other development projects. In conducting the empirical research, the answers to the the following questions are sought.

- How has participatory planning been employed in Norra Djurgårdsstaden and how effective has it been in achieving its aims in brownfield developments?
- What is the regional context in which participatory planning and social and income diversity are being considered in Stockholm and does the project serve as a means of realizing the wider regional goal of reducing segregation?
- To what extent has social and income diversity been considered in the development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden? What are the benefits of doing so and what are the challenges?
- Who is being included in the participatory process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, and who is being ignored?
- What are the problems that derive from only consulting residents who live in close proximity to the development?



These questions are explored through a case study of the area and are subsequently analyzed using the participatory planning theories of communicative action and the just city. In establishing the theoretical context of the study, the work of a number of prominent thinkers, whose research forms the basis for communicative action and the just city models are considered.

The conclusions drawn from this study are intended for academics in planning and related social sciences, but also for others who are working with these issues, namely planners, politicians and those working with the urban social issue of segregation. It is hoped that this work serves to contribute to a better understanding of how participatory planning can be used in brownfield developments and identifies the associated benefits and challenges in doing so. Finally, in including a best practices section in the appendix section, the aim is to inspire those working with brownfield developments to seek out successful attempts to foster participatory planning and social and income diversity, while also contributing to the best practices themselves.

### ***Research Inspiration***

Although the thesis was researched, crafted and written over a twenty week period during the first half of 2010, its inspiration can be traced to the spring of 2008, when I first read *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, by Jane Jacobs. In reading her work, I saw many parallels between the situation she described in urban settings of the mid-twentieth century and today. I also appreciated her unwavering support for grassroots community action and the results that such activities could achieve. At the time, I was living in a neighbourhood in Ottawa, Canada called Centretown, which in my opinion, epitomized the benefits of diversity: social, income and otherwise. In the subsequent months and years, I have had a growing interest in the social aspects of brownfield developments, as illustrated by two smaller works - one which dealt with a brownfield site in Stockholm (Hammarby Sjöstad) and one that focused on two developments (Vauban and Rieselfeld) in Freiburg, Germany. The interest in brownfields stems from my belief that such developments offer a great opportunity to reduce the human impact on the environment and my admiration for the idea that the concept of reuse could be applied on such a great scale. In this context, I think that brownfield developments play an important role in future development strategies to accommodate population growth without having as negative an impact on the environment as other projects that exploit green space.

### ***The Thesis Structure***

This work is divided into five parts. The following section serves as the theoretical basis for the study. It details a number of aspects of the theories which have shaped contemporary participatory planning and are later used in a discussion of the case. The methodology follows, in which the methods employed in this study are accounted for and the situation in which the study occurred is elaborated. In the third section, the empirical results of the case study are discussed. Subsequently, a discussion, whereby the previously detailed theory is applied to the case study, serves to present the conclusions I have arrived at. At the start of this section, the *Main Findings* will provide the reader with a concise review of the findings I have made.

## **Participatory Planning: The Theoretical Foundation**

In detailing and reflecting on the literature that serves as the theoretical basis for this study, and as the foundation for participatory planning, a wide range of sources were surveyed to ensure a detailed understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of a variety of arguments. The following chapter is divided into a series of sub-topics that develop and evaluate the theoretical basis for this work. A brief section detailing the groundbreaking works that came to serve as the basis for contemporary participatory planning theories and practices is offered to provide the reader with a better understanding of where this work comes from. Subsequently, the communicative action and just city models are detailed, compared and contrasted. This provides the reader with a better concept of current trends within the field of participatory planning. Thereafter, the central concepts of context and process are discussed, followed by a reflection on the role of the planner in this system. To further enhance the reader's understanding of the process, several examples of participatory planning in practice are offered.

### ***The Pioneering Works: A Basis for Theoretical Development***

Although the presence of public participation in urban planning can be traced back nearly a century, arguably to Saul Alinsky's work in organizing Chicago's Back of the Yards neighbourhood in the 1930s (Horwitt, 1989), the participatory planning model did not achieve any degree of significant literary or theoretical recognition until the 1960s. In this era of burgeoning social activism, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, by Jane Jacobs, was released in 1961. This straightforward work served as a challenge to the modernist planning paradigm and the experts in ivory towers who espoused it, arguing in favour of a local understanding of planning and redevelopment issues that could only be achieved through citizen involvement and community empowerment. Based on personal accounts and experiences rather than generalized theories, the book served to illustrate the importance of context in planning, a concept that has become increasingly popular in recent years (Fainstein, 1997; Sandercock, 1998; Bradley, 2009). Employing a frank and pragmatic analytical lens, Jacobs, who had no formal training in the field of urban planning, exposed a system that had left an urban legacy of low-density development, along with functional and spatial segregation. This came to mobilize a movement that sought to reclaim cities for the residents who inhabited them (Flint, 2009).

This early argument in favour of genuine participatory planning was followed by the prominent work of Paul Davidoff, who successfully championed racially integrated low income housing in predominantly white suburbs, an effort that was encapsulated in his essay, *Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning* (1965). The argument for greater citizen involvement in the planning process was further augmented by *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*, by Sherry Arnstein, in 1969. In reaction to what she saw as an "empty and frustrating process for the powerless", Arnstein (1969; 1) sought to establish a scale that could be used to evaluate the true degree of citizen participation that existed in the planning processes of cities across the United States. In the years that have followed, theoretical contributions to the ideas promoted in these early works have been made by a number of planners and theorists whose work forms the theoretical basis for this thesis. These works have primarily been motivated by the concept of communicative action developed by Jürgen Habermas, with support from Anthony Giddens' structuration

theory, coupled with the just city model that has grown out of the environmental justice theory. This movement has been developed and promoted by a range of theorists including, but not limited to, John Rawls, Henri Lefebvre, Iris Young and Robert Bullard (Bradley, 2009; Schlosberg, 2007).

### **Key Terms**

Prior to elaborating on the models which serve as the basis for participatory planning, it is important to define a series of terms which play a central role in this thesis. To clarify where this work is situated, a description of how the terms were arrived at is also provided, where necessary.

- **Participatory Planning:** Oltheten's (1999) description of participatory planning as "The initial step in the definition of a common agenda for development by a...community and an external entity or entities. Over the period, this initial step is expected to evolve for the parties concerned towards a self-sustaining development planning process." Serves to illustrate how it is employed in this study.
- **Brownfield:** According to the *Brownfield European Regeneration Initiative (BERI) Final Report* (2007; 70), "The term 'Brownfield' is not legally defined in any of the European countries." That being said, Planning Policy Guidance 3 in the United Kingdom offers a comprehensive description, which is paraphrased here: Previously developed land which is or was occupied by a permanent structure (excluding agriculture or forestry buildings), and associated fixed surface infrastructure. This includes defence buildings and land used for mineral extraction and waste disposal where the provision for restoration has not occurred. The land may be present in both built up and rural settings. (BERI, 2007; 68). Further, in this study, former residential units, aside from military barracks have been excluded from the definition.
- **Social Sustainability:** In this work, the definition of social sustainability comes from the 1996 book, *Making Cities Work*, by Gilbert, Girardet, Stevenson and Stren, a definition that was adopted by UN Habitat, which commissioned the book. It is defined as "Practices to ensure that the cohesion of society and its ability to work towards common goals are maintained. Individual needs such as those for health and well-being, nutrition, shelter, education and cultural expression should be met." (Gilbert, et al., 1996).
- **Social and Income Diversity:** A succinct and satisfying definition of social and income diversity was not found over the course of the research process. As such, a definition of the term was crafted during the study. It is: A mix of persons who may exhibit differences in background, ethnicity, gender, age, economic standing, religion, sexual orientation, political views or cultural values within a defined living space.

## ***Contemporary Theories in Participatory Planning: The Communicative Action & Just City Models***

In exploring relevant theories through a literature review, the aim is to develop an understanding of the trends, important themes and research approaches that have, and are, shaping the contemporary urban planning paradigm of participatory planning. Further, this work, founded primarily in the communicative action and just city planning models, seeks to identify and differentiate between the models. Rather than being viewed as contained, distinct or independent, this review is intended to identify the fluidity that exists between the models. Therefore, books and articles on communicative action and the just city are best defined as existing on a spectrum within participatory planning, with some works relating much more closely to one model, while others are more easily applied to both. Finally, given this paper's focus on social and income diversity, there will be some emphasis on these factors.

In further developing the just city and communicative action models, it is pertinent to review several examples of these models in action. Considering the abovementioned focus on social and income diversity, relevant examples have been selected for further exploration. Additionally, it is worth noting that although the examples relate more closely to one model or the other, the significant overlap between the two, a continuing theme of this section, is evident in practice. The notion of a spectrum in which both models are situated is arguably most evident in practice, where the planners are more concerned with the success of the project, regardless of its theoretical basis, than with the validity of a theory.

After an extensive survey of relevant literature, this cross-disciplinary approach has been adopted with the aim of harnessing the strengths of each model, while mitigating the weaknesses when the theories are applied to the subsequent empirical study. Strengths of the communicative action model include providing concerned public stakeholders with a legitimate role in the decision making process and a general wariness of expert or elitist manipulation of the proceedings (Sager, 1994). Conversely, the model has been critiqued for ignoring how to deal with the fact that open processes may produce unfair results and for losing its critical edge once the theory is applied in reality (Fainstein, 2000). For its part, the just city model's greatest strengths lie in its recognition of the role power relations serve in promoting, or preventing, equity (Fainstein, 2000) and in considering the wider context in which local issues are situated (Sandercock, 2000a). However, the just city model also finds its basis in utopian ideals (Sandercock, 2000a), something that has proven dangerous throughout history. The model has also been criticized for failing to recognize that the concepts of "good" and "justice" are socially constructed through interactions of knowledge and power (Healey, 2003b; 110).

### ***The Background: Communicative Action & the Just City***

Having identified the models that serve as the theoretical framework for this paper, this section aims to explore the concepts at greater length. It is by no means an exhaustive review, but rather offers the context in which work has taken place. In this section, there is an emphasis on works that were written prior to the rapid growth in popularity that participatory planning has come to enjoy. With this in mind, nearly every work

considered in this backgrounder is at least twenty years old. There is no hard and fast rule that has been applied to arrive at this timeframe, however. Rather, the late 1980s and early 1990s serve as the departure point for many works that have come to prominence in the subsequent years. Choosing Habermas' work as the basis for communicative action seems obvious given his influence in the field. Anthony Giddens has also contributed significantly, having developed a concept of continual interaction, or a focus on the process, that has served to further develop collaborative planning. In this case, the work of other theorists in the field, many of whom have made notable contributions, serve as a response or reaction to their work and will be explored later in the paper.

Similarly, the work of Rawls, along with Lefebvre, serve as the foundation of the just city model. However, Young's work, a generation later, is also included because it provides the critical basis for further evaluation that has taken place over the past two decades. Further, Bullard's definition of the environmental justice movement is valuable in outlining the area in which the field is situated. By identifying works that relate to both theories, the review will also serve to underline the links that exist between the concepts.

### **Communicative Action**

The communicative action model has been heavily influenced by Habermas' work on communicative rationality, most notably his leading 1984 book *The Theory of Communicative Action Volume 1: Reason and Rationalism in Society*, which was itself inspired by Hegelian idealism, Marxist critical analysis and Wittgenstein's scrutiny of language (Fainstein, 2003; 175). This planning theory, grounded in Habermas' discourse ethics and the concept of communicative rationality as a normative principle, was subsequently used to assess and critique existing interactive practices (Healey, 2003b; 106). Within communicative rationality, planning theorists have identified the Habermasian notion of the ideal speech situation, where domination is not present in any manner, giving all of the stakeholders equal opportunity to develop and promote their arguments, and crucially, equal possibilities that their arguments will be accepted on the basis of their validity (Sager, 1994; 5). Accordingly, Habermas argues that interpersonal communicative actions include the "normative judgement" that relations occur in ways that seek "comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy and truth." (Healey, 2003a; 239) In aiming to promote equal opportunities for all stakeholders, the communicative action model seeks to ensure that those who have been traditionally ignored, primarily minorities and those with low incomes, have the same possibilities to make their voices heard in the process as more powerful interests, thereby helping to promote social justice.

It is important to note that the ideal speech situation is perceived to be just that, ideal. When applied in reality, Habermas intended for the ideal speech situation to provide a benchmark against which challenges intrinsic to nearly all communication could be identified (Fainstein, 2003; 176). Further, communicative action adopts an incrementalist approach, whereby the communicative process is made up of a series of small steps and the process is an aim in itself (Sager, 1994; 4). In pursuing this goal, it is desired that communication be used to surmount oppressive power relations, reduce differences amongst stakeholders, create new solutions and gain approval from all concerned parties (Sager, 1994; 4). In this sense, communication should ideally take place in situations

where the strength of an argument is the sole basis for its consideration (Sager, 1994; 7), thereby reducing social and income inequality. Further, for an argument to be the sole basis for a decision, it is imperative that predefined notions regarding the stakeholders are mitigated to a considerable degree. It is significant to note that Habermas considers these predefined identities to be socially constructed through communicative practices evident in relations with others (Healey, 2003a; 239). To accomplish this, a socialization process must occur among the stakeholders, providing the opportunity for mutual understanding based on how each stakeholder identity has been constructed through the communicative process (Sager, 1994; 6). In the face of instrumental rationality, dominant interests and expertise, the promotion of mutual understanding is facilitated through situations whereby a greater spectrum of learning methods are acknowledged and embraced (Healey, 2003a; 239). In sum, Habermas (1987; 137, referred to in Sager, 1994; 6) recognizes the three central aspects of communicative action as:

“Under the functional aspect of mutual understanding, communicative action serves to transmit and renew cultural knowledge; under the aspect of coordinating action, it serves social integration and the establishment of solidarity; finally, under the aspect of socialization, communicative action serves the formation of personal identities.”

Along the same vein as Habermas’ work on communicative action is that of Anthony Giddens, whose 1984 book *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, sought to explore the ongoing processes and “mutual constitution of ‘structure and agency’” (Healey, 2003; 106). Through his conception of how structures are created and sustained, his work has provided a “rich framework for subsequent ‘institutionalist’ research on planning practices.” (Healey, 2003; 106). Further, Giddens provided a detailed understanding of the socially embedded nature of power relations. Beyond that, he focused on the factors that constitute interaction relations and on recognizing how the active work of stakeholders is situated in the governance process (Healey, 2003b; 106).

This work is bolstered in planning theory through its coupling with the pragmatism of John Dewey and Richard Rorty (Fainstein, 2003; 175). The neopragmatist approach favours empirical work, seeking out best practices from specific cases and aiming to form generalizations from them (Fainstein, 2003; 175). The communicative action and neopragmatist works come together when planning practitioners apply communicative action planning in reality. This union serves, as Fainstein (2003; 175) notes, as “the antithesis of Daniel Burnham’s admonition to ‘make no small plans’”.

### ***The Just City***

While the communicative action planning model has developed primarily out of the work of a handful of theorists, the development of the just city can be attributed to a number of thinkers. The just city model, and the more broad environmental justice movement, find their roots in Plato’s work, particularly his exploration of justice and governance in *The Republic*. More recently, and more pertinent to the contemporary situation, the field has been inspired by John Rawls’ influential 1971 book, *A Theory of Justice*. In this work,

Rawls defines justice as “a standard whereby the distributive aspects of the basic structure of society are to be assessed”, which Rawls argues, means that justice can be described as “the appropriate division of social advantages” (Rawls, 1971; 9, referred to in Schlosberg, 2007; 12). In developing his theory on justice, Rawls is concerned with identifying the manner in which a “right” theory of justice can be formed. This, he argues, is only possible by adopting a hypothetical “original position” whereby the practitioner adopts a “veil of ignorance” where they have no concept of their own strengths and weaknesses, thus creating an impartial position (Rawls, 1971; 10, referred to in Schlosberg, 2007; 12). From this basis, distributive justice, a central tenet of the environmental justice movement, can be defined. Here, justice is argued to ensure that all members of a society have the same political rights and that the distribution of economic and social inequality should serve to benefit everyone, including those who are least well off, thus equating justice with just distribution (Schlosberg, 2007; 13).

The release of Iris Young’s *Justice and the Politics of Difference* in 1990 served as a critique to the uniform notion of distributional justice, by seeking to identify the underlying causes for inequitable distribution (Schlosberg, 2007; 14). Young sought to broaden the limited scope for exclusion, established in Henri Lefebvre’s *The Right to the City*. Lefebvre was concerned with citizens having the right to be included in decision making processes, along with the rights to urban life, to the “ludic city” and to places of socialization (Sandercock, 2000b; 10). In going beyond this, Young considered a range of differences beyond political and class based exclusion (Sandercock, 2000b; 10). She argued that the traditional concept of distributional justice was too focused on the system for distribution, to the point that the social context in which such events took place was ignored (Schlosberg, 2007; 14). Accordingly, she argued that social justice “requires not the melting away of differences, but institutions that promote reproduction of, and respect for, group differences without oppression.” (Young, 1990; 119, referred to in Bradley, 2009; 51). Young asserts that while an awareness of distribution is vital to achieving social justice, injustice does not result solely from unequal distribution, but a range of factors (Schlosberg, 2007; 14). She was wary of the lack of recognition placed on “group difference” and argued that distributional disparity resulted from “social structures, cultural beliefs and institutional contexts” (Schlosberg, 2007; 15), thereby promoting the consideration of social and income disparity. Rather than focusing on how to create the best system for distribution, she sought to understand how the current inequitable forms of distribution came to be produced (Schlosberg, 2007; 15). In sum, Young recognized that equitable distribution was a challenge to social justice, but beyond that, a model of justice must concentrate on the elimination of institutionalized oppression and domination, specifically considering those for whom “difference” was a continuing source of inequality (Schlosberg, 2007; 15).

Subscribing to the ideas developed by Rawls and Lefebvre, and particularly their subsequent critique and expansion by Young, the urban sociologist Robert Bullard sought to define the environmental justice movement, with a focus on race, colour, ethnicity and class; and to which Dorceta Taylor added gender (Bradley, 2009; 53). Further, he concentrated on the current environments of people, which, given that more than half the world’s population now lives in an urban environment (UN Habitat, 2009), suggests he

had a decidedly urban focus (Bradley, 2009; 53). He succinctly defined the environmental justice movement as:

“Environmental philosophy and decision making has often failed to address the justice question of who gets help and who does not; who can afford help and who cannot; [...] why industry poisons some communities and not others; why some contaminated communities get cleaned up but others do not; and why some communities are protected and others are not protected. [...] The grassroots environmental justice movement [...] seeks to strip away the ideological blinders that overlook racism and class exploitation in environmental decision making.” (Bullard, 1993; 206 referred to in Bradley, 2009; 53)

The work of the aforementioned theorists has served as a strong basis for the development of the just city model. The contributions by Young and Bullard to Rawls’ and Lefebvre’s initial work on social justice expand the context in which the social justice debate was situated. The continued development of the just city model, and its links with communicative action, will now be explored in greater detail.

### ***The Specifics of the Case: The Importance of Context***

The communicative action and just city theories share a common point of departure in post-positivism (Fainstein, 2003; 175) and post-structuralism. Given their roots, both theories have a central focus on the context in which a planning situation develops. As such, while parallels can be made between different cases and best practices applied in similar situations, the unique nature of development that occurs in each planning situation cannot be overlooked (Sandercock, 2000a). Both the communicative action and the just city theories place central importance on the actors and institutions that are involved in specific planning processes.

There is considerable agreement that the outcome of a project is heavily contingent on the actors who take part in the process (Forester, 2000, Sandercock, 2000a). The actors are recognized as creative individuals and groups whose differing aims and needs will affect the trajectory of a project, ensuring a unique outcome. The outcome is also affected by a range of other actor-specific factors, including the commitment they make to the project, the intensity with which they enter the discussion and their openness to differing visions (Mannberg, 2005; Forester 2000; Sandercock, 1998).

The communicative action and just city theories identify institutions as playing a key role in shaping the context in which a planning process develops (Sandercock, 2000a; Healey, 1997; Forester, 1989, 2000). In this case, institutions related to a planning process can play a powerful role in shaping the arena in which discussion takes place and how relevant information is diffused (Forester, 1989; Fainstein, 2003). Beyond this, they may be capable of exerting significant pressure on important actors, including the planner(s), which can have a considerable affect on the final outcome of a project (Forester, 1989; Fainstein, 2003). In considering institutions, it is important to go beyond public organizations and traditional private organizations to consider important policy shapers,



such as the media, which can, and has, played a powerful role in determining the outcome of a project (Flint 2009; Fainstein, 2003).

Further, the theories posit that the relationships that evolve in planning projects cannot be generalized to any great extent (Healey, 2003; Forester, 2000; Sandercock, 2000a). Rather, power relations, domination and exclusion develop in unique forms that are contextually dependent. As Healey (2003; 252-253) argues, “The result will inevitably be a locally specific process.” In short, there are likely as many planning method variants as there are planning projects (Mannberg, 2005, 8).

Although communicative action and the just city share a number of similarities in their emphasis on the context in which a plan develops, they also have several important differences. The just city theory places particular importance on considering global and local issues, and establishing connections between them (Sandercock, 2000a). Accordingly, global phenomena such as transnational migration, deindustrialization and increased urban growth, to name but a few, are seen to play a direct role in the contextual development of local planning situations (Fainstein, 2003). Just city theorists posit that cities serve as microcosms of the world itself, something exemplified by Sandercock (2000b; 7), who argues that “Our world is ethnically and culturally diverse, and cities concentrate and express that diversity.” More directly, she continues, “These migrations have not only challenged core notions of nation and national identity. They also have impacts at the level of cities and neighbourhoods...” (Sandercock, 2000b; 9). Drawing significantly from the work of Castells (1996, 1997, 1998), the just city theory seeks to explain many issues that affect cities and their surroundings through a global lens. Therefore, while it maintains a commitment to the distinctive nature of each planning process, the just city theory serves to provide a wider point of departure in explaining phenomena that occur in different cities and regions around the globe. A strength of this framework is that it offers planners and theorists a common basis from which to derive inspiration in similar circumstances. Conversely, the theory has been critiqued by communicative action theorists who maintain a stronger focus on the local context and, as Healey (2003b; 109) elucidates, “do not think that the significant qualities of these interactions can be ‘read off’ from theories about structuring processes, because agents are subject to conflicting structuring forces and are inherently creative and inventive in their responses.”

Given the aforementioned critique, it is evident that communicative action focuses to a greater extent on the interactions that take place within a process (Healey, 2003; Forester, 2000, 1989; Sager, 1994). This must be qualified with the recognition that the just city model also places considerable emphasis on interaction; however it does so within a framework that pays greater attention to external factors. Communicative action theory works from the position that social order continually evolves from the dialectical tensions between a number of structuring forces that are negotiated with the “active creative force of human agency” (Healey, 2003; 111). As such, the theory suggests that the conclusion of specific projects cannot merely be understood as the result of factors considered at the structural level (Healey, 2003; 111). Further, Sager (1994; 228) highlights the importance of social flexibility in maintaining a positive relationship with stakeholders throughout

the process. The context is emphasized in the need to sustain the capacity for adjustment of “the self and its environment” to promote the opportunity for development and integration (Sager, 1994; 228). In maintaining a focus on the context, communicative action rejects the need for control, instead promoting flexibility to enhance the responsiveness of critical pragmatism (Sager, 1994; 255). Finally, this emphasis on the is derived from the perspective that the manner in which social life is comprised stresses the importance of a focus on the nature of relational interactions (Healey, 2003; 112). These relational interactions, Healey (2003; 112) argues, are “the threads through which power relations are made manifest, in different ways and through different levels of consciousness.”

### ***Theory in Practice: Redfern***

The importance of communication, flexibility and the interactions between stakeholders is underlined in a case (Sandercock, 2000a; 159-166) that concerns a cross-cultural conflict in the inner city neighbourhood of Redfern, in Sydney, Australia. This neighbourhood included a residential area known as The Block, which had developed as an Australian government initiative to grant Aboriginal people urban land rights. The area had fallen into poor condition and had become a centre for drug use and dealing. A factory site directly next to The Block was slated for demolition and the local council sought rush through plans to build a park and police station, with the support of a conservative group of white residents. This action was met with opposition from the local Aboriginal population, and another group of white residents known as the Redfern Residents for Reconciliation (RRR) who were committed to the racial diversity of the area.

In response to the opposition, the council withdrew its plans and hired a social planning consultant to perform a consultation process amongst area residents that would result in recommendations for a master plan. Initial knowledge gathering led the consultant to believe that the hostility that existed was so intense that any efforts at a meeting with all three factions would end in failure. Further, she recognized that the creation of any models or sketches for the area would worsen relations and limit the possible outcomes for the project. As such, she worked to build a discourse of trust with each of the factions prior to inviting the parties together for a “speak out” in which all of the concerned stakeholders were given the opportunity to air their grievances, “no matter how hurtful to the other parties.” It is also worth noting that at the time of the speak out, no alternative plans for the site had been discussed. As such, it was only after months of communication whereby each of the parties was given an equal opportunity to discuss their hopes and concerns, that “the creation of a safe space in which parties could meet and speak without fear of being dismissed, attacked, or humiliated.” could be achieved (Sandercock, 2000a; 161). The speak out led to nine months of further discussion, during which a compromise was established. The conservative group of white residents acquiesced, accepting that the site be home to some Aboriginal training facilities. Thus, after months of discussion, whereby all of the concerned parties were able to air their grievances together and a common dialogue was established, a compromise was achieved. While the area faces ongoing challenges, this effort was seen as a great step forward in promoting ethnic

diversity and understanding in a country where this has often been an enormous challenge.

### ***Context: The Shortcomings***

Although a focus on the context in which a situation develops is central to its successful understanding and resolution, there are also several drawbacks in adhering strictly to a concentration on the specific circumstances of individual cases. The emphasis on the unique nature of each project makes it difficult to draw parallels between them, something that leaves public participation vulnerable to the repetition of mistakes. Without an exhaustive survey of ongoing and completed projects, practitioners may run into the same difficulties as their colleagues, simply because there are very few concepts within participatory planning that are accepted as pervasive. Along the same line of thought, there is a considerable risk that certain best practices may be overlooked because valuable knowledge gained in one case is considered to be case-specific and is therefore not diffused across the field. This risk is evident in the small number of examples that appear repeatedly in literature concerning participatory planning (Sandercock, 2000a, 1998; Forester, 2000).

Beyond that, the lack of an overarching theme in the field serves to make it more flexible, but also diminishes the framework in which it is constituted. As such, it is more difficult to define the perimeters of participatory planning, a factor that could cause confusion amongst planning practitioners and lead some to ignore this important aspect of planning, or misinterpret how participatory planning functions and apply it incorrectly, thereby risking to alienate practitioners, politicians and the public. The latter case offers greater risk in that it could harm how participatory planning is perceived, thereby challenging its credibility. Therefore, while it is important to remain mindful of the unique nature in which the context develops in each case, one cannot ultimately disregard the need for a more cohesive and unitary vision of participatory planning. This has been taken into account to a limited extent in Swedish planning law, namely the 1987 Planning and Building Act (COMMIN, 2007). This is not to suggest the field would benefit from a universal decree of hard and fast rules, but rather should be seen as a point of departure for cooperation and learning amongst theorists and planners.

### ***Developing Understandings and Fostering Connections: The Process***

Process is related to context, and also heavily emphasized by the communicative action and just city models. Here, process, which can also be considered as “deliberation” (Forester, 2000; 63), refers to the development of a planning project, including the establishment and negotiation of relationships between actors, the introduction, discussion and conclusion of ideas and the resolution or mediation of issues that affect the plan (Fainstein, 2003; Sandercock, 2003, 1998; Forester, 2000). Further, Healey (2003a; 243) identifies five points to consider in a process, including where the discussion is to take place to promote community involvement, in what style it will be carried out to create a comfortable atmosphere for all stakeholders, how the arguments can be sorted, how a new discourse can be created that includes all parties, and how agreements can be reached and maintained while a critique is ongoing. Process and context share a mutually influential relationship. It is impossible to separate them and

they are best understood as developing in response to one another. As such, there is a contextual basis from which the process departs, which is later transformed through actions which take place as part of the process. As the context changes, so too can the process be altered to better respond to the contextual developments. Although much less obvious than described here, this sequence then continues until the resolution of the project. Essentially disregarded during the height of modernist planning; process has come to play a pivotal role in participatory planning (Fainstein, 2003; Sandercock, 2003, 1998; Forester, 2000, 1989; Innes, 1998). As Forester (2000; 63) argues, “We do ourselves a great disservice if we think about planning and design deliberations as mere ‘process’, periods of potentially distracting and draining ‘talk’, a necessary evil accompanying the ‘real work’ of planning and design.”

Both the communicative action and the just city models stress the central importance of the process in ensuring the successful outcome of a project (Fainstein, 2003; Sandercock, 2003, 1998; Forester, 2000, 1989; Innes, 1998). Beyond this, both theories also emphasize the significance of focusing on the process rather than the outcome (Fainstein, 2003; Sandercock, 2003; Forester, 2000, 1989; Innes, 1998). In ensuring the worthwhile development of the process, communicative action and the just city models promote the notion that a successful process will lead to a successful outcome. That is not to say that the process is valuable in itself or as a mere effort towards democratic inclusivity. Rather, its value is partially derived from the manner in which the process serves as a focus on relational interactions which can help to create the basis for action (Healey, 2003; 112). This assertion is further developed by Forester (2000; 74) who argues:

“Listening in deliberation is crucial but insufficient, for if listening does not lead to subsequent action, to the possibility that what is heard can actually make a difference, then such listening become merely condescension, wasting or manipulating others’ time, an act less of taking the other seriously than of insulting them by failing to respond to their deeply felt concerns.”

This quote illustrates how participatory planning can range from being ineffectual or insulting to something of great value. As Arnstein (1969; 4) describes on her ladder of citizen participation, public input can range from manipulation, on the first rung, to citizen control on the eighth, and highest, rung. The quote also underlines a central purpose of the process: making connections, or developing a mutual understanding and using this as the basis for making decisions.

The establishment and negotiation of relations between actors offers the possibility of developing a mutual understanding, with the goal of formulating a project outcome that satisfies all of the concerned parties. The process allows all of the stakeholders to present their positions, negotiate together and learn of new possibilities (Healey, 2003; 247). It is important to note that the process should serve as an opportunity for learning for all of the actors, including the planner (Forester, 2000; 73). Beyond this, the knowledge acquired through the process can then be applied to resolve problems until an acceptable solution has been conceived (Forester, 2000; 130). It is therefore important to consider the

development of a successful outcome as a result that can only be achieved if a sequence that suits the situation has been adhered to.

In achieving successful process dependent outcomes, several potential threats must be successfully navigated. It is unlikely that any great degree of learning can be achieved or valuable relationships established, if there is little or no trust between the parties (Sandercock, 2003a). As such, all of the concerned parties require a certain degree of openness and communication skills on which a mutually beneficial relationship can be established, something exemplified in the aforementioned case of Redfern. Beyond this, planners must remain mindful of the fact that the process does not in itself offer any protection from the influence of dominant interests, which may in fact become rooted in the process (Mannberg, 2005; 14). It is therefore essential for the planner to maintain a certain understanding of the political nature of the process and of the power relations that develop. Finally, the process itself may be somewhat time-consuming. Here, it is important to remain mindful of the aforementioned “great disservice” Forester (2000; 63) speaks of, and the fact that “gone are the times when planners could work in isolation and expect a pleased public decision-making body to accept their work with gratitude and implement it straightforwardly.” (Forester, 2000; 81). As such, those involved in the planning field must consider the process as just as integral as the drawing of designs, and embrace the fact that the communicative action or just city process will, in many cases, enhance the final outcome.

Finally, it is worth considering that the just city and communicative action models differ slightly in their focus on the process. For their part, just city theorists are critical of what they see in communicative action as a focus on interaction that takes attention away from justice and sustainability (Fainstein, 2003; 176). They feel that communicative action, in its pursuit of ideal speech situations loses sight of the aim of the process (Fainstein, 2003; 176). In response, communicative action theorists assert that the normative concepts of justice and sustainability are socially constructed and can only be understood within the context of the planning process through a focus on interaction (Healey, 2003; 110). Given this, there is some difference over how to best approach the process; however these differences do not necessarily significantly alter a process in practice, and therefore, a focus on the previously mentioned factors is arguably more important than the subtle nuances that differentiate the communicative action and just city models.

### ***The Role of the Planner: Communicative Action***

During the course of a development project, a range of situations present themselves. They involve an array of stakeholders, including planners, politicians, citizens and other concerned parties. As such situations develop, a variety of factors, including power relations, process development, socially constructed notions, the feeling of exclusion and the role of justice are created, negotiated and experienced by those involved. This section is intended to survey and develop an understanding of the roles of the planner and the manner in which certain factors affect development plans in relation to communicative action and the just city concepts within participatory planning.

Planning has been described as the “public production of space; that is, all policies and practices which shape the urban and regional environment under the auspices of the modern state.” (Yftachel & Huxley, 2000; 908). It is therefore anchored in geography, where a wide range of interests must be negotiated, thus adding a political dimension to the field (Mannberg, 2005, Healey, 1997, Friedmann, 1987). While nearly every planning situation is unique, some unifying characteristics of the field can be identified. The planner has a role of formulating plans in response to perceived issues that are linked to emerging topics or procedural issues (Bengs, 2005; 4). Related to this, is the idea that planning can be described as two-sided; whereby product focused rationality is juxtaposed with a strategic functionality (Mannberg, 2005; 8). Further, a planner frequently needs to take a role in resolving or defusing conflicts that can occur during the development process (Golobic & Marusic, 2007; 994). As Sager (1994; ix) argues, “Planning has an integrating function...and it nurtures and enlightens the public debate over collective action.” Finally, through their role as a social engineer, a planner has the ability to affect the daily lives and routines of many citizens, something that is accompanied by great opportunities and responsibilities (Mannberg, 2005; 9). Given this brief and by no means complete list of tasks, it is evident that the planner plays a variety of roles, many of which are quite different from those anticipated by the scientific model of planning (Innes, 1998; 60).

Communicative action has altered the role a planner is expected to fill. Beyond the need for rational-technical forms of reasoning, communicative action planners are expected to have a more nuanced understanding of the context in which situations develop, an understanding that requires a greater appreciation for moral consideration and aesthetical experience (Healey, 1997). In this planning setting, the planner is to have less hierarchical power and to be “subject to power and not part of it” (Booher & Innes, 2002; 221). While this assertion may be somewhat exaggerated, and it is certainly of great importance for planners to recognize the power that they wield, the diminished rigidity of the hierarchical structure is paramount to communicative action. In this system, planners become part of the social arrangement that develops over the course of a planning process. As such, “Planners are influenced by structure as well as creating that structure.” (Allmendiger, 2002, referred to in Mannberg, 2005; 16). Rather than focusing on formulating schemes and decrees on how to fix society’s ills, the communicative planner is generally more concerned with what planners should be doing, which, very generally, is to seek out and serve concerned stakeholders (Fainstein, 2003; 176). As a component of the social structure of interaction, the planner is increasingly called on to serve as a connector, who brings together all of the concerned stakeholders for a series of communicative activities and as “agents who help build the network” (Booher & Innes, 2002; 232). Further, the planner can also serve to ensure that new and relevant networks are developed in response to issues of significance and to organize them effectively (Sager, 2005 referred to in Mannberg, 2005; 17).

These networks or “partnership experiences” are also sites of struggle and negotiation, actions that communicative action planners need to successfully mediate during the course of the planning process (Healey, 2003b; 107). In this role, the planner is seen to play an impartial role of helping each group of participants achieve equal footing, acting

as negotiator, while recognizing their influence (Healey, 2003b; 107). The planner is expected to use their power and expertise to facilitate the learning process, to sort through the various arguments and claims and to create common links between the various, and often opposing, stakeholders (Healey, 2003a; 248). As they make sense of such arguments and claims and as they assist specific groups, planners are faced with the inherently political decision to foresee and partially counteract the distortion of information from powerful stakeholders, or submit to them and take a complicit role in obscuring information from the public (Forester, 1989; 22). In promoting the communicative action process, the planner is expected to navigate the political context in which planning takes place, with the desire to provide all stakeholders with an equal standing on which to negotiate. This requires an “inclusionary ethic” that stresses the planner’s moral duty to ensure that the negotiations take place on a level playing field (Healey, 2003a; 245).

In achieving this, a series of factors must be taken into consideration, including where the meeting will take place, who the members of the political community are, who has access to the discussion, how are they to be heard in a manner whereby their positions are respected and how can concerned parties maintain a stake throughout the entire process (Healey, 2003a; 245). Further, the planner should be aware that the stakeholders involved have different strengths which can come to light and be promoted in different circumstances. They should also recognize that there may be cultural gulfs that need to be bridged to ensure that all of the parties understand one another and finally, to recognize the fact that the stakeholders who aren’t present at a meeting always outnumber those who are, but to make certain that they are not excluded from the discussion (Healey, 2003a; 247).

### ***Communicative Action Planning: The Shortcomings***

In reviewing the role of the communicative action planner, several shortcomings can be identified. The notion that the planner is subject to power, rather than part of it, overlooks the institutionally embedded nature of planning. As previously stated, the process of negotiating between different stakeholders is inherently political and given the fact that a planner can have significant influence on the outcome of a plan, there is a considerable risk that a plan may be subject to undue influence that may not be recognized. Related to this, there is a general risk that governmental or societal institutions are assumed to have a high degree of benevolence or neutrality, a notion that is contested, to say the least (Fainstein, 2003; 186). There is a very real possibility that a planner may not recognize all of their biases and arrive at an outcome that was subject to their own unrecognized manipulation. As Innes (1998; 54) notes, “When information is most influential, it is also most invisible. That is, it influences most when it is part of policy participants’ assumptions and their problem definitions, which they rarely examine.” Beyond this, Forester (1989; 5) highlights the challenges planners face when they are mandated to foster public participation by an organization that may be threatened by such action. The just city model serves to respond to this problem. In applying this theory, a planner can recognize the power relations that are inherent to institutions and competing stakeholders of different social standings and work to alleviate any perceived power bias (Fainstein, 2003; 186). Finally, it is important to keep in mind that the capability to take part is only

one factor in the decision making process, but persuasive arguments need to be bolstered by other resources, including access to expert knowledge, capital, effective organization and media coverage, amongst others - factors that are taken into account in the just city model (Fainstein, 2003; 181).

### ***The Role of the Planner: The Just City***

As previously alluded to, the role of the planner in the just city model has many parallels with its communicative action counterpart. The just city planner is also expected to go beyond rational-technical forms of reasoning and consider a range of factors that have often been overlooked in the modernist tradition. Similar to communicative action, the planner here must try to bring concerned stakeholders together in an effort to foster a constructive dialogue, while also working to identify common links between ideas and to identify dispute resolution methods that may prove to be successful in the situation. Further, planning is considered to be inherently political in the just city model, as is the case with communicative action, whereby the planner must navigate in and between an array of stakeholders and within institutional frameworks. Unlike communicative action however; the just city model calls on planners to take a more politically active role in the planning process to identify and mitigate unjust distribution systems that marginalize traditionally disenfranchised groups (Young, 1990; Sandercock, 1999; Fainstein, 1997).

The just city planner aims to incorporate a range of actors through innovative stakeholder encounters that employ discursive methods that the stakeholders are comfortable with and that promote understanding (Sandercock, 2003). They are expected to provide the stakeholders with relevant information, keeping in mind that some groups are better equipped to promote their respective positions (Sandercock, 1999). In seeking to create an arena where all sides are equal, the planner is required to provide varying degrees of assistance based on need, an inherently political act (Bradley, 2009; 26). Further, the planner should remain wary of the fact that public institutions may have a vested interest in a specific outcome, thereby requiring the planner to shape the planning process in a manner which shields it from undue external pressure (Forester, 1989; 5). As Forester (1989; 3) argues, “Planners do not work on a neutral stage,...they work within political institutions on political issues, on problems whose most basic technical components...may be celebrated by some, contested by others. Any account of planning must face these political realities.”

The planner has significant decision making power during the planning process. This includes decisions regarding who is encouraged to participate, who is given a position to persuade those around them and how the possibilities under discussion are framed (Forester, 1989; 28). They accomplish this by selecting how and what information is made public and by shaping the trust and expectations of the stakeholders (Sandercock, 2002; 5). As such, they have the capability to organize the manner in which the public and a range of stakeholders perceive a project (Forester, 1989; 28). Offering the possibility for public participation in the planning process is an excellent point of departure, however a just city planner should recognize that existing forms of social domination will influence the process and therefore they must go further in fostering equality in discourse (Fainstein, 2003; 188). In the just city model, the planner is to use



their power to ensure that marginalized groups are heard. Beyond this, the planner has the opportunity to educate such groups, a process that helps to equip them with the tools necessary to take a more active role in the issues that affect them, a process otherwise known as empowerment. While the communicative action model also has a focus on marginalized groups, the just city model aims to reach beyond this, considering more factors of greater complexity, as exemplified by the attention paid to female minorities in an array of just city projects (Listerborn, 2007; 63).

Although the extent of assistance a planner needs to provide to a marginalized group will inevitably vary according to the situation, the fact that it occurs to some degree in most situations suggests that the just city planner sometime plays the role of an advocate. This relates to Sandercock's (2002; 5) assertion that if planners are to foster successful cities in the years to come, more attention will have to be paid to "organizing hope, negotiating fears and mediating memories." The importance placed on promoting and supporting marginalized groups in the just city model also serves to illustrate the model's greater emphasis on what could arguably be called fixing society's ills. Whereas the communicative action planner seeks first and foremost to promote discussion, with a focus on the process, the just city planner is interested in the discussion and process insofar as it serves to solve problems of injustice and provides disenfranchised groups with a means to be heard and move towards action. This assertion is supported by leading just city theorist Leonie Sandercock (2002; 4) who sees "planning as an always unfinished *social* project whose task is managing our coexistence in the shared spaces of cities and neighbourhoods in such a way as to sustain and enrich human life, to work for social, cultural and environmental justice." (Italics in original text)

### ***Theory in Practice: East St. Louis***

East St. Louis (Sandercock, 2000a; 166-172; Forester, 2000; 119-124) offers a good example of how including and empowering a community in the planning process can serve to enhance community access to funding, which subsequently led to increased local incomes and improved standards of living. Beginning in the 1960's, the city was hit particularly hard by the deindustrialization that swept across the industrial cities of the United States. It was experiencing population decline, a decline in small businesses, high unemployment and a shrinking tax base. By 1991, the city's financial situation had become so dire that it had been unable to conduct trash pick up for six years, and unable to pay a court-mandated settlement to someone injured in a local jail, was forced to hand over the deed to the city hall and 250 acres of waterfront property to the injured party.

Shortly thereafter, the East St. Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP), a community-university partnership was implemented involving the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC). The program initially faltered; however a leadership change in the university program led to the development of a positive relationship between the university and the community. Ken Reardon, the new university liaison with the community described the initial role, whereby "Part of it is working through that initial scepticism people have." (Forester, 2000; 122). To counter this, an empowerment approach which incorporated the "principles and methods of participatory action research, direct action organization and education for critical consciousness" was adopted

(Sandercock, 2000a; 167). As relations improved, efforts to encourage locally initiated development increased. In this process, community leaders were given the opportunity to realize their visions, something that led to more members of the community taking increasingly active roles in the project. The project began in 1990 with a humble mandate; the transformation of a vacant lot into a playground, funded entirely through independent contributions. By 2000 the partnership had, as Sandercock (2000a; 171) eloquently states, “produced plans that led to more than \$45 million in new public and private investment in this once devastated neighbourhood that only a decade earlier could not raise a thousand dollars of outside assistance for its playground.” Over this decade, a process of learning, negotiation and, most importantly, empowerment took place, leading to the renewal of a once blighted area. In this case, planners served to assist area residents, almost exclusively minorities, in reclaiming ownership and a sense of pride, in their neighbourhood, thereby helping to improve living conditions and renewing opportunities for local business growth and employment.

### ***Planning the Just City: The Shortcomings***

In considering the just city, several difficulties have been identified. While the normative concepts of the model offer a series of principles to assess planning practices and an important opportunity for the planner to exercise their own judgement, they overlook how they are situated in a social context (Healey, 2003; 110). Therefore, the concepts of “good”, “fair” and “just” are defined through relations of knowledge and power, which are open to contestation and competing understandings (Healey, 2003; 110). Further, as these concepts are to some degree contextually dependent, there is a risk that they may be misinterpreted or applied in the wrong setting, which could in fact worsen the situation. Here, the more detached view of the communicative action model can serve to ensure such challenges are adequately dealt with. Further, the just city planners are open to the threat of incorrectly believing that they have moral high ground (Fainstein, 2003; 176; Healey, 2003; 110). For just city planners, this relates to the normative concepts, which are inherently based on moral and ethical judgement. As such, a planner is susceptible to a sense of righteousness which can cloud their perception of a planning situation. Related to this, the aforementioned aim of solving society’s ills and the associated utopic goals, which have proven dangerous in different planning eras of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, can cause more harm than good if the planner becomes too embedded in their work. These risks are diminished however when the just city planning context is combined with that of communicative action, increasing their awareness of the socially constructed nature of a situation in which the planning process may develop.

### ***In Sum***

Drawing on a rich contemporary history, the communicative action and just city models have come to play influential roles in the planning paradigm of participatory planning. Although the concepts have distinct origins and some important differences, they are best understood as being situated along a shared spectrum. As such, they can be applied in concert and can serve to be mutually reinforcing in planning. Just city and communicative action theorists place significant emphasis on the importance of context and process in the development and outcome of a project. In doing so, there is recognition of the situation, the institutions and the stakeholders, all factors which can

affect power relations, and all factors that contribute to the unique nature of each planning project. Related to this, is an interest in how communication between actors is fostered and developed, including the benefits and potential challenges that accompany these interactions. An exploration of the role of the planner illustrated the transformative nature of planning over the past several decades, while also highlighting the new opportunities and responsibilities that have accompanied such changes. While the differences between the communicative action and just city models have been outlined, a more detailed review of the theoretical bases for the concepts serves to emphasize the similarities and fluidity that exists between them.

### ***Moving Forward***

The communicative action and just city models offer a strong basis on which to conduct an empirical case study of Norra Djurgårdsstaden. In analyzing the area's development, there will be an emphasis on the context and the process which has occurred. In considering these factors, it is important to remain mindful of the actors and institutions which have taken part in the development process. Specifically, the establishment of relations, the engagement of stakeholders and the exercise of power will be of interest.

In relation to the abovementioned examples of Redfern and East St. Louis, it is worth underlining the fact that although both dealt with the issues of social and income diversity, neither of the cases did so within the context of a newly built urban area. In this context, there appears to be a considerable focus on the reinvigoration of disenfranchised areas within participatory planning. This is not the case here, however. Rather, this study intends to consider a form of preventative action whereby the threat of spatial segregation on the basis of income or ethnicity is pre-emptively mitigated through participatory planning brownfield developments. This paper will also help to rectify the deficiency in literature on the topic through an analysis of the participatory process in the development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden.

In analysing whether communicative action and the just city have, or could, serve to contribute to the social and income diversity of a newly built inner city area, a number of aspects of participatory planning will be considered. This includes a survey of which stakeholders were invited to participate in the planning process, an exploration of the contextual basis on which the participatory process was founded and an understanding of how the planners were situated within this process. Further, the manner in which, and by whom, influence was exercised will be analyzed, as will the development process itself. In establishing a solid contextual basis on which such analysis can take place, the study will consider the nature of the communicative process that has occurred within the broader context of social and income diversity in the Stockholm Region, with recognition of global trends which can affect the local context.

## **Methodology**

In this section, the methods, material and research position are considered and reflected upon. It begins with a discussion on the value of the case study in social science, followed by a brief reflection on the choice of the area for the case study. Subsequently, the selection of the individuals with whom I spoke is discussed, which in turn leads to a consideration of the roles and identities of these people and more concretely, the circumstances of the conversation. A brief overview of the documents that served as the basis for the empirical work is also provided. Finally, in recognizing the important role of perspective in qualitative research, there is also discussion about the positionality of the researcher.

### ***Motivation for a Case Study***

Although gaining credibility, the case study has long been a source of disparagement in the social sciences. In the field, it has been predominantly criticized as too subjective and thereby prone to manipulation that results from the researcher's interpretations (Flyvberg, 2004; 420). It has also been argued that "you cannot generalize from a single case", thereby missing an overarching goal of social science research (Flyvberg, 2004; 420). While these arguments are less prominent than they were ten years ago, the decision to undertake a case study is still worth a brief discussion.

In response to the first argument, rather than being threatened by a researcher's perspective, the case study challenges biases by confronting general theories with real world falsifications that cannot be ignored (Flyvberg, 2004; 428), thereby promoting the study's validity. The second point suggests that one cannot draw wider theories based on a single case study, but as Flyvberg (2004; 422) argues, "Proof is hard to come by in social science because of the absence of 'hard' theory, whereas learning is certainly possible." Beyond this, it has been argued that "[M]ore discoveries have arisen from intense observation than from statistics applied to large groups" (W.I.B. Beveridge, 1951, referred to in Flyvberg, 2004; 424). As such, rather than seeking out irrefutable proof, there is an emphasis on learning through the process in this work. By emphasising learning over proof, the study's reliability has been improved. This is borne from the fact that the findings have been developed through a learning process that was not fraught with the pressure to provide results and therefore developed naturally. Finally, in collecting data and employing the results to help develop a theory, this work finds inspiration in grounded theory.

In using a case study, an advanced level of understanding, otherwise impossible to achieve, is sought (Flyvberg, 2004; 429). Further, in agreement with Flyvberg (2004; 429), it is posited that the researcher who undertakes a case study often has their preconceptions challenged or disproven, a process that is central to learning, achieving new insight and enhancing the study's validity and reliability. On this basis, a case study is at no greater risk to the biases of the researcher's preconceived ideas, but rather is more likely to challenge such notions. Additionally, as Bradley (2009; 17) argues, "Case studies can illustrate and make us better understand phenomena that have been theorised about and described in previous research."

In taking advantage of the case study, Burawoy's (1998) work, *The Extended Case Method* serves as the basis to further develop the results of the empirical work. Here, the researcher is seen as a participant in the world around them, but maintains a sense of balance by grounding themselves in theory that serves as the basis for the development of the study (Burawoy, 1998; 5). In doing so, it is desired that the researcher can "extract the general from the unique, to move from the 'micro' to the 'macro', and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future" (Burawoy, 1998; 5). To achieve this, it is important to recognize that situational knowledge is derived from a specific context in time and space, neither of which can be precisely replicated in social science (Burawoy, 1998; 15). Therefore, it is important that a form of reduction takes place whereby situational knowledge is aggregated into social processes (Burawoy, 1998; 15). In undertaking the extended case study method and employing a form of reduction, the aim is to mitigate the previously mentioned explicitly contextual nature that is prevalent in a great number of participatory planning studies. Further, in moving from the micro to the macro, the aim is to draw conclusions not only about Norra Djurgårdsstaden, but about the planning strategy for social and income diversity across the region of Stockholm. In turn, these conclusions may prove to be relevant in other metropolitan regions.

### ***Choice of Norra Djurgårdsstaden***

The area of Norra Djurgårdsstaden, in Stockholm, has been chosen as the case study for a number of reasons. The area is the site of a new eco-friendly brownfield development and is part of a wider city strategy to "build the city inward" (Stockholm City Plan, 2009). Given its ongoing nature, this project offers a series of plans and strategies to study, while also ensuring that an array of stakeholders who are concerned with the outcome of the development are available over the course of the research. Further, with construction still in its early stages, the area presents a great opportunity for the city to implement its local and regional visions for Stockholm's future into practice. Building on Stockholm's selection as European Green Capital 2010, Norra Djurgårdsstaden is designed to be one of the most sustainable developments in Europe, something that will serve to promote the city's environmental profile (Norra Djurgårdsstaden, Innovation, 2009). As mentioned in the introduction, although social sustainability is one of three pillars outlined in the *Brundtland Report* (1987), it is often considered as an afterthought. According to the *Brundtland Report* (1987; 43), this should not be the case however:

"It could be argued that the distribution of power and influence within society lies at the heart of most environmental and development challenges. Hence new approaches must involve programmes of social development, particularly to improve the position of women in society, to protect vulnerable groups, and to promote local participation in decision making."

In seeking to overcome this challenge, greater emphasis on the factors that make up the broader notion of social sustainability is required. As such, and given Sweden's historical commitment to social equality, Norra Djurgårdsstaden offers an ideal case to study newly redeveloped urban areas.

## ***Methods and Material***

Information regarding Norra Djurgårdsstaden was derived from a range of sources. They included an analysis of strategic documents, firsthand experiences at the site and face-to-face interviews with regional and city planners, analysts and academics as well as other concerned stakeholders including social housing lobby groups. The use of strategic documents as a source of information is relatively straight forward, in that they provided insight into the official strategy, aims and discourse of the project; however beyond that, some of the sources merit a brief explanation. Building on a tradition elucidated by Jacobs (1961), that there is no substitution for firsthand experience, spending a significant amount of time developing knowledge at the site served to augment my understanding of the situation while also improving the knowledge about the physical location. In speaking with planners, my aim was to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomena that helped shape the context in which the participatory process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden is taking place. Inspired by Forester (1989, 2000) and Sandercock (2000a); discussions with planners served to provide an understanding of the planning situation that was not present in theoretical debates or official plans. This included a much more embedded sense of how power relations can affect the process and also an elaboration on the challenges planners face when operating within the paradigm of participatory planning. My desire to better understand the realities of the situation is also what motivated the discussion with concerned stakeholders beyond the narrow professional realm of planning and the associated analytical and academic fields. In doing so, it was endeavoured that a greater range of information was presented through an ever changing set of conditions (Burawoy, 1998; 11). As Flyvberg (2004; 429) argues, it is only when the researcher is situated within the context being studied that the most significant levels of understanding can be achieved.

## ***Selection of Interviewees***

In considering individuals and groups with whom to speak, a range of perspectives was sought, while also bearing in mind that each conversation should contribute to an understanding of the planning context in Norra Djurgårdsstaden and across Stockholm. In total, I spoke with two people working on the project from within the city administration, two analysts who worked on the most recent regional plan for Stockholm, two individuals representing the tenants advocacy groups Jagvillhabostad.nu (I want to have housing) and Hyresgästföreningen (The Rental Organization) and one PhD student who had used citizen involvement in Norra Djurgårdsstaden as a case study for his master's thesis. Beyond that, informal conversations with residents and people who worked in the area took place during field study work on site.

The two individuals from within the city administration were selected on the basis of their involvement in the development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden. One, an urban planner working in the city planning office (Stadsbyggnadskontoret) had worked on the detailed plans and overall plan for the development for three years, while the other was a project manager in the city development office (Exploateringskontoret) who worked with the planners, builders and other concerned stakeholders to help ensure a smooth process over the course of development. The urban planner had also written a number of important documents regarding Norra Djurgårdsstaden. In speaking with the pair, the aim was to

establish factual information, develop a greater understanding of how the participatory planning mechanisms functioned from their perspectives and to attain a more candid perspective of the process surrounding the development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden and the city's wider planning strategy, particularly in regards to social and income diversity.

In speaking with the analysts who had worked at the Office of Regional Planning, Stockholm County Council (Regionplanekontoret, Stockholm Läns Landsting) on the 2010 regional development plan (Regional Utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen, RUFSS), my aim was to develop a better understanding of how the city approached the issues of social and income diversity and segregation, as well as to gain a better understanding of how specific local projects fit into the wider plan. One individual had worked with social issues within the regional plan. He proved valuable in expanding on the manner in which the city and region developed a regional strategy on social issues and how these matters fit into the wider plan. The other analyst had worked on the economic development plan within the regional strategy and in speaking with him, the aim was to establish how well the different aspects of the regional plan complemented one another and the extent to which the RUFSS could be considered a holistic document.

Discussions with two individuals representing the tenants' advocacy groups served to provide a different perspective on the challenges of social and income diversity and to develop a more nuanced understanding of how the rent-controlled housing system works in Stockholm. Further, in discussing housing issues in Stockholm, it was important to see the extent to which such advocacy groups communicated and cooperated with the city planning administration.

The PhD student, who had studied participatory planning in the area, offered a great deal of background information about the participatory process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden. In doing so, the aim was to uncover useful planning documents, find the names of people that could be useful to speak with and to discuss his perspective on how participatory planning was employed in the development process.

Finally, in speaking with local residents and people who worked in the area, the aim was to evaluate the participatory planning process from the standpoint of someone who had explicitly been considered in the establishment of the participatory planning process. Additionally, in assessing the process from their position, the aim was to consider whether other mechanisms could be valuable in promoting citizen or stakeholder involvement.

### ***The Conversation Situations***

Individuals who were seen as potential candidates for more detailed conversations were approached through email. With the exception of the PhD student, who was contacted individually, the other potential interviewees came about through email discussions with members of the organizations for which they worked. In approaching them, the aim and purpose of the study were described, as was the motivation for speaking with them. In allowing the organizations to select individuals with which to speak, there was a risk that some other individuals who would have been of value to speak with were overlooked.

This risk seemed worthwhile however, in that the organizations did not have anything overtly significant to gain in limiting the study. Further, at the culmination of each interview, the question of whether there was anyone else who could give more detailed response that should be contacted was posed. This led to one additional interview and several more email exchanges and satisfied any outstanding questions that remained. The interviews were not transcribed, but rather electronic recordings of the conversations are available. Transcription was considered to pose additional challenges in that the relaxed, conversational nature of the exchanges did not necessarily translate into a useful written document.

The conversations took place in a number of different situations, all of which had a focus on putting the interviewees at ease, as promoted by Atkinson (1998; 7), within a semi-structured setting. In seeking to create a relaxed atmosphere, the desire was to attain more candid responses, while the semi-structured format ensured that the conversation focused on the issues at hand (Barriball & While, 1993; 328). The conversations were in English and ranged from approximately a half hour to one hour and fifteen minutes. With the exception of the informal talks with residents and business owners, the conversations were recorded for clarity, quotes and future reference. In doing so, the practice was cleared with the interviewees, along with the right to use their names. It is important to note that the guidelines for ethical research, outlined by The Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet), served as the basis for the empirical study.

The conversations with the individuals working in the city administration and the analysts who worked on the regional plan took place in their offices. Offices were selected out of convenience, but also to ensure that the respondents felt comfortable. In conducting the interviews, a list of questions was used as a reference. However in endeavouring to establish a more informal discourse whereby information that would otherwise remain undisclosed could be revealed, the interviews proceeded more as discussions of the issues at hand, with some guidance when necessary. Finally, it is worth noting that the individuals working for the city administration were interviewed together. This was done so at their request, with some reservations; however it proved to be useful in creating a more open discussion of the issues at hand.

Discussions with representatives from the tenants' advocacy groups took two different forms. One took place at a coffee shop with a relaxed atmosphere in central Stockholm. The conversation proceeded in a manner similar to those with the professional planners, with a set list of questions serving as loose guidelines for the discussion. The inability to find a compatible time for a face-to-face conversation with the second representative unfortunately meant that this did not occur. Rather, it took place by phone. In this case, it was difficult to ensure a comfortable setting and to establish a rapport with the interviewee; however it was felt that the value of the discussion outweighed the less desirable setting.

The interview with the PhD student took place in his home. Given his position as a researcher who had studied participatory planning in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, it was easy to establish a connection, and he was eager to provide information and a critique that may



have otherwise proven difficult to find. Further, having become familiar with his thesis, the conversation covered a range of topics in relatively short timeframe.

Finally, the conversations with people who live and/or work in vicinity to the site took a very informal style. In these cases, conversation was struck with individuals who happened to be near the site during the field study work. Two strategies were employed when approaching these individuals. One was relatively straight forward, in that I introduced myself as a student that was researching the development and was looking for some local input. In taking advantage of my position as a foreigner in Sweden, the second line of conversation began with the pretext that I was either interested in a local feature that I had never seen before, or that I was a lost tourist, before questioning them about the development. In undertaking the second scenario, the aim was to eliminate the risk that these individuals would attempt to provide me with a more “academic” response, and rather that they give a more straightforward answer, which was more likely to include their personal opinions to a greater degree. In these cases, the subjects were subsequently informed of my position as a researcher. Some of the conversations, of which eleven were conducted in total, lasted as little as thirty seconds, while others lasted five or ten minutes. In regards to people who work in the area, most conversations took place in local establishments where they worked, primarily cafés and restaurants. In promoting the informal and spontaneous nature of these conversations, there was no list of questions and the discussion was allowed to proceed freely. Finally, it is important to note that these conversations were primarily employed to enhance my understanding of how the project was perceived from within the community, and in the absence of any sort of revelation, served to provide secondary knowledge, rather than as the basis for my arguments.

### ***Choice and Reading of Strategic Documents***

As Norra Djurgårdsstaden is currently under development, there were a number of documents that dealt specifically with the area. This ensured that a great deal of the information necessary for the study was easily accessible and well defined. In focusing on participatory planning, there was an emphasis on documents that discussed this issue. However, to ensure a more comprehensive understanding of the project, documents, in both Swedish and English, dealing with strategic, comprehensive and detailed plans were evaluated, as was the case with works detailing promoting Norra Djurgårdsstaden’s profile.

The Swedish planning system is designed such that municipalities are responsible for urban planning issues, which meant that the majority of the documents reviewed came from the City of Stockholm. Further, in considering Norra Djurgårdsstaden’s place in the regional context, plans concerning the wider territory of the City of Stockholm and the Stockholm region were taken into account. In surveying such documents, the aim was to learn how Norra Djurgårdsstaden fit into the regional context and to develop a better understanding of the city’s and region’s efforts to promote social and income diversity while mitigating segregation. This included the RUFSS 2010 paper, which offers a very up to date review of how the Stockholm Region’s strategies on a wide number of fronts, including social and income diversity.

Given that the project is only in its early stages of physical development, detailed descriptions of the entire area are not yet available. As such, there has been a greater emphasis on documents for the Hjorthagen area, the first section of the area's development, such as a municipal document providing a detailed program for Hjorthagen (*Fördjupat program för Hjorthagen*). In doing so, some of the issues discussed in these documents, including participatory planning and mixed housing, are considered to be representative of the whole development. The representative nature of the documents derives from the fact that the development team has a desire to promote continuity, both in terms of the urban form and in the development of the project (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). Further, given that residents of the neighbouring kommun of Lidingö have been included in the participatory process, statistics concerning the area's residents were pertinent to this work.

Finally, early in the research process, one of Stockholm's large daily newspapers, Dagens Nyheter, ran a series of articles discussing segregation in Stockholm and evaluating different solutions. This underlined the societal value of this study, but also led to questions about how this series affected the awareness of concerned stakeholders. While it is impossible to measure what effect this series had, it would be ill-advised to discount it entirely.

In considering participatory planning in the documents that were evaluated, there was a particular emphasis on references to social and income diversity in the area. Such information was not always directly apparent, in which case the information was bolstered through discussions with planning officials.

### ***The Researcher's Position***

Building on my earlier discussion of the situational nature of knowledge and the importance as a case study researcher, it is imperative to recognize that I am embedded in the context I seek to describe. Further, given that it is vital to recognize that it is impossible to divest one's self of all preconceptions, an explanation as to where I am positioned is imperative. In doing so, it is important to consider that my position inevitably affects how research questions are formulated, how theory is chosen and understood, how material is selected, how fieldwork is carried out and most importantly, how conclusions are developed.

One of the most significant factors concerning my position within the research is that I am a Canadian/Austrian who was born and raised in Canada and, having spent the past year and a half living in Stockholm, am a relative newcomer. This affects the research in a number of important ways. While I have put in considerable effort to learn Swedish, I am by no means fluent in the language. While this did not present a significant challenge in regards to establishing a theoretical basis for the study, given that many works on the topic are available in English, it did become a challenge in regards to the empirical study. Fortunately my experience with the Swedish language enabled me to read important planning texts that were only available in their entirety in Swedish; however they took

considerably longer to read and understand, something that restricted my use of such documents to some extent.

Beyond my heritage and mother tongue, it is important to remain mindful of the fact that I am a white male. This not only affects how I perceive my surroundings, including the people I speak with, the information I uncover and the physical setting of my case study, but also how others perceive me (Boren, 2005; 73). Therefore, it is important to remain aware of the fact the answers I was given may have differed, to some extent, from those that someone with a different background may have received. Further, in studying socioeconomic segregation, I recognize that I am considering these issues from a fairly privileged position, despite being a foreigner, and that this will affect how I consider the issues at hand. I have not been subject to the institutional discrimination that continues to limit the opportunities of many people in the Stockholm Region; however I have sought to understand these issues to the best of my abilities within the existing context. While it is impossible to divest oneself of one's biases, in recognizing their existence and attempting to mitigate them to some extent, the validity and reliability of this paper has been improved.

Further, while every effort was made to ensure that the interviewees felt comfortable, the fact that we conducted the interviews in English served as a potential barrier to deeper communication. Conversely, there were situations where I felt that the people I spoke with were more open in their explanations. This related partially to their choice of words and the potential that although they were less eloquent in their explanations, they may have been more direct. The openness could also relate to the fact that I am an English speaking foreigner. In this sense I felt that many people were pleased to be "showing off" their English skills or interested in learning some new planning words. I also got the impression that, as a foreigner and thus considered to have a more limited understanding of the planning system in Sweden, I seemed less intimidating and thus individuals were more forthcoming with their responses, and in some cases sought to help me develop a better understanding of the situation. In this sense, rather than focusing on how I perceived myself during the course of the study, it was important to remain mindful of the perceived position I had in the eyes of those I encountered (Boren, 2005; 74).

Finally, as a relative newcomer to Stockholm, and Sweden, I have a certain level of understanding of what it is like to be an immigrant, although I certainly do not wish to suggest that my situation is representative of foreigners living in Sweden. In my position as a new resident of Stockholm, I also bring my experiences and ideas from Canada with me. While this is nearly impossible to fully quantify, it suffices to note that I have spent a great deal of time in cities that have promoted multiculturalism and the interaction of different groups in urban centres. In sum, I feel that it is important to acknowledge my relatively unique position within the study, and to recognize its challenges as well as harness its advantages.

## The Norra Djurgårdsstaden Case

This section provides a more detailed understanding of the context in which Norra Djurgårdsstaden is being developed. It begins with a brief section identifying the physical location of the development. Subsequently, the area's history is surveyed, leading into a section on the development inspirations for Norra Djurgårdsstaden. In considering the very prominent environmental focus in the development, the project's environmental goals are detailed separately. In moving forward, the proposed make up for the district after completion is provided, followed by a survey of current and future transportation opportunities in and around the area. Subsequently, brief sections discussing the preservation of the existing built environment and contemporary cultural endeavours are offered. To provide an understanding of who was easily engaged in the participatory process in the area, a more in-depth demographic survey of residents in the area and its surroundings is provided. In further developing the wider context in which the development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden is taking place, the municipal and regional planning situations, with a specific focus on social and income diversity, are reviewed. This is followed by a short section identifying how the participatory planning mechanism has been employed at this scale. Finally, the role of participatory planning in Norra Djurgårdsstaden is described, with a more detailed explanation of how the process has evolved, reflections from the planners and residents and a look at what the process will entail in the future.

In providing a background on Norra Djurgårdsstaden, it is important to stress that the majority of what is being discussed in the subsequent pages is only conceptual. While the physical location has been defined and very detailed plans have been developed, construction only began in recent months. Therefore, while the plans are likely to provide an accurate portrayal of what will exist in the future, it is also very likely that some changes will occur during the course of development.

### **Location**

Norra Djurgårdsstaden is situated in close proximity to Stockholm's inner city, approximately two and a half kilometers east of the urban core. It is located within the geographic administrative unit, or city district (*stadsdelnämnd*), of Östermalm. To the west and the north, it is bordered by the existing mixed use neighbourhoods of Gärdet and Hjorthagen, both of which are quite wealthy neighbourhoods with good reputations in the region. In regards to the existing community of Hjorthagen, it is also worth noting that although the neighbourhood has good access to the Ropsten subway station, the area has few well developed connections to surrounding localities, thereby creating a fairly isolated sub-district. Development is slated to take place in a series of stages, and the area is itself made up of three sections, Hjorthagen, Värtahamnen and Frihamnen-Loudden. Given its location, in close proximity to the city centre, bordering the Royal National Urban Park (Nationalstadsparken), a vast green space in the city, and adjacent to Lilla Värtan, a strait running between the future Norra Djurgårdsstaden and Lidingö, the area is very likely to be perceived as a desirable place to live or work. This combination of nature and urbanity has also ensured that the area is being developed to harness Stockholm's traditional strengths and is therefore depicted very prominently in the city's planning strategy for the future.

## ***Local History***

The area where development will occur has played an important role as an industrial centre since the establishment of the commercial port in 1879. In subsequent years, the port, and related economic activities, experienced considerable growth as the area came to be a hub for local industry and transport. This included the development of energy production and storage facilities and the related energy infrastructure beginning in 1889, including the prominent gas works buildings, which will be shut down in the near future, some of which will be refurbished to accommodate new activities in Norra Djurgårdsstaden. Following the Second World War, freight shipping diminished as the harbour became increasingly important for gas and oil shipping, as well as passenger traffic across the Baltic. Beyond its economic activities, the area is well known for its longstanding position as a green sanctuary within Stockholm.

## ***Development Inspiration***

Building on the tradition of Hammarby Sjöstad, a nearly completed environmentally sustainable brownfield redevelopment area in south-central Stockholm, construction on Norra Djurgårdsstaden formally began during the winter of 2010 and has a completion date of 2025. The area is designed to be a mixed use district that will help mitigate housing shortages in the inner city, provide opportunities for business development, promote technological innovation and continue in its role as a port of entry and departure for cruise ships travelling across the Baltic Sea. The desire to attract firms working with the innovation of environmental technology is seen as a key aspect in ensuring the economic viability of the area while also enhancing Norra Djurgårdsstaden's reputation as a leading district in environmental sustainability. Beyond firms working with environmental technology, the area is also being promoted as a new financial hub for Stockholm and is slated to be the home for a number of financial offices, including the Nasdaq OMX (Norra Djurgårdsstaden Vision 2030, 2009). Finally, there is a strong focus on linking the new development to the existing neighbourhoods that it borders. This is exemplified in the first section of development, Hjorthagen, which will be connected to the existing neighbourhood of the same name at the development's northern edge. In creating fluid links between the new and existing areas, the aim is to integrate Norra Djurgårdsstaden into its surroundings, while also creating better linkages between existing neighbourhoods, particularly in developing links between Hjorthagen to its surroundings.

## ***Environmental Focus***

Environmental sustainability and climate change mitigation are heavily emphasized in the newly built district. This is evident in the planning material available on the area and more specifically in the three overall environmental goals for Norra Djurgårdsstaden – carbon emissions that are below 1.5 tons per capita per year by 2020, free of fossil fuels by 2030 and adapted to future climate change challenges (Stockholm Royal Seaport, Environmental Targets, 2010). In working to achieve these goals, there has been a great deal of emphasis on technological innovation, energy reduction and locally based solutions (Norra Djurgårdsstaden, 2009).

Further, in pursuing a strategy of densification on a formerly polluted brownfield site, the development is in accord with contemporary notions of environmentally friendly development, associated with the compact city design (UN Habitat Backgrounder, 2009). Beyond this, advanced construction and design practices and the use of more environmentally friendly building materials have been combined to promote the district's environmental profile (Norra Djurgårdsstaden, 2009). The environmental efforts have not gone unnoticed; in 2009, the Climate Positive Development Program recognized Norra Djurgårdsstaden as one of eighteen Climate Positive projects worldwide that will serve as examples of best practices of successful economic and environmental urban developments (Stockholm Royal Seaport, Sustainable Development; 2010). The development's recognition as a Climate Positive project is commendable, but it is noteworthy that it is focused on successful economic and environmental techniques, with no mention of social issues.

A focus on environmental sustainability is enhanced by Norra Djurgårdsstaden's accessibility to the natural environment. The grass, wooded and aquatic areas serve as important symbols of the significance and vitality of the natural environment and underline the value of efforts seeking to protect it, in both a local and global context. This approach is further evident in the plans to ensure access to green spaces, both within and around the area, for residents and those employed in the area (Norra Djurgårdsstaden, 2009). In regards to access to green areas, it is worth noting that there has been some concern about the development focus on the quantity, rather than quality, of green spaces within the new development (Gardebring, 2009). While such concerns certainly warrant thoughtful consideration, it seems likely that given Norra Djurgårdsstaden's role as the most prominent environmentally sustainable development project in Stockholm, the new green spaces will be of a high quality. In this context, the development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden can be characterized as one of the most advanced brownfield developments, in terms of environmental sustainability, currently underway. However in focusing so heavily on the environmental aspects of the development, there is a risk that social sustainability may be perceived by the development team to have diminished value. This risk is evident in the material available on the project, where environmental sustainability is the focal point for development, while social sustainability is discussed to a significantly lesser degree.

### ***Make up of the Completed Area***

Once completed, Norra Djurgårdsstaden will offer 10 000 new apartments, 30 000 office spaces and 600 000 square metres of commercial space, thereby having a considerable impact on growth in the inner city (Norra Djurgårdsstaden, Norra Djurgårdsstaden; 2009). Additionally, cruise ship passenger traffic will remain as an important component of the area, and future plans for the area include the opening of a new passenger terminal in 2013. In seeking to promote a more diverse area, the apartments will vary in size, allowing inhabitants to continue living in the district throughout their respective life courses (Claesson, 2009). Further, housing in Norra Djurgårdsstaden is to be made up of an equal mix of rental and ownership (Claesson, 2009). The area will also be home to student housing, which will make up between five and ten percent of the residential units in the area, as well as some housing dedicated to seniors (Claesson & Haag, Interview;

2010). Finally, the limited inclusion of cooperative housing in the district, with 132 apartments planned thus far (just over 1% of the total housing), serves to extend Norra Djurgårdsstaden's accessibility (Claesson, 2009; Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). The abovementioned factors are seen to play an important role in creating a socially sustainable area that can be inhabited by a range of Stockholm's current and future residents; however a number of serious challenges to social sustainability remain. This includes a lack of consideration regarding the affordability and socioeconomic diversity of the area, which partially results from a lack of planner engagement with disenfranchised groups, something communicative action and just city theorists posit to be central to creating a more inclusionary process (Forester, 2000; Sandercock, 2000; Fainstein, 1997).

### ***Local Transportation***

In an effort to reduce area residents' dependency on cars, and thus on fossil fuels, the area will also be well served by public transit, with extensive subway, tram and bus linkages to the neighbouring areas and across the region (Stockholm Royal Seaport, Public Transport; 2010). This includes the construction of a new tram line that will run from Ropsten, in the north, through Norra Djurgårdsstaden, to the Central Station (T-Centralen) in Stockholm (Claesson, 2009). The tram will connect with overland city trains and the subway at Central Station and with the subway and overland train to Lidingö at Ropsten (Stockholm Royal Seaport, Public Transport; 2010). There are also plans to increase the number of bus lines running through the neighbourhood thus further enhancing the public transit system in the area. Further, pedestrian and cyclist traffic will be promoted with an array of trails and paths that run across the district and into neighbouring areas (Claesson, 2009). Beyond the development of functional and convenient public transit, bicycle and walking systems, reducing dependency on the private car is further bolstered by the planned creation of a car sharing program, and importantly, by the plan to offer only limited parking in the area, with 0.5 spaces per apartment (Gardebring, 2009).

While significant efforts have been made to reduce dependence on cars in the area, it is important to note that the area will also mark the eastern starting point of Norra Länken, a new section of the E20 highway in Stockholm (Vägverket, E20-Norra Länken; 2010). The highway, which is predominantly underground, is part of a ring road around Stockholm. In being situated almost directly at the entrance to the new highway, Norra Djurgårdsstaden will be well linked to the inner city and surrounding areas, thereby improving its connectivity. Conversely, the construction of a new highway, slated for completion in 2015 (Vägverket, E20-Norra Länken; 2010), is very likely to increase the amount of traffic in the area, and will do little to encourage individuals living and working in the area to choose alternate forms of transport. It is difficult to fully predict the comprehensive affect that Norra Länken will have on Norra Djurgårdsstaden; however it is likely to have both positive and negative influences on the new area.

### ***Preservation of the Built Environment***

In seeking to maintain some of the positive characteristics of the area's existing character, and in recognition of the area's history, a number of buildings, most notably the

prominent gasworks buildings, will be preserved for cultural purposes, potentially including a library or museum (Claesson, 2009). Efforts to promote the cultural development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden prominently include the use of one of the gasworks buildings as a temporary theatre for the Royal Opera (Kungliga Operan) (Claesson, 2009; 21). Further, the preservation of existing buildings that have a cultural or architectural value serves to enhance the cohesion of the urban fabric between the newly built Norra Djurgårdsstaden and its existing neighbours.

### ***Existing Cultural Value***

In aiming to develop a greater cultural presence in the area, there is a relatively strong foundation on which to build. Despite its focus on industry, the area is home, or near, to a number of creative facilities. This includes a modern art gallery and a number of film and television companies, while the area bordering the new development is home to the Swedish Performing Rights Society (STIM) offices, the SVT and Sveriges Radio complex, a centre for the study and promotion of film, known as Filmhuset. It is also home to a number of performance locations and two colleges focused on the performing arts. The area is therefore well-suited for further cultural development.

### ***Current Residents***

The area that will become Norra Djurgårdsstaden is currently home to approximately 2200 inhabitants living in 1500 residential units, primarily made up of apartments, but also some villas (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009). The area, defined primarily as Hjorthagan-Värtahamnen by the Stockholm Statistical Bureau, is predominantly made up of residents with longstanding ties to Sweden, with 15% being born outside of Sweden, below the city wide average of 21% foreign born inhabitants (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009). Within this group, it is notable that only 34% of the foreign born residents come from outside of Europe, compared with the city wide average of 60% (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009), suggesting that the area has a relatively high degree of homogeneity. The area has an unemployment rate that is slightly lower than the city average (2.5% compared with 3.6%) and 61% of residents have completed some form of higher education; compared with the city average of 53% (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009).



**Table I:**

% of Persons with a foreign background: In proximity to Norra Djurgårdsstaden

Stadsdel	% Born Outside of Sweden	% of Foreign born from outside of Europe
Hjorthagen-Värtahamnen	15.8	34.4
Gärdet	12.8	38.9
Lidingö	14.0	N/A
City Wide Average	21.3	59.9
Inner City Average	14.0	39.9

Source: Office of Research and Statistics, 2009.

The average income level of residents in Hjorthagen-Värtahamnen is quite similar to the city wide average. About 28% of those living in the area make between 120 000 and 240 000 SEK, while 27% make between 240 000 and 360 000 SEK, compared with city-wide averages of 27% and 24% respectively (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009). Finally, the area has an equal number of high income earners (over 360 000 SEK), 22%, as compared with the city wide-average (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009).

Given that participation was also encouraged amongst residents in neighbouring districts through public meetings, open houses and surveys, it is important to consider their demographics as well. The previously mentioned areas of Gärdet and Ropsten are contained within the sub-district of Östermalm. The sub-district shares a number of similarities with its neighbour. As is the situation in Hjorthagen-Värtahamnen; there are considerably fewer foreign born residents in the area, home to only 13% compared with the city average of 21% (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009). Similar to Hjorthagen-Värtahamnen, there is also a considerably lower percentage of foreign born individuals who come from outside of Europe, in this case 39% compared with the city wide average of 60% (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009). Finally, income levels are again quite similar to the city wide average, although they are slightly higher in this area.

The commune of Lidingö is located on an island east of Norra Djurgårdsstaden's future location. It is connected to the area by a bridge, which in addition to roads, bike lanes, and walking paths, links the rail line (Lidingöbanan) with the subway and the soon to be constructed tramline through Norra Djurgårdsstaden. Given their proximity to the new development, area residents were encouraged to participate in public events and took part in surveys dealing with Norra Djurgårdsstaden. In Lidingö, 14% of the residents have a foreign background; however statistical limitations prevent a survey of where these inhabitants come from (Regionalplankontoret, 2009). Unlike the above mentioned sub-districts, income levels in Lidingö are significantly higher than the city wide average in Stockholm. Here, equivalent statistics are not available, however the median annual earnings average for individuals between the ages of 20 and 64 was 401 600 SEK. Therefore, the average income earner in Lidingö was comfortably situated in the highest

income earning bracket, of above 360 000 SEK, that the City of Stockholm uses to measure income (Regionalplankontoret, 2009).

**Table II:**

% of persons 16+ (20 in Lidingö) years by total income from economic activity (income figures in thousands)

Stadsdel	0kSEK	0.1 – 120	120 – 240	240 - 360	360 +
Hjorthagen-Värtahamnen	5.4	18.4	27.6	26.8	21.7
Gärdet	5.4	20.0	25.3	23.1	26.3
Lidingö	N/A but	average	income	of	401.6
City Wide Average	7.8	19.6	26.7	24.1	21.8

Source: Office of Research and Statistics, 2009 & Lidingö Stad, 2010.

These statistics indicate that although Hjorthagen-Värtahamnen and Gärdet are fairly representative of the city in terms of income, there is a considerable gap in regards to the background of the area's residents when compared with the rest of the city. Further, the disparity between the rest of the city and Lidingö is even more pronounced. Here, not only are there significantly fewer individuals with foreign backgrounds, income levels are considerably higher, with more than twice the percentage of residents falling into the highest income bracket as compared with the city wide average. The statistical findings suggest that the population living in the area that will be developed into Norra Djurgårdsstaden, and its surroundings, are not fully representative of Stockholm's population. The area's homogeneity presents a challenge to participatory planning through the risk that the needs of stakeholders who do not live in the area surrounding Norra Djurgårdsstaden will be overlooked. According to the just city and communicative action models, this can be mitigated however. If planners seek out stakeholders who may otherwise be ignored, which in the context of this study include those with foreign backgrounds or low incomes, public participation can foster a more inclusive process that meets the needs of a wider range of residents in Stockholm (Healey, 2003a; 245).

### ***Social & Income Diversity: The Regional Context***

To provide a better understanding of the planning context in which Norra Djurgårdsstaden is developing, the following section provides an overview of the issues and challenges facing the city and region, with a particular emphasis on social and income diversity. Considering that Norra Djurgårdsstaden is part of a wider plan to mitigate such challenges, while concurrently harnessing the existing strengths, there is also a focus on the strategies being employed to promote social and income diversity at the municipal and regional scales in Stockholm. In doing so, the aim is to provide the information necessary to reflect on what aspects of the municipal and regional strategies Norra Djurgårdsstaden serves to fulfill. Further, there is a brief discussion of participatory planning at the municipal and regional scale, although the focus on this planning mechanism remains firmly rooted in the planning for Norra Djurgårdsstaden. In including a brief description of participatory planning at the city and regional levels, the reader is offered the possibility to compare how participatory planning is employed in various circumstances in Stockholm. The description is based on regional and city

planning documents, a regional analysis conducted by the OECD and several academic papers focused on Stockholm. It is further augmented through discussions with two analysts who participated in the development of the Regional Utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen (RUFSS), 2010.

A 2006 report by the OECD (2006, 1) identified Stockholm as “one of the most successful metropolitan regions in the OECD.” In doing so, the report emphasized the region’s high quality of life, strong public health performance, high education levels and its low poverty rate (OECD, 2006; 1). Although generally positive, the OECD report (2006; 1) also identified the most significant weaknesses that could “undermine the region’s competitiveness in the long run.” Specific to this study, these challenges included housing shortages and the difficulty of integrating immigrants, which in this case referred primarily to the labour market (OECD, 2006; 1), but is symptomatic of wider challenges facing new residents in Sweden, particularly in its large cities. This is illustrated by the fact that although migration has been the primary influence in recent positive demographic trends in the region, something that is likely to continue, foreign born university graduates from countries outside of the EU are much less likely to have a qualified job, with only 40% working such positions, compared with 90% of native Swedes (OECD, 2006; 5). Simultaneously, Stahre (2004; 71) has identified a longstanding geographical pattern of residence based on “ethnic and class lines” in Stockholm, that has proven difficult to change and is in fact increasing. He notes that Stockholm’s urban structure is undergoing a transformation whereby, “the upper levels of society are taking over the central parts of the city.” (Stahre, 2004; 71).

This phenomenon, otherwise known as gentrification, illustrated by new apartments with high-cost rent, the conversion of rental apartments into owned apartments and the increase in the prices of owner-occupied apartments. This has created a situation in which individuals with low incomes have difficulty in finding suitable housing in large portions of the inner-city (Stahre, 2004; 71). This is particularly evident among immigrants; where the highest concentrations of persons with foreign backgrounds in the City of Stockholm are found in the suburban districts of Rinkeby-Kista, Skärholmen and Spånga-Tensta, whose growth was primarily fuelled by the Million Homes initiative in the 1960s and 1970s, of which there has been a great deal of criticism in terms of planning (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009). Further, it is important to point out that the geographical pattern of residence that Stahre (2004; 71) discusses is also evident at the sub-district level in some areas, as illustrated in Spånga-Tensta, where the sub-district of Tensta has more than double the percentage of foreign born residents compared with the other four sub-districts that make up Spånga-Tensta (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009). In analyzing data on persons with foreign backgrounds from the three districts, it is also striking that all three are home to considerably higher percentages of persons who were born outside of Europe. In breaking down the origins of foreign born individuals, it is significant that 80% of immigrants in Rinkeby-Kista are from outside of Europe, as are 78% in Spånga-Tensta and 73% in Skärholmen, compared with the city average of 60%, the inner city average of 40% and the Hjorthagen-Värtahammnen average of 34% (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009).

**Table III:**

% of Persons with a foreign background: Wider context

Stadsdel	% Born Outside of Sweden	% of Foreign born from outside of Europe
Spånga-Tensta	37.8	78.7
Rinkeby-Kista	54.5	80.3
Skärholmen	45.0	72.7
City Wide Average	21.3	59.9
Inner City Average	17.2	39.9

Source: Office of Statistics and Research, 2009.

The jurisdiction for reducing segregation within the public sphere exists at several levels. The regional planning office (Regionplanekontoret) has developed a series of solutions, as outlined in the RUFSS 2010 plan, while the City of Stockholm has developed an explicit strategy to deal with this issue as well, as evidenced in the *Vision 2030* document and in the legally mandated *Stockholm City Plan*. In developing the strategies concurrently, the city and region sought to ensure a certain degree of convergence between the municipal and regional goals, thereby leading to the development of congruent policies to deal with this issue (The City Planning Administration, 2009; 3). In this regard, relations between the regional planning office and the municipalities were considered by one analyst to have taken place in a “very cooperative environment” and they were “often surprised how little power playing there was going on.” (Metzger, Interview; 2010). Despite this positive atmosphere, it is important not to overlook the fact that although the RUFSS plan is “probably the most advanced tool to foster a comprehensive development strategy” in Sweden, its implementation remains weak because of the strong autonomy enjoyed by the municipalities in Sweden (OECD, 2006; 6). The limitations of the RUFSS plan also help to identify how institutional factors, considered to have an important influence on the participatory process by the communicative action and just city theories, can affect the development of a project at the local, municipal or regional level.

The cooperative atmosphere ensured that the municipal and regional strategies for mitigating segregation share a number of similarities. At the regional level, the notion of fostering social and income diversity falls within the explicitly stated objective of creating an open and accessible region, which is primarily achieved through the regional strategies that aim to strengthen social cohesion and promote personal growth potential (Office of Regional Planning, 2009). This relates closely to the municipal plan to eradicate discrimination and eliminate social barriers (The City Planning Administration, 2009; City of Stockholm Executive Office, 2009). Additionally, in the development of RUFSS 2010, there was an overt attempt to promote the strategies mitigating segregation in concert with other parts of the plan, such as economic development (Ängeby, Interview; 2010). As such, “The ambition in the plan is to be cross thematic and find the

connections between different formulations of problems and different formulations of solutions.” (Metzger, Interview; 2010). From one analyst’s perspective, this was achieved to some degree, but “In theory, and everyone’s ambition was, to really join the perspectives up but, again, it’s a monstrous project and you have really short deadlines.” (Metzger, Interview; 2010). In this sense, the emphasis just city and communicative action theorists place on the context and process in which a plan develops is justified, as these factors can evidently have a significant impact on the final outcome.

The RUFSS 2010 (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 5) plan states that in becoming an open and accessible region: “The region will see diversity as a major asset. The region’s inhabitants will have equal opportunities irrespective of sex, age, sexual orientation, disability or background. Accessibility will be high for all types of journey.” In achieving this through strengthened cohesion, RUFSS 2010 declares that “we have to create places where people from different backgrounds can actually encounter each other.” (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 18). The realization of this plan is to be achieved through a series of explicitly stated methods. They are:

- Create attractive and varied residential environments in the region’s sub-markets.
- Make existing meeting places more attractive and create new meeting places spread across the region.
- Develop the social capital of the Stockholm brand and internal and external marketing of the region.
- Create strategically located landmarks in the regional urban cores.
- Work together on events to raise the region’s profile inside and outside the region
- Foster trust in public bodies

(Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 18)

The first two points relate most closely to this study and therefore warrant further consideration. According to RUFSS 2010 (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 18), an important factor in residential segregation by ethnicity is that “the majority of the population do not want to live in areas with a high immigrant population.” To mitigate this issue, the aim is to create greater variation in housing, which would increase the likelihood that people from different backgrounds would choose to live in the same area (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 18). Further, improved housing and transportation are cited as important factors in transforming residential settlement patterns at the municipal and regional levels (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 18; City Planning Administration, 2009; 1). They also serve to encourage a more holistic perspective of the Stockholm region, and are part of a strategy to look outwards for solutions to disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Ängeby, Interview; 2010). In regards to developing more attractive meeting places, both existing and new, the aim is to develop dynamic meeting places that offer a range of interesting and varied activities, thereby promoting new contacts and greater cohesion, a strategy also promoted at the municipal level (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 18; The City Planning Administration, 2009; 8) This is to be achieved through the development of areas with a mix of shops, culture and services that are attractive to different individuals and groups throughout the day (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 18). In doing so, the goal is to create a sense of familiarity between individuals who may otherwise never see one another, in an attempt to foster what Mark Granovetter termed to be “loose ties” (Ängeby, Interview; 2010)

In seeking to foster social and income diversity through the promotion of personal growth potential, RUFSS 2010 (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 20) states that, “For individuals, lack of opportunities and the consequent failure to realise their full potential can lead to ill-health and exclusion. People who don’t participate in society represent lost creative energy for the region. The value of putting this energy to good use can hardly be overstated.” To succeed at ensuring that all residents of Stockholm have the opportunity to achieve their full potential, the aim is to:

- Work together at strategic level (sic) to update and broaden integration policy.
- Adopt an anti-discrimination policy.
- Make organisations diversity-oriented.
- Monitor integration and exclusion across the entire region.
- Tear down barriers to ensure that everyone can spend time and travel in the region safely.

(Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 20)

Given the focus of this work on residential social and income diversity through participatory planning, the final two points are most relevant. In exploring them further, it is noteworthy that RUFSS 2010 (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 20) recognizes that “Many inhabitants in the Stockholm region do not live their lives on the same terms as others due to visible and invisible barriers.” The plan also underlines the need to eliminate discriminatory barriers in education, housing and the labour market, with a particular emphasis on support for groups who risk discrimination on multiple grounds (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 20). The wide range of factors that come into consideration within these points serves to underline the cross sectoral nature of RUFSS 2010 and the need for cohesive solutions. Further, the need to eliminate barriers is also recognized at the municipal level, where improved employment opportunities and more diverse nodes around the inner city are posited to offer the best opportunity to promote a more integrated urban fabric (The City Planning Administration, 2009; 8). Finally, according to official plans (Stockholm Royal Seaport, 2010; Housing) in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, “The mix of housing, businesses, natural scenery and cultural attractions will form an accessible area where everyone can feel at home.” This suggests that social and income diversity are important issues, however the ambiguity of “everyone” does little to promote this notion. The discourse surrounding who is included provides some indications of the shortcomings in the participatory process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden. Without defining “everyone”, the term appears to be more politically acceptable; however it could also serve to underline the fact that certain stakeholders, who could have contributed to the social and income diversity of the area but required a more active engagement strategy, as stressed in the just city and communicative action models, may have been overlooked.

When reviewing the condensed English translation of the RUFSS 2010 plan, it is impossible to overlook the imagery that accompanies it. The cover of the English translation, which ostensibly is for foreigners, is made up of a series of small pictures of people, very few of whom appear to have a foreign background. Subsequently, on the opening page, the reader is presented with the slogan “It’s all about the people” (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 2), accompanied by a large picture of three girls, who are very

clearly Scandinavian. Thus, there is an apparent disconnect between the stated aims concerning diversity in RUFSS 2010 and the imagery that accompanies it.

In promoting a strategy that fosters social and income diversity, both the municipality and the region aim to develop more effective transport solutions (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; City Planning Administration, 2009). In doing so, the aim is to facilitate movement across the city and region, thereby reducing barriers, promoting employment opportunities, increasing the desirability of existing districts and improving the linkages between such districts (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; City Planning Administration, 2009). This strategy is evident in the city's efforts to improve the public transport system through the continued development of a series of light rail lines both within and around the city, as well as improved road linkages, as exemplified by the construction of the Stockholm ring road (Förbifart) (City Planning Administration, 2009).

### ***Public Participation: The Municipal and Regional Scale***

Given this paper's focus on participatory planning, it is relevant to provide a survey of the participatory process at the municipal and regional levels. In doing so, the aim is not to evaluate the effectiveness of this planning mechanism for mitigating social and income diversity at the municipal or regional level, but rather to underline the fact that it is an important aspect of the development process on a range of scales. There will be a more detailed consideration of the participatory process that has unfolded in Norra Djurgårdsstaden in the subsequent pages. The development of both the City of Stockholm's Comprehensive Plan and RUFSS 2010 involved significant citizen and stakeholder involvement. In doing so, a wide range of stakeholders concerned with numerous aspects of the plans were encouraged to participate in the development of the plans. The consultation process took place through roundtable discussions, information meetings and consultations, amongst others (Metzger, Interview; 2010).

Public involvement is legally mandated through the Swedish Planning and Building Act of 1987 (COMMIN, 2007; 4). In developing a comprehensive plan, the completed proposal must be presented to the public, whereby all concerned groups must be informed of the contents and consequences of the plan (COMMIN, 2007; 5). This also includes a two month public exhibit and consultation period, whereby opinions and critiques must be submitted in writing. In doing so, the aim is to promote a better understanding on which the basis for decisions can be made. Complaints can lead to a review period, whereby challenges are considered by the county administrative board (COMMIN, 2007; 15). In addition to outlining the legal requirements for participation in Sweden, the mandated system illustrates how the institutional structure affects the participatory process, something argued by Forester (1990) and Sandercock (2000).

Public consultation also serves to provide the planning administrations with a better understanding of the concerns and desires of various stakeholders, while also reducing the likelihood for significant conflict in the later planning stages, and as such, is embraced to a certain extent in the right context. In considering the respective contexts, it is important to reflect on the fact that each municipal and regional goal involved its own

set of stakeholder relations, which often included experts who served to shape what would become the City of Stockholm's and regional planning office's visions.

### ***The Participatory Process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden***

Through an exploration of the process that has taken place in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, this section tries to resolve the first research question, concerning how participatory planning has been employed in Norra Djurgårdsstaden. Public participation in the new area has taken place through a range of activities over the course of an extended timeframe. In creating comprehensive and detailed development plans for Norra Djurgårdsstaden, the municipality was obliged to conduct public consultations, as mandated in the Planning and Building Act. In Sweden, if such planning is not done in accordance with the directives set out in the Planning and Building Act, the detailed development plan can be ruled invalid (COMMIN, 2007; 15). In regards to the planning process, it is worth considering that unlike the comprehensive plan, the detailed development plan is a legally binding instrument and is the primary mechanism for implementing the vision outlined in the comprehensive plan (COMMIN, 2007; 15). Given these institutional requirements, participatory planning has proven to be an important part of the city's plan to realize its vision for the area.

The active participation of concerned stakeholders in the current development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden can be traced back to 2000 when "Sustainable Hjorthagen" was initiated (Claesson, 2009; 36). The project was in cooperation with local district officials and involved input from residents, schools, preschools, churches and stores (Claesson, 2009; 36). In doing so, the aim was to create a vision for future work places, better greenspaces and to more effectively disseminate information through a series of seminars and door to door meetings (Claesson, 2009; 36). The resolution of the effort did not however establish an effective system for continued work, and although some of the ideas developed during the process were incorporated into the development plan, the initiative was not continued (Claesson, 2009; 37).

In 2002, public consultation regarding the entire Norra Djurgårdsstaden development was conducted. During this process, a number of concerns were expressed by members of the public and other stakeholders, including the threat that the development posed to the surrounding natural environment and how the large increase in population could affect the traffic system in the area (Claesson, 2009; 37). In responding to these concerns, the city accepted responsibility for the environmental situation that exists subsequent to more than one hundred years of industrial use. In doing so, they presented a strategy to reclaim areas that had been heavily polluted and to focus on protecting the existing natural environment (Claesson, 2009; 37).

Hearings concerning the detailed plan for the area were held in 2005. During this period, it became clear that the public and other concerned stakeholders harboured serious reservations about the plan (Claesson, 2009; 37). Discomfort was primarily centred on the development's proximity to Royal National Urban Park, the threat to the area's ecological diversity, the affect that the development would have on outdoor recreation in the area and the preservation of the historic gasworks buildings (Claesson, 2009; 37).



Further, the harbour authority had serious concerns about the development plan stemming from what they perceived as a threat to their operations, an issue that has since been resolved separately from public concerns. These issues were taken into consideration by the municipal development team; however despite efforts to involve the public, there were still serious concerns regarding the development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden in 2007.

In evaluating the participatory process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, it is important to consider that all of the abovementioned efforts at stakeholder involvement were legally mandated through the Planning and Building Act. While there may have been cases where municipal officials went beyond what was required by law, there had not been any great degree of commitment to public participation at this time. It is also noteworthy that the plan had experienced a high degree of primarily negative stakeholder engagement, thereby leading to a situation where the minimum degree of legally required public participation would not suffice. In this context, there was a great deal of opposition to the plan, primarily expressed through protests, written complaints and critical articles in local newspapers (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). This included opposition from a local citizens group, Föreningen Hjorthagen, which sought to ensure their neighbourhood's existing character while also seeking to offer residents in the area with a better avenue for engagement in the development process. This demonstrates how institutional structures can shape the context in which the process develops, often inadequately, if the "human agency" Healey (2003; 111) discusses is not properly harnessed.

In addition to the concerns outlined earlier in this section, there was also considerable frustration regarding the fact that there were few aspects of the plan that were open to discussion that could affect real change. Rather, the existing system ensures that many of the decisions regarding development are made prior to public involvement because "there is a lot of public consultation rather late in the process. There are a lot of decisions that are made very early, when you don't have the structures for public consultation and meetings. When we had these formal consultations (mandated in the act), the planning process had gone rather far." (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). This can lead to frustration on both sides, whereby members of the public would like to have greater input, while municipal officials would prefer to move forward, something illustrated by Claesson and Haag (Interview; 2010), who stated that "I think that is a hard thing to communicate with the public, what decisions have already been made and what is open for discussion." This also demonstrates the variation in possibilities for citizen engagement, as illustrated by Arnstein's (1969) *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*, where public participation can range from being completely ineffective to providing a high degree of decision making capabilities.

In response to the opposition, the city chose to embark on a strategy of greater cooperation with area residents and other concerned stakeholders in 2007 (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). Beyond this, the manner in which such engagement took place was altered to create an atmosphere whereby information could be more easily diffused and concerns addressed (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). Despite the new emphasis on involving and informing the public and other stakeholders in regards to the development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden, it is important to point out that plans and

sketches had already been produced, thereby limiting the extent to which public involvement could induce alterations or steer the decision making process.

The first step in this renewed process, and in the development of the plan for the Hjorthagen section of Norra Djurgårdsstaden, was to hold an open house information session, an event that was attended by approximately 170 people (Claesson, 2009; 37). In doing so, the aim was to better inform interested and concerned parties of the development plans (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). At that meeting, those who were interested in the more intricate plans were given the opportunity to participate in a more detailed roundtable discussion (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). Shortly thereafter, the planners themselves were invited to participate in a meeting held by an environmental group with an interest in the area. Subsequent to the roundtable discussion, another open house was conducted to further develop the findings of the previous meetings and to inform other interested parties of what had transpired (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). Finally, these meetings also served to underline the need from the planners' perspective to better present and inform the public of their plans, something that led to a mail survey involving the residents of Hjorthagen, Gärdet and Lidingö and to several walking tours of the development area (Claesson, 2009; 38-39).

The surveys were employed to gain a better understanding of how area residents perceived the project, which channels of information were most effective in allowing for public participation in the project and which methods were considered best for publicly disseminating information (Claesson, 2009; 38). The surveys received a response rate of 68% and found that residents were generally positive to the new development (Claesson, 2009; 38). Further, the surveys proved useful in informing the planners that residents were best served by a range of information sources, including the local newspaper, which was the most frequently cited source (Claesson, 2009; 40). Finally, the results were used to augment the basis for the continued dissemination of information concerning Norra Djurgårdsstaden (Claesson, 2009; 40).

The walking tours came about as a result of concerns among area residents about the densification of specific areas within the new development in Hjorthagen and the construction of the nearby Norra Länken highway (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). They served to create a discussion on what area residents and planning officials saw as the important qualities of the area, what the citizens wanted to see improved and the city's vision for densification and improvement (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). In doing so, a certain level of common understanding was achieved. From the planners' perspective, the walking tours were considered to be very successful and there have been thoughts of "taking the walking tours a step further." (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010).

In seeking to foster a more relaxed atmosphere among municipal officials, citizens and other concerned stakeholders, as was established during the walking tours, another open house meeting was arranged, this time in a tunnel being constructed for power cables running through the area (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). Activities, which took place 150 metres down the tunnel, for adults and children alike served to attract more

than 200 people and to offer them a firsthand look at the ongoing construction in the area (Claesson, 2009; 41). In addition to simply informing area residents of ongoing projects, such activities serve to provide them with an understanding that can only be achieved through first hand experience.

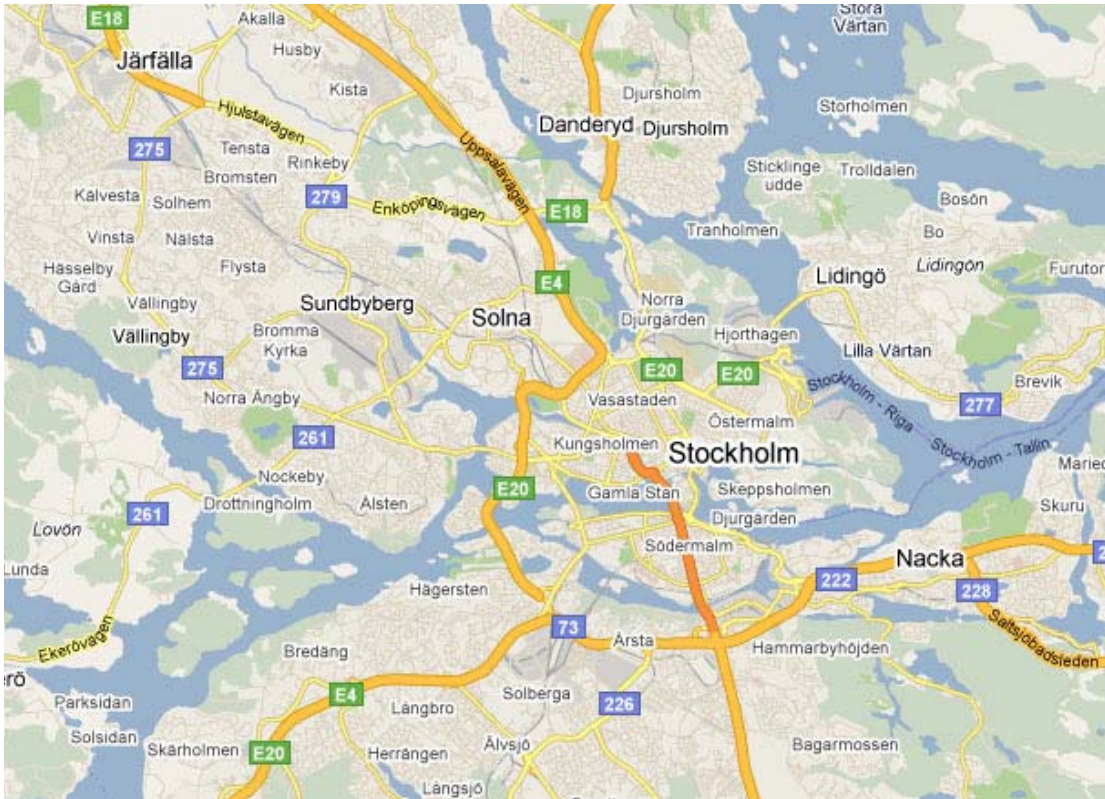
Beyond the meetings detailed above, there were also a series of legally mandated consultation sessions while formulating the detailed development plan, a process that is still ongoing (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). Consultation with a range of stakeholders also took place while the environmental profile for Norra Djurgårdsstaden was developed (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). The abovementioned events further demonstrate how the context and process shape the development. These factors developed in a unique, mutually dependent manner, something that supports the just city and communicative action models' emphasis on the unique nature in which projects develop (Healey, 2003; Forester, 2000; Sandercock, 2000a).

From the perspective of the municipal development team, the biggest benefits of the participatory process will be recognized once the area is completed (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). They emphasized the fact that there has been a significant focus on connecting the newly built area with its existing surroundings and feel that this objective may not have been successfully realized in the planning stages if there had not been a constructive dialogue with area residents (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). Further, in promoting more stakeholder involvement, relations between the municipality and the public were improved and as Claesson and Haag (2010) stated, "We in some way built up a trust that was rather damaged before." In the same vein, they proposed that improving the participatory process was more important to reduce the amount of opposition to the plan, than to shorten the length of the process (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). This is explained by the fact that a single complaint can lead to several months of review, a timeframe that is not significantly increased by additional formal objections. Rather, in endeavouring for greater public participation, the goal is to reduce the degree of opposition from the citizenry while also mitigating the threat that a complaint could derail the development process. In moving forward, the municipal officials seek to maintain and promote the existing dialogue with the public and are also planning additional interactive activities that will be of interest to the public (Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). This is exemplified by upcoming discussions concerning the appeals that have been made regarding zoning in the Hjorthagen district (Länsstyrelsen, 2010).

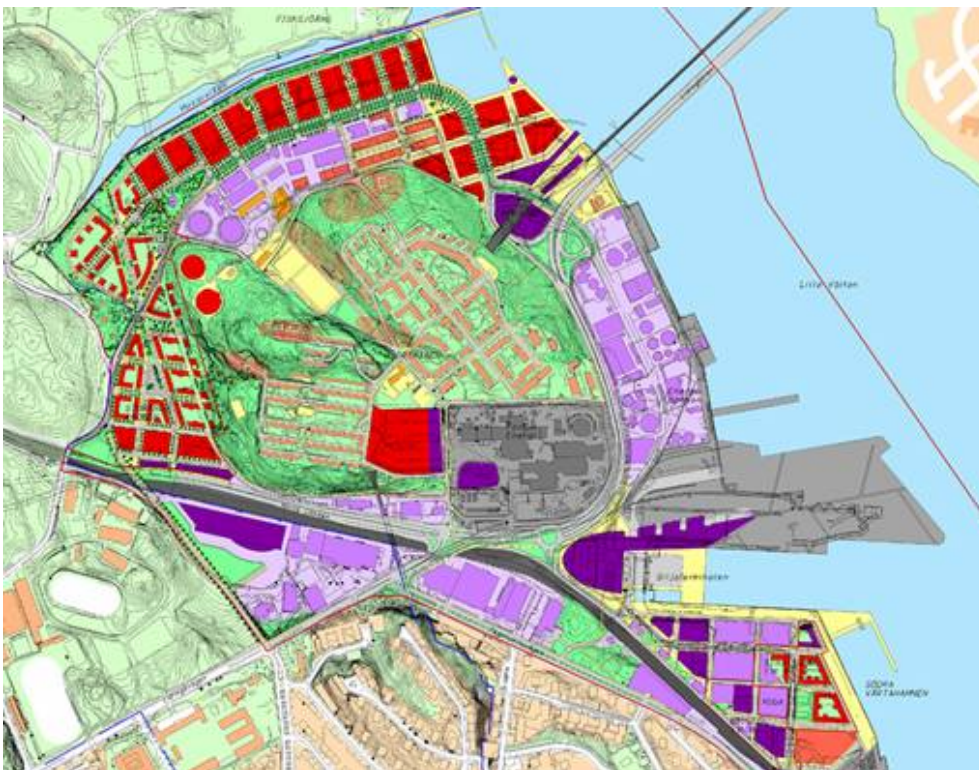
In speaking with area residents, there was a common feeling that there had been little in the way of real public engagement during the earlier stages of the development. There was also a general agreement that there had been a departure from this strategy in recent years and that there had been a greater effort to provide engaged citizens with better channels through which to communicate their concerns. This was best illustrated through the increased presence of municipal officials in the area. This could be characterized as the improved diffusion of information on plans for Norra Djurgårdsstaden and specifically Hjorthagen. While there was a certain degree of apprehension, or in some cases downright opposition, among area residents, many of whom had lived in Hjorthagen for many years, it was evident that the majority of those living in the area felt

that the benefits outweighed the negative affects of the development. It also became clear that in many cases, residents sought involvement, information and assurances about the preservation of their area and simply felt that they warranted a certain degree of respect from the city planning administration, something that had been lacking earlier in the process. From this perspective, it is clear that a lack of commitment to public involvement, as highlighted by Arnstein (1969; 1), can lead to problems that affect the context and process in which development occurs. This that can affect the outcome of a project, unless it is actively mitigated; as was the case in Norra Djurgårdsstaden.

## Figures, Norra Djurgårdsstaden



1. Map of the Stockholm region, Google Map



2. Development plan for Norra Djurgårdsstaden, The City of Stockholm



3. A public meeting at Norra Djurgårdsstaden Innovation, note the demographics of the individuals in attendance photo by Mitchell Reardon



4. The development area, as seen from Lidingö, photo by Mitchell Reardon



5. Street view in Hjorthagen, photo by Mitchell Reardon



6. Two of the gasworks buildings that will be preserved, photo by Mitchell Reardon



7. The Lidingöbanan enroute to the Röpsten station, photo by Mitchell Reardon



8. Conceptual Drawing of the Hjorthagen in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, The City of Stockholm



## Discussion & Conclusion

### *Main Findings*

Participatory planning has been useful in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, where subsequent to its reaffirmation by the development team in 2007, the process served to mitigate opposition to the project, improve the dissemination of information and bring planners and public stakeholders together. In doing so, it has met the aims for which it was intended and thus, in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, participatory planning served its purpose. The result does not seem unique to this project, and participatory planning can therefore be considered an effective mechanism in brownfield developments.

In considering the communicative action and just city models, the process could have gone further, however. In the existing participatory process, there was a significant emphasis on informing the public, rather than consulting them. This was evident in the fact that detailed plans for the area were created without any great degree of public input, but rather presented publicly once they were complete. This underlines the fact that although some public stakeholders were included in the process, they were in a weak consultative position, and could therefore likely be classified around the middle of Arnstein's (1969; 220) ladder for citizen participation, between *Informing* and *Consultation*. As such, public participation in the area did not create a venue for equal discussion or engagement, factors promoted by communicative action and just city theorists. The inability for public stakeholders to affect change goes beyond this development project, however. Planning and building laws in Sweden are not designed in a manner that encourages early public participation. As such, the laws serve as an institutional constraint to the process, thereby limiting the capacity to foster participation in the early planning stages of large projects.

In the regional context, the aim of fostering social and income diversity in Norra Djurgårdsstaden runs counter to the current political program, which has emphasized the privatisation of the housing stock. Given the enormous demand for housing, it is difficult for low income earners to afford living in central Stockholm. This exasperates socioeconomic segregation in the city, a problem also evident in many other cities around the world. In this context, participatory planning in Norra Djurgårdsstaden could potentially have served to promote social and income diversity, however this goal did not correspond with the wider political agenda. As a result, the project does not serve as a means of realizing the wider regional goal of reducing segregation. In a wider setting, this underlines one of the most serious challenges to social and income diversity in brownfield developments and demonstrates the inherently political nature of planning. This also exemplifies the institutional influence that can affect the participatory process, as asserted by communicative action and just city theorists (Sandercock, 2000a; Healey, 1997; Forester, 1989, 2000).

In not actively seeking to reduce segregation, the participatory process has not been used to encourage social and income diversity. By not recognizing and actively attempting to engage certain stakeholders, such as low income earners or new residents in Sweden, this issue has received little attention from planning officials, and can thus be considered a

secondary goal. This falls significantly short of the stakeholder engagement called for by just city theorists. Nearly all brownfield developments, including Norra Djurgårdsstaden, have inherently high costs that result from a range of factors, including the necessary clean up. This translates into high building costs, which without some form of targeted intervention, severely reduces the likelihood that those on the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum can afford to live there.

The challenges of fostering social and income diversity through participatory planning in Norra Djurgårdsstaden have been well detailed in this work, but the value of doing so is worth discussing as well. Significant to the regional plan, this would help promote the goal that “The region’s inhabitants will have equal opportunities irrespective of sex, age, sexual orientation, disability or background.” (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 5). In doing so, there is the possibility to create a more “just” city, thereby enhancing the development’s and the city’s social sustainability, a pillar of sustainability outlined in the Brundtland Report. The creation of a more “just” city, and the increased social sustainability that accompanies it, is not limited to Stockholm, but rather is something that could be promoted in urban regions worldwide.

The most significant problem in only seeking to actively consult residents who live in close proximity to the development is that in cases where this group has a high degree of homogeneity, the needs of other groups can easily be overlooked. In Norra Djurgårdsstaden, this meant that the participatory process focused primarily on those who have Swedish backgrounds, with relatively high incomes. Conversely, the local focus did not include many low income earners or those who were born outside of Europe. By including some groups, while not encouraging others, there is the risk that the new development will not be an area where “everyone can feel at home” (Stockholm Royal Seaport, 2010; Housing), thus limiting the area’s social and income diversity and falling short of the inclusionary aims of the just city and communicative action models.

This is not to say that the goal of social and income diversity in centrally located brownfield developments will always be treated as a secondary goal in Stockholm. In maintaining this positive outlook, several examples of best practices concerning participatory planning and social and income diversity are provided in *Appendix A*. These cases illustrate some of the opportunities that exist in promoting participatory planning, as well as social and income diversity and could therefore be used to foster a more socially sustainable development in Norra Djurgårdsstaden and other brownfield developments.

### ***Resolving the Research Questions***

Having provided a review of the theoretical basis for contemporary participatory planning and having elaborated on the specific case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden, this section serves to elaborate on the *Main Findings* and further apply the theoretical conclusions to the case study, thereby achieving this thesis’ aim and answering the associated research questions. The analysis is divided into sections according to the topic, and in the theme of Burawoy’s (1998) work, *The Extended Case Method*, starts with a consideration and analysis of local factors before applying them to a wider context.

This section begins with an analysis of the participatory process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, further elaborating on the answer to the first research question; how has participatory planning been employed in Norra Djurgårdsstaden? Subsequently, the second and third research questions; concerning the wider context in which social and income diversity are considered in urban and regional planning in Stockholm and how these issues have been approached in Norra Djurgårdsstaden are discussed. This is followed by a discussion of the challenges of promoting social and income diversity in brownfield developments. Going beyond the local case, some wider findings concerning the social sustainability of brownfield developments are considered. In turn, reflections on the fourth research question, regarding who has been included and who has been ignored during the participatory process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden are offered. Finally, this segues into a discussion of the problems that result from only consulting local residents in the participatory process.

### ***The Participatory Process: Achievements and Challenges in Norra Djurgårdsstaden***

By all accounts, the participatory process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden has improved considerably over the past three years. However, despite the progress, a number of challenges remain. While there has been a considerable effort to include the public in the development process as of late, the design of the area has already progressed to the point that detailed plans and sketches had been created. This issue is general to participatory planning and can limit the degree to which citizens who lack the technical expertise feel that they are able affect changes in the plan, thus reducing the participatory nature of the process (Forester, 2000). It can also have a significant effect on the context and process in which citizen engagement occurs and evolves over the course of development, factors that are considered central in both the communicative action and just city models. Both models assert that the outcome of a participatory process is heavily based on the actors who take part in it, and their relations with one another (Fainstein, 2003; Sandercock, 2003; Forester, 2000; Innes, 1998). By developing detailed plans, including models and sketches, prior to receiving public input, there is a considerable risk of creating a situation in which opposing factions are created at the onset of the participatory process, as was the initial case in Redfern.

In elaborating on this, it is important to consider that from the planners' perspective, a great deal of time has been spent developing a plan. This plan has finally come to fruition, something that is only realized if the planners are satisfied, at least to a certain extent, with what they have achieved. As a result, it is likely that they will seek to defend key parts of it from criticism. Conversely, prior to the initial presentation, the majority of the public stakeholders have yet to be privy to the models or drawings. When it is presented to them, there is inevitably criticism, which the planners must respond to. This creates a context in which there is a high risk for an oppositional mentality to develop, which in turn can threaten the functionality of the participatory process.

These challenges were well illustrated in Norra Djurgårdsstaden prior to the strengthened commitment to public engagement in 2007. As previously discussed, there was

considerable frustration amongst the citizenry regarding their inability to affect change in the plans that had been created with very little public input. This led to a great deal of opposition, which was subsequently mitigated through increased stakeholder involvement. In considering the public participation in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, there are a number of parallels with the aforementioned case of Red Fern, Australia, suggesting that participatory planning can be used as an effective mechanism in redevelopment schemes. While the situation in Norra Djurgårdsstaden was considerably less emotional or inflammatory, in both cases, problems arose when city officials presented completed plans that lacked public input. This was followed by periods of opposition, which became serious enough that city officials recognized the need for greater public involvement. Through a commitment to participatory planning, the revised plans received greater public support; thereby allowing them to proceed. In both cases, the processes in which the developments have occurred have been pivotal to the development's trajectory in regards to participatory planning. This underlines the just city and communicative action theories' emphasis on process, something that is certainly applicable in other participatory planning cases.

The commitment to participatory planning in Norra Djurgårdsstaden could go further however. While the plans developed since 2007 have involved a significantly greater degree of public engagement and the development team seems more committed to ensuring continued public input, the fact that many of the plans continue to be developed behind closed doors by a group of "experts" creates a risk that the participatory mechanism could once again be used as window dressing to advance development goals. Such a strategy is also at odds with the importance of community involvement cited by the BERI project, which states that, "To be successful, the entire consultation and engagement approach has to start early, involve all stakeholders and be transparent." (BERI, 2007; 14). Greater promotion of public participation could include greater public influence in the planning process itself, whereby a greater range of stakeholders are given the opportunity to provide input into the detailed plans and are offered greater opportunity to alter the plans once they have been presented.

Further, the development of the plans prior to significant public engagement threatens to create a significant gap between "experts" and "laymen". In doing so, groups may be defined prior to the inception of the participatory process, reducing the likelihood that all of the stakeholders' proposals will be considered primarily on the basis of their arguments. This can distance planning in action from Habermas' ideal speech situation; which threatens to reduce the value of the participatory process and its outcome according to the communicative action model. This was evident in the manner that the planning process unfolded, where planners developed a plan and subsequently presented it to the public, fielding critiques and providing information. Although these plans have been reformulated to a certain extent, the low degree of flexibility in altering plans continues to limit citizen engagement in Norra Djurgårdsstaden.

The majority of the public events focused on providing information, or how to better provide information in the case of the surveys, rather than providing an opportunity to affect change. These meetings serve to illustrate the emphasis city officials continue to

place on information rather than consultation with the public. In participatory planning, it is certainly of benefit to all concerned parties that the concerned stakeholders are kept well informed, but as Forester (2000; 74) discusses, listening is insufficient if it doesn't act as a catalyst for action and can in fact be condescending if a planner fails to respond to a stakeholder's concern. The difference can be pivotal, something exemplified in Arnstein's (1969) *Ladder of Citizen Participation*, where *Informing* citizens of their rights and options is the third rung up the ladder, while forming a *Partnership* with public stakeholders is the sixth step on an eight part spectrum. This variation helps to illustrate the range of commitment and effort that can be considered as participatory planning.

Further, both the just city and communicative action models underline the importance of recognizing the planner's position within the participatory context. This position ensures that they are part of the social arrangement that develops over the course of the planning process, but can also be significantly affected by how they are perceived by other stakeholders. In Norra Djurgårdsstaden, there has been a considerable effort to develop a rapport with local residents. This has been achieved to a great degree through the public events that have taken place, but it is noteworthy that in nearly every case, with the exception of the meeting held by the environmental group that the planners attended, the development team has, to some extent, played the role of experts, informing the public, rather than negotiating and consulting with them on an even plane.

As experts, planners are more likely to have greater authority in the process than other stakeholders, but have a greater challenge to engage stakeholders who have previously been subject to institutional discrimination (Sandercock, 2000a). This poses a challenge in the communicative action and just city models, where planners are posited to have a growing role as connectors; bringing together concerned stakeholders and ensuring that they all have the opportunity to have their arguments heard and considered. Further, the perception of each stakeholder participating in the development process, including the planners, can affect power relations within the group. This has a direct affect on how the process develops, whereby the more established, or "institutional" participants may take on a dominant role in the proceedings, while stakeholders who are less accustomed to having a position that can affect change may feel less engaged. To ensure a fair and fruitful participatory process, Forester (1989, 2000) asserts that the development of unjust power relations is something that the planners should remain vigilant of during the planning process. Power relations can also have a direct affect on the level of trust that develops between the concerned parties. If stakeholders do not perceive themselves to have equal standing in the social hierarchy that develops over the course of the negotiation process, they are less likely to feel that the planners running the process have their best interests at heart and are thus less likely to develop a sense of trust with them. This threatens to create situations where these stakeholders are less likely to fully engage in the process.

The perceptions of concerned stakeholders, power relations and trust are all part of the wider participatory process, but are also shaped through the individual meetings that take place over the course of development. While it is often relatively easy to overlook the importance of individual meetings, doing so can imperil the wider process which is built

incrementally, something argued by communicative action theorists (Sager, 1994; 4). In remaining mindful of this, it is important to consider how the role each actor plays at the meetings has an impact on the evolution of future relations. If the planner maintains a role as the disseminator, or “gate keeper”, of knowledge, they maintain a position of dominance over the other actors. During the course of a series of meetings, this can have a significant impact on the roles each stakeholder fulfills. Therefore, in considering the wider context in which development takes place, it is important not to lose sight of the more intricate details that serve to create a mechanism that is greater than the sum of its parts. By understanding such issues, planners can identify the better established groups and promote the participation of other stakeholders, thus fostering Healey’s (2003a; 245) “inclusionary ethic”. In doing so, planners can play an important role in shaping public understanding of the issues at stake, perceptions about how power is distributed and what should be considered the issues of chief public interest. Through the fulfillment of these roles the planner becomes more than a neutral party, and can promote the development of a more equal process, albeit having accepted the inherently political nature of the position that they occupy (Forester, 2000; 171).

### ***Participatory Planning: The Institutional Influence***

When considering how participatory planning has been used in the Norra Djurgårdsstaden case, it is important to remain mindful of the fact that many of the shortcomings described above have developed as a result of the existing planning structure in Sweden. They can therefore be considered partly as an institutional problem. Without effective structures for public involvement within the mandated planning process, it is challenging for the development team to create a more inclusive planning environment. In this context, the planning system that has grown out of the Planning and Building Act may not provide the best mechanisms to encourage participatory planning. Given that the Act became law in 1987, prior to the rise in participatory planning, sections of the act dealing with public involvement could perhaps be reviewed and updated to meet contemporary standards in participatory planning. The institutional influence is an ever present factor in every project and can affect the development and outcome of a planning process, an assertion supported by the communicative action and just city models.

### ***The Wider Contextual Influence on Social and Income Diversity***

The planning process can also be influenced by a host of other factors, institutional and otherwise, in addition to those within the specific project area. In this case, decisions concerning the promotion of social and income diversity go beyond the planners in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, and planning in general. Rather, as was pointed out by the PhD student, “It’s more politics than planning.” (Loit, Interview, 2010). This is augmented by the planners’ response to the issue of fostering social and income diversity in the inner city, “That kind of work needs to be decided on a political level.” (Claesson & Haag, Interview, 2010). It also reaffirms the popular post-modernist assertion that “planning is political” and helps to provide a better understanding of the context in which the participatory planning takes place and how the issues of social and income diversity are being treated, thereby answering the final research question.

In considering the political nature of planning, it is important to note that a lack of diversity is only considered a problem in areas with low incomes and with a high number of new Swedish residents, as is the case in a number of suburbs, where efforts to reduce exclusion and improve accessibility have been underway for years. Conversely, districts in the inner city with an equal or even greater degree of homogeneity are not seen to require any significant degree of government intervention. Therefore, while “More varied housing would increase the chances of people from different backgrounds choosing to live in the same area” (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 18), this strategy is only being employed to an extent that could serve to have a significant impact in certain suburban areas, primarily those with high numbers of new immigrants. This strategy is not limited to Stockholm however; rather it is prevalent in many cities across the developed world. In this context, it appears that homogeneity is not perceived as the problem in so much as the income levels and backgrounds of the homogenous groups. It is important to consider that planners employed in the public sector serve to achieve the goals that they are provided by a political administration. While they may enjoy a certain degree of autonomy and almost certainly have some room to manoeuvre within guidelines that they have been provided, they must also work to meet the goals provided by politicians who themselves have been provided a mandate by the public (Metzger, Interview, 2010).

The political nature of planning is very well illustrated in the case of fostering social and income diversity in newly built brownfield developments located in inner city Stockholm, and more generally in Stockholm’s inner city as a whole. Here, the issue is considered “a hot topic politically” and is “so politically sensitive” (Regional Planner, Interview, 2010), something exemplified in Dagens Nyheter’s series on segregation in Stockholm. As a regional planner explained, social and income diversity in the inner city runs counter to the contemporary political aims concerning development:

“Economically it’s a real concentric pattern emerging and this is because of the privatisation which has been a political program from the local government in the Stockholm City and also a political program nationally for the current government: To have a higher degree of home owning and a lesser degree of rental apartments. The effects of this are most strongly visible where prices are the highest. The conversion rate has been extreme in inner city Stockholm when it comes from rental apartments to private owned. It sort of spells itself out that this leads to increased economic segregation. And because we have a strong economic segregation that is also an ethnic segregation in Stockholm, they interrelate quite strongly.” (Regional Planner, Interview, 2010).

In this context, the aim of fostering social and income diversity through participatory planning in Norra Djurgårdsstaden would perhaps be effective. However, as previously mentioned, not only is it not being considered locally, it is not likely to take place to any great extent because of the wider institutional structures in which urban and regional planning in Stockholm occurs and the related pressures to which planners are subject. This also illustrates the importance of the regional context in which participatory planning and the issues of social and income diversity are being explored.

## ***Social and Income Diversity in Norra Djurgårdsstaden***

In evaluating the extent to which social and income diversity have been considered in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, it is central to note that there has been no overt discussion of such issues in the area amongst development officials and the public. While the planners recognize social and income diversity as an important part of creating a socially sustainable area, “It’s definitely something that we need to improve in our planning as well.” (Claesson & Haag, Interview, 2010), the issue has not been elaborated on in the official planning discourse to any great extent. Further, it seems that while environmental sustainability, economic sustainability and certain aspects of social sustainability, such as having a diverse array of activities for a range of individuals, have figured prominently in the development plans, social and income diversity are considered secondary issues. This was illustrated by the planners, who noted, “We haven’t done that type of work yet.” (Claesson & Haag, Interview, 2010). This is indicative of a wider trend, where, as previously discussed, social sustainability is often perceived to have diminished importance in newly built brownfield developments. Without a greater focus in these areas, this presents a significant challenge to their future social and income diversity, which can have serious affects on the wider area in which the development is located.

Participatory planning in Norra Djurgårdsstaden has been effective in mitigating local opposition to the project and in fostering a constructive relationship between planners, residents and other concerned stakeholders in close proximity to the development. Further, it has smoothed the development process and promoted linkages between the new development and its existing surroundings, an important factor in creating a cohesive urban fabric in Stockholm. Finally, members of the development team feel that the biggest benefits have yet to be enjoyed (Claesson & Haag, Interview, 2010). This suggests that participatory planning has been an effective mechanism in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, something that would likely prove true for other brownfield developments in Stockholm and beyond. The participatory mechanism could also prove to be effective in promoting social and income diversity in inner city redevelopment projects; however this is difficult to evaluate in the case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden because these issues have not been considered, in the participatory process or otherwise, to any great degree.

## ***The Challenge of Promoting Social and Income Diversity in Brownfield Developments***

Inherent to redeveloping the majority of brownfield sites is the high cost of doing so. This is borne from the fact that these locations have often been used for industrial activity that has had a negative affect on the local environment. In redeveloping such areas, environmental cleanup efforts to improve these polluted locations take place, a worthy cause, but also a costly one. Such efforts require a great deal of funding, which can be characterized with Jacobs’ (1961; 292) term “cataclysmic money”. Such money comes in vast amounts and is a catalyst for rapid change (Jacobs, 1961; 293). In regards to brownfield developments, this rapid change is important, as the slow development of such sites would be economically inefficient, while also creating neighbourhoods that would be under construction for decades. However cataclysmic money also requires more rapid economic returns for the developers, as the risk in carrying such investments is



quite high, and therefore creates areas that have a high short and medium term costs. This creates an economic impediment to social and income diversity, if left to market forces. Therefore, brownfield areas can be developed as exclusive communities, or otherwise require some form of intervention to ensure a certain degree of affordability. While this occurs to some extent through limits on the prices of rental units, this mechanism does not afford any great opportunity to members of lower socioeconomic groups. Therefore, if social and income diversity is desired in these developments, overt measures are required, some of which will be discussed in the *Best Practices* section.

When considering the value of promoting social and income diversity in brownfield developments, which is the latter part of the fourth research question, one of the most important arguments in favour of such actions is found in just city theorist, Iris Young's (1990) contributions to the notion of social justice. Going beyond the traditional focus on the distributive systems that exist in society, Young (1990) promoted the idea that inequalities do not result solely from the system of distribution, but also from existing social structures, cultural norms and institutional contexts. In seeking to rectify the issues that arise out of these inequalities, just city theorists have argued that a greater effort is required to empower and create opportunities for many of the most disadvantaged groups in a society (Young, 1990; Sandercock, 2000; Schlosberg, 2007). As such, providing everyone with equal opportunities does not necessarily lead to equality, as this notion risks overlooking how societal inequalities are produced, and how they can be remedied. In pursuing this vein of thought, efforts to foster social and income diversity in brownfield developments would require measures that have the overt goals of empowering and encouraging disadvantaged stakeholders to a greater extent than more dominant groups.

### ***Who was Included, Who was Ignored?***

According to the just city and communicative action models, different groups have different needs, and as Young (1990), Sandercock (2000) and Fainstein (2003) argue, it is exceedingly difficult to incorporate the needs of marginalized groups if they are not present during the development process. By not explicitly considering the needs of those with low incomes or individuals and families who have recently moved to Sweden, it is unlikely that such groups will feel as welcome, or have the ability, to live in the redeveloped area and have therefore been ignored in Norra Djurgårdsstaden. As such, in simply overlooking these stakeholders and continuing along this trajectory during the course of the development, there is a high likelihood that Norra Djurgårdsstaden will not enjoy a significant degree of social or income diversity, thereby reducing the area's social sustainability.

Stakeholder engagement within and in close proximity to the new development has been quite good since 2007, something expressed by the planners and residents alike, but there has not been a noteworthy attempt to engage a wider range of stakeholders across the city. This is not to say that the participatory process that took place at the local level should have been applied city wide, but rather that a greater effort could have been made to target specific groups whose needs were not being considered in the project, something promoted in the just city model. As noted in *The Norra Djurgårdsstaden Case* sub-

sections assessing and comparing the demographics of the area's current residents and residents city-wide, there is a considerable discrepancy in their respective ethnic make-ups and to a lesser extent, in income levels. Therefore, while the area is likely to meet the needs of the residents of Hjorthagen, Gärdet and Lidingö, who were included in the participatory process, they may be less adequate for the residents of areas with more than double the level of immigrants and lower incomes, who were not included in the process.

With this in mind, Norra Djurgårdsstaden is unlikely to help achieve the regional (RUF 2010) goal of providing the region's inhabitants with "equal opportunities irrespective of sex, age, sexual orientation or background." (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 5). Further, by opting not to seek out stakeholders representing those with low incomes or immigrants, as Fainstein (2003; 176) asserts is essential in creating an effective participatory planning mechanism, there is less of a likelihood that Norra Djurgårdsstaden will "create places where people from different backgrounds can actually encounter each other." (Office of Regional Planning, 2009; 18). The challenge of engaging stakeholders who risk being ignored is not limited to Norra Djurgårdsstaden, but is rather an issue that planners must face in the vast majority of projects that are employing the participatory mechanism. In considering this, the assertion by communicative action and just city theorists (Forester, 1989, 2000; Fainstein, 2003), that the planner has a role to seek and serve concerned stakeholders, would very likely lead to areas that more adequately met the needs of a variety of residents.

Moreover, while planners in the area succeeded in engaging a range of stakeholders, including the energy company Fortum, the Harbour Authority, a series of environmental groups, Stockholms Lokaltrafik (SL) and Vägverket, amongst others, there was no consultation with a housing advocacy group such as Hyresgästföreningen or jagvillhabostad.nu (Papayannis, Interview; 2010; Häggblom, Interview; 2010; Claesson & Haag, Interview; 2010). While the area will have a certain degree of social diversity through the inclusion of some student and senior housing, as well as a small amount of cooperative housing, it seems that the primary manner in which social and income diversity can be fostered is through a mix of ownership and rental units, as well as a mix of activities in the area, including living, working and recreation. Given the serious challenges that have arisen out of the single use planning model championed during the height of the modernist era, these are worthy aims in themselves, but they fail to resolve the wider challenges of social and ethnic segregation that exist. Finally, a blend of rental and ownership units is important in creating a mix of short, medium and long term residents; however given the costs associated with the development, it is unlikely that many of these apartments will be affordable for those who are socially or economically disadvantaged, regardless of whether they are for ownership or rental. In fostering social and income diversity to a more significant extent, a greater awareness of the challenges facing individuals and families with foreign backgrounds or low incomes could have been valuable in Norra Djurgårdsstaden and in other similar developments.

### ***The Problem of Focusing on Local Residents***

In recognizing the shortcomings of the participatory planning process in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, it is striking to note that although there was a considerable amount of

public involvement later in the development, the individuals who were encouraged to take a more active role in the process through surveys, open houses and information sessions made up a considerably homogenous group. This illustrates a problem that can arise when participatory planning only occurs in close proximity to the development and serves to answer the final research question. As the PhD student remarked, “The survey was good for people who live in the area, but it was mainly white, middle class people.” (Loit, Interview, 2010). While this can be justified to a certain degree by acknowledging that public participation took place with residents in the area, and thus the homogeneity is representative of the current citizenry there, it also suggests that little was been done to engage different groups.

Returning to the issue of engagement, and in considering who was included and who was ignored in the planning process; both the communicative action and just city models place significant emphasis on the role of the planner in promoting this. The just city model, in particular, stresses the importance of engaging disenfranchised stakeholders who may otherwise be ignored. In many cases, engaging such groups may require the planner to go beyond simply providing an open invitation to the public, but rather, as Young (1990), Forester (2000) and Sandercock (2000a) assert, may require a more proactive strategy, or an emphasis on the aforementioned “inclusionary ethic”. In doing so, the aim is to engage stakeholders who may otherwise be overlooked and who may not feel relevant to the planning process. In the case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden, and many similar brownfield developments, this includes low income earners and new Swedish immigrants, often in tandem. While the official plan for Norra Djurgårdsstaden states that “The mix of housing, businesses, natural scenery and cultural attractions will form an accessible area where everyone can feel at home.” (Stockholm Royal Seaport, Homes; 2010), if disadvantaged groups are not explicitly considered, this goal seems tenuous at best.

### ***In Closing***

This thesis sought to contribute to a better understanding of the relatively unexplored manner in which participatory planning has, and can be, employed in centrally located brownfield developments, with a particular emphasis on the consideration of the mechanism’s capacity to foster social and income diversity within such developments. In studying these issues, the specific case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden, within the Stockholm Region, was selected to elaborate on the use of public participation, while also serving to illustrate the issues which have been described and theorized about in previous works concerning participatory planning. In answering these questions, the *Main Findings* section presents a concise description of the results. Given the serious challenges associated with spatial segregation on economic grounds, often with a strong correlation to ethnicity, in cities across the developed world and beyond, this work also sought to further an understanding of how to resolve this problem through the promotion of social and income diversity.

The aim of this paper has been to evaluate the degree to which participatory planning has been employed in Norra Djurgårdsstaden and its effectiveness, with an emphasis on fostering social and income diversity. This is particularly relevant in the wider context

considering that although both participatory planning and brownfield developments have risen to prominence in planning in recent years, they have not been considered in conjunction to a great extent. They therefore provide a new opportunity to resolve some of the challenges facing urban regions. This is the case with the promotion of social and income diversity, which is an active response to socioeconomic segregation. As illustrated in Paris, and to a lesser extent in cities across the world, segregation presents a serious threat to their security and functionality. It is therefore important to foster an understanding about how brownfield locations, which have become important drivers for continued urban growth, can be used to reduce segregation in a regional context.

In seeking to achieve the thesis aim and to answer the research questions, the review of participatory planning literature provided a solid basis from which to develop arguments and conclusions. The use of the communicative action and just city theories in combination provided a more holistic perspective on the participatory process. Rather than proving oppositional, the theories are better described as being situated on a spectrum, in which certain works are more easily defined by a single theory, while others draw inspiration from both, as was the case with this thesis. This approach was particularly useful in applying the theories in practice, where a more pragmatic approach focuses on strategies that are effective in the real world, rather than theoretically valid. The literature was also very useful in gaining a better understanding of the importance in engaging and empowering a range of stakeholders. This is something that has been lacking in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, and where the practical application of theory would prove valuable.

The importance of engaging and empowering stakeholders who may otherwise be overlooked in brownfield developments is one of the most valuable points to be taken from this work. Further, the aim of achieving social sustainability cannot be realized without serious consideration of social and income diversity. These factors may be overlooked in a local context, thereby requiring planners to seek out and serve a more diverse array of actors. This is of particular importance given the high inherent cost of brownfield developments. These projects require a great deal of funding for clean up and redevelopment, a factor that reduces the new area's affordability, without overt efforts to mitigate this problem. Finally, this study has demonstrated that the participatory planning mechanism can be effective in brownfield developments, although the extent to which it is applied in practice will have a considerable affect on its value.

Over the course of the study, I developed answers to the research questions for this thesis, but also came to consider a number of new questions. In continuing this work, I am interested in learning more about a number of issues. This includes possible strategies to reduce the high cost of brownfield developments. In doing so, the inherently high cost of such developments could be decreased, thereby eliminating one of the biggest obstacles to social and income diversity in these areas. It would also be valuable to have a better understanding of how to engage and empower stakeholders who risk being overlooked during the participatory process, and how to resolve the challenges that would accompany this endeavour. This would enhance the likelihood that participatory planning could be employed to promote social and income diversity in developments lacking

certain types of stakeholders, like Norra Djurgårdsstaden. On a wider scale, it would be worthwhile to evaluate the regional strategies to mitigate segregation being employed in different cities and to identify methods that have proven successful. This could be used to disseminate ideas and create a discussion which would be valuable in promoting social and income diversity. Further, a study of the institutional constraints to participatory planning and social and income diversity would offer better insight into the systemic obstacles that reduce planners' abilities to promote these aims. Finally, the manner in which the just city and communicative action models relate is worth further consideration. In doing so, a study could come to new conclusions about the most effective methods to apply theory in practice.

The employment of participatory planning in brownfield developments offers a substantial opportunity to help resolve segregation, one of the greatest challenges facing cities today. In realizing this opportunity, there are existing challenges that need to be overcome. While this may prove difficult, the alternative; increased spatial segregation along socioeconomic lines does not present a sustainable alternative and cannot be allowed to proceed. In this context, the realization of an improved future in cities is not an easy task; however the value in doing so will be incalculable.

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## **Appendix A: Best Practices**

In offering a section considering best practices from three other brownfield developments, the aim is to identify certain strategies and policies that have proven useful in promoting the participatory process and social and income diversity in two of the cases, from a normative perspective. In doing so, the aim is not to provide a comprehensive list of successful initiatives, but rather to demonstrate that such initiatives do exist and can serve as inspiration for future developments. Additionally, in supplying these best practices, the focus is centrally fixed on these specific strategies within the wider development plan of the respective projects, rather than an evaluation of the projects in their entirety. It is also significant to note that while these best practices are perceived to be applicable in the case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden, the contextually specific nature of participatory planning means that there is the potential for challenges to occur while implementing these strategies. To further emphasize this, no project is without its challenges, but certain aspects can prove to be useful for guidance and inspiration in different settings. Having qualified their selections, best practices regarding participatory planning and the promotion of social and income diversity in brownfield developments can be obtained from the cases of Bristol Harbourside, in Bristol, England, Vauban, in Freiburg, Germany and Euroméditerranée, in Marseille, France. Finally, in providing a best practices section, I endeavour to acknowledge the difficult work with which planners are faced and to promote a few examples of their best work. Beyond providing good examples for future use, they also serve to highlight what can be achieved, even in the face of always ever present adversity.

### ***Bristol Harbourside***

Bristol Harbourside is a 66 acre coastal redevelopment project that seeks to create a mixed used area while also “giving the region a new focus for leisure and tourism” (BERI, 2007). In this sense the development has a number of parallels with Norra Djurgårdsstaden, albeit on smaller scale. What is noteworthy about Bristol Harbourside is the degree of public involvement that has taken place since the project was initiated. After some criticism that the participatory process did not go far enough; a more vigorous process of community engagement was initiated, which served to achieve a broad degree of support for the project (BERI, 2007; 198). Beyond a well orchestrated information campaign, citizens in Bristol were engaged through a range consultative measures, including the City Council’s “Citizen Panel” and a detailed public consultation process regarding the development of leisure projects and commercial initiatives (BERI, 2007; 198). Further, in cases where public participation was lacking, cash “incentives” were offered to foster engagement (BERI, 2007; 198), essentially creating a semi-professional citizen participation committee, thereby mitigating the threat of apathy. Through these measures, the Bristol Harbourside development team achieved a high degree of citizen engagement and support for the project.

### ***Vauban***

The area, originally constructed in the 1930’s as a military base, was occupied by the French military until 1991 (Sperling, 2002, p.2). Subsequently, the City of Freiburg bought the 42 hectare area from the German government with the purpose of developing it to help reduce the housing shortage in the city (Sperling, 2002, p.3). Specific to this

case was the City's approval of the construction of housing by self appointed groups, or co-ops, which led to the development of forty co-building projects that offered moderate income earners the chance to live in the area through a reduction of building costs (Sperling, 2002, p.6). Further, the initiative also included several cooperative groups which provided approximately two hundred people with low incomes the possibility to live in four refurbished barracks in the area. In both cases, these initiatives served to foster a greater degree of social and income diversity, in addition to participation, while keeping the overhead costs relatively low. Further, the area also demonstrated how a reciprocal relationship between social and environmental sustainability could be achieved. This resulted from the fact that the co-operative building initiatives contributed directly to the ongoing environmental building campaign. Many of the houses were constructed to meet passive building criteria through solar paneling, window design and other resource efficient measures which led to as much as three times lower energy use than the low energy standard of 65 kWh/m<sup>2</sup>, which had already been applied across the area (Reardon & Weber, 2009; 11). In sum, through the incorporation of proposals offered by community stakeholders, the development succeeded in fostering social and income diversity, while simultaneously keeping costs low and promoting an agenda of environmental sustainability.

### ***Euroméditerranée***

The Euroméditerranée project is taking place in the port area of central Marseille, and at 480 hectares, it is the largest urban renewal project in Southern Europe (Euroméditerranée, Introduction; 2010). What is striking about this development is the explicit commitment to diversity, as stated in the housing section of the plan, "Diversity is at the heart of the housing policy" (Euroméditerranée, Housing; 2010). Further, while the housing aim in Norra Djurgårdsstaden is to "form an accessible area where everyone can feel at home.", the Euroméditerranée housing aim is "To create new neighborhoods where everyone – no matter what their income – can find work, housing, entertainment, and transportation, and where everyone – no matter what their age, family status or living standards – can find a home." While this attention to social and income diversity demonstrates a significant commitment to these aims in itself, the project goes further in that it "seeks to maintain a mix of housing – 30% for those on public assistance plus other housing for students and seniors." (Euroméditerranée, Housing; 2010). In considering this commitment, it is noteworthy that as is the case in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, the development is taking place around a port and in the centre of a city, but is in fact nearly twice as large (480 Ha compared with 266 Ha). The Euroméditerranée project demonstrates that the goal of achieving a significant degree of social and income diversity is feasible, even in large projects on valuable land. Finally, it is striking that in a country that has experienced what can arguably be characterized as the most serious cases of civil unrest that have arisen, at least to a significant extent, out of frustration resulting from segregation, the national government is helping to fund a brownfield development with one of the most ambitious strategies to foster social and income diversity.

These projects offer but a few of the potential opportunities to encourage participatory planning, as well as foster social and income diversity. In highlighting them, the goal is to

present some inspiring work that planners, in concert with a range of other stakeholders, have succeeded in carrying out. Further, it is endeavoured that such examples encourage others to look beyond the standard strategies for development and participatory planning and to consider some of the excellent efforts that are already underway around the world.