



**LUNDS**  
UNIVERSITET

# **Brunnshög**

**A case study in communicative urban planning and  
power relations**

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## Abstract

The thesis is regarding communicative urban planning and power relations, applied at a case called Brunnsög. The Brunnsög projects consist of five developing areas located in the north-east of Lund. The projects are pilot projects in communicative urban planning and the intension from the municipality is to involve the citizens and the developers in new ways, other than the traditional ones.

There are many ways to execute urban planning and every country has different pre-conditions. The northern countries in Europe including Sweden tend to have traces of neo-liberalism that permeates the domestic field of urban planning. There are many different paradigms in urban planning, some advocate top-down and some bottom up. The current paradigm in Sweden is somewhere in between in a model called Policy Analysis. There are also different models how to execute urban planning in practice, and communicative planning is one of them. It advocates high degree of involvement by the citizens.

The purpose of the thesis is to apply the frameworks at the case of Brunnsög, the topics are: *“To what extent is there communicative urban planning in the case of Brunnsög?”* And *“What are the power relations between politicians, officials, developers and citizens in the case of Brunnsög?”*

The method in the thesis is in the qualitative field and uses a case study model based on interviews with representatives from political parties, officials and associations. It also brings up the frameworks of collaborative urban planning: communicative urban planning, neo-liberalism in urban planning, the Forum-Arena-Court model and the Arnstein ladder model. The different frameworks are influenced by the work of Habermas, Dryzek, and Healey. The main purpose in the different theories is to involve the citizens in the developing process. The Forum-Arena-Court model and the Ladder model of citizen participation tend to advocate dismantling and redistribution of the power within a process. In the case of the Brunnsög projects there seem to be a status quo in the power relations so far, where the elected politicians in the municipality of Lund have the greatest power, but are also ultimately responsible.

Further conclusions are that the view of the communicative urban planning in the projects has two sides. Some of the political parties and officials believe there have been fairly good dialogues and communications between the different groups in the project. The association of Djingis Khan and the political party FNL do not agree to that statement. There is a consensus that the tram system project could have been processed differently.

The projects are in the beginning of the development and there is still time to evaluate the methods properly and to ensure the citizens feel they are a part of the projects, by maintaining a high transparency in the process and to redistribute some of the power in the planning process.

**Keywords:** Brunshög, Communicative planning, Power relations, Urban planning

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## 1. Introduction

Cities around the world are expanding and there are movements from the rural to the urban areas in many countries. When the cities are expanding and are densified there is a need of plans how it should be executed in practice. In most of the cases it is the urban planners that have been given the task to develop expanding urban areas. Making urban developments are not uncomplicated since cities are complex and are during constantly change and there are political incitements embedded in urban development and in the planning process in many countries. Every case and country is unique to the situation and the pre-conditions.

Urban planning is a concept that describes a way to develop a city or an urban area. It involves strategies, frameworks, guidelines, and urban planning as a profession. The field is connected to politics and power, which make the question regarding the different relations in urban planning and development important. It is a topic that is during discussion, and has almost always been. There are and have been many different basic paradigms how to make urban development plans in the world. Different worldviews affect the field urban planning and there have been critics both to those who are studying the field and to those who are practicing it. There is a discussion regarding factors and mechanics influencing the different theories and worldviews. There is also another discussion between theorists regarding the potential danger and obstacles regarding the field of urban planning.

Urban planning could be divided into two main polarizations. Top-down is advocating that urban planning is supposed occur from the politicians down to the citizens and bottom-up is advocating that the citizens would be a cornerstone in urban developments. There are several ways to execute urban planning and one of them is communicative planning. There are models within communicative planning that could be applied e.g. the Forum-Arena-Court and the Arnstein ladder. It is also an element in a democratic society to involve the citizens in a planning process. Urban planning in Sweden is a mix where the citizens are involved in the planning process but where the politicians and officials have great influence and power.

It has become more important to promote a city or a region since the competition is diabolic among the regions and cities around the globe about recourses, both economic and human. Countries and regions are trying to niche themselves to get ahead in the competition and to create a unique brand of their own to attract both investments and residents. The neo-liberal approach has permeated the urban planning and developments in the Nordic countries and has led to the entrepreneurial city.

Lund is a Swedish municipality located south-west in the region of Skåne. The municipality is going to develop a new city district called Brunnsnög, located in the north-east of the city. The project includes five developing areas; Max IV, ESS, Solbjer, Brunnsnög C (Centrala Brunnsnög), Science Village. Brunnsnög C and Solbjer will be the major residential areas with a mixture of housings, stores and offices. Science village will be a residential area between Max Lab IV and ESS where the guests to the researcher facilities will be staying. ESS and Max Lab IV are new research facilities that are during construction (Brunnsnögprojektet, 2013) (See map 1.1.). The areas will be pilot projects where the officials and politicians want to involve and communicate with the citizens in the municipality in new ways. The whole Brunnsnög project will have an estimated time span of over 40 years and is expected to have an impact in the municipality of Lund as well as in the whole region of Skåne.

**Map 1.1. The Brunnsnög project areas**



(Source: Brunnsnögprojektet, 2015)

## 1.1. Purpose

There are and have been several major urban planning paradigms in the world and they have succeeded each other or have coexisted at some levels. There have been a few major paradigm shifts in Sweden during the last century and there have been three distinguished paradigms succeeding each other; social reform, social learning and the policy analysis, where policy analysis is the current one in Sweden. The thesis will take off from the Policy Analysis paradigm, which advocates a purchaser and provider model. Politician and officials are making decisions, but the citizens are involved in certain parts of the planning process. One purpose is to examine the communicative element in urban planning. A second purpose is to examine the relations in Swedish urban planning and to investigate where the power lies within the process and how much influence the different involved groups have. This will be illuminated by a case in the municipality of Lund called Brunnsög. The Brunnsög projects consist of five major developing areas located in the north east of the city and are major investments in the municipality as well as in the region. It includes two new state of the art research facilities in the world and three residential/office areas of various sizes.

In Sweden urban planning and development are regulated in the planning process which in turn is regulated by the official frameworks; the PBL and the environmental code. Every urban project in Sweden needs to go through all the different steps in the planning process. It is also the key element in Swedish urban planning and this raises some topics regarding e.g. communication and power relations in the planning process.

The thesis will be conducted from a collaborative urban planning point of view and will relate to two topics; communicative urban planning and power relations in the case of Brunnsög.

**A.** *To what extent is there communicative urban planning in the case of Brunnsög?*

**B.** *What are the power relations between politicians, officials, developers and citizens in the case of Brunnsög?*

## 1.2. Definitions

The thesis will be viewed from a Swedish perspective and the terminology should be viewed in that context. There may be other countries that have the same terminology but where the definitions are slightly different.

**BTA** – BTA (Bruttoarea) is a Swedish standard unit that measures areas and volumes in buildings and was established in 2009. It measures the sum of all the storey areas in a building and is limited by the outside walls. The measuring unit is applied on both new and old buildings. It is not uncommon that new planned buildings are measured in the BTA unit since the old unit was blunt and not accurate in extent needed.

**Master plans** (Översiktsplaner) – A Master plan is mandatory for all municipalities in Sweden. Master plans should describe the land and water usage in a municipality and it must relate to domestic goals and guidelines. A Master plan is not bound by law but it must obey the major Swedish frameworks PBL (Plan och Bygglagen) and environmental code.

**Area plans** (Fördjupade översiktsplaner) – Area plans show a smaller area than Master plans and have a higher degree of detail level. In similarity with a Master plan an Area plan is not bound by law. Area plans have the same directions as Master plans and have to relate to the Swedish frameworks.

**Detail plans** (Detaljplaner) – Detail plans are key elements in the Swedish planning process. A process starts with an initiation of a Detail plan and ends with a building permit. Detail plans are carefully planned with a high degree of detail level. In opposite to Master plans and Areas plans, Detail plans are bound by law as soon as they are politically accepted.

## 1.3. Limitations

The main part of the thesis will be limited to urban planning in Sweden and applied to the case Brunnshög. The Brunnshög projects are pilot projects and one of the aims for the officials and politicians in the municipality of Lund is to increase the involvement of citizens in different ways in the planning process. There are other major development projects in Sweden, but the Brunnshög projects are one of a kind since there will be two new state of the art research facilities that will get international recognition. This also shows the unique pre-condition the case Brunnshög has.

The term *power relation* will be limited to the power within the Swedish planning process and the different groups within. It will be applied to the

case of Brunnsög but general Swedish structurally *power relations* will be admitted.

The thesis will be focusing on the communicative urban planning elements and the power relations between politicians, officials, developers and citizens in the case of Brunnsög.

#### **1.4. Disposition**

The first chapter of the thesis is a short introduction followed by the purpose, definitions and limitations of the thesis. In the second chapter the methods of the thesis are presented. The third chapter is a presentation of used theories. The fourth chapter is a presentation of urban planning in general. The fifth chapter is a presentation of urban planning in Sweden. The sixth chapter is a presentation of the urban planning in the municipality of Lund. The seventh chapter is a presentation of the different project areas in Brunnsög. The eighth chapter is analysis of the interviews and models. The ninth chapter is the conclusion of the thesis. The tenth chapter is a final discussion and reflections.

In the end of the thesis there will be a reference list of the used references. Appendix A is the interview with the chief of the Brunnsög projects Eva Dahlman. Appendix B is an interview with Emma Berginger (Miljöpartiet). Appendix C is an interview with Christer Wallin (Moderaterna). Appendix D is an interview with Björn Abelson (Socialdemokraterna). Appendix E is an interview with Anne Landen (FörNyaLund). Appendix F is an interview with representatives from the Djingis Khan association, Måns Bruun and Mia Myrgren.

## 2. Methods

*“Good social science is problem driven and not methodology driven, in the sense that employs those methods that for a given problematic best help answer the research question at hand”* (Flyvberg, 2006). The problem should be a researchers starting point and the methods should reflect the problem. The method should work as a tool and a lens to a problem, and different methods could lead to different results. A researcher should have awareness of and use the different instruments that are provided by the field of science (Stukat, 2005:36). It is not uncommon to get stuck in a traditional method and limit to a method that is most commonly used in a specific research field (ibid).

This thesis will be conducted from a qualitative point of view and will be a case study based on depth interviews. The thesis will be conducted from a point of view where a bridge between the inductive and the deductive approach is possible. The interviews are made from a hermeneutic point of view, with representatives of different groups. The interviews were conducted in Swedish, and were then transcribed and interpreted in English (See appendix A-F). The interviews were held in a form of a conversation rather than a straight forward interview.

The qualitative approach is used when it comes to reveal phenomenon, events and aspects of the world under study (Cloak *et al*, 2010:17). This approach could be considered as subjective where the theorists could inject their own bias, while the quantitative methods could be considered as objective where the theorists should maintain a strict unbiased manner (ibid). However, according to Cloak *et al* (2010:17) it is not always that simple to define the main approaches.

In some case it is beneficial to use more than one method, for what is called “method triangulation”. To combine different methods could open up new views and could generate a deeper understanding to the thesis, and it could also lead to new approaches how to continue the work (Stukat, 2005:36f). It could also create new inputs to the thesis and new important questions of value could emerge. However, it is of importance to be careful when choosing methods.

Methods should be interpreted from worldviews and different worldviews have alternative inputs and preconditions, and not every method could be associated to different worldviews. The worldviews are criticizing each other and points out weakness and flaws in other views, e.g. the method regarding interviews has been criticized from a positivist point of view since the method conflicts with the criteria of the positivist approach to science (e.g. Kvale, 1997:63; Esaiasson *et al*, 2007).

## 2.1. Case study

Case study is a method commonly used in the different social science disciplines (Stake, 1995), but could also be used in several other academic disciplines (May, 2011:257). There are several definitions and researchers associated with the method like Yan, George & Benett, Campbell & Stanley and Gerring, all with different inputs to the method case study (Madureira, 2014). The many inputs are some of the criticism against the method and make the discipline hard to exactly define. Case studies as a discipline could be used to get a deeper understanding and a multidimensional picture to a subject. It is not uncommon that a case study is combined with other methods (Stukat, 2005:33). The method could involve e.g. semi structured or depth interviews (May, 2011:257), as in this thesis.

The definition in this thesis will be Madureiras's (2014) in her Doctoral dissertation; a case study is a method used for studying small groups or single cases and their context. She also emphasizes the importance of interdependence between the researcher and the researched subject (Madureira, 2014). According to Stake (1995), a case is a special something to be studied, it could be e.g. individuals, phenomena, projects etc. But it cannot be e.g. themes. A case study should capture the complexity of a case (Stake, 1995).

Criticism and defense to case studies are similar to each other. It has to do with subjectivity, validity, reliability and distortion. One of the reasons why there is abundance of both sides of the case study lies in the relationship between its use in social science and the broad disciplines positivism, idealism and the overlapping approaches (May, 2011:257f). Case study researcher can find resonance in both participation research and ethnographic research. Case studies reject the idea of experiment since the result and the process are rarely repeatable (May, 2011:264).

The discussion regarding case study has changed and is no longer in focus on its role in the development of theories at a mid level. The aim to many researchers that advocate the method and other social methods in general is to overcome the dichotomy between generalization and particularization, quantitative and qualitative, deductive and inductive (May, 2011:264). Some theorists have adopted the challenge, where the social world is increasing in complexity and where knowledge is more difficult to obtain (ibid).

One other criticism to case studies has been that it is bound by time and space, which makes it harder to get a broader understanding. The counter argument emphasizes the possibility to make extended case studies that connects the past, the future and the current (Evens & Handelman, in May, 2011:265). It is the causality that causes the problem to other

researchers since different mechanisms and procedures could result in identical final results (Hammersly; Bryne, in May, 2011:265). May (2011) argues that this could be argument for and not against the method since it could reveal the complexity of a phenomena, and give possibilities to alternative interpretations.

Some theorists emphasize that a case study could be seen as a story that fulfills a social purpose rather than a theoretical. But in all approach to the method there are tendencies that natural science terms would be used (Harvey; Mjoset; Piekkari *et al*, in May, 2011:265). According to May (2011:266), the most important thing is to know the strengths and weaknesses to the chosen method. The method in this thesis is a case study based on interviews.

Cases and relations that have not been researched before are harder to study since there tend to lack empirical material. In the case of Brunnsög the communication/dialogues and power relations have not been researched before since the project is in the beginning and ongoing. This has an impact at the result in the thesis, but could also be a tribute to further research in the field of urban planning and development. The case is unique in Sweden as well in the world since the areas will be a mix of state of the art research facilities, housings, offices, stores, restaurants etc, and will have a developing time over 40 years (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2010). Since the projects are in the beginning of the process there could be alterations in the plans and processes. The project is also a pilot project in communicative urban planning and is supposed to involve the citizens of Lund in new and better ways.

The case Brunnsög was chosen since it is a major project in the municipality of Lund as well as in the region of Skåne and will have an impact on a local, regional and nation level. The project consists of five different development areas, where two of them are dedicated to ESS and Max Lab IV which are world leading research facilities in their respective fields. The other areas will be a mix of housings and offices and when all areas are finished there will be approximately 40 000 new people moving in the areas daily. There are many actors, stakeholder, investors involved in the projects, both private and public. This makes the case interesting to put in a Sweden urban planning context and to investigate from a communicative urban planning and power relation point of view.

## 2.2. Interviews

In qualitative studies the selection of informants should vary from the selection in quantitative studies (Stukat, 2005:60). In the quantitative field and research it could be more important to get a diversity of participants. In the field of qualitative studies it is more important to conduct interviews with participants that are familiar with the subject being studied. To get valid results it is of importance to get as many inputs as possible to get different opinions in the thesis. Those are the main reasons why qualitative interviews were used in the thesis.

Interviews could be seen as a conversation with a purpose (Cloak *et al*, 2010:152). The goal is to increase the understanding of how participants are viewing a subject from their perspective. Interviews could be used in both quantitative and in qualitative studies, depending on how it is executed and the original purpose. There are several techniques, methods and ways to conduct an interview. Scientific interviews have higher significance than e.g. media interviews to a newspaper. As an interviewer or initiative taker it is important to be able to motivate the interview, the questions that are asked, the method used, the presentation and the final result. It is also important to be able to interpret the information in the right way as the informant meant (Stukat, 2005:37). Valentine (2005:122) points out that *“asking the questions are only half the skill of interviewing: the other half is learning to listen and respond to the participants”*. The communication between the informant and the researcher has to be in pace. There could be subjectivity in the interview at the same time as there should be strive towards some objectivity (May, 2011:168). It is commonly predicted that there is tension between the two main approaches quantitative and qualitative and in the extension the subjective and objective. The most common solution is to use different interview methods (May, 2011:169).

Freer interviews like deep interviews and semi-structured interviews could lead to findings that were not expected (Cloak *et al*, 2010) and could lead to questions that were not intended from the beginning. It could also lead to new inputs to a study and that new material could come to the surface. It is also beneficial that the informants could answer in their own terminology (May, 2011:163). Semi-structured and deep interviews are commonly used when several different methods are combined. Making wiggle room to the informant could be beneficial and new information could be found, but at the same time it is harder to interpret if an interview is too unstructured, and it could also be hard to compare the answers with other interviews (Stukat, 2005:37f).

The different interviewed informants have different views on the project, have different pre-knowledge and are not completely objective since they represent different groups in the planning process, politicians, officials, contractors and citizens. The different interviewed participants have been selected from the different groups in the planning process involved in the Brunnskög projects. Since the different representatives have been interviewed in a specific time in the process the result could not be duplicated.

Eva Dahlman was selected since she is the chief of the Brunnskög projects as well as for the official department Brunnskög and the interview took place in the late of April 2015. The main reason why she was selected is that she has been involved in the projects since the beginning and has a good insight in the different projects, relations, contracts, the planning process and the different communication methods. Since Eva is chief of the Brunnskög projects the expectation of the interview was to collect as much information regarding the Brunnskög projects as possible. It was also a way to ask questions to one of the key persons and to maybe get answers that other persons could not answer. The interview could be seen as a discussion rather than a questioning.

The three largest political parties in the municipality of Lund, Moderaterna (M), Socialdemokraterna (S) and Miljöpartiet (MP) were asked to participate in the thesis. The selected interviewed persons have been or still are members of the local housing committee. They have all great experience in the field of urban planning in the municipality of Lund and in particularly when it comes to the case of Brunnskög. Christer Wallin (M) has been the chairman of the local housing committee, Emma Berginger (MP) has been in the local housing committee and is now chairman of the Technician committee and Björn Abelson (S) is the current chairman of the local housing committee this mandate. The new political party in Lund FNL (FörNyaLund) was asked to participate since they have a critical approach to the tram system. Their representative is Anne Landin. She is their primary mouthpiece of FNL and professor in construction engineering at LTH (Lunds Tekniska Högskola).

The association Djingis Khan was asked to participate since the residential area is located closest to the new residential area Solbjer. Their representatives Måns Bruun and Mia Myrgren are members of the board. They have been the association representatives for a large part of the process.

The questions in the different interviews have followed the same topics and only changed slightly depending on the different representative's occupation. The politicians all got the same topics, but Dahlman and the association of Djingis Khan have some other topics.

There have been attempts to interview representatives from the developers. Due to some various reasons it has not been possible in this thesis. It is a possible way to continue and extend the study in the future.

### 3. Theory

Theory is a word that is widely used and has many meanings depending on context and use (Allmendinger, 2009:1). There are some problems with the definition and the use of the concept, but there are some general ideas about the meaning e.g. *“Theory is an explanatory supposition which can be defined broadly or narrowly”* (McConnell, in Allmendinger, 2009:1) or/and *“The main concern of social science theory is the same as that social science in general: the illumination of concrete process of human life”* (Giddens, 1984). Theories should also include some form of prediction or prescription. According to Allmendinger (2009:2) theory in social science is not unaffected of power and there are political, temporal elements and pieces in theories. Theories are often associated with paradigms, and paradigms are often not compatible with each other since they tend to have different core worldviews (Allmendinger, 2009:7). Theories could be seen as an outcome of reflections that sharpen our understanding of the world (Harding & Blokland, 2014:12).

The first distinct differences between theories are the social and natural science approach. This seems like two opposites, but there are theorists and traditions arguing that social science should follow the logic of the positivist angle (Allmendinger, 2009:2f). The gap between the both sides to science in this situation is quite broad and there are theorists that are criticizing one or the other side, and there is an ongoing debate. Planning theory will refer to both sides of the science; there are examples where theorists try to connect a physical place with a human condition or feeling. Max Weber was one of the theorists who tried to view social science from a more scientific angle (Allmendinger, 2009:3f). On the other hand there are advocates for logical positivism that argued that if something could not be observed it was metaphysical and meaningless (ibid).

There are numerous conflicting theories that view the world differently, e.g. Liberalism and Marxism (Allmendinger, 2009:4). Giddens (1984) argues that there are no universal laws in social science since it is hard to test and validate the empiri. The main social science theories can never separate themselves entirely from the subject that is being studied (Allmendinger, 2009:4).

Stoker and Wolman in Allmendinger (2009:10) are providing a starting point to the investigation of theories. They identified six different main theories; normative theories, prescriptive theories, empirical theories, models, conceptual frameworks/perspective and theorizing. According to them a number of the theories have normative inputs, to some extent. According to Allmendinger (2009:12), *“All theory is to greater or lesser degrees normative”*. The boundaries between different theories are not sharp. Theories are thereby not always black and white.

According to Lakatos, a social theory is not abandoned until there is a new better one to replace the old one, and theorists will continue to use falsified theories until better explanations will surface (Allmendinger, 2009:7).

Allmendinger (2009:29) argues that the most important thing regarding theories is why a particular theory has been used, who is using it and for what purpose it is used. A few of the starting viewpoints are for e.g. realism, positivism, post-positivism, and each of them have unique approach to a study that will affect the whole work. The first stand is if a theory is viewed from quantitative or qualitative perspective. If the first stand is qualitative the next stand will be between epistemology and ontology. The same data set could be used by different theories but from different worldviews (Allmendinger, 2009:7ff), and the outcomes and results will differ due to the worldview.

Nyström & Tornell, (2012:85) points out that social science theories and methods must be modified in the same phase as the society does, so the knowledge within could be practically useful. How long a method or theory could be useful could vary, there are theoretical approaches that are successful in a long time that have not been refuted. There are also approaches that only left minor impacts of the landscape and did not get any greater recognition.

All science theory contains assumptions of causal connections, and this also applies to urban planning (Nystöm & Tornell 2012:87). Urban planning is a form of power that occurs mainly in the two dimensions of time and space. There are connections between power, politics, ideology and urban planning (Nystöm & Tornell 2012:86).

Urban planning and studies are not just connected to a single worldview. It has also been hard to exactly determine the definition of the "urban" part. There are many sub pieces of the term "urban" like urban sociology, economics, politics, planning and so on. The different sub pieces are overlapping and it is hard to determine exactly where the lines are drawn (Harding & Blokland, 2014:1f). Urban studies are eclectic since they build upon knowledge, understandings and approaches, at the same time they have become more fragmented (ibid). Theories should be seen as a product of its time and origin.

Throughout history there has been a clearer comprehension regarding who had the power, but in the modern society the lines have been blurred and the real power could be hidden and secrete (Allmendinger 2009:16). This could both be an active action or it could happen gradually during a long time. Michel Foucault argues that power is not unidirectional, it goes

both ways, permeating all levels of social structures and relations. This would benefit all the actors in the current system. Foucault also argues that the centralization of power is no longer needed in the modern society, hence to the social control that is produced with networks, rules, regulations, monitoring, administration etc. (Allmendinger 2009:16).

Power tends to be legitimized in the name of the scientific truth (Allmendinger, 2009:17); in extension the scientific truth will trump and stand above all other knowledge. This is also why the society strives towards the scientific truth, which also will generate power. Allmendinger concludes that theory could be seen as discourses and could also be a way to mask power and politics (ibid).

The acknowledgment to theories could be exploited and used by policies and Richardson states that *"theoretical perspectives are called upon in a selective and arbitrary way, to suit a given situation"*. This force strengthens the power in policy analysts. Allmendinger makes a comparison in this case between policy analysts and planners. Some theorists e.g. Grant concludes that people tend to promote the normative perspective, and a theory that becomes part of the culture will meet the community needs and expectations (Allmendinger, 2009:17). The major inputs crystallized regarding theory, normative elements and discursive elements are influenced by power to some extent. In planning theory there are influences from both inputs (ibid).

There is a gap between academic that "develops" and "refines" theories and those who are supposed to use the same theories in practice. There are practitioners stating that the academics theories have no meaning for practice that are based upon common sense. Alexander in Allmendinger, (2009:24) concludes that every contribution to planning theory will fill a gap in retrospect. However, he also points out that there is a market in theories where urban planners could pick and choose, and from that point of view he argues that the gap is unbridgeable.

The field of urban planning has changed during the last century and different theories have risen and fallen in popularity, then faded away and replaced by others, but not always completely disappeared (Hardling & Blokland, 2014:47). Different paradigms have been in force, depending on the terms of the conditions in different countries at different times.

### **3.1. Collaborative and communicative urban planning**

One of the questions Allmendinger (2009:197) asks is *"how we can make sense of what is happening and plan for the future within a dynamic and increasing complexity"*. The main problem for the planners is that the society is constantly changing, while the practice is stuck with procedures

and ideas from a different time. There have been attempts in the past to improve the involvement of the public. Despite the attempts in the past, planning processes are still dominated by instrumental rationality (ibid).

One approach to planning that has gained popularity is to see planning as a collaborative or communicative process. Healey (2006) points out three different aspects that had influence on the perspective. The first is the work of Habermas (1997) that sorted out the unfinished project of modernity. Habermas questioned the dominance of instrumental rationality, and emphasized other ways to know and thinking. Second is the work by Foucault who looked behind the language and meaning that potentially could hide power relations, and thirdly the work of Giddens and the institutionalist school that investigates the webs and social relation. It is the aspect of Habermas that is the backbone of the communicative approach (e.g. Forester; Healey, in Allmendinger, 2009:198).

There are two major schools in the field, modernism and postmodernism. Modernists want some form of objectivity while postmodernism argue there is no objective knowledge of any kind. The postmodernists argue that the search of truth must be forgotten, and instead look at it in an agnostic way. With that world view the field becomes more pluralistic and fragmented with great variety of e.g. cultures and languages (Allmendinger, 2009:198f). Habermas (1997) could agree to the existents of a complex world, but points out there are ways to connect people and to make sense of it all together (ibid).

The postmodernists and the modernists could agree at two points, first, that society is complex and is getting more complex and second, *“that the scientific has dominated other ways of thinking and knowing and is not self objective”* (Allmendinger 2009:200). There is a disagreement if any form of rationality could exist, where the other side believes it can by communicative rationality.

Hall in Allmendinger, (2009:201) describes a discourse as statements providing a language to express a particularly kind of knowledge regarding a topic. Foucault is adding that discourses are production of knowledge through the language. The language itself is related to a power struggle of what is true and false (ibid). Habermas thinks that the power behind the languages and discourse is diverted from the capitalist mode of production. In extension discourses are related to power, but also a way to apply power. Language could maintain and develop power relations, but could also be a way to reveal such relations (Allmendinger, 2009:201).

Habermas (1997) presents the concepts of life-world and system where the life-world is a symbolic network. In the concept of the network

subjects interact and share knowledge and coordinate social action. Healey and Hiller in Allmeninger (2009:202) present this as the realm of relationships. The concept of system is a capitalist economy or bureaucratic administration that operates through power. It could shape the context where the life-world operates, being the superior. Habermas (1997) points out that the system is the dominating concept and will restrict communicative actions. The concept of life-world could reclaim lost ground from the system and thereby create a new prospect to communicative rationality and joint actions. Dryzek (1990) among others points out that communicative rationality cannot replace the instrumental rationality completely. The struggle between the concepts involves processes that could be reflected in everyday life, in such areas where the public opinion makes no or little difference. In such situation the public are in many cases forced to go along. The citizens have the option to influence in ways to make their voices heard, by becoming a part of the system, questioning the instrumental rational decisions. This could in extension exclude and alienate people and groups. Counting this as public participation could serve as a ground to legitimacy and by that strengthen the dictions making and power to bureaucrats and politicians. The citizen could try retrieving lost ground to instrumental rationality by communicative actions (Allmendinger, 2009:203).

### **3.2. Neo-liberalism in urban planning**

Albrechts in Satorio (2005) have a starting point what strategic urban planning is. It could be viewed as a set of concepts and tools adopted to fit the current planning needs. There have been and still is a debate regarding the expression, and many suggest that the expression as a concept only could be applied at a local level due pre-conditions. There have been local experiments with urban planning to make plans together at a local level, with shared visions and goals. Urban planning is also a way to give the expression a deeper understanding in the fields of social, economic and environmental sustainability. Urban planning tends to be permeated by the overall paradigm in a region or country e.g. by the neo-liberalism.

Today there are concerns in some parts of the world that the progressive strategic urban planning might be abused to promote neo-liberal models of urban development's (Cerra *et al*, 2010). Olesen (2014) argues that it is important to strengthen the critic dimension of urban planning. He also argues that it is important to get a better understanding of the relationship between neo-liberalism and strategic urban planning, since it is hard to tell where the exact lines are drawn. It might be because it is different for each country and each region due to the existing pre conditions, and should be seen in a sociopolitical and planning culture context (ibid). The relationship between neo-liberalism and strategic planning is not clearly defined. Strategic urban planning led by the state

could be seen as a direct contrast to neo-liberalism (Tasan-Kok & Beaton, in Olesen, 2014). In some cases the contrast is not defined and in some northwestern European countries the two were almost practically the same (Olesen, 2014).

Even if there is attraction towards neo-liberalization in urban strategic planning, there are several different approaches that react differently across time and space (Peck & Tickell, 2002 in Olesen, 2014). Neo-liberalism has gradually been implemented in the political system with the assertion that market and business can fulfill the criteria of the “common interest” as well as the private interest (Sager, in Olesen, 2014).

The neo-liberalism has led to what Brenner (2004) refers to as the “competition state”. In such state urban planning will promote economical growth and competitiveness. This is an effect of the neo-liberalism politics. According to Olesen (2014) there is need of critical thinking to the neo-liberalism way to legitimize it as a superior strategic urban planning.

The critique regarding strategic urban planning processes and that it might be promoting neo-liberal politics and by that fail to live up to the progressive planning aims (Correta *et al*, 2010), seems highly relevant for planning theory (Olesen, 2014). Keeping politics active is a challenge for urban strategic planning in the face of neo-liberalism. In a time when economic growth and competitiveness are being normalized, there are fewer chances there will be urban strategic plans that counters what has become the “normative” (Olesen, 2014).

Some theorists in planning practice have tried to see the field in terms of web flows and networks, what Davoudi and Strange (2009), refers to as “fuzzy maps”. Rather than relying on normative geometric, “fuzzy maps” describe the field of planning theory as fluid with “fuzzy” boundaries (Davoudi & Strange, 2009). It could be another way to look at strategic urban planning and it might even be a way to make a distance to what normally characterize and is associated of land use. It could also be used as a tool to attempt to depoliticize strategic urban planning. Houghton *et al*, in Olesen (2014) find that the fuzziness creates a useful uncertainty and are helping speeding up decisions and transferring problems to lower levels, instead of the possibility that it will be stuck or lost at higher level of strategic planning. Healey in Olesen (2014) highlights that it might be productive for strategic urban planning using this approach with the “fuzzy” boundaries and uncertainty and it could be a way to give voice to cross-disciplinary and multi-directional formulas. The fuzziness could be a way to manage uncertainty in strategic urban planning (Olesen, 2014).

Strategic planning methods that have been borrowed from private enterprises has often generate economic growth, but have also increased

the socio-urban income inequalities. This has also led to the former principal “grow first” no longer always is the primary trait (Raco & Flint, in Nylund, 2014). Fainstein (2000) argues that it will take more than communications to achieve just destitution of recourses and a society.

### 3.3. The Forum-Arena-Court model

Bryrson and Crosy investigated if there was a way to form strategies together in a landscape where the power is divided among different interests (Healey, 1997). They found out a model they called *Forum-Arena-Court*, where different activities and events in a process should take place. It is built upon an idea about different kinds of meeting places. The three meeting places have different content and rolls in the model. In the first meeting phase *Forum*, the purpose of the work is formed e.g. by a mutual problem image, in the *arena* the different solutions to the prepared mutual problem image is developed, and in the *court* the decisions to mutual problem image are made. There is a modified model made by theorists Fredriksson & Engström that has been altered to suit the domestic conditions in Sweden (Reglab, 2012).

One of the main starting points in the model is that the decisions, the priorities, the strategic standpoints and limitations could and should not be foreseen. The different attributes should be formed in the process and reflect the interest of the participants. The model could be seen in a direct contrast to rational urban planning. Old power structures should be overlooked in the model, so new structures could be created. If this criterion is not fulfilled there is a possibility the old power structures will be remaining and will use the process as a cover and that there will be a pre-decided consensus between stakeholders (Healey, 1997). According to Healey, the one acting as leader in the process should mainly be a coordinator and should not participate in the discussion, in line with Habermas ideal dialogue (ibid).

The first meeting phase the *forum* should be open and flexible. The task in the forum should be to reshape a new image for the participants, how they look at the operating environment. The main reason for this action is to erase old thinking and structures and start anew. There are several utilities e.g. maps, illustrations, reports, statistics that could be of value in this stage, to help form a consensus (Reglab, 2012). If every participant agrees on the operating environment and the different problems that may arise, it will be easier to find shared and mutual visions and goals. This is also something Fredriksson & Engström emphasizes (ibid). If the process should reach valid results and legatine decisions who every participant agrees on, much time has to be spent in this first meeting phase. According to Engström (ibid), it is important to have a mutual target image or else there would not be any valid results (ibid). The aim should not be to

find solutions where everyone wins and to determine the differences, it is to find a way to make the participants understand others interests and why certain things are important to some. This is something Healey (1997) emphasizes.

The second meeting phase the *Arena* should be characterized by a formal and organized framework. The reference points should be the new discourses that have been developed in the forum, which should be legitimate and have a consensus from the participants. It is from this point new solutions into different problems should be developed to different concrete projects. The final result in this stage is not yet determined, but Engström and other theorists in the field suggest that the result should be a bearing urban developing strategy that has a consensus among the participants (Reglab, 2012).

The *court* is the last phase in the process. The participants need to take a stand to the strategies and discourses drawn up in the earlier stages, to make a final decision. This is where a high degree of consensus should be of value to the participants.

Engström advocates the importance of the weighting of links between different participants, but also the chronological links between the different phases in the model. She also emphasizes the importance that the participants should be a part of the whole process from the beginning. It is not enough to be a part when it comes to the planning process phase. Then many of the frameworks are already decided and implemented (Reglab, 2012)

### **3.4. The Ladder of citizen participation model**

When the subject of involvement of the citizens is brought up it is common that the ladder of citizen participation is mentioned. The model was developed by the planning researcher Sherry Arnstein (1969), since she believed there was much hypocrisy regarding the involvement of the citizens in urban development (Castell, 2013). She uses the term and model as way to present citizen power. Arnstein states that it is important to involve disadvantaged groups in the society, and they should have more influence on urban developments. The model should work as a tool to improve the influence to those groups (Arnstein, 1969).

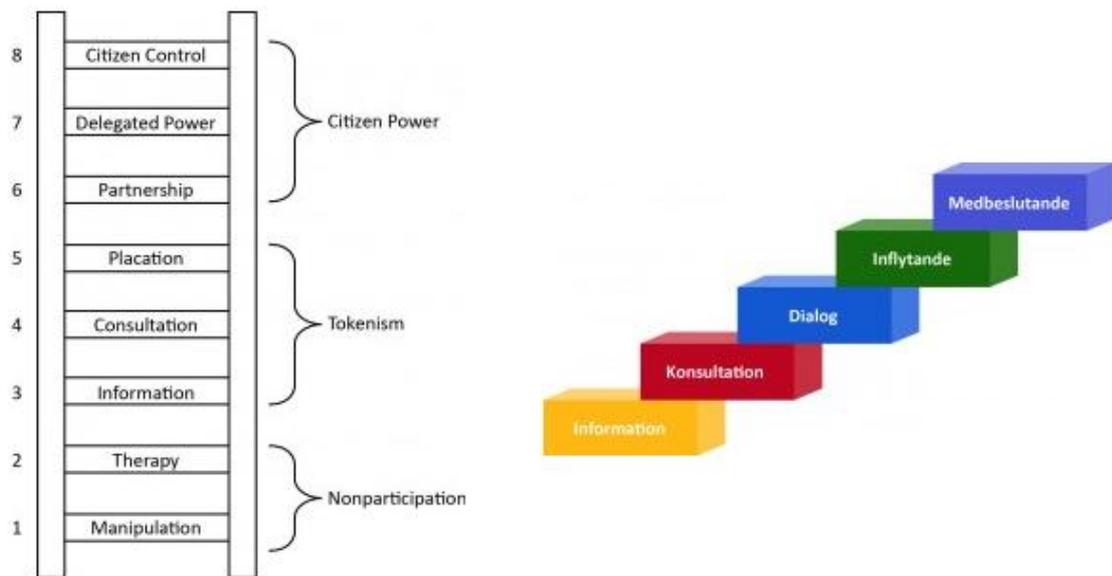
There is a distinct difference between a process that is hollow and full of hypocrisy and a process where there is a real chance to influence. A process without redistribution of power is a process where the influence tends to stay at one segment in the hierarchy, and never manage to trickle down to those at the bottom. If that is the case, those with power could state that there has been a dialogue, but in reality it is the same that are

maintaining the power and the process will be hollow, and a status quo regarding the power could be maintained (Arnstein, 1969).

SKL (Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting) has made a model that suits a Swedish context called the “medborgartrappan” (The Swedish step model). The model is used in the municipalities in Sweden as a concept to sort different kinds of involvements and put them into a context. By comparing the ladder developed by Arnstein and the steps developed by SKL, some differences could be distinguished (Castell, 2013). It is of importance to make differences between the two models, Arnstein’s ladder model is an analysis tool used by theorists, while the Swedish step model is a domestic tool used by officials and politicians to design methods. The ladder design by Arnstein is far more radical than the Swedish equivalent (ibid).

Arnstein’s model consists of eight stages and degrees of participation. The first stages, Manipulation and Therapy are categorized as Nonparticipation and it is not possible for the citizens to participate in any way. The purpose by those who have power is to educate the participants. The next stages include Information and Consultation is categorized as Tokenism. These are stages where citizens could have a chance to higher degree of influence on a project. When this works properly the citizens could be heard and listened to (Arnstein, 1969). An important step is to inform the citizens their civil rights, obligations and possibilities to legitimize the civic participation. It is not uncommon that the information is a one way communication with little or no feedback and where the element of dialogue is absent. During such circumstances the citizens could not ensure if those who have the power will take any suggestions and comments in consideration. When the participation is limited to the first four stages in the ladder, the willing to change status quo is almost non-existent. The next stage Placation is a higher form of Tokenism where non-expert in the field could have a chance to act as advisors, but where the final decision still lies in the hands of those who have the power. In the next level Partnership, the citizens have the opportunity to make connections and partnerships that will make negotiations and compromises possible with those in power. The next step is delegated power between different group, and in the last stage of the Arnstein model the citizens have democratic control and ultimate influence on urban development (Castell, 2013). The Swedish equivalent has fewer steps but is built on the same principles (see objective 3.1.)

### Objective 3.1. The Arnstein ladder model and the Swedish step model



**Source:** Arnsteins deltagandesteg och SKL:s delaktighetstrappa (Arnstein, 1969; SKL, 2009 in Castell, 2013).

The Arnstein model as well as the Swedish step model is simplified to make sense of a complex matter. The purpose is to highlight if there are differences between citizens and those who have the power. It should be emphasized that no citizen groups, official groups or politicians could be counted as one homorganic group. There are large varieties among all the groups and it will almost always come down to very small sub-groups within a group that have the same opinions. It is not uncommon the citizens have the opinion that those in power are in a monolithic system, and those who have the power refer the citizens as one group with little knowledge in the field of urban planning (Arnstein, 1969).

## 4. General urban planning

There are indicators that many of the north-western European countries have taken a neo-liberal turn. There are also hypotheses that the neo-liberal system permeates the urban planning practices, and are striving towards economic growth and competitiveness as normative objects (Allmendinger & Haugethon, 2012). The objectives alone could not be directly linked to neo-liberal approaches, but in combination with that the economic growth always should come first, it can (Peck and Tickell, in Olesen, 2014). In the Nordic countries there is a mix of welfare state planning and neo-liberal oriented approaches (e.g. Ahlquist & Moisiu; Olesen & Richardson, in Olesen, 2014). The consequences of the neo-liberal approach could possibly be fragmentations of the political landscape and social segregations at a local level (Khakee & Elander, 2001).

Urban planning is usually perceived as a key element to design the society of tomorrow. Since urban planning has impacts in the society it is also classified as a political incitement (Johansson & Khakee, 2009:12). Urban planning is a form of demonstrate power that occurs mainly in the two dimensions of time and space, where planning could act as an extension to the politics. (Nyström & Tornell 2012:86). There are connections between power, politics, ideology and urban planning. If urban planning is about politics the urban planning is about the distribution of the power (Johansson & Khakee, 2009:13). Planning is also political in the sense that it is an instrument to control the future, and in extension will have an impact on the everyday life of the citizen. It is also about how recourses will be divided and how the society in a city will be structurally organized (Johansson & Khakee, 2009:16). Urban planning in a specific city will respond to both the global economy and the local political forces (Newman & Thornely, 1996:1).

In one way the urban areas are magnets where economics and work opportunities grow and are connected with positive attributes, on the other hand it could also be connected to crime, poverty and exclusion. Cities are both grow centers and hot spots (Johansson & Khakee, 2009:19) and could be viewed as two sides of the same coin. The city and urban areas are challenges for politicians, urban planners/developers and the citizens (ibid). Different groups in society are demanding different things from the politics and since urban planning is connected to the politics it has to take the different interest group demands into consideration at the same time as the welfare society must be protected, and the social cohesion erodes must be prevented (Johansson & Khakee, 2009:13).

According to e.g. Albrecht (2012) & Johansson & Khakee (2009), there is evidence that the cities of today are facing both problems and opportunities. Cities and regions are up for challenges that may not be

tackled in a proper way by traditional urban planning. Every country has its own views and definitions to what is urban planning and what is urban and rural planning (Newman & Thornley, 1996:4). Countries have different preconditions and history to urban planning, which also make it harder to generalize and define. This goes for cities as well, and the different settings will create different opportunities and constraints for the planning (Newman & Thornley, 1996:27). It is the national framework that will determine how the urban planning is to be conducted. The field of urban planning generates legitimacy and power through the legalization system and the domestic regulations in a particular country. Since there are different frame works in different countries, there are different planning approaches and strategies (ibid).

Since the 1990s there has been an increased interest of strategic urban planning in Europe. This has been welcomed and treated rather unproblematic and has been an opening to recover lost grounds to the skepticism from the 1980s. It has also been a way to try to break free from the neo-liberal project led planning practice (Albrechts in Olesen, 2014). Neo-liberalism has been associated with large scale urban development (Swyngedouw *et al*, 2002).

According to Newman & Thornley (1996:1ff) there is a competition among cities around the world. The competition according to Johansson & Khakee (2009:20) is due to the increasing globalization. It has become more and more important to promote a city to get innovation, investments to get advantages. A city needs to highlight stability, tradition and the future, and the willing to change (Zukin, in Johansson & Khakee, 2009:20). The city name should be connected with positive values and a city could get a niche to stand out among other cities.

There have been and still are discussions and debates regarding urban planning and development and rising critiques. The traditional planning models have been increasingly criticized because of the change in the social, economical, cultural and political context (Van Woerkum *et al*, in R de Vries & Beunen, 2014). The major focus in the critique is that the current approaches have often failed to deliver required and requested service (Hajer; Van Dijk *et al*, in Vries & Beunen, 2014). This has also led to distrust to planning institutions and organizations among the citizens (Tait, 2011). Since the trust has decreased, new planning approaches have been explored. There are theorists like Franco Archibugi who are criticizing the debate of the concept of urban planning and argues that authors are using the concept inclusive, which is not helpful for those who are practicing the profession (Nyström & Tornell 2012:87).

There are many voices in the discussion and some of them are contradicting each other. An example; according to Johansson & Khakee

(2009:13) some of the urban planning has to be public controlled since a city consists of inhabitants in a confined area. This could be seen in relation to the thinking of Bryant & McLellan (1982) *“over the greater part of history, public planning, involving official land use plans of various types...has been perversely unsuccessful in ensuring an orderly development process”*.

Parts of the planning have been focusing on the economical aspects. According to Nyström & Tornell (2012:56) market economies have a tendency to lack efficiency regarding usage of land and water. If organizations and companies are planning from their own perspective and what is the most efficient for them, it could create a scenario where everyone is losing. The “invisible hand” (Holmcombe, 2012) could not regulate the market in the best way possible. When there are flaws in the market economy system there will be new incitements in the field of urban planning (Nyström & Tornell, 2012:82).

Healey (2007) argues that it is important for political parties to collaborate urban planning and strategies. It is also important at a political level to talk about the distribution of the resources. Some urban planning theorists like Hayden and Sandercock emphasize the need of new methods involving the citizens. There are many different ways to try to involve the citizens in a planning process. Fainstein (2000) argues that it takes a lot more than a good dialogue and communication to achieve an equitable distribution. She is also warning about the ongoing neo-liberalization of urban policy and planning. She points out that this matter is the most challenging for the urban planners. At the same time it is understandable and recognized there is a strong pressure regarding urban policies, since there is a rough international competition among the cities. Fainstein is using three different definitions to define justice; equity, diversity and democracy (ibid).

There are theorists taking a different approach to urban planning like e.g. Johansson and Khakee (2009:11ff), who points out that urban planning is about ethics. The urban planning consists of ethics regarding justice, responsibility and other questions that relate to the common interest. This relates at the political level as well as at the social level.

One of the most important incitements in urban planning is the planning process. The planning process varies from country to country and is often regulated in a specific country's framework and by domestic laws. According to Lundquist in Johansson & Khakee (2009:12) the political power and the democratic role in a planning process are vital. There are many research texts regarding theories and planning processes and how a planner should act in a certain situation and what stance should be done (Johansson & Khakee, 2009:43). The urban planners are in general in favor

of the involvement of the citizen in a planning process, but are not keen to let them have too much right to decide and they should not have veto to a plan decision (Johansson & Khakee, 2009:123).

There are and have been several planning paradigms in the world. Some have lasted long time periods, some shorter periods, some have coexisted. All of them should be viewed in a context. Grant in Allmendinger (2009:75) is pointing out that theorists and people often tend to promote theories that fit their own normative system.

## 5. Urban planning in Sweden

The urban planning paradigm in Sweden has changed during the last century, and according to Nyström & Tonell (2012:105ff) there have been three noticeable changes during the last century. The time between the world wars was characterized by *Social reforms* like functionalism. From the 70ties and to the 80ies urban planning was characterized by *Social learning* with higher participation of the citizens during the process. From the 80ies until today urban planning has been characterized of *Policy analysis* that relies on the rationality of the market. There have been other smaller paradigms influencing the urban planning paradigms during this time (ibid). Even if there has been a dominant paradigm during the last century the paradigms are overlapping and influencing each other.

It was in the 1990ies that the housing policy in Sweden begun to transform into a free liberal market where the central government had lesser control than before, pushing it even further than markets in liberal countries as the UK and the US (Lind & Lundström, 2007:129). At this time government subventions were canceled, at the same time as the market control of prices and developments were getting more noticeable. This happened along other changes in the political landscape in Sweden during the same time (Turner, 2000).

According to Nyström & Tornell (2012:104f) the current urban planning tradition in Sweden is *Policy analysis*. It is an angel where politicians and planners are making decisions, but where the citizens are involved in certain parts of the planning process and have the opportunity to appeal to projects and plans. This is a tradition where the market is rational and there is a purchaser and provider model applied (ibid). Even if one tradition is dominating there are still traces of the *Social learning* tradition in e.g. the act of PBL (Plan och Bygglagen) that still influences and creates a major framework in the planning process. According to Johansson & Khakee (2009:22f), *Policy analysis* and the purchaser and provider model could be direct linked to neo-liberalism.

In Sweden the municipalities have monopoly on the right to the land and in extension the urban planning development. This is regulated by the master plan that is obliged for all the municipalities in Sweden (Nyström & Tornell, 2012:61). A master plan should cover the whole municipality area, urban and rural. It should specify the use of the land and what directions the municipality should strive at. It should include aims and goals, but a master plan is not bound by laws (Nyström & Tornell 2012:196). It should be politically accepted by the city council. A master plan acts as an instrument for political strategic planning integrating goals and guidelines in areas or proposals (Hägglund, 2013). A master plan could be reinvestigated, renewed and actualized from time to time since it

stretches over long time periods. In addition there could be complements to a master plan in e.g. urban developing strategies. The strategies functions as a tool set to fulfill the goals and guidelines in a master plan.

Even if every municipality in Sweden has the right to their own land, Länsstyrelsen in Sweden is a higher authority and could step in to alter a project, stop a project or give permission to a project. When the authority Länsstyrelsen intervenes in a project it should be in the interest of the nation. They are the ones who are responsible for urban planning and developments in Sweden, and should ensure that the national goals and directions are fulfilled (Nyström, 2003:142).

Municipalities in Sweden have local self-governments which make the power of urban planning decentralized from the head state and closer to the citizens. This makes it important from a democratic view since the citizen could gain access to the local decision makers and politicians. The local politicians are elected by the citizens and the citizen could elect other if they are unsatisfied with local political party/parties in charge (Hägglund, 2013).

The elected city council members are the ones who are ruling the municipalities, during one term or during or several terms, if they are reelected. Even if the municipalities have a local city council with elected politicians they have to follow the major domestic frameworks, policies and rules regarding the urban planning and development. The city council is ultimately responsible for the decisions made, and they are supposed to act in the "common interest" (Hägglund, 2013).

The key element of urban planning in Sweden is the planning process and it works as a framework for developments. It includes involvement from all parties in a project. It starts with an initiative from an investor or a municipality and ends when a detail plan becomes legally bound. All detail plans in Sweden have to go through the process and there are two major different planning processes used; standard procedure and extended procedure. There are two steps more in the extended procedure and the criteria could be found in the PBL fifth chapter (Boverket, 2015). There is another procedure called combined procedure. It is used when a detail plan also is investigated by the environmental code.

A planning process in Sweden could be viewed as an instrument to display and promote projects. It is also a way to create agreements between the different interests that would make the processes smoother. In 2010 the plan process in Sweden was changed and the stage of the "Property plan" was removed and implemented in another stage of the process, most common in the "Detailed plan" stage (Nyström & Tornell, 2012:61f). In Sweden the citizens could influence a project in a civic participation. The

citizens could appeal a project in the planning process by leaving arguments and comments to the officials. It is common that neighbors that are directly affected by a project are invited in an early stage of a plan process to keep a civic dialogue.

The main concept of urban planning in Sweden is to plan in the “common interest”. This concept should result in long term balanced sustainable urban environment (Nyström & Tornell, 2012). The need of urban planning is rising when to solve and coordinate land use issues that could occur.

There are two major frameworks regarding urban development and comprehensive planning in Sweden that are a part of the planning process, the PBL (Plan och bygglagen) and the Environmental code (Miljöbalken). There are other frameworks, laws and guidelines regarding urban planning in Sweden but the PBL and the environmental code affects the most and forms the basis of urban developments in Sweden.

### **5.1. The PBL**

In 2011 a new version of the Swedish PBL (Plan & Bygglagen) was introduced and it replaced the one from 1987. The new PBL is supposed to make a planning process smooth and easy for all the involved parties. Some steps in the process have been rationalized and some have been removed (Sveriges byggindustrier, 2012). The Swedish government stated before the new PBL was accepted in 2010 that it should be an important instrument to secure sustainable urban development from the three aspects; social, economical and environmental, today and for the next coming generations (Nyström & Tornell, 2012:191).

In the beginning of 2015 small changes were made in the PBL to make a planning process even smoother and easier than with the change from 2011. Among the new changes there are extended possibilities to diverge from a detail plan. In the same change a new law with new restrictions and guidelines regarding land use was introduced. One of the changes is the new planning process model called *standard procedure* (Boverket, 2015).

The PBL contains four different planning levels regulated by laws; region plan, overview plan, area plan and detail plan (Nyström & Tornell 2012:194). Many of the chapters in the PBL regulate the municipality role and the central government authorities' roles in the process of urban planning. In the PBL there are also guidelines how laws like the environmental code could be coordinated, and in some case take over questions regarding urban planning (Nyström & Tornell, 2012:190f).

In the first place it is the municipality that decides if an area is suitable for a particular purpose or a certain establishment. In some cases there could

be a conflict of interest when different aspects are weighted against each other, the common or the individual interest. All comments from the public and other authorities should be weighted in the planning process. It seldom happens that everyone is happy about the outcome but there are chances during the planning process to make appeals and leave comments.

## **5.2. The Environmental code**

The Swedish environmental code was introduced in 1999 and was replacing other independent laws in the field of environment. The purpose of the code is to secure a sustainable development at the moment, but also for future generations. The code is divided into seven chapters, where the first chapter is about objectives and guidelines. Some of the laws are connected to other frameworks e.g. the PBL, the road act, the forestry act. Since the environmental code is a framework it does not specify in detail how it should be applied in a case, it has to be decided from case to case (Nyström & Tornell, 2012:184).

One of the main objectives in the environmental code is to maintain a good sustainability of materials. The concept of sustainability is important from an urban planning point of view; the ecological, social, economical and socioeconomic aspects. This could lead to a comprehensive impact assessment between exploiting and preserving in the decision making (Nyström & Tornell, 2012:185).

## **5.3. The Planning process in Sweden**

The planning process is the key element in urban planning. In general a planning process is divided into different stages where every stage fulfills an important objective. There could be minor alterations between municipalities in Sweden regarding some of the steps in the process. The planning process is regulated in the PBL and is an instrument to prove if a suggestion to a detail plan is suitable to use from a land exploit point of perspective. In the process all the involved parties' interests should be taken in consideration. The different interests are then weighted against each other by officials. The planning process has recently been remade to shorten the process time (Boverket, 2015).

Plans that were made before 2015 are still bound by the rules that were in place when the plans first were made. Plans made during the period 2011-2014 are bound to regulations that were applied then and plans that were made before 2011 are bound to those regulations (Boverket, 2015).

The old "Standard procedure" processes took about 12-18 month depending on the size of the projects, appeals, other disputes etc. It

consisted of nine different stages that were more complex and the process was more time consuming. The other way was called “Simple planning process”, and the major differences were that the “Program” stage and the “Display” stage were removed. It shortened the process time to approximately 4-8 months. This method could only be applied at cases where the public had no or small interest, or if the plans were in line with an already politically accepted master plan (Lunds kommun, 2010).

There are currently two plan process procedures, “Standard plan procedure” and “Extended plan procedure”. After the introduction of the new PBL the standard procedure consists of six different stages: Council stage → Intelligence stage → Review stage → Review statement stage → Official acceptance stage → Legally bound stage. The extended procedure consists of eight different stages: Proclamation stage → Council stage → Consultation report stage → Intelligence stage → Review stage → Review statement stage → Official acceptance stage → Legally bound stage (Boverket, 2015).

## 6. Urban planning in Lund

The municipality of Lund consists of six major urban areas, the central town Lund, Dalby, Södra Sandby, Veberöd, Genarp and Stångby. There are smaller communities and urban areas in the municipality.

A master plan should be a vision since it usually stretches over a long time period. The current master plan in the municipality was political accepted in 2010 and is divided in two phases, 2010-2030 and 2030-2050. The master plan stretches over 40 years and creates a scenario how the municipality of Lund is supposed to look like in 2050. The master plan addresses issues that will take a long time to actualize due to questions that involves heavy investments e.g. railways and freeways. The last master plan was from 1998 and important investments have been added since, like the new research facilities ESS and Max Lab IV (Stadsbyggnadskonoret, 2010). One of the main objectives in the master plan is to try to densify in the urban areas. There is also an objective that the municipality should maintain the good standard in the three aspects of sustainability; economic, ecologic and social (ibid).

The master plan from 2010 has political policies that the municipality must relate to when developing new urban strategies. One of the most important policies is that the municipality should protect the farmlands and maintain the goals of "sustainability" from the ecological aspect since the municipality has rich farmlands. The policy advocates that the municipality should prioritize densifying the urban areas rather than use new unexploited land to the development. This is in a direct contrast to the Brunnsbögh projects. Another guideline is that approximately 30 % of the development in the city should be in the "corridor of knowledge" (Kunskapsstråket), including the Brunnsbögh areas (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2010).

A suggestion from the master plan 2010 is that the municipality could stand for 18 % of the regional housing developments annually. The aim for the region is 5000 new housings annually. The municipality has the potential to create good innovation environments due to the university and the high-tech companies that could create good conditions for a rapid growth. This could lead to a conflict of interest where the aims of preservation the farmlands are in direct conflict with a rapid growth since it would suggest exploiting new farmlands. The master plan 2010 is emphasizing the importance to spread the growth to other urban areas in the municipality and to the east. There could potential be "spin off" effects to other municipalities in the eastern part of the region (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2010). It is suggested in the master plan from 2010 that the municipality should create 900 new mixed housings



## 7. Brunnskög

Brunnskög is a collection name for five project areas in the north-east (NE) of the city Lund (See map 6.1.). It is the major project in the municipality of Lund and is one of the larger projects in the region of Skåne. The Brunnskög projects consist of 5 different areas; Max Lab IV, ESS, Solbjer, Brunnskög C and Science Village. Solbjer and Brunnskög C will be the major dwelling areas and Science Village should be an area where guests to the new research facilities Max Lab and ESS will be staying. The project areas are part of new investments in the city of Lund and will be a mixture of housings, offices and stores. The area called Brunnskög C will contain approximately 4000 new housings and a large amount of offices counted in BTA (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2011).

Some of the Brunnskög project areas were first prepared in the master plan from 1998 and were further developed in 2006. In the revision in 2006 it was decided that the area should consist of mixed developments. It should be a variety of services, commerces, culture and it should contain both housings and offices. Since the revision in 2006 both Max Lab and ESS have been added to the detail plans (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2011). In 2010 the building commission mandated a recess of the area plans.

The social goal is that the Brunnskög areas should be a unique place where everyday life will meet innovation and creation. It should be a place that attracts people with different backgrounds and cultures. The areas should not only be attractive to those who work and lives there, they should also be attractive and interesting for all the inhabitants in the municipality (Brunnskögsprojektet, 2012).

All of the Brunnskög areas are going to exploit new ground, even if there are directions in the master plan from 2010 to preserve the farmlands in the municipality. It is also a direction that applies for most of the municipalities in Skåne. There are many stakeholders in the planning processes, since the new research facilities Max Lab IV and ESS are big international projects.

One of the key elements planned in the areas is the tram system and the first stage will commute between Lund central station and the Science Village/ESS area. The tram will have five stops in the Brunnskög project areas according to the master plan from 2010. The first stage of the tram was original supposed to be in place in early 2015 (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2010). Due to appeals the first stage of the tram has been postponed. The tram system is planned to be the backbone in the projects and an important asset that should help attract new investments along its way and around the stops.

Since the Brunnsbög projects consist of five project areas there is one overall area plan. Each of the areas; Brunnsbög C, Solbjer, Max Lab and ESS have their own area plans and within the area plans there are smaller detail plans. The Brunnsbög projects overall have a time span of approximately 40 years and the municipality of Lund have dedicated one department to develop the areas. Since the area projects are stretching over a long time not all detail plans are yet made and the areas will be developed in stages. The areas have prospects that are regulated in the area plans and in the master plan from 2010.

There are time plans and milestones, but it is just prospects that could be altered since the project time is stretching over a long time period. In the first stage in 2016 one part of the south Brunnsbög C should be initiated and be ongoing, Max Lab IV should be inaugurated, the first stage of Science village should be initiated and ongoing. In the second stage in 2017 ESS should be initiated and ongoing and Max Lab IV should be operational. In the third stage in 2020 the ESS buildings should be finish, the first tram stage between Lund C and ESS should be completed, the first stage in the residential area of Brunnsbög C should be initiated and ongoing and the second stage of the Science Village should be initiated and ongoing. In the fourth stage in 2030 ESS should be operational, Max Lab IV will have the possibility to expand the activity area, the first stage of Brunnsbög C should be completed and stage two of Science village should be ongoing (Brunnsbögprojektet, 2015).

The areas Solbjer and Brunnsbög C will be dense dwelling areas and will have approximately 12000-18000 new inhabitants and the exploitation area will be estimated to 600 000 BTA in 2030. The estimated exploit phase will be approximately 150 new housings each year in the areas or 15 000 BTA, and should be equivalent to 1/3 of the total amount of housings produced each year in the city of Lund. The areas will be growing from the prospective tram and the first development projects will be built near a tram stop. The master plan from 2010 is emphasizing the impertinence of preserving the farm lands around the urban areas since it is high quality and it will be important to create residential areas that are dense with a high BTA but at the same time be attractive (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2011).

### **7.1. Max Lab IV**

Max Lab laboratories are top research facilities in their field at a national as well as a global level. The area is located between Science Village and Brunnsbög C (see map 6.1.) The Max Lab facilities became a part of the Swedish national research facilities in 1996. The new facility Max Lab IV could be useful to progress in the field of e.g. biomedicine, medicine, nanotechnology, material science and environmental science. The new

facility is the fourth in the series and the other three are also located in the city of Lund. Max Lab has a close relation to the University of Lund the host authority that initiated the Max Lab IV project. There is also a small possibility that both Max Lab I and Max Lab II will be moved into the Max Lab IV area. They are currently located at the university property.

In 2005 the first request of a detail plan from the Lund University regarding the research facility Max Lab IV was incoming to the municipality. The local housing committee gave the city planning department the task to develop a detail plan over the area. In 2010 the first physical initiation step in the building process was taken and the first stage of the facility is suppose to be operational and inaugurated in 2015-2016.

The new research facility will be an important piece in educating scientists in fields regarding synchrotron. Almost 1000 scientist from around the world are visiting the current labs annually and there will be additional 2000 scientists visiting annually with the new research facility. There will be two new storage rings built at the new facility, one smaller and one bigger. The smaller one will have a circumference of 96 meters and the bigger will have a circumference of 528 meters (Max Lab, 2015).

The area will consist of; minor building as the start building - electronic canon, a 400 m linear accelerator underground tunnel that injects the electrons, a secondary smaller storage ring, a short pulse facility, a primary bigger storage ring and an office building with a visitor center. The project area is about 20-25 hectare all together (Sweco & Mannerheim-Swartling, 2009). There are several investors in the project like several of the universities in Sweden, the Region of Scania, Vinnova and other foundations that all are all contributing to the facility in some way (Max Lab, 2015).

## **7.2. ESS**

The ESS facility (European Spallation Source) will be built next to the Science village area and will be the area furthest away from the city of all the projects (see map 6.1.). After a competition between different countries and locations the municipality of Lund got the opportunity to develop the new research facility. ESS is a European state of the art research facility and it will have one of the world's most powerful neutron sources. In the facility the scientists will be able to study everything from plastics and proteins to medicines and molecules (Brunnshögsprojektet, 2015).

In 2005 Lund University submitted the first request regarding a location site for the ESS area according to the laws and regulations in the Swedish

PBL. In spring 2005 the city council decided that the local housing committee should accept and evaluate the request from the University regarding an optional location site for the ESS facility in a detail plan. In 2008 the municipality along with the University and ESS Scandinavia presented the exact location together with an extended detail plan over the area. In the beginning of 2010 ESS-Scandinavia presented a new design of the main facility that is the foundation for the current process and detail plan (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2015).

The facility is unique in Sweden as well as in the rest of the world, and will handle some potentially dangerous materials. ESS has to reach the Swedish environmental code standard, the safety goals and guidelines as well as the European safety goals and guidelines. The city planning department of Lund, the Swedish authority Länsstyrelsen along with the Swedish radiation protection authority early notified what kinds of assessment processes that would be actualized and how the different processes are connected to each other and for what purpose (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2015). All the criteria had to be fulfilled and a solution to all potential problems had to be solved before the actual physical initiation phase. The key question was regarding the potential radiation and in July of 2014 the Swedish radiation protection authority gave the facility approval. One question is regarding the radioactive waste and how it should be handled and it has to be settled before the facility will begin to operate.

In June 2014 it was decided in the Swedish Land and environmental court that the plans are in consensus with existing laws and regulations. In the same stage there was a positive report from an external audit, which examined the plans thoroughly and in the fall 2014 the first physical phase of the project was initiated (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2015).

When the facility is in fully operational there will be approximately 500 employees working in the area, and there will be approximately 4000-5000 guest scientists visiting annually (Regeringskansliet, 2007). The total investment cost will exceed 16.6 billion Swedish crowns (SEK) and the annually cost will be approximately 1.2 billion SEK. The Swedish government along with the other Nordic governments will fund 50 % of the investment cost and most of the annually cost (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2014). The rest will be funded by the other 16 European countries that are part of the ESS project.

The ESS area will be approximately 2 square kilometers and will contain a linear accelerator, an ion source structure where the accelerator begins, a target building where the accelerator ends, technological instrument buildings, a liquid helium facility, buildings for instrument testing, buildings for maintenance, buildings to control heating and cooling and a combined

office and research building (Sweco & Mannerheim-Swartling, 2009). The accelerator will be 600 meter long made for protons that travel to a target that will free neutrons. The neutrons can be useful to make x-rays of objects or to see courses of events (Regeringskansliet, 2007). In the area there will also be three minor dams created to take care of the storm water (ESS, 2014).

### **7.3. Solbjer**

Solbjer is the first residential area initiated in Brunnsbög. The area is located in the south of the other Brunnsbög projects between the water tower and Höjdpunkten (see map 6.1.). Solbjer is the first major residential project and the first detail plans have been accepted of the local housing committee and is legally bound.

In this first expansion of Brunnsbög there will be approximately 700 new housings built, it should be a mix of apartment buildings and town houses. There are plans for two new preschools that could be converted into residential if the demand of preschool children drops. Around 42 000 kvm (square meters) will be dedicated to offices, where a part of it have the possibility to be shops and parking spaces. In the area there will be two new parking houses created that will be approximately 20 00 kvm. There will be a bigger central park for play and outdoor activities and parkland that connects to the already exists Bananparken. There will also be minor open spaces between the office buildings. Some of the existing streets will be remade so that an expected tram could be created and fit in the street environment. There is also an expected tram stop planned in the area (Brunnsbögprojektet, 2015).

The area should have a dense building structure that will protect from the wind at the same time as it will provide good view points and good sun opportunities. Solbjer should be an area where it should be possible to move around in different ways and the idea is to create interesting walking corridors to make a walking friendly area (Ibid). In the area a diversity of establishments should be created; a small FMCG (Fast moving consumer goods) smaller retail stores, restaurants, cafes, playgrounds, urban gardens, roof gardens etc. (Brunnsbögprojektet, 2015).

The new dwellings in the area should be both tenancies and condominiums, but there is a discussion if there also should be self owned apartments. There is also an idea that some part of Solbjer should be created to a requested individual living, the question is during investigation. The building structures are going to be between two and six stores high for the building blocks. The area will have a mixed structure and architecture; small dwellings could be built next to higher office

buildings, however the hotel in the area would stretch higher than 6 stores (Brunnshögprojektet, 2015).

#### **7.4. Brunnshög C**

Brunnshög C will be the major housing area in Brunnshög and will be a pilot project in Sweden in sustainability. The area is located between the Max Lab IV area and the Solbjer area (see map 6.1.). The area will have a variation of housings, offices, commercials along the main streets and other urban services. The area will have a mixed housing tenure since the area is planned to have a good diversity. The area does not have any detail plans in 2015 and it is not decided when the first housing projects are going to be expanded.

In the middle of the area there will be a 4 hectare new recreational park constructed named Brunnshögsparken and will act as a natural venue and a place for outdoor activities. It is intended to be a complement to the City Park and the Botanic garden.

#### **7.5. Science village**

The science village will be located between the new research facility areas Max Lab IV and ESS (see map 6.1.) and will be approximately 24 hectare. The area will consist of venues, a visitor center, a science center, temporary accommodations for the visiting scientists and their families, university buildings, affiliates from other universities and colleges from around the world and offices connected to the research facilities (Brunnshögprojektet, 2015). In the area there will also be a small FMCG built and possibly other services needed (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2012).

The area is part of the “corridor of knowledge” (Kunskapsstråket) and is supposed to be an important link in the corridor connecting both facilities and the innovation to the city. The main object of the area is to maximize the synergy effects from the new facilities and other innovation areas in Lund and the region. Since there will be many stakeholders going to invest in the area it will be important to create a high quality and attractive environment. This is also to be seen from a social sustainability aspect and the area should be created in a way that surprises and stimulates the inhabitants. This includes safe environments, open spaces, good lightings, controlled noise levels, low speed at the streets, thrilling architecture and a mixed structure of offices and dwellings. One idea regarding the environment is to create several minor growing green fields that could act as natural venues and to outdoor activities (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2012).

In some cases when science parks with accommodations are created there could be beneficial side effects, companies with similar research fields

employees could create business clusters, and if so it will be important that the area will have good physical venues to promote the effect. It will also be important to create a good urban area with a good city life with all the necessary services needed, but also possibilities to entertainments, exercises, pleasures and recreation. Since the research facilities will be operating and making experiment 24/7, it will be important to create an environment where the inhabitants feel safe any given time (Brunnshögsprojektet, 2015).

## **7.6. The tram system**

In the master plan from 2010 there is a tram system planned in the municipality. The expansion of the tram system is divided into three stages, stage one is supposed to commute between the central station and the ESS area, stage two is commuting the ESS area and Dalby and stage three is suppose to commute the central station and Staffanstorp (Översiktsplanen, 2009).

The tram system stage one is supposed to be the backbone in all of the project areas in Brunnshög (Lunds Kommun, 2012). It is along the tram track and stops that the primary developments are going to take place. There will be venues, plazas, city area centers and other services. The first stage of the tram system between Lund central station and the ESS area, and will pass through all of the Brunnshög projects. It will be an integrated instrument for the "corridor of knowledge" (Kunskapsstråket) as well as for the whole city. One of the objects in the Brunnshög projects is that 1/3 of the transports should be by public transportation. The tram system has been evaluated among alternatives and was the only alternative that met all the criteria then (Tekniska förvaltningen, 2015).

The main focus when the tram system was planned was that the stops should be in dense settlements; one of the reasons is to create safe environments. But it takes more than dense settlements around the tram stops to create the feeling of security. Around the stops there should be e.g. shops, restaurant, and cafés that attract people to increase the level of security. One of the main things will be to find equilibrium between the traffic that the commerce needs and the goals to decrease the use of motorized vehicles. A sparser traffic will also benefit to a safer environment for pedestrians and will make the commuting traffic more reliable (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2012).

The detail plans for the tram system in the Brunnshög project areas were politically accepted in the fall of 2014. There is cooperation between the major cities in Scania that is promoting the expansion of the tram system in Lund, Malmö and Helsingborg, the cooperation is called SpIS (Spårväg I Skåne). The first stage would cost approximately 720 million SEK, but the

question regarding the financing is not yet solved fully. The current situation is that the funding mostly will be done by the municipality and the Swedish government (Tekniska förvaltningen, 2015).

According to the first timetable the tram system stage one should be inaugurated in the first period of 2015. But the plans have been postponed due to an appeal and the new timetable is predicting that the first stage should be inaugurated earliest in 2018.

## 8. Analysis

The material is based upon official documents and interviews with representatives from different interest groups within the planning processes. The analysis focuses on three parts, the *findings in the interviews*, the *forum-arena-court* model and Arnstein's model the *ladder of citizen participation*.

### 8.1. General

Theorists and advocates e.g. Habermas, Dryzek and Healey promote that a higher influence and involvement by the citizens is one way to improve urban planning and development. This could be achieved through collaborative urban planning and communication between different stakeholders. There are several models that could be used to investigate the conditions regarding communicative urban planning and how much influence the citizens have in reality. Models like the *Forum-Arena-Court* and the *Ladder of citizen participation* investigate the conditions, connections, and power in the field of urban planning. The pure models could not be directly applied to any country due to different conditions and domestic laws, but there are some cornerstones to build on and there are Swedish modified equivalents.

Sweden has been influenced by the neo-liberal wave and it has permeated the political system and in extension the field of urban planning. The current planning model Policy analysis could be linked directly to neo-liberalism. By different communicative planning models the planning paradigm in Sweden and in extension the Brunnsög projects are striving towards the former paradigm Social learning, which advocates a higher degree of citizens' involvements.

One way to conduct urban planning in a neo-liberal landscape is by the ideas of Davoudi & Strange (2009) and the model of "fuzzy maps". The model advocates a system with flows and networks that are "fuzzy" and blurry instead of strict linear models. However, it is important that the networks and flows do not become too blurry, if that is the case they become counterproductive and the model fails.

It is important to maintain a critical thinking when it comes to different models in urban planning. In agreement with Sager (2005), the debate and criticism regarding the field is important and will probably push the field forward, and new planning paradigms and ideals will arise from the old ones. There will certainly be some traces left from past paradigms as it is in the current planning paradigm.

Urban planning in Sweden and in extension the Brunshög projects is a demonstration of power from the society and could never become completely objective. It is important to understand that different groups have different interests in a planning process. Different methods and models could work as instruments to make compromises and better understanding among the groups in a planning process.

## **8.2. Analysis of the interviews**

The politicians interviewed in the thesis are Emma Berginger (Miljöpartiet), Christer Wallin (Moderaterna), Björn Abelson (Socialdemokraterna) and Anne Landin representative from the new created political party NFL (FörNyaLund). Representative from the municipality is the chief of the Brunshög department Eva Dahlman. Representative from the association Djingis Khan are Mia Myrgren and Måns Bruun (See appendix A-F).

The municipality promotes the Brunshög projects as communicative projects where the citizens and the developers have a higher degree of influence in the planning process. The official statement is that there are a lot of communications, dialogues and mutual agreements in the different projects, but in the interviews in this study there are other opinions not supporting that statement.

The interviewed politicians all agree that there have been a positive attitude and a consensus towards the Brunshög projects. The only political party that had some objections in the beginning was Miljöpartiet (MP), but they have changed the opinion through the process. They claim it is better to acknowledge the projects and try to have some influence than to be reactionary. There now seems to be a consensus among the political parties to make the best of the projects. The interviewed politicians all thought that the projects will have a good impact in the region as well as for the municipality of Lund. There are some minor concerns regarding the placement of the projects. The projects are built upon one of the best farmlands in the region and there is a political decided guide line in the master plan from 2010 stating that the farmlands should be preserved. There is also another concern in the interviews that the facility of ESS is built too close to other settlements. The facility will produce some toxic waste and the question has been investigated and has been on referral. This is something both FNL and the association of Djingis Khan are emphasizing. According to the interviews the biggest failure from a communicative planning point of view seems to be the tram system project.

In 2011 a pre-study and information regarding the first stage of the tram system, from the central station in Lund to the ESS area was introduced. It is a project that will have a major impact on the city both in the

infrastructure and in the movement flows of the commuters. The tram system has been in the municipality Master plan for a long time but according to some of the interviews the information and the communication regarding the project has not been as sufficient as it should have been. Several of the interviews also confirm that the tram project could have been done differently and that the citizens should have been involved at an earlier stage. The citizens should also have received better and clearer information throughout the whole project, and the transparency should have been better. As it seems there is no definite information about if the detail plans regarding the tram will be realized or not and the project has been postponed several times due to different issues. There are some key issues that has not yet been solved e.g. how it will be founded or if there are other alternatives still available. Most of the political parties in the municipality have a positive attitude towards the project. The political parties opposed are Sverigedemokraterna (SD), Feministiskt Initiativ (Fi) and FNL (FörNyaLund). FNL is a new party that was created by the citizens opposing the tram project. They were elected to the city council in the last election and are pushing the issue to find another option to the tram system. The question regarding the commuters has to be solved in some way but there are different opinions how it should be solved. It is a question every interviewed participant agreed on (see appendix A-F).

The different methods in the field of communicative urban planning have not yet been evaluated by officials and politicians. It is yet undetermined how much impact the different methods have had on the citizens so far. However, there are indicators that the communications and the new methods not always have worked out between the different groups. The different areas in the project have had different communication methods and some methods have targeted a specific citizen group e.g. the association of Djingis Khan that represents is the closest residential area to Solbjer. They have a board that is supposed to have a dialogue/communication with the municipality to increase the influence. Since they are most affected of the development of the area Solbjer, the intension from the municipality has been to inform and to answer questions at special meetings dedicated to the association. But according to the interview they feel that the communication and dialogue between the association and the municipality have failed. They think the information has been good but the dialogue has shown weaknesses. At the same time they point out they are not reactionaries and are cautiously positive regarding new urban developments, but are doubtful regarding some of the detail plans in the Brunnsög projects, especially to some of the detail plans regarding Solbjer (see appendix F).

The interviews point out that there are some differences in the way to look at the Brunnsög projects from a communicative point of view. The

officials have one way to look at it, the interviewed politicians have almost the same way to look at it and the citizens have another way to look at it (see appendix B-D). There is no consensus between the different represented groups, and the different opinions go in clinch with one and another. The officials and some of the politicians seem to believe that the new methods are working fine and some other politicians and citizens are of a different opinion. FNL has objections and unanswered issues to the plans regarding the tram system and the association of Djingis Khan has objections regarding detail plans in the first developing area Solbjer (see appendix E & F).

### **8.3. Analysis of the Forum-Arena-Court model**

The *Forum-Arena-Court* model advocates a high degree of consensus among the participants in the three meeting phases. The municipality of Lund has tried to implement new communicative methods and suitable utilities e.g. maps, illustrations, statistic, reports and other unconventional e.g. guided tours, urban gardens, workshops, to raise the degree of consensus among the different groups/participants. There are strong indicators in some of the Brunnsbögs projects that a consensus has not been reached in the first *Forum* phase. The best example where the consensus has not been reached despite the utilities are the detail plans regarding the tram system. The different priorities, decisions, the strategic standpoints and limitations have not been worked through as much as it probably should have in the *Forum* phase of the model. There is no ultimate consensus among the participants and the project does not reflect all the participants' interest. This also reflects one of the theorists behind the Swedish equivalent Engström's (Reglab, 2012) warning that a result without a high degree of consensus among the participants would not be valid or could cause problems. There could of course be problems even if there is a consensus, but it is easier to deal with if the goals and visions are shared.

The Brunnsbögs projects have been planned for a long time and there have been discussions regarding several matters, which suggest there have been attempts from the municipality to make the best of the first *Forum* phase. The openness in the *Forum* has been fairly good but how the flexibility has worked so far is more uncertain since there are different opinions among the participants regarding this case. Even if the main aim is not to find a solution where everyone is a winner it is important every participant understands other participants' interests and why certain things are important to them. This is something that has not always been the cases of the Brunnsbögs projects. It should be mentioned there are several projects in Brunnsbög and there are differences in the degree of consensus between the projects. Some of the projects have had a fairly good *forum* phase.

The traditional open meetings that are regulated by the Swedish domestic law have not always worked out as planned in the Brunnsög projects. The major flaw with the open meetings is that not every group is represented and that it tends to be the critical voices attending. This phenomenon could be applied on the detail plans regarding the tram system and has complicated the *forum* phase. However, it could be argued that the *Forum-Arena-Court* model never was applied on the plans regarding the tram system.

Since municipalities in Sweden have self governance and the politicians in the city council have the ultimate control of urban planning, it is not always the old power structure will be dismantled and reconstructed. Every municipality has control of the planning process and the power distribution, which could leave a status quo in traditional power relations even if the intension is to divide the power. It could be deliberately or it could be unintentionally. It should be mentioned that even if the politicians have the ultimate power, they also have the ultimate responsibility in a municipality. It is hard to tell if there are any changes in the power structure in the Brunnsög projects, and there will be different opinions regarding the question. It should also be emphasized that it is almost impossible to make urban developments that every group and citizens agree on. It almost always comes down to make the best equilibrium as possible based of the conditions, and the Brunnsög projects are no exceptions.

Since the domestic laws in Sweden give the politicians the ultimate power it can be argued that the first forum phase could be hollowed, where the power tends not to be distributed. This also makes the next *Arena* phase a little unsecure since the degree of consensus could not be determined. There are some indicators the consensus to some of the frameworks in the *arena* phase has been low from the citizens in some the Brunnsög projects. This also makes the next *court* phase a little bit complicated since the essence of the model is a high degree of consensus.

In accordance with Engström (Reglab, 2012), the citizens should be involved at an early stage, even before the planning process of a detail plan. This would make that the citizens feel they are part of the process and could result in better secured and legitimated solutions. The situation regarding the tram system could probably have been avoided, if the citizens had received better information regarding the project already before the first stage of planning process. This is something the municipality could and should learn from.

#### 8.4. Analysis of the ladder of citizen participation

The Arnstein *ladder model* and the Swedish equivalent *the step model* are simplified models that put the complexity matter regarding the involvement of the citizens in different categories, and how much influence power they have in the different categories. The Arnstein ladder model is divided in eight stages and the Swedish step model is divided in five steps; *Information* → *Consultation* → *Dialogue* → *Influence* → *Ultimate control of the citizens*, and is easier to relate to since it is using the Swedish urban planning terminology.

It has been the intension from the officials in the municipality of Lund to inform and to involve the citizens in new ways different from the traditional ways of planning in Sweden, and the intension is to give the citizens a higher degree of influence. The intension in the Brunnsög projects has been to put the citizens' influence degree at the fourth step *Influence* of the Swedish model.

There is a significant difference if a process is hollow and paved with hypocrisy and a process where it is possible to influence. One important aspect in the model is that the power should be redistributed in the process. The Swedish planning process consists of six different stages and is the key element in Swedish urban planning. It is within the planning process the power regarding urban planning is distributed between the different involved groups e.g. politicians, officials, citizens and developers. If the power is not redistributed it tends to stay at those who had the power in the first place and since the politicians in Sweden in the city council have the ultimate power, there is a possible danger they will keep the power throughout the process and that no power will trickle down in the hierarchy. The amount of influence the different groups could have in the planning process could to some extent be controlled by a municipality, within the statutory limits. The citizens do not normally have any direct controlling power within the planning processes. The backbone and the traditional way in Sweden to communicate between different groups use to be by open or dedicated meetings in the planning process, which is regulated by law. It is yet undetermined exactly how the power is distributed in the Brunnsög projects and in the specific planning processes and it varies from project to project. The first two steps in the model; *information* and *consultation* have been fulfilled in most of the Brunnsög projects, the exception is the plans regarding the tram system. The plans regarding the tram system barley breaks in at the first *Information* step in the model from the beginning.

The tram system project has been the most debated and discussed, and there are many reasons why. The first issue connects to the *Forum-Arena-Court model* where the plans did not meet a consensus and legitimacy in

the first *forum* phase. When the project reached the Master plan for the first time there was very little information accessible regarding the project for the citizens. The municipality has tried to make up the mistake with more and better information and has tried to promote the project in another way. However, it has not been enough and the question has divided the opinion among the participants. The second issue is that there is a feeling among some of the participants that the municipality has forced the project forward and only the first step of *Information* has been reached. The municipality has tried to include the *Consultation* and *Dialogue* steps later on in the process. It could be argued how it has worked out so far. The third issue is that the process regarding the tram has not been as transparent as many other detail plan processes, which also has fueled the discontent. Since the question divides the participants in the process as well as the citizens, it could be argued there is no ultimate unanimous consensus. However, there are advocates to the tram system that feel there has been opportunity to influence the project. It always comes down to the eye of the beholder. But there is no doubt that the municipality could have had handled the project regarding the tram system differently, to avoid strong objections later on in the process.

The aim to maintain a high degree of influence has not yet been established to full extent, but the municipality tries to improve the level of influence. It will be important to give better feedbacks and following up the new communicative methods implemented in the Brunnsög projects. The communication has to be better and has to be a two-way street to reach the step of *Dialogue*. There are some indicators (see appendix E & F) that the communication has been one-way street in some of the projects. If that is the case the influence of the citizen only reaches the first step *Information* in the model. But overall the different projects in the Brunnsög areas have been pending between the *Dialogue* step and the *Influence* step in the Swedish step model. It could be argued that the term influence is a bit fuzzy and could have different meaning to different participants. There have been some altercations to some of the detail plans in the Brunnsög projects but there have not been any major changes. From that perspective it could be argued there have not been any major influences from the citizens.

The highest step in the Swedish step model; will never be applied since the domestic law has the legitimacy to prevent citizens to have the ultimate power in decisions regarding urban planning and development. The most important in communicative urban planning is that the majority of the citizens feel they have some influence and that the municipality takes suggestions and comments in consideration. Other thing that is important is to follow up the different communicative methods and to give constant feedback to every involved participant and group.

## 9. Conclusions

The purpose of the thesis has been to investigate two main topics; what the *power relations* between politicians, officials, developers and citizens are in the case of Brunnsög. And to what extent there is *communicative* planning in the case of Brunnsög. There is no consensus regarding *communicative* planning among the interviewed representatives.

The *communicative* theories Habermas, Dryzek & Healey describe are not possible to apply to its full extent in Sweden and in extension the Brunnsög projects since the domestic laws and frameworks do not support some of the ideas. But there are some models like the *Forum-Arena-Court* model the Arnstein *ladder model* that could be implemented or tried in some extent in the Brunnsög projects. The models have been modified to fit the Swedish domestic frameworks and are working as lenses in the thesis.

One aim of the Brunnsög projects from the municipality side is to increase the level of involvement and awareness in the planning process. Another aim is to have a good dialogue and *communication* between the different groups in the planning process of the different detail plans in the projects, raising the degree of influence. The representatives in the interviews feel differently regarding the *communication* but states that the information has been sufficient. But according to some of the participants, this aim has not been fulfilled to the extent wanted and expected. Some of the interviewed representatives state the element of *communication* has been absent in many of the detail plans in the Brunnsög projects.

There is a positive consensus among the interviews in the thesis to the Brunnsög projects in general. At the same time there are different opinions regarding key issues, e.g. the *dialogue/communication*, the influence by the citizens, the tram system, the location, the ESS facility, the conformation of the housings, and to some extent the way things have been handled from the municipality in the planning processes.

The backbone of the *communication* between the different groups in the Brunnsög projects is still by traditional meetings, which are regulated by law. But there have been new communicative methods implemented e.g. workshops, guided tour meetings etc. The new *communicative* methods need to be gradually evaluated to its full extent before exactly final conclusions are drawn. The interviews point out that the information has been to satisfaction and that the new methods probably have reached the majority of the citizens. There are opinions that the *communication* has been unidirectional and that dialogue has failed in some of the Brunnsög projects. However, the general opinion is that the transparency and

information in different planning process in the Brunnsbögh projects has been sufficient so far, except the plans regarding the tram system.

According to officials, there have been and still are dialogues and *communications* with the citizens and interest groups who are directly involved in the Brunnsbögh projects. They point out that there have been meetings and information throughout the different planning processes and that it will continue. It should be emphasized that it is hard to make every one satisfied when it comes to urban development and there will always be citizens or involved groups that will disapprove a project/detail plan. The officials state that the planning processes in the Brunnsbögh areas have been more “liberal” than it usually might be, but that they have been obliged to follow the Swedish regulations in the PBL and the environmental code (see appendix A).

There are connections between the officials and the politicians in the municipality, which is natural since they have a certain common *power relation*. There is also a connection between officials and developers in the case of Brunnsbögh since there have been agreements on what developers are going to develop in the different areas. The citizens have connection to the politicians since they are the ones who are electing the city council and have the *power* to vote for other political parties. There is also a connection between the concept of *communication* and the *power* in the planning process. There are *power relations* between the different groups in the planning processes in the Brunnsbögh projects. But the *power relations* so far in the Brunnsbögh projects have been at status quo and nothing has really changed from the ordinary *power relation* structure in a standard planning process, according to the two models Forum-Arena-Court and the Arnstein Ladder.

The politicians in the municipality of Lund have the greatest *power* of urban planning since they have the authority to decide if a detail plan should be legally bound. It should also be emphasized that the politicians are the ones who are ultimately responsible of the urban development in the municipality, and in extension the Brunnsbögh projects. The officials have the *power* to develop and shape the Brunnsbögh detail plans that the politicians decide on. They are the ones who pick the winner in different competitions in the Brunnsbögh projects (see chapter 7.3.). In some cases the officials have the *power* to recommend that a project should be prioritized or if a project should be hold back. The developers elect the winners in a competition regarding the design of the houses in the areas will be able to create city blocks from their perspective and vision, even if they have to follow the block references from the area and master plan. The winners among the developers also access the priority to the building permits in an area. The developers that have won the competition regarding the public space will be able to create their vision and concept.

This is also a way to demonstrate the *power*. Every citizen in Sweden has the right to make a comment and oppose to a project but the citizens living close to a project have a higher value when different comments are weighted against each other by the officials. The citizens also have the *power* to create new political parties e.g. the FNL. This also point to *power* through a democratic path.

There have been objections, comments and suggestions to the politically accepted detail plans from political parties as well as from the citizens. This indicates that the citizens and the elected parties have the *power* to give in protests for the official records of a detail plan. However, the degree of influence by citizens is not yet determined in the Brunnsbög projects, but there are indications in the interviews that (see appendix F) there are dissatisfactions among some of the citizens. The *power* structure in the Brunnsbög projects has not been dismantled and redistributed, which the two used models advocate, and still remains at status quo.

The planning process is and will continue to be the key element in urban planning and development in Sweden and in the extension the case of Brunnsbög. It will continue to be in the planning processes where the *power* is distributed. It will also be important to reveal who has the *power* in the Brunnsbög projects and maintain a good level of transparency in all planning process. This has not been fulfilled e.g. with the plans regarding the tram system. This is and will be important from a *commutative* point of view.

The plan regarding the tram system has been the biggest failure from a municipality perspective. Even if the plan has been ongoing for many years the citizens should have been informed at an earlier stage of the process. The scenario the municipality has to face today could probably have been avoided with the right actions from the beginning. The municipality should take notice of the tram scenario and try to avoid similar situations in the future. It is a good example of how a project should not be handled from a collaborative point of view. Both analyses of the *Forum-Arena-Court* model and Arnsteins *ladder model* points to the fact that the plans regarding the tram should have been done differently.

The officials state that the work to involve developers and citizens in a *communicative* way and maintain a dialogue in the Brunnsbög projects planning process will continue. There are others like Djingis Khan and FNL that state there have been a little or no *communicative* planning so far and that the municipality needs to improve the dialogue towards the citizens. The *communication* between involved groups is and will be important and the key element in the case of Brunnsbög, since it is a pilot project in *communicative* urban planning

The Brunshög projects are in the beginning of the developing process and will extend over a long time. It will be important to ensure that the citizens are part of the process, at the same time as it will be important to maintain a smooth planning process. Some *communicative* methods have to be added and some might be removed along the process. One important thing will be to find a degree of stability in the *power* relations in the planning process. This makes the Brunshög projects interesting to follow from a *communicative* planning point of view.

## 10. Final discussion and reflections

The planning process is the key element in urban planning and if an agreement is not met between the different groups, politicians, officials, developers and citizens in the process, the last resort could possibly be to force a project by the local city council or by higher government authorities. This would point to a planning model in direct contrast to communicative planning. Some of the participants e.g. the association of Djingis Khan and the political party NFL (FörNyaLund) felt and still feel they have been ignored by the municipality to some extent in several issues and questions.

To increase the degree of communicative planning and involvement of the citizens in the planning process and urban planning could be a great opportunity, or/and it could lead to a possible downfall. The positive is that the citizens could interact with the officials to find shared decisions that also work in the "common interest". The downside is that decisions could be harder to make since plans could be rejected or appealed by the citizens in a different way. In the extension the process would take much longer time and other conditions could change during the process, postponing it even further. This is the equilibrium the municipality of Lund needs to deal with at the case of Brunnsög, since the projects are supposed to advocate a high degree of involvement by the citizens.

The models Arena-Forum-Court model and the Arnstein ladder model cannot be directly applied in Sweden and in extension the case of Brunnsög, due to the domestic laws and the conditions. However, the models have been modified to a Swedish context and have shown to be useful to investigate from a communicative urban planning point of view. The models could be developed to further improve the results as the field changes with time.

The power of influence should be distributed at all the stages in the planning process as the models Forum-Arena-Court and the Arnstein ladder advocates. However, it is not clear how much, if any power has been redistributed in the case of Brunnsög. It is something that needs to be evaluated to ensure the degree of communicative planning. It could also be of value to make the planning process reasonably transparent towards the citizens, to maintain a high trust level. Every municipality should strive for transparency in the process and this is something that has been sufficient according to the participants in the case of Brunnsög, but there could always be improvements.

There has recently been a reform in Swedish planning process. The major advantage was that the planning process time was shortened and some of the phases were removed and implemented in other. One thing with the

reform was that it also shortened the appealing time for citizens. If tendencies of rationalizing the planning process continue to advocates, the degree of involvement of the citizens in the planning process could be questioned. It will also raise questions regarding the limitations of the citizens' opinions in the planning process. The rationalizing in the process has been criticized by the "Sveriges Byggindustrier" (2012) for the same reasons. This could potentially be a blow to collaborative/communicative urban planning in Sweden and it could lead to the power even closer linked to the municipality. It could also be a potential danger, and will be in a direct contradiction to the idea of a higher degree of involvement by the citizen in the Brunnsbög projects. Since the Brunnsbög projects stretches over a long period of time it is uncertain how the local ruling and the political landscape will look like in the future and in extension how much the citizens will be involved.

Urban planning in Sweden and in extension the Brunnsbög projects should be developed in the "common interest". It is notoriously hard to define the expression and it could include many perspectives and in extension it could be featureless and blurry. It should be emphasized it is notoriously hard to make urban development's where everyone is satisfied and the Brunnsbög projects are no exception. With a higher degree of communicative planning, the dissatisfaction would probably decrease in the project areas.

Even if the citizens in Sweden and the Brunnsbög projects feel that they are part of a project, it might be an illusion. In Sweden the citizens with the backing of politicians or by higher authorities could reject a project and put it back to referral. At the same time there is not much the citizen could do if a municipality has decided that a major project should be carried out. In the case of Brunnsbög the "common interest" in favor of the nation, could in a hypothetical scenario weigh higher than the local citizens' opinion.

In agreement with Nyström & Tornell (2012), there are groups in the society that tend to be excluded from the planning process for various reasons. In many cases it is marginalized groups in the society that tend to be absent. This may be e.g. lack of interest, not getting enough information, lack of knowledge, etc. It is hard to involve all citizen groups in a planning process and to maintain a good dialogue. There will almost always be groups excluded for some reasons and there will be groups in every project that will feel neglected, and that it is a problem. It will be important that the municipality will try to reach as many citizen groups as possible when continuing developing the areas since it is major projects that will have impacts in the whole city and many of the citizens.

Since the municipality has tried to enhance the degree of communicative urban planning in the Brunnskög projects, it will be important to gradually evaluate the current methods and perhaps incorporate new methods to involve the citizens and maintain an open dialogue. It will also be of value if the officials gradually make market research among the citizens in the municipality to assure they feel they have any influence at the Brunnskög projects or if they feel the officials and politicians are ignoring the opinion of the citizens in important decisions, even if the projects are pilot projects where the citizens' opinions should weigh high.

Cities and regions want to attract investments and want to be associated with good attributes. This can be applied at the case of Brunnskög. It could be both for good and for bad, it will create new jobs and housings in the municipality. At the same time it could possibly lead to drainage in the same sectors in municipalities in the proximity. However, it could also lead to positive developments to all the municipalities in the proximity.

One way to approach the urban planning in a neo-liberal landscape according to Davoudi & Strange (2009), is to view it from a blurry point of view in the form of "fuzzy maps". This is a way to approach and criticize the normality of neo-liberalism as well as a method to transfer problems in urban planning from a higher to a lower level of the decision chain. According to Healey in Olesen (2014), there are positive sides to the fuzziness since there are needs for solutions where cross-disciplines and multi-directional needs interact. But according to Nyseth in Olesen, (2014), too much fluidity and fuzziness could result in losing the control. It could also give other forces more opportunities. There are chances that the civic society has to give up power and that the private investors are gaining it. This could potentially give a push to the neo-liberal approach further and in extension it could lead to the neo-liberal approach strengthening its dominance. According to Sørensen & Torfing in Olesen (2014), urban planning practice seems to be fluid, but on the other hand it is governed by neo-liberal agendas. Even if the urban planning is increasing at lower levels the rules of strategy making is still to a large extent made at higher levels. Urban planning process operating in a government with the mentality of neo-liberalism will have limited initiative to transform or change, and could be reinforcing the "status quo" (Sørensen *et al*, in Olesen, 2014). It is uncertain if a fluid network of this kind would be implemented at Brunnskög projects since there are certain domestic regulations and frameworks to be obliged. However, there are tendencies in the Brunnskög projects that the "status quo" in the distribution of power will remain. This is something the Forum-Arena-Court model and the Arnstein Ladder model warn for.

In agreement with Olesen (2014) hopefully the debate regarding the theories and a critical approach to urban planning will arise. Planning theorists hopefully take Sager's (2005) warning in consideration:

*"The saying goes that the road to hell is paved with good intentions. Planning theorists should therefore not ignore critique suggesting that their well-intention reforms are being transformed and perverted by economic political forces only to end up making society less rather than more democratic" (Sager, 2005:7)*

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# Appendix A-F

## Appendix A

### Interview with Eva Dahlman

The interview was conducted with the head supervisor of the Brunnskög projects, Eva Dahlman at the municipality headquarter in the end of April. The interview was a depth interview with expected fluid answers with follow up questions and resembled more a discussion and a conversation than a strict informant and researcher format. The interview was conducted in Swedish and then transcribed into English.

#### **Will all the project areas in Brunnskög keep the timelines? Are there any delays now and is there a cause?**

The research facilities Max Lab and ESS are on a strict schedule and will most likely be finished when they are suppose to be. They are not controlled by the municipality in the same way that the other project areas are. The residential areas do not have a strict time schedule to keep since the project areas will stretch for over 40 years. The first phase where the area Solbjer is included is slightly delayed and has not received the expected investments in the first phase. At the same time the project is ongoing and it is a minor setback and there are investors. Everything is depending on the market and the demand. It could go faster it could go slower.

#### **What was the reaction on the rapport from Region Skåne regarding the effects of Max Lab and ESS? Will there be any “spin off” effects or spillover and are there any prognoses where that could take place?**

There is a primary interest of both offices and housings in the proximity of the new research facilities, in the Science Village area. There could be secondary interests in other locations but it is hard to evaluate and determine until the project is in full scale and operational. The rapport conducted by PwC probably exaggerated the effects of new developments in the region, but there will still be some impact. There will be a contingency plan and there are areas dedicated to developments that could be used if it would be the necessary. There would probably not be any effects in other municipalities than Lund or maybe Malmö. There has been higher degree of liberal urban politics when it comes to the projects in Brunnskög.

#### **How has the politician and policies from the different parties viewed the projects, at a local, region and national level?**

In general the politicians and the political parties at local, region and national level have been positive regarding the new research facilities Max

Lab IV and ESS. They have also been mostly positive regarding the new residential areas, but a bit more reserved. There have been some reservations from some political parties in some of the detail plans, but not whole areas. There has been a consensus among the political parties and the research facilities have been mostly welcomed.

**How has the citizens in the municipality of Lund and other citizens in close by municipalities viewed the projects?**

There have been open discussions regarding the projects towards the citizens and there have been both positive discussions and negative discussions. Most of the citizens have welcomed the project and the department has advertised the project, invited the citizens to meetings etc, to inform the citizens regarding the projects. Majority of the appeals has been submitted from the inhabitants close to the new developing areas. They feel that the areas are too close to the already existing buildings, and many of the appealers do not feel the municipality has listen to them. They want the plans to be remade and have been appealing to the projects. It is close to impossible to make everyone satisfied when it comes to new urban developing. The nearby municipalities have been mostly positive regarding the projects.

**How does the democratic ways reflect in the projects? Have the citizens had any chance to influent the projects, and in that case how and when?**

The projects will and have followed Swedish regulations and thus there have been opportunities for the citizens to make reflections and comments to the projects, positive and negative. There has been and still is a civic dialoged and there are employees that have the task to serve the public and to note opinions. Both ESS and Max Lab are following the Swedish planning process and there have been opportunities to the civic just like any other detail plan.

**Are the new research facilities in the common interest? In a hypothetic scenario could the civic be overruled by higher authorities?**

It is a hypothetic question that is impossible to answer, but there are higher authorities in Sweden that hypothetically could overrule the citizens or the local political parties' dictions to some extent. It is hard to predict what would have happened if that was the case. The argumentation would have to be strong from both sides. It is all speculations.

**Do you think the processes in the areas are transparent? Is it possible to see what goals and objectives there are?**

There is a guidebook regarding the goals and objectives for the Brunnsjö projects and all plans should follow the aims and guidelines. The Brunnsjö projects have an own homepage (<http://www.lund.se/Brunnshog/>) that is updated frequently, where major happenings and other important information are presented. Both ESS and Max Lab IV have homepages that also is updated frequently and where the citizen may follow the expansions.

The projects should be as transparent as any detail plans and planning processes. There is information what investors and developers are going to develop in the detail plans that are completed and initiated. The execution is regulated by contracts and the detail plans can be found at the municipality homepage.

**How much does the tram system affect Brunnsjö? And how much does it affect the different areas in time and investments?**

The postponing of the tram is a concern for all the projects since it will be the backbone in the areas. The office projects will be most affected of the delay, the resident areas would be built anyway, but it would take longer time. The research facilities would not be affected of the tram since they are going to be built anyway. The tram stage one will be operational earliest in late 2018, but most likely closer to 2020 if the plans are going through the process.

**What is the vision for the Brunnsjö projects?**

It should be an area created for the future. One thing that is important is the connection between people. People could connect at an individual level creating clusters of knowledge and innovations. It will be important that the municipality of Lund will continue to develop the projects and pushing it to be a part of the city of tomorrow with good communication, exciting architecture, shops, cafes, restaurants, streaks etc. It will be important to invest in a quality living for the residents.

It is also important with education at all levels. However, Richards Florida's theory regarding the creative class is not a model that should be enforced. It is wrong to think that the three T's; tolerance, technology and talent should lead to a better society. There are much more than just that and the municipality must promote an outside of box thinking welcoming innovation and meetings between peoples. The key to maintain a sustainable society is education.

## Appendix B

### Emma Berginger (Miljöpartiet)

The interview was conducted in the fall of 2015. The interview was held in Swedish in a form of a conversation rather than a straight forward interview. Berginger was chosen since she has been a member of the local housing committee during the last mandate, and was then in opposition. She is now the chairman in the local technical board and she is also well read into the different projects and has a deep knowledge of the planning process.

#### **What is your and your political party's opinion about the Brunnsnög projects? Has the opinion changed during the years? If so why and in what ways?**

Our political opinion in the Brunnsnög projects has changed during the process. Our party was skeptical to the project in the beginning since it will be built upon of the best farmlands in the region. Our standpoint in the beginning was to find another location since we thought there were other better options to the new research facilities ESS and Max Lab IV. Gradually we have accepted the terms since it was clear that the projects would be built. It has been important not to be locked in a position and we want to make the best of the situation as it is. From our point of view it is important to try to integrate the new areas in the city in a good way and the major issues for us is the environmental questions and in extension the commuting and the traffic.

From our perspective it is important that the projects have a high environmental standard, and we have minor comments on several projects regarding the traffic situation in the areas, e.g. the highway exits. Closeness to a good commuting option in the areas is vital and has high priority. We have not been locked in a specific model, only in a general environmental sustainability mindset.

#### **Brunnsnög is a pilot project in communicative planning and the main goal for the municipality has been to involve and inform the involved groups in new ways. What is your and your party's opinion on the dialogues and the communicative planning in the projects?**

The ambition to involve the citizens in new ways has been high from the municipality. The municipality has tried to look at all the aspects in the project, especially the social and the environmental. This has also had an impact on conformation in the different detail plans.

Those who live near the construction site e.g. the community of Djingis Khan might not feel that the municipality has taken their suggestion and

comments in consideration. When the municipality is and the officials are making detail plans, it always comes down to different tradeoffs, and it is hard to satisfy everyone. The community of Djingis Khan has created an interest group to improve the dialogue with the officials, which also is a way to practice strong commitment by the citizens and the community. This civic commitment should be in other developing projects than rather just the Bunnshög projects. The municipality should extend the accessibility and the transparency towards the citizens and try to involve regular people in different developing projects around the municipality. The municipality could learn from the new ways to communicate in the Brunnschög projects since they are very extensive, and apply it in other developing projects.

**Do you and your political party feel that the municipality has been transparent in the planning process, the different detail plans and the different contracts?**

The municipality is not that distinct in the planning process, and it could be of great value to make it more transparent. It could also be of value to involve the opposing political parties in an earlier stage than now. As it is now, the opposing parties are involved too late in the planning process and the work with detail plans. This also applies towards the developers and the citizens. In a better democratic planning process it would be easier to avert or change a proposal to a detail plan. This could open up to a better dialogue earlier in the process even before a mission plan. If that was the case, controversial plans could be evaluated both by the citizens and developers in a different way.

Another way to involve the citizens is to work with different key groups in better ways than open council meetings. Open council meetings have a major flaw, not every important citizen groups will be represented. The municipality and the officials must enforce new ways to get out the information regarding developing projects. Those who attend the open council meetings tend to have a critical perspective. There must be a civic representative backing to validate a suggestion in the best way possible. This applies not only to the tram system, but all major developing projects.

**The plans regarding the tram system have been delayed several times due to different reasons. What is your and your political party's opinion regarding the project?**

The plans regarding the tram system should have come earlier in the process. The municipality has definitely ruptured in the communication, towards all involved groups and parties. The plans should have been better highlighted and the discussion should have come earlier, because the resistance has come in just the last few years. The plan regarding the tram

is in the master plan from 2010, and has been on the news since the 90ies. The plans should be seen in a long-term perspective, but not everyone sees it that way. The plans regarding the tram system should perhaps be of value to be highlighted in an expansion strategy that stretches 10 years ahead. There have been several attempts from the municipality and officials to repair the dialogue by arranging more open public meetings. The major problem at the meetings is that sometimes only the extreme critical opinions make themselves heard. Other citizens that want to know more about the plans might not get much out of those meetings. It could be of value to make more targeted actions to increase the communication regarding the tram again. Perhaps better information regarding decisions could be one way to go and in best case scenario there will be a decision regarding the tram system in the end of the year.

**Do you and your political party think that the Brunnskög projects will have any major impact at a regional level? Good and bad?**

The Brunnskög projects are both of regional and national concern. It is important to build and develop the new research facilities ESS and Max Lab in a good stimulating environment with research and development with closeness to the university. It is also important to make sure that it is possible to commute to the new research facilities in good ways, and the tram system should be the optimal solution. The tram system is also an optimal in a long-term perspective to commute.

The municipality has a great potential but the city cannot grow too rapidly. It will be important to make good decisions, but at the same time keeping in mind which growth rate is realistic and feasible. The municipality has a stable growth in the population and there is no lag in the demand in the housing market. It is also possible that municipalities in the proximity will benefit from the Brunnskög projects and other investments in the municipality of Lund. In the future it will be of importance to make new major developing plans at a regional level and enforce an enhanced cooperation between municipalities in the region. In that case it would be easier for municipalities in the region to complement each other. It will also be of importance to enhance the commuting options and sustainable alternatives.

**Do you and your political party think there will be any spin-off effects or/and spill over to other municipalities in the proximity of Lund?**

There will most certainly be some spill-over effects and from a communicative perspective the dialogues should probably be at a regional level. Today there is some collaboration between the municipalities on the west side of Skåne and will be of value to preserve and to enhance the collaboration and extend it to the whole region. There are some concerns

that the eastern part will be neglected, but that part will also have some potential. One other important thing is to connect the region with good and sustainable infrastructure, the region is in need of more projects from the national plan.

## Appendix C

### Interview with Christer Wallin (Moderaterna)

The interview was conducted in the fall of 2015. The interview was held in Swedish in a form of a conversation rather than a straight forward interview. Wallin was chosen since he has been the chairman of the local housing committee during the last mandate; he is also well read into the different projects and has a deep knowledge of the planning process.

**What is your and your political party's opinion about the Brunnsbögh projects? Has the opinion changed during the years? If so why and in what ways?**

Our political party was in majority when the final decision regarding the project was made. The party has been positive to the projects from the beginning and almost all the local political parties in the municipality have been positive from the beginning, but there has been some discussion back and forth regarding some issues. It is basically a good project with high potential. The municipality has enforced a high environmental standard in the Brunnsbögh projects, since the projects will be developed on one of the best farmlands in Skåne. This has also been a criterion by the Swedish Länsstyrelsen. The soil has been preserved so it will be possible to restore some of the damaged areas when the projects are complete.

**Brunnsbögh is a pilot project in communicative planning and the main goal for the municipality has been to involve and inform the involved groups in new ways. What is your and your party's opinion on the dialogues and the communicative planning in the projects?**

The planning processes in the projects have been different than we are normally used to. We have experienced that the different dialogs have been more open and distinct. However, there will always be new ways to improve the dialogue and make it better. One of the major issues has been the plans regarding the tram system, and the municipality can probably learn from this mistake in the future. The dialogue has been extended to involve all the citizens, with e.g. a dedicated homepage, a dedicated department, an interactive map, e-based services etc. Even if the citizens who live close to the project have had some influence it is still crucial to know all the citizens' opinion. The Brunnsbögh projects should be in the citizen's common interest.

There is also an environmental awareness and commitment both from the municipality and the citizens that is a channel to dialogue, and could be one way to communicate. There are urban gardening projects and there is a hut park for the children built by the citizens with the initiative from the

officials. This kind of projects could also be viewed as a part of communicative planning towards the citizens.

The municipality has enforced more consultation meetings in the first project Solbjer than normally. There have been consultations regarding the detailed comprehensive plan, the area plan and the different detail plans. Those who live closest to the projects have had a bigger chance to influence and make suggestions. It is not certain that they feel that the municipality has embraced their suggestions, but it has been the intention to listen and take their suggestions in consideration. It is hard to make everyone completely satisfied.

**Do you and your political party feel that the municipality has been transparent in the planning process, the different detail plans and the different contracts?**

The transparency in the Brunnsbölg projects has overall been higher than it usually uses to be. It depends on several reasons e.g. the dedicated department that could answer questions from the citizens, the interactive map with all the current detail plans in the municipality, etc. There is also a dedicated homepage where the citizens could look for information regarding the different projects in the area and other vital information. The major advantages with a high level of transparency are that there are not supposed to be any surprises on its way.

The transparency towards the landlords and developers have been good, there have been no severe complaints. There are some developers that have withdrawn their projects, due to too small developing areas in the projects and that it could be a bit expensive. The building permits in the first stage and areas have been announced, and the developers have been able to apply to the municipality to be one of the developers in the project. The criteria of the developers have been and still are high, but there have been many applications from different developers that have shown interest. Some of them have been selected by the municipality to develop the first areas in the projects.

**The plans regarding the tram system have been delayed several times due to different reasons. What is your and your political party's opinion regarding the project?**

From a communicative planning point of view, the tram system project has been the worst. There has even been a new political party created from the process. Their main goal is to revoke the plans and see if there are other possibilities to solve the question regarding the collective traffic to Brunnsbölg areas and the new research facilities ESS and Max Lab IV. The dialogue regarding the tram system has been exactly the opposite what

the municipality is aiming for. There have been attempts to repair the dialogue towards the citizens by the municipality, but it has probably been too little too late. The main focus has not always been regarding the tram system; perhaps it should have been more highlighted. However, there are many developers and citizens that want to see a tram system solution. The main question now is how to finance the project. It will most likely cost more than the calculations shows and there is a need of another evaluation how much extra it will cost. The municipality has chosen the most expensive alternative and there might be other tram options that are more sustainable. Our party believes that there is still time to evaluate the options once more, but most likely there will be a tram system in the end.

**Do you and your political party think that the Brunnskög projects will have any major impact at a regional level? Good and bad?**

Two things could happen. There might be a preponderance of jobs in the municipality. The municipality already has a large commuting from other municipalities, and in a 15-20 year period, it could increase dramatically. This will put further pressure on the central station that is already one of the major commuting hubs in the region. The Brunnskög projects will be central engine and an important job node for the municipality as well as for other municipalities in the proximity. The other thing that could happen is that the housing market in other municipalities could be affected. The ones with good commuting options will have an advantage and there is a risk that the housing market in the eastern parts would stagnate, since the commuting options are not optimal.

The projects will have impacts on the regional level, but how it will be is still undetermined and the future will tell. There will be good impacts, but there are risks for some bad ones.

**Do you and your political party think there will be any spin-off effects or/and spill over to other municipalities in the proximity of Lund?**

When it comes to the job market, it will probably increase and some spin-off effects would occur. The tram system or the commuting options is one key piece. It is also an issue of concern for the entire region. There will be a need of both new work places and housings, and where the municipality of Lund could assist with the work places. There will be some spill-over effects to other municipalities in the region.

## Appendix D

### **Björn Abelson (Socialdemokraterna)**

The interview was conducted in the fall of 2015 at the main office of the political party Socialdemokraterna in the city of Lund. The interview was held in Swedish in a form of a conversation rather than a straight forward interview. Abelson was chosen since he is the current chairman of the local housing committee. He has also been a member at the board during the last mandate, and he is well read into the Brunshög projects.

**What is your and your political party's opinion about the Brunshög projects? Has the opinion changed during the years? If so why and in what ways?**

There has been a consensus among most of the political parties in the municipality to have a positive approach to the Brunshög project. There have been and will be discussions regarding some of the detail plans, since there are some differences between the parties. Even if there have been some minor differences and discussion regarding some projects, most of the political parties are now positive and see the potentials. We believe that all of the major parties are willing to work together and maintain a political continuity and consensus throughout the process. There have been generically critiques that the projects have been delayed and postponed, but there are finally some positive movements in the development and the first project area Solbjer is in the first phase. This will send a positive signal to investors and developers.

The general view by the officials and politicians regarding the Brunshög projects has changed during the process. In the beginning of the process the focus was on the research and development of new research companies but has transformed into projects where the housing has gained more focus, there has become equilibrium. The Brunshög areas were supposed to mainly be a work engine, but there have been a densification of companies in the existing Ideon areas and have changed the conditions. Many of the world leading universities have earlier shown interest having affiliates in the new areas, but the interest has decreased since the projects have dragged on. However, there are still applicants from other universities and it will be important to nurture the relations to other partners.

The areas will be developed from an environmental aspect and are suppose to be a new city district of the future, where the environmental aspects will be highlighted. There are several concepts and criteria applied in the projects and the areas will have a high environmental standard. There are minor environmental projects that involve the citizens e.g. the

huts that have been built by the citizens and the minor urban gardens. The urban gardens are one of the concepts directed directly towards the citizens and are a way to attract people to the areas. We need to go back to the basic when it comes to environmental projects directed to the citizens and we must try to keep a clear and open dialogue.

**Brunnshög is a pilot project in communicative planning and the main goal for the municipality has been to involve and inform the involved groups in new ways. What is your and your party's opinion on the dialogues and the communicative planning in the projects?**

In some cases, the communication towards the citizens has worked properly and in some other cases the municipality could have done more or/and differently to improve the dialogue. The intension from the municipality has been to have an extended dialogue with those who live closest to the first developing area Solbjer. There has been some discussion regarding the first projects area Solbjer e.g. regarding the design and silhouettes of the housings closest to the existing areas. It is hard to meet all the suggestions since it is hard to change existing plans regarding which type of housing is going to be built and some citizens will believe that the municipality is uncompromising, hard and unfair. It is not uncommon that the citizens living closest to new developing areas oppose the project plans, and there are tendencies that the concept NIMBY is accurate in this case. In many cases it comes down to make justified compromises which are not always easy to make.

The new methods to improve the communication towards the citizens have been of advantage, illustrations, the models, the guided tours, the dedicated homepage, the maps, everything have been part of the improved communication directed to the citizens. The traditional open **meetings** have also been a part of the communication. Even if the new methods have reached many of the citizens, it is still a challenge to reach the large crowd. It will continue to be important to inform and involve the citizens in different minor projects e.g. the urban gardens. At the same time it will also be important to involve the citizens in the wait for something new, and the key factors will be good information and clarity.

One other factor will be to involve citizens in an earlier stage in the process, making sure they know when a major investment is going to be made e.g. the tram system. The plans regarding the tram have been in discussion for a long time, but it is not until the last few years involvements by the citizens have been palpable. It is and will be important that long term plans and investments do not shock and surprise the citizens, even if the plans have been there for a long time and have been accepted by the authorities.

**Do you and your political party feel that the municipality has been transparent in the planning process, the different detail plans and the different contracts?**

We think that the municipality has been decently transparent regarding the Brunnsjö projects and processes regarding the different projects. There are some concerns that the majority of the citizens do not care about the transparency in the projects since it does not directly involve or concern them. Projects and plans do not seem to be a concern until there are urban developing projects close by your own home.

There has been a good dialogue with different developers and investors in the first project areas in Solbjer. The officials have made a time consuming job patching the plans together, since there have been developers and investors that have left and been added through the process. Many developers think the project plans in the first stage have lingered a little too long time, and it has been an issue along the process with postponed plans. One problem is that different developers are building too many condominiums and not rental apartments, this could potentially put pressure on the market and it could be a problem if the developers are not able to sell the apartments in the new areas at a wanted price, and in extension several projects could potentially be postponed because of this matter. Some of the bigger investors and developers have chosen to transform some of the new housings to rental apartments, since they see that the market falters. This could be one way to avoid postponed housing projects in the areas.

**The plans regarding the tram system have been delayed several times due to different reasons. What is your and your political party's opinion regarding the project?**

Our political party is certain that the plans regarding the tram system will be actualized and realize. The project regarding the tram system is old and the municipality has prepared for it in the urban environment for a long time. There are still some issues regarding how to finance the whole project and there are several calculations how much extra it will cost, one is 40 million SEK additional.

One problem is that there are several developers and investors that have put their project or detail plans on ice since the tram system has been postponed. The developments will be delayed without the tram, and other options would not have the same effect as the tram. There are probably a lot of misunderstandings among the citizens regarding the project and there are several numbers being mentioned connected to the project, and

the total sum might frighten the citizens since it is close to 1 billion SEK. It should be viewed as an investment not a lump sum.

We think that we have been clear, that we need both additional resources of various kinds and a final finance solution to the tram project. It could have been good if we had involved the citizens in other ways that are more appealing, and in an earlier stage of the process. If we had done a better job promoting and make the projects more transparent, we might not had to face protests in the same way as we do today. What is strange is there are almost no objections when other detail plans in other parts of the city have a tram system implemented in the area plans, e.g. the area plans over the Öresundsvägsområdet. The time span might be a reason why there are no objections now, since it is so far ahead in time. The conclusion is that the plans regarding the tram system could have been better handled from the officials and politicians. The citizens should have been involved better from the start since the resistance has increased the closer to the project start.

**Do you and your political party think that the Brunnsbög projects will have any major impact at a regional level? Good and bad?**

The Brunnsbög projects will have a great impact in the municipality Lund and its proximity. The project has potential at all levels and will create great conditions both in the housing market and the job market. The municipality could also offer a good environment for new companies and incubators since there are connections to the university. This will make the municipality to an important hub in the region and the municipality wants that new establishments and investments are made as quick as possible. There will almost certainly be established several new research and development companies in the Brunnsbög project areas. One major issue that needs to be solved is the communication to the areas. Lund has one of the most commuted train stations in the country and there will be an increase with the new investments Max Lab IV and ESS. The areas will be built with the principal that 1/3 of the traffic in the areas will be transported by collective traffic, 1/3 by walking or biking and 1/3 by car. The areas are not dimensioned so everyone should commute by car and that is not the intention. The issue must be solved as soon as possible since there is a lot depending on the final commuting solution, but our political party sees that the tram will be the best option.

One other impact will be on the farmlands where the projects will be built. There might be critical voices that claim that there would be better options and location for the new research facilities Max Lab and ESS. It is true that the projects will exploit farmlands but there were really no other options and again it comes down to making good trade off and planning

for the future. There has been discussion and will most certainly be more discussion when new farmlands will be used to urban developments in the future.

**Do you and your political party think there will be any spin-off effects or/and spill over to other municipalities in the proximity of Lund?**

There will most certainly to be some spin-off effects to other municipalities in the proximity both when it comes to housings and companies. A company could be developed and incubated in Lund and then move to the proximity and evolve. It will be essential that municipalities in the proximity will develop affordable housings and good communication networks, roads, rails etc. However, it will be important to focus on sustainable commuting traffic options since there will certainly be an increase in the commuting in the future. It will also be important for other municipalities to build the new housings close to good commuting options, preferably rails of any kind.

## Appendix E

### Anne Landin (FNL – FörNyaLund)

The interview was conducted in the fall of 2015. The interview was held in Swedish in a form of a conversation rather than a straight forward interview. Anne was chosen since she is the mouthpiece of the new created political party FNL (FörNyaLund). She is also one of the elected members in the city council. The major issue for the new political party FNL is the question regarding the tram system.

**What is your and your political party's opinion about the Brunnskög projects? Has the opinion changed during the years? If so why and in what ways?**

In general we are positive to the urban growth of the municipality but we have some issues regarding the location of the Brunnskög projects. The areas are going to be built at really good farmlands and there is a general consensus at a regional level to preserve the best farmlands as far as possible in Skåne. It would have been of value if the municipality had looked at other options e.g. around the smaller urban areas in the municipality, where there is a better need of development/investments and where there are other conditions and where there are other positive attributes. We have questioned the closeness of the new research facility to the new settlements. We have questioned the magnitude of the projects. However, we do look positive at the visions. One reflection we have is if there are people that want to live in the new areas. I personally have not spoken to a single person who wants to live in the new areas. At the same time it is important to think about the increase of people the municipality will gain with the new investments.

The communication and dialogue regarding the location of the projects have not been discussed with the citizens, not as we have heard about. The information towards the citizens and the entrepreneurs has been okay. There have been some minor issues regarding the small scale of some of the projects, and the municipality has tried to keep a dialogue with investors and developers but it has been hard.

We in our political party are mixed in the question regarding the whole Brunnskög projects and it has been ups and downs. We try to maintain a positive attitude to new developments in the municipality.

**Brunnskög is a pilot project in communicative planning and the main goal for the municipality has been to involve and inform the involved groups**

**in new ways. What is your and your party's opinion on the dialogues and the communicative planning in the projects?**

The information has been good but there has not been a good dialogue towards the citizens from the municipality's side. If there had been a dialogue worth the name, the municipality would have listen to suggestions and comments from the citizens, entrepreneurs and investors. It should have made some impressions in the detail plans, but as far as we can tell the major impacts in the detail plans are absent. There are probably many citizens that feel the information has been enough from the municipality but that the communication has been a failure. The massive campaign and the new methods to inform the citizens have certainly paid off and the information has probably reached a large part of the citizens in the municipality. Almost everyone knows about the Brunnskög project as whole.

If a municipality are taking suggestions and comments in consideration it should be noticeable, but if a municipality is not willing to compromise it would also be noticeable.

**Do you and your political party feel that the municipality has been transparent in the planning process, the different detail plans and the different contracts?**

The transparency has been good in most of the detail plans except the plans regarding the tram system. There are a lot of pieces missing and many details regarding the projects are not yet in place e.g. the financing. We have a feeling that the municipality wants to hide some details not in favor of the tram system. The officials seem to twist the different numbers and argument creating an illusion where a tram system is the only option towards a sustainable commuting. There also seems to be confusion regarding the progression of the project, and it is still uncertain for the citizens what status the project has. There have been a lot of misleading information and statements regarding the tram project, and in extension it has affected the trust towards the municipality among the citizens.

The plans regarding the tram should have been highlighted towards the citizens in a much earlier stage. It had been of value if the citizens could have had the chance to leave comments and suggestions in an earlier stage and that the municipality had chosen to listen. The situation could have been different if the dialogue and communication had been better. There is no obvious reason for the municipality to lock the tram option. There are other options that might be better suitable for the municipality, which even has a higher environmental standard. Without the locking regarding the tram, the dialogue and communication might be improved towards the citizens.

The arguments regarding different options to the tram might not be totally true and a lot of the arguments against are based on old technology and is one reason why other options have not been properly evaluated. If the measurements and comparisons were made in another way the outcome probably would have been different. There are expert that have questioned the way the municipality has measured the commuters that are expected to use the tram. The tram system seems to be a prestige project for the municipality, and failure is not an option.

**The plans regarding the tram system have been delayed several times due to different reasons. What is your and your political party's opinion regarding the project?**

Our opinion is that the tram system is unnecessary and will be an expensive investment for the municipality. The economy in the municipality is already strained and the tram will stress it even further. The measurements of the commuters in rush hours have not been done in a proper and comparable way, not in a way that other municipalities have done their measurements. The measurements of the congestion have also been made in a strange and not comparable way. Everyone who commutes will not use the commuting options at the same time, and there are other options that would be as functional as the tram. We believe that the municipality would manage without a tram a long time from now and we think that the decision regarding the tram could be taken later in the process. This could also open up a new dialogue and communication towards the citizens. Our political party wants to have a voting among the citizens regarding the tram system.

We do not believe that the tram system is a commuting project, as we see it. It is an urban developing project to secure further developments and investments. Normally it is the other way around, first the investments and then the discussion regarding different commuting options. A tram system is inflexible and usually it is a negative attribute, but the municipality uses this argument as something positive to attract investments. The attractiveness around the tracks will probably increase but it not certain the whole outcome will be positive. It would have been better if almost the whole Brunnsög project would have been built first, and then would commuter options be discussed, and where the municipality should choose an option that the citizens want. The municipality needs to know if the new district will attract new residents before a commuting option will be determined. We can understand the intention from the municipality, but normally it is the other way around. We do not believe that the postponed detail plans have anything to do with the tram system be or not to be. Most likely it has to do with the uncertainty and confusion currently prevailing. Investors and developers do not want to be the first ones to

develop an area, but as soon as the developments will start, other will follow.

Other political parties and officials are pushing the environmental issue regarding the tram. As we evaluated the tram system it is not a good environmental option. There is maintenance on the tram carts and tracks there is also the construction of the tracks etc. There will not be any gain for the environment for a long time with the current tram option and we are surprised that Miljöpartiet is eager to building the tram since it is not a good option for the environment. Many tram systems are closed down before there will be any gains for the environment.

**Do you and your political party think that the Brunnshög projects will have any major impact at a regional level? Good and bad?**

We believe that the municipality of Lund will be placed on the world map and that there will be impact at all levels. One concern at a local level is that the municipality is using good farmlands to build the new areas. This might send a signal to other municipalities in the proximity that it is okay to exploit the farmlands. There is a consensus at a regional level to preserve the farmlands in Skåne.

There is a concern that the new housing areas will be a flop. The new research facilities will certainly attract new job opportunities but it is not certain that new people will live in the new areas since some of the assays will not be done at the research facilities, and much of the focus will be on what is happening in the research facilities ESS and Max Lab IV and not at the other Brunnshög areas. The areas might not reach up to the expected vision of culture, sporting, cafes, restaurants etc. There is a risk that the areas will be lifeless where people only sleeps and works. In extension it might end up as unattractive city districts with a lot of vacant apartments. We do not believe that the citizens will travel to the new areas.

The projects are certainly a feather in the cap for the municipality but we have a concern that there is overconfidence in the whole project.

**Do you and your political party think there will be any spin-off effects or/and spill over to other municipalities in the proximity of Lund?**

There will be some spin-off effects at regional, nation and global level. There will be a wave of innovation and investments not necessarily in the municipality of Lund since the results produce in the research facilities Max Lab IV and ESS will be distributed and analyzed around the world.

It will be important that the municipalities in the proximity of Lund will be ready for a potential spin-off effect by preparing day care, schools, nursing

home etc. There is also a risk that the eastern part of Skåne will be drained of investments, new establishments and innovation. However, we do not know how it will be in the end but there will probably be some effects.

## Appendix F

### **Mia Myrgren and Måns Bruun (Board members in the association of BRF Djinigs Khan)**

The interview was conducted in the fall of 2015. The interview was held in Swedish in a form of a conversation rather than a straight forward interview. Mia and Måns were chosen since they are currently board members in the association of BRF Djinigs Khan. The residential area located closest to the new area of Solbjer. They have been the mouthpieces towards the municipality and have been involved throughout the whole process.

#### **What is your and the association's opinion about the Brunnsög projects? Has the opinion changed during the years? If so why and in what ways?**

We do not have any major issues regarding the Brunnsög projects in general, but we have some issues regarding the way the municipality has handled the "communication" towards us in the association. There has indeed been a dialogue between the association of Djinigs Khan and the municipality/officials, but have we really had a real dialogue or has it just been information meetings, it is a question we now reflect over. We do not believe that the municipality is thinking new when planning the new areas. According to us, the planning is extremely traditional in almost all aspects. We are lacking new thinking when it comes to urban development of this size, and for some reasons a lot of focus have been on the detail plans of the Solbjer area.

We in the association do not understand the localization of the ESS facility as well as the city block shape of the new city district. The area plan advocates a city core structure outside the central parts. The magnitude of the project is enormous and it feels a little bit strange to realize the area plan according to the current block structure. The municipality wants to grow and this might be the only reasonable solution and placement. We have directed many questions towards the officials, but we do not always feel that we are getting any good responses. There is nowhere else where this kind of research facility is being built so close to the housings.

The detail plans regarding in the Solbjer area are almost looking the same now as they did at the first original draft, and nothing seems to have been changed. Almost none of our suggestion and comments have been taken in consideration, and there have been a lot of issues and problems to discuss. The officials in the municipality have mainly informed us how it is going to be, how it is going to be executed and the progression. They do not seem to be willing to make any major changes to the already drafted

detail plans. The unwillingness to change any detail plan has been the major issue from our side.

**Brunnshög is a pilot project in communicative planning and the main goal for the municipality has been to involve and inform the involved groups in new ways. What is your and the association's opinion on the dialogues and the communicative planning in the projects?**

We do not think there have been any dialogues worth the name with the municipality. It does not seem as if there has been a priority to make room for any real discussions and it has created a lot of irritations from our side. One of the major problems has been that different parts e.g. the highway exit, the tram system, different detail plans at Solbjer etc, have been at the consultation phase at different times. The communications and dialogues with the municipality have brought with it minor changes to some of the detail plans that is closest to our association, but not in to the extent we first expected. There have been some information meetings with rehearsed power points and where the officials are telling how good the new city district of Solbjer will be. Some of the occasions have felt like advertisements and not dialogue meetings. The concept of NIMBY has been diligently used in the discussions and we are really tired of hearing that we are reactionaries, we are in general not, but we feel a bit neglected by the municipality.

There was a big meeting in the beginning of the process when the citizens in the association were invited to write down suggestions and comments at post-it notes that were turned in to the municipality and was supposed to work as a tool in the communication between us. The strange part was that we did not get any feedback to the post-it notes. The officials just told us that they were going to look into it, but we do not know if any of the suggestions or comments that we turned in was even considered. There has been a guided tour of the new city district, but we feel that the officials that held the tour did not managed to get the message through to us and in our opinion the tour was a bit of a failure.

We believe the communication is very important in a planning process and is one of the key factors of a good relation between the municipality and the citizens. As the structure in the planning process looks as it does in Sweden today, the municipality could choose not to listen to the citizens at all since they have monopoly at the building permits, Municipalities in Sweden is forced by law to inform the citizens in a planning process but are not forced to take suggestions and comments from the citizens' in consideration. We believe that is a bit dangerous since the municipality has all the power in the process.

The main problem was that the municipality kept up an appearance during the process, that we should have a chance to influence the detail plans. However, this was not the case in the end. In comparison to the plan program from 2010 and the final detail plans, there were no major changes and no sign from our suggestions and comments. Perhaps it was naïve from our side to believe what the officials said at the meetings. To us it is a shame that message of influence was empty promises, it would have been much better if the municipality had been honest and said that detail plans already were politically secured. We had of course been displeased and annoyed, but it had saved us a lot of irritations, frustrations and work efforts. It seems like the officials could not process that we had another opinion than the prepared detail plans. The strange thing is that we cannot see the big benefits of the projects. There was no one who told us that they understood our situation, but that the project was important for the urban development in the municipality and the common interest. When the officials did not take the comments and suggestions in consideration, they probably felt they were not obliged to give us some feedback.

**Do you and the association feel that the municipality has been transparent in the planning process, the different detail plans and the different contracts?**

The transparency in the new Brunnsög projects has been fairly good. Sometimes we had to ask for some materials, documents and reports, but in general the main materials have been accessible. The transparency in the different detail plans has also been fairly good even if the municipality did not always show the latest version at the meetings with us. That has also been a source of irritation and concern. The municipality might have been too optimistic when they promised us continually feedback, and that part of the communication has not worked as intended. It seems like a strategy by the municipality to promise to make the citizens happy at the moment but then later on not follow up in the process.

**The plans regarding the tram system have been delayed several times due to different reasons. What is your and the association's opinion regarding the project?**

The opinion regarding the tram system is mixed among the people in the association. There might be other better options but a tram system could be of value. There will be a lot of people staying in the new areas and the question regarding the commuting is important to solve. A tram system would also be a way to secure further investments in the areas and around the tracks since it is not flexible and movable. We in the association have sought for new visions but have not got any hearing in the question. Where are the vision and the creativity? We do not see that the current plans regarding the tram are innovative.

The detail plans regarding the tram have not been highlighted and have not been as transparent as wished from the municipality's side. The citizens should have been involved and informed better much earlier in the planning process. There have been other suggestions how the first track should be drawn, suggestions that might have reached more citizens than the current plan. There is a strange "kamomilla stad" feeling over the whole project, like a form of unattainable utopia. There is a possibility that the municipality might have overconfidence to the project, but time will tell. The current plans will create the same commuting pattern as today and it might put too much stress on the existing commuting roads. There is also a catch 22 regarding the tram system. It seems like the only reasonable commuting option is the tram and it will support new investments since it is permanent. At the same time the investments rely on the tram and the desired developing speed will not be achieved without it. The tram system is supposed to make investment safer since it is permanent. The arguments are not used at the same time, but are supposed to justify each other.

We understand that the projects are opportunities for the municipality to develop and grow as the politicians' wish. But the argument that there are no other place to make the developments and that the municipality has an urge to grow, is nothing that has been brought up in the dialog with us. The lack of interest and the residents' wishes and needs are consistently what bother most in the dialogue process.

**How do you think the new project will affect the association and the residential area Djingis Khan? Will there be any major impacts?**

The Brunnsjö projects and especially the Solbjer area will affect us in the association and the neighborhood. There will be a lot of new people and traffic, creating additional movements in our proximity. In extension there will be a higher noise level and the traffic environment will be unsafe. The municipality seems to ignore the important third principal which has been a mantra during the process, since they are planning new roads and three big multistory car parks. The municipality only talks about the housings in the new areas and not the ones that already exist, and it is here we become NIMBY citizens. We want to make our voices heard and that the municipality listens to what we are saying and suggesting. The question regarding the noise levels is a good example. The officials have measured and calculated the levels but we are not so sure if it will be accurate in the end and during the construction of the new area Solbjer will the noise levels be expanded. It is a tricky question that needs to get solved.

We do not see any direct positive attributes with Solbjer, not when we have looked at the latest detail plans. We have some concerns e.g. that the

height of the housings in the areas is strange, the silhouette in the area is strange and there are not that many green spaces, to mention a few. We do not believe that Solbjer will be as attractive as the municipality advertises it to be, and we have questioned the plans all together.

We had wanted to be involved right from the beginning of the planning process to try to make a difference. Our main concern is the height of the housings closest to our association and we want to scale down the height. The municipality argues the height of the houses will reduce the noise level generated by the tram. The plans regarding the tram system seems to be to a way to attract new investors and developers. We have made some suggestions of an alternative route for the tram but it seems to be the backbone of the projects and there is not much we can do about it. We in the association are afraid that our life quality will deteriorate with the new area Solbjer. The municipality promised us that there would be large green spaces in the new area but we cannot see it in the current detail plans and in extension this could lead to a higher stress on the existing green areas. We were also promised that we would be a part of the project group to develop the green areas and we were delegated to create an own representative group at the first meeting we had with the officials, but the idea with a project group fell apart. There was a workshop three years later, but we do not know if the workshop led to something. Exactly what was accomplished with the group is to us unknown. This has also been an unresolved issue that has caused some tension between us and the municipality.

**How do you and think the municipality has handled the communication and information towards you and the association? What could have been done differently?**

We feel that the communication towards the citizens is a key factor in the planning process and there is a potential danger that a municipality in Sweden does not have to take comments and suggestion in considerations unless they do not choose to do so.

In this case it had been of value to involve the citizens in a really early stage in the process. It would also have been good if the municipality had listen and had taken some suggestions and comments made by the citizens in consideration. The dialogue should have been better and continually feedback from the officials would have improved the communication. It had been of value if the officials and politicians had been honest to us regarding the different plans and not having sugar coded the changed detail plans in the area of Solbjer.

The municipality should view its citizens as a resource and not obstacles that need to be conquered. We have ideas and want to have a good

dialogue but we feel that we have been neglected and it has created tensions at some of the open meetings. In some cases we have asked to get some materials and feedback without any result. However, the official documents and material have been fairly accessible at the homepage. We also feel that the officials could have spared us from the advertisement regarding the projects. The municipality only wants to highlight the new developing areas as the new future of the city with all the good attributes, but in the reality we have no clue how it will be in the end.

The municipality should have some credit that they have tried to get the information out to the citizens in new ways, but we do not feel it has added anything new. The new ways to inform and communicate might have helped other citizens in other parts of the municipality. We in the association would not choose to call it for a dialogue. In the end it is us that shall live within the proximity of the new areas.