Children in the planning process

Across scale policy translation of a children's standpoint

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Abstract

In 2017, the Right of the Child UN convention will be legislated by Swedish authority; meaning that children's rights will be statuary and a primary consideration at all civil levels. However, the universal definition of children's rights opens for interesting questions regarding how a children's standpoint is explained and expressed in different settings. The thesis hence seeks to place the interpretation of a children's standpoint in a Swedish municipal planning context and relate the definitions to the global and national strategies of children's rights implementation, in order to investigate observed variations and explanations between political scales. Following the children's rights policy translation from a global to a local scale, the purpose is to examine if and how a children's standpoint is present throughout varying political levels, as well as observe and explain the variations of policy implementation. The theoretical framework hence relates to perspectives of policy translation throughout political scales, where theories of structured power within the field of urban planning and power in relation to children as a group are used to explain and describe possible variations. Through content analysis, a structured power perspective is accordingly applied to global and national strategies of children's rights, Swedish planning and constructing regulations (PBL), and municipal zoning plans sampled from the municipalities of Malmö and Eslöv. The results show the definition of a children's standpoint to be gradually narrowed from a global to a local scale, where, in particular, economic interests and traditional preconceptions of children might serve as explanatory factors regarding the variations observed. Accordingly, there might be a possible risk of urban areas being normatively planned for adults, whereas children are seen as deviant and less likely of consideration within certain plans and contexts.

Keywords: children's rights, children's standpoint, urban planning, policy translation, structured power

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1. Introduction

"In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration" (UN 1989, 3.1 §)

In 1990, Sweden was one of the first countries ratifying the Rights of the Child UN convention. The contract, which serves the purpose of defending the privilege of children as a marginalized group and equalize differences of gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status, was a starting signal for the international strengthening of children's rights (UNICEF, 2016a). Yet, Sweden has been repeatedly criticized regarding implementation strategies and considerations of children's agency (see for example UN, 2015 and UNICEF, 2014). Due to the frequent and extensive critique, the Rights of the Child will thus be statutory in 2017, meaning that the UN convention of equal rights amongst children will be implemented by Swedish authority at all civil levels. Relating to a Swedish planning context, this soon-to-be implementation has resulted in a children's perspective functioning as a quality assurance in civic planning processes. The Rights of the Child as well as the general concept of a children's standpoint are, however, universal discourses without particular nexus to urban planning. Together with the municipal planning monopoly, this matter of lacking definition enables a potential variation regarding the implementation and interpretation of the prospective law. Which variation may be observed at various political levels, and are the global guidelines at all visible at a municipal scale?

Formalized influence in social processes is often seen as interrelated to complete voting rights; hence connected to age as a determining factor. Due to basic power relations between children and adults, children as a group has accordingly and traditionally been marginalized (Qvortrup, 1999:26). Analysing the amount of implementation of a children's perspective throughout different scales is hence interesting in relation to structured power, where the voices of the inferior group (children) often are carried by the superior ditto (adults). Starting in these questions of vertical power relations, I have thus chosen to study two Swedish municipalities – Malmö and Eslöv – with varying approaches to the implementation of a children's standpoint. The aim is hence to analyse the case of a children's standpoint as concept transferring through multiple levels, and identify and discuss possible explanatory factors of variation.

1.1 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured into three main sections – one initial, followed by one empirical and one discussion part. The initial chapters contain the purpose and problem statements, a comprehensive background to children's rights and planning processes, followed by a theoretical chapter and methodology. The theory section presents three frameworks related

to a structural power perspective, in order to form an analytical tool for the processing of empirical material.

The second part constitutes the empirical section. Through the method of content analysis, policies and other regulating documents are analysed with the purpose of capturing the varying expressions of a children's standpoint at different political scales. The chapter is followed by a third and final section, which discusses and concludes the empirical material in relation to the theoretical framework stated in initial chapters. The final part thus serves the purpose of linking the two previous sections, in order to investigate if and how the problem statements are sufficiently answered.

2. Purpose and problem statements

The thesis aims to fill two main purposes. The first is to follow the implementation of the Rights of the Child from a global to a local scale, to vision if and how the UN convention is present throughout varying political levels and relatable to a planning context. The second aim involves comparing and analysing the variation of implementations at different political scales in relation to theories of structured power, where a sample of global, national and municipal documents serve as cases of study in order to capture children's standpoint policies within a power perspective. The documents will be studied and compared in relation to three theoretic approaches: power structures relating to children as a group, urban planning as an exercise of power, and theories of multi-level governance as a structure for policy making. Starting in these theoretic foundations of structured power, my thesis hence seeks to answer the main question:

How is the concept of a children's standpoint transferred and formulated throughout a global, to a national and local scale, and translated into a Swedish planning context?

And the sub questions:

Which variations may be observed across different political scales?
Which factors appear to be most relevant in order to explain this variation?

2.1 Delimitations

Due to limitations in time and extent, the thesis solely processes a limited number of documents and political scales. At a municipal level, the cases of Malmö and Eslöv were chosen due to their differently expressed understandings of the Rights of the Child at a general municipal level. Both municipalities claim to have the goal of locally integrating a children's standpoint at all civic levels, but have different approaches and strategies regarding the fulfilment of these goals. Malmö municipality emphasizes evaluation of consequences as a strategy of implementation, and therefore uses child impact assessment as a suitable way of municipal implementation (Malmö stad, 2004; Malmö stad, 2012:39); whereas Eslöv mainly concentrates on the methodology of children's agency, with the purpose of supporting the implementation within different administrations from a general municipal approach (Eslövs kommun, 2013). Regarding the limited number of political scales observed, a regional scale was excluded from the sampling of policy documents due to the initially mentioned restrictions, but may serve as a suitable topic regarding further research contributions (see section 7.1).

Within these municipalities, I have also chosen to limit the material of study due to the extensive amount of publications. Starting in earlier research contributions where a

children's standpoint is proved to be lost from master to zoning plan (Näsman, 2015), I have chosen to mainly focus on the very end of the planning process. The sampled material of study, is hence limited to a fixed amount of zoning plans from each municipality.

In the studying of concept transferring between political scales, I have narrowed the focus to solely process vertical structures; both regarding the hierarchal structure of planning organs, and concerning children as a group. I am aware that, for example, urban planning and policy documents also are governed by horizontal structures, and that children form a heterogeneous group where power structures may be present within its borders; the limitation in time and extent however make these structures difficult to capture. Furthermore, the focus is primarily set on the hierarchical relationship between children and adults, even if several other factors may be accurate in relation to structured power (for example gender, class and ethnicity).

2.2 Definitions

Additionally, the delimitations of the thesis statement stretch to the definition of concepts. This section is therefore used to identify and narrow models regularly used throughout the text.

Child: Defined as every human being under the age of 18 (UN, 1989:2). Throughout the thesis, strategies and methods relating to children however mainly tend to focus on children of lower ages.

Children's standpoint: In this thesis a collected concept involving all planning actions aiming to create suitable environments for children, either by involving children in the process or observing/analysing planning from a children's perspective. A distinction could however be made between a child perspective and a child's perspective, where the former defines a child representing itself, and the latter involves representatives (Halldén, 2013:13).

Planning monopoly: One of the primary principles of the Swedish municipal autonomy, implying that land and water usage is a local concern. Practically, this means that urban development is decentralized, with the municipalities as decision-making bodies (Länsstyrelsen Gävleborg, 2016).

Masterplan: A general plan reflecting the strategic and long-term development of the built environment within the municipality. The masterplan should contain guidance regarding land development and preservation, and is non-legally binding (SFS 2010:900, Ch. 3, 2 §).

Local/zoning plan: Decides the form and shape of public spaces, neighbourhoods and water

areas, as well as marks the boundaries between these different types of land use. Functions as legally binding (SFS 2010:900, Ch. 4, 5 §).

Multi-level governance: A system of decisional institutions internationally, nationally, regionally and locally tied together through negotiation (Marks, 1993:392).

3. Background

This section will provide the prerequisites for relating the debates and theories of children's involvement to a Swedish planning context. The first part will focus on children's rights in a Swedish perspective, the second part describes the Swedish planning process, whereas the last part of the section states common methods for collecting children's opinions. In this way, the background section contributes to the bridging between contemporary law, research and reality.

3.1 Children's rights in a Swedish context

The UN Rights of the Child convention may be seen as an in-depth version of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, where the focus is primarily set on citizens under the age of 18. Sweden was one of the pioneer countries ratifying the convention in 1990 together with 19 other states (UNICEF, 2016a). To defend and maintain the Rights of the Child in all actions on a national scale, a public authority with the purpose of representing children on behalf of the UN convention was founded in 1993. *The child ombudsman* monitor how municipalities, regions and national authority apply and implement the children's convention, and has the legal right of claiming information from any of these parts involved. Through a constant dialogue with exposed children, the child ombudsman aims to evaluate and inform Swedish authority of the national children's rights situation (Barnombudsmannen, 2016).

The Swedish implementation of the Rights of the Child has, however, been widely criticized. In their yearly report, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child concludes that Sweden clearly lacks prevention of child discrimination, and suggests a large number of improvements of law and implementation. Some examples of suggested areas of improvement with particular interest to the thesis statements, are the constitution of child impact assessment in all decision-making processes where children are involved (for example, budget work and regulation), and the legislation of the Rights of the Child by Swedish law (UNICEF, 2016b). As a result of the latter suggestion, Swedish authorities announced in February 2016 that the UN convention of the Rights of the Child will be statutory starting in the following year (Regeringskansliet, 2016).

3.2 The Swedish planning process

The Swedish planning practise proceed from a planning monopoly (see section 2.2) resulting in municipal authority over urban developmental processes. The planning monopoly is regulated throughout a system of laws, *Plan- och bygglagen (PBL)*, which controls land and water usage with the purpose of facilitating equal and sustainable development (SFS 2010:900, 1 Ch. 1 §). The laws are to be followed by each municipality, where the implementation is individually reviewed by Swedish authorities as decision-making bodies.

As a first step, municipalities are obligated to have an up-to-date masterplan, which needs to be validated with every term of office. With every change or new contribution to the plan, the municipality follows a process of consultation by the public and by concerned authorities (Ibid: 3 Ch. 7 §).

After approval, the masterplan constitutes the foundation for further, smaller scale plans. Local plans are prepared through consultation of the masterplan, authorities and citizens, and provide opportunities for building permits. After a local plan has been declared as valid, the approval of building permits is hence shouldered by the municipality (Ibid: 4 Ch. 14 §).

3.3 Children in the planning process

A growing interest for children's involvement in urban planning processes has contributed to the research of methods regarding children's rights implementation. Children's contribution may either be at earlier stages and/or at later phases in the planning process; for example in the stage of planning as preparation (e.g. though dialogue regarding the general plan), in the implementation phase (e.g. though dialogue regarding the local environment) and/or the managerial stage (e.g. through dialogue regarding the upgrading of environments). Since children seldom attend public consultation, their opinions are more likely to be collected at places where children naturally dwell, for example schools or at leisure activities (Länsstyrelsen Blekinge, 2007:31-33). Important to notice, is that different methods may be more or less suitable for different age groups, and that the methods require different amounts of participation from the children themselves. These prerequisites given, common techniques for collecting children's opinions are for example:

The sociotope method, which aims to map values of particular interest to the citizens. Questions about qualities and flaws are collected through interviews, surveys and/or public consultation, to capture general patterns. City areas of certain importance (for example esthetical, historical or cultural) are marked on a map; hence functioning as material for future planning projects (Länsstyrelsen Blekinge, 2007:34).

Geographical Information Systems (GIS), where children contribute through comments about their local environment marked on a simplified version of a GIS map, which opens for a computer based analysis of children's movement patterns. The method may also be supplemented by interviews and walks in the nearby environment (Länsstyrelsen Blekinge, 2007:37).

Child impact assessment, which aims to defend the Rights of the Child in municipal decision-making (SKL, 2016). The impact assessment is made through analysing potential problems and opportunities, and examine how these may relate to a specific plan. Feedback and

further monitoring of the results should be made every few years, in step with the general urban development (Länsstyrelsen Blekinge, 2007:40).

A child checklist is used to analyse whether and how children are affected by a certain project, and may contain questions regarding which ways children's interests, opinions and needs are considered in the planned project. A list of this type accordingly serves as a suitable pilot study for a more profound impact assessment (Länsstyrelsen Blekinge, 2007:39).

4. Theory

The theory section functions as an analytical framework for the processing of empirical material, by integrating theoretical explanations and reviewing earlier research contributions. The purpose of the theoretic framework is to answer questions regarding the reasons for a children's standpoint to be expressed differently at different scales, and identify the most prominent explanatory factors.

The theory section consists of three basic frameworks which all, in different ways, assume a power perspective where children may be seen as a marginalized group with weak agency and economic power. The first theory states the existing relationships between children and other social groups, where age matters as a primary discriminating factor. By distinguishing children from adults, the theory seeks to provide an understanding for how children as a group are presented throughout the empirical material. The second theory identifies underlying power structures in the planning process – between authority and citizens as well as within groups and organizations – in order to explain and analyse the appearance of children in the planning documents processed in the analysis section. The third theory describes how concepts, with emphasise given on soft values, are translated throughout different scales in the planning process depending on the structure of political organizations; hence clarifying the linkage and variations between the empirical documents at varying political scales. Lastly, the section concludes with a short summary and critique of the theories presented, in order to provide a coherent analytical framework for the following, empirical section.

4.1 Power and children

> *"It is clear that children, as other social groups, historically have benefited from and been enjoying the fruits of welfare developments in modernity. Yet, it is much less clear if they have kept pace with other groups, if we look at it from a generational perspective, i.e. to which extent have children achieved shares of resources in the same measure as other components of society, such as for instance adults and the elderly."* (Qvortrup, 1999:32)

Children have, as other groups, historically been shaped by macro-societal forces such as liberalization, urbanization and privatization. Like the quote suggests, children may however be more vulnerable to these overall forces than other groups. Contemporary research sees children as a marginalized group, accordingly exposed to and suppressed by exercises of power from others. Analysing literature on the subject, power mainly seems to relate to children in two distinct ways; either concerning children as a demoted group, or regarding the concept of a children's standpoint itself. Relating to the first perspective, children may be seen as a marginalized group due to several factors. As a first, the age-structured

relationship between children and adults puts the former group in a lower status where its work and culture is seen as less important to society than the higher-status group (adults). Ultimately, this means that children's work is not recognized as a contribution to the contemporary economic or political system (Qvortrup, 1999:35-36). In this way, fundamental social structures such as the economy or politics, becomes *"privileged adult domains"* (Qvortrup, 1999:25), which children as a group is excluded from. Since disqualified from basic public systems, the role of children may be seen as gradually "privatized" in the way children becomes a matter solely for parents and peers, rather than for society as a whole. The privatization of cities and the emergence of neoliberal interests, hence naturally works towards the exclusion of children in urban areas. A children's standpoint hence serves to lighten societal structures and strengthen the agency of children; making it particularly important to plan for children outside of places traditionally constructed for children as, for example, the private sphere, preschools or playgrounds (Qvortrup, 1999:26). According to these ideas, a children's standpoint is accordingly more likely to be expressed in plans traditionally addressing children than in projects with a more general target group.

Regarding the second perspective, children's standpoint as a concept, the structured power lays in its rhetoric capacity and ambiguity. According to Halldén (2003), the width of concept definition poses a risk of the children's standpoint functioning as a political and ideological tool rather than representing children's opinions (Halldén, 2003:12-13). In this way, the concept generally works as a political unifier rather than contributing to the debate; thus capturing the potential of the Rights of the Child in excluding political structures. These theoretical ideas therefore target the differences between the vision and implementation, where the rhetorical capacity may function as an explanatory factor for expressions at varying political scales.

Furthermore, a way of defending the agency of a children's perspective may be to narrow its definition. A first step in this process could be to distinguish children from adults, making children as a group interesting in itself rather than seeing children solely as future adults. This distinction resembles gender studies, where women are separated from men in order to discern the structural differences. Applying theories of structured power relations such as, for example, gender studies to a children's standpoint, may therefore be applicable in the description of children and their antithesis (Halldén, 2003:17). For example, like women and men are often portrayed and presented in differentiated as well as stereotypical ways, children and adults are conventionally depicted in ways that contrasts the agency and reliability of the two groups. Illustrating these differences may accordingly point at the structural power embedded in the age factor. Likewise, the second step in defending the agency of a children's perspective, may hence be an increased awareness of structural differences within the research process. One possible field of awareness could be the methodology, where quotations of children in texts or speech is particularly difficult; mainly regarding the balance between literally and figuratively reproduction of collected material.

Whilst a literal depiction in many cases is the most correct, spelling mistakes and slips of the tongue often tend to take focus from the meaning itself; hence shifting the focus from a children's standpoint to children as a rhetorical figure of harmlessness and democratic involvement (Halldén, 2003:18-19). The concept of a children's standpoint could thus be analysed in relation to how children are portrayed, in order to capture the preconceptions of the group.

Conclusively, children as a group are constantly exposed to the marginalization of stronger social groups. The vertical power relations range over an age factor, with causal effects of reliability, agency and credibility. The Rights of the Child being summarized within the broad concept of a children's standpoint, risk to further contribute to the marginalization of children. The ideas may accordingly contribute to the explaining of occurrence, portraying and variation of a children's standpoint throughout the empirical material.

4.2 Power and planning

> *"The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights."* (Harvey, 2008:1-2)

Historically, the city has emerged as a product of concentrated surplus. The power relations of urbanization which the city as a general concept is founded upon, thus presumes the being of class identities, where the concentration of surplus naturally are re-distributed from marginalized to economically stable groups (Harvey, 2008:2). In this way, the city may be seen as a playing field of forces, where economic interests act and conflict each other socially, politically and ecologically. Urban planning, like many other fields of research, is closely related and dependant upon these interests, and forced to follow its (nowadays neoliberal) turns. City planners are therefore highly exposed to the disparity between the *actual* and *normative* development; meaning the clashes of power between politics, economics and softer values. This disparity of development is founded upon several, sometimes hidden, contradictions between scientific ideals and reality, where strong power relations acts and reacts (Flyvbjerg, 2012:292 in Campbell & Fainstein, 2012).

To begin with, one of the contradictions within the field of urban planning may be an observed gap between the university and the "real world"; the latter defined as the everyday realm of planning professionals. This gap exists in the naive faith that knowledge, unquestionably, is equal to power, accordingly failing to identify how power may influence this relationship. In cases where power is stronger than knowledge, many planning theories hence fail to identify the actual developmental processes (Ibid:294).

This leads directly to the second contradiction – a gap between power and rationality – which puts a "blind spot" between truth and politics where winners and losers are created.

In this way, power becomes one of the most influential factors in the definition and identification of what we consider as "reality". Accordingly, power defines knowledge, thus creating a circle back to the gap between the university and the "real world", where power relations start influencing the knowledge and theories taught by the university (Ibid:305). The disparities mentioned accordingly address the conflicting interests not always explicitly stated throughout the planning process, in order to explain why certain factors might be more emphasized than others at different political scales.

As observed by the gap identified within the field of planning research, transparency and awareness is required to identify the power structures involved. According to Flyvbjerg (2012), one way of bringing a power perspective into planning research is by the asking of four basic value-rational questions:

1. *Where are we going with planning and democracy in this particular case?*
2. *Who are the winners and losers, and by which power mechanisms?*
3. *Is this the desirable path of development?*
4. *What should be done?*

The answer to these questions may vary according to different actors, meaning that the method mainly is framed to describe the variation and explain it in accordance to the agency and power of different actors within the planning process (Flyvbjerg, 2012:297 in Campbell & Fainstein, 2012). Accordingly, the identification of certain values and descriptions may be used as a method in order to analyse differences of interests; hence functioning as an approach for analysing empirical material.

4.3 Policy translation through political scales

"(…) It does appear that the design of political institutions across different jurisdictional tiers, and in particular citizen participation in those institutions, can influence efficiency. This raises an issue of 'trade-off' between democratic notions, such as accountability and participation, and more managerial concerns, such as efficiency and control" (Perraton & Wells, 2004:182 in Bache & Flinders, 2004)

During the last decades, Western countries have faced a process of dispersed formal authority, generally meaning that nation-states gradually have decentralized their power due to a contemporary social need for increased political efficiency (Marks & Hooghe, 2004:15-16 in Bache & Flinders, 2004). Within the field of research, there seems to be an agreement regarding the current society's presumption of decentralization, yet a disagreement concerning how this structuring practically should be made. Disputing the debate are two contrasting visions on how the decentralization – a notion of *multi-level governance* – should be structured:

1. *General-purpose jurisdiction*
2. *Task-specific jurisdiction*

The former vision connotes a vertically dispersed structure, where each scale (for example international, national, regional and local) respectively serves several functions, whereas the latter vision consists of horizontal dispersion of each jurisdiction providing one single service (Ibid:17). The variation of such jurisdictions also explains the dissimilarities of governance amongst or within certain operations; thus clarifying the possibility for varying forms of expression and functioning of governments. Due to earlier mentioned limitations (see section 2.1), the theoretical framework in this section will however mainly focus on the firstly mentioned, vertical dispersion, whereas horizontal variations may serve as a possible field for further research contributions (section 7.1).

The relevance of multi-level governance in the understanding of policy-making, is partly examined by Fairbrass and Jordan (2004), who, by exploring the case of EU environmental policy, explicitly display how policies are constituted through tangled networks of collaborative and competing actors at different scales (Fairbrass & Jordan, 2004:147-148 in Bache and Flinders, 2004). However, the regulatory nature of policies tends to put the costs of implementation on lower scale actors (in a Swedish context, for example municipalities); making policy implementation greater of a challenge at a local scale (Ibid). This lower scale scepticism may be exemplified by the configuration of land use planning policies, which, generally, samples vertically and horizontally structured developmental compromises between actors. The decentralization of policy-making tends to strengthen the efficiency as well as the political and juridical penetration of the document, but likewise lower the ambitions and weakening the developmental goals due to the clashing of interests (Ibid:159).

These theories of a perceived challenge of policy implementation at a lower scale, partly coincides with basic theories of the structuring of democratic systems. Fundamentally, democracy consists of horizontal and vertical forces, where the voices of large amounts of citizens are conveyed by a smaller number of representatives. Vertically, the citizens are hence gradually and naturally placed further away from the decision-making and replaced by elected representatives, as the politics become larger in scale. In this way, the local level offers a greater amount of actors, logically contesting a greater variety of interests, and consequently making implementation of any sort a greater challenge (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008:77). The understanding of multi-level governance may accordingly explain the variation between general policy documents and plans of concrete implementation, which constitute the empirical material stated in chapter 6.

Furthermore, attention should be drawn towards the varying ease by which different policies may be implemented at different levels. One part of the reason why policies may be varyingly expressed and applied, is, again, the functioning of the democratic system. The foundation of a horizontal structure consisting of citizens and a vertical structure of elected representatives, theoretically implies that citizens are to be equally represented at each political level. In practise however, this vertical structure steadily places the citizens further away from the decision-making, due to the fact that public consultation only is statutory at lower political levels. Internationally, where the representatives are composed by equal parties in a non-hierarchical relationship, dialogue may take place between representatives and citizen-founded interest groups, although this consultation being non-statutory (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008:77). Consequently, less public participation may weaken the citizen's heterogeneous interests, and strengthen the homogenous values of a few political actors. In the case regarding the Rights of the Child (which may be seen as a political defender of social values with a particular interest in protecting one certain marginalized group), there is hence a theoretical risk that the homogenous group of adults weaken the influence of a children's perspective (Ibid). Defending the Rights of the Child through a multi-level structure may therefore, at an international level, compromise with the ambitions of children's rights in relation to other interests, although these compromises may not be seen until lower scale (for example municipal) implementations, where visions are translated into economic interests. In this way, multi-level structured governance might contribute to the understanding of concept transferring, with a children's standpoint as a case of study.

4.4 Summary and critique

As stated in the beginning of the section, the theoretic framework aims to describe possible explanations for the varying descriptions and implementations of a children's standpoint. Regarding the first theory, differentiated expressions of a children's perspective may be explained by macro-societal forces shaping the relationship between children and adults. In this relationship children have the inferior role, meaning that the voices of the suppressed (children) are raised through its suppressors (adults). Accordingly, this opens for interesting questions regarding rhetoric versus reality (Halldén, 2003:18-19), and may hence be used in order to explain the differentiated expressions of a children's standpoint between visionary and more concrete documents of implementation. Theories of children's oppression may hence clarify why children are more commonly mentioned in certain plans and documents compared to others. However, these ideas may be criticized due to the lack of intersectionality, in other words, the assumption that children constitute a homogenous group equally affected by power structures. In reality, some children may have more in common with other groups than with persons of similar age, resulting in faulty assumptions of oppression (Ibid). A more accurate, but also more time consuming, theory would therefore have been based on a greater amount of hierarchical factors other than age; in this way providing a more intersectional explanation of the power structures involved.

Further critique may be guided towards the assumption of children as oppressed and marginalized, which opens for questions regarding if and to what extent this hypothesis coincides with reality. Is a child's opinion equally valuable to the opinion of an adult? And are children increasingly marginalized or may another trend be observed? Questions of this sort may, most likely, have both pros and counters, which enlightens the critique of assuming certain structures. The mapping of such debates is however not the purpose of this thesis, but may serve as interesting contributions to further research (see section 7.1).

Regarding the second theory, the city may historically be seen as a result of concentrated surplus and power relations, which planners are exposed to in the commission of development. However, the field of planning research often fails to identify these structures, leading to possible misunderstandings of the relationship between actors. One way of explaining the variations of policy implementations on different scales, may therefore be to identify the actions and reactions of interests at different political levels; thus placing the first theoretic framework of power relations into a planning context. However, identifying the internally structured networks of actors may be problematic as a theoretical foundation, due to its situational nature (Fairbrass & Jordan, 2004:150-151 in Bache & Flinders, 2004). The theory of power relations within the planning sphere may hence work mainly as a universal explanatory factor for all kinds of misconceptions, rather than explaining the exact structure of this specific case. Thus, this theory may be seen as explanatory rather than descriptive, which, however, is supplemented by the remaining frameworks. Theories of power and planning are accordingly used to place children and the power structures involved in a planning context; in this way providing an understanding for the portraying of children in the planning documents examined in chapter 6.

As for the third and final theory, varying policy implementations at different political levels may be explained through the framework of multi-level governance. The contemporary decentralization of nation-states follows the increased needs of social efficiency, but contrastingly risks to compromise with the notion of democracy. In this way, policy implementation functions differently at various scales due to the gradual separation between citizens, interest groups and representatives; hence working as a possible explanation for the varying expressions of a children's standpoint at different political scales. The critique of dispersion may however be faulty, since a decentralized authority most likely allows a greater heterogeneity, which therefore should enable catching the diversity of citizens (Marks & Hooghes, 2004:16 in Bache & Flinders, 2004). These trains of thought could also be criticized due to the descriptive rather than explanatory nature of multi-level governance as causal motors driving particular actors (Fairbrass & Jordan, 2004:163-164 in Bache & Flinders, 2004). As earlier mentioned, the descriptive nature of this particular theory may, however, be supplemented by other frameworks; in this case theories of power and planning. Likewise, the theory supplements the other frameworks by adding political

structure to the understanding of concept transferring, by which a children's standpoint may serve as a case of study. In this way, theories of multi-level governance mainly contribute to the analysis of the political system as a framework for understanding the varying expressions of a children's standpoint between different scales.

To sum up, this chapter have the aim of providing a basic understanding for the variations observed in the empirical material, and hence functions either explanatory or descriptive. These different utilities of theoretical approaches will become more distinct as the problem statements are examined in relation to the methods of choice presented in the following sections.

5. Method and material

In this section, I will review the methods used for analysing the empirical material in section 6. Firstly, I will describe and evaluate the methods used, secondly review my approach, and thirdly describe the sampled documents constituting the empirical material.

5.1 Content analysis

According to Bergström and Boréus (2000), content analysis is the only purely quantitative way of analysing a text. The purpose of the method is to quantify the objects of study and in this way study the occurrence of certain elements, which may be useful for capturing the disparity between certain époques or documents (Bergström & Boréus, 2000:19). Accordingly, content analysis may answer questions regarding disparities between text and reality, the attention of certain subjects in a debate, the general opinions regarding specific topics, mapping a shift of opinions in a particular matter, and/or the evolvement of a certain discourse (Denscombe, 2009:308). The thesis statements regarding the varying expressions of a children's standpoint at different textual scales, may hence be analysed through the identification and comparison between reoccurringly expressed values.

In this thesis however, I have chosen not to apply a purely quantitative approach, but using content analysis in a broader qualitative sense. The qualitative content analysis does not measure or count the occurrence of certain textual elements, but rather aims to systematically describe and arrange the substances of a text to analyse and compare its meaning. This is mainly done by investigating the occurrence of explicit values, as a way of understanding implicit meanings (Denscombe, 2009:308-309). Using content analysis as a method of investigation, I intend to answer questions such as: *what is the fundamental meaning of the text*, and, *in which ways does the text present this message to its readers?* Answering and comparing these analytical and textual questions, the aim is to draw conclusions regarding the differences between policy documents at varying political scales, in order to identify possible patterns.

The critiques of content analysis may be guided towards four main aspects. As a first, the quantification of documents opens for several risks regarding contextual understanding and the capturing of discourses. The quantitative nature of content analysis risks to solely focus on the frequency of certain concepts, rather than its conditions and consequences. In this way, content analysis many times fails to answer more explanatory research questions, since the coding scheme might be unable to capture these kinds of scientific attempts (Bergström & Boréus, 2000:78).

The second critique refers to the explicit versus implicit expressions of a document. Content analysis assumes opinions and discourses to be explicitly pronounced, to enable analysis and

conclusions by the coding scheme. Implicitly expressed attitudes, for example contextually understood, however risk not to be captured by the scheme as a tool of analysis:

> *"Something not being explicitly expressed may either be a sign of non-importance, alternatively non-representation of someone's opinion, or either be counted as a matter of course; thus insignificant to write, but still governing the debate. This distinction cannot be made by a content analysis"* (My translation, Bergström & Boréus, 2000:79)

Furthermore, changes over time or between documents may in certain cases be difficult to capture, due to the explicit and fixed pre-conditions. The third critique thus questions the validity of content analysis, which is primarily based upon the decontextualization of variables. Since content analysis strives to quantify through fixed schemes, there is a resulting risk of missing implicitly expressed messages. The validity may also be questioned in relation to the occurrence of certain concepts, where content analysis solely describes the amount of certain words or opinions; thus failing to identify the context or arguments these variables represent, for example regarding various meanings of words or by certain actors. In contrast, there is however the argument of certain words being much more likely occurring in certain contexts than others. Content analysis is thus suitable for capturing the general, but might fail to recognize digression (Bergstöm & Boréus, 2000:80).

The fourth and final critique of content analysis as a method of research, regards the interpretation of empirical material. After analysing the sample of choice via a coding scheme, the aim of a content analysis is to tell what the occurrence of certain variables means. Depending on the research questions, interpretation of these occurrences might hence be problematic (Bergstöm & Boréus, 2000:83-84).

To sum up, content analysis is best suited for the studying and comparison of larger corpus, to identify crucial disparity or changes between textual documents. The critique mainly regards the quantification of qualitative material in relation to validity, which makes content analysis more suitable than other approaches for capturing general trends and patterns, rather than focusing on details or nuances.

5.2 Approach

In content analysis, the text may be understood in relation to the interpreter, the sender, the recipient, or the discourse; all depending on the research questions and thesis purpose (Bergström & Boréus, 2000:25, 33). Since my problem statements relate to the variation of policy implementations regarding a certain concept – a children's standpoint – the approach has been to develop a coding scheme suitable for capturing the main arguments of the documents at different levels, as well as the factors of variation. The interpretations

therefore relate both to the sender and the recipient; the first defined as the authority accountable for publishing a certain document, and the latter defined as receiving lower-scale authorities.

In a content analysis approach, the first step is limiting the material to a sample suitable for providing the information required. This sampled unit composes the empirical material, which is analysed through the coding scheme. Secondly, the construction of a template (coding scheme) is used to identify the elements of value for further analysis, for example certain words, values, topics or arguments. On the third step, the material of analysis is systematically analysed through the fixed variables. Important to notice, is that the reliability may increase if the material is not studied categorically, i.e. all document within a particular category at the same time, since there might be a certain gradual drift of analysis method from beginning to end. The arrangement of sample analyses should therefore rather be randomized (Bergstöm & Boréus, 2000:50-53). After processing the empirical material, the fourth step of content analysis is to analyse the variables through counts or correlation; a qualitative approach implying the latter. Thereafter, the fifth and final step is to interpret the material in relation to the statement of purpose (Ibid).

In this particular case, my five-step-approach has been to develop a coding scheme for the processing of policy documents. The coding scheme consists of three main categories with appurtenant questions:

1. Descriptions of reality
    - How is reality described?
2. Values
    - Which values are pursued and, thus, how is reality valued?
3. Propositions
    - What propositions are made to implement values and change reality?

The questions, as inspired by the value-rational questions by Flyvbjerg (2012) (see section 4.2), hence aims to capture the varying expressions of policy documents, and identify the explanatory factors regarding these variations. The first question targets the contemporary view of the world, the second question aims to value this description and describe the world in relation to positive or negative experiences, whereas the third question relates to the changes proposed by the document (see further coding scheme instructions and examples in appendix A). These factors serve the purpose of shorten and quantify the meaning of the text; hence mirroring the explicit message. The analysis of implicit values might however generate certain methodological critiques. Possible sources of error may include variations of interpretation and differentiation between the categories, which questions the reliability of the method (Denscombe, 2009:308-309). To avoid such misconceptions, the coding scheme has been controlled for by processing the empirical material several times by me

and discussing ambiguities with others, in order to control for fallacies (Ibid:424). Critique may also be guided towards content analysis as the only method of choice. Most likely, a mixed methods approach of, for example, interviews and document analysis would have provided a broader understanding regarding the thesis statements. Due to limitations in time and extent, I have however been obliged to focus on one single method. Additional methodological approaches might thus answer questions suitable for further research contributions (see section 7.1).

5.3 Material

The empirical material consists of documents at three political levels. At an international scale, the Rights of the Child UN convention (UN, 1989) was processed through the coding scheme with the purpose of identifying the global recommendations of children's rights implementation. The document is structured as one initiating part containing an opening letter from the States Parties, and one core part consisting of by States Parties agreed propositions. The aim of the convention is to focus national actions to provide a greater penetration of children's rights propositions. Accordingly, the document is shaped as a constitution regulating the actions and values of concerned parties.

At a national scale, the empirical material consists of two major sources. *The convention of the Rights of the* Child – *a strategy of strengthening children's rights in Sweden* (my translation, Regeringskansliet, 2014) functions as an approach for facilitating the implementation of the UN convention in a Swedish context; hence linking the international recommendations to a Swedish setting. The document consists of an introduction written by the Swedish minister of equality Åsa Regnér, an initial, strategic part, where actions regarding Rights of the Child UN implementations are stated, a copy of the UN convention, and one concluding section consisting of optional protocols regarding children in armed conflict and child prostitution. I have however chosen not to analyse the UN convention or the protocols in this section, since these parts constitute copies of global UN documents; accordingly not relating to a national scale. In the analysis section, I will therefore solely process the introduction by Åsa Regnér and the Swedish strategies of implementation throughout the coding scheme.

In order to associate the transferring of a children's standpoint to a planning context, the national strategy is supplemented by the Swedish framework of planning regulations, *Plan-och bygglagen* (PBL). The document consists of legally binding propositions, which standardize the municipal planning process and narrow the influence of the planning monopoly (see section 2.2). The laws are structured into 16 chapters, each regulating a certain area of the planning and construction process. In this thesis, the sections regulating master and zoning plans (chapter 3-6) and the general definitions (chapter 1) may hence be of greatest importance in order to answer the problem statements.

The local political scale constitutes a selection of two Swedish municipalities (Malmö and Eslöv), where the sampled documents consist of, in total, four zoning plans. In Malmö municipality, the plans dp5301 (Malmö stad, 2014) and dp5373 (Malmö stad, 2015) are studied, and regarding Eslöv municipality, the zoning plans dp310 (Eslövs kommun, 2014a) and dp311 (Eslövs kommun, 2014b) forms the empirical material. The plans constitute one preschool and one residential area for each municipality, in order to capture the variation between areas traditionally and non-traditionally addressing children as a target group. In this way, the sample seeks to identify the possible variation of implementation of policies between documents where children are traditionally versus non-traditionally seen as target group.

The collection of documents at varying political levels may be questioned in relation to its accuracy. Since the documents include a political dimension, rhetoric and ideologies might be framed as reality; thus jeopardizing the validity. There may also be an observed disparity between the national and local scales, where regional documents may bridge the gap. The understanding of concept transferring though scales might, in this way, be lacking in its precision. Due to the limitations mentioned in section 2.1 however, the purpose of the thesis is narrowed only to include transferring through a global to a national and local scale. Yet, the question still remains if the understanding of policy transferring would be differently interpreted if regional documents were sampled as part of the empirical material.

5.3.1 Sample

The sampling of empirical material contains both a selection of municipalities and a sample of documents, where a trade-off between desired generalizability and limitation in time enabled the amount of material sampled. The municipal selection criteria consists of the notion of children's rights being explicitly but differently expressed, and the accessibility of documents. Regarding the latter criterion, the specific cases of Malmö and Eslöv were hence chosen due to the access of material, where Eslöv qualifies because of open source access and personal contacts from an internship, whereas Malmö was eligible due to earlier research contributions regarding children's standpoint policy translation from master to zoning plan (Näsman, 2015), where the results of lacking implementation at a municipal scale raised interesting questions of comparison to other political scales as well as whether other plans within the municipality would show the same results. Furthermore, the first municipal selection criteria (i.e. the varying definitions of children's rights) was identified by examining the definitions of children's rights implementation at a general municipal scale. This comparison of municipal definitions showed that Malmö's methods of implementing children in the planning process mainly focus on identifying consequences of planning actions; thus working on decreasing the municipal effects on children:

"A children's standpoint should be made visible, highlighted and considered in

every planning decision. For this purpose, child impact assessment may serve as a useful method" (Malmö stad, 2012:39)

Eslöv municipality has a different approach of children's rights implementation, where the general aim is to identify methods of integrating children. The purpose is hence to support different administrations within the municipality, whereas the concrete implementation of children's rights lays on each administration:

"Children's rights in Eslöv municipality mainly involves the development of methods at multiple levels" (Eslövs kommun, 2011:6)

The sampling criteria hence serve the purpose of identifying municipalities which may answer the sub questions of observed variation and relevant explanatory factors (see section 2). Important to notice is however that the aim of the thesis is to observe policy translation *across scales*, rather than comparing the municipalities of Malmö and Eslöv. The sample of municipalities in this essay therefore functions as a way of detecting differences in policy implementation in order to indicate that a larger empirical material creates better opportunities regarding generalizability, rather than mapping the local scale differences. This examination may instead be a suitable topic for further research contributions (see section 7.1).

Regarding the municipal definitions of children's rights strategy implementations, there seems to be an observed variation of the interpretation of the UN convention, which opens for interesting questions regarding explanatory factors of disparity. The sample of municipalities may however be criticised due to two main factors: the reliability of drawn conclusions and the personal contacts within one of the cases studied. Firstly, since the thesis only examines two particular cases, the amount of generalization may be limited; meaning that the identification of variation and its explanatory factors should not be seen as universal. The restrictions in time and extent however narrowed the possibilities of a broader sample. Secondly, the personal contacts within Eslöv municipality could theoretically have affected the results of the thesis. However, the bias was controlled for by solely using the municipal officials as gatekeepers of missing material (in other words, one zoning plan missing from the web page). In this way, the material was sampled and analysed without any external involvement.

Regarding the selection of documents, the empirical material consists of policies on a global, national and local scale. Concerning global and national documents, the assortment of regulations within the Rights of the Child realm is rather narrow, accordingly facilitating the extent of the sampling process. The UN convention and the Swedish authority implementation are the most general and up-to-date applications of children's rights, and were therefore sampled with the purpose of mapping the contemporary state-of-art

regarding official policies on children's rights. Since the Swedish planning regulations (PBL) constitute the only legal framework explicitly addressing the requirements of children's physical environment, this selection of propositions accordingly felt natural for the same end. At a local scale however, a greater amount of documents has resulted in a substantial sampling process. As a first limitation, the municipal document selection solely contains zoning plans, due to earlier research contributions showing a children's perspective to be gradually lost from master to local plan (Näsman, 2015:44). The selection of zoning plans hence serves the purpose of identifying a children's perspective at its most critical point in the planning process. Furthermore, the sampling criteria of zoning plans included a geographical location within the municipal borders of Malmö or Eslöv, binding legal force after the publishing of global and national policies (accordingly later than November 2014), and plans containing a variety of social functions to identify the difference of children's rights implementation regarding plans where children traditionally and non-traditionally are seen as target groups. From these criteria, a total sample of four zoning plans was chosen.

6. Analysis

The following section contains the empirical material the thesis is founded upon, and seeks to answer the problem statements explained in section 2. The chapter is divided into three sections – global, national and local – which each represent one political level, and describes the documents relating to that scale. Each section starts with a short comment on the structure of the document, later followed by a review of the document as processed through the coding scheme, and a summary of the general interpretations of the document. References to "categories" throughout the text, hence relate to the three classifications constituting the coding scheme (see section 5.2 and Appendix A).

6.1 Global scale

Regulations and recommendations regarding a children's standpoint are universally defined at a global scale, which encompasses further implementations at lower political levels. Internationally, the UN Rights of the Child hence unifies values of States Parties involved, and coordinates the propositions to strengthen children's agency. The following section thus seeks to identify the general, international recommendations of children's rights implementation, to vision if the guidelines match national and municipal interpretations.

6.1.1   The Rights of the Child UN convention

As mentioned in section 5.3, the Rights of the Child UN convention mainly consists of one preamble by the States Parties concerned, and a list of propositions. Important to notice is that the convention focuses on children's rights rather than a children's standpoint. However, since a children's standpoint has evolved from the suggested propositions of this global document (see the following section 6.2.1), it is likely to assume the fulfilment of the suggestions to coincide with a children's standpoint. In this way, a children's standpoint may be seen as the method and/or perspective by which children's rights are implemented.

Processing the convention through the coding scheme consisting of three main categories, many of the articles seem to be structured in similar ways. The initial part of the document, which addresses the background and explicitly mentions the importance of a children's perspective, is principally concerned with a reality description (1st category), which sets the framework and identifies the need for the matters presented in subsequent articles. According to the background description, reality consists of children being especially exposed to inequality, poverty and disease. The reality of children is hence depicted in a negative sense:

> *"(…) In all countries in the world, there are children living in exceptionally difficult conditions* [description]*, and such children need special consideration* [value]*"*

(UN, 1989: preamble)

This pessimistic approach to the world is, as shown by the quote, supplemented by the second, value-based category of the coding scheme, which clearly states the need of further propositions of change. In this way, the description of the world in implicitly negative in the sense of initiating a developmental need. At the same time, the quotation implicitly mentions the purpose of the convention; that is, the protection of children as a vulnerable group. Furthermore, this statement of vulnerability is more explicitly expressed as follows:

> *"The child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care"* (Ibid).

Accordingly, children's rights, and hence also a children's standpoint, are defined as the protection of children's mental and physical health. Children as a group are particularly vulnerable due to their immaturity; implying a need for special care and consideration. These formulations are of particular interest, since implicitly defining children as marginalized due to their reduced abilities compared to other groups (2nd category in the coding scheme). Applying a children's standpoint therefore involves the implementation of actions balancing those inabilities in relation to other groups; by which the subsequent propositions serve the primary purpose.

Following the preamble starts the section of articles which the State Parties, through ratification, have agreed to implement. Since the purpose of the convention is to form a contract consisting of actions for defending the Rights of the Child, many of the articles, non-surprisingly, comprise propositions (3rd category) regarding how States Parties should implement a children's rights perspective. However, many of the articles also seem to contain elements of both descriptive and value-based nature (1st and 2nd categories). The articles are often structured in similar ways, where each article begins with a value-based description of what the State Parties have agreed to act upon by signing the convention, for example:

> *"States Parties recognize the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development."* (UN, 1989: Article 27.1)

After these prerequisites given, each article consists of a varying number of propositions relating to this description, for example:

> *"States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to secure the recovery of maintenance for the child from the parents or other persons having financial responsibility for the child, both within the State Party and from abroad."* (UN, 1989: Article 27.4)

These propositions hence suggest which actions are suitable for the implementation of the convention, in other words, for the initially mentioned value to be fulfilled in reality.

Summarizing the content of the propositions, certain values seem to be repeatedly occurring throughout the document. Propositions related to the following topics seem to be most frequently mentioned, and thus, of highest importance: the protection of discrimination (mental and physical), protection in the notion of well-being, legislation and legal rights, responsibility of parents, freedom of speech and expression, accessibility and the right to play and recreational activities. Accordingly, a children's perspective is implicitly yet repeatedly defined as the protection of physical and mental factors, equality and health-related features. A children's standpoint should hence be obtained if fulfilling all of these factors.

Bridging the content of the Rights of the Child UN convention to the coding scheme, the children's standpoint seems to be based upon a negative approach towards the world (1st category of the coding scheme), where values of children's inequality and inability in relations to other groups are particularly emphasized. The suggested propositions (3rd category) therefore coincides with implementations strengthening these factors, for example accessibility, freedom of speech and health-promoting. The underlying values regarding these propositions (2nd category) assume the inferiority and marginalization of children as a group, which presupposes special care and consideration. These assumptions accordingly open for a great responsibility of parents and other adults, where the superior groups concerning the question of marginalization are accountable for the living conditions of lower status groups. The most general message of the document is thus:

> *"In all action concerning children (…) the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration."* (UN, 1989: Article 3.1)

Of certain importance to this document is hence the notion that children's rights should be superior to all other values and interest in operations where children in any way are present. This expression is however visionary rather than concrete, meaning that the translation of visionary values into concreate implementation and juridical implementation opens for interesting questions regarding children's standpoint accomplishments on lower political levels.

6.2 National scale

At a national scale, documents regarding implementation of the Rights of the Child consist of both policies and regulating laws. In this section, I will hence review one national policy document of practical implementations of a children's perspective, and the Swedish planning regulations *Plan- och bygglagen* (PBL) (see section 3.2). The aim is to map the expression of a children's standpoint at a national level.

6.2.1 Swedish strategies of implementation

The convention of the Rights of the Child – *a strategy of strengthening children's rights in Sweden* (my translation) is an implementation policy by Swedish authority, with the purpose of facilitating the application of the UN convention at a national level (Regeringskansliet, 2014:5). The introduction has the form of an opening letter from the Swedish minister of equality, which pleas to the citizen of Sweden to react on the insufficient implementations of children's rights across the world. The section primarily consists of value-based arguments, where the main message is to respond to the inequalities of reality. Phrases like:

> *"We cannot wait another 25 years to ensure each boy and girl the best developmental conditions. The Rights of the Child UN convention needs to be legislated as soon as possible!"* (My translation, Regeringskansliet, 2014:6)

implicitly testifies the current application of children's rights to be insufficient, even though the contemporary implementation process is not explicitly defined. The quote clearly states a reality description (category 1) in need of change; hence insinuation a negativity towards the current world situation (2nd category). The phrase also attests the importance of the UN convention, and suggests legislation as a suitable proposition (3rd category) for strengthening the implementation.

Accordingly, the initial part of the document serves the primary purpose of presenting which values the following strategies are founded upon, as well as which values Swedish authority presumes from all citizens and operations. Like the UN convention described in the earlier section, the values regard children as a marginalized group in need of protection, which makes the implementation strategy an important forum for raising the voices of the oppressed. Thus, the underlying message is that the UN convention is of significant importance, and that the contemporary implementation is insufficient.

The following section of the document contains nine fundamental strategies for further implementation of children's rights, which all relates to different articles within the UN convention. In numerical order, the strategies regard the following topics: legislation of children's rights (article 4), physical and mental integrity (article 19), freedom of speech (article 12), accessibility of legal information (article 17), consideration of children's interests by decision-making bodies (article 3), legal strength through institutional partnership (article 45), increasing knowledge of living conditions (article 2), and evaluation of decisions and processes (article 3). Accordingly, the strategies mainly state fields and methods within which children's rights and a children's perspective should be considered. The most frequently mentioned topics are the legislation of the UN convention, children's mental and physical health, legal rights, and the collaboration of children's rights strategies between authorities, operations and companies. Furthermore, a children's standpoint is defined as follows:

"Embracing a children's perspective is not only about attitudes, but also about knowledge and method" (Regeringskansliet, 2014: 10)

Accordingly, the adaption of a children's standpoint is implicitly concluded as those attitudes, knowledge and ways of working defending the most frequently mentioned topics related to children's rights; that is, children's mental and physical health, legal rights and partnership. The values underlying such propositions, are hence the marginalization of children and the present state of inequality amongst different social groups. Hence, the following formulation becomes particularly interesting:

"Lean forward or sit down in order to hear what the child has to say – it is always something very important!" (My translation, Regeringskansliet, 2014:6)

The phrase implicitly reinforces the marginalization of children by explicitly pointing at a distinct difference between children and adults – the height – which functions as a metaphor for agency. Hence, the writing implicitly points at the power structures within the relationship of children and adults. This formulation therefore indirectly requests Swedish implementations of the Rights of the Child to identify and work against existing power structures – to *"lean forward or sit down"* in order to see the world from a children's standpoint. The quote however also stresses the importance of actually *talking* to children in order to adopt a children's perspective (even if the "talking" rhetorically could represent "taking into account", rather than actually talking to children in person).

Accordingly and in summary, the implementation of a children's standpoint should hence involve three distinct factors – attitudes, knowledge and method – to be seen as successful in relation to children's rights. A children's standpoint is thus seen as something more concrete than a general vision; hence involving a need for a certain way of working. The propositions (3rd category) to ensure this development constitutes the nine strategies earlier mentioned, tightly related to the UN convention, where a legislation of the UN convention is particularly emphasized, with the purpose of strengthening children's agency at all fields concerned. As earlier showed, factors such as physical and mental health, legal right and collaboration of actors are repeatedly highlighted as preconditions for a successful implementation of a children's standpoint. This more concrete definition of a children's standpoint (in relation to the UN convention) hence enables further concrete implementations of lower political levels, for example those related to an urban planning context. How are these national strategies understood and applied within the specific, juridical context of Swedish planning processes?

6.2.2 Swedish planning regulations

The Swedish laws of planning and construction, *plan- och bygglagen* (PBL), does not explicitly mention children's rights. The purpose of analysing these regulations is,

nevertheless, to investigate the translation of a children's perspective from a general, national setting to a planning context, with the background of the Swedish strategies of implementation clearly stating a children's standpoint to be considered at every operation and by every authority. The analysis of PBL therefore functions as a link from general strategies to an urban planning context, in order to interconnect authorities and planning documents.

The document is constructed as propositions regarding the regulation of land and water usage. All regulations follow the purpose and guidelines of §1, which states that:

> *"The regulations aim, with respect to the freedom of the individual, to support an equal social development and a sustainable living environment for all citizens of today and tomorrow."* (My translation, SFS 2010:900, 1 Ch. 1 §)

The propositions are accordingly founded upon certain social values (2nd category), which prerequisites all regulations. The values emphasize sustainability and the equal rights of all individuals, which may be seen as a consideration of marginalized groups, for example children. This interpretation becomes more explicit in Chapter 2, §3, where the purpose of the regulations is formulated as:

> *"(…) supporting a socially sustainable living environment which is available and accessible to <u>all social groups</u>"* (My translation and underlining, SFS 2010:900, 2 Ch. 3 §)

These formulations hence suggest an implicit reality description (category 1), where the current society needs regulations in order to be treating people equally. Accordingly, the world is given a negative prospect, which contrasts the values which the regulations are trying to achieve. The explicit propositions (category 3) regulating land and water usage, therefore function as methods for changing the implicitly mentioned reality.

Children are most explicitly mentioned in chapter 8, §9, where regulations regarding undeveloped land are mentioned. The paragraph states that areas of planned neighbourhoods, schools or comparable activities should contain enough open space for playing and outdoor activities (Ibid: Ch. 8, 9§). Furthermore, children are not mentioned in the sections regulating master and zoning plans (chapter 3-6), but may be seen as implicitly mentioned in several subsequent paragraphs concerning *"persons with reduced mobility or orientation"*. According to this noteworthy and implicit definition, children should be particularly considered in respect to new housing estate or generally altered landscapes (Ibid: 1§). This concern is however narrowed in §12:

"Obstacles of accessibility or utility in a public space should always be remedied, if the obstacles are easily corrected in relation to practical and economical conditions" (My translation and underlining, Ibid: 12§)

This formulation is of particular interest in relation to its contradictory priorities in relation to the global and national strategies. Accordingly, economic and practical factors are superior to the accessibility of city space, meaning that social dimensions are to be primarily considered only if economical interests allow so. At the same time, municipalities are obligated to public participation (Ibid: Ch. 3, 9§), meaning that the social dimension should also be of high consideration. In this way, the interests of the propositions partially contrast one another.

To summarize the content of the coding scheme, the reality description (1st category) is continuingly pessimistic. The values (2nd category) proceed from the statements in §1, where a strategy of overall equality and sustainability is stated. The propositions (3rd category) hence relate to citizens in general terms rather than particularly focusing on children or other groups, which makes a clear difference compared to the documents previously examined. The main propositions however regard development and sustainability, which hence should embrace all social groups, including children. A children's standpoint is not explicitly mentioned, but may, according to these implicit formulations, be seen as a coherent factor of suitable outdoor environments and accessibility. The rights of social groups are hence implicitly reviewed as something preferable but not entirely necessary in the development of urban environments.

6.3 Local scale

As showed in the previous section, national authorities have the responsibility of general implementation of a children's standpoint. However, these strategies are concretely implemented by municipalities, who at a local scale carry the obligation of defending children in the planning process. In the following section, I will hence review a total of four municipal zoning plans, with the purpose of identifying how a children's standpoint is translated throughout a local scale. How are children portrayed, and how are children's rights integrated in a planning context? As stated in section 4.1, there might be a risk of a children's standpoint being more explicitly mentioned in plans and contexts traditionally identified as children's spheres. Each municipal review therefore starts by examining one preschool plan followed by one residential area, with the purpose of comparing the variation of implementation in relation to the type of zoning plan.

6.3.1 Malmö municipality

The following review consists of the zoning plans number 5301 and 5373, where the first constitutes a preschool and the following forms a residential area. Zoning plan 5301,

Strandåsstigen, is divided into an initial background, planning propositions and consequences, with the purpose of investigating the prerequisites for establishing a permanent preschool in the southwestern suburbs of Malmö. A children's perspective is explicitly mentioned in the economic and social impact evaluation:

> *"According to the Rights of the Child UN convention, the child's best should be a primary consideration. The planned area has good conditions of being suitable for children and adults, due to close connections to large park areas. The backyard of the preschool will follow the Malmö municipal recommendations concerning size, and has accordingly been examined in relation to the "Malmö preschool playing factor" in order to secure the quality of the plan. The area includes safe access to pedestrian and cycling friendly trails."* (My translation, Malmö stad, 2014:13)

Accordingly, the UN convention is mainly interpreted in relation to the outdoor environment, where children implicitly require larger outdoor areas, more stimulating environments and a higher amount of road safety compared to other groups. Throughout the document, the importance of a suitable outdoor environment, infrastructure and stimulation is reoccurringly emphasized. The location of the plan is repeatedly motivated by the closeness to existing green areas; hence stressing similar factors of a children's standpoint as implicitly mentioned in the planning regulations examined in section 6.2.2. The national system of laws may also be observed as present throughout the exposition of the "Malmö preschool playing factor" (my translation), which is an index used in municipal preschool zoning plans in order to secure the quality. The factors evaluated mainly target the outdoor environment, but is also supplemented by accessibility as a feature of major importance. Access to persons with varying mobility abilities coincides with *Plan och bygglagen* (PBL) Chapter 8, §1, where *"persons with reduced mobility or orientation"* should be particularly considered in the developmental planning process. In the preschool plan, accessibility is explicitly mentioned in relation to both of these reduced abilities, and exemplified through access to facilities and contrasting colours and materials to increase the sense of direction (Malmö stad, 2014:10).

Regarding infrastructure, children are repeatedly portrayed as in need of certain care and consideration. The preschool building is designed to separate children from traffic, in order to satisfy the recommendations of the UN convention, and parents are encouraged to use the existing pedestrian or cycling trails (Malmö stad, 2014:6, 12-13). Accordingly, the preschool is depicted as a potential "safe spot", to which infrastructure, outdoor environment and accessibility poses hypothetical threats. The unsafe reality (1st category of the coding scheme) therefore assumes certain values (2nd category) for a place to be defined as safe for and adapted to children. In the Malmö municipal preschool plan, these values include a secure outdoor environment, infrastructure and accessible playing facilities, which

have encouraged a certain design of the zoning plan (3rd category). The design includes separation between children and traffic, preservation and strengthening of existing green structures, and accommodation of facilitates. To sum up, these factors of security and equal conditions thus explicitly define the interpretation of the Rights of the Child UN convention; hence implicitly constituting the implementation of a children's standpoint. By mentioning children in the terminal consequence section, a children's standpoint may be seen as an evaluating method for interpreting and assuring the quality of the plan.

The second zoning plan, dp5373 *Dadeln 23,* represents the development of a residential area in the central parts of Malmö. The plan follows the structure of the previously mentioned preschool plan, with a descriptive introduction followed by planning propositions and evaluated economic, environmental and social consequences. Likewise, a children's standpoint is explicitly mentioned in relation to social consequences:

> *"According to the Rights of the Child UN convention, the child's best should be a primary consideration. The area may, if planned for residential housing, be suitable for children and adults if the backyard is restored and playing areas added. The property is closely related to pre and elementary schools. The area includes access to pedestrian and cycling trails considered relatively safe in relation to its central location."* (My translation, Malmö stad, 2015:11)

The definition of a children's standpoint hence coincides with the values of playing facilities and road safety emphasized in the municipal preschool plan. Contrasting the preschool plan is however the repeatability by which these values are highlighted. Apart from the quotation, children are implicitly mentioned once throughout the document, where the location of the plan is described in relation to the closest public playground (Malmö stad, 2015:4). Like outdoor environment, infrastructure and accessibility was emphasized in the preschool plan, the residential plan mainly focuses on aesthetics and historical values. Accessibility, for example, is solely mentioned in the sentence:

> *"In case of reconstruction, accessibility requirements will be ensured"* (My translation, Malmö stad, 2015:11)

One interesting point to make concerning these quotations of a children's standpoint and accessibility, regards its differentiated formulations. In the preschool plan, the locational conditions are considered suitable for children to reside in the area; meaning that no further propositions are needed to ensure a children's standpoint. In the residential plan however, the conditions are only considered to be relatively good in relation to the central location of the plan; hence implicitly implying that the conditions could be improved, but that such modifications are not explicitly encouraged or prioritized throughout the plan. The plan does not provide any explanations for the given priorities, other than a vigilance regarding large-scale development in the area. This formulation may coincide with the Swedish planning

regulations of accessibility and utility being prioritized only if corresponding to practical and economical conditions (SFS 2010:900, Ch. 8 12 §). Since not explicitly mentioned, this deduction should however be treated carefully.

To sum up, the residential plan accordingly defines a children's standpoint in relation to a suitable outdoor environment and road safety (2nd category of the coding scheme). These factors are however only mentioned in one section, whereas repeatedly emphasized throughout the preschool plan. From preschool to residential plan, the notion of accessibility as an implementation of children's rights, and the propositions of implementing a children's standpoint may also be observed as lost. In general, the Malmö municipal zoning plans however coincide well with Swedish planning regulations, whereas some of the values emphasized in the UN convention and Swedish strategies are gradually lost in the translation through political levels, and additionally weakened from preschool to residential plan. In this way, it seems that the definition of a children's standpoint is gradually narrowed.

6.3.2   Eslöv municipality

In this section, the municipal zoning plans of numbers 310 and 311 are examined; the first constituting a preschool in central Eslöv and the latter composing a residential area in the western parts of the city. Zoning plan 310, also named *Skytteskogen*, mainly consists of the same structure as the plans reviewed in section 6.3.1. The initial part largely contains background and locational descriptions (1st category of the coding scheme), whereas the following sections constitute planning propositions (3rd category) with implicitly mentioned values (2nd category). A children's perspective is explicitly formulated within the section "*preconditions and changes*" (my translation), and is presented as:

> "*According to the Convention of the Child, the child's best should be considered with every resolution. Safe pedestrian and cycling trails to preschools constitute an important precondition for children's road safety*" (My translation, Eslövs kommun, 2014a:12)

The factors of highest importance to a child friendly environment is thus infrastructural development in terms of walking and cycling, in order to separate children from car traffic. Interesting to notice apart from the quotation itself, is also the headlining within which a children's standpoint is presented. In the Malmö municipal zoning plans, a children's standpoint is presented as a social consequence, whereas, in Eslöv municipality, children are introduced as a precondition for propositions of change. This coincides with the general municipal definitions of a children's standpoint mentioned in chapter 5.3.1, where Malmö municipality focuses on consequences and impact assessment as a method of integrating children's rights, whereas Eslöv emphasizes a methodological approach, where a children's standpoint rather is used as a way of working. Whilst Malmö uses a children's standpoint as

quality assurance (see section 6.3.1), Eslöv identifies children's welfare as a precondition for further planning implementations.

Furthermore, children are explicitly mentioned in two more sections throughout the document. Firstly, children are repeatedly cited in relation to traffic and infrastructure. The preschool is designed to separate traffic loads from children and staff, in order to create a more secure and child friendly environment (Eslövs kommun, 2014a: 8); hence coinciding with the definition of a children's standpoint later expressed in the plan. Secondly, children are mentioned in the context of ecological sustainability. The municipality claims to support the notion of "Low-Tox preschools", which define as environments of lower chemical usage, with the purpose of promoting healthier surroundings (Ibid:12). Accordingly, children and their environments (preschools) are seen as particularly vulnerable to health and safety-related disturbances, which additionally coincides with the implicit formulations in the security section of the document:

> *"Since arson attacks are relatively commonly occurring at preschools, emergency services recommend the buildings and playing areas to be designed in a way that allows better access to facades, in order to promote a more efficient firefighting."*
> (My translation, Ibid:10)

Accordingly, children are reoccurringly mentioned in relation to different kinds of safety threats, including infrastructure, chemical usage and fires. A children's perspective is therefore implicitly yet repeatedly defined as the *physical protection* of children (2nd category of the coding scheme), which is facilitated by the design of the building (3rd category). This notion is interesting in relation to the visionary nature of the UN convention and the Swedish implementation strategies, where factors such as freedom of speech and other kinds of *mental* protection are stressed. However, the physical and locational focus of zonings plans might serve as a possible explanation for such priorities.

The second municipal plan, zoning plan number 311 (*Blåbäret 1*), constitutes, as earlier mentioned, a residential area in the western parts of Eslöv, with the purpose of redesigning the area to allow a greater variation of tenures (Eslövs kommun, 2014b:3). The plan is similarly structured to zoning plan 310, with an initial description followed by propositions of change. Neither children nor a children's standpoint are explicitly mentioned in the plan, which primarily focuses on technical and economical operations; hence implicitly insinuating these interests to be prioritized and superior to social values. This may, once again, be linked to the planning regulations in section 6.2.2, where the adaption of spaces is inferior to economic and practical notions (SFS 2010:900, Ch. 8 12§). Social values are only mentioned once throughout the document:

"An evaluation of the implementation shows [the plan] *to have no effects on people's health"* (My translation, Ibid:4)

Children might be seen as implicitly mentioned within the word "people" functioning as an umbrella term for all social groups. The notion of no observed health-related impact accordingly motivates the choice of not further mentioning the social consequences. In this way, the absence of explicitly distinguishing children from other social groups is motivated by the evaluation of health effects (which is closely related to the UN preamble). Accordingly, children's rights are implicitly defined as the protection of children's health; meaning that no health-related consequences make the formulation of a children's standpoint redundant. In relation to the Rights of the Child UN convention, this motivation and definition of a children's standpoint should hence be acceptable in relation to the 3rd article of children as primary consideration in operations *concerning* children (UN, 1989: Article 3.1). One interesting question to ask, is however who decides whether a certain project does or does not affect and relate to children, and by which means this is done? In this way, the implementation of the UN convention is rather arbitrary, and difficult to argument for or against.

To sum up, a children's standpoint hence constitutes the guarding of health-related factors (2nd category), which implicitly implies that the propositions of the plan should facilitate such protection (3rd category). Children as a group or a children's standpoint is however not explicitly mentioned, meaning that such conclusions are solely based on the notion of children as included in the general term "people". Accordingly, no distinction is made between the protection of children and the protection of other social groups, and the agency of a children's standpoint could therefore be seen as weakened from preschool to residential zoning plan. In general, the municipal review of children's rights in a planning context coincides rather well with the implicit formulations of Swedish planning regulations, whereas the definition is narrowed in relation to the global recommendations of implementation; especially regarding the residential zoning plan where a children's standpoint fails to be explicitly mentioned.

7. Discussion

The results presented in section 6 show four observations of particular interest: the definition of children, the varying occurrence and descriptions of a children's standpoint, the variable priority of social, economic and practical values, and the observed differences between zoning plans traditionally and non-traditionally targeting children. Regarding the first observation, children are, in the majority of documents, defined as the antithesis of adults rather than a particular group in themselves. The UN convention shortly defines children as a group including every human being under the age of 18 (see section 2.2), and continually distinguishes children from other social groups by pointing at their mental and physical inferiority; hence implicitly assuming adults as "standard". Furthermore, the national strategies of children's rights implementation express children in relation to adult's height; in other words, that adults need to "lean forward or sit down" (see section 2.2.1) in order to equalize the marginalization of the inferior group (children). In this way, children are implicitly defined as a deviation from the norm (adults), rather than being a group in themselves. This view is strengthened by the Swedish planning regulations, where abnormal groups are collected within the formulation "persons with reduced mobility or orientation" (see section 6.2.2); implicitly defining social groups in relation to the (adult) norm.

Regarding the municipal documents, children are repeatedly defined in relation to health and security factors, where children are seen as a group in need of special care and consideration (see sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). This need may be interpreted as the "normal" functioning of the world being too dangerous for children to reside in, meaning that particular protection should be guided towards such marginalized groups. Accordingly, children are implicitly defined as a group not coinciding with "reality", which may be understood in relation to the theoretical framework of power and children and power and planning (sections 4.1 and 4.2), by pointing at the structural power illustrated by the age factor and within the research field. Regarding the first, the definition of children reveals contrasting visions of children and adults, where children are defined as the antithesis of adults as well as their characteristics of agency and reliability. Accordingly, children are stereotypically defined in relation to negative properties, instead of emphasizing the possible contributions and/or positive aspects of children as a group. Relating to the latter economical framework, structured power within the planning sphere may contribute to the understanding of the varying portraying of children in the planning documents observed by highlighting the existing gap between power and rationality. Thence, the portraying of children as a group might partially be explained by the "blind spot" between truth and politics, where winners and losers are created; thus making power one of the most prominent factors in the decision of how "reality" is defined. In this way, the power relations between children and adults together with the structured power within the planning sphere, contribute to a reality description where adults constitute the norm, and children are portrayed as deviant. Exactly *why* certain elements of the UN convention (such as, for

example, health and security) are more emphasized than others (e.g. freedom of speech) at lower political scales, is however not explained by the theoretical framework, but might represent a need of further research contributions (section 7.1).

The matter of definition additionally relates to the second observation. A children's standpoint is, as showed in the analysis section, varyingly expressed at different political levels; accordingly targeting the question of the first problem statement. At a global scale, the Rights of the Child UN convention formulates the visionary and juridical framework functioning as a general implementation strategy for lower scale authority, whereas the national strategies describe a children's standpoint as a concept of attitudes and methods. In a Swedish planning context (PBL), a children's standpoint is not explicitly defined, while municipal documents tend to refer to the UN convention rather than the Swedish strategies; yet only emphasizing certain articles and values. In this way, the most prominent factor distinguishing the definition of a children's standpoint, is the *width* of the concept. This may be linked to the theoretical frameworks of power and children and policy translation through political scales, where the former relates to the ambiguity and rhetorical capacity of a children's standpoint as a concept (see section 4.1), and the latter coincides with the varying expressions of policies between different scales (see section 4.3), where the regulatory nature of policies gradually tend to translate visions into costs further down political scales. In this way, difficulties of policy implementation at a local scale may function as an explanatory factor for the varying expressions of a children's standpoint; which targets the sub questions mentioned in section 2. Worth mentioning is however that the empirical material reveals a variation of definitions between different types of municipal plans, where some zoning plans stress a children's standpoint more than others; meaning that the empirical material points out differences between *plans* rather than municipalities. In this way, the theoretical framework fails to capture municipal differences, but rather works to distinguish differences across scales and types of empirical documents (see section 7.1).

Furthermore, contrasting visions and economic interests coincide with the third observation of particular interest. At global and national visionary scales (documents of sections 6.1.1 and 6.2.1), the rights of the child are expressed as "primary considerations", with no mentioned conflicts of interest involved within the implementation process. Yet, at a regulatory scale (document of section 6.2.2), the accessibility and development in relation to marginalized social groups is expressed as inferior to economic and practical values. This, again, relates to the ease of policy translation, but accordingly to theories of power and planning, where clashes between politics, economics and softer values lead to a disparity between actual and normative development (section 4.2). In this way, the varying expressions of a children's standpoint is a result of conflicting actors and interests.

Regarding the fourth and final observation, the empirical material in section 6 shows a disparity of policy translation between zoning plans constituting preschools and those of

residential areas, where the former buildings are traditionally bound to children as a target group, whereas the latter have no such link. The preschool plans of Eslöv and Malmö both repeatedly mention a children's standpoint and explicitly distinguish children from other social groups, whereas the residential plans completely lack a children's standpoint (Eslöv), or solely mention children once (Malmö). One possible explanation for this phenomenon could be the notion of certain places as "privileged adult domains" (as explained in theory section 4.1), where children are excluded from basic social systems due to their mental and physical inferiority. Accordingly, one of the explanatory factors regarding the varying expressions of a children's standpoint may relate to the stereotypical view that certain places are "reserved" to certain groups; thus failing to obtain the general implementations of a children's standpoint as visionary expressed at a global scale.

7.1 Further research

The thesis seeks to describe the concept translation of a children's standpoint from a global to a local scale in the field of urban planning, with the purpose of identifying variations of definition and implementation between varying political scales. However, several additional areas of research may be observed in order to broaden the understanding of the problem statements. The first example regards the empirical material and choice of methods. A larger sample of municipalities and documents as well as supplementary methodological approaches (for example interviews and surveys) may provide a greater understanding for the possible variations and explanatory factors of the expressions of a children's standpoint within a Swedish planning context. Accordingly, a broader understanding of the sub questions may be obtained.

Furthermore, the second example of additional research contributions targets a time perspective. The legislation of the Rights of the Child UN convention in 2017 (see section 3.1) opens for interesting questions regarding the differences observed before versus after the state legislation, which may be examined with the purpose of targeting the formulation of the legislation and identifying how these propositions coincide with the expression of a children's standpoint at other political scales. May the legislation result in children being decreasingly marginalized in an urban planning context? Or is a contrary trend observed? Additionally, a regional political scale may be included to better capture these variations of policy translation through a national to a local level.

The last example of further research contributions relates to the theoretical framework. The thesis treats a vertical power perspective, where the structuring of the democratic system and the age factor function as describing and explanatory contexts in order to interpret the observations detected in the empirical material. Further understanding might however be obtained by including a more intersectional power perspective, for example by incorporating additional factors of structured power (e.g. gender, ethnicity and/or socio-economic status)

and a more distinct isolation between the concepts of a *child* versus a *child's* perspective (see section 2.2). Other theoretical frameworks could also be added, in order to define further explanatory factors of variation. The thesis has mainly examined questions of variations *across* scale which, for example, may be supplemented by the integration of a horizontal policy translation perspective with the purpose of capturing variations *within* scales (e.g. between the municipalities of Malmö and Eslöv). A study of this sort could reveal other possible factors of variation, which may affect the municipal definition of a children's standpoint. Does, for example, the expression of children's rights vary in relation to certain patterns? Could factors such as geographical location, population size, demographical trends or political majorities explain such configurations? In accordance with a greater sample of municipalities, additional theoretical perspectives might hence provide a more nuanced picture of the problem statements examined throughout the thesis.

8. Conclusion

The thesis seeks to answer the main question regarding how a children's standpoint is transferred and formulated throughout a global, to a national and, finally, local scale, and translated into a Swedish planning context. The results show that the concept is widely defined at a global scale as the physical and mental protection of children's rights, whereas the definitions at a national and local scale tend to be gradually narrowed and emphasize physical factors. The concept also transfers from vision to method, as comparing the global and national strategies. In a regulatory planning context (PBL) however, a children's standpoint fails to be explicitly mentioned, which affects the expressions on a local scale. In both Malmö and Eslöv municipality, children are repeatedly mentioned in zoning plans concerning preschools, and solely mentioned once or not at all in plans regulating residential areas. There is hence an observed variation of concept expression, both concerning the type of plans and concerning the kind of authority, where zoning plans traditionally targeting children are more likely to involve a children's standpoint than others, and visionary documents tend to involve a higher consideration of soft values than the regulatory ditto. In order to explain this variation, two factors hence seem to be most prominent – the scale and the target group – where the first relates to the ease by which certain values are expressed in relation to conflicting interests, and the second depends on the notion of places as more or less defined as "privileged adult domains". These factors coincide with the thesis purposes, which involve the identification of structured power throughout the policy translation of a children's standpoint. However, a higher degree of generalization may be obtained through further research involving a larger sample of cases and documents, as well as through theoretical integration of a horizontal dimension of variation.

To sum up, the thesis shows how the definition of a children's standpoint is gradually narrowed when transformed from a global to a local scale, with variations of prioritized interests, type of zoning plan and type of document as factors of disparity. Identified explanatory factors involve the political level and the definition of the target group, which illustrate if and how a children's standpoint is more or less likely to be mentioned.

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10.   Appendix A: Coding scheme and instructions

The coding scheme consists of three categories with appurtenant questions:

1   Descriptions of reality
    -   How is reality described?
2   Values
    -   Which valued are pursued and, thus, how is reality valued?
3   Propositions
    -   What propositions are made to implement values and change reality?

Textual examples of category 1:

"The planned area is adjacent to Rörsjöstaden." (My translation, Malmö stad, 2015:3)

"Recognizing that, in all countries in the world, there are children living in exceptionally difficult conditions" (UN, 1989: preamble)

"It has thus been a quarter of a century since the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child." (My translation, Regeringskansliet, 2014:5)

Textual examples of category 2:

"Collaboration of actors is of highest importance." (My translation, Regeringskansliet, 2014:17)

"It is important to detect and provide support to both the child and the family." (My translation, Regeringskansliet, 2014:12)

"(…) Childhood is entitled to special care and assistance." (UN, 1989: preamble)

Textual examples of category 3:

This will be implemented in accordance to children's rights, needs and interests, for example through collaboration regarding exposed children or children with certain needs." (My translation, Regeringskansliet, 2014:17)

"States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is protected against all forms of discrimination or punishment (…)" (UN, 1989: Article 2.2)

"A preschool with six departments and the possibility for an additional outdoor department is proposed in the area." (My translation, Malmö stad, 2014:6)