Power within the exploitation process

A qualitative study of civil servants' ability to control the development of the built environment in the municipality

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Abstract

Several actors are involved in the process of developing new areas. In Sweden, there is a municipal planning monopoly implying that municipalities are responsible for the planning of land and water. The detailed planning defines the prerequisites for the development of an area. Municipalities thus possess a significant position of power to control the development within municipalities. This research focuses on the exploitation processes from a perspective of power. The research aims to understand how civil servants experience their ability to use their power within the exploitation process to control the development of the built environment in a municipality. A theoretical framework based on Steven Lukes and John Forester is used to understand the concept of power. The research is limited to a case study of one municipality, Upplands-Bro, in Sweden. The empirical material consists of written documents and interviews with civil servants at the exploitation department. The research indicates that civil servants experience a lack of ability to execute direct power in order to control the development of the built environment in the municipality. The ability to execute indirect power is significant with regard to controlling the development of the municipality. The developers are efficient in circumventing the formal processes which affects the civil servants' possibility to control the development. Other factors, such as a hierarchic organization and working within a political context, affect the civil servants' ability to execute power in order to control the development within the municipality.

Keywords: Municipality, Power, Exploitation, Civil servants, Politicians, Developers

Acknowledgment

Contents

1. Introduction

The urbanization process is still continuing in Sweden and most of the population lives in one of the three metropolitan areas; Stockholm-Mälaren Region, Scania Region and the West Coast counties. The regions are expanding both geographically and in terms of inhabitants. About 70 percent of the population growth takes place in metropolitan areas. The suburban municipalities are those with the greatest population growth. The increasing population puts pressure on the ability to satisfy the inhabitants' demands. Services, communications, dwellings and so forth, must expand to meet the demands of the growing cities (Boverket, 2012). Cities can grow through both densification and expansion; however, both strategies imply increasing exploitation. Access to land is a significant factor for development and hence a fundamental prerequisite for the development of the physical environment. There are several actors involved in the process of developing the physical environment. Therefor it is highly relevant to investigate who has the power to influence decisions within the process of exploiting land. In Sweden, there is a municipal planning monopoly, which means that municipalities are responsible for the planning of land. Therefore the municipality becomes relevant as a starting point in the research of processes behind the development.

1.1 Aim and research question

The thesis investigates the exploitation process through a perspective of power. It searches for an in-depth understanding of what, how and who actually controls the final decisions within this process. The thesis aims to understand how power is exercised in the process of the decisions regarding the development of the built environment within a municipality. It proceeds from a civil servant perspective and searches for their experiences regarding the ability to execute power.

The main research question is

How do civil servants experience their ability to execute power within the exploitation process to control the development of the built environment in the municipality?

1.2 Thesis outline

The first chapter introduces the purpose and the outline of the thesis. The second chapter describes the exploitation process and involved partakers. The third chapter outlines the theoretical framework which is based on two different theories and aims to understand the concept of power to understand the empirical material and analyze it in a wider context. The forth chapter describes the chosen methodology and material and discusses advantages and

disadvantages. The fifth chapter describes the case, the municipality's conditions. The sixth chapter presents the empirical material. The seventh chapter analyses the empirical material in relation to the theoretical framework. The seventh chapter draws conclusions of the analysis and answers the research question based on the empirical and theoretical material. The last chapter suggests further research.

1.3 Delimitations

The research is delimited to a case study within a single municipality to enable in-depth research of the experiences of power behind the final decisions regarding the development of a municipality. The thesis takes the starting point in the municipality since there in Sweden is a municipal planning monopoly. Therefor the municipality has a significant amount of power in this process. To focus on more than one municipality would enable to compare results dependent on municipalities different prerequisites. Although, that is not the purpose within this research, and thus focuses on one municipality in order to reach an in-depth understanding of the situation.

The research also delimits to investigate the later phase of the planning and exploitation process. It focuses on the phase when the detailed development plan is established and the distribution of responsibilities within the implementation of projects determines. Furthermore, the research investigates the situation from a civil servant's perspective and focuses on their experiences. To focus on another actor, or several actors, would potentially affect the result differently. This research focuses on the civil servants' since they are the actors preparing the work regarding the projects the politicians later bases their decisions on.

1.3.1 Built environment

The research investigates the civil servant's ability to execute power to control the development of the built environment. Within this research, built environment refers to the physical environment, such as buildings, that are constructed within the municipality. Further, the focus on development limits to larger ongoing residential projects since housing is a key factor in meeting the inhabitants demands (Upplands-Bro, 2011:15).

1.3.2 Power

The research investigates the exploitation processes within a perspective of power thus the theoretical framework focuses on power. It is based on the theories of Steven Lukes (2005) and John Forester (1989) and is structured into two sections (presented in chapter 3). Power is explained in three different dimensions where power is exercised both directly and indirectly. Further, power is explained in a context focused on a planning perspective. The limitation of

using the chosen theories is motivated by the need of a simplified understanding of power that is applicable in a planning context. The choice of theory is further discussed in chapter 4.

2. Background

2.1 The history of the planning and building act

Sweden has a long tradition of regulating the planning and construction of land use. In the year 1907, the law about city planning and development was introduced. Previous there had been plans regarding land use but this gave the plans legal support. The law gave the municipalities more influence and gave them the authority to redeem land to establish roads and public areas. The law is the foundation of today's municipal planning monopoly. In the year 1947 the law changed, which strengthened the municipal influence further. The law states that all municipalities must have a building committee and the responsibility of establish plans shifted from the landowner/developer to the municipality. It determined that dense areas were not allowed to be built without a detail development plan, and the municipalities were responsible of the contents, geographical location and when the plans should be established. Consequently, the complete municipal planning monopoly was initiated. The responsibility was not isolated to the municipalities; the government's role was to determine the plans.

In the year 1987, the new Planning and Building Act came into force and replaced the previous. The act focused on solving potential conflicts of interests in the early phase of the planning process. The previous general plan, city plan and building plan was replaced with a comprehensive and detailed development plan. The year 2011, a new Planning and Building act established and replaced the old one. The new law aims to sharpen the control of development and to simplify the plan and exploitation process (Boverket, 2014).

2.2 The detailed planning process

Planning refers to "the work on producing a regional plan, a comprehensive plan, a detailed development plan, or area regulations" (SFS 2010:900, 1 chapter 4§). The detailed development plan constitutes a legally binding document regulating the use of land and water. The document determines permits for the construction in the area. The procedure of developing the detailed development plan follows a specific process, regulated in the fifth chapter in the Planning and Building Act (SFS 2010:900). The process begins with a demand for planning. The request comes from companies, individuals or the municipality. Subsequently the municipality delivers a planning notification that describes whether the municipality aims to initiate the planning or not. The proceeding of a detailed development plan varies to some extent and are dependent on each projects prerequisites. A standard proceeding applies if the proposal corresponds to the current comprehensive plan, the County Administrative Board's statement, and the project is not assumed to lead to a larger environmental impact or other significant impacts. Otherwise,

extended proceeding applies. However, the standard proceeding consists initially of five steps (Boverket, 2015b).

Standard proceeding

Figure 1) Illustration of the detailed planning process within a standard proceeding, source: Boverket, (2015b), Layout: Jenny Becker Olsson 2017

In the first step, the municipality develops a preliminary plan proposal, which means that the municipality develops a suggestion of a plan that they go out with on a so-called consultation. The consultation process aims to inform affected participants of the plan proposal and collect wishes and opinions regarding the plan. During the consultation, the County Administrative Board and the Swedish National Land Survey must express their opinions. After the consultation and the proposal has changed according the opinions, the plan must be available for review. A consultation report must be established which describes the received opinions as well as the municipality's answers to the opinions. If the participants in the consultation agrees with the plan, this step is not necessary. The municipality must announce the plan, send information about the revised plan to relevant participants, the County Administrative Board and if there are other affected municipalities. Opinions regarding the plan must be expressed during this time: After the review report, only minor changes is taken into consideration in the plan. Received written opinions are summarized in a review report. The report is then sent to the parties whose opinions have not been taken into consideration. If there are major changes in the plan, a new review procedure applies. After this procedure, the plan is adopted. The plan is then approved by the Municipal Council. If there are plans of minor importance, the Municipal Council can delegate the approval authority to the Municipal Executive Board or the Building committee. The plan is announced according to the fifth chapter in the Local Government Act (SFS 1991:900). Furthermore, the decision is sent to the County Administrative Board, Swedish National Land Survey, affected municipalities, regional planning bodies, and those who wrote opinions that were not taken into account. The plan comes into force earliest three weeks after the announcement depending on that there has not been any appeals and that the County Administrative Board does not decide to test the plan with respect to national interest. When the plan comes into force, the plan cannot be appealed (Mattson & Hagander, 2016:53*ff*).

2.3 The exploitation process

When the detailed development plan is established, the next step is to build the area. The process of exploiting land is expressed in various ways depending on the project's circumstances. Land development "means changing in the land use and preparation of new built environment" (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010:11). Land exploitation is thus a process, from the start of a project idea to the end when the new buildings are constructed. The planning and exploitation process interrelates. Dependent on how the exploitation process is carried out in each project, the planning and exploitation process interrelates differently (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010:17*ff*).

The detailed development plan is crucial in the exploitation process. Since the plan decides the prerequisite of how it is possible to build in the area, the participation in the process of establishing the plan is essential. Furthermore, the land acquisition is also significant in the exploitation process. Land acquisition corresponds to the procedure of when the ownership of land switches from one owner to another. This is important since how existing land is used is usually linked to whom owns the land. This indicates that changing the purpose of the land also makes changing of landowner necessary (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010:17*ff*) In relation to the original landowner's interest and circumstances, the change of ownership often becomes a prerequisite for exploitation. The land must thus be transferred to an actor who is willing to accomplish the specific project. Acquisition of land is motivated differently dependent on the actors. For the private landowner, the proprietorship means being concerned party. Concerned parties have, to a greater extent, the right to influence the detailed development plan. For the municipality, the proprietorship means greater influence in determining who should develop the land: the municipality itself or a private developer. When acquisition of land occurs is partly an economic issue related to an increase in the land value. The land is divided into unimproved land, raw plot land, plot land and developed property (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010:93*ff*).

- Unimproved land - corresponds to non-developed land not covered by a detailed development plan. The land is only covered by the comprehensive plan and potentially a plan proposal. This indicates some uncertainties in the possibilities of developing the land.

- Raw plot land – corresponds to non-developed land covered by detailed development plan.

- Plot land – corresponds to land covered by detailed development plan and where charges for public necessities, such as systems for water and drain, roads et cetera, that is a prerequisite for development is payed.

- Developed property land – corresponds to land with approved building permits and the area is built.

These categories signifies different phases of the planning and exploitation process and indicates different economic initiatives. Depending on the circumstances of the land, the value will differ. The economic value of the land is highly connected to the certainty of the possibilities to develop the area. The unimproved land indicates a great uncertainty regarding the possibilities of development since there is no established detailed development plan regulating the area. The value is thus an expected value based on expectations of development in the area. The raw plot land indicates a higher security since the detailed development plan describes the availability of using the land, which increases the value of the land. To be able to develop areas, charges for systems of water and drain, roads and other public necessities must be financed. When the charges of these systems are paid, the land corresponds to plot land which leads to an increased value. Not until building permits are approved and the built-up area is built, the land corresponds to developed property land, which is also followed by increased land value. (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010:93*ff*).
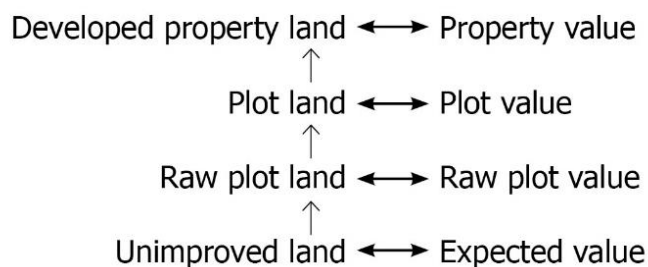
Developed property land ←→ Property value
↑
Plot land ←→ Plot value
↑
Raw plot land ←→ Raw plot value
↑
Unimproved land ←→ Expected value

Figure 2) Illustration of changes in circumstances of land and the corresponding land value. Source: Kalbro & Lindgren (2010:165), Layout: Jenny Becker Olsson 2017

In larger exploitation projects, two different land acquisition chains can be identified. The possibility to build is dependent on the planning of land, when the detailed development plan is legally binding is thus relevant for the process. To acquire the land before the detailed development plan is confirmed implies both an increasing influence in the planning process and greater economic incentives. Roughly, the process consists of land acquisition, planning and construction. The procedure is divided into four different scenarios where there are two

significant factors with great impact on the process; the circumstances regarding ownership of the area and the developer's role in the planning. There are significant differences between the scenarios with regard to the planning process, land acquisition, the construction process, and agreements between the involved actors (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010:17*ff*).

The exploitation process - four scenarios

	The developer do not participate actively in the planning phase.	The developer and the municipality are together creating the detailed development plan.
Private landowner	Scenario 1	Scenario 2
Municipality landowner	Scenario 3	Scenario 4

Figure 3) Illustration of the four different scenarios within larger exploitation projects, Source: Kalbro & Lindgren, (2010:182), Layout: Jenny Becker Olsson 2017

These different scenarios furthermore indicate how the planning and exploitation process interrelates. If the developer participates in the planning process, the exploitation process and the planning process interrelates in an early phase of the planning process.

2.3.1 Private landowner & developer inactive in planning
In the first scenario, there is a private landowner and the initiative of exploitation comes from the municipality. The municipality answers individually for the planning due to either lack of interest or economic incentives for the landowner/developer. Land acquisition can be established both before and after the detailed development plan. Since the land is privately owned, a joint land development agreement is signed before the detailed development plan (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010:181*ff*). A joint land development agreement corresponds to a contract between the municipality and the developer.

2.3.2 Private landowner & active developer in the planning
In the second scenario, there is a private landowner and the developer is actively involved in the planning process. In this scenario, they developer has the ability to impact the planning of an area based on their desires. For the developer to be able to participate in the planning requires relevant competes, knowledge and economic resources. If the building constructor is the sole proprietor of the land, a joint land development agreement is usually signed before the detailed planning starts (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010:181*ff*).

2.3.3 Municipal landowner & developer inactive in planning
In the third case, the municipality owns the land and the building proprietor does not actively participate in the planning. The initiative to start the process usually comes from an expectation of interest of exploitation in the area. Since the developers do not participate in the planning, there is a risk that the municipality establish plans with less awareness regarding desires and demands from the building proprietors. A method to circumvent potential problems regarding that is to establish flexible detailed development plans. They are more comprehensive but must consist of the minimum demands according the Planning and Building Act (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010:186). The municipality acquires the land before the planning process starts. Thereafter, a land allocation agreement is set up between the municipality and the building proprietors which regulates land acquisition, price, design et cetera. A land allocation agreement corresponds to a contract between the developer and the municipality that gives the developer the right to alone negotiate, during a certain time-period and under certain conditions, with the municipality regarding a specific land area owned by the municipality (Boverket, 2015a).

2.3.4 Municipal landowner & active developer in the planning
In the fourth case, the municipality owns the land but the developer participates in the planning process of the detailed development plan. Thus, the developer chooses before the detailed development plans is confirmed. When the detailed development plan is finished and the developer has decided, a final land allocation agreement is signed between the municipality and the developer, which clarifies land acquisition, price, execution et cetera (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010:186).

2.4 Significant actors

The exploitation process consists of several actors that have different roles in the process. The following actors are significant and further described below:

- · The Swedish parliament
- · The County Administrative board
- · The Municipal Council
- · The Municipal Executive board
- · Building committee
- · Civil servants
- · Landowner
- · Developer

2.4.1 The Swedish parliament and the County Administrative board

The parliament in Sweden is the decision-making body that determines the national legislation. Thus, the parliament sets the legal framework for the planning and construction in Sweden. The County Administrative Board has an advisory role and is responsible for issues of national interest but does not necessarily express an opinion in all exploitation projects. (Boverket, 2016a).

2.4.2 The municipality

The municipality has a crucial role in the planning process; it is both a public authority and property- and landowner. According the first chapter, 2§ in the Planning and Building Act (SFS 2010:900) the municipality is responsible for the planning of land and water use. This is referred to as "the municipal planning monopoly" and means that the municipality decides where, when and how they should prepare a new, or change an old, plan. The municipality is a political driven authority and since the year 1947, the Municipal Council is the highest political court. The municipal Council is equivalent to the municipality's government. Furthermore, each municipality must have a Municipal Executive board and a Building committee or equivalent decision-body, which the Municipal Council can delegate decision-authority to. The Municipal Executive board has a leading position among the municipality's different committees and has an overall responsibility for preparation and execution of errands. The building committee is responsible for treating the errands within planning and construction. The political committee has a public administration, which can be designed differently in different municipalities. Generally, the public administration in the building committee consists of a plan-, exploitation-, measure-, and construction department. The building committee thus consist of elected

representative politicians and an administration with civil servants. The civil servants possess relevant expertise and prepares errands and execute the work for the committee (Boverket, 2016a). The elected representative politicians have the final decision-making role but the Planning and Building Act regulates their decisions. Depending on the law and in which phase of the planning process is, the possibility of expressing political opinions varies.

2.4.3 Landowner

The landowner corresponds the actor owning the land. The access of exploitable land is a prerequisite for development, therefore they are important in the exploitation process. Developers, private persons, companies or municipalities can all be actors who owns land. Whether the municipality owns a great amount of land varies between different municipalities.

2.4.4 Developer

The developers are defined in the first chapter 4§ of the Planning and Building Act (SFS 2010:900) as the party that for their own account do the design-, projecting-, construction-, demolition-, and land work. The developers can either be a natural or legal person, such as a company or a municipality. They are responsible for that the applicable laws are followed in the construction phase (Boverket, 2016b). The developer's role thus varies between different projects. They are to different degrees involved in the planning and exploitation process in different projects, which also means that they carry out different tasks in different projects, including preparatory work and the actual construction. In simplified terms, they can be described as the actor constructing the projects.

3. Theory

The concept of power is applicable in several different situations. There are numerous explanations of the content of power, the definition is not self-explanatory, and there is even a disagreement whether it is a useful concept at all. The theoretical framework for this study is chosen to contribute with a comprehensive representation of power and to give a simplified understanding of the concept. Further, the theories provide a simplified understanding of power in relevant circumstances; in this case a planning process. The theories are useful when analysing the empirical material through a perspective of power. The theoretical framework does not aim to find one correct explanation of power, rather it aims to understand the concept to be able to theoretically support the empirical material to understand the result in a wider context.

The theoretical framework is mainly derived from Steven Lukes (2005) and John Foresters (1989) theories of power. Steven Lukes, a political and social theorist, categorises power into three dimensions building on each other. Each dimension corresponds to different approaches to examine power and he argues that power must be understood in three dimension. Furthermore, the theoretical framework is based on John Forester's explanation of power. John Forester is a planning theorist and in the book Planning in the Face of Power he writes about power in planning with focus on public participation. The theory is orientated towards power within planning and especially the planner's role and he uses this research to understand power in the context of planning.

This thesis' theoretical framework is organized into two sections. The first section, dimensions of power, is based on Steven Lukes' three dimensions of power. The different dimensions are described and discussed to provide a comprehensive understanding power. The second part of the theoretical framework, power within planning, is based on John Forester. That part of the theoretical framework contributes with explaining and discussing power particularly focused on a planning perspective. The two parts of the theoretical framework must in turn be understood together. Steven Lukes' three dimensions of power builds on each other and John Forester's explanation of power applies as a totality over Steven Lukes' dimensions of power.

3.1 Introduction to the concept

Within this research, power is discussed through Steven Lukes' three dimensions, the dimensions are identified according this titles:

1) The basic understanding of power.

2) To execute power before the decisions.

3) Shaping preferences and structures.

The first dimension of power relates to an actor's ability to directly control another's behaviour or action and is about formal power. The second dimension of power corresponds to informal power. It is about the ability to affect other's opinions before the actual decisions to make them behave or act in a certain way. The third dimension of power is about structures. Structures which are shaped and maintained through for example legal frameworks, social behaviours, economic prerequisites et cetera, that shapes and maintains already existing conditions that form the possibilities to execute power.

Furthermore, power is understood in this research to be dependent on its context. In a theoretical perspective, the different exploitation scenarios, (presented in chapter 2), implies varied prerequisites and thus different contexts. To understand the dimensions of power and the context dependency, the theoretical framework will discuss further the different understandings of power in more detail and then discuss the context dependency in a planning perspective.

3.2 Dimensions of power

3.2.1 The basic understanding of power

Power can be understood as centralized to specific individuals or groups, individuals or groups thus possesses the power to direct control others' actions. They can make others act in the way they have told them to do. To execute power is the ability for an actor to make another actor act in a way they otherwise would not do. Power corresponds thus an effective instrument for order and efficiency and this defines one dimension of power. This basic understanding of power is a one-dimensional perspective since the execution of power here means that an actor executes power over another; the execution of power does not go back and forth and it is one dimension of power (Lukes, 2008:25*ff*).

The first dimension of power therefor examines direct decisions dependent on an explicit conflict. Explicit conflict is a prerequisite since power ascribes decisions changing behaviours or actions to do what another actor otherwise would not do. Within the basic understanding of

power, a pronounced conflict is a prerequisite because if two actors agree, none of the actors need to exercise power over the other to get their will thorough, so by consensus, power is not either visible or relevant (Lukes, 2008:25*ff*).

The basic understanding of power can easily be recognised in situations and phenomenon's' with a visible elite. Although, the one dimension of power is not necessarily limited to only ascribe power to a separate elite. Even within a democratic society there are existing inequalities leading to diverse conditions between people, which implies inequality in the capability to influence decisions. A society contains several participants deciding over different issues. Therefore, power cannot be understood as isolated and controlled by a separate elite, instead the society consists of several participants deciding over different issues. Although power is distributed to several actors, the first dimension of power still focuses on direct decisions and the actual behaviours described above. Therefore, it is based on observable behaviours, which in turn then implies conclusions and decision-making structures that are based on that there is an explicit individual or group with the possession to execute power (Lukes, 2008:25).

This explanation of power that is delimited to individual actions can thus be criticized as unrealistic as it implies that there is a given group or individual executing power. How groups function is not obvious and taking groups for granted runs the risk of marginalization. An outspoken including group may in reality indirectly exclude others. Since the composition of individuals and groups is not given, the explanation of power cannot solely be based on an existence of a given group or individual that possesses the ability to execute power. The basic understanding of power thus tends to miss relevant relations and representations of power. Since the basic understanding of power focuses on individual or groups ability to execute power over others, it limits to investigate who has the power rather than what.

> "[A]ppropriat question is who has the power around here, not what. In a world of organizations in the form of governments, political parties […] what may be far what may be far more appropriate question than who" (Clegg, 1989:49).

3.2.2 To execute power before the decisions

The second dimension of power is recognized as an extension of the first. It includes the explanation that someone's ability to make another act in a certain way corresponds to power execution, but instead of exclusively investigating concrete decision-making, non-decision making actions are also taken into consideration. To exercise power with non-decision making actions mean that the ability of an actor to, consciously or unconsciously, control the arena that

affects the other actor's decisions or behaviour. The second dimension of power is thus recognised as the ability to exercise power before the final decisions, non-decisions represent the ability to control the arena for decisions before it becomes a direct decision. Power then consists of constraints, influence, authority, strength and manipulation, and everything that lets A successfully control B thus equates to power (Lukes, 2008:28*ff*).

Although, both the first and second dimension only investigates power when there is an explicit conflict. In absence of an expressed conflict, the actors are assumed to be in consensus and thus power as described above, is not assumed to be executed. To assume that the perspective of power does not exist when there are consensus consequences in that hidden dissatisfactions neglects: dissatisfactions may exist even if it does not express (Lukes, 2008:35*ff*). The assumption that power does not exist within consensus limits the explanation of power since dissatisfaction in itself is problematic. What actually is dissatisfaction is not given, and whether people expresses or even are aware of their dissatisfaction is not obvious. Whether consensus between actors is taken into account or not within the explanation of power is important in the understanding of power since consensus implies a significant form of executing power by preventing reasons for dissatisfaction (Lukes, 2008:35*ff*).

> "the power of the powerful consists in their being capable of and responsible for affecting (negatively or positively) the (subjective and/or objective) interests of others" (Lukes, 2005:68).

3.2.3 Preferences and structures

Within the third dimension of power, power is investigated even when there is seemingly consensus between the actors. By shaping actors' preferences to accept existing system, the absence of dissatisfaction corresponds to a significant exercise of power. To be able to shape and control other wills and desires is also a form of power. By for example information and advertising conflict is avoided by instead affecting preferences. By maintaining structures, a certain system and exclude certain issues, power is executed both in decision making and non-decision making regardless of there being an explicit conflict or not. Power is thus connected to structures of assembled actions and behaviors.

> "Social life can only properly be understood as an interplay of power and structure, a web of possibilities for agents, whose nature if both active and structured, to make choices and pursue strategies within given limits, which in consequences expand and contract over time" (Lukes, 2005:68*f*).

The indirect exercise of power can be divided into collective actions and the effects of organization. Both the collective and the organization consist of individuals, but power cannot be understood by exclusively investigating the individuals' actions. Power becomes understandable in interconnections between several individuals dependent on the collective's preferences and partiality, which forms structures (Lukes, 2008:20*ff*). Society also contains organizations that consist of individuals with different positions and influences.

> "Moreover, the bias of the system is not sustained simply by a series of individually chosen acts, but also, most importantly, by the socially structured and culturally patterned behavior of groups, a practices of institutions, which may indeed be manifested by individuals' inaction" (Lukes, 2005:26)

Power is not limited to an explicit conflict connected to actions made by individuals, rather assembled actions form structural frameworks that exercise power. Group behaviours, institutional procedures, and organizations et cetera, shape and maintain structures that corresponds to power. In the third dimension of power, the ability to shape preferences and existing structures are significant factors of power (Lukes, 2008:20*ff*).

3.3 Power within planning

In today's complex society where there are constant conflicts of interests, planning in the face of power becomes a challenge. The planning of society constantly consists of different power dimensions, which must be visible and problematized. John Forester (1989) describes existing challenges within planning practice, the planner's role and other involved partakers. The planner's role is not given and their responsibilities and tasks in the daily work must be analysed to understand their role. According Forester, the planner has previously been categorized as either a technical problem solver or responsible for processing information and generating feedback. The former means clear tasks and goals where the planner comes up with the most optimal solution. The latter makes the planners more a coordinator of different information sets. According to Forester, by observing the actual daily work it becomes visible that it is an incorrect and simplified explanation of the planner's role. Planners work within a context involving different dimensions of power. It is thus necessary for the planners to make it conscious regarding how power is expressed in the process and the different actors' possession of power.

> "If planners ignore those in power, they assure their own powerlessness. Alternatively, if planners understand how relations of power shape the planning process, they can improve the quality of their analysis and empower citizens and community actions" (Forester, 1989:27).

The planners play a crucial role in the planning of society, but they do not work alone. Their work is connected and depend on several participants and their tasks consist of coordination and dependency on other tasks. The planners work becomes highly complex, reflecting the complex society and complex dimensions of power. As described above, planners can be viewed as either technical problem-solver or the ones responsible for processing of information and feedback (Forester, 1989:14). Both these views are limited and do not correspond fully to reality. Planners work within a complex context and they are neither just technical problem-solver nor deliverer of information and feedback. Instead, they serve a crucial part of the complex network of different tasks and actors, and participates in the creation of the discourse (Forester, 1989:16).

> "Planning analysts are more than navigators who keep their ships on course: They are necessarily involved with formulating that course. Analysts do more than inform the players and orchestrate; they are inevitably politically in writing the score as well" (Forester, 1989:16).

Both the first and second dimension of power previous described in this chapter implies an ignorance of context dependency. The possibility of executing power must be understood in the specific situation or phenomenon's circumstances and context. From a planning perspective, the investigation of power must assume that the problem is not well defined. Planners work within a complex society involving different actors and interests, leading to vaguely defined problems. They face the challenge that they need to make their decisions based on inadequate information about different alternatives, the background to the problems, the consequences of proposed alternatives and other circumstances. Furthermore, they work with limited timeframes, resources and knowledge (Forester, 1989:48*ff*).

Even if planners work in a political context and do not have the power to control the final decisions, they have in some extent the power to participate in shaping the processes behind the decisions. The possibility to be a part of controlling for example who is involved in the process, who gets to know what, which questions is being asked, is crucial in a power perspective. Therefore, information and misinformation serves as a crucial source of power. Depending on how it is understood, uses and missuses of information indicates execution of power. Information can be seen as power in several perspectives. From a traditional problem-solving perspective, power lies in technical information regarding for example how to find data or how to present it. Information thus serves as solutions to technical problems, which in turn becomes a source of power. When information is seen as only creating power through the ability to technically solve problems, the political context is ignored. In a wider perspective, knowing the

ropes is also a source of power, and information then becomes a significant factor. From a social problem-solving view, how organizational networks function is a prerequisite for the spread of information and thus the execution of power. Information can be used as a source of power to enable participation and empower those with lack of the possibility to execute direct power in decisions. It is a source to redress inequalities by providing equal chances through equal and relevant information. Information can also act as a source of power through the maintenance of structures that execute power. Dependent on how information is used it can contribute to keeping structures that already possess power to continue to be able to execute power. Altogether, information serves as a crucial source of power and dependent on how it is used and understood it can maintain and execute power. Planners communicate their information (Forester, 1989:67*ff*). The communication of information provides a significant perspective of power. Planners do not only describe information,

> "they warn others of problem, present information, suggest new ideas, agree to preform certain tasks or to meet a certain time, argue for or against particular efforts, report relevant events, offer opinions and advice, and comment on ideas and proposals for action" (Forester, 1989:142).

All this is incorporated with information and possession of power. Communication becomes highly relevant in the discussion of power, and thus the social aspect. How people communicate and structures of social networks are significant for the possibility to understand the dialog and even to be a part of it.

3.4 Summary

To summarize, power involves both direct and indirect execution of power. Direct execution of power might be easier to investigate since it corresponds to observable behaviours and actions. Although power is also executed in the process of controlling others wills. By setting the agenda power is indirectly executed by shaping the arena for what is possible to decide or not. Power is not limited to the actions of making people act or behave opposite to what they want, it is about shaping peoples' preferences so they want the same thing. Power is significant both within an explicit and non-explicit conflict. Structures of varying kinds that affect the ability to act and maintain certain structures can be an approach to maintain the ability to exercise power. When there is a non-pronounced conflict, structures may be of importance. Structures shapes the arena, which in turn can contribute to the apprehension that there is no other alternative. The different dimensions of power must further be understood within the specific context. From a planning perspective, execution of power is dependent on each projects context. Planners work within a political context, with undefined problems and dependency on different

resources. This context, and dependent on how the context varies, affects the dimensions of power. Context dependency, interactions between different actors, information and communication, are all significant factors for the concept of power.

4. Method and material

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and discuss the chosen methodology and material used for this research. The chapter promotes transparency in the execution of the research to give the reader an understanding of how the study is performed. The thesis approach and selection is presented and potential biases with both the methodology and the material is presented. This chapter is structured in three sections; methodology, material and critical reflections.

4.1 Methodology

4.1.1 Qualitative method

The research is based on a hermeneutic approach. A hermeneutic approach implies interpreting to understand phenomenon. By interpreting texts, words, narratives et cetera, experiences are investigated to find connections and patterns to find explanations. Significant within the hermeneutic approach is the assumption that everything is interpreted (Graham, 2005:18*f*). Based on this approach, a qualitative methodology becomes advantageous. A qualitative method has the ability to cover complex and complicated social phenomena that consist of various nuances. The possibility to make those nuances visible and understand the complexity, contributes to a detailed rich material (Denscombe, 2009:367*ff*).

Within this research, individual's experiences are investigated. To reach those experiences, a qualitative approach is necessary. The focus on investigating experiences is motivated by the belief that those experiences correspond to an important source of knowledge to understand the reality. A qualitative approach is further necessary to strengthen the validity of the research by ensuring that the informants have the possibility to talk about the subject within the same conditions. The questions are asked under similar conditions, the questions are formulated in the same way, and supplementary questions are asked and so forth. The qualitative approach enables the researcher to shape the situation and circumstances where the informants answers the questions.

Within a qualitative approach, written documents are analysed with content analysis. Denscombe defines content analysis as a method to analyze the content of documents. By breaking down documents into smaller sections, categorize and coding, the text material is analyzed. By measuring content, repeating's et cetera, priorities, values et cetera can be distinguished in the material. Within this research, documents are mostly used to understand a work-task and the distribution of responsibilities between actors (Denscombe, 2009:307*ff*)

4.1.2 Case study

Since the thesis aims to generate a deeper understanding of the dimensions of power, the empirical material is limited to a case study investigating one municipality. Using a case study in qualitative research enables the researcher to highlight the general by investigating the individual. Denscombe (2009) describes how social relations and processes tends to be connected. One thing connects to another; a case study is advantageous since it allows for an in-depth investigation to understand the complexity. It provides the possibility to not only explain what occurs, but also why something occurs (Denscombe, 2009:60*f*). Since there is a municipal planning monopoly in Sweden, it can be assumed that the municipality possesses a position of power regarding exploitation in the society. Therefore, the thesis takes the starting point in the municipality and investigates power through a municipal perspective. The chosen case study is presented in chapter 5.

4.2 Material

The empirical material in the thesis is based on written documents and qualitative interviews.

4.2.1 Documents

The empirical material is based partly on written public documents. In Sweden, a great extent of the authority's official documents are classified as public documents. Therefore, decisions and the official basis for decisions are relatively easy to access. The thesis uses two types of public documents to be able to answer the research questions.

- · Implementation descriptions
- · Joint land development agreements

The implementation description is one of the documents that are established for the planning of a new area and aims to explain the implementation of the project. The joint land development agreement corresponds to the contract between the developers and the municipality. The implementation description is used in the thesis to investigate the distribution of responsibilities between the developers and the municipality in the implementation phase of a project. The joint land development agreement is used to investigate the distribution of responsibility and costs between the developers and the municipality. The advantage of using written public documents is that they are easily accessible. The documents provide the basis for decisions and the final decisions. The documents are thus relevant material for this research.

Laws regulate the framework for decisions, and thus relevant legal framework are taken into consideration with the empirical material. The legal framework is used to understand what the

paragraphs say and what they are regulating. It is used to understand how it shapes the framework for decisions. Reading legal paragraphs can be complicated; they can be formulated in difficult language and contain many references to other paragraphs. For this research, legal paragraphs that are formulated relatively simply are used. The purpose is not to understand respective paragraphs in-depth but rather to provide a general understanding of how the laws shape the arena.

Selection
Within the empirical material Swedish laws are taken into consideration since it regulates the possibilities for actions. The selection of legal paragraphs are based on laws relevant to explain the planning and exploitation process. The focus is on the Planning and Building act since that is the law mostly regulating planning and building. However, it is important to keep in mind that different laws interact and must be understood together. Other material, such as interviews and documents, refers to paragraphs which is also a basis for the selection of legal material.

The study focuses on the later part of the planning and exploitation process where the implementation of a project is managed. The selection of joint land development agreements and implementation descriptions is based on the aim to find out the distribution of responsibilities and costs within projects. Residential projects are a significant part of the developments need to meet the increasing number of inhabitant's demands. Therefore, the selection of implementation descriptions and joint land development agreement is limited to larger ongoing residential projects in the implementation phase. The chosen implementation descriptions and joint land development agreement is limited to projects with an approved detailed development plan where the projects have been transferred to the implementation phase. Projects that consist of both an implementation description and joint land development agreement. The study thus investigates implementation descriptions for three different housing development projects and four different joint land development agreements. There are four joint land development agreements since one of the projects includes two different joint land development agreements. Within some of the projects, there has been change of counterparty, thus a contract regarding change of counterparty has been signed. Those agreements have not been studied.

Coding of the documents
The joint land development agreements and the implementation descriptions code thematically. In the process of reading the joint land development agreements and the implementation descriptions three themes have been used as guidance; payment, implementation and

responsibility. Based on these search phrases, the material has been read, thus not everything that was written in the document is presented.

4.2.2 Interviews

The collection of primary data is based on qualitative interviews, which constitutes the main part of the empirical research material.

Denscombe describes how in-depth interviews are favorable when the research is about opinions, feelings and experiences. Further, it is advantageous when it concerns sensitive questions and privileged information. Privileged information corresponds to cases when specific persons have certain information and thus the need to talk directly to those persons to get information other sources might not be able to provide (Denscombe, 2009:233). Within this research, all the above described assumptions are relevant and motivates the choice of in-depth interviews. The research aims to understand individuals' experiences that implies that they have privileged information. It is their experiences that is relevant for the research, thus the empirical material must be based on a method that makes it possible to collect their narratives.

Gill Valentine (2005) highlights how qualitative interviews makes it possible for the respondent to provide their narratives with their own words. The method enables the respondent to highlight issues the researcher might not previously have been aware of. The interview becomes a dialogue between the researcher and the respondent, which makes it possible to ask follow-up questions and the same questions using different words. It promotes the possibility to discuss and understand complex phenomenon. As Valentine explains, it makes it possible to "understand how individual people experiences and make sense of their own lives" (Valentine, 2005:111). In this research, qualitative interviews are used as a method to provide detailed and rich answers regarding individuals' experiences. Qualitative interviews are necessary in order to talk about peoples' experiences not only to understand what they experience but also why.

The interviews are conducted in Swedish; hence, the interview guides were in Swedish but the appendix includes an English translation. It is important to keep in mind that questions can to some extent be perceived differently depending on the language. Quotation from the interviews are translations from Swedish to English. The translation aims to be as literal as possible, but some language differences may occur.

Semi-structured design
The interview followed a semi-structured design to enable a depth in the discussion and allow the possibility of unforeseen answers. Semi-structured interviews are designed to be flexible

and promote an openness in the questions to let the respondent's base the answers on their own experiences and develop their ideas and opinions more freely (Denscombe, 2009:234*f*).

The subject of both exploitation and power might interpret in different ways, some degree of structure is thus necessary within the interviews to enable to stick to the purpose of the thesis. Semi-structured interviews make it possible to control the discussion while minimizing the risk of affecting the informants' answers. The informants were briefly informed regarding the overall purpose of the thesis, but not the concrete questions and the theoretical framework. All the interviews followed the same interview guide (see Appendix). The interview guide is designed around comprehensive themes. The following themes are derived from the theoretical framework:

- · Introduction
- · Interaction between actors
- · The ability to control decisions
- · The ability to avoid conflict
- · To set the agenda
- · Information
- · Regulate structures

To structure the interview guide around themes stimulates the opportunity to let the informant to some extent lead the discussion dependent on the narratives they tell during the interview. The purpose of designing the interview guide around themes is to promote a flexibility in the interviews to make it possible to ask questions in relation to the informants' answers. The interview guide does not necessarily have to be followed chronological but it helps to avoid getting away too much from the subject and to guarantee that nothing substantially is forgotten. This is relevant to enable a deeper discussion and understanding of the respondents' experiences, some questions may for example be necessary to ask again in other words.

Within the themes, questions were formulated. The interview guide includes a variation of more concrete questions to broader reflective questions. The questions are open to avoid leading the respondent's answers.

To guide the discussion while keeping it open makes the timeframe of the interviews important. The interviews lasted for approximately one hour. Time is necessary to allow subjects to be discussed from different angles to reach an in-depth understanding of the subjects.

Gatekeeper

The gatekeeper has served an important role in this research. The gatekeeper is one of the civil servants working at the exploitation department who made it possible to interview all the employees at the department. An ongoing dialog with the gatekeeper was established in the early phase of the research. Without exposing too much information of the thesis, the dialog has been important to maintain a mutual relationship to establish an interest to contribute with experiences to the research.

Selection

The research take its starting point in the municipality and aims to understand the situation from a civil servant's perspective. The selection of informants for the interviews is thus limited to civil servants. Furthermore, the chosen informants are civil servants working at the exploitation department at the municipality. To focus on employees from the exploitation department provides a picture of civil servants' work especially at the end of the planning and exploitation process, where the implementation of the projects takes place. Thus, the selection is based on their daily assignment at the municipality. They have the dialog with the developers and are those designing the agreements between involved actors regarding exploitation.

The empirical material is based on interviews with six persons working at the exploitation department in the municipality, which is all of the civil servants working at the department. The motive for interviewing all the employees at the department is based on the assumption that people might experience different narratives. The narratives might confirm or contradict each other, independently; each experience is relevant for the research. The interviews were held individually to maintain space for persons to provide their own narrative of their experiences. The choice of having individual interviews is also motivated by the potentially sensitive subject. However, one of the interviews were held with two persons at the same time due to practical reasons. The interview with two persons was held for a longer time to allow time for both persons to tell their experiences. The positive outcome of the joint interview was a rewarding discussion between the informants. They inspired each other and pushed the interview forward and created depth in the discussion. All the interviews where held at a secluded place to be able to speak undisturbed.

Coding of the interviews

The approach and detail-richness of transcripts of interviews varies depending on the purpose of the thesis. Mike Crang (2005) highlights that, for example, when the purpose with the empirical material is to find out who did what and when, it might not be necessary to transcribe everything in detail from the interview. However, if the purpose of the empirical material is rather to understand for example why someone did something, a more detailed transcript of the interviews might be important (Crang, 2005:220). In this research, the interviews are transcribed word by word from an audio recording which is time-consuming but necessary. The first part in coding the interviews took the starting point in what Mike Crang (2005) refer to as open coding (Crang, 2005:222). The entire transcript of each interview was carefully read to understand what they had said, why, and what it meant. The purpose of reading the empirical material within open coding was to get close to the material to avoid loss of information. Further, the material has been read to find recurring themes and connections in the different interviews. Finally, the interviews were coded in relation to the theoretical framework. The result from the interviews were coded in the different explanations of power according to the theoretical framework in order to support the analysis of the empirical material.

4.3 Reflections

There are aspects necessary to reflect on both in the chosen methodology and the material. This chapter provides critical reflections regarding the chosen methodology and material.

4.3.1 Reflexivity and positionality

Within qualitative research, reflexivity is important. Martyn Denscombe (2009) defines reflexivity as the relation between the researcher and the social world (Denscombe, 2009:423). With the starting point that even the researcher is a part of the social world which is the object to study, the researcher and our understanding of the world is never completely objective. How we understand the society and its phenomenon is affected by previous experiences, norms et cetera (Denscombe, 2009:.423*f*). By describing and discussing the chosen method and material the thesis aims to increase the transparency in the reflexivity. The thesis assumes that social science cannot be completely objective, but by presenting the procedure of the work and selections reflexivity is handled. In this study, the researcher's "me" of course affects the research. I have an academic background within urban planning which shapes the choice of subject and problem statement. The reflexivity is clarified mostly in the early phases of the study within the formulation of the problem and the material selection. The choices I have made, both in what is included but in also what is excludes, are affected by my previous knowledge, experiences and interests. The chosen method and material has been described and

a discussion regarding the selections of the empirical material for the thesis has also been presented.

The qualitative methodology is used with the purpose to investigate the specific in order to understand the general (Denscome, 2008:59*f*). As described previously in this chapter, the qualitative methodology is a prerequisite to understand the complexity of the subject. To investigate the specific means that conclusions cannot be generalized to other areas without problems. This study identifies one reality, but potentially other cases can exist as well. The conditions thus become significant. Another case with similar prerequisites might experience similar results and vice versa. To enable a discussion of the result of this case in a wider perspective, the municipality's circumstances are clarified to provide the context for this case.

4.3.2 Sensitivity and anonymity

To promise the informants anonymity has been important to enable valuable results. The choice of keeping the informants anonyms does not affect the work negatively; who says what, is not relevant for the result. Talking about power is potentially a sensitive issue. The subject is concerned with people's experiences in their professions, which independently of the subject risks to be uncomfortable for the person. To go deeply into someone's profession and talk about their ability to execute their job can for obvious reasons be uncomfortable. Therefore, there has been a strong focus on creating trust to enable the informants to share their experiences. To create the sense of trust, the preparatory work before the interviews has been important. An ongoing dialog with me as the researcher and the civil servants at the municipality has been implemented at an early stage of the working progress. The dialog has been important to create an interest and a mutual exchange where the informants become aware of their significant role for the thesis' empirical work. It contributes to a give and take relation with the informants. That can in turn be problematic if the researcher becomes too engaged with the informants or the informants to engaged in the research. If the informants become too engaged in the research, this runs the risk of manipulating the result in a way that is advantageous to the person's self-interest. To prevent this, interviews with several informants are used to form the basis of the results. To avoid engaging the informants too much in the research, the explicit research question, the theoretical framework and other positions have not been shared.

As discussed above, the subject of power can be sensitive. To nevertheless maintain a depth, the subject of the interviews have been de-dramatized. The researcher has avoided using the word power explicitly in the interviews. Instead, the interview moved around the subject to let the informants in their own narratives control how they talk about power.

4.3.3 Material

Martyn Denscombe (2009) highlights that written sources in the form of public documents tends to appear authorial, objective and fact-based. However, it is important to not take public documents for granted; the reliability, representativeness and meaning must analyses (Denscombe, 2009:301*f*). Legal framework also involves the bias of being taken for granted, what is written in law must be followed. However, this research instead tries to understand what following affects the laws have.

The public documents that are used as empirical material involves the bias of only illustrating the final decisions. It is difficult to, by only reading the documents, know how they have reached those decisions. What has been included and excluded, why has those decisions been made, and under what circumstances. The documents do not illustrate the processes behind the decisions and risk to focus on only the decisions while neglecting the dismissed alternatives. Therefore, the documents in this research are supplemented with other empirical material.

The choice of formulating the interview guide around the themes identified in the theoretical framework can to some extent be considered problematic. It might direct the conversations too much towards the already known theories and thus confirm the already presented theories. Nevertheless, the interview guide is used as an instrument to keep the interview close to the subject and to ensure that nothing is forgotten and this aspect is considered more important than the risk of directing the results in the direction on existing theories. Even though the interview guide is design around themes, the questions being asked do not reveal the theoretical standpoints. The questions are formulated to be open and enables the respondents to respond based on their experiences regardless of the theoretical framework.

Since the questions are about peoples' experiences, each informant may have diverse experiences that can affect the result. This is not considered a major problem, since the informants are selected according their profession. Potentially diverse experiences in their professions is not considered problematic; instead, it is taken into account in the analysis.

4.3.4 Selection

The selection of empirical material is important for the results in the thesis. A different selection of empirical material could contribute to a different final result. It is thus important to motivate the selection and to discuss why other potential selections have not been made.

Regarding the choices of documents, there are several written public documents related to the planning and exploitation process. The selection of public documents limits to joint land

development agreements and implementation description. The chosen documents are considered appropriate in relation to the purpose to find out the distribution of responsibilities and costs in the final phase of a project. Other public documents could have been used such as the description for detailed development plans or consultation documents. However, that would have contributed to focus on another aspect and phase of the planning and exploitation process and therefor those documents are not taken into account.

The empirical material based on interviews could have been widened with interviews with other actors working with the planning and exploitation process. Interviews with for example developers and politicians would have contributed to investigate whether their experiences corresponds to each other or not but also to generally widened the research. However, the thesis aims for an in-depth understanding of the civil servant's perspective and thus limits the investigation to one actor's perspective.

The perspective of the civil servants could have been widened. The exploitation process covers a relatively long time-period and goes hand in hand with the planning process, thus there are many different actors involved in the processes. Even within the municipality, several civil servants from different departments are involved. It is not only the civil servants at the exploitation department that work with the planning and exploitation process. Different department, such as the build permit or the planning department, also work with the planning and exploitation process. The choice of selection is thus based on the department's different responsibilities regarding their daily work assignments. Another selection of civil servants would affect where in the planning and exploitation process their experiences would relate to. The thesis is interesting in the final part of the planning and exploitation process and thus selected informants that participate in the implementation of the projects.

4.3.5 The theory in relation to the empirical material
The theoretical framework is important as the basis for understanding the concept of power. It is also used to support the coding of the empirical material and provides a structure for the empirical findings and analysis. To discuss reality from a perspective of power, a theoretical framework that explain what power is and how it is expressed and executed is necessary. The thesis could have used other or more theories regarding power that could potentially affect the result. However, the subject of power is applicable in most social phenomena and there is a risk that the concept becomes too wide. To explain and understand power in a way that is applicable to this research, the aim is to obtain a simplified understanding of power. Steven Lukes' three dimensions of power contribute with a simplified explanation of power which makes it possible

to break down the concept into separate parts that makes it possible to analyze power in an empirical material. It is important to make power visible, understandable and discussable within the specific material. The choice of using John Forester in the theoretical framework is based on the need of understanding the concept of power within the context of planning.

As chapter 4.2.2 describes, the theoretical framework is also used as a support for the coding of the material. It is important to adhere to the aim of the thesis and to understand the material through the perspective of power. Using the theoretical framework for encoding the empirical data may involve potential biases. Reading the empirical material based on the theoretical framework risks reaffirming what has already been found in the theories. However, this research does not aim to create new theories, rather to use and apply existing theory on the reality with the purpose to understand the reality better. The potential problems of encoding data based on the theoretical framework is linked to the discussion regarding selection of theories. There are other theories explaining power and encoding the material based on these could potentially result in another understanding. However, the selection of theories is done in relation to the purpose of the thesis as was discussed above.

5. Description of case

The thesis is delimited to a case study focused on the municipality of Upplands-Bro in Sweden. The municipality of Upplands-Bro is situated in the North-western part of Stockholm County and is a part of the Region of Stockholm. The geographical location is connected to significant growth engines; it is located in the middle of the Mälaren-Valley and is connected to both the capital of Stockholm and the County of Uppsala (Upplands-Bro kommun, 2011). There is significant infrastructure that connects the municipality to the surrounding region such as the highway E18, the railroad Mälarbanan, and the commuter train.

Figure 4) Map illustrating the location of the municipality of Upplands-Bro, source: Lantmäteriet (2017), Layout: Jenny Becker Olsson 2017

It is a relatively large municipality in terms of its area of 325,23 km2 whereof 235,29 km2 is land (Upplands-Bro kommun, 2015). The municipality of Upplands-Bro consists of both urban and rural areas. There are two densely built-up areas: Kungsängen and Bro, which are the areas mostly expected to be exploited. In the comprehensive plan, the municipality is described as "the feeling of small town within a metropolitan area" (Upplands-Bro kommun, 2011:3).

Figure 5) Map illustrating the municipality of Upplands-Bro, source: Lantmäteriet (2017), Layout: Jenny Becker Olsson 2017

Due to increasing population and urbanization, it has experienced a rapid development in recent year. The population continues to increase and the interest of exploiting land in the municipality is rapidly growing. In 2016, there were 26 755 inhabitants in Upplands-Bro, compared to Stockholm with 935 619 the same year (SCB – Statistiska centralbyrån, 2017). The

comprehensive plan is based on the expectation that the population increase continues, which provides the framework for the development of residences in the municipality. The comprehensive plan presents an ambition to plan for an estimated population increase to 35 000 inhabitants to the year 2030. In relation to the number of inhabitants the year 2011, it corresponds an increase of 11000 people that in turn translates into approximately 5000 new dwellings (Upplands-Bro kommun, 2011:15). A significant prerequisite in this municipality is the lack of municipal ownership of land since the majority of land is owned by private landowners (Informant 1, 2017, Informant 2, 2017, Informant 3, 2017, Informant 4, 2017, Informant 5, 2017, Informant 6, 2017,).

The Social democrats have a majority in the Municipal Council for the period 2014-2018. The political organisation is structured such that the Municipal Council is at the top of the hierarchy. There are 41 members in the Municipal Council and under the Municipal Council there are nine different committees. The city manager is the highest ranked civil servant in the organisation and is at the top of the organisation. Thereafter, the civil servant organisation is divided into five offices: the municipal management office, the social office, the educational office, the culture- and leisure office and the society development office (Upplands-Bro kommun, 2017).
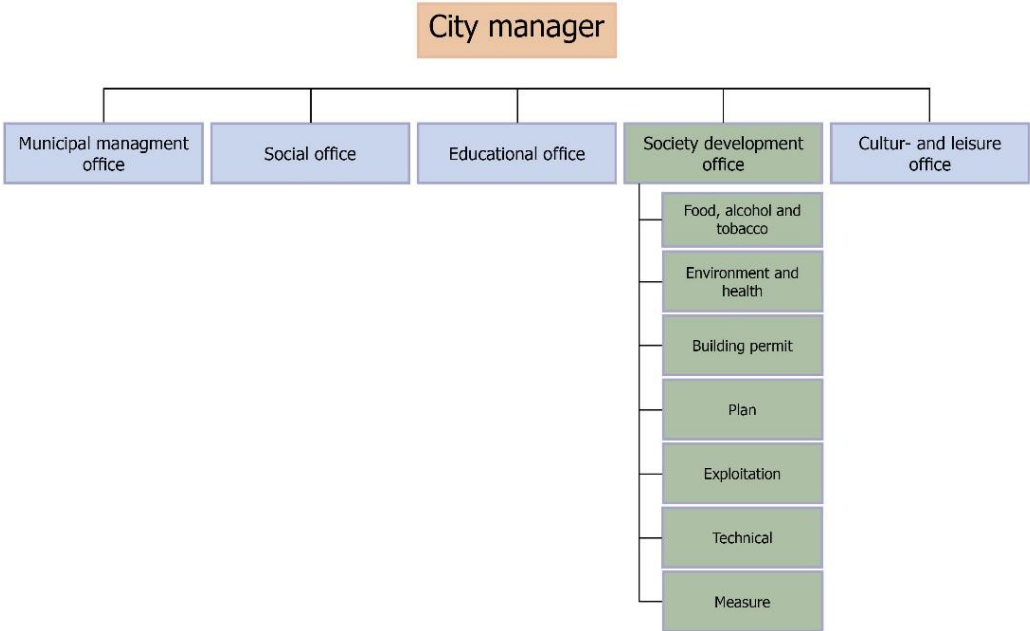
Figure 6) Illustration of the civil servant organization for the municipality of Upplands-Bro, with focus on relevant departments within this thesis. Source: Upplands-Bro kommun, (2017), Layout: Jenny Becker Olsson 2017

The society development office is the relevant office in this study. The society development office includes seven different departments; food, alcohol and tobacco, environment and health, building permit, plan, exploitation, technical and measure. The society development office is

primarily linked to three political departments: The Municipal Executive Board, the Building and Environmental committee and the Technical Committee. In this municipality, the exploitation department prepares their errands for the Municipal Executive Board (Upplands-Bro kommun, 2017) and the Municipal executive board is the political level of authority making decisions regarding exploitation.

Figure 7) Illustration of the Upplands-Bro political organisation with focus on the committees relevant within this thesis. Source: Upplands-Bro kommun, (2017), Layout: Jenny Becker Olsson 2017

6. Empirical findings

This chapter presents the findings from the empirical material. The empirical material is based on written documents and in-depth interviews. The empirical material has been collected and coded in relation to the purpose of the thesis, as described and motivated in chapter 4. The chapter is structured into two sections. The first bases on the results from the documents and the second on the results from the interviews. The interviews account for the majority of the empirical material, when nothing else refers to, the presented material in this chapter is based on the results of all the interviews.

6. 1 Documents

The development of society is regulated by the legal framework decided by the Swedish Parliament. The Planning and Building Act is the main regulation concerning the planning and construction of the built environment. The law regulates the planning of land, water and buildings

> "This law contains provisions regarding planning of land and water and construction. The provisions intend to, with consideration to individual's freedom, promote a society with equal and good social living conditions and a good long-term sustainable living environment for the people in today's society and for future generations" (SFS 2010:900, chapter 1 §1).

The municipalities are responsible to establish a comprehensive plan. The comprehensive plan is not legally binding; it is a visionary policy document. According chapter 3, 2§ in the Planning and Building Act

> "The comprehensive plan should state the direction for the long term development of the physical environment. The plan should provide guidance for decisions regarding how land and water areas should be used and how the built environment should be used, developed and preserved" (SFS 2010:900)

The plan aims to outline the overall direction and visions of the development within the municipality (SFS 2010:900, chapter 3 §1). The law determines that municipalities are responsible for the establishment of detailed development plans. The content in the detailed development plans is legally binding and outline the purpose of land use and construction rights and are thus a prerequisite for the construction of the built environment.

> "Within the municipality, the use of land and water areas, built environment and construction works can be regulated with detailed development plans or area regulations in accordance with this chapter" (SFS 2010:900, chapter 4 §1).

All land areas in Sweden have a defined owner. They are either an individual legal person, state or municipality. Being a landowner does not imply an absolute right to individually determine the use of the land. The landowner's possibility to use the land depends on physical and economic circumstances and the existing legal framework (Julstad, 2011, p.11*f*). All the actors within the planning- and exploitation processes must work within the existing legal framework. The municipality's negotiation position is based on the principals of the municipal planning monopoly, hence, they have the right to decide how, when and where a detailed development plan shall be established. Since the municipality corresponds to a public authority, agreements must be anchored in public law, the Local Government act (SFS 1991:900), the Contracts act (SFS 1915:218), and the Planning and Building act (SFS 2010:900). The municipality is not allowed to force achievement and the availability of regulations is stated in the Planning and Building act (Mattson & Hagander, 2016:73).

When an area is supposed to be developed, a contract between the municipality and the developer needs to be established.

6.1.2 Joint land development agreement

If there is a private landowner, the municipality and the developer needs to make a joint land development agreement. The joint land development agreement is defined in the Planning and Building act as

> "a contract between a municipality and a developer or a real property owner for implementation of a detailed development plan, regarding land not owned by the municipality, although not a contract between a municipality and the State for the expansion of State transport infrastructure" (SFS 2010, chapter 1 §4).

The agreement aims to confirm the distribution of responsibilities within each project. In general, it regulates costs and duties, when it should be payed, by whom and who are responsible of what. It covers questions regarding transfer of land, performance, distribution of costs, sanctions, et cetera. The extent and degree of details varies between different projects and depend on the specific circumstances of the project (Kalbro & Lindgren, 2010). The developers, the city manager and the chairperson for the Municipal Executive Board are the actors signing the agreements. In this research, joint land development agreements in three larger residential projects are studied. The agreements are related to ongoing projects for the areas Norrboda, Kockbacka and Jursta.

All the agreements start by stating which parties are involved in the agreement, here this is the municipality of Upplands-Bro and the name of developer/developers. The agreements clarify

if there are any other relevant previously existing agreements. Further, all the agreements follow a similar formality where implementation, responsibilities and costs are decided. The headlines for each agreement varies to some extent depending on the projects circumstances.

Within some of the projects there are more than one joint land development agreement, due to how many different developers participate in each project. One of the projects is also divided into two different area and thus consists of more than one joint land development agreement. In some of the projects, there has been a change of counterparty, thus agreements that change the counterparties are signed. When there is a change of counterparty, a contract is signed that indicates that the new developer takes over all rights and obligations from the previous joint land development agreement. Those agreements are not further investigated in this research.

In the projects studied in this research, the joint land development agreements indicate that most of the costs and responsibilities are assigned to the developer. The developer is even responsible for the majority of the development of public facilities and the developer bears the costs of public facilities within the agreed areas. The developer also compensates the municipality for the formal management of the planning. The developer is responsible for the coordination of the project planning, procurement and construction of houses and ground facilities. The joint land development agreement thus indicates that the developers stands for most of the work, both the preparatory and the final constructions. This also corresponds to the actor answering for the financial costs to a large extent. However, there are some differences between the projects. Within one of the projects, the municipality is responsible for the construction of all the public facilities in the projects area. However, the developer should compensate the municipality for the municipality's facility costs for local public facilities and for other public facilities (Upplands-Bro kommun, 2003 & Upplands-Bro kommun, 2007a & Upplands-Bro kommun, 2004a & Upplands-Bro kommun, 2004b & Upplands-Bro kommun, 2004c & Upplands-Bro kommun, 2004d).

6.1.3 Implementation descriptions
As described in the chapter background, when an area is supposed to be develop a detailed development plan must establish. The work of planning for development in an area consists of performing relevant investigations and creating certain specific documents regarding the planning of the area. Among other things, documents regarding the actual implementation of the project must be established.

The implementation descriptions are adopted by the municipal executive board. The implementation description is one of the documents that are developed in the planning of an area. It describes the actions that must be taken in the implementation phase. It describes necessary measures such as organizational, property, legal and financial measures, for the implementation of the plan. The scope of the implementation description varies dependent on the circumstances and scale of each project. The empirical findings in this research for the implementation description focus on information regarding distribution of responsibilities and costs.

In this research, implementation descriptions for three different housing project are investigated. They are related to the projects Norrboda, Jursta and Kockbacka. The implementation description connects to the detailed development plan. For the project of Jursta there are two different detailed development plans and thus two implementation descriptions as well. Therefore, four different implementation descriptions are investigated here.

All the implementation descriptions follow the same structure. Relevant information is organized under the headings:

- Organisational questions
- Questions regarding property law
- Economical questions
- Technical questions
- Responsibilities for implementation
- Participants

The implementation description and the joint land development agreements are highly connected, all the implementation descriptions refer to a great extent to the respective joint land development agreement. When there is a change of developer within the projects, the implementation descriptions is related to the approved agreement regarding change of the developer and refers to the established agreement. The implementation description states that there has been a change of developer and refers to the joint land development agreement. The implementation descriptions also illustrate that the developers to a large extent is responsible for the cost of creating documents and investigations that are necessary for the establishment of the detailed development plan according the joint land development agreement. The distribution of responsibilities and costs for the implementation of the plan are regulated in the

joint land development agreement established between the municipality and the developer. Some of the implementation descriptions outlines how the developer is responsible for land regarded as public such as the development of streets, pedestrian and bicycle paths, pipes and storm water dike et cetera. Within one of the projects, the municipality is responsible for the public facilities marked in the detail development plan as public. In all of the implementation descriptions, the details regarding distribution of responsibilities and costs refers to the joint land development agreements. However, the implementation descriptions highlight that there are many different actors participating in shaping these documents. Both civil servants from the municipality, developers and consultants participates in creating the documents for the plans, which is presented in their respective implementation descriptions (Upplands-Bro kommun, 2011 & Upplands-Bro kommun, 2007b &, Upplands-Bro kommun, 2005 & Upplands-Bro kommun, 2004e).

6.2 Interviews
6.2.1 Taking decisions and dialogue with politicians
The politicians have the mandate and are responsible for making the final decisions in the exploitation processes. In official documents, it is the politicians that adopt the decisions. The politicians have the authority to reject or approve the development of the municipality.

The civil servants experience a helplessness with regard to the politicians' final decisions. The formal planning and exploitation process implies that the civil servants are responsible for preparing errands based on their expertise and this forms the basis for the final decision. However, the civil servants experience that their ability in reality to prepare the errands, to do all the relevant investigations, and to discuss different options, is limited. They also experience that the politicians do not always takes decisions that correspond to the civil servants' statements,

> "Sometimes they take decisions that goes against what we have presented and made [...] We can try to influence by doing our work professional and present it in a good way, bring all the strategic documents and everything that we believe might be beneficial, but then it is up to them to make the decision" (Informant 1).

If politicians have decided to make a certain decision, the civil servants experiences that they cannot do anything about it. They do not have the mandate to overturn the politicians' decisions, so the final decisions lays in the hands of the politicians.

The civil servants experience that the Planning and building act and the municipality's strategic documents are significant instruments for arguing in their interests. The legal framework is seen

as the definition of what is right and wrong, and is a benchmark for what is allowed and not. Laws and strategic documents are effective instruments to use in the negotiation for the civil servants to argue in their favour. That said, it does not mean that the laws and documents are constructed only in favour of the civil servants' views. However, the civil servants' purpose is to provide relevant independent expertise based on their work assignments. The Planning and Building act and strategic document are thus beneficial when they argue for their opinions.

> "We lean back to previous research, documents, our comprehensive plan which is good to lean on" (Informant 4, 2017).

The civil servants experience a lack of dialog with the politicians. The civil servants do not have an ongoing dialog with the politicians during the process. The civil servants prepare the errands and are invited to present them to the politicians before the politicians are making a final decision. Apart from that, there is no dialog between the civil servants and the politicians according to the civil servants.

The civil servants highlight the hierarchical structure of the organization that complicates the possibility for dialogue. The higher positioned managers have the dialog with the politicians, which they in turn are supposed to communicate to the civil servants at the department.

The civil servants highlight the hierarchy and downpipe structure of the organization as a reason for why there are sometimes problems with insufficient exchange of information. The communication becomes problematic and the spreading of information adversely affected. The civil servants express that it is common with "corridor dialog". A lot of the communication with involved participants in the municipality occurs unofficial by talking to each other in the corridors. There are benefits, it goes fast and people are easily accessible in the moment. However, in the long term, the unofficial dialog raises several concerns. The civil servants express that in the corridor dialog, the risk of missing information increases. The lack of communication exists both between the different involved departments and between the civil servants and the higher managers. When the work to a great extent includes an informal exchange of information, the continuity of the work is affected according to the civil servants. When information is not written down and documented, information risks getting lost and it makes it difficult for new persons to be added to projects. The civil servants stress that in this municipality, there is a relatively regular exchange of employees at the department and thus this is of great importance. According to the civil servants, the exchange of employees affects the negotiation situation in the process since the relationship between the actors depends on

trust. The developers are also aware of that the process involves of a great deal of informal communication, and thus when there are new people from the municipality who takes on project, the developers test them. Something that one civil servant did not agree on, might another one do if they are not aware of what has previously been discussed.

6.2.2 Developers

In this municipality, the civil servants explain that the developers are usually involved in the early phase of the planning and exploitation process. Most the land is privately owned and the developers are the actors coming with the initiative to develop an area and therefor contact the municipality with a request of initiating the work with a plan. The great extent of privately owned land and that the initiative of the plan proposal comes from the developers has both advantages and disadvantages according to the civil servants. They have a strong driving force and willingness to build which pushes the process forward. In contrast with the municipality that are facing limited resources, the developers often have resources in terms of money, knowledge, time, staff et cetera that makes it profitable to enable development. One of the civil servants highlighted that the privately owned land is significant for the development in the municipality; the municipality does not have the capability or resources to develop by themselves. Without the private landowner and the external request for planning proposal, there will be no development. There is a variety of developers exploiting in the municipality, both smaller unexperienced and larger experienced companies. Depending on the circumstances of the developers, the advantages and disadvantage varies. The civil servants highlight that the larger developers have the ability to push the project forward, they have greater knowledge of the planning and exploitation processes and are well aware of what they are dealing with. According to the civil servants, it means that the processes often runs quite smoothly, but they also have the capability to overrun the municipality. They are strong in several aspects, they have the economic conditions, and they are experienced in the negotiation situation. Compared to the municipality they have unlimited resources and thus the ability to execute as much of the work as they want. The large developers have done this before, they know the weaknesses and the civil servants' challenges, and thus have the ability to utilize it. Regarding the smaller and more unexperienced developers, they might not have the same experience of the process and that can make the processes a bit more cumbersome. They do not have the same resources to push the processes forward, but this also implies that they do not have the same capability to take over the process.

Civil servants express that the dialog between them and the developers work relatively well. The civil servants have an ongoing dialog with the developers during the whole process. According to the civil servants, negotiation between the civil servants and the developers is a crucial part of the daily work within the exploitation process. The negotiations are related to what and how things are supposed to be built, who are responsible for what and who is going to pay what as well as the actual implementation and the distribution of responsibilities. In the relation between the developers and the civil servants, trust is important according to the civil servants. The civil servants highlight that there must be a mutual understanding of each other's wills and aims to maintain an effective cooperation for both parties. The developers need to trust that the civil servants do not pose unreasonable and invalid requirements, and the civil servants need to trust that the developer actually do what they have agreed on.

6.2.3 To circumvent the formal process
Regarding the developers' requests of plan proposals, the civil servants experience that the developers tend to circumvent the formal process. When the developers initiate the plans, they often go directly to the politicians and presents already finished plans.

> "we have developers that shows interests to politicians […] often they go directly to the politicians"
> (Informant 3, 2017).

According to the civil servants, the fact that the developers go directly to the politicians affect the civil servants' possibilities to react on the plans before the politicians make decisions. If the politicians have been presented with a plan that they already appreciate, it might be more difficult for the civil servants to get the approval from the politicians to make changes or to reject the plan completely.

> "[w]e can put down our foot and try to control it but if they really want to build it usually happens. Then they might take some detours pass us directly to the politicians and in the end it is political decisions that are behind what is being built […] but we can't say no don't talk to the politicians, they can do no matter how. Anyone can talk to the politicians in the municipality. And usually we are not even aware of it until something has already been discussed between the developers and politicians and almost already been informal decided" (Informant 1, 2017).

The detour to the politicians is something the civil servants experience that they cannot control; anyone who wants to talk to the politicians is able to do it. When the developers go directly to the politicians, the exchange of information is also affected according to the civil servants. Mostly it is expressed in the absence of information. The civil servants experience that the absence is expressed both when the civil servants do not get informed about what has been

discussed between the politicians and the developers, but also when the civil servants have not been informed at all of the developers' initiative directed to the politicians.

The civil servants express that the developers have the resources to create pleasing plans and projects. When the developers show up with magnificent plans, they are hard to resist. The developers also have the capability of talking the same language as the politicians. They focus on the economical aspects and show concrete numbers, which is a language the politicians understand. When the developers have the ability to, in the early phase of the process, sell in their projects, the civil servants experience it to be more difficult to question the projects in later phases. Significant aspect in the processes is that the developers execute most of the work by them self; often, it is not the municipality that performs the actual designs of the projects. Although the municipality have the mandate, knowledge and willing to execute the work, the developers have the unlimited resources that are tough to neglect. They perform the drawing, investigation and if something missing, they hire consultants.

> "Not at all actually design the plans ourselves. It is the developer who takes in a consultant who draws a plan to us because they are aware of that we have limited resources and things like that do not have time for anything actually" (Informant 5, 2017).

The civil servants express that the fact that developers execute most of the actual work means that the developers are in control of shaping the development. Even before the civil servants have identified possibilities within the project and whether the proposal shall be realized, most of the work is already done. According to the civil servants the consequence is that the developer takes over the process and thus the control.

> "That they control the whole processes […] the developer taking over the municipal planning monopoly more or less. Design a plan just like that […] it speaks for itself, if you don't hold the pen, you don't hold the process" (Informant 5, 2017).

> "It is both this that we loses power to control how it will look and what the outcome will be. That you let the developer take too much space both when it comes to naming the area and to say like, it flashes up with something grand and this is how it will look and then we have a completely different view. And here it has been difficult and it is difficult today to say like no but this is not the will of the municipality" (Informant 3, 2017).

6.2.4 The need of a common vision

The civil servants express a need to formulate a common vision for the future development in the municipality. The municipality must know how, where and what they want to build and work actively with that vision.

"I believe that if we know, if the municipality know, if we have done our preparatory work, know where we stand, know what we want as an organization, then it is possible to build trust […] then you can stand more steady with your decision, maybe you have done a small preparatory work [...] it facilitates to have something, as I said before if we know what we want, if the municipality can stand for this is what we want in this area. You can think whatever you want, plan for whatever you want, but this is what we have come up with. If you can have that preparatory work […] decided in different strategic documents, if you can have that in the beginning of a processes, it would benefit the processes […] and then the developer can take that in the process and see if it is interesting or not. But it is important that we as a municipality stick to what we have concluded with within a certain area" (Informant 1, 2017).

The civil servants stress that they have the strategic documents such as the comprehensive plan, which is a politically decided document that represents the overall vision for the municipality. However, the civil servants' expresses that the documents do not get implemented by themselves; they need to constantly be used in the processes and argumentations to make a difference. The preparatory work is significant according to the civil servants' in order to be able to use the legal framework and strategic documents, to create a shared vision for the municipality and thus have a strong image of the development in the municipality. The civil servants suggest that it might be useful to formulate further strategic documents that determines how they work within the municipality.

One of the civil servants highlighted that by having a clear common vision for the development within the municipality, the municipality can communicate the vision both internally and externally. To communicate a clear common vision externally gives the municipality a stronger profile. The civil servants argued that a clear profile could contribute to the municipality's ability to attract developers that match the municipality's vision.

"Who we are, what should we achieve with the development of the society within the municipality of Upplands-Bro as an overall question. Based on what we have already said, but also the directives we get all the time, whether it's in the Planning and Building Act or as well as law or other strategic documents, weighing it together, it is a of profiling outwards […] who are the municipality of Upplands-Bro, who are we when we are building the society. That's a way of create trust and attract people that then by themselves to attract right if you say so, correct profiled developers to want to build here. But we don't really have that common consensus which results in that we get a lot of different offers here and it has been a municipality that has gladly received" (Informant 3, 2017).

6.2.5 Context
The civil servants' experience that the context of the municipality in the last years has changed. Previously, the municipality was relatively unattractive for developers to build in. Since the

municipality been dependent on initiatives and resources from external actors to develop, almost all initiatives to build have been approved. The civil servants' do not experience that the perceived context of the municipality has changed. Today, it is an attractive municipality to build in and there are many actors interesting to develop in the area. Although, the former self-image remains and the politicians keeps saying yes to all projects.

> "It is like we are just backing for the developers' ideas and thinks that we have to keep them satisfied but I believe that we need to start rethink a bit regarding who we are and our responsible […] because we sometimes just let them do whatever they want to. Because that might be easier and it is easy to fall for their rhetoric and their arguments cause it is fantastic and then you just by the whole package" (Informant 6, 2017).

This does not only connect to an old perception of this specific municipality's prerequisites. The civil servants' highlight that this connects to trends in the society as a whole. The experience is that the scope for the municipal planning monopoly is limited, by for example changes in the Planning and Building act. More and more is left for the market to fix and the timeframe for the planning and exploitation process is limited.

> "It is expressive for how the whole society functions now, that you just back off from the vision-work and just say that the market can take this because that becomes more easier cause they have a force, a vision at least, of what they want to do […] All the laws that has been done last ten years, it feels like they have been to undermine the municipality's role […] the municipal mandate is not really, it becomes less and less important" (Informant 5, 2017).

> "It has actively worked to shorten the municipality's time to create things and now we shall shorten it down to like compromise it to smallest as possible cause that's where the problem must be, that it take so much time to build residents" (Informant 6, 2017).

7. Analysis

This chapter analyses the empirical findings in relation to the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework is intended to support the analysis of the empirical findings in a perspective of power and in a wider context. To analyse the empirical material, the results are categorised into the different explanations of power identified in the theoretical framework. To first categorize the material into the theoretical framework facilitates the possibility to thereafter analyse the result in a wider context with support from the theory. Some parts of the empirical material might appear in more than one of the explanations of power, thus it is important to discuss the material and keep in mind that the categories of power are not fixed, they interrelate and must be understood together.

7.1 The basic understanding of power

The politicians have the mandate to directly execute power. They are the actors within the planning and exploitation processes responsible for taking the final decisions. The politicians are the actors signing the documents for both the joint land development agreements and the implementation descriptions. Within the politician's position, they have the power to make decisions regardless if other actors such as civil servants or developers disagree. The politicians possess, as Steven Lukes' first dimension of power describes, the power to execute direct power, it corresponds the possibility for A (politicians) to make B (civil servants) act in a way B otherwise would not do.

The politicians have a mandate to serve as the actor responsible for the final decisions which affects the civil servants' ability to execute power to control the development of the municipality. In Sweden, there is a planning monopoly that indicates that the municipality is responsible for the planning and development of land and water. Both civil servants' and politicians are part of the municipality and thus participate in the process of the planning and development of the municipality. This process includes certain phases where the civil servants are supposed to prepare the errands based on their expertise in order to present them for the politicians that then express their opinions and take the final decisions. Although this process exists, where the civil servants are supposed to investigates errands based on their expertise, the civil servants in this case do not fully get the chance to perform their work to the extent they have the mandate to do.

Within the exploitation process the civil servants experience a lack of power. The civil servants express that they do not possesses the ability to execute direct power over the politicians' decisions. If the civil servants and the politicians do not share the same idea regarding a project

and the politicians decide something the civil servants' do not agree with, the civil servants' do not possess the ability to execute direct power over the decisions. Comparatively to Steven Lukes' first dimension of power, they do not have the ability to directly execute power over the politicians to change their decisions to make them do what the civil servants' want.

The ability to directly execute power to control the development seems to be rooted in the involved actors predetermined mandate to make final decisions. The mandate the politicians have is rooted in the legal framework and the processes regarding the distribution of responsibilities. The civil servants can affect the politician's decisions, but they do not have the direct power over the politician's final decisions.

The civil servants express how both the Planning and Building act and the strategic documents are significant instruments to be able to argue in their interests. The laws and the strategic document are instruments for the civil servants to get the results they want, and thus instruments to enable the execution of power. Although, the laws and strategic documents do not correspond to the execution of power in themselves. Depending on how the legal paragraphs and documents are implemented and used, the possibilities for using them as instruments for direct exertion of power varies. To use them effectively as instruments for exertion of power, knowledge is a prerequisite. The civil servants must have a profound knowledge of the legal framework's content and the possibilities of using it in different scenarios. The civil servants express the need to becoming better at using the legal framework and strategic documents as instruments to enable them to execute power. All the informants agree that the legal framework and the documents can be advantageous instruments to get their wills through. However, in order to benefit from the documents and laws civil servants need to know the content of them and how to use them. It clarifies that it is about knowing what the law and the documents say and being able to communicate it as something given; this is what is stated in the law and the strategic documents and thus what is valid. By reducing the possibilities of different option, the development can be controlled with the laws and strategic documents as instruments. The preparatory work seems to be of great importance and an approach the civil servants expresses that they need to be better at.

7.2 To execute power before the decisions

Since the execution of direct power and mandate to make final decisions is rooted in the law, other forms of power become relevant to control the development. The civil servants' ability to execute power to control the development is affected by the fact that the developers are effective in executing what Steven Lukes in the second dimension of power defines as indirect power.

They are effective in circumventing the formal process which affects the ability to control the development. The developers are the actors initiating the projects. To circumvent the formal process, the developers goes directly to the politicians when they initiate their projects. This is nothing the civil servants' can do anything about, anyone have the right to talk to the politicians within the municipality, but it affects the civil servants' ability to control the development.

The developers are effective in communicating their plans to make the politicians take decisions that corresponds to what the developers suggests. The developers are able to sell in their projects to the politicians. For the ability to control the politicians' final decisions, communication is a relevant perspective of power. The developers can communicate their plans in a way the politicians both understand and appreciate. As the civil servants expresses, they talk the same language. This affects the civil servants' ability to execute power to control the development and it is mostly visible in the civil servants expression of lack of power. That the developers are effective in their ability to sell in their projects to the politicians affects the arena in which the civil servants work. When developers go straight to the politicians and initiate their projects, they, as Steven Lukes describes it, set the agenda for the development. They present their projects in a way that makes the politicians want those projects. Before the civil servants even are aware of the developers' suggestions of projects or without the civil servants has been given the opportunity to express their opinions, an apprehension within the politicians regarding what they want has been created. By introducing the projects directly to the actors with the mandate to take the final decisions, the developers set the stage that the civil servants have to work in. In comparison to Steven Lukes' explanation of power, this agenda executes power over the civil servants' ability to control the development. It indicates that the civil servants need to work with the expectation that the politicians have but that is created by the developer. The developers thus have the power to indirectly control the starting point of the projects, which the civil servants have to work with. Instead of working with projects that the civil servants from the beginning consider as a good starting point, they must work with the project that the developers introduced to the politicians.

In negotiations, information is important. John Forester demonstrates the importance of information and how it is identified in several aspects. In comparison with to John Forester, to know the ropes is also exhibited in the empirical material as a crucial source of power. The civil servants express how they are excluded in the communication between the politicians and the developers, resulting in missing information. The lack of information makes it difficult for the civil servants to prepare and negotiate their projects in an effective way. As John Forester

highlights in a social problem-solver perspective, how organizations and the embedded social networks functions, is crucial for the distribution of information. In the empirical material, it becomes visible that the hierarchical structure of the organization affects the spreading of information. The civil servants do not have a direct dialog with the politicians by themselves; instead, it goes through the different managerial levels within the organisation. In this hierarchical organisation, the civil servants often miss information that is crucial for them to prepare and negotiate successfully. In the organization, there is also a structure for informal communication identified by the civil servants as a "corridor-dialog". The corridor-dialog maintains the informal exchange of information, which the civil servants identifies as both positive and negative. In comparison with both Steven Lukes' third dimension of power and John Foresters explanation of power, by maintaining this corridor dialog, a structure of how they work is implemented and maintained. This informal dialog contributes to the indirect execution of power when information becomes hard to control. Both when there is a lack of exchange of information, but also when new employees start and cannot take over information that previous been exchanged within the project. The aspect of information as a significant source of power becomes visible, especially regarding the experience of lack of information. The civil servants thus work, as John Forester illustrates, in a context of inadequate information. As the civil servants express, the developers are aware of the importance of information in the process of negotiation. To test whether civil servants who come in as new in an already ongoing project, are aware of what previously been agreed on indicates the possession of power of information. Maintaining a structure in the organization based on a corridor-dialog affects the civil servants' ability to execute power to control the development. The corridor-dialog implies both advantages and disadvantages but when it contributes to inadequate information, it reduces the opportunity to control the development.

7.3 Preferences and structures

Whether the developers and the civil servants want the same thing varies within different projects. Even if the work regarding the implementation of projects expresses in negotiation between the actors it does not mean that the civil servants and the developers always disagrees. Within some projects, they have completely different ideas of what to build, while in some projects they have a common idea of the outcome but negotiates regarding the distribution of responsibilities. However, the significant aspect is that the developers are the actors that sets the agenda. They are the actors with the ability to execute indirect power to control the agenda, which in turn affects the civil servants' ability to control the development in the municipality.

As Steven Lukes presents in the third dimension of power, the ability to shape preferences is a significant part of executing indirect power to shape the agenda. This is also connected to John Foresters context dependency. As mentioned above, the developers can communicate their plans to shape politicians' preferences. The developers have significant resources such as financial resources, knowledge, time, staff et cetera to make a plan and present an appealing image of a project that in turn shapes the politicians' preferences. The preferences the developer's implements in the politicians' idea of what kind of projects they can expect, might not always correspond with what the civil servants' experiences as possible to implement which in turn is important since the politicians makes the final decisions. The developers' presents projects they want to build to the politicians which the civil servants might not always considers appropriate. In order to be the actor with the ability to shape the politicians' preferences, the ability to create plans for the development is of vital importance. The developers can do a majority of the work in the process of the development of the municipality.

The actor that does most of the work affect the ability to shape the preferences. The implementation descriptions and the joint land development agreements illustrates to a certain degree the distribution of power between the developers and the municipality given the responsibilities and costs to implement the projects. The implementation description mostly refers to the joint land development agreement and thus the joint land development agreements provides more information regarding the distribution of responsibilities. The distribution of responsibilities varies to some extent for each project. However, they confirm the experience of the civil servants that the developers perform a lot of the actual work for the development. In two of the projects, the developers are responsible to execute the actual development. They are responsible for the costs and the implementation of the actual work regarding the planning, the construction, and even the public facilities. The documents also include projects where the municipality is responsible for the implementation as well as the costs, in contrast to the other two projects. The explanation of the distribution of responsibilities and costs is difficult to answer by reading the document. It might be connected to relations regarding ownership of land or maybe what type the developer is; if it is a smaller or larger developer. The implementation descriptions and the joint land development agreements also express who has participated in the shaping of the documents. Regarding the joint land development agreements, it is an agreement between the municipality and the developer shaped through negotiation. The implementation descriptions studied in this research highlight how several different actors participate in producing the documents and the actors involved in the process varies between

the projects. However, it is not possible to distinguish from neither the implementation description nor the joint land development agreements how the distribution of work has been decided. Who decided what, who and what has affected the decisions within the producing of this documents. However, it clearly highlights how the developers execute a lot of the work in both the planning phase and the construction phase of the development. The fact that the developers executes most of the work, from initiating the processes, drawing the plans, and constructing the buildings, contributes to the civil servants' picture that the developer holds the pencil in the creation of the plans which affects their ability to control the development. Whether this is positive or negative is not answered here. The civil servants express both negative and positive effects of the fact that the developers participate in the whole process and that they execute a large amount of the work. However, the important fact is that the developers execute a great amount of the work, which indicates a possession of power. This possession of power affects the civil servants' ability to execute power to control the development of the municipality. In relation to Steven Lukes' third dimension of power, the developers have the resources that maintains the structure of their possibility to execute the majority of the work in the projects. The civil servants express how it is more difficult to question and change things that are already implemented. When the developers execute the work, the further into the process the project is, the more difficult it becomes for the civil servant to question and change things within the projects. Therefore, the ability to execute the actual work, in both the planning and construction phase, indicates an ability to possess power to control the development.

The importance of indirect power to control the development of the municipality becomes visible when the civil servants describe weaknesses within the organization that they need to improve. The civil servants express the need of defining a common vision for the development of the municipality. The municipality does have strategic documents, such as the comprehensive plan, which describes the visions for the development of the municipality. However, the civil servants express that they need to be better at using them and that a clear mutual vision in the municipality for the development must be implemented and constantly maintained in the work of the development of the municipality. The civil servants express that having a clear vision for the municipality and being able to communicate that externally would improve the ability to give the municipality a strong profile. By communicating a strong profile the municipality would be able to attract the "right" developers.

This indicates, in comparison to Steven Lukes' explanation of power, an approach for the civil servants to execute indirect power to control the development of the municipality. The

developers are currently the actors that set the agenda by initiating projects directly via politicians. Instead of changing this, attracting the "right" developers becomes an approach for the civil servants to shape the developers preferences and thus set the agenda before the developers do so. It thus corresponds the same method of execution of power. By attracting the "right" developers to develop the municipality, the civil servants indirectly executes power in the form of avoiding conflict. By avoiding conflict and maintaining consensus defined by the civil servants, they enable indirect execution of power to control the development.

If the civil servants focus on their preparatory work with visionary documents and are able to communicate those visions to developers, they have the ability to avoid getting in situation where they and the developers disagrees. This is related to the approach highlighted in Steven Lukes' third dimension of power regarding the possibility to avoid conflict. They can thus avoid getting into a situation when the need of being able to execute direct power arises. Since the civil servants themselves do not possess the ability to execute direct power, this indirect power becomes significant for the civil servants' possibility to control the development within the municipality. Since the developers often have the advantage of stronger resources both in terms of finance, time, knowledge et cetera, the civil servants' possibility to shape the arena they work in becomes crucial for the civil servants' ability to control the development of the municipality.

7.4 Context dependency

The civil servants' ability to execute power to control the development must be understood within its context. Both in the context discussed above in terms of the organizing their work in relation to the involved actors, but also in a wider context. As John Forester illustrates, the importance of the context is expressed in different ways. The civil servants' ability to execute power to control the development vary between different projects. The civil servants thus work in a context where the context constantly shifts. They also express that the prerequisites for the municipality such as ownership of land, resources et cetera affect the context they work in. They cannot control that context; instead, they must work with it. The context dependency does not only highlight the relation to the fixed prerequisites, but also the general image of the municipality that shapes its context. The civil servants highlight how they experience that the municipality is stuck in an old comprehension of the municipality's prerequisites. Even if the civil servants do not share this perception, the politicians do. Since the politicians are the actors with the ability to take decisions, the context politicians make their decisions in, indirectly executes power over the civil servants' ability to control the development.

The context is also relevant in a wider perspective. The civil servants' experience is a testament to how the society as a whole has changed in the direction of minimizing the municipal planning monopoly. They highlight how time is often the problem in the development of new dwellings and residential areas. The overall discourse in the society regarding the development affects the context that the civil servants work in. The discourse in society reflects the political standpoints and thus the context the civil servants work in.

8. Conclusion

In this chapter, the conclusions of the research is presented. Based on analyzing the empirical material in the theoretical framework, the research aims to answer the question:

How do civil servants experience their ability to execute power within the exploitation process to control the development of the built environment in the municipality?

The politicians possess the formal power to take the final decisions. They execute direct power to control the development of the built environment within the municipality. Civil servants experience powerlessness due to the fact that politicians possess the direct power over decisions. Civil servants do not have the ability to execute direct power over the politicians to make them change their decisions. When politicians take decisions, civil servants do not appreciate that they simply have to follow instructions ("gilla läget" in Swedish). The ability to exercise direct power is fixed in laws that cannot be questioned. Since the direct power does not seems changeable, the ability to execute informal power is important.

Laws and strategic documents can be important instruments for the civil servants to increase their ability to execute power to control the development of the built environment in the municipality. The documents do not contain power in themselves, it is the implementation of the documents that corresponds to a form of power since they can be viewed as absolute power. If something is written in a public document, then that is what counts.

The civil servants' ability to execute power in the exploitation process to control the development of the built environment in the municipality is largely affected by the fact that developers are effective in their execution of indirect power. By initiating projects directly with politician, developers set the agenda that the civil servants have to work with. In other words, the developers execute indirect power over the civil servants' ability to control the development of the built environment. The civil servants must work with an agenda implemented by the developers, who have shaped the preferences of politicians. The civil servants experience that they must be better at utilizing their ability to execute informal power in the exploitation processes to control the development of the built environment. By creating a clear common vision for the municipality, the civil servants intend to set the agenda before the developers can do so. By profiling the municipality, the civil servants can potentially execute indirect power in the exploitation process to attract the "right" developers and thus shape the preferences even of the developers. The civil servants' ability to execute power in the exploitation processes to control the development of the built environment presupposes thus partly an ambition to avoid

conflict. The civil servants' ability to execute power by shaping preferences becomes an approach of avoiding conflict, which contributes to that they can avoid getting in a situation involving direct execution of power where they instead experiences powerlessness.

Further, the civil servants experience that their ability to execute power to control the development is affected by the context they work in. Partly, the structure of the organization they work in has a significant role for their ability to control the development of the built environment. It is a hierarchical structure where the flow of information is affected. Information is an important resource for the civil servants' ability to control the development of the built environment. When a significant part of the dialogue in the organization is informal, shortcomings in the exchange of information tends to occur which makes it difficult for the civil servants' ability to execute power to control the development of the built environment. Since there is no ongoing dialogue between the politicians and the civil servants, a well-functioning exchange of information between the different levels in the organization becomes a prerequisite for all relevant information to reach the civil servants.

The political context also affects the civil servants' ability to control the development of the built environment. Since they work within a politically driven organization where the politicians are the actors making the final decisions, the political agenda affects the arena that the civil servants work in. The civil servants experience that the politicians takes decisions in an old context. The civil servants experience that the context for the municipality has changed during the last years and that the municipality is now more attractive and has the power to choose between different developers. They do no longer need to approve all the projects that are initiated by developers. However, the politicians still think that they are dependent on the developers and that most of the suggested projects needs to be approved. That in turn affects the civil servants' possibility to execute indirect power in shaping preferences and avoid conflict by choosing developers that corresponds the civil servants interest in order to control the development of the built environment.

The fact that most of the land is privately owned in the municipality seems to have varying affects on the civil servants' ability to control the development. Partly, it is more difficult to control since it's not their own land. But the privately owned land is also highlighted as a prerequisite for the development since the privet landowner comes with the initiatives and have the resources to build. It confirms that structures, that are shaped by different actors' possession

of resources such as land and economical resources, corresponds a form of power by affecting the possibilities for the development of the built environment.

Furthermore, the civil servants experience that the political context in a larger perspective is changed to minimize the civil servants' ability to execute power within the exploitation process. By shortening the timeframe for the planning and exploitation process and limit the civil servants' role and ability to investigate respective projects, their ability to control the development is affected.

The civil servants experience of their ability to execute power in the exploitation process to control the development of the built environment can be summarized by that it is mostly expressed as indirect execution of power. Regarding direct execution of power, civil servants experience a powerlessness. The ability to execute power requires an understanding of how different actors executes power, the possibility to execute power is affected by other actors possibility to execute power. The ability to execute power also depends on its context and the context itself corresponds to a form of execution power.

Finally, it is also necessary to stress that this research does not evaluate whether or not the distribution of power in the exploitation process is positive or negative. This research contributes by presenting how the reality is experienced from one perspective. To enable further discussions of how the distribution of power should be and the consequences this would have for the built environment, it is relevant to understand the experiences of the actual reality today. This research has contributed with presenting how the reality in a municipality is seen from a civil servants' perspective.

9. Further research

This thesis has contributed with an illustration of how civil servants experiences their ability to exercise power within the exploitation process to control the development in the municipality of Upplands-Bro. It highlights their experience and thus the reality from their perspective within this municipality. Future research is proposed to investigate whether this pattern exist within other municipalities. Further research should focus on other municipalities with varying prerequisites. It would enable an investigation of how different municipality's prerequisites affects the civil servants' ability to execute power to control the development. It would provide an opportunity to find patterns in municipalities' internal and external conditions that affect the possibility to control the development.

Further research could also focus on different actors involved within the process. To investigate other actors involved in the process, such as the developers and politicians, is of great importance to understand how the different actors experience and perceive their role in the process.

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Figure 5) Map illustrating the municipality of Upplands-Bro, Source: Lantmäteriet (2017) Shapefiles Comprehensive map, Open source data available for university students, available: https://www.geodata.se/, Layout: Jenny Becker Olsson 2017, In chapter 5

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Appendix
Interview guide

Inform the informants before the interview starts

- The interview records.
- The informants are anonyms.
- The purpose with the thesis is to investigate power structures within the exploitation process.
- The thesis publishes and thereafter it is okay to use it.
- Is it okay if I come back if it comes up supplementary questions after?

Comprehensive questions:

- **Introduction**
- **Interaction between actors**
- **The ability to control decisions**
- **The ability to avoid conflict**
- **To set the agenda**
- **Information**
- **Regulate structures**

Overall starting point to have in mind

According to law, the municipality decides over how land and water should be used. But who decides what and why to the municipality take the decisions they do? How does it work before the decisions takes?

Intervjuguide

Informera informanten innan intervjun börjar

- Intervjun spelas in.
- Informanten är anonymiserad.
- Syftet med arbetet är att studera maktstrukturer i exploateringsprocessen.
- Uppsatsen kommer att publiceras och går därefter att använda.
- Är det okej om det uppstår kompletterande frågor om jag återkommer?

Övergripande teman
Inledande
Interaktion mellan aktörer
Förmågan att leda beslut
Förmågan att undvika konflikt
Att sätta agendan
Information
Reglera strukturer

Övergripande att utgå från vid start
Enligt lag bestämmer kommunen över hur mark och vatten ska användas. Men vem bestämmer vad och varför fattar kommunen de beslut som de fattar? Hur går det till innan besluten fattas?

Introducing/Inledande

- Would you like to tell me about your role at the exploitation department?
  /Vill du berätta lite om din roll på exploateringsavdelningen?

- How do the municipality experiences your ability to decide over the development within the municipality?
  /Hur upplever kommunen er förmåga att bestämma över byggandet i kommunen?

- How do the municipality handle that you do not own that much land?
  /Hur hanterar kommunen att ni inte äger så mycket mark?

- The exploitation process varies some, is there a difference in influence depending on the conditions for each project?
  /Exploateringsprocessen går till på lite olika vis, är det skillnad i inflytande beroende på förutsättningarna för respektive projekt?

- The exploitation process varies dependent on the projects prerequisites, do you at the municipality apprehend that it exists ideal conditions? What does it imply?
  /Exploateringsprocessen varierar något beroende på respektive projekts förutsättningar, upplever kommunen att det existerar idealförutsättningar? Vad innebär det?

Interaction between developers/Interaktion mellan aktörer byggherre

- Do you experiences that you and the developers have the same idea regarding the development within the municipality?
  /Upplever kommunen att ni och byggherrar har samma idéer om byggandet i kommunen?

- Do conflicts of interest arise? Can you give an example of a potential conflict of interest?
  /Uppstår intressekonflikter? Kan du ge exempel på en potentiell intressekonflikt?

- Do the developers usally participate in the detail planning or do they enter in a later phase? Why? Why not? Describe the collaboration with the developers, how does it work?
  /Brukar byggherren vara delaktig i detaljplaneläggningen eller kommer de in i ett senare skede? Varför? Varför inte? Beskriv det samarbetet med byggherre, hur går det till?

- Which advantage and disadvantage exists with allowing the developers participate in the planning or in a later phase?
  /Vilka för respektive nackdelar finns det med att låta byggherre delta i detaljplaneläggning eller vid ett senare skede?

- Do the collaboration with developers differ if there is municipal och private owned land?
  /Skiljer sig samarbete med byggherre om det är kommunen eller privat markägare?

- Is it easier to collaborate with some developers? Does it facilitate to only have a few developers developing in the municipality?
  /Är det lättare att samarbeta med vissa byggherrar? Underlättar det att det endast är ett fåtal samma byggherrar som bygger?

- Does it exist benefits with allowing the developer stand for the majority of the exploitation process?
  /Finns det fördelar med att låta byggherre stå för de mesta i exploateringsprojekten?

- Do you understand each other? Is it difficult to "talk the same language"?
  /Förstår ni varandra? Är det svårt att "tala samma språk"?

- Are there financial incentive for the developers to participate in the detail planning?
  /Finns det ekonomiska incitament i att byggherren deltar i detaljplaneläggningen?

Interaction between politicans/Interaktion mellan aktörer politiker

- Do you experience that you and the politicians have the same ideas about the development in the municipality?
  /Upplever ni att ni och politikerna har samma idéer om byggandet i kommunen?

- How does the process of preparing the errands work? Do you have a dialogue with the politicians before the meeting for final decision?
  /Hur går processen vid beredning av ärenden till? Har ni en dialog med politiken innan möte för beslut?

- Do you and the politic in general agrees? Give an example of when you and the politic collide?
  /Är ni och politiken generellt överens? Ge exempel på när ni och politiken krockar?

- How do you manage when you and the politic do not agrees?
  /Hur hanterar ni när ni och politiken inte kommer överens?

- Do you understand each other? Is it difficult to "talk the same language"?
  /Förstår ni varandra? Är det svårt att "tala samma språk"?

The ability to control decisions/Förmågan att leda beslut

- How do the municipality do to control land you don't own? Which strategies do you have?
  /Hur gör kommunen för att reglera mark ni inte äger? Vilka strategier har ni?

- Do the municipality want to control, or are there benefits of allowing other actors decide over how land should develop?
  /Vill kommunen reglera, eller finns det fördelar i att låta andra aktörer bestämma hur mark bör byggas?

- When there is private landowner, do they have more to say regarding how it should be built? Why? How does it expresses?
  /Vid privat markägare, har de mer att säga till i om hur det ska byggas? Varför? Hur tas det i uttryck?

- You prepare errands that the politicians then takes decisions regarding, how do you do to facilitate to reach decision?
  /Ni bereder ärenden som politikerna sedan beslutar, hur gör ni för att underlätta till att uppnå beslut?

- Before joint land development agreement signs, how do the municipality reasoner with the developer before decision? How does it work in shaping the joint land development agreements?
  /Innan exploateringsavtal skrivs, hur resonerar kommunen med byggherren innan beslut? Beskriv hur det går till att forma exploateringsavtalen?

The ability to avoid conflict/Förmågan att undvika konflikt

- Do you discusse the projects before it should be decided in the municipal council? How does it work? Does it contribute to avoid conflict?
  /Diskuteras projekten innan de ska beslutas i kommunstyrelsen? Hur går det till? Bidrar det till att undvika konflikter?

- How does the collaboration with developer work? What do you do to avoid conflict?
  /Hur sker samarbete med byggherre? Vad gör ni för att undvika konflikter?

To set the agenda/Att sätta agendan

- When the municipality do not own the land, do you still experiences that you can control the land as you want?
  /När kommunen inte äger marken, upplever ni att ni ändå kan reglera marken såsom ni vill?

Information/Information

- How do you experiences to communicate your plans within the consultation period?
  /Hur upplever ni det att kommunicera ut era planer inom samrådstiden?

- Do you experiences that your ability to communicate your plans affects how decision perceives?
  /Upplever ni att er förmåga att kommunicera era planer påverkar hur beslut tas emot?

- How do you as civil servants experiences the communication with politicans before decision stakes?
  /Hur upplever ni som tjänsteperson kommunikationen med politiker innan beslut fattas?

- How do you as civil servants experiences the communication with developers before joint land development agreement signs?
  /Hur upplever ni som tjänsteperson kommunikationen med byggherre innan exploateringsavtal signeras?

Regulate structures/Reglera strukturer

- How do you experiences to work within the Planning and Building act as a framework?
  /Hur upplever ni att arbeta inom PBLs ramar?