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Multiple Knowledges and Participation in Planning

A Case Study of the Amiralstaden Process

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SGEM08
Spring 2019

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Acknowledgements

Firstly I wish to thank my supervisor Eric Clark for valuable advice and constructive criticism that guided me in my work. I also wish to thank my two respondents, Alicia Smedberg and Thomas Wahlstedt for taking the time to participate in my research.

I also want to thank my parents for their belief in me completing this work despite my own reoccurring doubts.

Lastly, I am most thankful for the continuous support of my partner Mumbi Mkandawire. It was a long process to complete this work, and you gave me the courage, motivation and confidence that I could successfully complete it when I doubted myself the most. Thank you for discussing the work with me, it has been very helpful. Look forward to many more exchanges too!

Abstract

Urban inequalities are one of the most important questions in contemporary times. One urban area that is struggling with inequalities is Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden.

The new comprehensive plan for Malmö from 2018, states that a socially balanced city is necessary for further development of Malmö, to tackle inequalities the plan states that all citizens need to be able to shape society and their own lives (Malmö stad, 2018b). My research has centred on a new urban development process called Amiralsstaden. The method of knowledge alliances has been tested in the process, which is a new way of conducting participation. The new method is aimed at creating meetings where different knowledges can be shared between different actors. The Amiralsstaden process and the knowledge alliances in particular has been my case study, which I have looked at through a feminist theory of science framework and through conducting qualitative interviews. My research further draws on theories of situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988, Rose, 1997) and theories of participation and multiple knowledges (Cornwall, 2008, Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992, Sandercock, 2003a, Sandercock, 2003b).

My conclusion is that the knowledge alliances of Amiralsstaden have involved multiple actors, and that multiple knowledges have come forward in the encounters. Although, the municipality stated no explicit definition of knowledge, the understanding of knowledge from the municipality's side has included knowledge as experience. However, the citizens' knowledges have to a greater extent been viewed as biased.

Keywords: participation, situated knowledges, Amiralsstaden, knowledge alliances, feminist framework

Chapter One: Introduction

The urban is facing great challenges of inequality in contemporary times. Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden, is one of these urban places. After a period of focusing on rebranding of the city as a knowledge city with grand infrastructure projects, public officials in Malmö, like many other cities in the world are noticing how these projects have not benefited everyone in the city. Inequalities are still high as well as the level of social exclusion. These inequalities have a spatial pattern and have resulted in deprived neighbourhoods in the urban.

In the comprehensive plan for Malmö from 2018, it is stated that “[it] is vital for the development of Malmö to create a socially balanced city with good living conditions for all its citizens” (Malmö stad, 2018b, p.3). Further the plan claims, “[a] socially balanced city should also be an equitable city. This means every citizen – woman and man, young and old, wealthy and poor – should be provided the same ability and opportunity to shape society and their own lives” (Malmö stad, 2018b, p.4). In the plan, public participation is seen as a tool that increases social balance, and the plan states, “it is essential that steps are taken to increase participation in the planning processes” (Malmö stad, 2018b, p.3). To broaden the planning process to include more voices has been viewed as increasing equality in the planning process. However, participation has also been critiqued or problematized for reproducing inequalities that exist within society based on social categories such as gender, ethnicity, class, etcetera. The challenge for participation approaches is to engage a broad range of people and create a space where people are comfortable enough to express their opinions (Cornwall, 2008).

In the comprehensive plan for Malmö, from 2018, the municipality proposes that the “[p]articipation of Malmö-citizens, with different needs and interests, in informal and formal planning processes guarantees a better anchoring and long-term” (Malmö stad, 2018a, p.21, my translation). In addition, planned changes to already existing housing areas increases the demand of citizen participation. (Malmö stad, 2018a, p.21). The comprehensive plan encourages new forms of participation, and to incorporate citizen’s initiatives in the formal planning processes (Malmö stad, 2018a). The urban development process called Amiralstaden is an example of a process that is in line with the above stated recommendations from the comprehensive plan (Malmö stad, 2018a; Malmö stad, 2018c). The process was initiated in 2016, however, the geographical area in which the process will take effect is only stated through a centre point which is the

newly opened train station of Rosengård. In Malmö, or even Sweden, one of the most known deprived neighbourhoods, through media and politics, is Rosengård (Parker & Madureira, 2016; Salonen, Grander & Rasmusson, 2019). The process uses experimental forms of participation in the planning process and the aim of the process is to engage different stakeholders, and through collaboration create new ways of giving more space for citizen's experiences and knowledge in urban development (Malmö stad, 2018c, p.15). Which raises the questions of why these experimental forms of participation have been suggested? And how they have in fact been practiced?

This approach of increasing participation can be put into the context of changes happening within the academic field of planning theory. Planning theory has, like the rest of academia, in the latest decades been influenced by theories coming from the critique and challenging of traditional western Enlightenment conceptions of knowledge by postmodern and feminist scholars. As a result, knowledge has among, for example, feminist scholars been understood as both subjective and political without being biased or a non-objective science. Within planning theory some have called for approaches where both professionals and citizens have valid knowledge in the planning process, others have argued for complete decision power among citizens and some believe that it is up to planners to weigh knowledges and experiences against each other. The academic changes and the experimental ways of using participation in a planning process poses a set of questions: What can participants have a say in? Who has knowledge in the participation processes? And how are multiple knowledges handled in the participation process?

Research Questions

- How is invited participation practiced, by public professionals, in the experimental urban development process of Amiralstaden in Rosengård Malmö? And how is this practice motivated by public professionals?
- How is knowledge understood by public professionals in the invited participation practice in the experimental urban development process of Amiralstaden, in Rosengård Malmö?

Outline

The first chapter of the thesis will include a background on Malmö, Rosengård as a planned urban environment, as well as the new development process of Amiralstaden, which is the case study. The second chapter will describe the feminist theory of science framework that has guided the research process. The Third chapter will state the definition of planning that has informed this paper. The Fourth chapter explains what participation is and how the concept relates to power and knowledge. The fifth chapter will include the feminist research methods that have been foundational to the research process, and descriptions and limitations of conducting semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The sixth chapter will include a scholarly overview, situating my research among other scholars' work as well the analysis, where the research questions are answered through the study of the documents and from the conducted interviews. The seventh chapter and last chapter will include a discussion and conclusion of the findings from the sixth chapter.

Background

Planning Process in Malmö: Ideologies and Challenges

To understand and put into context the suburban regeneration process that is planned for Rosengård a brief background on Malmö's transformation and the ideologies behind that planned transformation is necessary, as well as a brief outline on how planning is regulated on a municipal level.

Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden and has been described as a dual city, one that has undergone a process, led by the city planners, to reshape Malmö from a city for workers to a knowledge city (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2012). The harbour area of Malmö had long been the place for the shipbuilding industry, but came to be dismantled in late 1980's, this, together with a financial crisis in the early 1990s motivated a turn towards the knowledge industry due to the economic recession (Holgensen, 2014, p.290). Today the harbour is the place of many offices for creative and tech industries, as well as a new university; all these activities are in line with the image of Malmö as a knowledge city. Despite this transformation inequalities have risen in Malmö (Holgensen & Baeten, 2016).

In Sweden it is the municipalities who have the planning monopoly, meaning that the planning process is decentralized. The municipality is also responsible for drawing up comprehensive plans encompassing the whole of the

municipality, which also functions as a guide to the detailed plans (Boverket, 2014). The law also regulates to promote a better dialog with citizens when drawing up detailed plans for areas. (Boverket, 2014). The Social Democrats¹ has been in power since 1994 in Malmö municipality (Holgersen & Baeten, 2016). Holgersen & Baeten (2016) can see an international process of social democratic governments bringing about a neoliberalization process, however, in Malmö this process has been particularly put into work.

Mukhtar-Landgren (2012) critiques the planning process in Malmö as having an objective to plan for a city of progress at the same time as having an objective to plan for a city of community. According to Mukhtar-Landgren (2012, p.196) the two objectives “have been understood as two different problems, generated by two different cities in a common spatial context”. The objective of progress as being linked to the production of the knowledge city with information and experiences, and the objective of community linked to social inequalities (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2012, p.196). Further, Baeten (2012) argues that the earlier large-scale development projects brought on by the Social Democrats have a similarity to the new neoliberal projects, in other words that problems in the city can be solved through building away the inequalities in the city through large-scale development. In the last paragraph of this chapter, the process of Amiralsstaden will be introduced, and with the background presented above the process makes for an interesting case study since it entails a large-scale development process led by the municipality Malmö stad, however, also in collaboration with the private sector in form of real estate companies as well as architectural firms. However, the process simultaneously stresses its goals on social sustainability and with that recognizing the inequalities and the segregation in the area of Rosengård in Malmö and Malmö as a whole.

Rosengård; Residential Area and Planned Suburban Space

This study will be looking at the area of Rosengård and participation within the Amiralsstaden process, which will bring about changes to the area of Rosengård. Rosengård was built as a part of the Million program, a nationwide program initiated to build a million new dwellings in a few years during 1960-1970. It was a part of a modernist project, set to create better living conditions for workers that until then had been living in crowded inner-city areas, and to counteract the

¹ The social democratic workers party in Sweden (Nationalencyklopedin, Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti, 2019).

housing crisis that occurred during the urbanisation process (Ristilammi, 1994; Vall, 2007). With the Million program, workers were relocated in suburban areas as part of the expansion of the bigger cities of Sweden, in dwellings with new amenities. In the beginning the areas were viewed as a great success, as a creation of “Folkhemmet”² - the future of dwellings, but later came to be viewed both in the media and through political discourses as problematic areas due to social issues and crime, and they also came to be viewed as peripheral (Ristilammi, 1994; Ericsson, Molina & Ristilammi, 2002). Rosengård has also been subject to stigmatization and segregation (Ristilammi, 1994). Today these areas have often times been named as “vulnerable areas” and are a part of a specific action plan created by the police to work against crime (Nationella operativa avdelningen, 2017; Polisen, 2018). Rosengård is one of the Million program areas that now is a place of crowded living conditions, has a high number of low-income households, as well as high levels of child poverty and high numbers of immigrants (specifically high levels of people born outside of Europe) (Malmö stad, 2015; Salonen, 2012; Righard, Johansson & Salonen, 2015; Salonen, Grander & Rasmusson, 2019). Rosengård is geographically closer to the inner-city areas of Malmö (a six minute train ride will take you from Rosengård station to Malmö central), which makes it stand out in comparison to other city areas in Sweden, which have become subject to a similar discourse in media and politics. According to a report on segregation and segmentation in Malmö, the researchers describe Malmö as having a head start in counteracting segregation because of the geographical proximities of the different areas within the city (Salonen, Grander & Rasmusson, 2019).

Parker & Madureira (2016, p.595) detect a greater realisation among politicians and public institutions that the area of Rosengård needs to be reshaped to fit Malmö’s new characterisation as a knowledge city. In the next paragraph I will introduce a new development process, initiated by Malmö municipality, which will have an effect on the area of Rosengård.

² Folkhemmet, a term describing equality in society, good living conditions for all and equal access to everything in society, was a popular term for the Social Democrats in the late 1920s, and described their idea of how society should be. The terms use continues, but occurred more frequently in the past (Nationalencyklopedin, Folkhemmet, 2019).

Amiralsstaden Process

In December 2018 the Rosengård station was opened for passenger traffic, as a first step of a new development plan for the area of Rosengård in Malmö (Malmö stad, 2018c). Since 2016 the municipality has been working on the development process called Amiralsstaden, the Amiralsstaden process has its geographical starting point at the newly opened train station in Rosengård (the first step of the actual process) and beside that a clear geographic area has not been set, but rather the process can be viewed as evolving as a buffer zone around the train station. The aim of the process is to connect different areas of Malmö and to reduce distances between areas of Malmö both mentally and physically (Malmö stad, 2018c). Connecting areas of Malmö through the Amiralsstaden process is expected to have the benefits of expanding existing networks as well as developing new ones (Malmö stad, 2018c). Certain aspects of the area have been identified as aspects to develop further such as; more and better meeting places, over-bridging barriers, local jobs, becoming an attracting magnet to all citizens of Malmö, more housing, equal schooling and investing in culture (Malmö stad, 2017a, p.9). Further, the development process has been shaped by a new form of participatory planning, which has been illustrated by a top down pyramid where citizens' participation in the outcome of the physical planning is viewed as resulting in "social profit" (Malmö stad, 2018c, p. 5, my translation). The top black pyramid is symbolizing "the visible knowledge" (Den synliga kunskapen) which is held by the university, civil servants, the municipality, laws & system and politicians. Whereas, the bottom green pyramid, "the invisible and society-based knowledge" (Den osynliga och samhällsbaserade kunskapen) can be found in associations, the collective, loose networks, citizens and informal leaders (Malmö stad, 2018c).

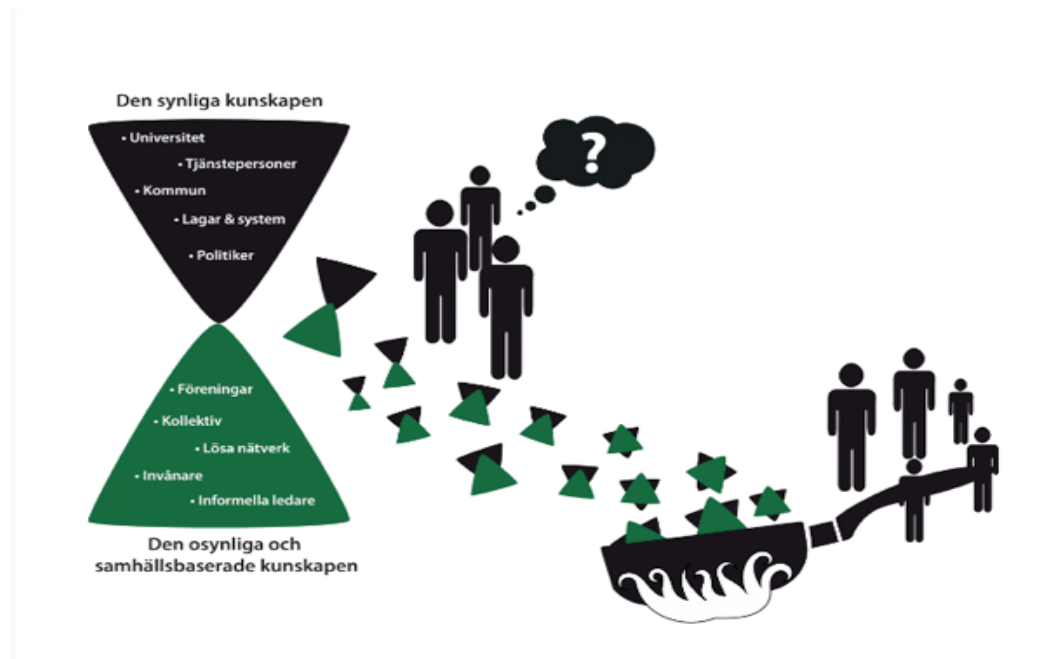


Figure 1 Illustration of the knowledge alliance participation model (Malmö stad, 2018c, p.18)

What impacts this new participation process and the Amiralstaden process as a whole will have is not possible to evaluate in this thesis. The whole process of Amiralstaden is not completed yet and therefore it is not possible to evaluate it in terms of to what extent “social profits” were achieved or if the outcome was the residents of Rosengård being replaced by more affluent citizens (which has been a critique) (Chaudhry & Cheema, 2016). Therefore, the focus of this thesis is to understand how this experimental way of conducting participation in a planning process has been motivated and practiced so far by focusing on the view(s) of knowledge and power in its practice.

Chapter Two: Theory of Science

This study draws on the theory of science of feminist epistemology, which has evolved from feminist and postmodern scholars who have critiqued the rational science brought on by the Enlightenment thinking (Cope, 2002). Following the critique of empiricism and the understanding of acquisition of knowledge, Cope (2002) defines knowledge as being a process in which we both produce and interpret what is knowledge. In addition, knowledge processes are not objective in a classic rational meaning since we as researchers are incorporated in the process (Cope, 2002). With the previously stated understanding of how knowledge is shaped, objectivity can still be reached but through partial perspective (Haraway, 1988). As researchers we view the world from our position and through our vision (vision as being a tool or technology which is embodied). The body that holds the vision both structures and is structured (Haraway, 1988, p.581). Meaning we, as researchers, have to be transparent about how we use certain tools within a knowledge process as well as reflect on how we use them. Haraway, further claims that accounts of the world are not to be viewed as discovered, rather the “object” of study has to be regarded as an agent, meaning that accounts are made through “a power-charged social relation of `conversation’” (Haraway, 1988, p.593, citation in original). Further the goal is not to reach an objective reality but an understanding of the world (a world which is both shaped by matter and social constructions).³

To be transparent in research from a feminist framework has often included the positionality of the researcher, the positionality of the researcher has often been stated through social categories such as gender, ethnicity, age, class, etcetera. Meaning I would state my position as a woman, white, mid-twenties, middle-class, etcetera. However, Rose (1997), has argued that this form of transparency, as in stating one’s positionality can be problematic, since it proposes that the researcher has the ability to fully understand and can be fully aware of one’s own positionality, something that is fluid, constructed but “real” in structures and experiences in society (Barad, 1996; Rose, 1997). To claim that positionality eliminates potential issues and answers questions of power dynamics in a research

³ Following Barad’s agential realism, an onto-epistemology which builds on Bohr’s philosophy of quantum physics, a philosophy which “situates practice within theory” (Barad, 1996, p.173). Agential realism is not concerned with finding evidence of an independent reality instead agential realism indicates an understanding of phenomena where the agencies of observation cannot be fully separated from the object of phenomena (Barad, 1996).

process could result in a goddess-trick, where the feminist researcher is all-knowing (Rose, 1997, p.311). Rather, Rose (1997), argues that these questions have to, to some point, remain unanswered. This discussion will be deepened in the Method - Limitations chapter of this thesis.

Chapter Three: Defining Planning

Theories in Planning

In this part the concept of planning will be introduced and discussed, then followed by a definition of planning outlining this case study. Firstly, describing what planning is (theories in planning) and secondly how planning should be done (theories of planning).

Planning can be understood and be defined in many different ways and there is therefore no agreed upon way of how it should be defined (Friedmann, 1998, Healy, 2011). Thorpe (2017, p.567) claims that “[planning] is best understood as a matter of intent, as negotiated efforts to determine how best to shape and reshape the city, to develop and implement a vision for the future of the urban environment”. The definition of planning stated by Thorpe (2017) is an understanding of planning that is not only limited to the professional planners and what they practice and the potential citizens participating in their practice, an understanding also formulated by Healy (2011). Thorpe (2017) describes planning as justifying its importance to society through history, by linking planning back to ancient civilizations. Practicing planning can then be traced back to grand infrastructure and the powerful leaders of the urban who had power over its design (royalties and aristocrats and so forth) that are the planner’s predecessors (Thorpe, 2017; Ward, 2013). In this way, the planners hold on to their powerful positions.

Purcell (2016) takes the idea of planning as not only the formal process of the state and professional planners further, in calling for an understanding of democracy as not connected to the state, but a democracy where people organize and decide for themselves. Purcell (2016) further claims that this form of organisation outside the state (without the notion of the state being equated with the public) already exists in the world today through the self-organisation and development of informal settlements in the urban fabric. With Purcell’s (2016) addition of a whole new understanding of democracy, the notion of planning being more than what is conducted by professionals employed by the state, is broadened and more radical. However, Purcell’s (2016) reconceptualization and more radical view on how the future urban environment should be shaped and by whom calls for interesting discussions on what a just and desired urban environment we as people want. However, these arguably anarchistic views on planning will not be the focus of this study and perhaps serve a more theoretical framework applicable in the study of informal settlement or social movements and acts of resistance in the

urban fabric. Although I share the view that planning can be understood as attempts to imagine and intentionally shape the future of an environment, and that this process can be initiated and driven by non-professionals (Thorpe, 2017, p.567), i.e. citizens organising themselves, I am going to focus on the formal planning process. How it is constructed on a municipal level, the level at which professional planners ultimately have the task and responsibility to shape the future of the urban environment, especially in the Swedish context where the formal planning monopoly is held by municipalities (Boverket, 2014).

Theories of Planning

Similarly, as there is no agreed upon definition of what planning is among scholars there are also different schools that propose different ways of how planning should be done (Allmendinger, 2017). The theories and practices in planning have changed during the 20th century, however, three different paradigms can be detected in which power and participation has different implications on planning (Elling, 2017, p.227). The rationalist paradigm (Friedmann, 1987, p.51-179), involves only the experts drawing up plans as well as setting the goals and the most effective process in which they can be achieved. The process is justified by rationality and science, and therefore is viewed as objective, although, the power and control over the process is only held by the professional planners (Elling, 2017, p.228). The incremental planning paradigm (Lindblom, 2012) or the science of muddling through, emphasises the planner's incremental steps to deal with complex planning issues where solutions are what is possible within a special situation (Elling, 2017, p.228). With the rational paradigm a plan is correct since it is rational, however, in this paradigm a plan or decision becomes "good" because it is the result of an agreement (Lindblom, 2012, p.182). Elling (2017, p.228) identifies power in this paradigm as existing in negotiation. The participatory paradigm, in which Elling (2017) identifies some key similarities among different theories within the participatory paradigm, firstly emphasises involving citizens themselves in planning, to identify common goals together with experts. This, despite the professional planners having a more idealized understanding of what is good. Participation of citizens themselves is the emphasis, despite different levels of power (Elling, 2017, p.228).

Participation has been heavily theorised the latest decade but also heavily practiced in governance (Fung, 2015). In this study I will focus on participatory

planning processes, how they are structured and why they are structured in that way. Following the planning paradigms outlined above, Sandercock & Forsyth (1992) explains how the different contesting planning theories can be explained by politics, meaning that planning is political. Sandercock (2003a) poses a couple of questions in the book *Cosmopolis II*, a book on planning and the 21st century cities of multiculturalism and the struggle for equality, that will be further elaborated on in the following part. “What is valid knowledge in planning? Who decides that? What is the relationship between knowledge and power? And who possesses knowledge that is relevant to planning?” (Sandercock, 2003a, p.60).

Knowledge and Planning

Similarly, as there has been a reconceptualization of what science is through the understanding of knowledge as a process. A process with no forever fixed truth, but rather truths from a partial perspective. As well as a reflexivity through which technologies and methods that knowledge is being generated from (Haraway, 1988). Snyder (1995, p.91) discusses how findings in feminist theory and critique of traditional empiricism can inform planning both in theory and practice. Fainstein & DeFilippis (2016) states that postmodern influences have left a mark within the field of planning theory, through the different ways in which to obtain knowledge as well as a multiplicity of perceptions. As stated above in the theory of science chapter of this thesis, knowledge is not a fixed truth that can be obtained rather knowledge is produced from multiple positions (Cope, 2002; Haraway, 1988).

Further Snyder (1995, p.92), explains how “[feminist] thought direct attention to and admits a broader range of experiences as legitimate and valid knowledge.” Snyder (1995, p.101) further mentions how experience and knowledge have been viewed as a dichotomy, and with a traditional view on objectivity it is only the professional planners who can have knowledge and determine the future urban environment. Sandercock and Forsyth (1992, p. 52) argues that drawing on feminist theories in planning would call for a broader range of perspectives in the planning process, and scientific and technical knowledge would be complemented with other knowledges. Further, Healy (1992a, p.9) states that “[systematized], rationally grounded knowledge is now understood to be only one of among several knowledge forms”.

Sandercock & Forsyth (1992) and Healy (1992a), in other words, recognize that there are multiple ways of knowing. Following from their

conclusion is the understanding of knowledge as varying in different contexts and not a rigid truth. With an emphasis on how knowledge needs to be communicated through language and the act of listening to create meaning, Sandercock & Forsyth (1992, p.52) claim that knowledge is embodied and therefore gender based. Sandercock & Forsyth's (1992) conception of knowledge as occurring in the interaction among people, whether it is a question of technical knowledge or knowledge on everyday life follows Haraway's (1988, p.593) conception of knowledge, as mentioned in the theory of science part of this thesis, as a social relation of conversation imbued with power. However, Sandercock & Forsyth's (1992) conception of knowledge means that knowledge is a social construction. Although, I share the conception of knowledge being a process and that it is imbued in social relations and embodied, I am not seeing it as fully a social construction as suggested by Sandercock & Forsyth (1992). Rather, my understanding of the world is following the framework outlined in the theory of science chapter of this thesis, as both material and socially constructed.

As a result of the reconceptualization of knowledge as plural rather than singular, Rydin (2007, p.54), mentions a new tradition of planning; the inclusion of multiple stakeholders who get to voice their concerns, and the aim to reach consensus in planning. In contemporary planning, Rydin (2007) claims that the focus is on knowledge outside of formal planning processes initiated by professional planners. To plan through multiple knowledges together with citizens outside the formal and professional process, the solution and the new ways of planning are deliberative and communicative (Rydin (2007). On the other hand, Allmendinger (2017) explains that institutions of liberal democracies have, to a great extent, been shaped by instrumental rationality both in terms of how they are formed and how they are functioning (Allmendinger, 2017, p.248). The instrumental rationality within planning means that planners in a technical way assess different means that will come to result in specific ends (Allmendinger, 2017, p.248). This approach has been heavily critiqued but the critique has often stopped at critique and not many other proposals of alternative practices to instrumental rationality have been made (Allmendinger, 2017, p.248). The critiques towards instrumental rationality have come from proponents of collaborative approaches, which builds upon Habermas' concept of communicative rationality, which will be explained in the following chapter (Allmendinger, 2002, p.182).

Rydin (2007) argues that the deliberative planning that has been promoted as a way to handle the concept of multiple knowledges is in fact not enough, rather these approaches have risks. “[Engaging] different knowledges is fundamentally different to engaging different voices” (Rydin, 2007, p.56). Rydin (2007) calls for a discussion on what knowledge is in planning when there is no longer an understanding of knowledge as singular. Rydin (2007) then attempts to answer the question of how planning can be practiced from the understanding of multiple knowledges. And proposes a way in which planning processes can include the testing of different knowledges against each other. Rydin’s (2007) conception of knowledge lays emphasis on the causal relationship that is part of knowledge, and further claims that the practice of planning involves the same causal relationship as knowledge; planning actions are desired to result in certain planning impacts. Rydin (2007) identifies a political aim of communicative approaches to planning, wanting to give a voice to people to empower them. Even though Rydin (2007) realizes that participatory approaches can give insight into the experience of citizens and the community, or citizens’ own experiences can be the base for confronting expert’s decisions. However, Rydin (2007) emphasises that experiences might not always hold as knowledge claims and thereby calls for a separation of knowledge claims from ethical claims.

Although Rydin (2007) has a point in planning as an activity has to boil down these multiple knowledges into actions and possible desired futures of the urban environment. And the boiling down of these knowledges will perhaps become the task of planners - to ultimately navigate between these knowledges. Rydin (2007, p.56-57) claims that there are distinct differences between knowledge claims and ethical claims. Claims, in this case, means a claim to understanding causal relationships (Rydin 2007, p.56). Rydin (2007, p.56) recognizes that knowledge can be imbued with values, however, knowledge cannot only be about the values. For example, residents of an disadvantaged area may have ethical claims as to why they should be involved in a planning process, however their experiences does not automatically mean that they have experiential knowledge (Rydin, 2007, p.56). But the fact that this experiential knowledge has to, according to Rydin (2007, p.56-57), come from an understanding of causal relationships can be overshadow the fact that planning is political in my opinion. I believe that what Rydin (2007) is arguing can be explained through what Sandercock (2003a, p.79) names as ideas from the Enlightenment epistemology on what is not knowledge, i.e. self-interest. Therefore, as Sandercock (2003a, p.79) puts it, it seems as if

planners are afraid of fully bringing in local knowledges because of the emotions and passion that can come up in deliberation processes, with the planners lacking a clear understanding on how they should handle it. And this can be the reason as to why local knowledge is not incorporated as much into planning processes, because it is easier to look at “objective” data (Sandercock, 2003a, p.79). Following Sandercock’s (2003a) understanding of experiential knowledge as potentially imbued with emotions and passions, just as more traditional objective knowledge (such as data) potentially also is imbued with emotions and passions, I believe this notion of knowledge as both incorporating more technical knowledge or professional knowledge and experiential local knowledge, can be framed within Haraway’s (1988) conception of situated knowledge.

I believe that the way Rydin (2007) argues for the separation of ethical claims and knowledge claims is not expressing enough awareness of how certain knowledge has come about, self-interest can in my opinion be found even in more traditional data. Potentially, the separation of the two into knowledge and not-knowledge could overshadow the fact that there is politics and passion involved in all kinds of knowledge and that does not make it less of a knowledge.

Chapter Four: What is Participation in Urban Planning Processes?

Participation is a fuzzy concept, although many may agree that participation is positive in an urban planning process, it is also rarely clear what participation actually entails and if it in fact is improving the planning process overall. This chapter will define the concept of participation used in this study and discuss challenges to realising that form of participation.

One of the early works on participation is Arnstein's (2019) concept of the ladder of participation originating from 1969, which is a theoretical model to define what participation entails and can achieve. Arnstein (2019, p.24) gives a short answer to the question of: what is citizen participation? Arguing that it is citizen power. And continues to evolve the concept of citizen participation by illustrating levels and with that degrees of citizen participation (i.e. citizen power). Arnstein (2019, p.24) emphasises that participation includes redistribution of power from affluent citizens to non-affluent citizens, to give the non-affluent citizens a way to bring about social reforms that makes them be a part of the beneficial aspects of a wealthy democracy. If power is not distributed the participation process becomes pointless (Arnstein, 2019).

Cornwall (2008) calls the model of participation as described by Arnstein as a normative model on participation and claims that all of the rungs usually are to be found within a single project. With Arnstein's model of participation a normative advancement of participation is illustrated, however, put in to a specific context the advancement becomes unclear (Cornwall, 2008). To Cornwall (2008), the context is important since it matters who the participants are and what processes or decisions the participants are participating in. Participation has been often been described through two distinctive types of participation, participation as a means (instrumental participation) and participation as an end in itself (transformative participation) (Cornwall, 2008, p.274). However, the outcome of participation cannot be solely explained by what intentions by which the process was started with. Outcomes can only partially be explained by intentions (Cornwall, 2008). Another distinction that can be made about forms of participation is the way in which participation has been brought about. On the one hand, a process can involve invited participation, "participation that is orchestrated by an external agency of some kind, be it state or non-governmental" (Cornwall, 2008, p.281). On the other hand, a process can include autonomous participation,

meaning that citizens “have participated in movements that have enabled them to secure rights, resources and recognition” (Cornwall, 2008, p.281-282). The second autonomous form of participation having not been included in the definition of participation to the same extent as invited participation (Cornwall, 2008).

Another way to view participation comes from Habermas’ theory on communicative action. The communicative action is the process through which communicative rationality can be reached. Meaning that reason can be found in inter-subjective communication rather than the more traditional Enlightenment conception of reason as a relation between subject and object (Healy, 1992b). Planning occurs after debating, and how and what should be done is chosen among subjects. In this way “good” planning becomes that which subjects have agreed upon through debate, and therefore it is situated in space and time not a forever held truth (Healy, 1992b).

Power in Participatory Planning

Similarly, as Rydin (2007) talks about participation as being more about opening up and not focusing as much on how to close down planning processes, Elling (2017) identifies a similar gap in many of the theories developed under a participatory paradigm. Elling (2017) claims that great emphasis is placed on what is verbally communicated in terms of different interests or how the dialogue is structured, rather than emphasising in what context actual decisions were made.

With Arnstein’s (2019) understanding of participation, participation comes to be political, Arnstein’s definition call for real distribution of power and influence of non-affluent citizens. However, that level of citizen power is only so strong in relation to the professional planners and the formal process of planning on a municipal level in a Swedish planning context, in my opinion. Therefore, I am using the term; invited participation, in this study since Cornwall’s (2008) terms of participation can be applied more contextually. The following paragraph will describe some of the challenges to participation, discussing aspects such as power-inequalities among participants and planners.

Challenges to Participation in Planning Processes

Cornwall (2008) mentions that oftentimes reports, policy statements and such mention that they strive for full participation, however Cornwall (2008, p.276) claims that it might not be possible to include everyone in every aspect of a process. Rather, Cornwall (2008) believes it needs to be a balance between depth and inclusion, meaning a balance between the level of involvement and power, and

the number of participants. Further, participation has oftentimes resulted in an uneven involvement of participants in terms of participants mostly consisting of a more affluent population or uneven in terms of gender or age (Cornwall, 2008; Parés, Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa, 2012). Cornwall (2008, p.277) notes that attempts are being made to direct participation processes towards people who are usually excluded from them, such as women or poorer citizens; however, notes that the pluralities of positions that these people hold are not accounted for and how they identify with these categories might not be the same as planners or “leaders” of participation as those formulated for them. And to not account for this plurality of positions and networks in participatory efforts in planning could worsen the situation (Cornwall, 2008 p.278). Therefore, even the targeting of certain groups to secure their participation might not be successful. Similarly, Sandercock & Forsyth (1992) mentions how it is a balancing act between equality and special treatment, while arguing for the importance of gender to plan for equality.

Another consideration for doing participation is the place for it, where is the participation taking place, a school or meeting place for an association or group? If any of these places in any way makes a person feel uncomfortable in and of itself, having participation activities set in such a place, can be problematic and make people exclude themselves from participating because of a lack of belonging and comfort to the general use of the place (Cornwall, 2008 p.279).

Lastly, another challenge to participation is the risk of participation fatigue, that citizens are asked multiple times to take part in invited participation but do not see enough benefits in doing so (Cornwall 2008; Parés, Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa, 2012, p.259). The feeling of participation lacking benefits can be the result of too many previous attempts resulting in time consuming participation processes where little positive outcomes can be detected (Cornwall, 2008). Another aspect is the sense of community or belonging to an area, which is the target of invited participation efforts, if a person does not feel a sense of community or belonging to an area and is asked to participate in a process developing that area maybe the person has no motivation in doing so (Cornwall, 2008).

Building on Lefebvre’s (1991) theories of the production of space, space being a social product, spaces of power not neutrality and how the construction of these spaces is informed from past actions and how it can inform of future ones. In applying Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the social production of space, Cornwall argues that this view of space can inform the study of participation. Meaning that spaces for participation are not neutral, they are

connected to other spaces and social relations. Even if a new space for participation is introduced these spaces are still affected by previous activities and other spaces (Cornwall, 2002).

Finally, after discussing the definitions and possible implications of planning and participation and how they relate to one another this study will explore how participation in an urban planning process is structured and how it is motivated through different understandings of knowledge and power. As Cornwall (2008, p.278) puts it “[being] involved in a process is not equivalent to having a voice”, meaning participation is not an immediate fix and therefore it calls for asking the professionals who initiate the processes how they practice and motivate it.

Chapter Five: Method

The following chapter will present the methods used to conduct this study and the implications and potential problems of choosing that method from a feminist theory of science perspective.

Case Study on the Process of Amiralsstaden

The following research will be conducted in the form of a case study since it analyses participation from the perspective of professional official's in the case of the new development process Amiralsstaden in Rosengård, to understand the form of participation and the motivation behind participation in the process. The choice of case study as a method can be explained through Flyvbjerg's (2011) clarification of the method. The case study has been viewed as creating research that is biased since the method does not challenge a researcher's preconceived notions on the outcomes of the research (Flyvbjerg, 2011). Flyvbjerg (2011, p.310) contests this approach by stating that studies on a general phenomenon that is researched through methods such as, for example, a questionnaire does not leave much room for the researchers preconceived notions to be challenged by respondents since the format is rigid. In my previously mentioned reading of Haraway (1988) and my understanding of the concept of situated knowledge, I argue that situated knowledge can be viewed as motivating a case study approach since the case study is situated in a particular space-time and gives accounts of phenomena through a certain perspective. However, Flyvbjerg's (2011) clarification on the case study as a method, does not to the same extent discuss the position and embodied vision of the researcher.

Qualitative Interviews and Ethics From a Feminist Perspective

Wanting to find out the motivations that have been the foundation for implementing an experimental participatory process, the choice of primary method came to be qualitative interviews. Documents can only explain to a certain degree the process of participation; therefore, interviews are a way to gain a better understanding of the motivations and practices of specific experimental planning process. Interviews can be explained as a way "to gain access to the *meanings* which subjects attribute to their experiences of these worlds" (Cloke et al., 2004, p.27, italics in original). Further, the interview as a method means an intra-subjective narrative, the narrative of the interview is not merely a truth of the experiences of the subject accessed through the interview, but the narrative coming

from the interview is rather results of situated experiences of the subject and the interview itself as a process of producing knowledge (Cloke et al., 2004). Meaning that interviews are interaction, and from that interaction comes a narrative that has been shaped by the both subjects and the interview itself. According to feminist scholars the researcher has to be reflexive of one's position in the research and be aware of potential difference in power structures between the researcher and the informants (Dyck, 2002). Qualitative interviews will be conducted with public professionals in Malmö stad (Malmö municipality) as well as other professionals leading the participation, to ask them about the work with knowledge alliances. However, this choice came about after consulting the feminist scholars' discussions on method.

According to Haraway (1991, p.193), it is politics and ethics that become foundational to what is rational knowledge. Therefore, the question of, How to get access to people to talk to in an ethical way?, has been a long process throughout this research. The question informed an important discussion in this study since the study is undertaken by drawing on a feminist theory of science framework, and thereby also drawing on feminist methods. As a former short-term resident of Rosengård, having been a resident in the area for little over a year, I unfortunately did not have any acquaintances or friends living in the area. My own experiences both as a resident and as a former urban planning student informed the choice of writing a thesis on Rosengård and the changes that it will undergo. However, the ethical aspects of much of the feminist theories of science that is introduced in earlier chapters of this essay, informed me of the implications of conducting a study in the area. My initial plan was to interview residents in the area who had been a part of the invited participation process so far. Since I did not have any ties to the different communities in Rosengård, I was reflecting on what an ethical way of contacting people would be. The choice was to familiarize myself with different organisations operating in the area and I decided to go through organisations and groups to access individuals who would be interested in taking part in my study. I also attended a meeting in the area in March 2019, at the Folkets Hus in Rosengård, about new public resident-run meeting places in the area. I got a first insight into different experiences among the residents in the area, by attending the meeting. The meeting also featured a panel discussion, where the vice project leader of the Amiralstaden process, among others from the local associations, participated. The vice project leader of Amiralstaden, was there to get an insight into the concerns and needs of residents in the area as well as representatives from

local associations. At the meeting a presentation was held by a researcher who had studied segregation in Stockholm as well as a representative from the Swedish union of tenants (Hyresgästföreningen) informing the participants about the Amiralstaden process. In the panel discussion, the residents of Rosengård expressed disappointment in only one of the invited politicians having showed up to the event. In the panel some residents expressed their loss of hope and their frustration of not getting their voices heard. Another resident expressed frustration over not receiving anything in return, for having been asked to share one's experiences. After the meeting and hearing the experiences and emotions of residents in the area, uttering experiences that can be described as participation fatigue (Cornwall, 2008), I decided to change framework in my study. To conduct an ethical research study on citizen's experiences of the participation process, I find that the method of a co-creation study would be the most suitable way to ask citizens to share their experiences. However, due to time constraints and lack of deeper relations to the area, I could not perform such a study without the feeling of running the risk of producing more research- or participation fatigue in the area. Therefore, the aim was reshaped to look at participation from the public professional's view: how different knowledges are incorporated and how this changes the way participation is conducted and motivated.

I contacted the city planning office in Malmö stad and asked for someone who could talk to me about participation in the process of Amiralstaden. I was referred to the vice project leader of Amiralstaden, Thomas Wahlstedt, by several people who said Wahlstedt was the one to talk to. We ended up meeting for an hour at the city planning office in Malmö. The other person I contacted was the following researcher Alicia Smedberg⁴, who is working as a doctoral researcher in participatory design at Malmö University on the Amiralstaden process. I decided to contact Alicia Smedberg, who had been participating in knowledge alliances and also constructing one. Although, Alicia Smedberg, is researcher and not working solely for the municipality, Alicia Smedberg represented still a more professional and institutional side as working within Academia.

Semi-structured Interviews, SIRs and PARs

The methodology of this research makes an attempt at more equal production of knowledge by drawing inspiration from feminist scholars, who have been reshaping more traditional research methods by exercising reflexivity in research.

⁴ No relation.

Reflexivity in methods comes with, according to Alvesson & Sköldbberg (2018, p.380), two main concerns “[one] is to avoid or minimize naïve and problematic elements in research work, the other is to see new and interesting possibilities”. How reflexivity can improve the research can vary, it could be through making it “more creative, offering a broader set of ideas/interpretations, more ethically informed or sensitive, or it may not become ensnared by social conventions or fashion.” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2018, p.382). One of the main points of reflexivity within this research process is one of ethics, which have been elaborated on in the previous *Qualitative interviews and ethics from a feminist perspective* paragraph of this method chapter.

Firstly, this paragraph outlines how the research process more practically was structured a part from the main considerations of reflexivity and the guidance of drawing on feminist framework of science. More practically the research process included a method to analyse the data collected in the process continuously. Drawing on Loubere (2017) and the SRIR (systematic and reflexive interviewing and reporting) method, whose key purpose is to keep the research process open and reflexive. The method includes a mixed methods approach of analysis, and developed as an alternative approach to extensive verbatim transcription in research processes. For Loubere (2017) extensive verbatim transcription after the completion of fieldwork is problematic since it means possible detachment from the fieldwork itself. By first constructing a systematic interview report (SIR), where the results of the interview both direct verbatim quotes and other things that could be worth noted down. After that, but still during the fieldwork, Loubere (2017) proposes that analysis is undertaken directly after interviews have been conducted, in contrast to extensive verbatim transcription that is often undertaken after the fieldwork is completed. To verbatim transcribe all interviews after fieldwork is done is very time consuming and results in a lot of text to analyse, therefore also Bryman (2016, p.481) recommends to do the analysis continuously throughout the research process. The advantage of creating SIRs is that they can be followed up by creating preliminary analysis reports (PARs) where quotes and initial connections with other data can be stated, as well as noting findings that can result in reshaping the SIR. The PARs are also to be constructed during the time of fieldwork for it to be possible to the researcher to go deeper in the analysis when a preliminary analysis already has been stated. Since I am not undertaking a mixed method approach in the same sense as Loubere (2017), Loubere’s methods included both qualitative and quantitative approaches, I have

not to the same extent conducted PARs, my interview responses were for example not triangulated with quantitative data. In this study the PARs functioned as a preliminary analysis of the interview responses in relation to the documents (obtained from Malmö municipality's website) analysed and the theoretical concepts described in the theory chapters of this paper. I met with Alicia Smedberg first, and had prepared a semi-structured interview guide for our meeting (See Appendix 1). Our encounter ended up taking the form of a more informal conversation, where we met in the break room at Malmö University over a coffee. Our conversation started already by the coffee machine and by the time we were seated I felt the interview had already started and did not want to break the flow of our conversation by asking for permission to record, therefore the interview was documented only through my journal notes. There were many people around us in the breakroom having loud conversations. After our meeting, I sat down to write up the notes on my computer, in my journal notes I had already underlined certain parts that I thought to be of great interest to my study, I continued this preliminary analysis whilst writing up my notes, in the form of connections I could see to the readings. Lastly, I reviewed my interview guide that I had prepared for my next meeting with vice project leader Thomas Wahlstedt, which contained almost the same questions as the one prepared for Alicia Smedberg's interview (See Appendix 1). I added a question and then I met with Thomas Wahlstedt. Our meeting took place at the city planning office of Malmö stad, in a meeting room that was quite small but with relaxed chairs. Our meeting took a more formal form, I recorded our meeting and we went over the questions that I had prepared. The next day I transcribed most of the recording, and during transcription marked the parts that I thought was of most interest to my research, as well as made comments and initial connections to my readings and first interview.

In short, with this research I have intended on focusing on reflexivity in terms of ethics and continuous analysis. I view the research process as constituted by loops where foremost analysis is undertaken continuously and my findings inform of any possible reconceptualization of the semi-structured interview guide and final text.

The Power of the Text

Another part of the research process is the actual written results of the research. For feminist scholars the process of writing is a research method in itself. Ultimately

the final “product” of this research will be in the form of a text. Lykke (2010a) has, as other feminist scholars, called for a transparency of the power relations of research. This research process will include knowledge produced both by me as a researcher and the informants; ultimately, I have the power over the final written text which is written by me only, i.e. not a result of co-production (Lykke, 2010a). I choose to write this text using “I” to be transparent of where and from whom the research is coming from and that I adopt the view of a partial perspective in being objective since research is always coming from someone and somewhere⁵. Lykke (2010a) describes the use of “I” in the written parts of research as indicating a stance of awareness of one’s position, thereby being clear about speaking from oneself and not assuming the position of someone else.

Limitations

The sampling size of the semi-structured interviews will be rather small; however, I do not view it as a strong limitation since I am focusing on a case study of the Amiralstaden process and the perspective of public professionals from the framework of knowledge as situated knowledge and partial perspective as objective, as stated above in the theory of science chapter.

Drawing on the framework of situated knowledge as defined by Haraway (1988), I have chosen to state my positionality in an attempt at being transparent about my research, however as Rose (1997, p.306) claims, reflexivity and positionality is difficult. The difficulty lies both in the many different axes of social identity; what axes are to be stated? Another difficulty is the fluidness of these axes, as Rose (1997, p.314, italics in original) states it “a sense of self depends on a sense of being different from someone else. Identity if theorized as based on *difference* from others but not on *separation* from others”. Following this relativity comes the realization that it is not possible to know one’s own positionality fully. Limitations exists in adopting a transparent reflexivity approach, to account for reflexive situated knowledge can end in failure, although

⁵ The importance of my position and transparency is based on my reading of Haraway’s situated knowledge. Situated knowledge is Haraway’s (1988) reworking of objectivity in research from a feminist perspective. Meaning that situated knowledge is objectivity (Haraway, 1988). Objectivity is therefore embodied and a partial perspective. As a researcher this one must be aware of how one views the world (what vision one is using) (Haraway, 1988). The body that holds the vision both structures and is structured. Therefore Haraway (1988, p.581) argues that it is not possible to see everything from nowhere such as the positivist research has claimed objectivity.

this failure can in fact produce other strategies of situating knowledge (Rose, 1997, p.306). To conclude Rose (1997, p.319) states that research practice and the effects of for example conducted interviews, or the final text are not possible to fully anticipate. Therefore, the researcher alone cannot understand the absence or potential gaps in research and the significance of these, it is up to others who also read about the research to evolve on other tactics, without expecting that research practices do not call for or leave certain question unanswered (Rose, 1997, p.318-319).

Chapter Six: Scholarly Overview

This chapter will locate my research among scholar's previous research on participation, planning, situated knowledge and Rosengård. In the context of Malmö and planning processes in the city, scholarly work has explained socioeconomic processes that have been brought about from planning ideologies of neoliberalism, critiquing the inequality in society that these approaches bring about (Holgersen & Baeten, 2016). And the justifications that public professionals from the municipality make by way of trickle down logics (Holgersen & Baeten, 2016). Similarly, planning approaches have been seen as having two objectives, one of creating the knowledge city and one to tackle inequalities, however, there has not been a strong linkage on the two objectives and how they are influencing each other (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2012; Holgersen & Baeten, 2016). Meaning that scholars have looked at the results and ideologies behind planning in Malmö, during the latest years. In addition, scholars such as Parker & Madureira (2016) have looked at planning approaches specifically in the area of Rosengård, from the framework of management and legitimacy. The study is an analysis of urban policy in the housing context, and an urban regeneration project in collaboration of multiple actors including Malmö's municipal housing company.

Some studies have been made using feminist and postcolonial frameworks. One of them is Listerborn's (2007, p.61) research of women from Rosengård and their participation in planning. In the study Listerborn (2007) describes a participatory trend within planning, while many people are still excluded from the processes and therefore their voices remain unheard. Further, Listerborn (2007) explains that participatory planning processes often fails to include everyone in the process, a fact that is often times known by the planners, but still is not dealt with enough, neither in theory nor practice. Further Listerborn (2007) argues that planning is political and local, therefore planners need to be reflexive in their roles to not construct plans based on preconceived conceptions of an area. Preconceived notions can make planners unaware of actual engagements from citizens that are already occurring in an area. One problem that is brought to attention is the different scales that citizens and planners operate on, citizens everyday lives are glocal, meaning they live in a local geographical area but are part of social networks locally and globally whereas the planners are operating on a local scale where urban development and planning is being practiced in the local geographic area (Listerborn, 2007; Listerborn, 2013). Many residents in Rosengård

view it as an area of passing through and to engage these people in the development of the area might not be easy, if they do not have an interest, since they do not view themselves as living there in the future (Listerborn, 2007; Listerborn, 2013). Although my research is not focusing on evaluating emancipatory or democratic results of participation processes, Listerborn's (2007) research, foremost the discussion on knowledge in the planning process and how the view on knowledge from a feminist and post-colonial planning theory framework means embodied experiences, my study can answer if these knowledge alliances in fact are a way for planners to also take embodied experiences as knowledge which to Listerborn (2007) is key to incorporating more voices in planning.

Another study that specifically adopts a more encompassing view on knowledge in planning is a study made by Claesson (2014), on the relationship between stories and planning. By drawing on Malmö's comprehensive plans from 2013, which states that Malmö needs a unified story. Claesson (2014) analyses how a story could be created, by testing a method of storytelling together with an artist and a women's association. The theoretical framework that Claesson (2014) adopts refers to Sandercock's (2003b) framing of knowledge and perspectives of the city as situated, even the ones that can be found in planning documents. Claesson formulated a method for creating a unified story, in starting to develop a story together through collaboration between a women's association and the artist, without planners or other professionals, and without planning documents and maps (Claesson, 2014). Instead, the women and the artist met three times for six hours, during the sessions, places were described through crafts created from materials such as thread, textile and photography (Claesson, 2014, p.105). Through the recognition of biases and subjectivity, Claesson (2014, p.108) claims that planners and citizens can become "de-neutralized" which brings forward the different participants through their subjectivity. Claesson (2014) is testing alternative methods to create a unified story of Malmö, and involving citizens in early stages of planning process without the professionals. In Claesson's (2014) study, however, this is conducted outside of the formal planning process as an experiment to test a method, and I wish to look at it from the perspective of professionals and the practice within a formal planning process. Another angle of my research is to see how these experimental practices are adopted in the formal planning process. In Claesson's (2014) study the focus is on the unified story of Malmö, how that can

be planned or constructed democratically, my study's point of departure is however the Amiralstaden process.

Situated knowledges have not been a commonly used theoretical framework for human geography studies. However, one study by Vélasquez (2005) has adopted the framework to look at the tensions between local democracy and planning, where a local democracy life-world perspective can give insight into local residents situated knowledge and planning is viewed as operating within an administrative system-world. After researching dialogue planning in Alby, a disadvantaged area in Stockholm Sweden, Vélasquez (2005) noticed a potential among local activists in their situated experiences bridging the gap between planner's system world and local citizen's life-world. Meaning that planner's system-world could come closer to the realities of local residents. Vélasquez (2005) describes the case of Alby as planners from a system-world perspective wanting to anchor proposals among local residents, which can be done through dialogue approaches to planning. However, such dialogues are according to Vélasquez (2005, p.208) oftentimes a subject-object approach whereas life-world perspectives can be shared intersubjectively. The life-world perspective that Vélasquez (2005) is arguing for from a situated knowledge framework calls for questions on how participation in the shape of knowledge alliances has been practiced and motivated. From the limited descriptions of knowledge alliances found at Malmö stad's website, conducting interviews with professionals involved in the process will help answer my research question of how knowledge has been viewed. Has, for example, knowledge alliances been intrasubjective dialogues on local residents and activist's life-world experiences (Vélasquez, 2005)?

Participation in urban regeneration projects has been another angle of research, and the extent to which these approaches improve democracy (Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa, 2012). Parés, Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa (2012) discusses how important the role of participation is in urban regeneration projects in Catalonia, Spain. Through looking at several urban regeneration projects they found a dialectical connection between networks of governance and policy outcomes. More participation in governance networks brings more inclusive regeneration policies, since citizens can share their more encompassing views on the problem. In turn, to understand urban regeneration policies in a more inclusive way means that citizens should be included when trying to achieve policy goals (Parés, Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa, 2012, p.264-265). The governance networks in Catalonia has resulted in institutions acknowledging participation and citizen's

having better opportunities to influence institutional spaces where decisions are made and regeneration plans are decided upon (Parés, Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa, 2012, p.255). However, these opportunities have also carried with them risks; such as with civil society organisations taking part through participation could result in them being integrated into the institution making them less independent and less critical (Parés, Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa, 2012, p.255). Another factor is the ones who are the most critical towards something, who may not be invited into the participation process at all. Lastly the outcome and the effects of participation are many times uncertain (Parés, Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa, 2012, p.255). To conclude Parés, Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa (2012, p.265) claim “[urban] regeneration governance networks not only tend to be clearly asymmetrical, but also tend to reproduce any kind of inequality of given power relationships. In other words, in these networks of governance the community stakeholders tend to lose out”. This conclusion, of the reproduction of power inequalities into the participation process despite working for improving democracy through governance networks, is an interesting conclusion and calls for questioning the motivation of participation in the form of knowledge alliances and how they have been practiced in the Amiralstaden process.

Following the study done by Parés, Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa (2012), Larsson (2019) has looked at the case of Malmö, and the Malmö commission (Malmö kommissionen) specifically, from the framework of network governance, and the claim that network governance can be a tool with the effect of increased participation as a way to tackle segregation and social inequality. Larsson (2019) expresses the notions previously stated in theory chapters of this paper, the challenges of a wide range of people participating and the structures that causes the exclusion or self-exclusion of certain groups (Cornwall, 2008), and how networks or meta governance has been viewed as a solution to this issue. By looking at reports and recommendations from the Malmö commission and conducting interviews with local stakeholders and public professionals in 2016, Larsson (2019), could conclude that the work with network governance, holistic management and knowledge alliances did not result in more involvement of ordinary citizens and policy recipients. Larsson (2019, p.5) mentions how the reforms presented by the commission are for the next four years, starting from 2016, Larsson (2019, p.5) believes there is still changes that can happen to improve the network governance approach in Malmö. Therefore, I believe that Larsson’s (2019) study calls for further research on the current and more recent

implementation of knowledge alliances of 2017 and forward to understand how they are practiced now within the Amiralstaden process, and if in fact knowledge and power is viewed to be held by ordinary citizens and recipients of policy. The pyramid model explained in the background paragraph of the first chapter of this study, is suggesting that the current knowledge alliances in fact does involve citizens, since they are identified as one of the holders of invisible knowledge (Malmö stad, 2018c). The issue that was explained by Larsson (2019) of the knowledge alliances that followed after the recommendations of the commission was that they did not explain how the issue of uneven participation could be solved and how to deal with power asymmetries in governance networks and knowledge alliances (Larsson, 2019, p.9). Further Larsson (2019, p.12) argues that elite collaboration was increased through the knowledge alliances. Another aspect that calls for further study is the problem of national legislation hindering ways of collaboration among the municipality and civil society (Larsson, 2019, p.14). This issue calls for a revisit on the knowledge alliances as a tool for more democratic governance, prompting: have these issues been overcome in the more recent knowledge alliances? Respondents who had worked with a previous project running from 2010-2015 called Neighborhood Project (area based efforts, one area from each neighbourhood in which to focus on resolving social issues) mentioned the success in gaining trust among citizens after long work in the area and these social relations were disrupted with the centralising reorganisation of the administration in the municipality. Resulting in a redirection of funding and services closed down in wait of the knowledge alliances that had been recommended by the commission (Larsson, 2019, p.11). This shaping, reshaping or termination of projects can be described as “project disease” and creates risks of mistrust (Larsson, 2019, p.11). To conclude Larsson's (2019) findings support those of Parés, Bonet-Martí & Martí-Costa (2012) how the structure of network governance in fact can exclude citizens of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Larsson (2019) proposes the solution that citizens should be participating in informal networks through self-organization.

Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger (2019) have analysed examples of experimental participation processes in planning, and their work has guided this study. According to Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger (2019), the Nordic countries have seen an increase in new and experimental ways to engage stakeholders in urban planning and governance (Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger, 2019). Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger (2019) look at three different cases of planning authorities that are using

experimental forms of involving citizens in the formal planning process. These experiments are motivated by difficulties in reaching a broad range of citizens and stakeholders in more traditional approaches; further, an explanation can be found in the way that especially larger cities are starting to brand themselves, as being places of social cohesion with multiple ways of living and ethnicities in contrast to the previous entrepreneurial focus (Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger, 2019, p. 8). As a result, social innovation approaches, trying to tackle social exclusion in urban governance has become increasingly popular (Gerometta, Häussermann & Longo 2005, p. 2007; Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger, 2019, p. 8). Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger (2019) has through examples of urban planning processes in Norway and Denmark, detected that they managed to reach citizens who otherwise would not be involved. One other finding in this study can also be related to the discussion Rydin (2007) presented of participation processes often emphasising the opening up of planning processes but not practices for how to close them down again when a decision needs to be made. In their study, Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger (2019, p.14) could detect that the experimental ways of making participation opened up the processes and resulted in ideas and opinions that were of use to improve plans, but it was difficult to detect concrete results such as straight inputs to a plan. In one of the cases, there was a problem with the final decision part of the process, there was no clear outline as to whom should make the final decisions to implement these new opinions and ideas into the formal routines of the municipal planning office. To conclude, Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger (2019, p.15) calls for tools to help the process of integrating the ideas and opinions of the experimental process into the more formal documents and processes that come after.

Analysis

The following paragraph of this thesis aims at answering the research questions of the practice of participation in the urban development process of Amiralstaden, how the practice is motivated. How knowledge is defined in the participation process. It begins with a background that is part of the explanation as to why participation in the Amiralstaden process has been structured in the form of knowledge alliances.

Background of Knowledge Alliances - Malmö Commission Report

Firstly, to find the motivation behind more experimental and deeper invited participatory processes, the Malmö commission's report on public health in Malmö

from 2014 becomes an important starting point. The commission was formed in 2010 as a way to better understand the situation of rising differences in public health in Malmö and potential solutions to this problem, by forming a politically neutral commission made up of researchers (Stigendal & Östergren, 2013). In the 2018 comprehensive plan it is stated that the commission's suggestions should have an impact on the urban development (Malmö stad, 2018a, p.22). The report from 2014 by the commission defines health of the population in broad terms by looking at many different variables to why and how differences in health among the population have risen. One important aspect that the report brings out as a way to prevent inequalities in terms of health, is the system by which society is organized, how the system in society is structured can influence inequalities in health, and they propose governance as a way to promote democratization. In the report governance is defined as "going outside of the institutions and to make politics in partnership" (Stigendal & Östergren, 2013, p. 32, my translation). The governance process should be one of continuous learning according to the report, and different actors are supposed to be a part of these processes (Stigendal & Östergren, 2013, p. 52). The learning is to be connected to questions of governance, participation and influence and the learning process is also a part of the social innovations needed to bring about equality (Stigendal & Östergren, 2013, p. 52). However, Larsson (2019) pointed attention to how the Commission's report does not state ordinary citizens or the recipients of policies. However, from analysing the knowledge alliances conducted in the Amiralstaden process, the "ordinary citizens" have been involved but they have also in some cases become part-time employees, which calls to question whether they actually can fall under the category of "ordinary citizens".

A preliminary evaluation study on the impacts of the Malmö commission's final report with recommendations from 2010, shows that in the interviews conducted so far some wanted the knowledge alliances to be more concrete in what they mean as a practice. Some gave the critique that knowledge alliances could be more about getting scientific knowledge spread to more people but not as much about involving citizens, the professionals or users (Bodin et al., 2019, p.15). According to the preliminary report and a preliminary document analysis, it is uncertain whether activities and results have resulted in steps towards the goals set up in the commission's final report, in regards to the Amiralstaden process. (Bodin et al., 2019, p.18). It is also unclear whether the urban planning in

general has strengthened citizen participation and influence (Bodin et al., 2019, p.18).

Knowledge alliances in Practice

The Amiralstaden process itself can be described as a way of working less hierarchically, iteratively and slowly (Smedberg, 2019). The process can be described as “taking two steps forward and one step back” (Smedberg, 2019, my translation).

Knowledge alliances were at first a theoretical model for how to have a greater exchange of knowledge between the municipality and Academia, and formulated later in the Malmö commission report. At first Malmö municipality worked with it more as a theoretical model but lately it has become a method. In this step further, from theoretical model to method, it has also started to involve the citizens (Smedberg, 2019).

In short, a knowledge alliance in practice means different people with different knowledge meeting to discuss a question. An example of this process is a planner needing to understand society-based knowledge for an upcoming urban development project (Hydén, 2018). Knowledge alliances have been conducted in labs. “A lab is a form of organisation where different knowledge competencies meet to address a formulated question. Every question is addressed in a knowledge alliance. Where there are none beforehand given answers” (Malmö stad, 2017b, p. 2, my translation). Three principles are guiding the practice of knowledge alliances. The first principle, *participation and learning: everybody is right - but only partially*, poses the question “[are] inhabitants involved in our process, or are we involved in the inhabitant’s process, is an important question” (Malmö stad, 2018c, p. 17, my translation). The second principle, *to question: kill your darlings - step out of your comfort zone*, instructs reflection on previous knowledge of urban development and how it can be implemented in new ways, as well as participants in the knowledge alliances, whether its public professionals, inhabitants or property owners, has to remain open to new situations and encounters in the knowledge alliances (Malmö stad, 2018c, p. 17). The third principle, *process: building the bridge together as we walk it*, the work process is open ended with no end date. The process is to be structured in collaboration to deal with complex questions (Malmö stad, 2018c, p. 17).

Further, the goal is to have a democratic process with early involvement, it is not the case that public officials should come at the end of the process asking “so what colour would you like to paint the staircase in?” (Smedberg, 2019, my translation). The early involvement but also the questions that people are supposed to be involved in relates to the question of the depth of the process of participation that Cornwall (2008) describes as a key aspect of participation. It is not about choosing the small details at the end of the process but rather involvement from the beginning in bigger questions that creates a deeper participation process (Cornwall, 2008).

In the document “*Amiralsstaden Reflektioner: hinder och möjligheter vi stött på under Kunskapsallians #1 och #2*” (Amiralsstaden Reflections: obstacles and possibilities encountered during Knowledge alliance #1 and #2) the first two pilot knowledge alliances are evaluated and reflected upon. For the first two knowledge alliances the questions revolved around first how Amiralsstaden could support inhabitants in their communication, so that Malmö municipality actively listens. Second question revolved around the place in which knowledge alliances would be practiced, how it can become a meeting place that invites people to come in. These questions for discussions were formulated by Malmö stad, and constructed by Anna Wachtmeister (architect and consultant from private engineering and consultancy firm) before the citizens participated in them. Knowledge alliance #2 featured a filmmaker who was born outside of Sweden and the filmmaker attended SFI classes (Swedish for immigrants). One fellow SFI student was asked to appear in the film to talk about the experiences of being in Malmö (Smedberg, 2019). Alicia Smedberg (2019) explained how the filmmaking raised questions of who wants to be involved and who did not want to be involved. One participant was very positive towards life in Malmö when in front of the camera, however when it was turned off became very critical. As well as a participant who did not have a legal employment later declined being on camera (Malmö stad, 2017b). These encounters show how traditional participation processes function, that people will say what they think one wants to hear (Smedberg, 2019).

Knowledge alliance #3 focused on communication, when the previous two alliances had become more of a one-way communication, where Malmö stad could hear the opinions of the residents, on questions that the municipality formulated. The third alliance, took the questions that came up in the first two alliances and aimed at more 360° communication (Smedberg, 2019). In

the alliance one public official was paired with one resident in the area as a form of buddy system. Together they were to set up a meeting for the two of them to meet and discuss the questions from previous knowledge alliances, they also had the instruction to take five pictures. The buddy system was evaluated by public officials in the form of a short reflection from the public officials who participated (Smedberg, 2019). The reflections showed frustrations among public officials that the process was for example not fast enough and the fact that the resident sometimes did not follow the format, for example did not discuss the exact questions at hand (Smedberg, 2019) . It was clear that the resident and the public official were working in different ways. According to Smedberg (2019), everybody does not have the same function in a knowledge alliance, people have different sets of skills, perspectives, ways of working and different routines within their group. When different groups meet, so does these different ways of doing things (Smedberg, 2019), which can lead to frustrations.

The process of knowledge alliances has meant encounters on a new level, compared to more regular processes of involvement, such as co-council, which is more formal. The new level of encounters has resulted in new types of experiences and knowledges having enough time to come up, it has been possible to go deeper into questions (Wahlstedt, 2019).

However, to work and set up approaches for individuals is hard, according to both Smedberg (2019) and Wahlstedt (2019), and it is not the way in which Malmö municipality will continue to work. The encounters with experiences and the people living in the geographical area, deepens discussions but the deepening has also resulted in the public officials hearing a lot of frustration from the people. Smedberg (2019) explains how an “ordinary citizen” participant of the knowledge alliances was very angry and that meant that they behaved in a way that you are not used to. The frustration was something that I myself noticed in the meeting of the citizen-driven meeting places as discussed in the method chapter. Smedberg (2019) mentioned how public officials do not know what to do with all the information and criticism, for which there is no real format in the formal work process where it fits. Further, Smedberg (2019) mentions the importance of public officials being able to meet people. It plays an important part and according to Smedberg (2019) it has been holding Malmö municipality back. Public officials have been stressed and have even taken sick leave from work because it is hard to talk to people and to find a way in which their critique can be incorporated in the formal work processes. Smedberg (2019) mentions that individual public officials

have empathy with that which citizens' express, however they do not have the mandate that politicians have, to decide how things are supposed to be done. Wahlstedt (2019), agrees on these close and emotional encounters being something that public officials are not so used to in their professional role. Further stating that, there could be something that is a bit underestimated. It is something that perhaps public officials are not so good at or do not have the right competences or experience to run that kind of work. It takes specific resources that solely work to create meetings and fruitful dialogues between actors (Wahlstedt, 2019). Sandercock (2003a, p.79) explained this uncertainty among planners on how to handle emotions and passions in a deliberative process, something that holds also for the knowledge alliances conducted in the Amiralstaden process. However, in this process at least an attempt has been made at incorporating these ideas, and the process has in fact included more emotions and passions instead of using only "data". Which means that the knowledge alliances as a method does not fully follow Sandercock's (2003a) understanding that planners refrain from incorporating different knowledges since they are afraid of incorporating emotions into the process. However, it could be stated that Sandercock's (2003a) point partially hold since the process forward is to not focus as much on citizen's knowledges but rather the organisations and associations. Wahlstedt (2019) had not participated in the earlier alliances, rather the later ones where the focus has been more on networks and organisations in the area. Although, Wahlstedt (2019) says that emotions and frustrations previously has been problematic in the knowledge alliances, and that it depends a lot on individuals. For example, Wahlstedt (2019) explains that as an individual citizen you perhaps have certain questions that are important to you, that you wish to discuss and that is why you have come to attend, to exert some form of influence on that question. However, it can turn out that that question is something they do not have the mandate to influence, for example, your living situation, which the property owner or landlord has the mandate over, and this creates difficulties because you come with different expectations. This example can suggest that the other notion that Sandercock (2003a, p.79) states that self-interest cannot be knowledge seems to hold some weight as well: the experiences and opinions that is coming from citizens has been labelled as a form of local knowledge; however it seems that it is only that part of knowledge (the local, more experience oriented one) that can be biased in the form of self-interest. To Sandercock, (2003a) even the expert knowledge is political, something that I

suggest is not the understanding from the municipality's side, or at least not problematized from the municipality's side.

Despite public officials difficulties of meeting frustration from citizens, organisations need to be able to bring in answers to questions they have not posed, according to Smedberg (2019). Wahlstedt (2019) further claims that the unexpected concerns that come up in knowledge alliances are hard to deal with, but they have to be dealt with, however the less flexible organisation makes it difficult, since the organisation is better at planning something from start to finish and to carry it out but "perhaps not so good at taking new trails along the path" (Wahlstedt, 2019, my translation). According to Wahlstedt (2019) the more rigid form of the organisation can also create difficulties in the division of responsibilities between different departments of the municipality, something that Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger (2019) encountered in their study, in the form of a decision making vacuum at the end of an experimental participation process with different actors. In the case of the knowledge alliances in the Amiralstaden process, the fact that new and unanticipated questions can come up in these processes could mean that another department than the one initially anticipated has to step into the work. To have the other department step in could take some time, in terms of getting a decision on the other department stepping in and if there are other actors involved in the process it puts more weight on the rapidity of the process for other actors involved to not lose their engagement and trust (Wahlstedt, 2019).

One knowledge alliance was a meeting between the city planning office and the pre-school department. These two departments had never met before. The alliance showed that there is a lot more to planning a pre-school than the pre-school itself, and for example questions such as the number of children attending the school (Smedberg, 2019). The pre-school also is affected by other surroundings, such as access to bike lanes and access to public transport, if these do not connect well with the pre-school it means that parents might have difficulty getting to the pre-school, which meant that the question surrounding pre-schools jumped up a level and became a question for the politicians (Smedberg, 2019). The understanding was that not much could be done individually. This was the knowledge alliance with the most tensions, both departments had a lot of knowledge within their field and their aims were different (Smedberg, 2019). Wahlstedt (2019) also describes it as having been one of the most challenging knowledge alliances since it went against the way that the organisation is

structured. However, the take away for one attending architect from the city planning office was that they had built some relationships with others, and gained insights into the different knowledges that pre-school teachers had (Smedberg, 2019). However, Smedberg (2019) acknowledges the difficulty in research wise stating what this has resulted in, other than that there is the possibility that participants have taken these experiences further, concluding that “ripple effects are hard to measure” (Smedberg, 2019, my translation). This is also the main critique of the Amiralstaden process that it does not fit into more concrete evaluations such as monetary values. Exactly what has been done can become more concrete, however in an upcoming detailed plan (Smedberg, 2019).

Knowledges alliances has also been followed by a social event, something that has been important for the consultant architects, as a way to wrap up a knowledge alliance and get participants such as citizens, public officials, and organisations to meet again under circumstances free from demands, and more as a final mingle party (Smedberg, 2019).

Motivation of Knowledge alliances

Architect Anna Wachtmeister, who has been a part of shaping the knowledge alliances, finds that a motivation for knowledge alliances in the traditional participation processes fails to include a broad range of participants, and gives the example of newly arrived young people, and women with children (Hydén, 2018). Therefore, one aim of the Amiralstaden process is new ways of working; develop new methods for participation, involvement and dialogue, and knowledge alliances work as a tool to reach these aims (Wahlstedt, 2019).

From Malmö stad another motivation can be found in the recommendations from the Malmö commission, where knowledge alliances can be a way to involve external actors in the planning process to shape new knowledge outside of data, a practice that is seen as creating possibilities for social innovations (Malmö stad, 2018c, p.17). Another motivation is the co-creation aspect of the Amiralstaden process, one aspect has been to develop communication efforts, how the municipality can communicate best with other actors to support their concerns and prioritise without taking over the process (Wahlstedt, 2019). Like Arnstein’s (2019) definition it is ultimately about citizen power, which is the case even in the knowledge alliances, all citizens should have the power to affect the built environment and policies that affect them.

Experience as Knowledge

In the Malmö commission it is stated that participants in the proposed knowledge alliances have different knowledge and experience, and neither is valued higher than the other (Stigendal & Östergren, 2013, p.131). The conception of knowledge and experience in the final report from the commission, suggest that both knowledge and experiences can be found among researchers and stakeholders from administration, citizen associations and the business sector (Stigendal & Östergren, 2013, p.131). From the commission's descriptions of knowledge alliances it seems as the practice, at least in regards to the intentions described, are in line with feminist theories definitions of knowledge as knowledge alliances recognizes a broader range of experiences as knowledge and is said to not value one higher than the other (Listerborn, 2007; Snyder, 1995; Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992; Sandercock, 2003a). However, even if this is the intended relationship between knowledge and experience in knowledge alliances, it can be called into question if this is in fact how it has been practiced. Going back to the challenges of participation, in general, in planning, and Cornwall's (2002) understanding of Lefebvre's (1991) theory on production of space, knowledge alliances are not a tabula rasa. When asked about possible power imbalances and how these have been a part of the challenges of the knowledge alliances, Wahlstedt (2019) mentions an equal meeting is one of the founding principles of the knowledge alliances, and therefore breaking hierarchies. However, this does not happen easily and Wahlstedt (2019) thinks that there might exist a kind of excessively optimistic towards meetings free from hierarchies and power imbalances. Wahlstedt (2019) explains it as the people attending the knowledge alliances having different roles, such as citizens, public officials and sometimes chief executives. Wahlstedt (2019) thinks that the temporary meetings in the knowledge alliances can mean that the hierarchies are not so clear but that they are still there which is challenging.

Further, and as stated previously Rydin (2007) calls for separation of knowledge and ethical claims, in the instance of the knowledge alliances, and the way in which the municipality defines knowledge that citizens have this separation has not been distinguished. There was no explicitly stated definition of knowledges that citizens have in the knowledge alliances, except from calling it local knowledge or invisible-society based knowledge. However, the municipality offers an explicit understanding through the interview using the term local knowledge with examples such as uses of built environment, why it is used in this way. Another aspect was safety and the people who work and are active in the area

expressing another experience than media on the safety of the area (Wahlstedt, 2019). In the media, as mentioned earlier, the image is that the area is unsafe, however, the people who are working in the area could share another view when talking to them. Another image of belonging and strong networks, which support each other and that are not being visible or being emphasised from an outsider perspective. In terms of who has participated, the first knowledge alliances brought in part-time employees and everyone participating in knowledge alliances #1 and #2 were born outside of Sweden which was described as them having knowledge in the form of intercultural competence. Intercultural competence was seen as an example of informal knowledge in the Malmö commission report (Stigendal & Östergren, 2013, p.131). However, the fact that these experiences of everyday life in the area among citizens and people who are active in associations is viewed as knowledge that the municipality does not have, in my opinion means that the municipality recognizes and accepts other knowledges than the traditional rational ones. Therefore I argue that knowledge alliances as practiced so far in the Amiralstaden process are understanding and situating knowledge as multiple knowledges (the term used in planning theory after influences from post-modern and feminist frameworks) (Healy, 1992a; Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992).

Depth and Inclusion in the Knowledge alliances

The people who participated in the knowledge alliances were a mix of people who were invited to participate and people who decided by themselves to participate. The thought was that the architects who were working on a plan at the meeting place of Amiralstaden, was to be interrupted by people walking in from the street (Smedberg, 2019). People have walked in just from the street to see what is going on at the meeting place, however, this is something that people are not used to, it is not really part of the culture to just walk in somewhere and see what is going on (Smedberg, 2019). To Smedberg (2019), these encounters have however been the most interesting ones. Smedberg (2019) calls them organic meetings, and explains it as the meeting place having open doors and a no-expectations approach. However, Smedberg (2019) describes one issue with the current meeting places, that it is located in an area where not a lot of people actually pass by, Smedberg (2019) thinks that it could rather be placed in an area where it is more visible, in for example Rosengård, followed by moving meetings from city hall (where the city planning office is located in the centre of Malmö) to the meeting place. Going back to Cornwall (2008) and the ideas on meeting places where participation is held,

in the case of Amiralstaden it is interesting that there is a created space for it. A space that is for Amiralstaden and that has been shaped by knowledge alliances itself. That calls for people feeling comfortable in the space since it is for the purpose of participatory processes and not temporarily a space for these processes, that usually is used for something else. However, the fact that it is an area where there are not a lot of people passing by, as well as outside of the geographical area of Rosengård where a lot of changes are suggested to be happening within the Amiralstaden process can of course still prevent people from attending since it might feel a bit disconnected from the area of Rosengård.

Another way in which the knowledge alliances have reached out to participants is through the part-time employees that has been a part of the knowledge alliances, which were mentioned in the background of knowledge alliances and the question asked whether they can fall under the category of “ordinary citizen” that Larsson (2019) describes. I believe they can since they are described as having local knowledge, and therefore that would be the input that they are expected to bring to the process (Malmö stad, 2017b). However, the fact that they are employed also affects the no-expectations approach and open almost coming and going participation. In being employed they are subject to a certain demand, which could affect how free they feel to express their opinions. Their task was to invite people from their own personal networks to knowledge alliances, which means that the process of knowledge alliances utilized a kind of snowball method to get citizens to participate.

The approach of knowledge alliances and the meeting place is to build relationships slowly, the process leader group has no rights to put demands on those who participate, people have to want to participate (Smedberg, 2019). One aspect that Smedberg (2019) brings up is that an open and no-expectations participation process, probably means that participants (as in citizens) has to either be passionately interested or passionately critical, if your view is more neutral you are probably not a part of the process. The no-expectation approach at the same time does allow for different depths of involvements (Cornwall, 2008). The depth of inclusion was framed by Cornwall (2008) as being inclusion of more important matters, however I believe it can also encompass how many times a participant has for example attended these meetings and what they have done when they have been there. In this case knowledge alliances are hard to say that the depth of inclusion has been big or small, in depends a lot on a certain individual. Smedberg (2019), mentions how one person shows up for one meeting and having a coffee whereas

others have attended several knowledge alliances. The knowledge alliances have also meant involvement in decorating chairs, weaving rugs or talking together about questions of what the built environment should look like (Smedberg, 2019). Which leads to another point by Cornwall (2008), that every participation process includes multiple levels and widths of inclusion. It appears that it perhaps is only possible to fully evaluate the depth and broad range of inclusion through each individual. Smedberg (2019) explains that the focus is on building relationships, now they cannot account for this or that many people having participated. Rather participation in knowledge alliances can be about one person, and the relationship that is built with that person. If one person who walks in to the meeting place to discuss and that person is heard that is a result. However, it is not quantitative and it is a slower process, and this has not always been so attractive for Malmö municipality (Smedberg, 2019) . Wahlstedt (2019) explains that it is hard to get representativeness, there is a lot of residents in the area and there is no real limit to how many can be included, however, a number of people that will result in good representativeness is connected to resource questions in terms of how wide reach the process can have.

To illustrate the width or depth in which knowledge alliances has involved people there is an example of a citizen who attended the early knowledge alliances and was very critical in the discussion and had a lot of questions that they wanted to discuss. This resulted in Smedberg (2019) constructing a knowledge alliance where these issues could be discussed, and invited Boverket (National Board of Housing, Building and Planning) and Hyresgästföreningen (The Swedish Union of Tenants) to attend four workshops. On the evening before the first workshop, the citizen called to say that they could not attend, Smedberg (2019), immediately wondered if the workshop should be cancelled but ended up conducting them without the citizen. Describing the process as having to “roll with the punches” (Smedberg, 2019). This illustrates the depth in which citizens' concerns has been involved in the knowledge alliances but also explains the difficulty in working individually based because of the unexpected events one can encounter along the way.

In the latest knowledge alliances, the municipality has involved children, a specific knowledge alliance dedicated to form ways in which children can discuss physical planning. The motivation to focus specifically on children is upcoming changes in the UN's Children's convention. The convention states that children should have the possibility to have a say in all questions that affect them

(Wahlstedt, 2019). Therefore, the municipality has worked with developing a method for including the children's perspective or children's voices in the questions of change and urban planning. The development of the method of involving children has been connected to schools and been a part of the school curriculum. In identifying children as an important group to involve and creating knowledge alliances specifically formed for them, can be described as targeted participation (Cornwall, 2008). However, targeted participation comes with its own set of issues, one of which is the definition of a group from an outside perspective, which can result in ascribing people to a certain group they do not identify with (Cornwall, 2008). However, in the case of this targeted knowledge alliance this potential issue of misidentification, I suggest, would not be an issue since it is done through schools and incorporated into the actual education that the children are attending.

Knowledge alliances in the Amiralstaden Process and Formal Planning Processes

The process of applying for funding of knowledge alliances to the innovation platform of Malmö Innovationsarena (Malmö Innovation Arena) had been very rushed and resulted in an application that did not actually state the same work methods as the ones that were practiced (Smedberg, 2019). This put a lot of challenges on the knowledge alliances and setting up the meeting place. It was not fully thought through and therefore when the funding was approved there was a large budget for hiring consultants and no budget for running a meeting places and all the amenities needed, such as the possibility to make coffee for the meetings (Smedberg, 2019). In the three years that the work has been on going, Smedberg (2019) describes it as a lot of time was lost on the issues following the hastily written application.

In the interviews I got a better insight into the Amiralstaden process, and the organisation. The city planning office has been the driving force of the Amiralstaden process since the process is built on the recommendations of the Malmö commission. Where changes in the built environment and the questions of city planning can be used to achieve the goals of social profits in a targeted geographical area. However, the Amiralstaden process is targeting complex challenges, which means that almost all departments of Malmö municipality are involved and have to be involved. It is a way for the municipality to demonstrate strength, around a geographical area that needs prioritizing (Wahlstedt, 2019).

One question that I posed in the interviews was how the open process of Amiralstaden relates to some suggestions and ideas on the built environment already coming from the municipality. The first aspect was the train station which is defined as the starting point of the process, however, the idea and opening up of this railway (previously for cargo) for public transport, did not include much citizen participation, it was more of an infrastructure project (Wahlstedt, 2019). Another idea that has been talked about in the media is the Culture Casbah tower. It is a suggestion, and winning contribution in an architecture competition that means building a tower for offices, apartments, public meeting spaces and more on a street with smaller business in the center of Rosengård close to the newly opened train station (Malmö stad, 2018c; Rosengård Fastigheter, 2019). Further in time the Culture Casbah suggestion will eventually result in a detailed plan and the knowledge alliances have been a tool in effecting that process. Further in time, it will also be possible to get a citizen's perspective on the matter (Wahlstedt, 2019). Another suggestion that has been a suggestion for a long time is Amiralsgatan which today is a big highway cutting through the area, creating a division, the suggestion is to make it into more of a city street. Even though that process is a long one and may continue for decades, Wahlstedt (2019), explains that the thought is to incorporate an inclusive and open process, and to let other actors be involved in prioritising.

Another aspect of the formal processes and organisation of the municipality is the timeline of smaller projects in the Amiralstaden process. Smedberg (2019) tried at the beginning of working as a researcher to get familiarized with the Amiralstaden process to create a timeline of when ideas had been formulated and what smaller projects have been a part of the process. I attempted something similar but thought it was difficult to understand documents and where ideas came from. Smedberg (2019) gave the constructed timeline to a person working at the city planning office, and was told that almost everything was completely wrong. This calls for questions of legitimacy and transparency. Smedberg (2019) talks about how many projects within the municipality has come and gone, because of lack of resources. Different projects have been documented to different extents; therefore it is hard to see the success of projects. However, Smedberg (2019) describes it as there still exists an organisational memory. People remember whom they have talked to and what networks that exists. However, the organisational memory without thorough documentation creates a skewed historiography that is hard for outsiders to understand (Smedberg, 2019).

What is Next for Knowledge alliances?

Now Malmö municipality is trying to work with existing networks and platforms in the geography. Wahlstedt (2019), explains that by using their existing channels and their networks to reach wider and unite organisations and associations with them and this means that the municipality can reach much more than if the municipality itself tried to build up these networks. Which reminds me of the approaches tried in Alby, where local representatives of associations acted as a mediator between the life-world experiences of citizens and planner's system world (Vélasquez, 2005).

At the point of writing this thesis the process of knowledge alliances has reached a more insecure phase (Smedberg, 2019; Wahlsted, 2019). The funding from Malmö Innovation Arena has expired, however the process is to be continued by the city planning office although it is not exactly clear how, yet; The consultant architects who helped develop the knowledge alliances method will not continue on (Smedberg, 2019). However, the city planning office has partially weighed together the processes of knowledge alliances in their work with formulating a plan program which means that experiences and knowledges have gone into the plan program, however, to a lesser extent than what could have been possible (Wahlstedt, 2019). Wahlstedt (2019) mentions that there is still a gap in-between these processes. Smedberg (2019) sees a risk in the state that the knowledge alliances are at, claiming that it has taken a year to get to establish the networks that they have and that they are running the risk of losing these networks now. This can be related to Larsson's (2019) identification of a project disease after the area based development plan project in Malmö that were cancelled to conduct knowledge alliances. When a project enters an insecure phase it could both run the risk of losing networks but also creating difficulty in securing new ones since people might think there is a lot of coming and going. Even though knowledge alliances are going to continue, however not with a clear focus on the "ordinary citizens" it could perhaps also run the risk of losing support from organisations in this reconfiguration process. Wahlstedt (2019) mentions on the other hand, that in the wait for bigger changes which there is no set time frame for when they can happen, smaller projects continuously can have big effects.

In studies performed by Larsson (2019) and Nyseth, Ringholm & Agger (2019) the question of legitimacy and transparency are described as problematic issues when dealing with more experimental approaches to participation, it is hard to detect an actual documented trail of ideas from the experimental approaches that become incorporated in actual plans. I did not get to

ask this question in my interviews, however, this could be a question for future research when the draft plan for Amiralsstaden is completed sometime in the following autumn or spring (Wahlstedt, 2019). Further consideration for future research will be elaborated on in the following chapter.

Finally, the main challenge of knowledge alliances as they were practiced in the beginning of the Amiralsstaden process, I believe was the gap between the encounters in that initial process and the purpose of making encounters, compared to an organisational structure and practice that calls for measurability in terms of monetary value, physical changes or implemented solutions. As, Smedberg (2019), puts it “staying with the trouble⁶” meaning that the knowledge alliances have not sought after consensus, people do not have to agree with each other. Design thinking is to a great extent starting in the complexity, oftentimes, when discussing an issue, we have already shaped the solution. Design thinking on the other hand, calls for starting in the midst of the complexity, meaning that there oftentimes is no simple solution. It is possible to let things continue being complex. However, this premise of the knowledge alliances results in a gap between the experimental process and the formal planning process.

⁶ Staying with the trouble is a concept that comes from Haraways (2016) book *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*.

Chapter Seven: Discussion

For some final reflections on the knowledge alliances approaches in the Amiralstaden process, I see a potential of less formal and hierarchical encounters, and a grounding of actions in the community or area. However, one of my concerns with the direction that the process is going in, is relying on the existing networks of actors in the area. The examples of actors that have been given suggest that it is organisations and associations working in the area, such as for example Rosengård Folkets hus where I attended the meeting in March. However, another example is also property owners working in the area and the potential issue that I see happening there is that the interest of economic profits overshadows social benefits or needs of the “ordinary citizens”. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the economic situation in the area and the fact that the municipality needs the private property owners and developers to build in the area, could mean that they can dictate the process and be allowed more space potentially because of their position in either making the changes possible or not possible.

Seemingly the knowledge alliances that has worked on incorporating individuals to make them feel involved, has become perhaps too theoretical, open and slow for the organisation of the municipality. The municipality seems more inclined now in creating networks together with associations and private actors in the area rather than with the individuals. To me, it almost seems as if the municipality is distancing itself away again from informal and equal meetings. However, for such a big organisation with the task and responsibility in actually making things happen, it is perhaps more feasible to connect to, support, and listen to, needs and solutions from the actors in the area, such as the associations. Perhaps it is possible for these organisations and associations to act as a form of mediator, between two more distant scales.

Another final reflection is the lack of politicians being involved in these knowledge alliances, it appears to have been more of an exchange between public officials who do not actually have a mandate to decide exactly what will happen in an area in terms of, for example the urban environment. In the example described with the citizen-run meeting places, politicians were invited, however, only one out of several came to the event. This was something that clearly made the citizens but also the organisers of the event (who were representatives of different NGOs and associations working in the area) disappointed. Even though the Amiralstaden process is an open process and a process were it is intended that

the citizens get involved early in questions of upcoming changes to the urban environment, I cannot help but feel that the process is still a bit closed. The changes are however almost already suggested, which goes back to Smedberg (2019) reflections of a design perspective, where formulating a problem also often entails formulating a solution at the same time. Which also brings forward the aspect of hierarchies and power imbalances even if the knowledge alliances result in a brief but deepened encounter between citizens, private actors and NGOs there is still no final word there. The agenda has already been set further up in the hierarchy.

Another final reflection on conducting this research was the difficulty at grasping the process from an outsider perspective, how and which people have actually been involved, and the relation of the experimental participation approaches to the more concrete suggested changes to the urban environment of Rosengård. The creation of a timeline and the points in time in which ideas were generated was not so clear. This came up on the interviews as well, that much of the knowledge on how the organisation has operated and incorporated opinions and ideas are hard to grasp from an outsider perspective. Although the knowledge on what has happened exists in the form of an organisational memory.

Further Research

A first suggestion for further research would be to actually evaluate to what extent knowledge from “the invisible society-based knowledge” bottom triangle, have in fact become actual input in the plan program and detailed plan of Amiralstaden that is being worked out by the municipality. This could be done through accessing the plan program and detailed plan when it is completed to see what is stated as coming from society-based knowledge and also talking to public officials to see how they weighed different knowledges together and decided upon what should in fact go into the final plans.

Another aspect would be to look at the resident’s perspective if they are continued to be invited, otherwise representatives of organisations and associations could be asked. In the form of a co-creation study the research could be mapped out in collaboration, as suggested in the method chapter of this thesis. Using the method of, for example, participatory observation, the resident’s experiences or the experiences of the representatives of associations and organisations, can also be detected through attending knowledge alliances in the Amiralstaden meeting

place. To observe who gets to voice their concerns, how public officials listen and interact despite frustrations or anger. Attending knowledge alliances could also show potential differences in how people are treated, if in fact there are non-hierarchical encounters where all participants get about the same attention or space to talk.

A final suggestion for further research of the Amiralstaden process is the empowering aspect of increased and experimental participation, when the first suggestion is to evaluate how ideas from citizens have become direct input, another way to evaluate could be asking residents after attending the knowledge alliances if they feel empowered or listened to by the public officials. In asking citizens of their experiences it can measure the success of creating connections with citizens.

This thesis has been a case study of a process of invited participation in Malmö, however the conclusion drawn from this paper could be compared to invited participation elsewhere, questioning the definition of knowledge within these invited participation processes. As stated in the scholarly overview, these approaches have been studied in other Nordic countries than Sweden. However, other approaches to more experimental participation within a multiple actor governance network could be studied in other urban environments in Europe since the funding of the Amiralstaden process partially has come from an EU level.

The previous stated reflection on the role of politicians in knowledge alliances can as well open up new areas for research. For example a research question could evolve around how politicians in fact have had close encounters and built networks with citizens to understand the needs and wishes of certain areas in terms of development in the urban environment. Politicians have the mandate to make decisions, however, it is uncertain what awareness politicians have on actual everyday life of people in areas that are more disadvantaged. As it has become evident in this thesis, there are still a lot of preconceived notions on everyday lives for people living in these areas, and like the question of safety that the municipality got a different understanding of through connecting with local networks and knowledges could suggest the importance in less top-down solutions from the “outside”.

Conclusion

To conclude the invited participation has meant the evolving of an experimental approach to participation – knowledge alliances. The knowledge alliances can be described as encounters between actors with different knowledges, to facilitate an

exchange of these different knowledges. This encounter could take the shape of a meeting or a workshop, and has included activities such as discussions, designing a chair, recording a film, taking pictures and weaving carpets. The people present in the knowledge alliances have been everyone from ordinary citizens (including children), representatives from NGOs, public professionals and other employees from the municipality, property owners and a doctoral researcher. In the knowledge alliances, multiple knowledges have been viewed as relevant to an urban development process although the municipality could not offer an explicit definition of knowledge. Both citizen's experiences from everyday life has been seen as valid knowledge as well as more expert knowledge coming from public officials. However, a difference has been detected in the value or objectivity of these knowledges, the citizen's knowledge has to a greater extent been seen as biased.

To conclude an overall finding in the research has been the difficulty of evaluation and measurement, documents have not stated much around actual practice, therefore not all is stated in them and in terms of the latest year of knowledge alliances the evaluation of those is being written at the time of writing this thesis. The Amiralstaden process is, and has been, about creating networks and connections between people in knowledge alliances and success of alliances has been viewed as whether a person has felt like they have been heard. In other words, the results have not been easily quantifiable. This way of working has not been attractive to the municipality since it has become based on individuals. It has also shed light on the difficulties for public officials to handle the emotions such as anger and frustration that has come from many citizens. These emotions are something that public officials are uncertain how to deal with since there is no clear way in which they can be incorporated into the general way of working at the municipality. Public officials have been stressed and had anxiety because of the difficulties in meeting and talking with residents and as individuals oftentimes felt empathy with the citizens concerns. The future knowledge alliances will rather focus on connecting to NGOs and private actors, which are operating locally in the geographical area to support their work and let them prioritize and discuss changes to the area. The aim is to utilize their local knowledge to find better solutions that the experts cannot come up with.

Further considerations are the role of politicians, they have the mandate within the municipality to implement changes, however they were not a part of the knowledge alliances. When I attended the meeting in March about

citizen run meeting places politicians were invited but only one showed up and lot of frustrations were expressed at that meeting. I call to question therefore, that a next step in knowledge alliances or participation in general in the Amiralstaden process perhaps should involve politicians. Meaning that politicians could be in closer connection to the networks that exist in the areas of the urban. Since they have the mandate and because the organisation still has some big ideas of changes to happen in the area such as the city street conversion, building of the Culture Casbah tower and the already opened train station in the area, openness of the process can be questioned. These ideas can come to be reshaped in participatory processes once a plan program has been written for the area. However, going back to design thinking it can still imply that politicians have formed the problem but already offered a solution. There is room for citizens to have a say in the detailed plans about the areas that are being shaped at the time of writing this thesis, however I believe that there already is a suggestion on the table, and therefore I question the openness of the process since citizens can only have opinions on already quite thoroughly formulated ideas. At this point in time, perhaps, the organisation of the municipality is shaped in a way that is rigid and creates a gap between the formal process and attempts at altering this process, and affects the attempts at going outside of the rigid structure. As much research has stated, much focus has been on the aspect of opening up processes for multiple knowledges and multiple participants, however the closing down, as in taking steps to go from discussions to actual inputs, has not been focused on as much. Here the gap makes itself known again and prevents it from going forward creating much difficulty for individuals who are public officials.

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Interviews

- Smedberg, A. (2019) Postdoctoral researcher at Malmö university. Malmö University, 2019-08-12.
- Wahlstedt, T. (2019) Development architect, former vice project leader for Amiralstaden. Malmö City Hall, 2019-08-12.

Appendix 1

Interview Guide Smedberg

Smedberg, Alicia. Postdoctoral researcher at Malmö university. Malmö University, 2019-08-12

Introduction

- Present myself and my research
- Practical questions, recording and anonymity

Occupation role

- How would you describe your role?

The Amiralstaden process

- How would you describe the Amiralstaden process? Aims, the work so far?

Knowledge alliances

- What is a knowledge alliance? What are participants doing in a knowledge alliance?
- Who has participated? Broad range of participants?
 - How have you reached out to participants?
 - Have you encountered frustrations from participants, in that case, how do you handle emotions in the meetings?
 - Which questions have the knowledge alliances discussed? What have the participants had a say in? For example physical planning in the Amiralstaden process
 - What is the motivation of using knowledge alliances?

- Has for example the recommendations of the Malmö commission been a motivation for knowledge alliances?
- What is knowledge in a knowledge alliance?
 - Who has knowledge and what kind of knowledge?
- Knowledge alliances and the formal planning process, laws and regulations.
 - How does it work to conduct knowledge alliances in an open process, where the process itself is shaped in collaboration? Are there any difficulties in this approach?
 - Do you see an upcoming challenge in trying to close down the process in the future, meaning, gathering up idéas, opinions and suggestions from an open participation process to concrete inputs in a final detailed plan?
 - How can the openness of the process be understood in relation to the train station that has opened, and that here is already an idea of the Culture Casbah project, as well as ideas of Amiralsgatan as a city-street, how does the open process relate to these suggestions?
- Knowledge alliances – how is it going so far?
 - How has it been to meet and share knowledges?
 - What have you learned so far in the process? Have you gained better understanding of experiences and needs in the area?
 - What work is planned ahead?

At last

- Is there anything that you would like to add?

Interview Guide Wahlstedt

Wahlstedt, Thomas. Development architect, former vice project leader for Amiralstaden. Malmö City Hall, 2019-08-12.

Introduction

- Present myself and my research
- Practical questions, recording and anonymity

Occupation role within Malmö municipality

- How would you describe your occupational role within Malmö stad?

What is participation?

- How would you describe participation within a municipal planning process?
- What is the motivation for participation in planning processes? or why is it important?

Participation in practice within the Amiralstaden process

- How has participation been practiced in the Amiralstaden process?
Knowledge alliances, meetings, walks etcetera.
- Has it been tried previously in other planning processes in Malmö?

Knowledge alliances

- What is a knowledge alliance? What are you doing in a knowledge alliance?
 - Who has participated? Broad range of participants?
 - Have you encountered frustrations from participants, in that case, how do you handle emotions in the meetings?

- Which questions have the knowledge alliances discussed? What have the participants had a say in? For example physical planning in the Amiralstaden process
- What is the motivation of using knowledge alliances? Malmö commission's report been leading?
- What is knowledge in a knowledge alliance?
 - Who has knowledge and what kind of knowledge?
- Knowledge alliances and the formal planning process, laws and regulations.
 - How does it work to conduct knowledge alliances in an open process, where the process itself is shaped in collaboration? Are there any difficulties in this approach?
 - Do you see an upcoming challenge in trying to close down the process in the future, meaning, gathering up idées, opinions and suggestions from an open participation process to concrete inputs in a final detailed plan?
 - How can the openness of the process be understood in relation to the train station that has opened, and that here is already an idea of the Culture Casbah project, as well as ideas of Amiralsgatan as a city-street, how does the open process relate to these suggestions?
- Knowledge alliances – how is it going so far?
 - How has it been to meet and share knowledges?
 - What have you learned so far in the process? Have you gained a better understanding of experiences and needs in the area?
 - What work is planned ahead?

At last

- Is there anything that you would like to add?