Implementation of the Habitat-agenda in local communities

Late modern living conditions and residents´ interest, time for and real action in citizen participation, in a Swedish and Russian context

Madeleine Granvik

Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences
Department of Landscape Planning Ultuna
Uppsala

Sammanfattning

Inom politiken för hållbar utveckling har medborgaren en central roll i implementeringsprocessen. Hur detta ska gå till i praktiken är oklart. Denna avhandling studerar vilka förutsättningar det finns för medborgardeltagande enligt intentionerna i det globalt förankrade politiska handlingsprogrammet Habitat-agendan.

Syftet med avhandlingen var att studera förhållandet mellan de politiska intentionerna och boendes upplevelser av sitt bostadsområde, samt möjligheter för deltagande i lokalt förändringsarbete. Frågeställningen handlar om intresse, tid och handlingsförmåga bland boende för att de i sitt vardagsliv skall delta - *Hur förhåller sig boendes senmoderna livsstilar och levnadsvillkor till Habitat-agendans intentioner om medborgardeltagande?*

Detta har studerats i bostadsområden i Sverige och i Ryssland. De valda områdena är exempel på vanliga typer av bostadsområden där ingen specifik satsning för hållbar utveckling har genomförts. Det empiriska arbetet baseras på fallstudiemetodik. I huvudsak har samtalsintervjuer genomförts med boende men även en enkätundersökning samt observationer. Det empiriska materialet har resulterat i fyra artiklar.

Resultaten visar att få av de boende aktivt arbetar för kollektiva angelägenheter i sitt bostadsområde. Likaså få hade ett intresse i eller vilja att göra det. Ett antagande var att deltagandet skulle vara högre i de svenska bostadsområdena än i de ryska, på grund av Sveriges relativt långa erfarenhet av demokrati. Detta antagande kan generellt avfärdas då studien endast visar på små skillnader mellan de svenska och ryska bostadsområdena.

Det kan finnas flera anledningar till varför boende inte engagerar sig, såsom livsstil och levnadsvillkor. Det kan också bero dels på att ideellt arbete för ett hållbart boende inte uppmuntras, varken av samhället i stort, av kommuner eller av bostadsföretag, dels på grund av att man kan ha dålig erfarenhet från tidigare arbete. Medborgarna behöver incitament som passar in i deras vardagsliv för att delta och ändra sin livsstil till att bli mer hållbar.

Abstract

Madeleine Granvik, 2005. Implementation of the Habitat-agenda in local communities – Late modern living conditions and residents´ interest, time for and real action in citizen participation, in a Swedish and Russian context. Doctoral thesis. ISSN 1652-6880, ISBN 91-576-6907-4.

Within the politics for sustainable development the citizens are now expected to play an active and direct role in the implementation process. The viability of the citizens to take up this role, however, remains unclear. This dissertation explores the prerequisites for citizen participation according to the UN Habitat-agenda. The objective was to address the relations between the political intentions for sustainable habitation and residents´ experiences of their residential area, as well as their interest, time for and real action to commit themselves in local work. The main research question was: *How do residents´ late modern lifestyles and living conditions relate to the intentions for citizen participation according to the Habitat-agenda?*
This topic has been investigated in residential areas in Sweden and in Russia. These residential areas are all examples of common types where no particular sustainable development programs have been outlined. The empirical work was based on case studies and the main method being used was conversational interviews, but also questionnaires and observations were carried out. The empirical material has resulted in four papers.
The results indicate that few people actively participated in collective matters or had an interest in doing so. The assumption for the study was that participation would be greater in Swedish residential areas, due to Sweden's relatively long tradition of democratic practice, compared to Russia. That assumption can in general be dismissed, due to that few differences were found. The reason for this weak interest in common local issues may be a lack of support for sustainable habitation from local and national authorities or from residential companies. The citizens clearly need new incitements for local participation and action, which both fits into their everyday life and which supports a new sustainable lifestyle.

Key words: Citizen participation, The Habitat-agenda, habitation, local context, local communities, sustainable development, late modernity.

Author's address: Madeleine Granvik, SLU, Department of Landscape Planning Ultuna, Box 7012, SE-750 07 Uppsala, Sweden. E-mail: Madeleine.Granvik@lpul.slu.se

Acknowledgements

Before the actual work with this dissertation started I had many thoughts and questions about the concept of sustainable development. Both the actual meaning of the expression but also what it takes in practice to achieve a more sustainable society. The topic that has been the most interesting for me is what the prerequisites are for citizen participation in the politics for sustainable development. How can work for a sustainable development be carried out in practice? How is it possible to get people involved and committed in the process? And, maybe the most crucial one: *Do the citizens on the whole want to involve themselves?* If people do not have the interest to participate, then the whole idea with a "bottom-up perspective" fails! These thoughts, and the questions raised, have strongly motivated me in the research.

The choice of Russia and Petrozavodsk as a part of the case studies in the empiric work was – for me – a natural continuation of former research. The year 1999 I had the great possibility to spend four months in Petrozavodsk conducting a study about local democracy and environmental politics. During the autumn the year 2001 I started my Ph-D-studies at the Department of Landscape Planning Ultuna, with support by Research grants from the Swedish Research Council for Environmental, Agricultural Sciences and Spatial Planning (Formas). During my time as a PhD-student I have spent time in Petrozavodsk during two periods September 2003 and September 2004. These visits have given me valuable knowledge and experiences to learn about the Russian society and the development of democracy in particular.

My gratitude goes first of all to all the respondents that I have interviewed. Спасибо большое! (Spaciba Bolsjov!) to all of you in Perevalka and Drjevlanka. And Tack så Mycket (Many Thanks) to the respondents in all of the Swedish residential areas. I couldn't have done this work without your valuable information.

My gratitude goes also to my supervisor, Per G. Berg. Many thanks for all the interesting discussions, creative work and your support and kindness. Also to my vice supervisor Ulla Berglund for reading, especially chapter 2, and to Rolf Johansson for reading, especially chapter 3, and of course for your time, support and valuable comments in general. And thanks to Tuula Eriksson for your belief in me, you really supported me even before my PhD-studies started.

Table of contents

Appendix

Papers I-IV

I.   Granvik, M. (2005). Habitat-agendan – förutsättningar för implementering i ryska bostadsområden. *Nordisk Østforum* **19 (2): 203-220.**

II.   Granvik, M., Berg, P.G., Berglund, U. & Johansson, R. Late modern living conditions and sustainable development: a conflict? – Residents´ interest, time for and real action in citizen participation in a Swedish context. *Submitted to Urban Studies.*

III.   Granvik, M. & Berg, P.G. Implementation of the Habitat-agenda - residents' interest and real actions in citizen participation, a comparison of local democracy in residential areas in Sweden and Russia. *Submitted to Environment and Planning, C.*

IV.   Berg, P.G., Eriksson, T. & Granvik, M. Building the Sustainable City from within - Implementing the Habitat Agenda in three Swedish Local Townscape Type Areas. *Manuscript.*

The Baltic Sea Region and the two main cities for the study.

1. Background

1.1 Introduction

Town planning and politics create the basic conditions for the individual's everyday life and play a crucial role in his/her daily organisation of time and space. People live their lives in various defined spaces, where the residential area often is one of the most central spaces. This is a space created by social, physical and societal contexts. Time is another central aspect that affects daily living. Development of the modern society has given people new ways to relate to the dimensions of time and space. In the present late-modern society people are given possibilities to experience things in a new way, in part due to IT and globalisation. Simultaneous to this development, the authors of the UN-report "Our Global Neighbourhood" (UN Commission on Global Governance, 1995) describe how politics for sustainable development has brought back the neighbourhood in a new version to the political agenda, more specifically the "global neighbourhood". The neighbourhood is being promoted as a space reflecting changed moral values, through which we can manage the economic, political and ecological problems of the world. The report indicates that the neighbourhood provides an ideal paradigm to organise global living. The neighbourhood could thus be the framework where traditional political-ethical matters could be brought up in a new context in order to tackle the complex political and ecological problems of the global society.

In this new "moral" neighbourhood inhabitants must cooperate to achieve a sustainable development (ibid). In addition, the document points out that the society of today reflects an increased will amongst people to control and decide for themselves what should be changed in their own lives. The demand for free choice between different alternatives is an important issue for many people. This freedom has arisen in part as a consequence of increased access to information, better education possibilities and improved conditions for women (ibid).

In the politics for sustainable development referred to above, extensive participation of the citizens is one of the prerequisites for sustainable development. The Habitat-agenda (UNCHS, 1998), the action plan resulting from the UN-conference on human settlements 1996 in Istanbul (Habitat II), emphasises the importance of *citizen participation* and *local work* to achieve a sustainable habitation. These issues are also central in the

Agenda 21 action plan (UNCED, 1992) from the conference on environmental and development issues held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

This dissertation takes its starting point from the basic intentions stipulated in the Habitat-agenda. The discussions above indicate that there are good reasons to determine the conditions for putting these political visions into practice. These conditions have been studied in residential areas in Sweden and in Russia. The topic of the dissertation is the residents´ interest, time for and ability in daily life to actively participate and influence in local work towards a sustainable habitation.

The residential areas that have been chosen for the study are all examples of common types of residential areas in Sweden and in Russia. No particular sustainable development programs have been followed in any of the studied residential areas. This is especially important to highlight as residents´ commitment and participation can be influenced as a consequence of the introduction of such programs. A special focus on achieving sustainable development in the residential area, may affect the residents differently dependent upon *who* launches such initiative, a person living in the area, a group of residents, the municipality or the landlord (Berg, 2004). Earlier studies show that if the initiative comes from one of the residents, the potential for success is higher than if other stakeholders, such as the municipality, introduce changes in the area. Social acceptance[1] is central in the work process towards change (Eriksson, 1998).

During the last ten years several researchers have studied so called "good examples" within the framework of Agenda 21 and the principles of the Habitat-agenda. Connected to these projects, special initiatives have been made to support sustainable development in particular (Berg, 2004; Pløger, 2002a; Falkheden, 1999; Alfredsson and Cars, 1996; McCamant, 1993).

This dissertation analyses the results from a study of residential areas where no special efforts towards sustainable development have previously been made. These types of residential areas are representative of the majority in Sweden as well as in Russia.

1.1.1 The Habitat-agenda – an action plan for sustainable habitation

The first UN-conference focusing on human settlement issues, Habitat I, took place in 1976 in Vancouver. The conference adopted resolutions on

---

[1] The expression social acceptance is central in any transformative work. For example, regarding change in a residential area, the transformative work requires that the dwellers feel confidence and willingness and that they experience an ability to handle the change that will occur.

living, construction of housing areas, the built environment and town planning. As a consequence of this a special UN-body for habitation issues was created, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UD, 1997). In 2002 this body was changed to UN-Habitat, at present placed in Nairobi (SOU 2003:31).

Habitat II, the second global conference on living, human settlements and town planning, took place in Istanbul in 1996. This global event assembled a large number of representatives from governments and municipalities as well as representatives from the business community and non-governmental organisations, in total 12 000 participants. The main question for the conference was the global trend of growing urbanisation, with the focus primarily on the developing world. Two themes became the core of the conference:

- Decent housing for all people globally.
- Sustainable development of residential areas in a world characterised by urban areas growing at a rapid pace (UD, 1997).

The purpose of the conference was to agree on common guidelines that would help to improve human living conditions, both in urban and rural areas. Habitat II resulted in two documents: The Istanbul-declaration, which in fifteen paragraphs summarizes the main conclusions from the conference, and the Habitat-agenda which describes the principles and goals, as well as a global action plan of strategies to implement actions agreed upon during the conference (ibid).

During this conference a special Committee 2 was organised for non-governmental organisations (NGO:s), popular movements and other networks. This increased the possibility for such organisations to participate and influence the process and outcome of the conference (ibid). The presence of Committee 2, was entirely in line with the decisions made during the conference – that the work to follow after the conference would not only serve as a foundation for a global sustainable livelihood, but would also be formed, defined and decided upon at a local level, in cooperation between the residents, NGO:s and other stakeholders. The following citation clearly indicates the importance of citizens' participation.

> Sustainable human settlements development requires the active engagement of civil society organizations, as well as the broad-based participation of all people. It equally requires responsive, transparent and accountable government at the local level. Civic engagement and responsible government both necessitate the establishment and strengthening of participatory mechanisms, including access to justice and community-based action planning, which will ensure that all voices are heard in identifying problems

and priorities, setting goals, exercising legal rights, determining service standards, mobilizing resources and implementing policies, programmes and projects. (UNCHS, 1998, The Habitat-agenda, chapter IV, section D.3, § 181).

The path towards sustainability should be adapted to the specific geographic, environmental, institutional, cultural and social prerequisites of the different societies. Another central principle, according to the Habitat-agenda, is that every country has committed themselves to strive towards decentralisation, to have local authorities elected by the people (within the framework of judicial principles present in each country). The request from the world foundation is that the Istanbul-declaration, together with the Habitat-agenda, should be seen as a joint platform for a new global cooperation, with the goal of working towards the development of sustainable cities and human habitats all over the word.

1.1.2 Agenda 21 – an action plan for sustainable development

Another global political document closely connected to the Habitat-agenda is the action plan Agenda 21. A brief summary of the Agenda 21 document is presented here in order to point out important connections between the two. With the UN-conference on environment and development issues in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the issues of global environmental problems were raised on the global political agenda. The connection between environment and development was highlighted and the relation between the so called south- and north countries was once again attended to. Furthermore, the importance was acknowledged of work accomplished at a local level and work by non-governmental organisations, in order to obtain sustainable development (Bo Kjellén, pers. comm., 1997). The secretary general for the conference, Maurice Strong, emphasised the importance of involving non-governmental organisations in the work for sustainable development. The Rio-conference was clearly a break-through in its acknowledgement of NGO:s important role in the work towards sustainable development.

During the conference final negotiations were carried out concerning the contents of five documents: the convention on climate change, the convention on biodiversity, the Rio-declaration, the Forest Principles and Agenda 21. The action plan Agenda 21 indicates what national and international actions should be undertaken in order to fulfil the goal of sustainable development. The document clearly states that environmental issues are to be integrated both socially and economically. The importance of democracy and the participation of stakeholder is emphasised in the document, as well as the responsibility of individuals to actively participate in the implementation process. This is illustrated in the citations below.

16

23.1 Critical to the effective implementation of the objectives, policies and mechanisms agreed to by Governments in all programme areas of Agenda 21 will be the commitment and genuine involvement of all social groups.

23.2 One of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of sustainable development is broad public participation in decision-making. […]. (UNCED, 1992, Agenda 21, preamble to section III, p. 219).

The document comprises 40 chapters divided into four categories: 1) social- and economic aspects 2) environmental aspects 3) the need to strengthen the role of certain groups in the working process 4) strategies and resources to achieve the stipulated goals. In bracket three the following groups are especially given notice as important for the implementation of the goals: women, children and youth, indigenous people, non-governmental organisations, municipalities, labour unions, the trade and industry, the research community and farmers (Government's paper 1992/93:13).

In chapter 28 "The local authorities' initiatives in support of Agenda 21" the world´s local authorities are requested to initiate their own local Agenda 21-processes, which includes initiation of a dialogue with the citizens concerning the design of the Agenda 21 action plan (ibid). The idea is that the work should start from each municipality's own local assets, problems and visions. There should be no top-down steering from national governments.

1.1.3 The Habitat-agenda and Agenda 21 – related issues

Agenda 21 and the Habitat-agenda are connected in several ways regarding their stipulated influences on sustainable development, and can thus be seen as complimentary programmes of action (SOU 2003:31). Agenda 21 clearly illustrates the connections between environment and development matters. Addressing not only environmental issues, Agenda 21 takes up issues of a social-economic character such as combating poverty, changing consumption patterns, protection of peoples health and human settlements. The last two issues are presented in a separate chapter (chapter 7) which is typical of the Habitat-agenda (Government's paper1992/93:13).

Both documents originate from the environmental conference arranged within the framework of the UN that took place in Stockholm in 1972. Perspectives that characterise both are the focus on the local level and the bottom-up approach in the implementation process. The connections between the documents are expressed through the cooperation at the global level between the UN environmental programme (UNEP), and the UN-Habitat agenda, the UN programme for human settlements. The coope-

ration between those two programmes has given rise to several common projects and activities. One example is the Sustainable Cities Programme. The strong connection between Agenda 21 and the Habitat-agenda has led to mutual benefits that have been central also to the Swedish working process (SOU 2003:31). One example is the national committee for Agenda 21 and Habitat, a body under the Government's office, that was established in 2000 and that was operating until the year of 2003.

1.2 The character of the dissertation

1.2.1 One part of two research projects

The dissertation consist in part of an in-depth study within the research project "Sustainability Resources and Social Acceptance in Three Townscape Neighbourhoods in Three Urban Scales in Sweden" (GRAS II), and partly of a study within the research project "Sustainability Resources and Social Acceptance in Townscape Neighbourhoods in Two Urban Scales – case studies in Russia, Latvia, Poland, Denmark and Sweden" (GRAS III). The overall objective of both of the research studies was to look at different aspects of sustainability in representative and delimited townscape areas (neighbourhoods).

In the GRAS II project, three urban types were chosen: one neighbourhood type with small private houses built during the first half of the 20th century, near the city centre; one neighbourhood type with multifamily houses erected between 1945 and 1960 (in Sweden the housing areas from this period is named *Folkhemshus = People's Homes Houses*) and one neighbourhood type selected from the large scale suburbs built between 1960 and 1975 (the *Million Homes Program*). The chosen neighbourhoods were analysed and described from a local planning perspective with regard to key aspects of their communities physical, economic, biological, organisational, social, aesthetic and cultural resources. Furthermore, each neighbourhood was studied in a number of simple scenarios - in order to investigate the potential for improving their sustainability.

In the GRAS III project, two townscape neighbourhood types were chosen: one type with small private houses near the city centre produced during the first half of 20th century, and one neighbourhood type selected from the large scale suburbs built between 1960 and 1980. These townscape types have been studied in eight cities in five countries: Poland

(Gdansk), Latvia (Jelgava and Livani), Russia (Petrozavodsk and St Petersburg), Denmark (Copenhagen) and Sweden (Uppsala and Hällefors).

The basis of both of the research projects is the intentions of the Habitat-agenda about sustainable human settlements. The research has focused on two main discussions in the document: a sustainable habitation includes not only physical aspects, but also social, organisational, economic and cultural aspects, and a sustainable habitation requires citizen participation in the planning and implementation process (UNCHS, 1998). The research projects above (GRAS II and GRAS III) primarily study issues related to the first discussion. This dissertation focuses instead on the other discussion concerning citizen participation. The dissertation focuses mainly on questions dealing with the basic prerequisites for citizen participation in the working process towards sustainable habitation.

1.2.2 Scientific context

The dissertation is of a multidisciplinary character, but belongs to the social sciences. The term sustainable development is multidisciplinary *per se*, with economic, social and ecological dimensions. The principles of sustainable development are supported by well-founded political decisions, and the implementation of those political decisions is based upon participatory-democratic ideas where the citizens play a central role. This may give the impression that the content of the dissertation approaches the discipline of political science. But this study focuses instead on the level of the individual in a specific context – *i.e.* residential areas in Sweden and Russia. In this case, it deals with the ability of the individual to actively participate in a democratic work process towards creating a sustainable habitation. Disciplines such as human geography, landscape planning, social psychology, sociology and eastern European political science are touched in this dissertation.

1.3 Objective and problem definition

One interpretation of the Habitat-agenda is that there are two main discussions in the document: a sustainable habitation includes not only physical aspects, but also social, organisational, economic and cultural aspects, and that citizen participation is vital in the planning and implementation process to achieve a sustainable habitation (UNCHS, 1998). The study starts from these two discussions, which both relate to the residents´ interests, abilities and commitments for working towards a

sustainable habitation. The objective of this study was to address the relations between the political intentions in the Habitat-agenda and the residents´ experiences of their residential area, as well as their interest, willingness and time to commit themselves in a process to achieve sustainable habitation.

The objective has therefore resulted in the following main research question:

How do residents´ late modern lifestyles and living conditions relate to the intentions for citizen participation in the Habitat-agenda?

1.3.1 Introduction to the empirical study

The empirical work was based mainly on interviews with residents in Sweden and Russia. The purpose was to understand and analyse the conditions for sustainable habitation in the selected areas, *seen from the perspective of the residents*. Starting from the empirical material results are discussed from the view of the political intentions reflected in the Habitat-agenda. Basic assumptions were that residents´ *perception* of their residential area would differ: for different types of areas in Sweden and in Russia; for the countries (due to *e.g.* different conditions in housing standards); and for different individuals living in the same area (due to *e.g.* different values and experiences). Other assumptions were that *citizen participation* also would differ: for different types of areas in Sweden and in Russia as well as for the countries (due to *e.g.* the dominating social groups and the lifestyles in the respective residential areas). It was also assumed that citizen participation would be generally higher in the Swedish than in the Russian residential areas. This assumption was made due to the fact that Sweden – when compared to Russia - has a relatively long tradition of democracy in matters such as decentralisation processes, public movements, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the public access principle and tenant-owned associations.

1.4 Instructions to the reader

This is a compilation dissertation, consisting of a cover essay[2], together with a number of independent papers. The cover essay consists of six chapters. The first chapter provides a background description with an overview of the research area. This chapter also covers the objective of the study, the problem definition and describes the characteristics of the study. Chapter two presents relevant theories and terminology. Chapter three covers the methodology of the study, the way in which the empirical works have been done. Chapter four contains a description of the places and situations in the case studies (the residential areas) where the empirical work has been carried out. Chapter five contains an introduction to the four papers that are included in this study. Chapter six contains a discussion where the empirical results from the study are connected both to theory and to earlier research done within the research area. The four papers can be found in the appendices at the end of the dissertation. Appendix one: "The Habitat-agenda – conditions for implementation in Russian residential areas" ("Habitat-agendan – förutsättningar för implementering i ryska bostadsområden"). Appendix two: "Late modern living conditions and sustainable development: a conflict? – Residents´ interest, time for and real action in citizen participation in a Swedish context". Appendix three: "Implementation of the Habitat-agenda - residents' interest and real actions in citizen participation, a comparison of local democracy in residential areas in Sweden and Russia". Appendix four: "Building the Sustainable City from within - Implementing the Habitat Agenda in three Swedish Local Townscape Type Areas".

---

2 A cover essay is the first parts of a dissertation where the research question, theory and methodology are presented and where the result from the individual papers included in the dissertation are discussed.

2. From comprehensive political goals to the residents lifeworld - theories and concepts

The discussion of the theory used in the study consists of two main sections, but the aim is to create a red line between those two sections. The purpose is to make the reader grasp the comprehensive structure of the idea behind the study: to start from the "big" system and then to proceed and focus on the "small" system, the individual's life-world. As a consequence of this, the theories, concepts, discussions and elaboration of problems are also presented in this order.

The first part considers the role of politics in sustainable development and urban planning theory focusing on sustainable community development. In the second part the individual is central. This section contains a discussion about the living conditions of late modernity and the prerequisites for individual's participation in a planning process. Central concepts are: *sustainable development, bottom-up perspective, local context, lifeworld* and *late modernity.* Section 2.1 "The discourse on sustainable development" deals with the concept of sustainable development. The bottom-up perspective is discussed in appendix three (paper III) and local context in section 2.2 "Urban planning theory – focus on sustainable community development" and lifeworld and late modernity in section 2.3 "Living conditions of late modernity". The chapter starts with a discussion about ontology and epistemology connected to sustainable development.

2.1 The discourse on sustainable development

The term sustainable development can be given several meanings depending on who is interpreting it. Whether individuals relate to sustainable development – and in what manner – is dependent on, among other things, the person's background, out look on life, experiences, reference system and education. The awareness of and way of looking at sustainable development depends on what world view a person has.

2.1.1 Different world views
Ontology and epistemology are two philosophical terms that describes how a person experiences the world – the person's world view. Ontology is the

science of being. Epistemology is the science of knowledge. Our personal ontology refers to the set of ideas and views that each and everyone assumes exist. Ontology can either be strongly reductionistic or holistic. A reductionistic ontology refers to the world as being fragmentary, which means that the whole equals the sum of the different parts. Each part can thus be separated, studied, altered and developed individually, without the necessity of considering what consequences this could have on the whole problem. In holistic ontology this view is different as the whole always will be more than the sum of the parts. If one part changes then the whole system is changed. Epistemology refers to how we learn and express knowledge, how we define a problem, what questions that will be asked and how those should be worked on and solved.

Nadarajah Sriskandarajah and R.J. Bawden (1994), both working with topics in agriculture and learning processes have illustrated different ways of analysing the world using the concepts of ontology and epistemology. They propose that a subjective – fragmentary division results in a world view where the individual is put at the centre. With an objective – fragmentary division the world view is more of a technical, reductionistic kind. A subjective – holistic division gives an ”experiencing”, cultural and anthropocentric world view, while an objective - holistic division results in an ecological world view, where the whole system is in focus. Each individual's world view reflects that person's experiences, knowledge and conception of the problem. But the world view can also change depending on the context, as different situations may cause different world views. For example, if an individual has been exposed to a very stressful situation this might result in a subjective - fragmentary world view dominating in this particular situation (Sriskandarajah and Bawden, 1994).
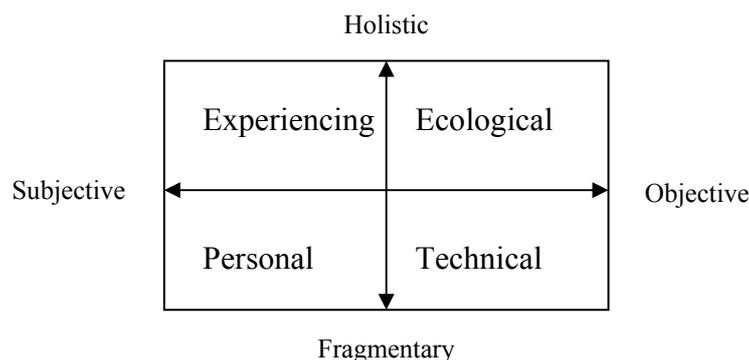
Figure 1. Description of different world views depending on epistemology and ontology (according to Sriskandarajah and Bawden, 1994).

2.1.2 Different approaches to sustainable development

A person's world view will affect their understanding of what sustainable development is. In the discourse on sustainable development two somehow opposite views have developed[3]. Proponents of the first view maintain that sustainable development affects all the different areas in society and that the required changes have to be made within the framework of the already existing structures within society. Sustainable development is mainly seen as an issue concerning technique and efficiency. Ecological modernisation is an expression that belongs to this way of looking at sustainable development. Researches have interpreted this expression in different ways, but one common interpretation is that ecological modernisation concerns the relationship between environmental and economic issues in a democratic society (Young, 2000). The Brundtland Commission report (WCED, 1987) "Our common future" can be seen as the main document within this view. The essence of the report is that sustainable development and economic growth are joint mechanisms.

Proponents of the second view state that the basic mind patterns and lifestyles present in the western industrialised countries, is the cause of the "unsustainable" development that can be seen today. This view therefore requires more profound transformation processes and radical changes concerning, for instance, economic rules of the game, means of production, development of techniques and the world citizen's way of understanding nature. This discourse can be connected to the so-called "*shallow*" and to the "*deep*" ecological movements, which are expressions that the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess (1973) has developed. The "shallow" variant deals with questions concerning the stabilisation of population growth, resource management and the development of efficient environmental techniques. The "deep" variant points at a series of social, aesthetic and philosophical questions built upon basic values such as fair access to resources, self sufficiency and an all-embracing respect for life - in principle, equal rights for all forms of life to develop.

The Swedish term hållbar utveckling (sustainable development)
Another parallel discussion connected to the term sustainable development is which combination of words that is the most suitable to use in Swedish[4]; *hållbar utveckling, uthållig utveckling, bibehållbar utveckling, bärkraftig utveckling* etc. The words *hållbar, bärkraftig* and *uthållig* are analysed by looking at how they are used and what they mean in other contexts.

---

3 Those two standpoints should not be strictly looked at as two opposite poles, since reality is much more complex than that, concerning both politics and the minds of human beings.
4 In English there is only one combination of words: Sustainable development.

Hållbar is often connected to the physics terminology and can be interpreted as hard-wearing, as there is a time-dimension connected to it (although *hållbar* is not necessarily connected to a time-dimension). *Uthållig* can also include a time-perspective. An individual can be stubborn, stable and refuse to yield. *Bärkraftig* can be associated both with ecology, "carrying capacity" and economy, a company can be *bärkraftigt* (Helmfrid, 1992). The combination *hållbar utveckling* that is used in this study (see appendix I, paper I in Swedish) has been chosen for two reasons. Partly because there is a time dimension, partly because it is the most commonly used term in Swedish literature and discourse, especially in political documents.

A number of definitions

There are several definitions of the concept sustainable development, for example the following three:

> 1. Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs. (WCED, 1987).

> 2. Sustainable development is to maximize simultaneously the *biological* system goals (genetic diversity, resistance, biological productivity), *economic* system goals (satisfaction of basic needs, enhancement of equity, increasing useful goods and services), and *social* system goals (cultural diversity, institutional sustainability, social justice, participation). (Barbier, 1987).

> 3. Sustainability is a relationship between dynamic human economic systems and dynamic but slower ecological systems, in which: a) human life can develop indefinitely; b) human individuals can flourish; c) human culture can develop and d) effects of human activities remain within bounds so as not to destroy the diversity, complexity and functioning of the ecological life-support system. (Constanza, 1992).

What do these definitions mean and what do they involve? The aim here is not to perform a complete analysis, but to – by using examples – show the complexity of problems connected to the discussion above, concerning world view and perspective. The first definition, formulated by the Brundtland Commission (WCED, 1987), has a clear anthropocentric approach. The human being is in the centre, nature is ascribed no intrinsic value, it can be freely used so that humans can fulfil their needs, although "needs" can be a fairly unclear expression. Needs can be discussed on different levels: *basic needs* according to Maslows first step in his needs

pyramid[5] (Maslow, 1987) or in terms of *individual needs*. When looked at from an individual standpoint, needs become something subjective. The philosopher Georg Henrik von Wright (1993) suggests that a need is something that is essential for the survival of a human being, while wishes are of a subordinate importance. When the material standard is increasing in society people get used to having a car, computer, TV etc. This makes the distinction between needs and wishes somehow unclear and sometimes these two tend to be mixed up. How can the needs of future generations be met? Is it possible to know what the needs of future generations will be? Does the definition only refer to the future human generation or does it also apply to other species? The second definition is expressed by the environmental economist Edward Barbier (1987), and the third by the environmental economist Robert Constanza (1992). Both include all three dimensions of sustainable development. Barbiers definition about maximising both biological, economic and social system goals simultaneously, could probably result in a kind of competition between the three dimensions. Constanza also (as in the first and second definitions above) places the human being in the centre, but still suggests that human activities should be held within the limits of what nature can cope with. But how do we ascertain the limits of nature?

2.1.3 The meaning of the three dimensions

Sustainable development can be understood from different perspectives. A common approach which is often used in political contexts is to take into consideration three dimensions: ecological, economic and social (UNCHS, 1998; UNCED, 1992; Government paper 2001/02:172). When all three dimensions meet and are integrated – often illustrated as three circles overlapping each other – then a new understanding of sustainable development is achieved. The whole idea is based on a way of thinking that embraces all dimensions, not only *ecological* sustainable development. On the other hand, it is fully possible to talk about the *ecological dimension* of sustainable development. Another aspect of the expression sustainable development, which tends to be somewhat problematic, is how it can be implemented in a real world context. In practice it could involve working with the ecological, social and economic dimensions in all situations. One important issue is whether or not there are enough resources to work in

---

5 Primarily, the basic needs such as hunger, thirst, protection, security and sex need to be satisfied. After this follow social needs such as contact with other people, status and friendship. The third step involves a need for self-assertion, for example to be able to function in a social context and to be able to achieve something experienced as useful. The final step refers to the human being's need to fulfil and express oneself *e.g.* satisfy ones curiosity and to experience the world.

such a way at all levels of society. Most people carry out their work within a much narrower field where the three dimensions often compete with each other and where the economic dimension is given priority. The complexity of the three dimensions often requires separate treatment.

The meanings of the three dimensions are not given. Within the scientific and civil society there are several ways of understanding both the *meaning* of and the *solutions* for a sustainable development. From a Swedish political perspective the meaning of at least two of the three dimensions are described, the ecological and economic. The ecological dimension has, however, dominated the discussion (SOU 2003:31). The ecological dimension includes the ecosystem, biotic and abiotic processes which are the basis of any form of life. The political intention is to find solutions to the environmental problems by finding technical solutions and by making people change their lifestyles. The economic dimension concerns economic growth by so called "green jobs". By creating "green" industries (using *i.a.* renewable raw materials and energy) and thereby producing "green" commodities, economic sustainable development can be achieved. The economic dimension is often merged with the social dimension, especially in discussions concerning the welfare state. The social challenges are described in Sweden's National Strategy for Sustainable Development (2001/02:172, A summary of Government Communication) in the following way:

> One of the great challenges of the future in social and economic terms is to create the conditions for a more sustainable family life and working life. The Swedish population is ageing, but at the same time young adults are finding it more difficult to combine work and a family. The birth rate has fallen sharply in Sweden during the 1990s. Sick leave is on the increase. Society's financial resources tend to be redistributed in favour of the older generation. This trend may in the long run prove a threat to the labour supply and economic growth. Prudent management of the environment and human resources is a demanding task, but it also offers great opportunities. A sustainable policy for welfare and social justice can be costly in the short term, but can in the long term generate greater potential for productivity and growth. (2001/02:172, p. 11-12).

The social issues are far from being as clearly discussed, defined or implemented as the ecological and technical aspects. As an example, the following illuminates one aspect within the social dimension: habitation. A stronger emphasis on *social issues* in housing may be achieved by looking back into and learning from history. In a historical perspective it is clear that the government as early as during the 1930's developed an approach to community development where emphasis was put on social issues in

housing. Within the area of urban planning a similar focus could be found at the same period. Norms and identity were seen as crucial issues, the concept of neighbourhood was developed and common property became popular (Franzén and Sandstedt, 1993). In practice this resulted in the emergence of neighbourhoods, closeness, integration and solidarity.

2.1.4 Ambiguous and variable

Sustainable development is a concept that has been both criticised and given positive response. The concept is built upon a political vision which is rather general in its approach and therefore has been widely accepted. But, this general approach also gives the expression its strengths and weaknesses. The term is interpreted and used in many different ways, something that creates both confusion and debate, and results in – at best - constructive conflicts, which hopefully give rise to new insights and understandings.

The term sustainable development can be seen as a vision that cannot be strictly defined. *It can only be given a more precise meaning when the concept is applied to a specific local context (see below).* It needs to be defined by the stakeholders actively working in that particular case. The values and characteristics of sustainable development can also be used as a framework in a dynamic process of change. Such a transformative working process towards sustainable development requires – according to the *Habitat-agenda* - concrete measures on a local level, that takes into account several aspects, technical as well as cultural. The technical challenge is for instance, about developing technologies being as clean and efficient as possible. The cultural challenge is, for example, about questioning people's values, ethics and lifestyles and the choices people make in their everyday lives. Working towards sustainable development requires a dynamic and flexible attitude as knowledge, values and other conditions in society change constantly.

2.2 Urban planning theory – focus on sustainable community development

This section starts with a short historical presentation of a number of relevant persons within the history of urban planning. Furthermore, the idea of using the *local context* as a starting point for a sustainable habitation is discussed as are different aspects of sustainable habitation brought up in the Habitat-agenda.

2.2.1 Urban development in a historical perspective

This section gives a short presentation of five planning theorists and practitioners from the 19th- 20th century, which all significantly influenced the trend of urban development: Camillo Sitte, Ebenezer Howard, Leberecht Migge, Patrik Geddes and Lewis Mumford. The different approaches and ideas of these persons are most interesting in relation to the present trend of urban planning in sustainable habitation. This is the case especially as there are several similarities between the views of urban planning in the past and the intentions described in the Habitat-agenda of today. A number of researchers in urban development have an interest in those ideas on planning which have been of topical interest for decades, even up to a century ago. But, one has to remember that the prerequisites in today's society are very different from the conditions in the past. This means that it might be difficult to apply historical urban planning ideas as direct solutions, but that one can still find inspiration and support within the different theories.

Older urban development theories

Camillo Sitte, 1843-1903, was born in Austria, trained as an architect and worked within urban planning. Sitte put emphasis on the need for an artistic approach to urban planning. He based his ideas on how people experienced urban space, as it in his opinion affects people's moods and senses. In his opinion people would be strengthened by living in beautiful surroundings and thus find it easier to face the difficulties and misfortunes of life. Sitte wanted to capture the soul of the place – *"Genius loci"*. He was critical to the consequences of the industrial development as he meant that it impoverished and destroyed the cities. The cities were built in right angle systems by engineers who, according to Sitte, were not interested in arts and design but looked upon urban planning mainly as a technical solution. The more recently built structures were adapted to the pattern of streets for traffic and thus resulted in new types of street blocks (Sitte, 1982). Sitte was inspired by medieval times and the Italian renaissance, urban styles that were manifested in outdoor space as well as in artifacts. The artifacts were designed according to how they were presumed to be experienced from the specific place (Sitte, 1982).

   Ebenezer Howard, 1850-1928, was a British town planner working in London during the end of the 19th century. Like Camillo Sitte, he was critical of the consequences of industrialisation. During this time there was a big shortage of housing. The issue of building sites was central to solving the problem. A few, powerful, landowners controlled the level of rents which resulted in high interest rates and high prices. Howard was upset that the prices in London were as much as ten times as high as the prices in

the rural areas. According to his planning ideas, the countryside and the city should be seen as whole and thus should be united. The idea of *the garden city* became his lifetime achievement. The concept was built upon the idea that the land was owned by society. His vision was that the garden cities could be built next to each other and be connected by roads and railways and other infrastructure. Each garden city should be planned for 30 000 inhabitants with separate houses and gardens in zones for habitation, industry and trade. The area would be surrounded by an agricultural society with 2 000 inhabitants built up in the neighbouring countryside. Size-wise the garden city was supposed to be around 2 400 hectare. The idea was to accomplish the town in different stages, one sixth at the time. It was important in the planning and design that people from several different professions worked together to make the result as good as possible. When constructing new buildings these had to blend well into the surrounding architecture (Howard, 1946).

Leberecht Migge, 1881-1935, was working in Germany as a garden architect. Migge was a strong proponent of a recycling society. He was strongly critical of the institutions within society as he believed that they did not consider the prerequisites of people's everyday lives. He was against the construction of waste water systems, as all waste should be returned to agriculture. He also disliked the water closets which, in his opinion, were a waste of clean water. He advocated small-scale farming and techniques and promoted self-construction, self sufficiency, individual creativity and gardening to produce beauty and quality of life. He wanted to work for the large number of poor in society and improve their living conditions by creating gardens where cultivation could be carried out. Cultivation was seen as the key to improving the life of a large number of people, as a means of survival, to improve general health and to create experiences of beauty. Another argument was the importance of being self-sustained in the shadow of the First World War. Having this view, land use planning became central, buildings and other constructions for services and communication were only seen as a means to attain the goal of an extensive agricultural landscape (Jarlöv, 1996).

Patrik Geddes, 1854-1932, was a Scottish planner, educated in sociology and biology. In the beginning of the 20th century he developed an alternative planning method where integration was the keyword. He saw integration as something important, both in terms of integrating different kinds of knowledge but also in the integration of different ideas of planning in the local communities. In addition expressions like holistic, connections, everyday life, urban and rural were important in his work. He recommended making a holistic analysis and inventory of a particular area before starting the actual planning process (Bjur et al., 1983). He

emphasised that for all planning, as all true architecture, the challenge is to illustrate and design on the site, for the site, even if the details can be supplemented later in the office (Geddes, 1918).

Furthermore, he meant that urban planning is nothing that can be carried out in a top-down process, according to general principles, which can be learnt in one place and imitated in another (Geddes, 1915). He suggested that the unique individuality be highlighted and issues discussed as they arise. Geddes wanted to show the connections between different areas in urban planning in a simple way. He meant that matters of history, geography, technique, social issues and arts were related to each other. Considering his background, trained both as a biologist and sociologist and working as an urban planner, one can understand that this approach was natural to him.

He looked upon the city as a "producer" of culture, consciousness and urban planning as a social movement. He put emphasis on the connections between citizens to enhance the qualitative development within society. He saw knowledge about citizenship, "civics", as an applied form of concrete sociology. Geddes advocated a new way of thinking that would lead to a new way of acting, *in collaboration*. The prevailing way of thinking resulted in actions that favoured the development of society in a quantitative way, at the expense of the quality - something that Geddes considered a catastrophe. He wanted to see a behavioural change in society towards higher ethics where other values were given priority. He worked with exhibitions and in other ways to show connections and to integrate the social issues in peoples' everyday life. Geddes put an emphasis on descriptions of the overall picture, which must precede the planning phase for an area, something that was revolutionary at this time.

Lewis Mumford, 1895-1990, was a successful sociologist active in the USA. He was critical of the social consequences of industrialisation. He wanted to defeat alienation, rootlessness and casual acquaintances between the citizens by decentralising the city into smaller units, neighbourhoods. His book "The culture of cities" from 1938 became well known all over Europe. Mumford meant that the more money that was put into a city, for example in magnificent buildings and technical systems, the more difficult it was to be flexible and make place for renewal. He meant that making such investments is to create a financial dependency, that the finances of the municipality thus become dependent on the population density in the city. Furthermore, Mumford was negative to the construction of sewers, sewage treatment plants and underground transportation, as he thought that those giant projects contributed to such dependency and made the city more static. This attitude probably arose from his view regarding technical development occurring at the expense of people's other basic needs. He

wanted to put human beings in the centre rather than the machines. Moreover, he meant that achieving power has become the main goal of civilization, with a market that controls the processes in society. He thought that a majority of the inhabitants' social and individual needs could never become satisfied by the normal processes in the market since making the highest profits is the norm (Mumford, 1942).

2.2.2 The local context in urban planning

Sustainable developments presuppose processes of change within a number of areas and touch both general structures in society as well as specific local conditions. This means that the local aspect is just one out of many to take into account when talking about sustainable development. But, from the starting point of the Habitat-agenda – which states that citizen participation is a necessary requirement to attain sustainable development, that the local level is closest to a citizen's everyday activities and that each specific place has different prerequisites depending on their *e.g.* physical, biological or organisational circumstances – this study suggests that the concrete place with its specific context is central as a starting point in the discussion of sustainable habitation.

Another approach that is given much attention in the discourse on sustainable development is the importance of developing indicators. Indicators are often quantitative and general and are therefore seen as universal. By for example developing indicators to measure the use of energy, this means in practice that a threshold value has been defined. The architect Björn Malbert states that:

> Abstract goals and general indicators for a sustainable development have no impact if they are not related to concrete goals and special indicators in the local context. (Malbert et al, 2004: 74. Own translation).

In this study indicators are seen as useful tools, when implementing sustainable development in the specific local context in practice. Indicators can guide, support and manage such development work. In my mind, general indicators – applied without taking the specific context into account – may be an inhibiting factor when working towards sustainable development. Such an approach often results in a focus on technical solutions and a lack of consideration for cultural or social aspects of sustainable development.

The approach of this dissertation is a context specific analysis of society. The *local* and the *context* are central concepts. This view is discussed by the Danish researcher Ole Michael Jensen, who uses the expression "community ecology" (byekologi). He suggests that this

32

expression can be used as a strategy to implement sustainable development where the aim is to accomplish a change in a geographically delimited area. The approach for the processes of change is to find integrated all-embracing solutions. This should be done by using knowledge and experiences from the residents and other people actively working in the area and in a dialogue between the two (Jensen et al, 1998).

The tradition of context-depending planning belongs to the place paradigm, according to the human geographer Lage Wahlström (1984). This way of looking at planning can be deduced from the works of Patrick Geddes. As described above, he recommended making a holistic analysis and inventory of a particular area before starting the actual planning process (Bjur et al, 1983)

Approaches to the local context

Today most urban researchers believe that it is not meaningful to restrict "the local" in terms of geography and demography, or to define "the local" as stable and predictable social relations and structures in time and space (Pløger, 1999). As a consequence of this there is a strong argument for the view that urban planning has to focus on understanding the *local context.* This means understanding each urban environment as a unique place with a social meaning which is about the everyday life that takes place on that particular site.

A literature study on local context was conducted which shows stand-points of some Nordic researchers of today: the systems biologist and landscape planner Per G. Berg, the landscape architect Ulla Berglund, the sociologist Jon Pløger and the architects Hans Bjur, Johan Rådberg, Björn Malbert and Lena Falkheden.

> We should be particularly careful not to suggest patent solutions for future urban planning. What we need least are new universal solutions, ready to be applied everywhere, without considering the [specific] conditions. (Rådberg, 1997:162. Own translation).

> The inventory phase is the core of planning. The inventory phase is not only something which precedes the planning. The planning starts by making an inventory of a place and therefore this phase should be required to have a holistic approach so that it can be a basis for an analysis of the present as well as the long-term problems. Many well implemented works of planning has found its starting points specifically in the inventories. It is not unusual that an assignment totally changes character through the confrontation between reality and the dialogue between the residents. (Bjur et al, 1983:226. Own translation).

The site, the situation and the scale of a given community will thus affect the analysis of its present and potential sustainability. Any site will exhibit unique physical qualities. The situation deals with each community's place in relation to other communities, to infrastructure, to demographic composition and distribution of human habitats. All factors together constitute a unique pattern of prerequisites that has to be taken into account when examining questions of the neigbourhood's sustainability. One important consequence of this would be that participation of local inhabitants, organizations, enterprises, schools and authorities are indispensable resources in the process of adapting a given neighbourhood to its respective site- and situation specific properties. (Berg and Nycander, 1997:126).

To look at environmental issues in relation to peoples' lives is the holistic perspective which I consider to be the most important. The green areas of the city must likewise be looked at in relation to the physical context to which they belong. (Berglund, 1996:147. Own translation).

[…] urban planning is to a much higher extent context orientated, and also orientated towards   understanding the social meanings in relation to the everyday life that is lived there, the residents value horizon and aspirations […]. (Pløger, 1999:37. Own translation).

[…] tools for planning- and processes are always context-dependent and must therefore be adjusted to the specific issues. By doing this it is possible to build up a collective competence and to make the many small decisions, which supports a sustainable development in society. (Malbert et al, 2004.:71. Own translation).

This context related approach discussed above all suits the idea in the Habitat-agenda when it comes to local work in neighbourhoods - working from the local conditions and the residents´ opinions.

2.2.3 Changes in Swedish city planning and housing politics

In connection with Habitat II, a new housing policy was proposed in Sweden. In 1996 the "governmental housing investigation" introduced a new area in the housing policy - environmental issues. This created a link between housing policies and the comprehensive politics regarding sustainable development. Long-term ecological perspectives were thus related also to housing issues (SOU, 1996:156).

The neighbourhood approach

In a historical perspective the housing policies developed during the 1930's were influenced by the *social* aspects dominating housing politics. The goal was to create healthy and functional settlements also for the lower social classes. The active reformists during this period stated that solving the housing problems was a prerequisite for creating a healthy society. During the 1940's focus was moved from single houses towards looking at whole residential areas. *The neighbourhood*, as it was interpreted until the end of the Second World War, can symbolize a part of the politics of the welfare state, a planning model, where services such as post offices, schools, day-care centres, churches and stores for daily commodities were placed in the local area, which was surrounded by green areas. This kind of urban planning resulted in smaller neighbourhoods, integration and a sense of community. The neighbourhood and the local community were viewed as playing a central part in the fostering of an individual to become a good citizen (Franzén & Sandstedt, 1993).

The ideological intention of creating socially defined neighbourhoods became less popular in the beginning of the 1950's, when *large-scale* solutions became a priority, and administratively defined *neighbourhood units* of up to 10 000 inhabitants were built (Johansson, 1991). Also these larger units contained a centre and they were dimensioned - partly to fit a number of inhabitants suitable to fill the local central school with pupils - and partly to support the need for local infrastructure. A new policy was later adopted that stated that one million homes should be built between the years 1964 and 1974, in order to solve the shortage of housing. The so called "Million Homes Program" took place during the 1960's and 1970's.

In the beginning of the 1980's, *small-scale* solutions became interesting again, and the idea of the smaller neighbourhoods had an upswing. Social, ethical and moral aspects of habitation were raised on the political agenda both during the 1940's and the early 1980's (Franzén & Sandstedt, 1993).

Urban character, partnership and sustainable community development

During the late 1980's other values emerged where urban character, competitiveness, entrepreneurship and "the information city" became key words in planning. During the beginning of the 1990's the financial situation of the municipalities was changed as a result of economic restrictions from the state. The new situation gave rise to new alternatives for the municipalities to be able to fulfil their public commission, such as partnership between the municipalities, the industry and the civil society (Elander, 1999).

Parallel to this, a new trend in housing politics – the new goal of sustainable habitation emerged. In connection with the politics for a

sustainable development the Swedish government began to work with issues encompassing housing politics, integration politics, recycling solutions and local democracy. (See *e.g.* SOU 1996:48; SOU 1997:105; Government statement 1998/99:5). In the Parliament's goal for Swedish housing politics, one of the most important issues is to contribute to the necessary changes towards a sustainable society. Settlements should be adapted to present as well as to future demands for a socially and ecologically sustainable environment. The politics of today puts emphasis on sustainable community development by setting the following goal: "Sweden is a progressive nation in terms of healthy residential environments, technology and systems solutions for energy-efficient and environmentally adapted building as well as an efficient management. Every citizen should be given the opportunity to live and work in healthy settlements and premises and in a stimulating and safe environment within an ecologically sustainable framework." (Government statement summary, 2001/02:172:32, own translation).

2.2.4 Changes in the Russian central planning

The urban landscape in which today's Russian people live and work is to a large extent a remnant of Soviet history. City planning in the Soviet Union was based on large-scale solutions and top-down perspectives in the planning process, characterised by symmetry and linearity. Or, according to Henri Lefebvres (1991): the Russian city planning was characterised by the abstract and powerful space and by an ideology which would promote the advancement of a communistic society.

Russian city planning from 1920 – 1990

Russian city planning can be divided into several epochs. In this text the period from the 1920's until today is briefly described. The first epoch focused mainly on spatial design of the city. Marxist theorists stated that no differences between urban and rural should be allowed as this was a typical sign of a capitalistic society. There were, however, no suggestions as to how this could be accomplished in practice (Stites, 1989).

Dramatic social changes occurred during the 1930's. The dictatorship of Stalin not only resulted in the loss of human lives but also a reconstruction of the whole Russian society from an agricultural to an industrial one. Industry was prioritised, and in 1935 a city plan was adopted in Moscow which was to become the prototype for the rest of the Soviet Union. In this urban plan a centre for political and cultural activities was established - with large squares, boulevards, and imposing monuments. There was no real residential politics present or developing during Stalin's time. After Stalin's death in 1953, the shortage of housing became severe and the

housing standard was in general very low. Chrusjtjov, Stalin's successor, put extensive efforts into improving the housing conditions and into constructing new residential areas (Bater, 1996).

During the 1950's, five-story buildings were constructed just outside the city centres – the so called Chrusjtjov-row houses. Also another type of construction was undertaken during the end of the 1960's. Large-scale residential areas of 9-story lamella houses were built. Those residential areas became the most common type of housing in Russian cities. During the 15 years between 1960 and 1975, 66 per cent of the urban population in Russia had their housing situation improved as a result of this development (Bater, 1996).

The situation of today

Russian city planning and residential politics was practically nonexistent after the Soviet era between the years 1991 and 1998. Not until 1998 did the housing construction start again. The building sector today (2005) is working at full speed, but the lack of housing is still widespread. With increased income and demands for higher living standards comes the urge for more living space. Since the local authorities do not have the means to construct housing areas this results in the process being put in the hands of private proprietors. The houses are mainly constructed on the green areas in the Novostrojka-area (similar to the Swedish Million Homes Program Areas) from the 1960-90's. Green structure is still a relatively unknown concept in Russia and therefore all land not specifically defined as park areas constitute potential areas of exploitation. The proprietors profit interests - together with the post-soviet ideals of architecture - leads to monumental architecture which is a kind of mix between Stalin-classicism and Novostrojka architecture. On the fringes of the city other types of housing are constructed, such as small houses and row houses, which are often very fashionable. New ideals are coming, but it seems as if most buildings being constructed are in-fills on green areas in the Novostrojka-areas (Lavrov and Likhacheva, 2003).

2.2.5 Contemporary politics and theory about sustainable urban development

The housing politics are - in a global UN perspective - striving for a holistic approach in the planning process. As mentioned earlier this study focuses on two main discussions in the Habitat-agenda: the document focuses on the importance of having a *broad approach* to what sustainable habitation actually is, and it states that a sustainable habitation requires *local work* and *citizen participation* in the planning and implementation

process (UNCHS, 1998). Below follows quotations from the Habitat-agenda which can be related to the two discussions.

Quotation related to discussion one:

> The quality of life of all people depends, among other economic, social, environmental and cultural factors, on the physical conditions and spatial characteristics of our villages, towns and cities. City layout and aesthetics, land use patterns, population and building densities, transportation and ease of access for all, to basic goods, services and public amenities have a crucial bearing on the liveability of settlements. […]. (UNCHS, 1998, Habitat-agenda, chapter II, section IV:30).

Quotations related to discussion two:

> […]. People's need for community and their aspirations for more liveable neighbourhoods and settlements should guide the process of design, management and maintenance of human settlements. […]. (UNCHS, 1998, Habitat-agenda, chapter II, section IV, § 30).

> Sustainable human settlements development requires the active engagement of civil society organizations, as well as the broad-based participation of all people. […]. (UNCHS, 1998, Habitat-agenda, chapter IV, section D.3, § 181).

> To encourage and support participation, civic engagement and the fulfilment of governmental responsibilities, national Governments, local authorities and/or civil society organizations should put into effect, at appropriate levels, institutional and legal frameworks that facilitate and enable the broad-based participation of all people and their community organizations in decision-making and in the implementation and monitoring of human settlements strategies, policies and programmes […]. (UNCHS, 1998, Habitat-agenda, chapter IV, section D.3, § 182.)

> […].Establishing agenda-setting participatory mechanisms enabling individuals, families, communities, indigenous people and civil society to play a proactive role in identifying local needs and priorities and formulating new policies, plans and projects. […]. (UNCHS, 1998, Habitat-agenda, chapter IV, section D.3, § 182h.).

In the politics for sustainable development, concepts such as *"think globally, act locally"* and *the global community* have been coined. But how can such concepts be interpreted? This is discussed below.

Global and local neighbourhoods

There is an ongoing political discussion about "the global neighbourhood". Parallel to this, and for quite some time, another discussion has been going on concerning the local neighbourhood. The UN document *Our Global Neighbourhood* (UN Commission on Global Governance, 1998) states that the neighbourhood provides an ideal paradigm for organising global living. The neighbourhood can be the framework where the traditional political-ethical matters can be brought up in a new context to solve the complex political and ecological problems in the global society. In this morally defined neighbourhood the citizens have to co-operate and politics require increased local individual, as well as collective, action. The report states that it is the geography rather than common values that brings neighbours together.

> Neighbourhoods are defined by proximity. Geography rather than communal ties or shared values bring neighbours together. People may dislike their neighbours, they may distrust or fear them, and they may even try to ignore or avoid them. But they cannot escape the effects of sharing space with them. When the neighbourhood is the planet, moving to get away from bad neighbours is not an option. (UN Commission on Global Governance, 1998:43-44).

The geographer Mark Whitehead (2002) states that in the era of globalisation it is easy to believe that the neighbourhood unit is somewhat anachronistic. He writes:

> Despite its apparent irrelevance as a scale or space of socio-cultural organisation, the neighbourhood is back on the political agenda" (Whitehead, 2002:1).

He means that these politics reflect the rediscovered neighbourhood, which is in focus in a number of antipoverty, welfare, and local democracy programmes on a national level in today's Britain. Whitehead further suggests that it is common today that the politics do not strive towards the more traditional meanings of neighbourhood (local neighbourhoods), but rather about the utilisation of a flexible and politically expedient scalar formation.

The global and local neighbourhoods should not be mixed up as they have different meanings and different goals. The concept "the global neighbourhood" should - in this study - be understood as an arena for creating a global moral and an "us-in-the-world"- feeling. This could help

to maintain peace and order as well as making the "world citizens" combat environmental problems together and work for human rights. With this view the concept "*think globally, act locally*" is highly suitable. The *local neighbourhood* is defined as the relations between individuals within a limited geographical area, where the residential area and the habitation constitute the basis of such relations.

The local neighbourhood in urban planning and housing programmes

In a historical perspective the neighbourhood has provided an important unit of analysis for geographers (Cox, 1981; Harvey, 1973). The traditional interpretation of neighbourhoods is a particular *social area*, *communal living space*, or *natural unit* within a city. Today the expression is more frequently used as a synonym for *place* or *locality* (Whitehead, 2002). Within geography and urban planning many early accounts of the neighbourhood focused upon the physical attributes of neighbourhood space (Carter, 1972). The intention of the architecture was expressed in the design and in the actual lives of the residents. The axiom was that the social qualities can be designed by shaping its spaces (Albertsen, 1993). Such urban planning ideals are an expression partly of the will to normalise everyday life by shaping social relations and partly to create safe and comprehensible public spaces (Pløger, 2002b).

Other ways of understanding the neighbourhood have been developed by human geographers, behavioural scientists and within urban ecology. These disciplines look upon the neighbourhood as complex processes, characterised by social interaction, perception and identification (Ley, 1983). According to this viewpoint, the neighbourhoods do not pre-exist as physical entities but rather as social objects (Jacobs, 1994; Ley, 1983). Over the last years within urban planning and housing programmes in Sweden (and in the Nordic countries in general), there is a trend towards not only focusing on improving the physical environment, but rather to prioritise social qualities of life (Pløger, 2002b).

Aspects of sustainability in the Habitat-agenda

The Habitat-agenda discusses different aspects of a sustainable habitation such as *physical, economic, organisational, social* and *cultural* aspects. In everyday life, this can concern: the residents´ use of energy and water; proximity to green areas; what the houses are constructed of; living costs in the residential area; whether there are services such as a grocery store; access to school and means of transportation; how the neighbourhood is experienced by the inhabitants; if the residents know each other; and/or if the area has historical and cultural values. Those examples are all central

for peoples' everyday lives and thus relevant in a discussion of sustainable habitation.

With the political goals for sustainable development, the residents are given a key role in the work for a sustainable habitation. The residents possess – through their site experience - a unique knowledge about the place where they live. By trying to understand what the residents consider as important to *conserve* respectively *change* in the residential area, a basis of values is created, that can be used in discussions about planning as well as in practical work for sustainable habitation.

The organisation of the local areas of a town, their economic and social function, the biological, aesthetic and cultural values of the place – all indirectly affect the *physical* resource requirement and the actual consumption. People's choices of for example, what products they consume and how they travel, strongly influence energy and material consumption. Physical resource theory combines the disciplines engineering, geography, economy and ecology and can be used for describing the role of physical resource flows in society (Månsson, 1992).

National (*i.a.* municipality) and business economics can be used for explaining sustainability issues when building and managing new residential areas. Every local area owns or manages a range of *economic* resources, *e.g.* houses, roads, pipes and parks. These represent a specific monetary value for builders, managers and inhabitants. The value of a neighbourhood can increase if the area is characterised by, *for example,* beautiful greenery, and good neighbourly relations, if the people in the area enhance the value of the available assets and possibly also invest in new ones. Thus, economic resources are linked to other values in the residential area. For socially strong areas, informal systems are easily developed for the exchange of goods and services that – in family economic terms – can represent great values. Such systems can also be formalised and can be related to common property theory (Ostrom, 1990). When promoting a sustainable lifestyle it is an advantage to be able to demonstrate economic profits for families or individuals.

When it comes to the *organisation* of the city, a number of researchers have addressed these issues. The qualities of access and functions are since long central in theories on good urban form (Duany and Plater-Zyberk, 1991; Lynch, 1981; Jacobs, 1961). The planner Kevin Lynch suggests that access is a key component which is reflected in his theories about ideal urban form. He states that access can be used as a dimension, a property describing the "good" city. Every local residential area needs to work practically in the everyday life. The residents need access to facilities such as stores, public transport, schools and health care. This is basic knowledge within urban planning - it takes into account a large number of aspects:

different categories of citizens, the age structure, and the special needs of the young, the old and of people with limited mobility. Residential sociology, statistics and physical, organisational and economic aspects are taken into account in this kind of work. The architect Christopher Alexander has for a long time been working with organisational issues in planning. In his book *"A Pattern language"* (1977) a number of particular planning problems are described. Starting from a planning practice, he formulates a number of possible solutions (patterns) – from the regional urban level to the single house. Together these patterns are context-dependent, as they create a unique pattern language. A similar work that describes - in a number of solutions - how residential areas' outdoor space can be organised has been written by Clare Cooper Marcus in "*Housing as if people mattered"* (1986).

Neighbourhood, sense of community, safety, security, segregation, social control and anonymity are central *social* aspects of habitation. This belongs to the area of sociology in general and residential sociology in particular (Eriksson, 1998; Franzén and Sandstedt, 1993). The social aspect includes meetings between people being manifested by actions.

The *cultural* aspect refers to the creation of meaning rather than *i.a* a concrete object. Culture is here understood as how we as individuals conceive, value and experience various phenomena (Appadurai, 2000). For example, in a local community it can be about experiencing the history and local traditions of a site.

2.2.6 Collective versus individual sustainable habitation

The everyday living perspective comprises specific connections between time and space, connections that can be explained by individuals' daily activities. The residents' environment as well as the daily activities connected to their habitation, are experienced, valued and given priority differently by different individuals. Furthermore, the experience of neighbourhood can be described in terms such as good-bad, sense of community-alienation, safe-unsafe, security-insecurity, well-known-anonymous, which is determined by the dwellers experiences and values. What constitutes good habitation? What is safe habitation? What is a beautiful habitation? There is no right or wrong answers to those questions, the answers differ depending on who is asked. Donna Haraway (1988) calls this "situated knowledge", where the individual's perspective is central. She means that it is not possible to disregard individual characteristics and experiences. Different places are given different meanings depending on who describes them. People's perspectives vary and therefore their experiences of places will also differ.

The different aspects of sustainable habitation discussed above can thus be manifested and experienced in many different ways in practice: the physical aspect could tell something about saving resources, recycling used materials and using energy-efficient techniques; the economic aspect could be about having reasonable costs of living, the social about feeling safe in the place where you live, the organisational about local access to services and communication and the cultural about finding a meaning in your habitation. What can be seen as a sustainable habitation, however, depends on *who* answers the question. What some residents believe to be a reasonable rent, others believe is expensive. Some people prefer to be anonymous, other people to spend time with their neighbours. This is especially crucial considering the politics for sustainable development, where the initiative is assumed to arise from the "bottom" – from the citizens themselves. It is hence reasonable to assume that different people relate differently to what is seen as sustainable or not. Political goals for a sustainable development – which for example requires citizen participation and changes in lifestyle – can in real life give rise to an encroachment on people's lives. Therefore this kind of development might give rise to consequences which are not experienced as being sustainable - on an individual level.

Sustainable habitation can thus be discussed on two different levels, *collective sustainability* and *individual sustainability*, which cannot always be reconciled. Earlier housing research and other sociological surveys show that neighbourhoods with a sense of community and an experience of belonging among the residents are basic prerequisites for a healthy residential area (Franzén and Sandstedt 1981; Lynch 1987). From this assumption one conclusion could be that sense of community in a residential area is an example of *collective sustainability*. When it comes to the individual level it is not certain that this is the experience of each individual person, some individuals may prefer to be anonymous. This raises the question: is it sustainable or not to be anonymous? The reason for anonymity could perhaps be that people experience that they are tired and stressed – one does not have the strength and energy to be friendly with neighbours – the home and the residential area becomes a place for peace and rest – a secluded corner in daily living. In such cases the individual does not regard the sense of community as something sustainable, but rather as an element of stress. Pløger (1999:35-36) states that:

> Surveys show over and over again that very few people wish to have close contact with their neighbours and that living anonymously means a lot to very many people.

Another example of this kind of problem is people's attitudes towards, for example, waste recycling and car driving/co-travelling – issues where individuals have fundamentally different views. When it comes to waste recycling, individuals' views differ both concerning the sustainability of waste recycling in itself (on a collective level), whether or not it is meaningful and if it is possible to recycle (on an individual level). It is similar with car driving. Some people believe that it is a matter of car sharing to lessen the negative effects on the environment. Others might share cars for economic reasons, while some people would never even consider this as an alternative, as it restricts their own freedom.

All these examples illustrate that people experience what is sustainable or not in their everyday life differently. Citizens´ commitment in local participation processes depend on their interests, priorities and abilities. What are the prerequisites for reconciling collective and individual objectives for sustainable habitation?

2.3 Living conditions of late modernity

The empirical approach in this study has its focus on the resident's lifeworld, primarily in the context of everyday life in a residential area. The study focuses both on the prerequisites that enable individuals to commit themselves to a sustainable habitation and how individuals experience their residential area. In this section the concepts *late modernity* and *lifeworld* coupled with the question of citizens' participation, are presented and discussed.

2.3.1 Late modern lifestyles

Modernity and post-modernity are two expressions that have been widely discussed and criticised within the social sciences. Modernity refers to a long period of time, from the Enlightenment during the 18th century until the present time. Influences that started in the 1960's meant that the post-industrial knowledge- and service society needed to be marked as a reverse trend from the development during the modernity, something which resulted in the expression post-modernity (Harvey, 1989; Jencks 1996). Post-modernity should not be mixed up with post-modernism[6].

---

6 There is no strict or unambiguous definition of post-modernism, but the concept tells something about aesthetic and linguistic aspects of modernity (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 1994). It can be described as a cultural and social phenomenon where a number of trends

The sociologist Anthony Giddens (1994) criticises the statement that the present society is a post-modern society. He means that such an approach suggests that this present era has broken with modernity – and that society is leaving this era behind. His point of view is that, rather than moving into a post modern era, the society is developing into a period in which the *effects of modernity* become more radical and universal that earlier. Giddens believes that the ideas that are connected to post-modernity are a consequence of the inherent dynamics of modernity. This is also the reason for him using the expressions *late modernity, high modernity* or *reflexive modernity,* rather than post-modernity. He suggests that in this new period of development the foundation of modernity is tested – the problem is elaborated and questioned (Giddens, 1994). In accordance with Giddens, the anthropologist Marc Auge chooses not to use the expression post-modernity but *super modernity*. His way of looking at it is that super modernity much more clearly represents the course of events: a speeding up of a process rather than a transformation (Auge, 1996). Time is experienced as passing much more rapidly and events seem as if they become history at once.

> Nowadays the recent past – the sixties, the seventies, the eighties – becomes history as soon as it is lived (Auge, 1996:26).

This study concurs with Giddens´ line of reasoning about not yet leaving modernity behind, as it continuously affects everyday life in terms of, for example, environmental problems. Therefore the choice has been made to use the expression late modernity rather then post-modernity when talking about the present time.

The consequences of modernity

Modern social scientists suggest that changeability and mobility in time and space are typical features of individuals´ lives in modern society. The geographer David Harvey (1989) states that the separation of time and space - "time-space-compression", is the main distinguishing feature of post-modernity. This refers to the phenomenon that time and space become less important by the use of modern technology.

---

exist and which was established within different fields in society. During the 1960's a post-modern movement started to develop. The key concept was differentiation and fragmentation, something which resulted in the old boundaries between industrial technology, arts, fashion and design gradually disappearing. The trend was characterised by a separation and division of sectors which traditionally had had their own discourses on post-modernism. A number of social science disciplines have been analysing this phenomenon from their approach (*e.g.* economy, politics, culture).

The modern individual lives in a somehow "double" world since it is partly built up around advantageous possibilities in time and space, but also entails being exposed to risks. One example is the car, which has opened up enormous possibilities for people, but at the same time brings with it increased risks of personal injury and harmful pollution.

Analysts of the consequences of modernity often conclude that this era has had negative effects on nature, in terms of environmental degradation. Consequences have also been seen in social life. Fragmentation, powerlessness, anonymity and alienation are often connected with modern development. In this context individualisation has been analysed as a process which describes people losing contact with their family, traditions and social class.

The political scientist Berman (1987) is critical of this development and proposes that the fragmented society of today, where privatisation is dominating and given priority at the expense of a wider social identity, seriously have affected people's living conditions. Modern social institutions dominate traditional habits and customs. Giddens means that modernity "displaces" social relations, as the relationship between people and nature becomes less anchored in a local context (Giddens, 1996). In late modernity the mantra is freedom. The development has gone from a modern society where security was more important than freedom, to a late modern society where freedom is central.

Lifestyle and everyday life

Individuals are exposed every day to a number of situations where choices are made, personal choices that influence and shape the individual's lifestyle. Lifestyle as a concept includes actions performed by routine, eating habits, clothing habits, ways of socialising, etc. How those habits are chosen and performed tells something about who you want to be. Giddens definition of lifestyle is:

> [...] an integrated set of actions performed by an individual, with the aim both to fulfil basic needs but also for materialising an identity of self. (Giddens, 1991).

In everyday life many people reject or neglect the idea of global threats and risk scenarios and concentrate on their private sphere and their own mental and physical well-being. Giddens suggests that people do look for confidence in a more intimate sphere due to a lack of historical continuity, the missing feeling of belonging to a succession of generations, both in a future and in a historical perspective. The widespread life style of the western world, where consumption is central, heightens individualism and

narcissism. Through media, commercials and advertisements people are influenced to make choices in their everyday life. Those choices and priorities are not only a matter of basic needs, but tell something about individually created needs. By consuming more, people fulfil and maintain an image of themselves, as well as satisfy personal created needs. The balance between listening and acting in line with one's individual ideals and values and trying to fulfil the norms of today's society is complicated. At the same time as an individual has to create an identity from a personal set of values, this always involves the risk of being left out, not fitting into society's norms of "normality".

One result of the late modern lifestyles is that people often experience a constant struggle against time (SCB, 2001), a feeling of insufficiency either in the professional or the private sphere. There is a growing pressure when trying to create an identity - expectations that people should develop and constantly achieve new knowledge and competences, make a career and buy material things that symbolise status, such as high-tech equipment, fashion and design. How those living conditions, typical of the late modern era, can be experienced in everyday life is expressed in the following quotation from the sociologist Ulla Jergeby´s study of residents:

> I don't have time. The hours are too few. The days are passing by too fast. (Jergeby, 1998).

Lack of time and technical innovations partly dominate people's lives, something which has led to a strong focus on the benefits of our actions. Different actions are competing with each other over the individual's limited time, which forces him/her to make priorities. Other trends that can be observed, with Sweden as an example, is that the number of people actively participating in associations, organisations and popular movements is decreasing (Pettersson, 1998). People are less interested in environmental issues (Bennulf, 2000) as well as in party politics (Pettersson, 1998). At the same time a trend of growing contempt for politicians can be seen.

2.3.2 Society, the individual and everyday life

The connection between individuals and society has been studied by a number of researchers mainly within sociology, social psychology, philosophy and social and human geography. The philosopher Edmund Husserl, the father of phenomenology, created the concept *lifeworld* at the turn of the 19th-20th century. The study of individuals' experiences and perspectives are central´ to phenomenology. Lifeworld is the concrete reality in which we live our lives - something that is taken for granted. At

the same time – according to Husserl – it is a prerequisite for knowledge, as it is a source of experiences for empirical studies (Bäck-Wiklund, 1998). Lifeworld as a concept has been further developed by several other social scientists (ibid). The philosopher Alfred Schutz (1963) developed it and states that knowledge determined by the lifeworld and arranged into familiar patterns by the individuals, is knowledge of the first order. Knowledge of the second order is based on the understanding of experts - the social scientist interprets the everyday patterns in the lifeworld. Phenomenology criticises the approach that prevails within the natural sciences, where objective knowledge has no connection to the concrete lifeworld and individuals are seen as objects, which means that their subjective abilities are disregarded.

The philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1984) uses lifeworld in his theory about the communicative action in which *two* terms are central: *system* and lifeworld. He suggests that the system identifies the structures of the financial order, the market and the bureaucracy, while the lifeworld represents one's own personal experiences in everyday life. He states that it is necessary to have both in order to understand the development of society. In real life an individual does not experience lifeworld and system as separate from each other. Society is experienced a system and lifeworld at the same time, and the individual is constantly conscious of the two spheres. Giddens (1991) states that individuals´ everyday life, and the institutions and processes within society have a reciprocal relationship to each other.

The discussion about system and lifeworld can also be connected to the discussion concerning late modern society. Habermas suggests that modern development grows a gap between system and lifeworld. The system has, over time, become more complex and difficult to grasp and has been expanding at the expense of the lifeworld. This development has also resulted in a much more rational lifeworld. At the lifeworld level, the individual struggle to find a state of wellbeing, a process where norms, demands and social control, present in the institutional system, has a very strong impact.

The collision between system and lifeworld

An individual can experience a collision between lifeworld and system for several reasons. The demands from both spheres may be too much to cope with, which can result in a stressful situation. Projects from the two worlds are competing with each other over the individual's limited amount of time. Normally the system wins. The individual is forced to make priorities and rational choices. Examples of this can be that the individual feels insufficient, both in the private and in the professional context. Maybe it is

an experience of not having any spare time, being troubled by choices like whether to work overtime, go to some meeting at the tenants' association, give the children a ride to the ballet, clean the house or look at a documentary on TV. These are a few examples of what might cause *dissonance* for the individual. Imbalance is created between the lifeworld and the system and/or within the lifeworld and the system.

The individual's experience of system and lifeworld
Another way to relate to system and lifeworld could be to start from what an individual experiences, what values he/she ascribes to the different "worlds", and what roles he/she identifies her- or himself with. The following theoretical example illustrates this: The system symbolises the *controlled human being*, where gainful employment, efficiency, financial growth, institutions in the society, norms and civilisation are seen as (a) necessary ("evil"). It consists of a world where people have to perform certain actions which are experienced as more or less compulsory tasks. One "has" to work, pay bills, pay taxes and stop for a red light. The individual's roles in this world are *e.g.* citizen, employee, colleague, customer, patient, resident, tenant, landlord, or a road-user. The lifeworld symbolises the *free human being,* where free will, thoughts and actions can dominate, without explicit demands from the system. The lifeworld allows room for privacy, social life with family and friends, contemplation and rest. The individual's role in the lifeworld is *e.g.* as wife/husband, partner, parent, child, sister or brother, cousin and friend.

Roles such as being a member of an organisation or being a colleague or a neighbour become more complicated in a division between system and lifeworld. To be a member of an organisation fits into the structured and organised system*,* but at the same time, membership is voluntary. A colleague may also be a friend. To be a resident or a neighbour are also examples of roles that fit into the borderland between system and lifeworld. Neighbours may belong both to lifeworld and system depending on what they are associated with. If looking at the presentation of problems in this study – citizen participation in a transformative work in a local context, with the goal of attaining sustainable habitation – neighbours may in the first place be associated with the system. The neighbour mainly becomes a collaboration partner in a working process.

2.3.3 Welfare and quality of life

To consciously shape one's own life requires that the individual has a large acting range which enables the person to live according to his or her own set of values and needs (e.g. to have few demands regarding the system). Having a large acting range is often equivalent to, or at least a precondition of having a good quality of life. Welfare is a familiar concept, central to late modern living. Welfare is often connected with consumption, good health, having a meaningful job and the ability to carry out social activities. The level of welfare is defined as:

> The individual's access to disposable resources and his/her conscious ability to shape and control personal living conditions in current circumstances" (Eriksson and Åberg, 1984:14).

Quality of life is another term which also tells something about welfare, but which includes further aspects such as experiences of beauty and a rich and unspoiled nature (SCB, 1987). In the terms welfare and quality of life, system and lifeworld meet - the public and the private. Quality of life in late modern society requires resources from both spheres.

The "small world" is supported by politics

At the same time as continuity and place dependence have been presented as obstacles for development in modern society, emphasis has been put on the importance of the "small world": family, home and an informal co-operation between individuals. In the somehow fragmented and changeable late modern lifestyles, this "small world" has a central role in providing continuity (Wikström, 1994). Political decisions concerning this "small world" has traditionally looked upon the family as a closed unit, although there have been some initiatives using a more open approach, *e.g.* political decisions enabling women to work. The social politics in Sweden during the 1930's assumed the relation between home and work, where the private sphere, the "good" life and housing became symbols for a better social life (Hirdman, 1990). The private sphere has over time been supported politically for example in the housing policies, *e.g.* in terms of construction of housing areas. An increased level of welfare has resulted in smaller households with larger private areas and each family member has been given his/her own private room (SOU 1974).

The increasing gap between the public and the private, where the private is expanding at the expense of the public and official services, has become "the problem of the public" (Sennet, 1978). A common phenomenon among Swedish people is the wish to be left alone, according to the sociologist Åke Daun (1989). He refers to number of studies and his

conclusion is that Swedish people find the private sphere important, they are shy, wish to avoid conflicts and they feel that it is important to be honest. Those factors together make openness and communication difficult. People also tend to spend more time with relatives and friends rather than colleagues and neighbours. Georg Simmel (1978) claims that the town's spatial design creates an anonymity which can lead to isolation, but that this trend does not necessarily need to be something negative. The anonymity can contribute to a social and cultural freedom for each individual person.

2.3.4 Citizen participation – a new possible paradigm?

Sustainable community development related to citizen participation has been widely discussed over the last ten to fifteen years. Theories have been developed, many focusing on democratic processes. Examples in this field are planning researcher Patsy Healey´s theory on *collaborative planning* and Habermas´ *genuine dialogue* and his interest in *deliberative democracy*. *Communitarianism* is a kind of philosophy which is also related to the issues of citizen participation and sustainable community development.

Collaborative planning

Planning researcher Patsy Healey (1997) has developed a communicative approach which she calls *collaborative planning*. It is based on the different roles, social contexts and networks that individuals have and act within, in their everyday life. The purpose is to create meetings, which enable stakeholders to communicate crucial matters. She stresses the importance of the local level within planning. She is critical of the view of the individual as rational and estimating, acting autonomously and being enlightened by objective scientific knowledge. She suggests that materialistic matters are not possible to disconnect from issues such as moral issues, emotional feelings and aesthetical experiences.

All individuals affect society by their values and the actions they perform. Furthermore, she puts emphasis on culture, which in this context means that ideas are formed and changed over time by social processes. Healey refers particularly to Habermas concept *system* - a system which makes people aware of their own cultural attachments, values and prejudices. Great differences in systems performance can be expected for individuals, cultures and between the present and the past. Those differences tend to be interpreted as a criticism of modernity. In the past, people lived in homogeneous groups, much more isolated from other cultures. Today people are affected in a totally different way, as our frames of reference are constantly changing due to our impressions from the

51

media, a multicultural society, globalisation and networking. These impressions are reflected in our values and actions. Healey also discusses the fact that conflicts can arise between individuals, when there is no understanding of other people's standpoints, when they meet in different roles and when power relationships emerge. People thus have different interests to defend. But co-operation between different cultures is still needed and one has to strive for a common understanding and a common plan of action. This can be done partly by enhancing the differences amongst the actors, partly through common projects and ideas that can serve as a common ground for all actors and thus be a part of *their new culture*.

Healey's discussion starts mainly from Giddens' (1984) theory of structuring and Habermas' (1984) theory on communicative action. Giddens suggests that individuals are never isolated or autonomous as sometimes can be experienced. The image we have of ourselves is created through other people and the world around us. The identity we have and the relationships we have built up are, according to Giddens, structured by earlier experiences - *structures*. These structures are active forces with a number of unspoken principles about how things should be done and by whom. The structures carry power relations from one period to another. Giddens maintains that this takes place through power over the formation of rules and behaviours, and through power over the flows of material resources.

Habermas theory on communicative action advocates the genuine dialogue which builds upon communicative rationality. A prerequisite for communication is that the people who participate in the conversation want to listen and to understand each other - and then act from the following premises: human beings are democratic creatures; a social life is based on processes of understanding; communication is built upon understanding and consensus and power is not present as a factor. Furthermore, it is required that people participate through their own free will and on an equal basis in a common search for the truth, were nobody can force anyone into anything.

Habermas advocates deliberative democracy that is rooted in the ideal of self-governance, which emerges from reasoned discussion about issues involving the common good. Deliberation is an essential component of genuine democracy. It requires an ongoing discussion among citizens with the aim to set the agenda for public issues, to propose alternative solutions to the problems on the agenda, to support those solutions with reasons, and to propose alternatives. This is a public process which requires the participation of the citizens.

Healey's discussions on collaborative planning fit into the context of citizen participation according to the Habitat-agenda (UNCHS, 1998). Her discussion is partly based on theories of Habermas and Giddens. But, one of Healey's weaknesses – as well as Habermas' - is that she tends not to approach the practical matters – how can we achieve collaborative planning and what are the premises on an individual level?

Communitarianism

The communitarian philosophy is based on a sense of community in the civil society, functioning as a sphere for value rational actions (Etzioni, 1993). Communitarians can be described as political practitioners whose actions are not only directed by self interest, but also by the desire to create a sense of community. A community requires co-operation, truthfulness and that everybody treats each other kindly and with respect (ibid). The philosophy has developed from the expression communis which looks upon community as "being one and to be obliged to serve" (Pløger, 2002c). Communitarians do not assume that the community involves homogeneous values but emphasize pluralism. But they do believe, in line with the sociologist Tönnies, that there is an ethics of responsibility in the fellowship – an ethics of human nature (Tönnies, 1978.) Those ethical norms work as the driving force in the community independently of sex, class, economy, culture and politics.

The communitarian philosophy may also be appropriate for implementing the intentions about citizen participation in the Habitat-agenda (UNCHS, 1998), in Agenda 21 (UNCED, 1992), and in the UN-report "Our Global Neighbourhood" (The Commission on Global Governance, 1995). In the political visions about sense of community there are expectations that people will co-operate and commit themselves, show each other respect and exhibit a moral behaviour towards one another - all in support of the global environment.

Such politics are challenged by the characteristics of late modern society such as cultural freedom, individualism, freedom rather than security, and ambivalence and changeability. Three contemporary characters in this society are: the nomad, the stranger and the undisciplined. Those characters are the cause of the lack of moral and ethics in communities according to sociologist Bülent Diken (1998). The sociologist Zygmunt Bauman is not too hopeful when analysing this development, as he believes that there is a conflict between security and freedom and thus between sense of community and individuality, that seems never to be resolved (Bauman, 2000). He is critical of communitarianism as city-like communities also involve conflicts and ambivalence. He suggests that those two social conditions are something

that we have to live with, as this is the nature of human beings (Bauman, 1998).

2.3.5 Conclusion

From the discussion above it might be justified to ask: what are the prerequisites for the individual to really support the implementation of the Habitat-agenda? The agenda states that citizens' participation is crucial but – as the literature survey shows - there seems to be many obstacles to overcome, both on social and on individual levels. And what abilities and potentials can each individual person or group possibly have to commit themselves? Citizen participation requires that both system and lifeworld and collective and individual objectives for sustainable habitation are reconciled. In the following part of the dissertation this will be exemplified in the empirical studies and later on discussed in the final discussion.

3. The method and its scientific origins

This chapter describes the scientific affiliation of the dissertation, the epistemological starting points and positions and finally the methodology.

3.1 Ontological and epistemological points of entry

A person's perception of reality can be described from two philosophical points of view: ontology and epistemology. Ontology is the science of being. Epistemology is the science of knowledge. The ontology of a researcher is often a result not only of the personality and special understanding the person has of the studied phenomena, but by the special interests and perspectives that the researcher gains from the research itself. This obviously affects the choice of studies and the interpretations that are made from a study. Another person might have a totally different perspective and thus a very differing world view. The point is that it is fully possible to read and interpret material like this in a variety of ways. Different perspectives capture different aspects of reality. One perspective captures some aspects clearly while others are not clearly shown, while some other perspective might highlight totally different aspects. And each perspective gives a partial view of reality. A perspective does not only include the view from which something is analysed, but also how it is experienced, understood and categorised (Skantze, 2001).

As stated earlier this study starts from a contextual analysis of society. A resident's way of acting in, view of and way of experiencing their residential area is a part of the local context. This approach can be connected to a relational ontology. According to this, there are several "worlds" as each individual has its own world view. In addition, this theory states that individuals act, react and relate to their surroundings. Human beings are seen as a part of the world that is described and experienced and are seen as actively creating and producing in relation to the surrounding world. The world does not exist outside the human but is created in the interplay between people (Israel, 1979).

3.1.1 Perception and pre-understanding

Human beings often ascribe a meaning to and interpret their own actions as well as other phenomena that they are exposed to. The term *meaning* is used both to describe human activities and the results of those actions (Gilje and Grimen, 1992). It can be explained as a relational feature, both

when it comes to physical objects or to actions, where the meaning is a relation between the object, the state of being or the action - and one or several individuals (Johansson 1999). Meanings are objective phenomena amongst individuals, they exist independently of the researcher's surveys, but phenomena with a meaning have to be interpreted to be understood. Interpretation is needed in any interacting situation and is done continuously by any "social actor" such as a human being. Sometimes the meaning of a phenomenon can be very unclear and can therefore be difficult to interpret. The explanation of this could be that a certain situation is most often understood in relation to some special premises, our pre-understanding. Pre-understanding can be said to be the condition that enables understanding.

An individual's pre-understanding consists, according to Gilje and Grimen, of three parts: *language and perception*, *religious belonging* and *individual experiences.* This is something that the individual has naturally in the interaction with other individuals and in the interpretation of phenomena constructing meaning. Hermeneutics aims at achieving understanding of a phenomenon by interpretation. The phenomenon is only understandable in the context where it exists. According to the hermeneutic school knowledge develops as a spiral, which means that there is a continuous interaction with one's own pre-understanding in order to comprehend the collected data and achieve an overall understanding.

Social scientists often interpret and understand things from some other interpretations already carried out by other researchers. This implies that *the meaning of the phenomenon* is a problem that needs to be handled within the social sciences. There are different views on how the research should relate to the studied statements of individuals. Two traditional, apparently contradictory opinions reflect the following stand point: Social scientists should not take any notice of the studied actors own descriptions as those often are wrong and unscientific. The second tradition states that the descriptions given by the studied individuals are most relevant as it tells something about what the actors believe is meaningful, both in their actions and in relation to others (Gilje and Grimen, 1992). The latter tradition therefore advocates that research within the social sciences should start from the actors own descriptions. The sociologist Emile Durkheim (1982) advocates the first tradition. He argues that the social scientists have to make sure to be free from the incorrect understanding of society that common people have. The sociologist Max Weber (1985) represents the other tradition and argues that social actions are behaviours that the actors themselves subjectively give a meaning. Weber means that:

Sociology is a science preoccupied by interpreting and understanding social actions and hence explanations of causes for their course and effects". (Weber, 1985:1. Own translation).

The sociologist Anthony Giddens (1993) developed a third approach which builds upon a double hermeneutics. He means that the social sciences have to relate to phenomena already interpreted by others and this gives the consequence that common people's view and interpretations can not be excluded. In a constantly ongoing interaction, the social sciences both have an influence on and are influenced by the interpretations of the common public. At the same time the conditions within the academic world have to be taken into consideration such as language, theories and terminology. In this study a third way of approaching research within the social sciences is used. Partly in line with what Weber states about how the actors themselves create a meaning to their actions and in relation to others and partly in line with the idea of the role of the researcher as someone who elaborates and analyses the problem, which means to go beyond the self-assessment of the studied actors.

3.2 Method

The starting point for the work carried out in this dissertation is the abductive scientific tradition. To work abductively means to alter between theoretical starting points and the empirical material that is analysed and interpreted. The results from the empirical material can be further analysed by using the theory and thus gain a broader and more profound understanding etc. Abduction can also be described as a method closely related to induction, as it is based on empirical practice (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 1994).

The question in focus for the study is about the accomplishment of a goal in a political context. The means to achieving the goal – sustainable habitation - is citizen participation in the planning process of a transformative work. Indirectly it is about individual's experiences, reflections, knowledge, experiences, values and actions needed to reach this goal. The formulation of the research question, the method for the study, suggests that the work mainly belongs to the qualitative research tradition (Kvale, 1997). Within qualitative research it is possible to work by using case study methodology, something which is used in this study. This choice was made as case studies are descriptive and focus on understanding. This work as a whole aims at understanding rather than

explaining and proving. It has been central in the study to understand the residents´ way of experiencing the area where they live, their living conditions and the time and interest they have to commitment themselves in local work.

Data has mainly been collected by qualitative semi-structured[7] and structured conversational interviews. In addition, observation and quantitative methods have been used. One of the partial studies was carried out as a questionnaire survey. The interviews constitute the core of the empirical material, as the study is focused primarily on understanding.

3.2.1 Case studies and phronesis

Case study as a methodology can be used for both quantitative and qualitative research, it actually strives towards using both (Stake, 1998). A case is studied in its context and has a clearly defined border. Case studies generate practical and context-dependent knowledge. This is achieved by looking at certain examples from reality which results in a broader understanding of a certain context. Bent Flyvbjerg (2001) connects the case study methodology to the concept or term phronesis, where exemplifying is central. He highlights three concepts that Aristoteles developed as three kinds of knowledge: *episteme, techne* and *phronesis*. When talking about being able to do something or knowing something, this refers either to the first, second or third kind of knowledge. Aristoteles meant that all three kinds are needed in a society. Episteme symbolises a natural scientific view, which refers to rationality, predictability, true-false and course of events not being context dependent. Techne symbolises technical knowledge, pragmatism and context dependent courses of events. The phronesic philosophy symbolises a knowledge being context-dependent. Furthermore, it symbolises a knowledge being practical and value-based that takes peoples moral behaviour into account.

This last philosophy means that by looking at examples, it is possible to say something about reality. The specific and context-dependent is enhanced and put above general rules and the universal, the concrete and practical, is enhanced and put above theoretical matters. The classical phronesic research has its starting points in three value-rational questions: Where are we going? Is it desirable? What shall be done? A fourth question can be added, concerning power and phronesis: who wins and

---

7 Structuring in the context of methods can have two widely separated meanings. Firstly, it refer to that the questions in an interview has pre-defined and fixed alternatives for the answers. Secondly, it refers to that an interview can have a highly structured, semi-structured or non-structured design. An interview has a high level of structure if it is know what questions that will be asked and if the questions only relates to a pre-defined issue (Trost, 1993). In this work definition number two is used.

who loses; what mechanisms of power rules? Aristoteles connects phronesis directly to social sciences and the question of power structures. In the quotations below Flyvbjerg discusses and analyses Aristoteles.

> Political science and prudence [phronesis] are the same state of mind [They are not identical however. *Phronesis* is also found at the level of the household and the individual]. (Flyvbjerg, 2001:59).

> [...] phronesis [...]. We consider that this quality belongs to those who understand the management of households or states. (Flyvbjerg, 2001:56-57).

The basic purpose of phronesic research is to create a dialogue outside the academic world, to help society to see and reflect over the direction in which we are heading and to make sure that the results from research reach the affected groups (Flyvbjerg, 2001).

Categories of case studies

The social psychologist Matthew Miles and pedagogue Michael Huberman (1994) have developed a way to categorise case studies: socially defined, temporarily defined and finally cases defined in a certain space. A socially defined case can *e.g.* be an organisation, a temporarily defined case could be an event and a spatially defined area can be a place (see table 1).

Table 1. Categorisation of different kinds of cases (modification of Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Socially defined	Temporarily defined	Spatially defined
An individual or a social context	A process	An artefact
A role	An episode of time	A place
A small group	An episode	
An organisation	An event	
A society		

When considering the problem definition in this study the following categorisation of case studies are appropriate: a *spatially* defined case study – about a place, and a *socially* defined case study – about an individual or a context. The place in this study is the residential area, and the individuals in a social context are the residents.

Criticism of case studies

One criticism of using case studies as a method is that it can be problematic to secure the validity and the reliability of the results from the study. Considering this, one can question whether or not a case study is a scientific method. This kind of discussion is based on a traditional natural scientific standpoint where the term episteme, discussed in the section above, is central.

Another way of looking at the use of a case study as a method is to look at whether or not the work is relevant from a community perspective. Within qualitative research the terms *trustworthiness* and *authenticity*, rather than validity and reliability, are used (Lewis et al, 2004). The general conclusion drawn from the results in case studies differs significantly from the generalisation used in quantitative studies made within natural sciences. In quantitative studies statistical generalisation is used. This method should not be confused with *analytical generalisation*, from case to theory which is used in case studies. Analytical generalisation is based on the researcher's earlier experiences together with previous studies performed by other researchers. In case studies the researcher looks for patterns in the collection of data. The results from a case study should not be looked upon as statistically validated (Yin, 1994). But case studies can be generalised in other ways, and this is discussed by architect Rolf Johansson (Johansson, 2005). One example within the field of analytical generalisation is naturalistic generalisation, which means to compare a case with a repertoire of cases.

3.2.2 Empirics – three partial studies

The empirical work is based on case studies of the character "cross-case study", which means that several cases are studied and compared with each other. Both quantitative and qualitative methods, data triangulation and methodological triangulation[8], have been used in the empirical work. Study triangulation has been used for certain parts in one of the partial studies. The empirics are divided into three partial studies: I. *Interview study* in *Uppsala,* II. *Interview study* in *Petrozavodsk,* III. *Questionnaire survey in Sweden*. The partial study III is a part of the cooperation with the researchers Per Berg, associate professor in landscape planning and Tuula Eriksson, sociologist, both at the department of landscape planning Ultuna

---

8 Triangulation means that the researcher uses several different methods in the research. Patton has identified four different kinds of triangulation (Patton, 1987):
   1. data triangulation: uses several sources to collect data
   2. study triangulation: uses several different researchers
   3. theory triangulation: uses several perspectives to translate the data used in the research
   4. methodological triangulation: uses several methods to study a separate problem.

SLU. The partial studies I and II were carried out by the author and constitute the core of the dissertation.

I: *Interview survey in Uppsala*
This partial study consists of three qualitative case studies where the cases are Kungsgärdet, a small house area from the 1930's, Lassebygärde, a multifamily house area from the 1950's and August Södermans Road in Gottsunda, a multifamily house area from the 1960's. The survey was carried out during the spring of 2003.

II: *Interview survey in Petrozavodsk*
This partial study consists of two qualitative case studies where the cases are Perevalka, a small house area from the 1930's, and Drjevlanka, a multifamily house area from the 1980's. The survey was carried out during the autumn of 2003.

III: *Questionnaire survey in Sweden.*
This partial study consists of 12 quantitative case studies where the cases are divided into three types of residential areas: a small-house area from the 1930's, a multifamily house area from the 1950's and a multifamily house area from the 1960's. Those three categories of residential areas were studied in four cities: Uppsala, Göteborg, Örebro and Strängnäs. The survey was carried out during the summer 2000.

The cases in Uppsala:
Kungsgärdet, small house area, 1930's.
Lassebygärde, multifamily house area, 1950's.
August Södermans Road in Gottsunda, multifamily house area 1960's.

The cases in Göteborg:
Bräcke, small house area 1930's.
Kyrkbyn, multifamily house area 1950's.
Eriksbo, multifamily house area 1960's.

The cases in Örebro:
Hagaby, small house area, 1930's.
Baronbackarna, multifamily house area, 1950's.
Brickebacken, multifamily house area, 1960's.

The cases in Strängnäs:
Sörgärdet, small house area, 1930's.
Smeden, multifamily house area, 1950's.
Östra Stadsskogen, multifamily house area, 1960's.

The selection criteria for the study
In this part the selection criteria for cities, residential areas and respondents are presented.

The selection of cities

The selection strategy for Uppsala, Göteborg, Örebro and Strängnäs was based on a so called strategic selection (Patton, 2004) as the researchers (Madeleine Granvik, Per Berg and Tuula Eriksson) already had some knowledge of those places from previous projects, and partly a selection with regard to scale. In this latter selection criterion the cities were compared with each other; one big city (Göteborg), two medium-sized cities (Uppsala and Örebro) and one small town (Strängnäs). In addition to this, it was valuable to have an even geographical distribution over the country. Uppsala is the reference case of study. This means that the first cases of the study were chosen in Uppsala and those cases are described with the most extensive references, historically, socially- and organisationally. Furthermore, in the case of the reference city, there are more numerous and profound contacts with planning authorities, managers, housing organisations, and other site experts. Those cases have since the beginning of the study played the role of model-areas when choosing cases in the other cities. It has been easier to find the knowledgeable site informants after the inventory carried out in Uppsala. As with Uppsala, the choice of Petrozavodsk was a strategic selection as the author of this work has previous knowledge of the place due to previous research projects at Petrozavodsk State University (Granvik, 2000).

Selection of residential areas – starting from Uppsala

The selection of residential areas was based upon the Uppsala municipality classification system for residential areas: the city core, small house area from the 1930's, multifamily house area from the 1950's, multifamily house area from the 1960's, multifamily house area from the 1980's, modern large-villa area, small community in the countryside (Uppsala municipality 2001). Three of those types were selected for the study: a small house area from the 1930's, multifamily house area from the 1950's and multifamily house area from the 1960's. The selection process was deliberately stratified, which means that it aims to study the characteristics within different groups and compare those to one another (Patton, 2004).

The reason for choosing those three was that all three represents residential areas that have a reasonably long history, which gives a possibility to see the potential of the area in the historical context. Furthermore, those areas represent a large share of the population. The small house areas represent 860 000 homes (SCB, 1993) in Sweden with – if we use Uppsala statistics as a standard - about 2.2 million people. The multifamily houses erected between 1940 and 1950 (in Sweden the housing areas from this period is named *Folkhemshus = People's Homes Houses*) represent about 540 000 apartments, with about 820 000 people (extrapolated from Uppsala statistics (Boverket, 2005). The multifamily houses built within the *Million Homes Program* (multifamily house areas from the 1960's) represent 840 000 apartments, with around 1.8 million people (extrapolated from Uppsala statistics) (Boverket, 2005).

The small house areas are interesting from a neighbourhood perspective as there are other studies pointing at a high staying rate and a significant social cohesion. And this despite the fact that those are private houses with their own shielded garden (Orback and Sjöfors, 1993; Johansson, 1991; Bergold, 1989). The People's Homes Houses are especially interesting due to an ongoing change of generations and its typical neighbourhood planning. The areas of the Million Homes Program are interesting as these areas are characterised by a large potential to develop from problem areas to areas of more sustainable habitation.

Criteria for selection of residential areas

The criteria for selection of residential areas within the small house areas were: distance to the core of the city, age of the area, size of the houses, size of the house lots, planning history in the area, and finally local service and communication. Small house areas built mainly between the 1920's- and the 1950's were seen as the first "sub-urban" areas of the city, whilst today they are looked upon as fairly central, with a distance of 1-2 km from the city centre. The houses are of a relatively small size, 50-120 m^2, and with a house lot of about 500-1000 m^2. These areas were often built in connection to some large workplace and with a history of extensive organisational resources such as service and communication, services which today are becoming very limited in these types of areas.

The criteria for selection of cases within the multifamily house areas were: distance to the core of the city, the age of the area, distance to greening areas such as forests and agricultural areas and local service and communication. The areas built during the 1950's are located relatively close to the city centre compared to the houses built during the 1960/70's. The buildings constructed during the 1950's often have large inner courtyards and shrinking surrounding green areas, while the houses from

the 1960/70's are surrounded by large forests and agricultural areas. Local services and communication is today lacking in the areas from the 1950's, while basic services are quite good in the areas from the 1960/70's.

In the Russian cases there were just enough financial resources to study two out of the three types of residential areas. The aim was to find two residential areas in Petrozavodsk, within the categories small house area from the 1930's and multifamily house area from the 1960/1970's, that were as similar to the Swedish cases as possible. The reason for choosing these was to be able to study two types of residential areas representing different conditions: Firstly, privately owned houses with a garden and secondly, multifamily houses with rented apartments. A majority of all Russians live in houses that fits into the category multifamily house area, build during the 1960's-1990's (Lavrov 2003). As a consequence of this, these kinds of houses were found to be more adequate rather than multifamily house areas built during the 1950's, which would correspond to the Swedish People's Homes Houses ideal. The small house area in Petrozavodsk was not chosen on the basis of being a common type of habitation, but for being as similar to the small housing area in Uppsala as possible, within the following criteria: located near the city centre, built during the 1930's, consisting of small wooden houses and privately constructed. When the area was built it was connected to large workplaces.

Selection of respondents

The respondents in the study were residents living in the five residential areas.

I: Interview survey in Uppsala

The selection of respondents in this partial study, consisting of three qualitative case studies, (Kungsgärdet, a small house area from the 1930's; Lassebygärde, a multifamily house area from the 1950's and August Södermans Road, a multifamily house area from the 1960's) was performed by every case being delimited by geographical enclaves through streets and courtyard formations within the residential area. The residents living within the chosen geographical areas represented the population of respondents of the study. A second step was to select 20 respondents by using a random generator. The approach with this method was that each household was given a number, in this case from 1-90. The numbers that were selected by the random generator were chosen for the interview. The choice to use a random generator was based on the premise that it was not possible – time wise and budget wise – to carry out a total survey, to interview the whole population. The kind of random selection was a so called OSU-selection, an independent random selection (Rosengren &

Arvidson 1992). When a rejection occurred (when a respondent did not agree to give an interview) a new number (a new respondent) was chosen by random. By using this random selection process, 20 respondents were interviewed in total.

II: Interview survey in Petrozavodsk

The selection of respondents in this partial study, consisting of two qualitative studies, (Perevalka, a small house area from the 1930's and Drjevlanka, a multifamily house area from the 1980's) was primarily based on same geographical delimitation as the cases in the interview survey described above (see heading I. Interview survey in Uppsala). But, in Petrozavodsk the way of proceeding with the practical work differed from the procedure in Sweden as there were other premises that had to be taken into account. A significant number of the people living in the areas had no telephone, people's names were not officially available and the names of the residents were not stated on the letter boxes or in the stairways. The contact with the respondents was therefore made directly in the residential area, by knocking on people's doors or asking residents in their gardens or out in the streets. A random selection of residents were made (adults, at the minimum age of 18 living in the area were asked).

III. Questionnaire survey in Sweden

The selection of respondents in the 12 quantitative case studies in Uppsala, Göteborg, Örebro and Strängnäs (studies of a small house area from the 1930's, a multifamily house area from the 1950's and a multifamily house area from the 1960's) was based on same geographical delimitation as the cases in the interview survey described above (see heading I. Interview survey in Uppsala). The study was a so called total survey (Rosengren and Arvidson 1992). The numbers of asked respondents in every area were 90 people, apart from the residential areas in Strängnäs, where 70 people were asked. The respondents received the questionnaire via the postal service and were also requested to return it by post.

3.2.3 Questionnaire design

The questionnaire was designed with the purpose of gathering information about the residents' perception of the area where they were living. This was done from seven different aspects of habitation: *physical, biological, economic, social, organisational, aesthetic and cultural* (Berg, 2004). The questionnaire started with nine so called background questions. This was to get basic information about respondent's sex, age, number of people in the household and number of years lived in the area. After this, several sections of questions followed, one section per aspect. The section on

65

physical aspects considered for example: heating, electricity, water, waste recycling, composting and car travel. The section on biological aspects considered access to green areas and water. Economic aspects: costs, service fees, self management and economic exchange system. Social aspects involved neighbourhood, social control and anonymity. Organisational aspects: services and means of transportation. Aesthetic aspects: peoples experiences of seeing, hearing, smelling and overall feelings. Cultural aspects: the residential area's history, ceremonies, traditions, art and music. The questionnaire contained questions both with closed format response alternatives and open questions where the respondents were given the possibility to respond freely.

Response frequency and validation with other methods

The response frequency was low - between 15 – 45% - which made it necessary to validate the results. The validation included several methods such as interviews of residents, interviews of special informants (city planners and site managers) observations and analysis of maps and statistics. Ten households out of a total population at each site of 90 (70 for Strängnäs), were randomly chosen for interviews. The interviews were tape-recorded or notes were taken. Observation studies were conducted regularly from the year 2000 – 2002 in all residential areas. The observations included taking photos, writing notes and in some cases oral notes being tape-recorded. Statistics concerning physical resources, rents and building costs and moving rates were collected. Maps of the residential areas were mostly provided by the municipalities. Coding and statistical analysis of the questionnaires were carried out in the statistical program Filemaker Pro.

3.2.4 Interview process

In partial studies I and II, which constitute the main empirical work for this dissertation, data have been collected by qualitative conversational interviews. A material with a series of both semi-structured and structured questions was developed for the interviews (Starrin & Svensson, 1994). There was an aim that the interviews should be more of a conversation where the respondent should be given the possibility to express concerns which she or he felt was important. Qualitative data methods are generally seen as more open and honest than quantitative ones, when it comes to acquiring data by asking people, as the respondent gets a chance to express the answer verbally. The residents were interviewed anonymously.

Working with performing qualitative interviews it is basically required – or at least it makes things easier – that the person who performs the interview has a genuine interest in listening and trying to understand the

person that is being interviewed. It would be an optimal situation if it was possible to make a "now I understand this person" statement after the interview, although it is of course impossible to fully understand another person, especially as it is difficult to understand the underlying reasons for a specific answer. As a human being one interprets the surroundings and to enable some kind of understanding in a conversation interpretation is needed. This process starts from the individual's personal references, which is built upon knowledge and experiences. Interview as a method is based upon a certain confidence between the person that interviews and the respondent. One sensitive aspect in the research is exactly this relation between researcher – respondent. It is not possible to overlook the power relation in such meeting. The respondent is free to tell what she or he thinks about the residential area and the researcher interprets the collected empirical material to rewrite the comments into a new story about the studied area. Those factors are difficult to go around, but should be highlighted as one of the conditions of the work.

Preparatory work for the interviews

In Uppsala the interviews with the respondents were booked in advance. This was done by first sending a letter to the respondent with a request. The letter was followed-up by a phone call when the respondent either said yes or no to giving an interview. If the answer was positive an appointment was made and the most interviews were carried out in the residents´ homes. The number of persons that did not want to give an interview was approximately the same (~50%) in each of the residential areas. One difference was that this figure was somewhat higher in Gottsunda (multifamily house area from the 1960's). One explanation was that about a third of the people that were requested had moved. Other reasons that were given by the residents were:

> There is no time for such a thing.

> I almost had a breakdown once, from participating too actively in organisations, giving interviews etc., I've promised myself – never again.

> No, I can't do it, I'm ill.

> No thanks, I'm not interested.

It was not possible to see a clear pattern amongst the people that did not wish to participate. There was a quite even distribution between sex and age.

In Petrozavodsk the way to go about the interviews was – as earlier mentioned - different. A significant number of the people living in the areas had no telephone, people's names were not officially available and the names of the residents were not stated on the letterboxes or in the stairways. The contact with the respondents where therefore taken directly in the residential area, by a random selection of people. In the small house area by knocking on people's doors, or asking residents out in their garden or in the streets, if they were willing to participate in an interview (adults, at the minimum age of 18 living in the area). The most interviews were carried out in the residents´ homes. In the multifamily house area most respondents were asked outdoors in the court yards, the streets or at the green alley.

Conversational interviews in five residential areas
On the occasion of the interviews a guide with categories of questions was used. All questions – apart from one – had open answers, i.e. there were no predefined alternatives to chose from. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 4 hours. All interviews were recorded and then transcribed – written in full text. All people being interviewed were free to choose the location of the interview, which gave them a possibility to feel more confident in the situation (Patel & Tabelius, 1987). Almost all of the interviews carried out in Uppsala, and in the small house area in Petrozavodsk, were carried out in people's homes. In the multifamily house area in Petrozavodsk the interviews was performed outdoors in the residential area.

The conversation started from the categories of questions in the interview guide, but most of the respondents spoke quite freely without any support. The first question was: Please, speak about or tell something about the residential area where you live. The purpose of asking this question was to steer the conversation as little as possible. By doing this the interviewer gives the respondent the possibility to freely choose what to talk about, which will tell something about what questions the person *her- or himself* chooses to talk about. Several of the Swedish respondents gave extensive answers to this opening question, but few of the Russian ones. For the people finding it easy to speak freely, the opening question also gave answers to a number of other questions to be asked later. The categories of questions/conversations were about positive and negative sides of the residential area, what to change what to preserve, aspects of participation in local work, their every day life situation in general and leisure pursuits. Throughout the conversations spontaneous questions were asked frequently. During the interviews in Petrozavodsk there was also an interpreter present, translating from Russian to English. After each

interview a conversation took place between the interviewer and the interpreter about what had been said during the interview. These interviews were also recorded.

The character of the interviews

The interviews developed in several different ways. A categorisation shows mainly 3 types of situations: 1. *Conversation/dialogue* (starting from a comprehensive question a more relaxed and free conversation developed, where the respondent was given the possibility to discuss the questions together with the interviewer). 2. *Conversation/monologue* (starting from a comprehensive question, a more relaxed and free conversation developed, but where the respondent seemed to have a great need to share their personal thoughts with someone, rather than discussing the questions together with the interviewer). 3. *Structured interview* (question-answer, a question was asked and was answered shortly or not at all.) None of those categories dominated.

One experience that you often have as a researcher is how to deal with reactions that might come up during the interview session. An interview involves many processes, thoughts, memories and can sometimes bring up strong feelings within the respondent (and the person performing the interview). Depending on the subject those processes can be more or less sensitive and emotional. During the interviews carried out in this study a few emotional situations arose, mainly with people having an urge to talk about personal things, people belonging to category 2 described in the beginning of this section.

Analysis of the interviews

The purpose of the qualitative interview is to describe and interpret the themes that exist in the interviewed individual's lifeworld (Kvale, 1997). In all steps of the empirical work, an interpretation is done. In the first step the interviewed person described his/her lifeworld by spontaneously telling about experiences, feelings and actions connected to the subject, habitation. In the second step the interviewed person often discovered new ways of relating to the subject, views that gradually became clearer. It could be new connotations in relation to what was felt and resulted in new connections to the individual's lifeworld. In a third step the statements made by the individuals were interpreted and the person was asked to confirm whether or not the interpretation was correct. The interviewed person was given the possibility to comment, confirm or deny. A fourth step meant listening to the tapes and rewriting what was said. The working procedure in the Russian cases was different, as the interpreter rewrote the material from the tape and then translated to English. This material was

then interpreted once again while listening to the tapes where the interviewer and interpreter discussed the results of the interview.

The fifth step included interpretation of the transcribed interviews. Three important steps were included in this phase: Firstly, structuring the whole material. In this step the interview guide was used to structure the answers in a comprehensive way. Secondly, a mapping of the material was carried out, to understand what was essential and what was less relevant, what was repetition and what was superfluous. Finally, the analytical work was carried out by performing a so-called sentence analysis by first making a sentence concentration and then a sentence categorisation (Kvale, 1997). This means that the sentences from the interviewed people are expressed in a more condensed way. The interview texts were thus reduced into shorter formulations. After this followed a so-called sentence categorisation which means that the interviews are coded in categories. A coding of the material was carried out for each individual statement. The statements were reduced to categories by working with symbols, for example letters (the first letter for a certain phenomenon). For example N as in neighbours, -N equals bad neighbours and +N nice neighbours. When performing this kind of categorisation it is possible to work with different scales (i.e. 1-5) to be able to understand the strength of the phenomenon. In this study the material has not been interpreted from the hermeneutic philosophy, which means doing extensive and profound interpretations, to go "beyond" the material – to interpret underlying meanings in the statements being studied. The interpretation carried out on this study is of a more shallow character and could be called an "analysis of sentences".

4. Site and situation

This chapter describes the studied residential areas in Uppsala: Kungsgärdet, Lassebygärde and August Södermans Road in Gottsunda, in Petrozavodsk: Perevalka and Drjevlanka.

4.1 Uppsala

Uppsala is the fourth biggest city in Sweden with 190,000 inhabitants. It is situated between the Uppsala plain to the east, and the forest landscape north of lake Mälaren to the west. The location is 70 km north of Stockholm. The town is a centre for high technology companies, has a large academic hospital and two universities (Uppsala municipality, 2003).

4.1.1 Kungsgärdet

The small-house area Kungsgärdet is located two kilometres south-west of Uppsala centre. The area was planned by the Uppsala-architect Gunnar Leche and was erected between 1937 and 1953 (Bergold, 1989). The area was mainly built for low-income families and was located close to the Ekeby brick and tile works. The houses were to a large extent built by the people moving into the area themselves and were financed by advantageous governmental loans. The original area consisted of 174 small one storey houses which had a living area of around 45-55 m^2 and a basement. The houses were built along slightly curved narrow streets in an open and translucent landscape of house lots with plenty of fruit trees and low hedges. The house lots are 600m^2 with the houses located in the front area of the lot towards the streets.

Today the area is characterised by a growing number of extensions and new plantations are made designed to shield the houses. No houses have been demolished or replaced by new ones. There are approximately 430 people living in the area, of which around 150 are children. A majority of the residents (60%) are families, and two thirds of those are families with children. 90% of the residents are of Swedish or Nordic origin. The turnover in the year 2000, based on the number of people moving out, was around 5%/year (Uppsala municipality statistics, 2002).

Figure 2. A typical small house in Kungsgärdet.

A nearby green area is the open fields of Ekeby valley, located to the west, consisting of grass fields, allotment gardens, a storm water pond and football fields. To the east is the City forest, a large public forest park. The residential area has a few smaller parks along the Aros Street with alleys of birches and some mid-scale green areas and a playground. The inner green structure is characterised by sparse alleys dominated by trees planted by the entrance side of the house lots – mainly cherry and apple trees.

The residents of Kungsgärdet do not have close access to grocery stores, a kiosk or a petrol station, something which used to exist in the area. Instead there are small local centres near by - Ekeby (1,5 km) and Eriksberg (2 km). There is a day care-center and a school located in the area. Public buses operate in the boundaries of the area. Kungsgärdet is provided with energy by district heating or in some cases by individual boilers running on oil, wood or electricity. A large number of houses have been more energy efficient in connection with renovation. Water and sewage is connected to the municipality network. Several households sort their waste in fractions of burnable and compostable by using two litter bins, one for each kind. Cultivation is mainly carried out as a hobby.

The small house area of Kungsgärdet
* Distance to the centre: 2 km south-west of central Uppsala.
*Built: 1937-1953 (self-construction) with advantageous governmental loans.
* Small one storey houses built on 600 m^2 house lots along slightly curved narrow streets in an open and translucent house lot landscape. The area is quite densely built and with few common areas or buildings.
* A majority of the residents (60%) are families. Two thirds of those are families with children.
* 90% of the residents are of Swedish or Nordic origin.
* Number of households: 174
* Number of residents: Approximately 430 of which about 150 are children.

4.1.2 Lassebygärde

Peoples Homes Houses area Lassebygärde is located 2.5 km south-west from the centre of Uppsala. The area was planned by the town architect of Uppsala, Gunnar Leche and was built between 1948-1949 (Bergold, 1989). The residential area was characterised partly by large common green courtyards and well-planned houses with – for that time – modern equipment. The houses were intended for families of different size with small incomes. Several early residents worked at the Ekeby brick and tile works nearby.

The area consists of 137 small apartments in three storey houses in an early functionalistic style. The architecture is characterised by simple, pure lines, with very few ornaments. Remarkably few construction mistakes were detected when the craftsman like built houses were ready in 1949 (Hans Nohlden, pers. comm, 2005). The houses are placed spaciously with a large inner courtyard to provide visual privacy and to create a lush, secluded common green space to provide for the needs of different age groups. Lassebygärde was the first area in Uppsala which was built by a public housing company owned by the municipality itself – Uppsalahem (Bergold, 1989).

Figure 3. Multifamily houses in Lassebygärde

Today, more than 200 people live in the 137 flats in Lassebygärde. Only around 10 of the residents are children under 16 years of age (in the year 2000). The area has many pensioners and students and few families. 90% of the residents are of Swedish or Nordic origin. The turnover was rather high - around 18%/year in the year 2000 (Uppsalahem, 2002).

The west of Lassebygärde borders to the Ekeby valley with open grass fields, arable fields, allotment gardens and football fields. The City Forest is located to the east. The dominating green area within Lassebygärde is the large inner courtyard, with smaller squares and playgrounds a pond and several common greens and some flower beds. The people living on the lowest floor have their own garden plots.

Previously, there were services such as a kiosk, a petrol station and grocery shops available in the area (Anneli Sundin, Uppsala municipality, pers. comm., 2002). Today the residents have to travel more than a kilometre to access those services, to the local centres of Eriksberg (2 km) or Ekeby (1.5 km). A day care centre and a school is located in the nearby small house area Kungsgärdet. Public busses are available for the residents. The area was not originally designed for the extensive use of cars which are the norm today, something that results in a shortage of parking places and unpleasant noise in the area. The area is connected to district heating. Water and sewage is connected to the municipality networks. Storm water from the area is treated in storm water ponds in the Ekeby valley. The household waste is sorted into burnable, compostable, hazardous for the environment, newspapers, cardboard and glass. The waste is collected by the municipality.

Lassebygärde multi family house area
* Distance to the centre: 2.5 km
* Built between 1948-1949 by the public housing company Uppsalahem, with governmental financial support.
* Three storey brick houses with a large inner courtyard.
* Many pensioners and students and a few families live in the area.
* 90% of the residents are of Swedish or Nordic origin.
* Number of households: 137
* Number of residents: 206 people.

4.1.3 August Södermans Road, Gottsunda

The Millon Homes Program area Gottsunda is located 6 km south of Uppsala centre. It was planned by Sven Jonssons architects office and the site plan was created by NOARKs architects' office. The residential area on August Södermanbs Road was constructed in 1972. The houses were built using track bound cranes and "element house technology". The design is simple, modernistic, with recurring shapes and details. Two and three storey houses were placed in partly open squares, originally without private zones close to the houses. The area was built – as many other Million Homes Program areas – for the large number of people moving into town, during the period between the mid 1960's and mid 1970's. The households studied consist of 342 flats (2-3 room flats). The houses were placed around small inner gardens with standardised plantations. The area was constructed without any obvious relation to adjacent places of work. The people moving there were aware of the fact that they had to commute.

Figure 4. Multifamily houses on August
Södermans Road.

In all of Gottsunda district there are about 9,000 inhabitants. There are around 760 people living in the part of August Södermans Road which is investigated in this study. There are a relatively large number of young families with children in the area. The area has a larger share of immigrants, students and old people than Uppsala as a whole (Uppsala municipality, 2003).

August Södermans Road borders on the west to Gottsunda valley's open grass fields, arable land, football fields and allotment gardens. Two kilometres south lies Lake Mälaren. East of August Södermans Road is a smaller green area called the Stenhammars Park, with larger playgrounds. Cultivation is possible in the allotment gardens on Gottsundagipen.

Within walking distance (600m) from August Södermans Road is the Gottsunda Centre. The service supply is extensive: two large grocery stores, a fruit and vegetable shop, restaurants, a pub, a pharmacy, a health care centre, leisure and sports centres, a hair dresser, a dentist, a coffee shop, a library, a liquor store, a video store, a flower shop, a pet shop, two clothes stores, a church, a number of schools, pre-schools, after-school centre and homes for elderly people. There is also a theatre and a music training centre and a large number of local associations. Gottsunda has good public transport connections to the city. The area was originally built on the assumption that people living there had a car, which means that there are large parking spaces both in the residential areas and in the centre of Gottsunda. The area is connected to the municipal heating, electricity, water and sewage systems. The waste is sorted into the fractions: burnable,

76

compostable, glass, plastic, metal, batteries, cardboard and hazardous for the environment.

August Södermans Road, Gottsunda, multifamily house area
* Distance to the centre: 6 km south of Uppsala.
* Built: 1972-1974 by the public housing company Uppsalahem AB.
* The area consists of 24 two- and three storey multi-family houses in 9 smaller courtyards. The area is densely built but surrounded by larger forested areas.
* The residents are young Swedish and immigrant families with children, students and old aged people.
* Number of households in the studied part of the area: 342
* Number of residents in the studied part of the area: Approximately 790.
* Number of residents in all of Gottsunda: approximately 9,000.

4.2 Petrozavodsk

Petrozavodsk is the capital city of the republic of Karelia. It is located 450 kilometres north-east of St Petersburg, and is situated on the shore of Lake Onega, surrounded by huge forests. The city has about 283,000 inhabitants, two universities and one school for higher education in music. The primary natural resources are forests, fish, granite and marble.

4.2.1 Perevalka

Perevalka is a micro-district in Petrozavodsk, situated 1.5 kilometres west of the city centre. The area consists of two parts: a small house area, and a multifamily house area. In this study *the small house area* has been investigated. The standard of the houses is in general equivalent to when it

was built in the 1930's. But some houses have been rebuilt to new cottages by New Russians.

The history of Perevalka began from the time of the establishment of large forest industries around Petrozavodsk in the 1930s. For this purpose Lososinski Lespromhoz (a Soviet forest industrial organisation) was established. Timber export was carried out in two main directions: along the Lososinskaya and Lezhneva roads. A *Posolok* (a Soviet village) was built for people engaged in logging. This Posolok included barracks and private houses for the workers. A timber yard was placed where the bus station is located today. Workers transported timber from the yard to the train – in Russian the verb is "perevalivali" – hence the name of the area Perevalka. There were about 1500-1600 inhabitants at that time. During the Second World War there were five concentration camps in the area and a lot of houses were destroyed. Most houses are from the middle of the 20th century, from the end of the war period (Tatiana Solovjova, pers. com. 2003).

Figure 5. A typical view in the small house area in Perevalka.

The settlement in Perevalka consists today of 30% small private houses. The part of Perevalka which is included in this study comprises 150 typical Russian wooden houses (approx. 60 m^2) on lots between 300-500 m^2. The houses are in a poor condition and of a simple standard. Most of the houses retain the same standard today as when they were built – with wood heating, outhouses and water taken from pumps placed at street junctions. There are also some new more comfortable houses built by New Russians

during the last ten years. These houses are quite big and often situated behind high fences.

Perevalka in total (small house area and multi family house area) has about 40,000 inhabitants (http://petrozavodsk2.narod.ru). In the studied small house area most of the residents are retirees, but some young families with children have recently begun to move into the area. There are different social and ethnic groups to be found, Russians are in a majority, with a few families from the Caucasus and some with a Romany background. There is no official count of inhabitants in the area (Tatiana, Solovjova, pers. com. 2003). It is rather common that more than one family lives in each house, and several generations within one family.

There are no squares in the area and no playgrounds where children can interact. But some families have built a swing and sandboxes within their house lot, so the children next door often come and play together. There are also several social organizations, for example, the Karelian Republican Animal Protection Society and Karelian Regional Youth Defending Human Rights Organization.

Perevalka in itself is very green. All houses have their own gardens partly used for cultivation of vegetables, flowers and fruits. Some households also keep chickens and goats. There are also high pines and birches in small common greens in this area. Otherwise there are hardly any common public green spots or playing grounds in the residential area close to the houses. There are a few small common areas used as garbage dumps. Close to the residential area minor forests can be found, and a small river called Neglinka runs through the area.

The area has good communications with the centre and the rest of Petrozavodsk. Buses and mini-buses runs from Chapaeva Street, the main road through Perevalka. There are a lot of mini-buses with their own special routes to all areas and districts in Petrozavodsk. There is also a bus station nearby, offering routes to other small towns and settlements of the Republic of Karelia. Close to the small house area there are also the railway station, coach station, a radio station called "Europa+", a radio factory and a big market. There are also three public schools, a library for children, a specialized school and several day care-centers. There are also small shops, drug-stores, a restaurant and two petrol stations.

There is no central heating system in the small house area. Houses are heated mainly by firewood. Some new-built houses are heated by electricity. Water is supplied from local water pumps and toilets are mostly in outhouses in the own house lot. Telephone booths are in the streets because only few houses have telephones. Rubbish from the area is collected by the city, but it happens irregularly (Tatiana Solovjova, pers.com. 2003).

> **Perevalka, small house area**
> * Distance from the centre: 1,5 km
> * Built: 1930-1950 close to the working places at the railway and the forest organisation.
> * The area has typical Russian wooden houses of 60 square meters. The size of the house lots is about 300-500 square meters. They are very often used for cultivation.
> * Most of the residents are retirees, but some young families with children have recently begun to move into the area.
> * Russians are in the majority, with a few families from the Caucasus and some with Romany background.
> * Number of houses: approximately 400 (A public record is missing)

4.2.2 Drjevlanka

Drjevlanka is located approximately 4 kilometres from the city center and was built in the beginning of the 1980's. Petrozavodsk has about 280,000 inhabitants and approximately 1/5 of them live in Drjevljanka. Drjevljanka is the youngest micro area of the city. It is located in the outskirts of Petrozavodsk and is denoted as a 'sleeping area'. It is one of the biggest areas and is quickly developing. The total area of Drjevljanka is 110 hectares (http://www.petrozavodsk2.narod.ru).

The name Drjevljanka itself has different explanations. Historians say citizens began using the word Drjevljanka in the 19th century. In that time there was a street named Drjevljanskaja. Until 1970's Drjevljanka was a place for dachas. The exploitation of the residential area started in 1984. In 1985 the first 9-floor block with 108 flats was built. In Soviet times the building of the 'Studenchesky Gorodok' (Student Town) also began. Today Drjevlanka is primarily comprised of 9- and 16-storey buildings, and a few 5-storey buildings. The scale and size of the area is typical for the Soviet city building style of that time. The character of the area is large-scale, with tall, usually grey houses. The blocks of flats have central heating and electricity, a water supply system, a gas system, and its own telephone station dimensioned for only 10,000 numbers. Garbage is

collected frequently by the local authorities.

Figure 6. Multifamily houses, the market place and the
park alley in Drjevlanka.

The area has been growing fast, and nowadays Drjevljanka is a modern,
heavily populated residential area with a total population of about 55,000
inhabitants. The age distribution of the residents is mixed and the great
majority are Russians. Residents with other ethnical backgrounds are
typically Romany or people with Caucasian background.

The residential area in itself is not very green, although it is considered
as one of the "ecologically attractive" areas for living, due to clean air, the
absence of big industries and other sources of pollution. Today there is one
park alley, located in the middle of the area where people walk, sit on
benches, and play with their children. This alley is the only public green
area outside of the block yards. The residential area is surrounded by
natural places like: the 'Ljagushka' spring, source of Neglinka river, and a
taiga forest. These places are objects of different kinds of nature studies.
Secondary school № 43, for instance, located in Drjevljanka, is deeply
involved in making complex ecological research of the territory.

The area is connected to the centre of the city by buses and mini-buses
but the condition of the roads are quite bad. Drjevljanka has a lot of
services to offer its residents: there are 10 day-care centers and five
schools, a polyclinic, pharmacies, a fitness-club for women, a large number
of shops, cafés, a barber's shop, a law office, a medical diagnostic centre, a
trade centre, playgrounds, a telephone station, a library for both grown-ups

and children. There are also plans to build a Christian church. There are a number of associations and festivals are frequently organised.

Drjevlanka, multi family house area
* Distance from the centre: 4 km
* Built: The exploitation of the housing area started in 1984.
* The area primarily consists of 9- and 16-storey buildings. The scale and size is typical of the Soviet city building style: large-scale with tall, usually grey houses.
* The age distribution of the residents is mixed.
* A majority of the residents are Russian, but there are also some people with Romany or Caucasian origin.
* Number of residents in all of Drjevlanka: 55,000.

---

5. Summary of the four papers

The empirical section of the dissertation is presented in four papers. Those papers differ and relate to each other as follows: The empirical work in paper number one, two and three are based on a qualitative method – interviews. The empirical work in the fourth paper is based on questionnaire surveys, and validated with observations, statistics and interviews. Paper one and two have the same kind of structure in the empirical part. Paper one examine the empirical work carried out in the Russian residential areas Perevalka and Drjevljanka with focus on the residents' way of experiencing the area where they live and their willingness to participate in a working process towards change. It also discusses the residents' prerequisites, that is, how they experience their ability to find the time to carry out different daily chores.

In paper two the empirical work in three Swedish cases are discussed (Kungsgärdet, Lassebygärde and August Södermans Road in Gottsunda) with focus on the residents willingness to participate in a working process for change, as well as their way of experiencing their everyday time use. In relation to paper number one - which focuses more on describing the Russian context in general - the theoretical part in paper two is more focused on the late modern individuals' possibility to participate in a local work process.

In paper three the focus is specifically set on the democratic issues in the discussion on sustainable development. The theoretical part especially focuses on the concepts "bottom-up approach" and "people's initiative". The empirical part of the paper consists of results that describe the respondents' interest in participating in a working process for change. Data was collected both from the small house area Perevalka and the multi family area Drjevlanka (Petrozavodsk, Russia) and from the small house area Kungsgärdet and the multifamily area August Södermans Road in Gottsunda (Uppsala, Sweden). The purpose of this paper is mainly to compare the Swedish and the Russian empirical work.

Paper four discusses sustainable development from different aspects of habitation according to the Habitat-agenda. The empirical work consists of data from twelve residential areas in Sweden in the cities Uppsala, Göteborg, Örebro and Strängnäs. The focal points are for example: the residents' attitudes to change their housing situation to become more environmental friendly; the access to green areas in the residential area and the near surroundings; the social performance of the neighbourhood; and the feeling of security.

Below each paper is presented shortly with a focus on the results.

5. 1 Paper I: The Habitat-agenda – prerequisites for implementation in Russian residential areas

The first paper partly describes the Russian context as a whole, and partly the empirical work carried out in the residential areas in Petrozavodsk: Perevalka and Drjevlanka. The overall questions of the study were: *How do the residents experience their residential area described from their lifeworld? What prerequisites do they have in terms of interest and time to actively participate in a work process towards change in their residential area?* The assumption was that participation in joint matters in the residential area is *not* generally given priority amongst the residents. Interviews were carried out during the autumn of 2003 with a total of 40 residents, 20 people in each residential area.

Residents' experiences of Perevalka and Drjevlanka
A majority of the respondents were in general satisfied with their habitation and indented to stay in the local area where they lived. A number of the respondents in Perevalka stated that the closeness to services and the centre, having a private garden and the social contacts were positive aspects of the area. A majority mentioned open rubbish heaps and poor maintenance of the streets as particular problems. Other problems were the lack of a central water supply system, no access to hot water and telephone, scarcity of common areas where children could play, no control of the order in the area and loose barking dogs. A majority of the respondents in Drjevlanka considered the most positive aspects were the closeness to services, that the area is modern and generally had a high standard with access to tap water, water closets and heating in the apartments. Also the green walkway located in the center of the area, were seen as valuable. The problem that most people brought up was the public transportation. There were only minibuses available for the residents, which were more expensive than the public buses operating in other parts of Petrozavodsk. There was a desire among most of the residents to have more green areas, parks and playgrounds.

Time and interest in working towards change
A majority of the respondents in the two residential areas stated that they did not have an active role in a possible working process towards change. Almost all of the respondents regarded the local authorities as responsible for such a work. Furthermore, there was no outspoken interest in political or social issues in general, while four people (out of 40 in total) mentioned such an interest. None of the respondents spoke about engagement, membership or support to any kind of association or organisation.

However, six of the residents in Drjevlanka said they had a positive attitude to participating in a local working process towards change. Some of them were already actively interested in some local issues.

The respondents' time in everyday life, in both areas, was in general spent on work, family, daily chores in the household and some on hobbies. Half of the respondents – however – experienced constant stress in their everyday life.

5.2 Paper II: Late modern living conditions and sustainable development: a conflict? - residents´ interest, time for and real action in citizen participation in a Swedish context

The second paper discusses the empirical studies of the residential areas in Uppsala: Kungsgärdet, Lassebygärde och August Södermans Road in Gottsunda. The overarching question of the study was: *What prerequisites do the residents have, in terms of time and interests, to commit themselves to work for a sustainable habitation in their residential areas?* During spring 2003 semi-structured interviews were conducted with totally 60 residents. Twenty interviews were conducted in each residential area.

Interest and time for local work

In Kungsgärdet (small house area, 1930's) several respondents were of the opinion that it is possible to influence matters via civil organisations. This survey showed that a majority of the respondents stated that activities aiming to implement changes or raise awareness were run mainly by the local "small house association". Most of the respondents were also a member of this society. There were a few persons who were actively participating in the work done within the society. A few persons also expressed their interest in politics and social issues in general. The majority, however, stated that they were passive members in one or several organizations. Few were active members.

In Lassebygärde (multifamily house area, 1950's) only one third of the respondents answered the question concerning how they think a transformation work in the area could proceed. Some were of the opinion that a resident has a chance to influence, some referred to the "tenants' owned association". A few respondents stated that they directly or indirectly try to influence matters. A few also expressed their interest in politics and social issues in general. Three persons stated that they were

members of some or several organizations, with a few persons being actively engaged.

Also in Gottsunda a minority of the respondents answered the question how they thought activities for change in the area could proceed. Some were of the opinion that attempts to influence the landlord Uppsalahem did not work out, because of economic reasons. A few respondents believed that as a resident, one could influence things via the "tenants' owned association", and that they already tried to engage themselves. A few respondents expressed some interest in politics and social issues in general. Only one respondent was a member of an organization.

In terms of time use, a majority of all respondents (in all areas) prioritized work, family, daily chores and to some extent hobbies. One third of the respondents acknowledged that they had little time to rest. Slightly less than half confirmed that they were exposed to stress in their everyday life.

5.3 Paper III: Implementation of the Habitat-agenda - residents' interest and actions in public-participation processes – a comparison of local democracy in residential areas in Sweden and Russia.

The third paper is a comparative study of the empircal results in Uppsala and Petrozavodsk. The overarching question of the study was: *How interested are the residents in becoming actively engaged in making changes in their residential areas?* The assumption of the study was that citizen participation would be greater in Swedish residential areas compared to Russian areas, due to Sweden's relatively long tradition of practicing democracy. That assumption can in general be dismissed, due to that few differences were found.

Differences and similarities
There were numerous differences between the four residential areas, Kungsgärdet, August Södermans Road, Perevalka and Drjevlanka, but the question of citizen participation gave relatively similar results. Generally, few of either the Russian or Swedish respondents expressed a willingness to become engaged in local work for change. There was also a low interest in politics and social issues in general among all respondents in all areas.

One difference was that some of the residents in Kungsgärdet were actively engaged in local work, in an organised way, which was not the situation in the rest of the areas. A majority of the respondents in

Kungsgärdet were furthermore members in the "local small house association". In Perevalka no such association existed. None of the Perevalka residents mentioned membership in any kind of association, in contrast with the residents in Kungsgärdet where a majority had a membership in some type of association, but as passive members. Less than a third of the respondents in Drjevlanka were positive to the idea of actively working for local change. Some indicated that they were already somehow active, but not in an organised way. In Gottsunda, as a whole, there were few who expressed views about work for change. Few respondents stated that it was possible to exert influence through the local tenants' owned association and that they tried to do so.

There was a similarly low interest of politics and social issues in general, in all of the residential areas. Nobody in Drjevlanka or in Perevalka were members of an association and only one person in Gottsunda. Generally, few of either the Russian or Swedish respondents expressed a willingness to become engaged in local work for change. There were desires for some type of change in all four areas. It could thus be assumed, that the residents in all areas could have some motives to act for change.

Motives for change

The residents in Perevalka certainly had the strongest motives to seek change. While their problems generally were of a completely different magnitude than in the other residential areas - with issues such as access to running/warm water in the houses, garbage dumps in the residential area, and streets in a poor condition. The residents of Gottsunda also had strong motives for change, since many of the problems dealt with criminality and a feeling of insecurity in the neighbourhood. The motives for change in both Kungsgärdet and Drjevlanka can not be regarded as equally pressing, as they primarily had "only" to do with traffic issues.

5.4 Paper IV: Building the Sustainable City from within - Implementing the Habitat-Agenda in three Swedish Local Townscape Type Areas

The fourth paper is a comparative study of three typical townscape areas in four cities in Sweden Uppsala, Örebro, Strängnäs and Göteborg. The townscape types were small house areas from the 1930-ies and multifamily house areas from the 1950-ies and 1960-ies. The overarching question for the study was: *How can a site- and situation analysis of typical townscape*

areas, with information from residents, be translated into unique place-dependent sustainability strategies? The assumptions for the study was that each townscape type has unique properties, that these properties may be the basis for a context dependent strategy for sustainability and that citizen participation is appropriate and valuable in such a process. The assumptions were verified in the study.

Differences and similarities

There were numerous differences between the three townscape types, investigated through mainly enquiries but also with supplementing observations, interviews and statistics. The characteristics of the areas were expressed in a framework model with seven *community resources* derived from the Habitat agenda.

The residents' view of environmental aspects of *physical* resources, such as heat, electricity, fuel and clean water or production of solid waste and wastewater were rather similar in the different areas, with the greatest potential for change towards sustainability in the top-down planned 1960-ies areas. *Economic* resources like houses, equipment, greenery and technical infrastructure were strongest and most appreciated in small house areas. They were used and managed in different ways in different townscapes and also illustrated the need for different strategies for achieving economic sustainability in the respective areas. *Social* values were generally highest in small house areas whereas *organisational* resources were outstanding in Million Programme House areas, especially with regard to small-scale infrastructure and service. The potential for efficient local as well as distant mobility (transportation and communication) and the methods for creating and to organise space for social contact as well as for privacy for individuals and households were particularly well developed in 1950-ies areas. *Biological, cultural* and *aesthetic* resources were important indirect local factors affecting the inhabitants' feeling of rootedness and their sense of place in all areas, but had the greatest potential in the 1960-ies areas. All seven resources were analysed in its site context which gave a sound basis for proposing an optimised strategy for sustainable habitation of the unique local community.

6. Discussion

The environmental and developmental problems of today can be seen as a cultural crisis. From such a perspective the western late modern lifestyles and way of looking at the world can be seen as the core of the problem. Giddens´ discussion about late modernity is a reaction to such social development, where he challenges the concept of post-modernity. He argues that what people experience today are the consequences of modernity in terms of global environmental and development problems. In this new phase of development the modernity is put on trial by people criticising, analysing and questioning its foundation. One example of this is the UN action plan described in the Habitat-agenda. The question that should be raised is if the general public is really aware of the politics for sustainable development to such an extent that they are able to criticise, analyse and question the *negative consequences* of modernity in their everyday life. Maybe it is in the nature of man to focus on the *possibilities* such as new technology and the wide range of modern conveniences, rather than the negative aspects.

Political goals of sustainable development – which requires citizen participation and changes in life style – can in practice limit people's quality of life. This might not be experienced as sustainable on an individual level, although it could be seen as appropriate from a collective perspective. But what is the balance for each individual, acting for his/her own good or for the common good? Another problem relates to democratic values and the three dimensions of sustainable development. How can we deal with practical situations when the democratic values compete with, for instance, ecological issues? If the citizens do not pay attention to, or are indifferent to, environmentally friendly ways of acting - is it then bottom-up opinions that should settle the matter of future environmental development?

In the late modern society, characterised by diversity, human beings simultaneously relate to the large and small scale, the system and the lifeworld, freedom and security, fellowship and anonymity - a world where all factors have a meaning. These phenomena can be defined and interpreted differently by different individuals. They can also be filled with different meanings depending on the situation and in which period of life the individual experiences it. In reality this creates a complex situation, which we have to consider to *understand* the individual context, which in turn must be conceived to understand the conditions for *e.g.* sustainable habitation.

People's way of relating to the phenomena described above, looks different today than it did in the traditional agricultural society. This

society was characterised by small-scale, fellowship and belonging, and created a feeling of security. The social control was extensive, for good or for bad, and to be anonymous was practically impossible. Freedom did not have the same meaning during old times as it has today, partly due to stronger traditions and partly due to lack of convenient facilities.

In the late modern society the chosen place for habitation does not obviously involve everyday needs and fellowship. Today it is self-evident that the individual has the power to influence and make decisions concerning matters that affect his/her own life. This is seen as a prerequisite for the attainment of quality of life and well-being. The small, adjacent and private is given priority over the collective, the distant and the public. In the small nearby sphere the close connections between people such as family members, are found, while such social relations are much weaker in the public sphere. These are, however, important through contact with the institutions of public spaces, services and cultural activities and through encounters between anonymous strangers.

This way of relating to fellowship and security characterises the late modern individual. It is still important to have a feeling of belonging and fellowship - although it is based on each individual's needs and specific premises. On the one hand it is important to feel stable and secure, on the other hand there is an aspiration for freedom which involves mobility, self-fulfilment, the possibility of ephemeral behaviour and egoism.

6.1 What can we learn from the empirical work?

The empirical work of the study shows that the *actual participation* and the *willingness* to take part of program work for change were relatively low amongst the respondents in all areas. The *interest* was also generally low and other matters were given priority. There was no significant difference in this respect for : the residential areas in Sweden; the residential areas in Russia; or for the Swedish and the Russian residential areas. The empirical work showed tendencies towards dissonance between the respondents´ lifeworld and system in a number of ways. A little more than half of the respondents experienced constant stress in their everyday life as a consequence of an imbalance between lifeworld and system and/or within lifeworld, and/or within system. The reasons were often a lack of time, something which forces individuals to make priorities and rational choices in their everyday life. Other reasons for not being pleased, was that the residential area was aesthetically unappealing, had a low functionality, had a lack of green areas or gave rise to feelings of discomfort and insecurity.

The assumption that the rate of participation in local work would be higher in the Swedish than the Russian residential areas - due to the relatively long tradition and experience of practical applications of democracy in Sweden – can in this study in general be rejected. Why is this the case?

6.1.1 The significance of context

The major differences between the different types of residential areas in Uppsala and Petrozavodsk are related to economic standards. The small house area Kungsgärdet in Uppsala proved to be popular. The house prices were relatively high and the houses had a high standard. The residents currently living there are primarily middle class. The small house area Perevalka in Petrozavodsk had a low standard, and most of the residents had a low income. The multifamily area Gottsunda in Uppsala had a relatively bad reputation and is today still regarded as an undesirable area. The multifamily area in Drjevlanka in Petrozavodsk was popular and renowned for its modernity and had a relatively high standard.

In contrast to Sweden, people in Russia do not take comfortable living for granted. Swedish people seem to expect housing to include high quality tap water, heating systems, toilets, showers, refrigerators and electric stoves. In the Russian context, the presence of such facilities cannot be assumed. The results show that the respondents in the multifamily houses in Drjevlanka were more satisfied with their housing situation than the respondents in the small house area in Perevalka. The reasons were that in Drjevlanka people had a good supply of heating and water, toilets, showers, refrigerators and electric stoves. In the small house area in Perevalka the houses had no heating or water supply and only very few had a toilet.

The nearby services in the multifamily houses were also experienced as comfortable. To live in a nine-storey house in Drjevlanka was therefore considered to be a comfortable and good way of living by a majority of the respondents.

The most satisfied group in Swedish housing areas were the residents in the small house area in Kungsgärdet. Unlike in Perevalka, the residents in Kungsgärdet have access to all conceivable modern facilities *including* a private garden, the latter being much appreciated by most respondents in both areas. The residents in the multifamily area in Gottsunda were the most dissatisfied, but for other reasons than the residents in Perevalka. In Gottsunda, the need for exterior renovation and to make the buildings more aesthetically appealing was emphasised. The dissatisfaction was partly caused by a feeling of being unsafe due to problems with criminality and drug abuse.

6.1.2 Prerequisites for democracy

The Russian democratic society is still far from being implemented in everyday life and the Russian people have very few experiences of using their democratic rights. In addition it's not likely that people with limited assets, often just the minimum needed to get through the day, would choose to use their scarce resources and time to achieve goals for the common good. The middle class which usually provides the financial and participatory basis for the civilian sector, makes up a very small group in today's Russia. Current difficult economic circumstances also restrain the activities of a civil society (McFaul, 2002). There are thus several obstacles for public participation in accordance with the Habitat-agenda: the Russian *history*; the citizens' resources of *time* and *money;* and their own *interest*.

So what are the reasons for the low Swedish participation? The Swedish democratic society is well established in some senses, but there are still areas where the implementation could be improved. Sweden has a long tradition of popular movements but most members of those associations are passive. People tend to prefer to pay a small amount of money rather than actively participate. The citizens in general thus do not prioritise the use of their time for collective issues but rather choose to buy themselves "free"– in a passive membership or by giving money to organisations within the civil society. This can be seen as a way of removing oneself from democratic obligations, such as from committing oneself in the residential area. The Swedish situation could therefore also, as in the Russian case, be described as suffering from a lack of democracy. This is partly because both societies are more focused on democratic rights than obligations and partly because the citizen of today is treated like a customer consuming public services. Focus is set on what society can do for the citizen, but not what the citizen can do for society. Democracy is about citizen's right and obligations. A democratic society requires active citizens, which in reality use the available democratic tools to put pressure on the people in power. The intentions in the Habitat-agenda concerning participation and lifestyle changes require an active citizenship which, in turn, requires people to give their time to the public good.

6.1.3 Motives for change

Although the interest in participation has been shown to be rather low in general, *the motives* for change were clearly different for the residential areas. The area where the residents logically should have the strongest incentives to work for change is the small house area in Perevalka. The problems in this area are generally more severe than in the other residential areas. Examples are the lack of district water supply in the houses, limited

hot water supply, problems with open rubbish heaps and streets that are in a very poor condition. Strong motives for change can be seen also in Gottsunda. The problems there were more about criminality and not feeling safe and secure in the area. The motives for change in Kungsgärdet and Drjevlanka can not be said to be as strong but were on another level, mainly "only" about different matters of traffic.

6.2 Potential for citizen participation?

A number of different factors may explain the low rate of participation in the local areas. One reason, which has shown to be central in this study, was that the residents generally do not have an interest in prioritising their available time in a way that enables participation in local work. Partly this might be explained by the dominating lifestyles of the late modern era and partly by the fact that participation in collective matters is not encouraged by society as a whole, by municipalities or by residential companies. In addition people sometimes have less positive experiences of participatory work, either not being given a response or being directly opposed, which easily causes feelings of powerlessness. As some of the respondents put it:

> What can I do? Nothing! Who will listen to me? (Female, 66-80 years old, Perevalka.)

> It doesn't seem to be the case that we who live here can influence much. It is this issue of money. No matter what we say, they say that there is no money for changes. (Female, 51-65 years old, Gottsunda).

> Sometimes, it seems to be pointless, Uppsalahem invites the tenants' association but never listens. The management does not listen, so one has to go to the top management level and try to make them understand. I can influence as an individual tenant; actually, I am not a member of the tenants' association; in fact, there were several of us who launched our own group, "Lasseby interest society", because we thought that the "tenancy society" was too weak. We worked as a pressure group, but unfortunately it came to nothing (Male, 36-50 years old, Lassebygärde).

The common property asset we call the environment may, however, be a topic where the neighbourhood concept can play a role. Environmental issues may, thus, be a relevant and suitable subject to rally round in local areas in the future. The empirics show that there could be for example a

potential for citizen participation in green structure issues, as local green areas were highly valued by the respondents. Other research also shows that having access to green structure close to the residential area is highly valued (Lundgren-Alm, 2001; Florgård and Berg, 1997; Berglund, 1996). Other topics high lighted as important by the residents in the 12 Swedish cases in Uppsala, Örebro, Strängnäs and Göteborg were an aesthetic improvement of 1960-ies areas houses, entrances and courtyards; improvement of social relations in 1950-ies areas by *i.a.* new young families moving in; and remediation of (*e.g.* corner store) service and common area deficiencies in small house areas.

In two other ongoing parts of the research project GRAS III, potentials were observed for environmental issues. A majority of the respondents´ in the residential areas in Uppsala considered new housing technology such as low-energy, healthy materials and waste sorting systems as very important, as well as reliability of the energy and water supply. The motives were both to save money *and* to protect the environment. The intrinsic value of the environment was considered as high (Berg *et al.* in manuscript). The same kind of study conducted in Petrozavodsk shows the same tendencies (Granvik *et al.* in manuscript).

From the empiric section in this study, one conclusion that may be drawn could be that the problems mentioned by the residents themselves may also be a potential starting point for citizen participation, such as the rubbish dumps in Perevalka, the insufficient public transportation in Drjevlanka, the speed of cars in Kungsgärdet and need for exterior renovation in Gottsunda houses.

From the empirics two main questions arise: How can the majority of the citizens be motivated? And how is it possible to support and promote the residents that are actually interested in local development – so that they are not hindered in their work, but feel appreciated and welcomed in a partnership for change?

The first problem is obviously hard to solve, but may be tackled if the already committed citizens can report a pleasant work experience. If they show that it is possible to make a difference, to become respected by descision makers and to form partnerships with the local authorities - maybe more citizens will follow. But it is of course a utopian idea that *all* citizens would commit themselves.

6.3 Late modern lifestyles versus sustainable development – a (cultural) clash?

Considering the discussion above the encounter between the late modern lifestyles and the political intentions in the Habitat-agenda, could be experienced as a (cultural) clash. In Russian society it's not only about one but rather a double (cultural) clash. This is partly due to the introduction of the western lifestyles in Russian society and partly due to the Russian people's lack of experience in the practical implementation of democracy.

Other empirical research (Borén, 2003; Berglund, 2002; Colton, 2002; Pløger, 2002a; Shupulis, 2002; Granvik, 2000; Peterson, 1998) also shows peoples' unfamiliarity and low interest in committing themselves in collective matters. At the same time, other research shows examples where citizen participation in planning processes really works. During the last decades a number of researchers have studied so called "good examples" within the framework of Agenda 21 and the intentions of the Habitat-agenda. Those examples are based on special efforts to support sustainable development and/or that the people engaging themselves in the project are genuinely interested – taking initiatives and wanting to commit themselves (Berg, 2004; Falkheden, 1999; Alfredson & Cars, 1996; McCamant, 1993; Gilman & Gilman, 1991). These good examples are of course important, but one has to realise that residential areas where no specific effort have been made to obtain sustainable development are the most common.

6.3.1 Sustainable development and its dilemmas

There are several reasons for why it is difficult to implement sustainable development. The purpose of the following discussion is to clarify some of the obstacles. Three central starting points in the official and established discourse on sustainable development are:

1. Sustainable development can be understood from *different aspects*. Ecological, economic and social aspects comprise the most commonly used frame-work (in the Habitat-agenda further aspects are discussed such as organisational and cultural).

2. Citizen participation is seen as a necessary condition in the implementation process. The initiatives for change should be of a "bottom-up" character – coming from the citizens themselves.

3. Sustainable development requires a changed *lifestyle*, mainly in the western world.

The first starting point is about considering and respecting ecological, economic and social values in the work for sustainable development, giving them equal impact.

The second starting point is partly about the number of diverse opinions on what sustainable development actually means, since the citizens have different values, thoughts about change and their own interests to focus on. Partly it's also about different citizens having different abilities and possibilities to engage themselves in the process, in terms of interests, knowledge, willingness, time and stamina.

The third starting point about lifestyle is closely connected to the other two. Changes in lifestyle are required within all the different aspects of sustainable development. And with regard to citizen participation, individuals have different lifestyles, different interests in sustainable lifestyles and/or willingness to change lifestyle.

The dilemmas

The intention of citizen participation, bottom-up initiatives and changes of lifestyle, requires citizens to be aware of the discussions on sustainable development; willing to participate; willing to change their lifestyle and willing to act on their own initiatives. If those conditions are not applied and present in reality, the basis for sustainable development can not be seen as sustainable in it self! The request for citizens´ initiatives is especially interesting as it may challenge the goals to change lifestyle and to respect ecological, economic and social values in the work for sustainable development. The following fictitious examples illustrate the dilemma.

Assume that a possible improvement of the nearby environment in a residential area is discussed: the future of parking places. From the expert's view of sustainable habitation it is reasonable to start a car pool and at the same time make allotment gardens out of ten parking places. From the view of the residents – whose opinions are based on practical experiences of the everyday life in the residential area – it's more valuable to create *more* parking places so that all residents have access to at least one parking place and possibly more if there is such a need. In this case the bottom-up perspective is clearly in conflict with the demand for lifestyle changes and the ecological dimension. How is it possible to handle such a situation? This is an example where the different goals compete with each other.

Could it be taken for granted that the citizens "should only" participate from the conditions stated above – according to all three aspects of sustainable development and that the citizens should change their lifestyle? If this is the case, it means that the citizens own initiative must also fit

these conditions. This can be seen as a paradox from a democratic perspective – a kind of "pre-defined politics" - a "democracy" from already given conditions. If we also have in mind the present conditions in the liberal-democratic western world – freedom, mobility, changeability and materialism – the work for sustainable development and citizen participation can be seen as a further challenge.

The discourse on sustainable development has - in my opinion – been characterised by a lack of critical thinking and reflection on the dilemma between citizen participation and sustainable development. One may experience some kind of "taken for granted"- attitude about the bottom-up perspective, presuming that this is the best way of working towards sustainable development. In research, theories and methods on how to run democratic processes have often been in focus, such as Patsy Healey´s theories on collaborative planning and Habermas' genuine dialogue and deliberative democracy.

Another common focus has been to start from a society perspective – the system. Examples within this field could be studies on what is hindering public participation processes such as: when the present public structures are experienced as bureaucratic and non-transparent; when the old organisation and new visions collide; and when politicians and officials in reality are not showing a benevolent attitude towards the idea of citizen participation. But are these really the basic barriers for citizen participation - occurring either on a democratic "process level" or on a social level? If we could remove the barriers within these two fields, would the consequence be increased citizen participation? There is no real indication that this would be the case. Maybe the basic problem is on another level – the individual level? It could be about what abilities, living conditions, interests and motives each individual has in their everyday life - in their lifeworld and their relations to the system. If this is the case it is a question of people's values, interests, money and time, in the first place, rather than how to run democratic processes and how to change bureaucratic organisations and politicians' and officials' ways of acting. Thus, in reality, changes are needed on all levels - in the public system, on the "process" level and on the individual level. However, as long as citizen participation is a main goal, the individual level will always be crucial.

6.4 "Change the people" or the politics?

There is a pronounced political will to work for sustainable development. Many liberal democracies have actually decided upon to implement this politics. As an example, Sweden is one of them, and sustainable development is a comprehensive goal for the Swedish government. This politic is also being called the Swedish "green people's home" ("det gröna folkhemmet"). The goal applies for all political issues (Government's paper 2003/04:129). The discourse on sustainable development is, however, only one among several existing discourses that guide the development of society. The different discourses furthermore compete with each other. Implementation would in deed be difficult for liberal democracies. The citizens use resources and products to a great extent to fit their individually chosen lifestyles. When speak about sustainable development and equal distributed resources, solidarity and future human needs, this means that the "free" people living in liberal democracies have to change their lifestyles. This makes it complicated, while political systems in the liberal world have given priority to the liberty of every individual – the individuals´ right to choose their own lifestyles.

> Implementation of sustainable development would be an arduous task for any political system. There are no examples today of countries that have jointly applied a common 'distribution policy' aimed at reaching a goal such as global need satisfaction. To carry this through with simultaneous control for *bio-physical limits* certainly complicates the issue further. When adding the concern for future generations to the web of challenges (whose needs cannot be defined, and whose interests can hardly be politically represented), adopting such a goal could almost be seen as committing political suicide. [...] Obviously, the relationship between liberal democracy and sustainable development is far from straightforward, and there are strong arguments for asking whether we have *any reasons to believe that liberal democracy can realise sustainable development.* (Jagers, 2002:14).

In the politics for sustainable development there is a belief in the citizens own willingness to participate for a sustainable society - while the citizens, to a large extent choose to spend their time on other issues than, for example, local work in their residential area. The politics can therefore be seen as utopian. To be able to implement the policy for sustainable development, we have to look at the conditions present today and a new foundation needs to be created. The optimal conditions would entail that the citizens by their own *free will* would chose to commit themselves in the planning process. Such a vision might seem anachronistic as the late

modern living is based on totally different premises by values and living conditions.

The idea about sustainable development, bottom-up perspective, communitarianism, deliberative democracy, Habermas´ genuine dialogue, Healey´s collaborative planning and Geddes "civics" are all well intended, but would require a cultural revolution in order to come true. These kinds of "for the common good -concepts" must be the main goal on the political agenda and permeate practically all politics to be implemented. One crucial issue is if liberal democracies of today have the political power and the institutions needed to actually implement changes required. One of the problem is to be found on an organizational level. There is the lack of a so called holistic policy for sustainable development. The integration of policies for sustainable development is needed in every sector, at the national level – ministries' and other central officials, – at the regional and communal levels, and, finally, at the business and civil levels. Measures must also be visible in legislation, in financial means of control and according to custom, all this in order to make a difference. Without such implementation it is hardly possible to create the necessary cultural change (*e.g.* lifestyle changes and citizen participation). Mumford's words below constitute a metaphor of the society of today, where starvation is still a reality in a world prioritising between stones and bread. It is certainly a compelling description of the society in which we live in and reproduce.

> If there would be a greater profit in baking stones than baking bread, stones would be baked even if the people were starving (Mumford, 1942:321).

A new political paradigm was implemented in Sweden with the aim of creating a welfare state after the Second World War - the so called *Peoples´ Home* program (*folkhemmet*). This policy respected each citizen's needs in terms of housing and social security systems to enable a decent everyday life. Political programmes on sustainable development are something totally different. The policies for the *Peoples´ Home* were more focused on democratic citizen *rights*, while the policy on sustainable development focuses on trusting democratic citizen *obligations*. In the first case the state (system) *gives* the individual something, in the other case the state (system) *requires* something from the individual, which does not seem to have a place in the individual´s lifeworld.

Has the significance of the "big democracy" been underestimated in favour of the "small democracy"? The big task will be to decide if it is reasonable to continue to claim the political goal of citizen participation as being crucial for sustainable development in the Russian society as well as in the Swedish "green people's home" ("det gröna folkhemmet")? Or

would it be more appropriate to focus on measures in the system? Citizens need incitements – changes that fit into their every day reality but at the same time lead the way to a new sustainable lifestyle (*e.g.* renewable energy and ecological food at competitive prices, support of NGO:s in local areas, free public transport). In this way we might overcome the clash between the realities of the late modern lifestyles and the necessary goals for sustainable development. So: "Change the people" or the politics? Probably both: change politics and give people the incitements for change!

References

Albertsen, N. (1993). Byen, det sociale og retorikken, i Lykke Christensen, C. & Thau, C. (ed.) *Omgang med tingene.* Kulturstudier 17, Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Alexander, C. Ishikawa, S., Silverstein, M. (1977). *A Pattern Language – Towns, Buildings, Construction.* Oxford University press, New York.

Alfredsson, B., Cars, G. (1996). *De boende som medarbetare – självförvaltning i Holma.* SABO, Stockholm.

Alvesson, M., Sköldberg, K. (1994). *Tolkning och reflektion: vetenskapsfilosofi och kvalitativ metod,* Studentlitteratur, Lund.

Appadurai, A. (2000). *Modernity at large. Cultural dimensions of globalisation.* University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis, London.

Auge, M. (1996). *Non places: introduction to an anthropology of super modernity*. London: Verso.

Barbier, E.B. (1987). The Concept of Sustainable Economic Development. *Environmental Conservation* 14.

Bater, J. (1996). *Russia and the Post-Soviet Scene: A Geographical perspective.* London: Arnold.

Bauman, Z. (1998). <<Urban Space Wars: On Destructive Order and Creative Chaos>> in *Space & Culture*: Habitable Spaces, Nr. 3.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Savnet felleskap.* Oslo: Ceppelen Akademisk Forlag.

Bennulf, M. (2000). <<Medborgarna tycker om miljön>> i Sören Holmberg & Lennart Weibull (ed.) *Det nya samhället.* SOM-institutet. Göteborgs universitet.

Berg, P.G., Nycander, G. (1997). Sustainable neighbourhoods – a qualitative model for resource management in communities. *Landscape and urban planning* 39: 117-135.

Berg, P.G. (2004). Sustainability resources in Swedish townscape neighbourhoods. Results from the model project Hågaby and comparisons with three common residential areas. *Landscape and urban planning* Nr. 68:29-52.

Berglund, U., Jergeby, U. (1992). *Ute i staden. En studie av människor och miljöer.* Byggforskningsrådet. Stockholm.

Berglund, U. (1996). *Perspektiv på stadens natur: om hur invånare och planerare ser på utemiljön i staden*. Tekniska högskolan i Stockholm. Stockholm

Berglund, U. (2002). <<Privatisation, Segregation and Local Engagement: A Latvian Case Study>> i Inara Marana & Sasha Tsenkova (red.) *Challenges and Opportunities in Housing: New Concepts, Policies and Initiatives.* CIB Publication.

Bergold, C-E. (1989). *Stadsbyggande 1900-1960.* Stadsarkivet Uppsala. A & W. Uppsala.

Berman, M. (1987). *Allt som är fast förflyktigas. Modernism och modernitet.* Studentlitteratur, Lund.

Bjur, H., Göransson, J., Werne, F. (1983). Planeringens verklighetsbilder. Arkitektur, Chalmers tekniska högskola, Göteborg.

Borén, T. (2003). <<Den sovjetiska förorten som livsmiljö: fallet Ligovo i St.Petersburg>> (The Soviet suburb as a living environment – in Swedish) i Bernd Henningsen, Antje Wischmann & Heiki Graf (red.) *Städers omvandling i dagens Östersjöregion.* (Transformation of cities in the Baltic Sea Region – in Swedish). Berliner Wissenschafts-verlag. P. 115-136.

Boverket, (2005). *Behov av förnyelse för en hållbar utveckling olika boendemiljöer.* Pm rapport 2005-09-19. P. 14 (folkhemshus) and 28 (miljonprogramshus)

Bäck-Wiklund, M. (1998). <<Fenomenologi: Livsvärld och vardagskunskap>>, i Per Månson (red.) *Moderna samhällsteorier: traditioner, riktningar, teoretiker.* Bokförlaget Prisma.

Carter, H. (1972). *The Study of Urban Geography.* Edward Arnold. London.

Colton, T.J., McFaul, M. (2002). Are Russians Undemocratic? *Post-Soviet Affairs,* Vol. 18, 2002, p. 91-121.

Constanza, R. (1992). <<The Ecological Economics of sustainability>> in Goodland et al: *Environmentally sustainable economic development – building on Brundtland,* Unesco, Paris.

Cooper, Marcus, C., Sarkissian, W. (1986). *Housing as if people mattered. Site design guidelines for medium-density family housing.* University of California Press. Berkeley.

Cox, K. (1981). <<Capitalism and conflict around the communal living space>> in M Dear and M Scott (ed.) *Urbanization and urban Planning in Capitalist Society.* Methuen. London. P. 431-455.

Daun, Å. (1989). *Svensk mentalitet. Ett jämförande perspektiv.* Rabén och Sjögren.

Diken, B. (1998). Byen, fantasien og ghettoen, i Öjeblikket. *Tidsskrift for visuelle kulturer,* 36/37.

Duany, A.M., Plater-Zyberk, E. (1991). *Towns and Town-Making Principles*, Rizzoli (New York).

Durkheim, E. (1982). *The rules of sociological method: and selected texts on sociology and its method*. London: Macmillan.

Elander, I. (1999). Partnerskap och demokrati: omaka par i nätverkspolitikens tid? (Partnerships and democracy: An Ill-assorted Pair in the Age of Network Politics?) Bidrag till Demokratiutredningens forskarvolym IX, *Globalisering*, SOU 1999, number 83: 327-364.

Eriksson, R., Åberg. R. (red). (1984). *Välfärd i förändring. Levnadsvillkor i Sverige 1968-1981.* Prisma. p.14.

Eriksson, T. (1998). *Social acceptans för kretsloppsteknik och hållbar utveckling.* Naturvårdsverket. Stockholm.

Etzioni, A, (1993). <<The spirit of community. Rights, responsibilities and the communitarian agenda.>> *Crown publishers*. New York.

Falkheden, L. (1999). *Lokalområdet som strategi för en hållbar utveckling – Fallstudier av tre danska exempel.* Institutionen för stadsbyggnad, Arkitektursektionen. Chalmers tekniska högskola.

Florgård, C., Berg, P.G. (1997). *The function of urban green structure in sustaianble urban development.* In: Guldager, S., Nilsson, K. (Eds.). Proceedings from a Nordic work shop, March 1996. Environmental and Energy Ministry. Research Center for Forest and Landscape. Hørsholm. Denmark.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making social science matters.* University Press, Cambridge.

Franzén, M., Sandstedt, E. (1981). *Grannskap och stadsplanering.* Ljungbergs Boktryckeri AB. Klippan.

Franzén. M. & Sandstedt. E. (1993). *Välfärdsstat och byggande – om efterkrigstidens nya stadsmönster i Sverige.* Arkivförlag. Lund.

Geddes, P. (1915). *Cities in Evolution*. London.

Geddes, P. (1918). *Town Planning toward City Development.* Indore.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration.* Polity Press. Cambridge.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Giddens, A. (1993). *New Rules of Sociological Method.* Stanford University Press. Stanford, California.

Giddens, A. (1994). <<Risk, trust, reflexivity>> in Beck, Ulrich; Giddens, Anthony & Lash, Scott 1994. *Reflexive modernisation. Politics, tradition and aestethics in the modern social order,* p. 184-197. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Giddens, Anthony (1996). *Modernitetens följder.* Studentlitteratur, Lund.

Gilje, N., Grimen, H. (1992). *Samhällsvetenskapernas förutsättningar.* Daidalos AB. Göteborg.

Gilman, D., Gilman, R. (1991). *Eco Villages and Sustainable Communities*. A report for Gaia Trust by In Context Institute, Bainbridge Island (Washington).

Government statement (1993). *FN:s konferens om miljö och utveckling år 1992 – UNCED* 1992/93:13. Gotab, Stockholm.

Government statement (1999). *Hållbara Sverige – uppföljning och fortsatta åtgärder för en ekologisk hållbar utveckling.* 1998/99:5.

Government statement (2002). *Nationell strategi för hållbar utveckling - Sammanfattning av regeringens skrivelse* 2001/02:172. Danagårds Grafiska. Stockholm.

Government statement (2004). *En svensk strategi för hållbar utveckling - ekonomisk, social och miljömässig* 2003/04:129.

Granvik, M. (2000). Miljö och hållbar samhällsutveckling: Är Petrozavodsk redo för lokalt Agenda 21-arbet? *Nordisk Østforum* 14(1): 47-55.

Habermas, J. (1984). *The Theory of Communicative Action. Volume 2. Lifeworld and system: A critique of functionalist reason.* Polity Press.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: the science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist studies* 14(3): 575-599.

Harvey, D. (1973). *Social Justice and the City*. Edward Arnold. London.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change.* Oxford : Blackwell, 1989

Healey, P. (1997). Collaborative Planning – Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies.London: Macmillan.

Helmfrid, H. (1992). *Vad menas med uthållig utveckling? Begreppsanalys och anstas till operationalisering.* Rapport 49. Inst. för ekonomi. SLU.

Hirdman, Y. (1990). *Att lägga livet tillrätta.* Studier i svensk folkhemspolitik. Carlssons, Stockholm.

Howard, E. (1946). *Garden cities of tomorrow.* Latimer Trend & Ltd., Plymouth.

Israel, Joachim. (1979). *Om relationistisk socialpsykologi.* Bokförlaget Korpen. Göteborg.

Jacobs, J. (1962). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* Jonathan Cape (London).

Jacobs, J. (1994). *The Death and Life of Great American cities.* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middx.

Jagers, S.C. (2002). *Justice, Liberty and Bread – For All? On the compatibility between sustainable development and liberal democracy.* Göteborg : Department of Political Science, Göteborg University.

Jarlöv, L. (1996). *Stadsekologi och trädgårdskultur: porträtt av en kretsloppspionjär, Leberecht Migge 1881-1935.* Byggforskningsrådet, Stockholm

Jencks, C. (1996). *What is post-modernism?* London : Academy Edition.

Jensen, N.A., Elle, M., Jensen. J.O. (1998). *Byökologiske lösninger –status for viden og erfaringer.* Boligministeriet, Köpenhamn. s 18.

Jergeby, U. (1998). <<Vardagens tidspussel>> i Titti Olsson (red.) *Människans natur – Det grönas betydelse för vårt välbefinnande.* T21:1998, Byggforskningsrådet.

Johansson, L.G. (1999). *Introduktion till vetenskapsteori.* Thales. Stockholm.

Johansson, I, (1991). *Stockholms bebyggelsehistoria. Markpolitik, planering och bebyggande under sju sekler.* Gidlunds och Byggforskningsrådet, Stockholm, s. 539-554.

Johansson, R. (2005). Types of generalisation from a single case, *Journal of Applied Psychology* (*in press).* [Special Issue 18th IAPS Conference], 6 (3-4), 215-221.

Kvale, S. (1997). *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun.* Studentlitteratur, Lund.

Lavrov, L.P., Likhacheva, L.N. (2003). *Saint Petersburg Architectural Guide 1703-2003.* Eklektika. Sankt Petersburg.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Lewis, M.S., Bryman, A., Futing Liao, T. (red.). (2004). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Volume 3. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Ley, D. (1983). *A Social Geography of the City.* Harper Row. New York.

Lundgren-Alm, E. (2001). *Stadslandskapets obrukade resurs: Om grönstrukturens potential och synliggörande i en hållbar stadsutveckling.* Göteborg: Chalmers tekniska högskola.

Lynch, K. (1987). *Good City form.* London.

Lynch, K. (1981). *A theory of good city form.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Malbert, B. et al (2004). *Stadens hållbara utveckling och urbana strukturer. En syntes av ett forskningsprogram*. Chalmers tekniska högskola Göteborg.

Maslow, A. (1987). *Motivation and personality*. Harper & Row. New York.

McCamant, K., Durrett, C., Hertzman, E. (1993). *Cohousing. A Contemporary Approach to Housing Ourselves*. Ten Speed Press, Berkeley.

Miles, M., Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative Data analysis*.London: Sage.

Mumford, L. (1942). Stadskultur. Stockholm:KF.

Månsson, T. (ed.) (1992). *Ecocycles – The basis for sustainable urban development*. Swedish Ministry of Environment and Natural resources. SOU 1992:43. Stockholm.

Naess, A. (1973). The shallow and the deep, long-range ecology movement, *Inquiry*, 16, 95-100.

Orback, S-O., Sjöfors, D. (1993). *Härifrån flyttar ingen... - Stabila bostadsområden i Malmöhus län*. Länstyrelsen i Malmöhus Län Planenheten. Rapport.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons*. Cambridge University Press

Patel, R., Tebelius, U. (1987). *Grundbok i forskningsmetodik: kvalitativt och kvantiativt*. Studentlitteratur, Lund.

Patton, M.Q. (1987). *How to use qualitative methods in evaluation*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Patton, M.Q. (2004). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (4th ed.). London: Sage.

Petersson, O. (1998). *Demokrati och medborgarskap*. Demokratirådets rapport 1998. Stockholm:SNS.

Pløger, J. (1999). D*et lokale som grundlag for bypolitikken – en illusion?* Nr. 7 Samfundsøkonomen. Köpenhamn.

Pløger, J. (2002a). *Det senmoderne närmiljö – livsformer og bykultur. En sammanligning af teori og praksis i Danmark og Norge*. Norsk institutt for by- og regionforskning. NIBR.

Pløger, J. (2002b). *Den fragmentariske by og det ”gode byliv”*. Statens Byggforskningsinstitut. Book Partner. Nørhaven.

Rosengren, K.E., Arvidson, P. (1992). *Sociologisk metodik*. Gummessons Tryckeri AB, Falköping.

Rådberg, J. (1997). *Drömmen om atlantångaren, utopier och myter i 1900-talets stadsbyggande*, Atlantis, Stockholm.

SCB, rapport 53, (1987). *Perspektiv på välfärden*. Statistiska centralbyrån.

SCB, (1993). Lägenheter efter storlek och byggnadsår den 1 november 1990, lägenheter i småhus från före 1920 till 1960. *Statistiska Centralbyrån årsbok.*

SCB, (2001). Upplevd tidsbrist efter familjecykel år 2000/01. Befolkningen 20-84 år. Statistiska centralbyrån.

Schutz, A. (1963). <<Concept and Theory Formation in the Social Sciences>> i Maurice Nathanson (red.) *Philosophy of the Social Sciences: A reader.* New York.

Sennet, R. (1978). *The Fall och Public Man.* Vintage Books. New York.

Shupulis, E. (2002). <<The Dimension of Public Participation in Housing Policy>> i Inara Marana & Sasha Tsenkova (red.) *Challenges and Opportunities in Housing: New Concepts, Policies and Initiatives.* CIB Publication P. 163-168.

Simmel, G. (1978). Storbyerne og åndslivet, in Østerberg, Dag (red.): *Handling og samfunn*, Oslo: Norsk Gyldendal (pp.87-103).

Sitte, C. (1982). *Stadsbyggnad och dess konstnärliga grundsatser.* Arkitekturförlaget AB, Stockholm.

Skantze, A. (2001). <<Miljön i mitt liv – boendeperspektiv>> i Eva Asplund & Tuija Hilding- Rydevik (red.) *Arena för hållbar utveckling: aktörer och processer.* Forskningsrapport TRITA-IP FR 01-88. S. 49-59.

SOU, (1974). *Solidarisk bostadspolitik.* Betänkande av boende- och bostadsfinansieringsutredningarna. Stockholm.

SOU, (1996). *Bostadspolitik 2000 – Från produktions- till boendepolitik.* SOU 1996:156. Stockholm.

SOU, (1996). *Shaping Sustainable Homes in an Urbanizing World.* SOU 1996:48. Stockholm.

SOU, (1997). *Fem år efter Rio – resultat och framtid.* Slutbetänkande från Nationalkommittéen för Agenda 21. Miljödepartementet.

SOU, (2003). *En hållbar framtid i sikte.* SOU 2003:31. Stockholm.

Sriskandarajah, N., Bawden, R. (1994). *Farming as a human activity – An alternative World view.* Presented at a conference, Jyväskylä University. (s. 5-7).

Starrin, B., Svensson, P.G. (1994). *Kvalitativ metod och vetenskapsteori.* Studentlitteratur, Lund.

Stites, R. (1989). *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trost, J. (1993). *Kvalitativa intervjuer.* Studentlitteratur, Lund.

Tönnies, F. (1978). *Gemeinschaft og Gesellschaft*, i Østerberg (red.) s. 71-87.

UD, (1997). *Förenta Nationernas världskonferenser om boende, bebyggelse och stadsplanering – Habitat II.* Serie II:53. Norstedts Tryckeri AB.

UN Commission on Global Governance, (1998). *Our Global Neighbourhood*. Oxford University Press, Oxford

UNCED, (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development), (1992). *Earth Summit Agenda 21 The United Nations Programme of Action from Rio*. United Nations Department of Public Information. New York.

UNCHS, (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements), (1998). *The Habitat Agenda and the Istanbul Declaration.* Section IVC. Sustainable Human Settlements Development in an Urbanising World. New York.

Uppsalahem, (2002). Statistics – Inhabitants.

Uppsala Municipality, (2001). Excerpt from Uppsala statistics department record, for three selected townscape areas.

Uppsala municipality, (2002). Excerpt from Uppsala statistics department record, inhabitants.

Uppsala municipality, (2003). Översiktsplan för Uppsala Kommun.

Wahlström, L. (1984). *Geografiutveckling och geografisk utveckling - som om platser betydde något.* Kulturgeografiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet.

WCED, (World Commission on Environment and Development). (1987). *Our common future*. Oxford University Press.

Weber, M. (1985). *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft.* J B C Mohr, Tübingen.

Whitehead, M. (2002). Love thy neighbourhood – rethinking the politics of scale and Walsall´s struggle for neighbourhood democracy. *Environment and Planning, A*. Vol. 35. London: Pion.

Wikström, T. (1994). *Mellan hemmet och välfärden. Om rum och möten i 40- och 50-talets hyreshus*. Symposium Graduale, Stockholm.

Von Wright, G. (1993). *Myten om framsteget.* Bonnier. Aktietrykkeriet. Trondheim.

Young, S. (ed.) (2000). *The Emergence of Ecological Modernisation: Integrating the Environment and the Economy?* London: Routledge

Internet source: http://petrozavodsk2.narod.ru/perevalka.html