Planning in Interplace?

ON TIME, POWER AND LEARNING IN LOCAL ACTIVITIES AIMING AT SOCIAL INCLUSION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

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SUBURBAN METROPOLITAN areas in Sweden built in the sixties and seventies are often considered exposed areas and are consequently involved in interventions aimed at dealing with problems such as unemployment, poverty and social exclusion. This thesis focusses on how urban planning is related to this social problem.

The case study comprises an evaluation of an area-based funding programme called the Local Development Agreements. The research question is related to the roles of local employees. What can the field of planning learn from the case study if implementation of the funding programme is considered in relation to national policies as well as citizens' opinions? The empirical material was analysed using a critical realist understanding of reality and from the point of view of three theoretical themes: time, power and learning. In short, the analysis revealed that local employees found it difficult to make use of the funding programme for learning: Although the programme brought to light triggers for learning with potential to challenge theories-in-use counterproductive to double-loop learning on themes in focus in the programme, the option to learn was most often not triggered by the employees. The reason was multifaceted and related to the three theoretical themes, however, considering the overall outcome, it was obvious to ask whether existing organizations actually have the potential to make changes with regard to extensive themes such as social inclusion. Then again, it was also revealed that the involved local employees were neither responsible for initiating learning processes nor prepared to handle any conflicting perspectives between prospective learning processes and ordinary procedures.

Triggers for learning were revealed in the interplace – a third world closely related to the Aristotelian notion of phronesis and with potential to enhance understanding between the two worlds of space and place. Planning based on interplace-divided understanding of the environment, as a complement, may be an option, considering the vision of sustainable development. Such a strategy for sustainable development is not new. What is new is rather the focus on how this could be accomplished – taking into consideration the local prerequisites of stigmatized and ethnically segregated suburban metropolitan housing areas.

KEYWORDS: interplace, time, power, triggers for learning, double-loop, phronesis, communicative planning, sustainable development, social exclusion, suburban.

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Göteborg, March 2004
Jenny Stenberg

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The interplace is neither here nor there

not ours or yours

The interplace cuts off

but it is also what we share

and because it is shared by everybody

it also connects all of us with each other

Therefore

the interplace is the centre of the world

It is the only thing that all people may share

and have in common

Nobody can own the interplace

Stefan Jonsson

in Forsén and Fryk

(1999: 9, my translation)

⚭

Introduction

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SARA: I've got a really good friend from the islands. I've been at sea ever since I was a kid, spending lots of time on the islands. I love it, and there I've met people. She came to town then, it was kind of bold to come to me in Biskopsgården. Mum said ›shall we get Chinese food today? would you like some, Helena?‹ ›Chinese food, what's that?‹ She'd no idea! and she was twelve, thirteen years. I've been eating with those fucking sticks since I was two years old.

And in school I can hear her – and she is really not a racist, but… – an Iranian might come: ›Look, that Negro, what he's doing now!‹ I say ›Helena, what are you saying? That's not a Negro! And then you don't *say* Negro!‹ And, once I said ›can't you just get me some water?‹ or what fucking ever it was. ›Do I look like your Negro?‹ ›What is it you're saying?‹ ›Yea, your slave!‹ You know, they know nothing… you see? They don't get it!

You know, twenty different languages can be lined up here. I know exactly what all of them… if they say three words, I know exactly where everybody comes from. I know what they eat, you understand? Cause I've grown up with so many cultures, I've had best friends from Cap Verde, from Iran, from Turkey, from lots of countries.

I've been eating their food, I've seen how they live. Some've had stricter de-
mands than me, I've had more freedom. So, this is good, [to see the difference]
is important! It's like this even in adult life. People who are forty, forty-five. I
know I'll never have prejudices!!

MALENA: They've grown up with it, they can't help it.

SARA: They've had *one* adopted at their island. From Mexico. He gets all the
skit there is. ›Fucking Negro‹ they say. He is completely Swedish! Even *he* has
become a racist! It's sick! Towards black people. ›Chinese Negro‹ they call him
(interview, 021031).

This story about »us« and »them« was conveyed by two teenage girls living
in one of the stigmatized suburban areas in the Municipality of Göteborg in
Sweden, a suburb where more than one third of the inhabitants were born
abroad and additionally one fifth are children of people born abroad. Such
reactions as the girls refer to are not unusual. Nor is it necessary to visit the
islands on the outskirts of Göteborg in order to encounter prejudices. Such
reactions exist in most of the city districts in Göteborg in which the propor-
tion of inhabitants born abroad is less than the municipality average. It was
this kind of story, indicative of a social problem, that made me eager to more
thoroughly consider my own role as architect and planner – impatient to
know more about how my profession relates to such stories in general, and
to changes in the actual suburban metropolitan areas in particular.

BACKGROUND

THE SERIOUS and extensive problems with unemployment and poverty that
are now visible in many stigmatized suburban areas in Sweden are relative-
ly recent ones. During the period from 1945 to the end of 1970, about one
million immigrants (when emigration is not considered) came to Sweden
(Lund and Ohlsson 1999: 26), most of them as labourers, sought after by
industry and commerce. Many of these immigrants settled, together with
Swedish workers from the city centre or the countryside, in suburban areas
surrounding the three mayor metropolitan cities, which were built in the
fifties, sixties and seventies to solve the widespread housing shortage in

the country. In the fifties, the planning procedure, and the architecture, was still quite reasonable if related to the speed of construction, which resulted in a physical environment that most people seemed to appreciate. However, in the sixties and seventies, the situation, for different reasons, turned into a frenetic rush. In a country with a total of about four million flats in apartment buildings and detached houses, the Swedish Government, in 1965, decided to build one million flats within ten years (Hall 1999).

This vision was also fulfilled – the number of flats built yearly was as high as 110 000 during a certain phase – resulting in a physical environment that has been criticized as monotonous architecture thrown out onto a desolated landscape, although these areas are also appreciated, certainly now when they have become established, for being functional and pleasant to live in. Most of these flats were produced during the period from 1965 to 1975, although some were built between 1961-1964 – thus before the decision to produce mass housing was made. In Sweden, this period is most often labelled »The Million Programme« or »The Record Years« – popular names that are not very familiar outside the country. In this thesis, housing of this period will therefore be referred to as »mass housing areas of the sixties and seventies«. Sometimes this label will also include houses built in the fifties, which is actually not quite correct. This is done because some areas comprise a mixture of periods, which additionally often suffer from the same stigmatizing effects as do the areas built in the sixties and seventies.

Unfortunately, there is not space here for a longer exposition on how the politicians' and experts' discussions on modernity turned into a programme of mass housing, even if this history of physical and social development naturally constitutes one of the most important bases for this research project (for a thorough description of the mass housing programme, with an English summary, see e.g. Hall 1999; and for a critical discussion, though in Swedish, see e.g. Arntsberg 2000). Here, we will instead turn back to the statement that the problems of these suburban areas at this point in time may be considered as quite recent ones.

Before the eighties, the inhabitants in these areas, although ethnically segregated, did not suffer from unemployment – the number of gainfully employed was high, and consequently, the social allowance was low (Lund and Ohlsson 1999: 150). Immigration increased during the period from 1980 to 1997 and approximately 700 000 immigrants (when emigration is not considered) came to Sweden (Lund and Ohlsson 1999: 26). At this point in

time, however, the immigrant movements had changed, entailing that most of the immigrants were now political refugees or relatives of refugees.

At the same time, during 1990-1993, Sweden suffered from a severe economic crisis – due to overgrown systems or lack of powerful politics, on that point the experts disagree – and since then the welfare systems have gradually deteriorated (Lindberg 1999: 141). Sweden, which in the beginning of the eighties was considered one of the most equal countries in the world with regard to income, in the end of the nineties, had ended up with an income differentiation equivalent to that at the beginning of the seventies. Additionally, and as a probable consequence of this development, Sweden has shifted, as has e.g. Britain, to policies stressing selective methods rather than general measures to solve social problems (Lindberg 1999: 313).

Sweden in fact, during the latter part of the nineties, had ended up in a position as the most segregated OECD country, insofar as the most exposed housing areas in Sweden had the highest share of immigrants in comparison to all other OECD countries (Swedish Government 1998: 28). The Swedish Integration Board, in their report, stated that the Swedish labour market not was neutral from an ethnic point of view, and also that children born in Sweden suffered from labour market discrimination if their parents were born abroad. Further, they maintained that it was obvious that people born abroad with increasing frequency ended up living in suburban areas in metropolitan cities, and simultaneously that these areas were also found to be the poorest. Moreover, it was also in these areas that pupils most often did not pass in the core subjects in school (Swedish Integration Board 2003: 11-15, 237-241 in English). The Swedish Integration Board in their latest report stressed that these problems continue to exist (Swedish Integration Board 2004).

In a report on child poverty in Sweden, it was shown that child poverty had increased most in suburban areas in which most residents were born abroad (Salonen 2003). In another investigation based on interviews with civil servants concerning ethnic segregation in the Municipality of Göteborg, a lack of integration policy and a disinterest in these problems on the part of municipal real estate owners was expressed (Brnic 2004: 3).

Also the United Nations Association of Sweden highlighted the problematic situation. In one report, they criticized the Swedish Government for depicting the situation in Sweden in idealized terms when reporting to the United Nations Human Rights Committees, and concluded in their al-

ternative report that there existed serious problems with racism due to hidden structural and institutional discrimination within the Swedish systems (UN Association of Sweden 2004).

It is worth mentioning that in many of the suburban areas this situation has continuously deteriorated, even if the Swedish Government during the entire period paid considerable attention to the problematic situation (see e.g. SOU 1990b; SOU 1990a; SOU 1996a; SOU 1996b; SOU 1997b; SOU 1997a; SOU 1998; SOU 2000a; SOU 2000b). An extensive literature review of research on interventions in exposed housing areas also shows that the academic realm has been incredibly active during this period (Lahti Edmark 2002).

Although there are numerous reasons to be pessimistic about the development in these so-called exposed housing areas, the Swedish Government has also found reason to express enthusiasm about the experience from national area-based interventions. A recent government report stated, e.g., that development in areas directly affected by national metropolitan policies has been »stronger« than in the society as a whole – taking this as a confirmation that such development was not the result of the general economic development (SOU 2004: 57). The positive development to which they refer concerns, e.g., the proportion of gainfully employed and social allowance, but even though these changes may indicate a positive development, the inequalities are still extensive.

DURING THE SAME time period as describe above, there was another kind of movement taking place that is closely related to the field of planning – the vision of sustainable development. This movement was initiated with the United Nations environmental conference in Sweden in 1972, however, the well-known definition of the concept was later formulated by the so-called Brundtland Commission, the World Commission on Environment and Development 1987: »Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs« (WCED 1987: 43). From an overall perspective, the aim of the notion may be considered as quite clear and it was, therefore, easy for all countries to share the vision. It was the present environmental threats, on the one hand, and material and social poverty, on the other, that constituted the need for a vision of a better world for all people – thus, it once started out as a marriage between two large societal

movements: the economic development movement and the environmental protection movement (Meadowcroft 1999: 13).

Representatives of these two movements gathered at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro 1992, where the notion of sustainable development was further expounded and where five documents were accepted by one hundred and twenty heads of state and government. Even if the documents clearly stated the overall goals for sustainable development and how achieving these goals was going to be implemented, the notion, taken together, may still be perceived as rather indefinite. The Rio Declaration stated, e.g., that »human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development [and] they are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature« (UNCED 1992b: par. 1). The declaration also stressed the importance of amalgamating the social and the economic dimensions with the environmental dimension of sustainable development (UNCED 1992b: par. 4). Such an amalgamation requires an interdisciplinary approach, they argued. Later the Commission on Sustainable Development has also included a fourth dimension – the institutional – to the framework of sustainable development (CSD 1996).

One of the agreements made in Rio de Janeiro resulted in the Agenda 21 document. This was an action program for the management of environment and development concerned with a global partnership for sustainable development (UNCED 1992a: ch. 1.1). Its successful implementation was first and foremost the responsibility of governments, but the importance of involving the municipalities and the citizens in democratic participation was emphasized in several points. In the chapter concerning decision-making, for example, it was pointed out that »the overall objective is to improve or restructure the decision-making process so that consideration of socio-economic and environmental issues is fully integrated and a broader range of public participation assured« (UNCED 1992a: ch. 8.3). And in the chapter about the relation to certain groups of society, it was stated that »one of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of sustainable development is broad public participation in decision-making« (UNCED 1992a: ch. 23.2). Further, in the chapter about planning, it is argued that the authorities »should establish innovative procedures, programmes, projects and services that facilitate and encourage the active participation of those affected by the decision-making and implementation process, especially of groups that have, hitherto, often been excluded, such as women, youth,

indigenous people and their communities and other local communities« (UNCED 1992a: ch. 10.10). In other words, they had agreed upon a vision of planning for sustainable development entailing a communicative turn with local partnerships that should include not only the local professionals but also the citizens.

Thus, the Agenda 21 document indicates quite a strong incentive for participative democracy. The need to involve non-governmental organizations and other major groups was emphasized even more in the Habitat Agenda, the report from the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in Istanbul (Habitat II 1996: ch. 12).

In Sweden – a country that had often been considered a forerunner with respect to sustainable development – the effort to implement Agenda 21 at the Municipal level progressed at full speed soon after the Rio conference. A National Commission on Agenda 21 was appointed in 1995 with the purpose of developing, deepening and establishing the agenda in Sweden, and in June 2000, a National Commission on Agenda 21 and Habitat was appointed with the responsibility of supporting and developing the implementation of Agenda 21 and the Habitat Agenda. At that point in time, however, the Swedish Government mainly stressed the environmental dimension of sustainable development. This was not only obvious in governmental documents; when they appointed a new commission to deal with sustainable development, they named it the »Commission on Ecologically Sustainable Development« (Swedish Government 1997). This understanding of sustainable development as mainly concerning environmental aspects was prevalent during the entire period until the end of the nineties (Swedish Government 1999). From the point of view of planning, this emphasis on environmental aspects resulted, e.g., in the policy document »Fifteen Environmental Quality Objectives«, objectives to be included in all planning and construction procedures (Swedish Government 1999; Naturvårdsverket 2000). It was not until 2001 that all three aspects of sustainable development were treated as equally important in official documents produced by the Swedish Government (Swedish Government 2001e) – and even now in 2004, the fourth institutional dimension has not really been taken into consideration in official documents.

The Swedish presidency of the EU Council of Ministers 2001 (Swedish Government 2001d) and additionally the national arrangements that took place to prepare for the five-year follow-up of the Habitat Agenda in

New York 2001 (Swedish Government 2001b), and the ten-year follow-up of Agenda 21 in Johannesburg 2002 (Swedish Government 2002; SOU 2003b; SOU 2003a) seem to have intensified the national focus on sustainable development again, after a weakening trend at the end of the nineties. One important Swedish contribution to the conference in Johannesburg was a report by the Ministry of the Environment (Azar, Holmberg and Karlsson 2002). This report showed that economic growth cannot solve, at least not on its own, future environmental problems; there is also a need for strong political control. These conclusions may be considered as important to reflect upon also in the contemporary Swedish society, where politicians most often present the concept »economic growth« as synonymous with whatever development policy they are discussing – which increasingly often also pertains to sustainable development.

Another important contribution to the Johannesburg conference – based on a criticism of the world economy as delimiting local governments' ability to fulfil their mandate – was an appeal from WACLAC, the World Associations of Cities and Local Authorities. They called for a move from agenda to action with »Local Action 21« strategies (WACLAC 2002) – a call that was also supported by ICLEI, the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives. They described this shift »the new action-oriented phase of Agenda 21, as a motto, mandate and movement for advancing sustainability at the local level« (ICLEI 2002). Such acceleration certainly seems to be necessary, in an overall perspective as well as with a specific focus at the local level. In Sweden, for instance, local Agenda 21 work has reportedly been reduced lately, as there has been no actual implementation of Agenda 21 plans in many municipalities, while in others resources for such local development work have been diminished (Edström and Eckerberg 2002: 31).

For the Swedish Government, the Johannesburg conference resulted in twelve propositions for further work on sustainable development. The government proposed, e.g., the establishment of an independent national forum for Agenda 21 and Habitat as well as the broadening of physical planning procedures to also include issues of ethnic and economic integration (SOU 2003a: 13). The Johannesburg conference also agreed upon each country's responsibility to outline »National Strategies for Sustainable Development«, which are to be complete at the latest in 2005. A Swedish strategy was formulated in 2002 (SOU 2002), however the matter is now being referred for consideration and will probably be completed during 2004.

For this thesis, one of the propositions described above – to broaden physical planning procedures to also include issues of ethnic and economic integration in order to promote sustainable development – actually highlights the kind of interest I have in this complex of problems: *How can architects and planners, in their professional roles, contribute to such a development and what are the prerequisites for this development to take place?* However, before a more detailed outline of the research problem is provided, we will review previous research in the field in the next chapter.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

THE FOLLOWING will describe previous research related to the, hitherto, vaguely formulated research problem, i.e. research about the two extensive fields of segregation and social exclusion, on the one hand, and planning and sustainable development, on the other. However, as it would not be feasible to review all literature in these fields, a limitation has also been made concerning the level of society in focus – i.e. mainly selecting research that seems to promote knowledge about the municipal and the city district level. Additionally, there is a main focus on Swedish literature here, although European and North American research is sometimes also presented.

SEGREGATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

RESEARCH ON segregation and social exclusion in Sweden is largely related to the debate on deliberative democracy, which has been going on for quite a while and resulted in, e.g., the governmental bill »Democracy for the New Century« (Swedish Government 2001a). One of the most prominent figures influencing this debate in Sweden was political scientist Robert D Putnam. He and his research team from the United States have conducted a well-known research project on political reforms in Italy. This study showed that where there existed a high degree of civic spirit, i.e. a great deal of local participation and activity in recreational and cultural associations – citizens being active in horizontal networks – there was also

much more economic progress (Putnam 1993: 176). Support of activities in horizontal networks thus facilitated the development of social capital. This, however, does not imply support of *any* horizontal networks – just the weak ties that bridge social capital, in contrast to the strong ties that instead may bond social capital within certain groups.

In subsequent research on circumstances in the United States, Putnam found that there was a steady decrease in social capital in American society due to a reduction in everyday social activities where people meet during their spare time (Putnam 2000). Consequently – as people increasingly do things alone during their spare time – the possibility to make informal agreements diminishes, and in this way their dependence on functional vertical networks in society increases.

These studies of Putnam have had a great influence during the past decade on research in many different fields in Sweden, although some political scientists have opposed certain parts of the theories. Bo Rothstein and Staffan Kumlin, e.g., argued that social capital was not primarily built on activities in horizontal networks, instead they maintained that social capital rather comes as a result of effective formal institutions, i.e., activities in *vertical* networks.

Both Putnam and Rothstein/Kumlin discussed the presence of reciprocity and trust between human beings as fundamental for the development of social capital. However, when Putnam presented his chain of cause and effect, he argued that social capital came as a result of trust and general reciprocity, which, in turn, came as a result of the existence of activities in horizontal networks. Rothstein and Kumlin, in turn, argued that social capital came as a result of the existence of trust between human beings, which, in turn came as a result of effective formal institutions (Rothstein 2000: 2; Rothstein and Kumlin 2001: 54; Rothstein 2003: 89). In other words, according to Rothstein and Kumlin, it was the absence of corrupt politicians and civil servants that constituted the foundation for the development of social capital. Consequently, while Putnam stated that social capital was built from the bottom and up, Rothstein and Kumlin maintained that social capital was built from the top and down. As a result of their study they proposed – and this is quite important in Sweden where support of non-profit associations has long been a tradition – that if the State aims at increasing social capital through its funding, there is no reason to, without further ado, invest in local club/association activities (Rothstein and Kumlin 2001: 60).

Admittedly, Rothstein and Kumlin did state that they were not completely convinced that this is an appropriate strategy possible to propose for practice, as there may exist aspects that were not fully investigated in their study. Yet, at this point in time, these research results do not seem to have influenced the Swedish practice with regard to non-profit associations and non-governmental organizations.

The Swedish ethnogeographer Roger Andersson is greatly involved in research on social exclusion and the role of the State and the Municipality. He has pointed out that, even if we now in Sweden have housing areas with sometimes as little as ten per cent employment among the inhabitants, the contemporary selective policy for integration and employment, imported from the United States via Britain, directing specific housing areas, not has proved to be exceptionally efficient. This is the case, first, because such a policy seems to have left those who were needy, but living in other areas, without support, and, second, because of the stigmatization effects these strategies may have caused (Andersson 2002: 95). Additionally, he argued that this selective policy may also have been adopted at the expense of a lower level of ambition for the general welfare policy (Andersson 2002: 112). He concluded his criticism by recommending local area-based interventions only for a period of transition and advocated that the problem of ethnic and economic segregation be handled through a change in political thinking on the long-term conditions.

In an international research programme in which Andersson has participated, the problems associated with area-based approaches were also discussed. In the programme they studied urban development programmes in nine European countries and analysed the outcome (Andersen and Kempen 2001). Their findings also seem to imply a well-founded criticism of selective policies, although they also considered area-based interventions as positive in certain respects. They mentioned three reasons why such a strategy should be adopted (Burgers and Franken 2003: 15). First, the neighbourhood effect may necessitate such interventions, i.e. spatial concentration of people with social problems most often results in an increase in other problems such as unemployment; additionally, spatial concentration seems to influence the area in a way that makes problems more long lasting. Second, the focus on the local context allows adoption of an integrated approach to solving the problems, which has proved to be positive from the point of view of the inhabitants. Third, area-based approaches may be more cost effective.

Returning to Sweden, social scientist Anders Törnquist seems to agree with Andersson, as he, in his thesis with empirical findings from three segregated and stigmatizised suburban areas, argued that it is strange that contemporary Swedish welfare policy positions those with »poor« resources in society as responsible for defending their local areas (Törnquist 2001: 248). This critical standpoint, with a certain focus on the level of the neighbourhood, has been of interest also in sociology and related fields. For instance, sociologist Susan Urban, in her report, has described how the concept of neighbourhood has developed over time in Sweden (Urban 2002), and a related evaluation report is discussed the experience of self-management in a public Swedish housing company (Bengtsson et al. 2003). Sociologist Elisabeth Lilja, in her study of a segregated suburban area, described how the inhabitants themselves experienced and valued their environment (Lilja 2002), and environmental physiologist Maria Nordström studied the feeling of being locked up that people experienced in certain suburban areas (Nordström 2002). Ethnogeographer Kerstin Bodström studied democratic participation in a stigmatized area from the perspective of a group of children in school, including also their parents' and teachers' perceptions (Bodström 2003). Sociologist Kirsti Kuusela, in her thesis based on empirical studies of two ethnically segregated suburban areas, maintained that the official Swedish immigrant policy had not been implemented at all – instead decision-makers seem to have kept a negative focus on the culture of the immigrants, implying that they most often prioritized Swedish interests (Kuusela 1993: 115).

There are also Swedish political scientists who oppose how society has treated immigrants. For instance, Marcus Johansson showed, in his thesis, that the opportunities for immigrants to participate in and influence urban politics were few and that immigrants were continuously excluded from Swedish urban life (Johansson 2002). These conclusions were also discussed by political scientists Abdul Khakee and Marcus Johansson in a book that further analysed how the increase in immigrants in the investigated Swedish city had been governed, considering these conditions from the perspectives of political participation; attitudes of local leaders and officials; policy documents; and the local newspaper (Khakee and Johansson 2003).

Another Swedish political scientist, Per Strömblad, analysed, in his thesis, the consequences of housing segregation for political engagement. He concluded that, in areas with a large degree of unemployment, politi-

cal engagement and confidence in politics was low, additionally voting in general elections was influenced negatively (Strömblad 2003). However, this did not pertain to engagement in political parties or to participation in manifestations. Further, Strömblad concluded that in ethnically and economically segregated areas the circumstances were astonishingly quite the reverse; political confidence was higher than expected and people, at least people born in Sweden, voted in general elections more often than usual. This may result from the fact that these areas have often been the object of governmental interventions, which most often include promotion of inhabitants' democratic participation (Strömblad 2003: 139, 190). Although this may be considered as extremely positive, Strömblad also discussed the possibility of stigmatization effects equalizing such an outcome. Another investigation, conducted by political scientist Ylva Norén Bretzner, confirmed the positive results presented by Strömblad. In her study on suburban areas involved in a national intervention, the motivation to undertake political functions was found to be higher than the average in the Municipality (Norén Bretzner 2003: 61).

Political scientist Magnus Dahlstedt was not equally positive when reporting his studies of suburban segregated areas in Sweden. He examined how groups with foreign backgrounds encountered the prerequisites for political participation in Swedish democracy – concluding that certain mechanisms of exclusion based on, e.g., ethnicity and culture had been established and legitimized. He also pointed out, drawing on Eliasoph (1998), the similarities between the Swedish empirical material and North American research results, finding people's political reasoning to become deeper and more nuanced the more he moved »backstage« out of the spotlights. Consequently, discussions at public political arenas were primarily associated with antagonism and antipolitical feelings, while discussions taking place in more private arenas instead concerned issued such as justice and a policy of fairer distribution of income across different groups (Dahlstedt 2001: 128).

Political scientist Isabell Schierenbeck, in her study on Swedish and Israeli integration policy, concluded that while the Israeli policy may be considered a success regarding outcomes such as gainful employment, the Swedish policy must be considered a failure. According to Schierenbeck, this is due to the fact that Swedish front-line bureaucrats widely apply the discretion offered them, while the Israeli bureaucrats used the same discretion in a

more limited manner. This resulted in intolerance towards immigrant clients finding their way through the Swedish bureaucracy, while such intolerance was for the most part hindered in the Israeli case (Schierenbeck 2003).

There also exist a substantial number of ethnological studies of suburban stigmatized areas in Sweden. For instance, Per-Markku Ristilammi, in his investigation, instead of mainly focusing on the neighbourhood under study, examined the society and its expressed attitudes towards the area and its residents – contrasting this understanding with representations from within the suburb (Ristilammi 1994). In another study, Ristilammi, together with ethnologist Urban Ericsson and ethnogeographer Irene Molina, also showed the significant role of mass media in the stigmatization of ethnically and economically segregated suburban areas (Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi 2002).

Molina had earlier, in her thesis, examined ethnic segregation in housing in a Swedish context. Her interest in the theme came from the insight that immigrants were concentrated mostly to areas of low socio-economic status. Yet other areas, rich areas, were also segregated from the point of view of ethnic and socio-economic aspects, but they were not considered, by the society, to be a problem. Additionally, these areas, with »strong« people, were not expected to act to promote integration. Those who were supposed to act were instead the »weak« people living in the mass housing from the sixties and seventies. She, in her thesis, discussed, e.g., institutional, psychosocial, and ideological mechanisms, which operate on a symbolic level, maintaining segregation (Molina 1997: 241). Additionally, she criticized the general understanding that existed, and maybe still exists, that housing segregation is a result of the immigrants' own choices – her study could not verify such circumstances (Molina 1997: 180). Instead she found it fruitful to seek explanations in the institutional, economic-material and ideological realms. Her conclusion was that it was obvious that ethnic housing segregation was not primarily a question of ethnicity or culture in a neutral or static sense, but rather a question of diverse mechanisms resulting in discrimination on racial grounds (Molina 1997: 227). In later work, she has continued to argue, e.g. together with history economist Paulina de los Reyes, that this discrimination of people on racial grounds, which causes problems for these people as well as the suburban areas in which most of them live, must be made visible if society is to be able to attend to them (Molina and Reyes 2002: 317).

Another researcher focused on ethnicity, ethnogeographer Juan Velásquez, has criticized the role of civil servants in local development programmes aiming at ethnic integration such as e.g. the Local Development Agreements. He maintained that instead of directing participation of the inhabitants, civil servants most often impeded development by using communicative approaches that did not correspond to the social diversity of the area – in this way certain groups, e.g. women, Muslims, non-European immigrants and low-income earners, were excluded from local development work (Velásquez 2001: 1). Velásquez also argued that such a development is the result of the communicative planning approach. Consequently, he claimed, if local planning is to be successful there is a need for development of communicative approaches that include the inhabitants in a democratic way (Velásquez 2000: 15).

One perspective on segregation, which has not really gained a hearing in Sweden, was rooted in the Chicago School and implied, according to sociologist Margareta Popoola, a more positive view on spatial segregation (Popoola 2002: 52; drawing on Lindén 1989). While the sociologists in Chicago, active mainly during the period 1920 to 1950, considered segregation as an important prerequisite for solidarity to emerge in urban society – though they were also aware of the social exclusion it entailed – the contemporary Swedish discussion on segregation based on the Chicago School seems to mainly have taken note of the accompanying discussion on assimilation (Popoola 2002: 53; drawing on Clark 2001).

There are, however, also studies in Sweden that consider segregation as something positive. For example, sociologist Sören Olsson, architect Gerd Cruse Sondén and ethnologist Marianne Ohlander, in their study about »the little neighbourhood« in Sweden, found reasons to suggest investigation of the positive outcome of people who come from the same country or culture living in the same little neighbourhood – additionally, if the positive outcome should prove to be more greater than the negative – they suggested the adoption of local policies to facilitate such development (Olsson, Cruse Sondén and Ohlander 1997: 218). In a more recent study, they explored suburban local squares and analysed their importance as public urban spaces (Olsson, Ohlander and Cruse Sondén 2004).

Closely related to this discussion, sociologist Mats Franzén debated the existence of two worldviews concerning segregation; on the one hand, there was the standpoint of considering segregation as a risk, and on the

other, of denying the existence of segregation as a problem – a racist world-view in contrast to that of a free market liberal. While the first-mentioned view may imply compulsive inclusion of »the other«, most often aiming at a transformation of the »dangerous stranger«, the second-mentioned view rather entails ignoring the segregated individuals and leaving them to their fate, which consequently also contributes to them becoming socially excluded (Franzén 2001: 44). The problem is, Franzén maintained, that the political debate in Sweden was largely locked up in these two alternatives, leaving »genuine« integration, i.e. when one no longer finds it necessary to divide people into »us« and »them«, outside the field of vision. With this discussion, Franzén included power aspects as a natural component of the debate on segregation.

As regards spatial segregation, Franzén argued that even its abolishment would not alone be sufficient to ensure integration between immigrants and people born in Sweden, as it was still an important prerequisite for change to take place. He argued, drawing on Sennett (1993: 132), that the uniform structure of the city, i.e. segregation of work activities as well as segregation of people, did not leave an environment that provoked meetings (Franzén 2001: 34). With this in mind, it was obvious that there were plenty of possibilities for spatial changes to facilitate a development towards ethnic and economic integration.

Sociologist Nora Räthzel also maintained – with experience from an extensive research project in Germany about the everyday social life of two groups of youths and analysing the empirical material from the perspectives of class, race, gender and space – that there is an obvious interplay between the social and the physical environment. She compared the stories of youths living in an area built for industrialization and comprising about ten per cent foreigners among the youths, with those of youths living in a heterogeneous traditional city structure close to the harbour with about fifty per cent foreigners among the youths. If one were to draw a conclusion from the study, the one most interesting to me as an architect and planner, it would be that a city district with a homogenous physical structure seems to have restrained the youths' development of social networks, resulting in them being more anxious in their neighbourhood and therefore inclined to think that different ethnic groups should be kept apart so as to avoid trouble or conflicts (Räthzel 2002). The project was conducted in close coop-

eration with its British »sister project« (Cohen, Keith and Back 1999). Räthzel is now, in cooperation with sociologist Katarina Nylund, studying the inhabitants' spatial understanding in certain suburban ethnically segregated metropolitan areas in Sweden, and relating this perspective of the inhabitants to the spatial understanding of the concerned municipal planners (Räthzel in prep).

Another suburban research project was conducted by social scientist Ove Sernhede. In his study of a group of young men engaged in the hiphop culture in an ethnically and economically segregated suburb in Sweden, he showed how the youths reacted with resistance when branded as »different« and were left in alienation by the society (Sernhede 2002a; 2002b). Through their actions of resistance, these young men requested respect, but it seems as though this has also resulted in them reinforcing the impression of their suburb, and themselves, as unusual, special and alienated. The negative spiral – initiated by society when it brands specific areas and its people as different – then continued to develop. Hence, even if it may have been commonly accepted that the source of their problems was largely the conditions under which the young men lived in Swedish society – and not the origin of their parents – by ignoring such circumstances, we must be considered responsible for continuing to turn social issues into a matter of ethnicity and culture (Sernhede 2002a: 231).

Drawing on Wacquant (1996), Sernhede also discussed whether the situation in Sweden may have similarities with the experience from studies of the suburb La Courneuve outside of Paris. In this suburb, the presence of the public welfare institutions has paradoxically resulted in an increase in the stigmatization of the area as well as in the inhabitants' experience of isolation from society (Sernhede 2002a: 65).

Ethnologist Åsa Andersson, in her thesis, studied identifications of a group of young women in a multiethnic and socially stigmatized neighbourhood, and related the narratives of these young women to three theoretical themes: place, gender and ethnicity. One of her findings was that stigmatization of a housing area did not seem to have the same effect on girls as on boys (Andersson 2003: 77). While boys, according to Sernhede, may develop some kind of self-defence, thus turning criticism and stigmatization effects into pride, girls, according to Andersson, seem to lack the ability to turn such identifications into something positive for their everyday lives.

TO SUM UP, as is obvious in this literature review on segregation and social exclusion, there is a large amount of research on this theme – still, I have not included all there is to be found. Many of these studies are based on analyses of national and municipal policy documents and empirical findings such as statistics and data on the suburban areas under study, sometimes also complemented by interviews with actors at the national and the municipal levels of society. There are also studies based on empirical material at the local level where people live their everyday lives – most often this material comprises interviews or field investigations with the inhabitants.

What is it then, that seems to be missing from this field of research – from the point of view of this research project? Most important it would seem that there is far more research knowledge about how society views the suburban area, than the contrary, i.e. how the actual residents view society, including their suburban area. In other words, research based on empirical material that leaves no opportunities for residents to influence the basic theories of research programme seems to more prevalent than research based on empirical material that allows residents to influence the worldview of the researchers. Another point that may be of significance is that studies examining the role of municipal or city district level officials often find reason to criticize how these officials have understood their assignments – in terms of how their activities are related to current national policies concerning segregation and social exclusion.

However, before we further discuss what this may imply for the limitations of my research project, we will in the next chapter review research on the theme of planning and sustainable development.

PLANNING AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

AS MENTIONED EARLIER, the governmental proposition to broaden physical planning procedures to also include issues of ethnic and economic integration in order to promote sustainable development highlighted the kind of interest I have in this complex of problems. The field of planning and sustainable development is also broad, and the literature review has therefore been limited to research including certain aspects of interest for this research project. What have been included are, first, some examples of research on the theme of sustainable development – some about the over-

all perspective, but the main focus is on literature describing the complex problem of defining the concept for implementation at the local level. Second, some literature has also been included on the theme of planning, local partnerships and citizen participation. Third, some examples have been included of research concerning the theme of planning, design and learning.

PLANNING THEORY has gone through considerable changes during recent decades as new theories and approaches have been developed (for a comprehensive description see, e.g., Sager 1994; and Allmendinger 2002). The entire scope of planning theory will not be described here, rather the focus will be on some research responding to the present situation for planning, i.e. what is most often labelled as planning in a new era. Planning researchers Robin Hambleton, Hank Savitch and Murray Stewart have discussed, e.g., how the globalization process has influenced innovations in urban governance in Britain and North America, with a specific interest in the opportunities for local democracy to develop at neighbourhood and city levels. One of their main interests was in how local leaders may take into account global changes and use these changes to strengthen local democracy to make it strengthening local democracy (Hambleton, Savitch and Stewart 2002).

In a critical review on estate regeneration, Stewart also argued, in co-operation with planning researcher Marilyn Taylor, that even with a long tradition of tenant participation, tenants still largely lack control over the way in which local services are delivered. They found these circumstances problematic, especially in the light of new area-based partnership initiatives, which actually impose new approaches to local administration. They also stressed that there is actually a lack of discussions on power aspects in the literature on empowerment (Stewart and Taylor 1995). In one report, Taylor discussed the potential of neighbourhood management strategies for tackling social exclusion and the implications for local communities and government at all levels of society (Taylor 2000). Taylor also maintained that there certainly is a need for a more sophisticated understanding not only of power, but also of the concept community – attributing the shortcomings partly to the current lack of scrutinizing the relationship between representative and participatory democracy (Taylor 2003).

Also planning researchers Andy Thornley and Yvonne Rydin have discussed the theme of the multi-faceted globalization process and its implications for planning procedures. They have argued that planning needs to

find new ways of thinking about its role and that it will most likely be forced to develop more flexible forms of practice in order to meet uncertainties and shorter time scales. This is not an easy task for the planning community, they admit, though as this new era of globalization also entails enhanced opportunities to learn from each other all over the world, there may also exist unforeseen potentials in the future (Thornley and Rydin 2002).

In a Nordic perspective, this new role in planning has also been extensively highlighted. For instance, sociologist Katarina Nylund, with experience from Denmark and Sweden, labelled the current changes in planning as a doctrinal vacuum caused by external factors and therefore analysed the economic preconditions for planning (Nylund 1995). Planning researcher Bent Flyvbjerg from Denmark discussed the influence of modernity and democracy in the debate and emphasized the importance of also analysing power aspects in research on planning (Flyvbjerg 1998; Flyvbjerg 2003b). Planning researcher Kimmo Lapintie from Finland was in agreement as concerns the importance of including power aspects in the communicative planning approaches, though he emphasized that the role of planning expertise itself must also be included in such an analysis (Lapintie 2003a).

In Sweden, studies on the collaborative planning approach conducted by planning researcher Patsy Healey from Britain seem to have had great importance for the development. This approach, as described by Healey, implied a transition from the traditional, rational, instrumental, target-oriented and hierarchical form of planning – »government«, to an open, communicative and collaborative form of planning – »governance«. Governance included not only the formal structures, but also the informal arenas and networks (Healey 1997: 59). The approach takes its point of departure in Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration (Healey 1997: 45-49; drawing on Giddens 1984; 1990), as well as in Jürgen Habermas' theory of communicative action (Healey 1997: 49-54; drawing on Habermas 1984; 1987; 1993). Healey's further development of the theme of institutional capacity and collective action capacities in complex contexts has been presented, e.g., in the concluding report from a research programme with experience from six different countries, among them Sweden (Healey et al. 2002).

In his thesis about a Swedish context based on collaborative planning and the Agenda 21 document, planning researcher Björn Malbert, influenced by Healey, aimed at finding approaches for bridging the gaps between the public planning systems and the stakeholder communities (Malbert 1998:

84). He concluded that if changes were to be made in mainstream decision-making in Sweden, a new role would need to be introduced in the planning systems, persons with knowledge of collaborative planning who could guide processes forward with the help of relevant methods – he labelled this platform for knowledge exchange »link functions«, aimed at bridging the interspace between theory and practice (Malbert 1998: 39). Malbert directed his main interest towards the national and municipal levels and the methodology that he referred to, the strategic choice approach, seemed to be suitable mainly for planning situations in which the participators were experts at more or less the same level (Malbert 1998: 87, 101). Malbert has further developed these issues, in collaboration with design process researcher Lisbeth Birgersson and planning researcher Knut Strömberg, in an European research project on how to communicate about urban growth and greenery in relation to the vision of sustainable development (Birgersson, Malbert and Strömberg 2001).

Another example of research that relates planning to sustainable development is the work carried out by planning researchers Colin Fudge and Janet Rowe. They have examined the Swedish policy on and implementation of sustainable development during the period 1998-99 – an interest resulting from Sweden's reputation as a forerunner as concerns implementation of sustainable development, though, at that point in time, the concept of sustainable development was regarded, by the Swedish Government, to include mainly the ecological dimension. As a result of the study, Fudge and Rowe suggested, in an overall perspective, what lessons could be drawn from this experience, and related this knowledge to themes such as power, trust, leadership and participatory democracy (Fudge and Rowe 2000; Rowe and Fudge 2003).

Political scientists have also been engaged in the theme of planning and sustainable development. For instance, Ingemar Elander focused upon the »partnership approach«, which during the past decade became the prevailing mode of governing in Europe – among other things as a result of the Agenda 21 agreement and the Habitat II Agenda. As he was quite critical towards such a development, Elander described three normative conclusions. First, partnerships, as well as other kinds of governance, should not replace government – this must be monitored by representative bodies. Second, they should not be able to exclude already marginalized groups. Third, transnational partnerships arising as a result of, e.g., Agenda 21 and

Habitat II must be complemented with traditional political structures, and there must always be a lively discussion of who should participate and who is accountable in such work (Elander 2002: 202-203).

Sverker Jagers is another Swedish political scientist who has taken an interest in the relationship between democracy and sustainable development. Jagers, in his thesis, examined the compatibility between policies on sustainable development and the values of liberal democracy, though he maintained that, in order to establish criteria for such a judgment, it was necessary to clarify the definition of deliberative democracy. According to Jagers, there exist two ideal-types of liberal democracy: the classic/protective type and the social/developmental type. He concluded that policies on sustainable development can hardly ever be considered compatible with the general ideas of the classic/protective type, while he found no objections to policies on sustainable development being compatible with the social/developmental type of liberal democracy (Jagers 2002: 281).

There is yet another research team, composed of political and environmental scientists, that has analysed the relationship between the top-down vision of sustainable development and the contextual anchoring of the concept (see e.g. Olsson in prep; Bro 1999). Their main interest in sustainable development was the theme of ethics and at the end of the research project they intend to form a type of »bottom-up ethics« for sustainable development – an instruction for understanding what the theme of ethics may imply in practice within the concept of sustainable development.

Another example of research that relates planning to sustainable development in Sweden has focused on the role of the Municipality in planning for sustainable development. The programme mainly focused on actors at the municipal level of society, (see e.g. Orrskog 2002), however, there are also projects aimed at relating such knowledge to residents' understanding of the environment of an area built in the eighties in which about twenty per cent of residents were born abroad (Dovlén and Skantze 2003).

One evaluation report discussed how citizen initiatives in minor Swedish cities could be supported by planning procedures. The report concluded that, in contemporary planning – which has left the procedures of the Swedish Welfare State and adapted to a more collaborative approach to planning for sustainable development – planning must first be based on local knowledge of the everyday local life; second, it must be founded on citizen participation as regards problem description and goal formulation;

third, it must be considered as a forum for dialogue rather than an instrument for control; and fourth, it must be characterized by its role of coordinating different sectors (Birgersson, Gynnerstedt and Öresjö 1998). These experiences have now been further developed in a local renewal process in an ethnically segregated urban area of a Swedish city, coordinated by architect planner Tommy Birgersson.[1]

Architect planner Inger Bergström and ethnologist Karl-Olov Arntsberg investigated the relationship between social and physical urban shape – mainly focusing on housing segregation in suburban mass housing from the sixties and seventies. One of their conclusions was that negative social effects had arisen as a result of built-in structural segregation – traffic differentiation and functional separation – and therefore, they argued, planning for integration must be considered as a question of mixing functions and facilitating flow-through of traffic. They also considered beauty and comfort as important aspects when discussing suburbs and housing segregation, as such values would be significant guiding principles for avoiding low-status areas (Arntsberg and Bergström 2003). In another project, they analysed planning strategies in suburban areas from the same time period and how the worldviews of the planners, most of them men born in the forties, influenced their approaches. They concluded that planning in the city centre differed greatly from planning in suburban areas – the planners seem to have adopted different value systems such that city centre planning was based on its own so-called cultural values, while suburban planning was based on principal values such as human and technical needs, norms and threshold values (Frunk 2003: 54).

Planning researcher Katja Ketola analysed the local development work in a suburban area involved in a process of extensive renewal within the realm of a national programme. She described the problem of linking time-limited top-down implementation of physical and social change – project, with bottom-up local development work on long-term conditions – process. If cooperation was to be attained, and not only coordination between actors, it was necessary to include in the strategies a change in aspects such as power relations and different worldviews – and to achieve such a development, it was necessary to be take into account the importance of mutual trust among local actors (Ketola 2000: 118).

Planning researcher Örjan Svane, in his thesis, discussed how sustainable development may be implemented at the neighbourhood level, mainly

[1] Further information about the project, which is called the South in Transition, may be found at www.soderiforandring.helsingborg.se (English summary).

focusing on regeneration and the role of housing companies (Svane 1999). Also planner researcher Annika Schéele focused on this realm, though in a broader perspective. She argued that as the control system for urban change has mainly been constructed for renewal, it has therefore left gradual change in buildings and other activities outside of its standard models. This has complicated local development work in general and local Agenda 21-initiatives in particular, as such projects and processes aimed at gradual change in the everyday life – from the point of view of the users of the environment – do not have binding laws on which to lean. Her conclusion was that there is a need for harmonization of the bottom-up processes of the environment users and the top-down control of the society – proposing »parallel quality programmes« (Schéele 2001: 288). The purpose of such programs was to provide the administration and planning processes of the society with knowledge of the standpoints of the users – how they prioritize urban qualities – and to ensure that this knowledge followed the entire decision-making process. Thus, the opinions of the users were only to be dismissed after public explanations. The proposed method for such parallel quality programs was tested in a research project. The strategy seems to have had certain similarities with »focus groups«, i.e. homogeneous groups that were designed so as to avoid pressure and leave as much liberty as possible for individuals to express their own opinions (Schéele 2001: 201-202).

WHILE MY RESEARCH PROJECT has been underway, and as a result of considering all of the above research projects on related themes, it has become increasingly clear that one of the main problems with studies in different research fields, and with relating them to sustainable development, has been the present lack of a generally accepted definition of the concept sustainable development. On the policy level this may not have been considered a great problem, however; with respect to actual implementation of sustainable development at the local level, there seem to be several possibilities for misunderstandings. The following will therefore provide a description of the most important research results on the definition of the concept.

Due to the wide-ranging definition of the concept, there is a need to subdivide the various elements constituting the notion in order to arrive at a better understanding and to make the concept more operational. In one research approach, developed by environmental scientist Joachim Spangenberg, economist Odile Bonniot and geographer Anke Valentin

from the Wuppertal Institute in Germany, these elements were ordered into four dimensions of sustainable development. These dimensions were seen as forming a four-dimensional prism with the environmental, economic and social dimensions at the base and the institutional dimension on the top (Spangenberg and Bonniot 1998: 1; Valentin and Spangenberg 1999: 3). The four dimensions of sustainable development presented in this approach originated from a report by Ismail Serageldin, vice president of special programs at the World Bank. In this report, four different types of capital were defined: natural capital, man-made capital, human capital and social capital (Serageldin 1996: 4; CSD 1996).

Apart from being interested in the top-down implementation of sustainable development, the research team also focused on the local situation. Therefore Valentin, in her research, aimed at identifying those aspects of sustainable development that seem to be important from a bottom-up perspective. She found out that if an interest is taken mainly in the local actors, then there was reason to use indicators full of nuances – an interest often in contrast to the needs of the national level, where simple and transparent systems with a limited number of indicators are encouraged. Furthermore, she stressed that, for researchers developing indicators at the macro level, the shortage of information from within the social and institutional dimensions was obvious, and it was, thus, hard to measure indicator values from all four dimensions within the same model. Valentin therefore attempted to develop new participatory procedures for finding and evaluating indicators for sustainable development by using local working groups and their »Leitbilder« (Valentin and Spangenberg 1999; Valentin 2000).

In their discussions, however, they stressed that the debate concerning the four different dimensions of sustainable development may appear incoherent and abstract if they are not related to the imperatives inherent in each dimension. An imperative tells what to *do*, and it may, thus, be considered as constituting a norm for action. Consequently, based on these imperatives, indicators for sustainable development were identified (see e.g. CSD 1996; and Valentin and Spangenberg 1999). These indicators were used to measure how far one had actually come in comparison to the overall vision of sustainable development. They are, thus, expected to work as instruments for politicians and other macro actors in making decisions based on a comprehensive perspective of the vision of sustainable development.

The development of imperatives and indicators resulted in several different interpretations of the dimensions of sustainable development and the results were sometimes quite confusing. As an example, in the report by Valentin and Spangenberg, one imperative for the economic dimension was to »improve competitiveness« and another imperative for the social dimension was to »safeguard cohesion« (Valentin and Spangenberg 1999). However, this interpretation may be seen as incongruous with the definition of the four kinds of capital presented by Serageldin. This inconsistency was discussed by planning researcher Jaan-Henrik Kain. With an interest in new roles in planning for sustainable development in Sweden, he, in his thesis, developed a sociotechnicial toolbox aimed at facilitating multiple and complementary approaches to infrastructural reconfiguration – in other words, allowing concrete operationalization of the notion sustainable development at the local level (Kain 2003). Within this work, the toolbox was tested in a pilot study conducted in cooperation with political scientist Henriette Söderberg (Kain and Söderberg 2002). Söderberg had earlier, in her thesis, analysed the role of Swedish municipal actors in implementing sustainable development with regard to recycling of sewage (Söderberg 1999).

In his thesis, Kain developed a more stringent image of the four dimensions, based strictly on the notions of natural, man-made, human and social capital. As a result of this discussion, but still inspired by Spangenberg and colleagues, Kain developed a new figure, which he designated a »tetra« (see Fig. 1), using another set of expressions for its points: **m**ind, **a**rtefact, **i**nstitution and **n**ature (Kain 2003: 328). As regards the concept of the prism of sustainable development, he argued that the economic dimension is likely to include elements deriving from all four dimensions, thus, adding confusion to the description and analysis (Kain 2003: 298-299). The reason for using this redefined tetra was to relieve the prism from the burden of the expressions social and economic, as they were often more confusing than explanatory. Yet another ambition was to make clear that the notion environmental does not include man-made artefacts.

THE NEXT PART of the chapter on previous research on planning and sustainable development will discuss how the theme of learning has been treated by researchers working with planning and design – as lack of knowledge may be seen as constituting one obstacle to change towards sustainable development (UNCED 1992a: ch. 36). This theme was thoroughly discussed

Fig. 1. The MAIN^{tetra}

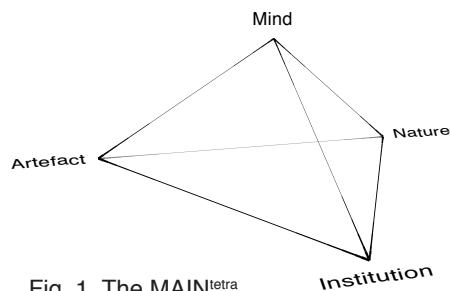MIND: ethics, worldviews, knowledge, skills and other human attributes.
ARTEFACT: works of art, instruments, machines, buildings and physical networks.
INSTITUTION: formal and informal relational webs of all sizes and directions, formal and informal norms, and information systems and codified knowledge.
NATURE: all kinds of natural elements, from the ecosphere as well as the lithosphere (Kain 2003: 327-328).

in my »licentiate thesis«,[2] which was based on a field investigation of local professionals in Göteborg and aimed at exploring the experience of the locally employed concerning local development work in general and themes such as participatory democracy and the broad vision of sustainable development in particular. The theoretical input comprised a discussion of certain approaches and their potential to bridge different gaps that had been observed empirically – the gap between top and bottom; the gap between abstract and concrete; the gap between »place and place«; and the gap between the four dimensions of sustainable development (Stenberg 2001). It was obvious in the licentiate thesis that aspects of power and time were extremely important prerequisites for local development work, though, at that point in time, there was not opportunity for further development of these themes – which is one of the reasons for me to further investigate these aspects now in my thesis.

Closely related to my research project, I have also conducted a pilot study, in cooperation with social scientist Gunnar Gillberg, in the same type of suburban area as is in focus in my thesis. The purpose of the study was to test a specific method, Life Mode Analysis, and to analyse its potential to support local development work in an area with many immigrants. Our conclusion was that this method, despite its apparent lack of theory on social exclusion, seemed to provide a fruitful approach to research on suburban areas such as those examined in the pilot study. Moreover, the methodological foundation of the approach, i.e. critical realism, seemed to have potential for use in research entailing a complex of problems, research such as my project (Gillberg and Stenberg 2002).

However, before going into methodological choices, we will return to the theme of learning. Chris Argyris and Donald Schön, researchers in organizational behaviour and planning, have developed a theory referred to by many researchers in the field of planning and also used by social scientists discussing knowledge and learning – a theory of action for organizational learning that distinguishes »single-loop learning« from »double-loop learning« (Argyris and Schön 1995: 20). However, while this approach mainly focused on learning within organizations, there have been subsequent approaches to learning – quite often conducted within the realm of Agenda 21 strategies – which also take an interest in learning across organizations, consequently designated *inter*organizational learning (for a comprehensive description of organizational learning see e.g. Child and Heavens 2001; Easterby-Smith and Lyles 2003).

[2] In Sweden doctoral candidates often publish their work in a mid-way report after two or three years; this is called the licentiate thesis.

When social planner Inga Michaeli studied the role of the Agenda 21 worker in Sweden, she assigned them names such as »border walker«, »the driving force« or »the enthusiast« (Michaeli 2000: 31), thus, with the words of Habermas referring to them as individuals balancing on the dividing line between two worlds – the system and the lifeworld – in need of individual support if they are to survive in such an exposed position.

Yet another researcher, social psychologist Jeppe Læssøe with Danish experience from local development work, described such a role quite differently. Even if he was also positioning local initiatives between two realms: »the world of susceptibility« and »the world of control« (Læssøe 1995: 339), he – instead of focusing on the individual Agenda 21 worker – was concerned about the learning process local organizations were involved in as regards such strategies. To bridge the gap between the top-down world of control and the bottom-up world of susceptibility when implementing sustainable development, Læssøe proposed the initiation of new organizations at the municipal or city district level, which would serve as catalysts for such learning processes.[3]

This interest in learning within and across organizations was shared by sociologist Bosse Forsén and senior lecturer Lasse Fryk. They have developed, based on practical experience in a Swedish segregated suburban area, a social approach on organizational learning that they designated »development of competencies in interplace« (Forsén and Fryk 1999, my translation).

Forsén and Fryk argued that the interplace was constituted by the specific places surrounding it; without these places it was not possible for something to exist in between.[4] The place was where the social worker, the headmaster, the politician etc., were active and it is important to note that they absolutely needed these delimited places in order to develop their specific knowledge, indispensable for the practice of their profession. Likewise, the inhabitants active in non-governmental organizations may also be considered to be active in their specific places, in the same way as professionals. Awareness of one's own place and its limits, thus, was an essential element of their approach. Consequently, they stressed the importance of strong professions with substantial concern for and high awareness of internal competences. However, their main interest was focused on interplace, as the consciousness of the place was born in interplace, i.e., the ability for self-reflection (Forsén and Fryk 1999: 22-23).

The interplace is neither here nor there
not ours or yours
The interplace cuts off
but it is also what we share
and because it is shared by everybody
it also connects all of us with each other
Therefore
the interplace is the centre of the world
It is the only thing that all people may share
and have in common
Nobody can own the interplace

Stefan Jonsson in Forsén and Fryk
(1999: 9, my translation)

[3] In Danish they are called »proceskatalyserande organiseringar«.

[4] In Swedish they call them »rum« and »mellanrum«.

Knowledge was also the main interest in the Swedish research, with Danish empirical material, conducted by planning researcher Lena Falkheden, who stressed that the relation between the global and the local must not only imply transfer of *intellectual* knowledge, but also *sensuous* knowledge in order to achieve the vision of sustainable development (Falkheden 1999: 189). She designated her answer to such an enlargement of the role of architects and planners as »designed links for sustainable development« and argued for, like Læssøe, the importance of the establishment of new local arenas aimed at supporting sustainable development at the local level (Falkheden 1999: 230).

This emphasis on the artefact was also discussed by design process researcher Lisbeth Birgersson, who has experience from changes in an old working space area in a Swedish context. She discussed the knowledge generated through three different kinds of actions: instrumental action, meaning-in-action and well-considered-action (Birgersson 1996: 197, 244), and maintained that when physical change takes place in practice, the artefacts and the actors »talked« to each other in a process over time. The actors thus not only used the artefacts for communication with each other, but the artefact itself had something to »tell« even when the actors had left the place. The artefact, thus, made it possible for the participants to act from a distance.

Acting from a distance was in focus also for philosopher and sociologist Bruno Latour, though he stressed that transformation of knowledge used for acting from a distance was not solely supported by *one* single artefact. Instead such a transaction of knowledge and understanding may be perceived as being composed of a series of artefacts. According to Latour, it was this *transaction* that should be in focus, and he described it as constituting »successive layers of transformation« (Latour 1998: 253, my translation). Transformation of knowledge, however, must not be considered as being left outside the influence of power aspects, according to Latour and sociologist Michel Callon. Hence, not only knowledge, but also power, is closely related to action; power is not something one can obtain; an actor is rather considered as having been *given* power from another actor the same moment he acts. Consequently, power was considered as given away when one actor lets another actor establish durable relationships between different actors, additionally, when an actor is permitted to enlist durable material (Callon and Latour 1981: 284). This last-mentioned reflection may

be considered as important in relation to the above-mentioned research approaches concerning acting from a distance with the help of artefacts, which may comprise, e.g., durable material.

If we return to the two worlds discussed earlier, there is plenty of research from different fields debating the importance of bridging or relating these worlds – using dichotomies such as abstract and concrete; global and local; top and bottom; or space and place. Such discussions were conducted in, e.g., the above-mentioned European research programme on how to communicate about urban growth and greenery in relation to the vision of sustainable development. In this programme, with experience from seven countries, the concepts of space and place – complemented also by the notions of »reach« and »range«, which are spatial dimensions related both to social place and geographical space – have been supportive when designing tools for action (Birgersson, Malbert and Strömberg 2001: 39).

Planning researcher Ole Michael Jensen from Denmark seems to have had a similar standpoint on the two concepts of space and place, though he designated space as »environmental management« and place as »urban ecology«.[5] Environmental management, thus, entailed policy levels, injunctions, prohibitions, taxes, charges, subsidies, while urban ecology focused on the local context for environmental considerations. Urban ecology had the purpose of treating all environmental tasks in one locality, while the purpose of environmental management was to handle one environmental task in all localities (Jensen 1994: 364).

Even with the concepts of space and place, something still seemed to be missing, as these concept did not encompass action in the sense referred to by Birgersson – well-considered-action – and knowledge in the sense referred to by Forsén and Fryk – competencies developed in interplace (Stenberg 2001: 71). Perhaps a third notion, which was often used together with space and place, could be of use – a notion that attempted to contain the entire context. Jensen used several expressions to capture this: the »locality« (Jensen 1994: 355), the »face« (Jensen 2001: 3) or the »site« (Jensen 1995), while architecture researcher Claus Bech-Danielsen referred to it as the »locus« (Bech-Danielsen 1998: 19).

According to Bech-Danielsen, the distinction between the notions emerged from three different worldviews: the holistic, the dualistic and the contextual – each of them constituting three different ways of understanding reality. Further, three different kinds of aesthetics were related to these

[5] »Miljøregulering« and »byøkologi« in Danish.

worldviews (Bech-Danielsen 1998: 19-31). The aesthetic of place, Bech-Danielsen argued, was based on topology and he exemplified this with the construction of an old Greek town. It was the focus on the special qualities of place – the genius loci – that allowed such architecture to develop. The aesthetic of space was contrary to this, departing from a superior idea that perceived all places as identical. An example of such architecture was the Villa Rotonda by Andrea Palladio, which was an equilateral geometrical building with no association whatsoever to its specific locality. Finally, in the aesthetic of locus »the overall idea of the space is amalgamated with the specific quality of the place, and a representation comes into existence that is not an intellectual brain-child without roots« (Bech-Danielsen 1998: 29, my translation). The example given by Bech-Danielsen of such architecture was a town plan in which geometric rational ideas of road extensions met organic place-bound artefacts, such as a water stream, and a new aesthetics develops out of this amalgamation.

Jensen seemed to agree with this description. He maintained that while place may be seen as closely related to religion, space was closely connected to science, and face had a specific association to art (Jensen 2001: 3). According to Jensen, the notion of face implied something progressive, which changed not only the artefacts but also the artists themselves. In addition, Bech-Danielsen argued that the aesthetics of face supported the development of a worldview that safeguarded nature, as this approach amalgamated the overall vision of space and the qualities of place (Bech-Danielsen 1998: 31). One may ask whether this can be perceived in such a manner that an overall vision comprises the notion of sustainable development, while the aesthetics of face comprises activities constituting sustainable development at the local level.

TO SUM UP, what, from the point of view of my research project, seem to be the most important observations from this field of research? It is obvious that there is plenty of research on the circumstances under which professionals at the municipal level or higher adapt to the new era of communicative planning. There is also research focusing on the local context, e.g. studies related to how professionals at local Agenda 21 offices and employed in housing companies cope with their new roles. First, however, it is interesting to notice that, even if communicative planning has been approved of from the national policy level, very few research projects

seem to have investigated the implications of such a development at the local level in mass housing areas from the sixties and seventies – e.g., the effects of local partnerships between housing companies. Second, most of the research focused on the local level seems to have difficulties relating to the broad definition of sustainable development, which may have resulted in a lack of further development of its definition. Third, there seems to be a general exclusion of power aspects from the research on planning and sustainable development, and it would certainly seem essential to also include the expert role of the planner in such studies. Fourth, very few projects have conducted deep-going analyses of temporal aspects and their relationship to the social problems of the housing areas in focus in this thesis. Fifth, although research on organizational learning processes related to sustainable development seems to be relatively frequent, there may be a lack of explicit knowledge of how to understand these theories and approaches in the context of stigmatized suburban areas of metropolitan areas.

If we also relate the previous literature review to this discussion, one observation is that the results from research on segregation and social exclusion do not seem to self-evidently diffuse into the fields of planning – neither to the realm of planning at city planning offices at municipal levels or higher, nor to Local Agenda 21 offices at the local level where, e.g., architects are quite often engaged. This seems to imply that many planners, and planning researchers, do not really consider the development in mass housing areas from the sixties and seventies as being within their realm of interest and responsibility – if the area is not subject to such an extensive physical change that an adjustment of the legal plan would be necessary. As enterprises are most often not interested in investments in the physical environment in these suburban areas, such adjustments do not take place very often. Additionally, with respect to local Agenda 21 offices, it is not very common for municipalities of the metropolitan areas in Sweden to commit themselves to developing strong and independent local Agenda 21 offices in their city districts.

These circumstances have entailed that everyday administration of physical change in many of the mass housing areas from the sixties and seventies has, to some extent, been left to be managed by – or through – the locally employed that are always present in the areas, i.e. civil servants, local politicians and those employed in public and private housing companies. Consequently, if we are to take an interest in how research and

policy making on social exclusion and planning for sustainable development diffuse into the realm of suburban mass housing areas of the sixties and seventies, it would seem very important to focus on this group of employees at the local level.

PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

AS MENTIONED EARLIER, the quotation in the beginning of this thesis of two teenage girls pointing to a social problem made me eager to more thoroughly consider my own role as architect and planner in the development of stigmatized suburban metropolitan areas. I have also described how one of the governmental propositions after the United Nations conference in Johannesburg – to broaden physical planning procedures to also include issues of ethnic and economic integration in order to promote sustainable development – illuminated the relationship between the social problem and my research problem: How may architects and planners in their professional roles contribute to such a development and what are the prerequisites for this development to take place? Summing up the conclusions from the literature review, there are some points of particular interest for my research project:

- even if communicative planning has been approved of from the national policy level, very few research projects seem to have investigated the implications of such a development at the local level in mass housing areas from the sixties and seventies;
- research focusing on the local level seems to have difficulties relating to the broad definition of sustainable development, which may have resulted in a lack of further development of its definition;
- there seems to be a general lack of including power aspects in research on planning and sustainable development, and it certainly seem essential to also include the expert role of the planner in such studies;
- there is a lack of deep-going analyses of temporal aspects and the relationship to the social problems of the housing areas in focus in this thesis;
- there may be a lack of explicit knowledge of how to understand theories and approaches concerning organizational learning in the context

of stigmatized suburban areas of metropolitan areas;

- there is far more research knowledge about how society thinks about the suburban area than the contrary, i.e. how the inhabitants think about the society, including their suburban area;
- the results from research on segregation and social exclusion do not seem to self-evidently diffuse into the fields of planning;
- those studies including the role of those locally employed at the municipal or city district level often find reason to criticize how they have understood their assignments – in terms of relating them to national policies;
- consequently, if we are to take an interest in how research on social exclusion and planning for sustainable development makes sense in suburban areas from the sixties and seventies, it would seem very important to focus on the group of locally employed individuals.

Altogether, this has been my reason for taking a special interest in the professionals, i.e. civil servants, local politicians and employed in public and private housing companies, who are active at the local level where people live their everyday lives. As a consequences of this choice, the research question has been formulated as follows: *What are the roles of the locally employed in stigmatized suburban metropolitan areas; how do their roles relate to national policies on social inclusion and sustainable development; and how do their roles relate to the needs and opinions of the citizens?*

With this research question follows a focus on certain situations or circumstances, assumed to increase the potential of the research project to promote knowledge concerning problems given relatively little attention in previous research. It is of course essential to focus on an area involved in some kind of national intervention, additionally, to bring together knowledge not only from local employees but also from the inhabitants. It is also interesting to investigate whether there are signs of communicative planning approaches locally, perhaps in the form of local partnerships between different actors. Further, it may be interesting to investigate whether there are ongoing traditional planning procedures and study how they relate to national interventions aimed at specific outcomes. It is certainly important to investigate how power aspects play an active part when local employees choose the strategies they will use to fulfil their obligations and, additionally, to also include temporal aspects and organizational learning in the

analysis. Finally, it is essential to relate the research results to the broad vision of sustainable development in order to contribute to the further development of its definition.

The purpose of the research is manifold and concerns different fields. For the field of policy-makers, i.e. politicians and experts most often operating at the national or the municipal level, use of findings from this research project may imply, e.g., further knowledge about how future national programmes on the theme of social inclusion and sustainable development may be formulated and implemented. For the field of local administration in city districts, i.e. civil servants, local politicians and those employed in housing companies, this thesis may entail extended learning about how their everyday local administration relates to social changes such as deliberative democracy, collaborative planning and sustainable development. For the field of planning, i.e. experts at city planning offices or local Agenda 21 offices, the research project may lead to further understanding of how to include inhabitants from stigmatized suburban areas in planning procedures aimed at sustainable development.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH WITHIN the realm of architecture and planning is not characterized by a coherent research tradition wherein there is an obvious choice of research methodology and methods, which is a natural consequence of the realm being cross disciplinary and including aesthetic aspects as well as, e.g., technical, social, institutional and economic aspects. As a result, research in the realm of architecture and planning has a tradition of approaching problems both from a natural science and social science perspective, though to what degree one dominates over the other depends on the research problem. With sustainable development the emphasis on the need for a broad perspective has been highlighted even more, additionally underscoring the importance of focusing not only on products and projects but also on processes, and has accentuated the value of including institutional aspects.

Architects and planners most often richly value this double identity of natural science and social science, though this is an appreciation that

indeed may also be shared by most social scientist – as social science was actually born as a consequence of the crossfire between natural science and the humanities – »spirit science« (Lindholm 1999: 26). While natural science, based on positivism, was a result of opposing authorities and put faith in senses and reason, social science conveyed interpretation and social understanding – arguing, with the hermeneutic spiral, that the whole may not only be considered as comprised of its pieces, but may grow as a result of an ongoing interplay between the interpretations of the whole and the interpretations of the pieces (Lindholm 1999: 29, 74). These differences, however, have actually never constituted a reason to consider positivism (realism) and hermeneutics (relativism) as two incompatible extremes (Lindholm 1999: 68).

Nevertheless, this opinion may certainly not be considered as shared by everyone, as most innovative methodological interpretations have in fact expressed quite strong criticism of these precursors, most often opposing positivism but also taking into consideration the problems of hermeneutics. One of them, prevalent in the realm of architecture and planning, is social constructivism (Wenneberg 2000). For this approach the basic principle is that social phenomena are considered to be constructed by human beings in social processes. One example is the approach entitled Social Construction of Technology, SCOT (Pinch and Bijker 1987), highlighting interpretative flexibility. This approach has used the environmental debate as an example to show how the contemporary worldview on nature, as having certain limitations in itself, has been used without explicitly explaining that these limitations are not really naturally constructed, but are rather socially constructed by human beings who believe them to be the proper answer to the question of how much nature can stand (Wenneberg 2000: 61).

Within social constructivism, however, there exist different attitudes towards how to perceive reality. While some try to explain social phenomena with the help of new theories – i.e. believing that reality exists independent of our knowledge about it (ontological realism) – others regard the foundation for reality as dependent on our ideas about it (ontological idealism), i.e. when one believes that reality does not exist unless it is being contemplated (Wenneberg 2000: 93). This last-mentioned attitude must, I assume, be equivalent to ontological relativism. However, as a result of these differences within the field, the question has been raised as to *what* it is that social constructivists actually think is being constructed. Is it na-

PHILOSOPHY		
Ontology	Epistemology	Value Philosophy
The nature of existence and reality	General philosophy of knowledge Philosophy of science	What is god and bad, right and wrong and ugly

Fig. 2. One may divide philosophy into three types, in order to understand where philosophy of science belongs. After Lindholm (1999: 34, my translation).

Fig. 3. According to critical realism, reality consists of three ontological domains. After Castro (2002).

ture itself, the physical reality they are discussing; or is it social reality; or perhaps subjective reality? Consequently, there also exists a discussion of the importance of improvements in distinguishing reality from knowledge about reality (Wenneberg 2000: 104-105).

In order to do this, it may be considered important to make a distinction between science and philosophy. While the first-mentioned may observe, interpret and explain, i.e. problems may be solved; the second-mentioned rather contemplates and searches for arguments, but cannot deliver straight answers (Lindholm 1999: 33). Further, in order to understand where philosophy of science belongs, one may divide philosophy into three types (see Fig. 2): Ontology is about the nature of being and reality; epistemology involves questions about the sources of knowledge (i.e., senses and reason) and what makes it valid; and value philosophy asks what is god and bad, right and wrong and ugly – thus including ethics and aesthetics (Lindholm 1999: 34). What is important, however, is the fact that science not only concerns epistemology, which is obvious as regards choice of research methods: The choice of methods is an epistemological concern, which is based on assumptions concerning the nature of the object, which constitute an ontological question, which also involves philosophical questions of value (Lindholm 1999: 35).

One approach which has recently become common in the realm of architecture and planning is critical realism (Bhaskar 1978; Archer et al. 1998; Danermark et al. 2002). This approach, or metatheory, is deeply concerned with the perception of ontology and epistemology, it may presumably therefore be regarded as meeting the expectations of improved differentiation between reality and knowledge about reality. Critical realism, however, has not been introduced to replace either hermeneutics or positivism – on the contrary, critical realism may rather be considered as an attempt to create something new out of the similarities and the dissimilarities between realism and relativism (Danermark et al. 2002: 2).

According to critical realism, reality consists of three ontological domains (see Fig. 3): the empirical, the actual and the real. The empirical domain contains what we encounter, directly or indirectly; the actual domain what actually happens independent of our observations; while the real domain consists of the mechanisms that are producing the events (Danermark et al. 2002: 20, drawing on Bhaskar 1978: 56). Observations and data collections made by a researcher are thus brought together in the empirical
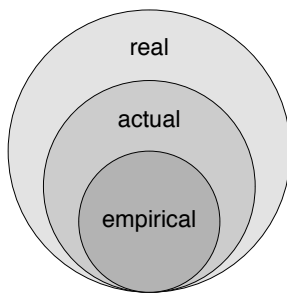
domain, and further, this material is always impregnated with theory. What is important, according to Bhaskar, is that empirical material must never be confused with what is happening in the actual domain, as this would result in »epistemic fallacy« (Danermark et al. 2002: 153, 205).

Bhaskar maintains that there will always be an ontological gap between the three domains; they are not to be intermixed. »Scientific work is instead to investigate and identify relationships and non-relationships, respectively, between what we experience, what actually happens, and the underlying mechanisms that produce the events in the world« (Danermark et al. 2002: 21, italics removed). Therefore, even if there is no direct connection between the domains, theory constitutes an indirect connection between science and reality (Danermark et al. 2002: 23). Theory is based on conceptualization, and a very common way of conceptualizing is through abstraction (Danermark et al. 2002: 42). Further, with an abstraction it is possible to isolate mechanisms that together produce an event (Danermark et al. 2002: 43). To achieve this, a fourth mode of inference has been introduced – retroduction – which corresponds to induction, deduction or abduction in positivistic and hermeneutic approaches: »Retroduction /is/ a thought operation involving a reconstruction of the basic conditions for anything to be what it is, or, to put it differently, it is by reasoning we can obtain knowledge of what properties are required for a phenomenon to exist. Transfactual or transcendental argument is a form of retroduction implying that one seeks these qualities beyond what is immediately given« (Danermark et al. 2002: 206).

In short, critical realism may thus be considered to be built on realism in the way it brings into play transfactual argumentation – which corresponds to the experiment in natural sciences (senses and reason) – and built on relativism in the way it is of special concern to the ontological gap – highlighting theory and language (interpretation and social understanding) to constitute indirect relations between the domains.

THIS DESCRIPTION of methodological considerations was meant to illustrate how some of the contemporary discussions on this theme within the field of architecture and planning, in general, and our area of sustainable development, in particular, have influenced the research design. In the next part of this chapter, the empirical material used in this thesis will first be described, followed by a more thorough explanation of the actual research design.

EVALUATION OF A NATIONAL FUNDING PROGRAMME

THE EMPIRICAL MATERIAL used in this thesis comprises part of an evaluation of a national funding programme in Sweden called »Local Development Agreements«. The reason for choosing this funding programme as the object of empirical study has, foremost, to do with the principal objective of the funding programme, which includes social inclusion and sustainable development (Swedish Government 1998: 9). Second, the choice has to do with the fact that local professionals employed in the city districts are pointed out as the responsible actors for realizing these objectives. Third, the choice has to do with the fact that a bottom-up perspective has explicitly been expressed as a prerequisite for the implementation of the funding. The accomplishment of Local Development Agreements at the local level therefore would seem to constitute an appropriate case if one wishes to answer the research question of how the roles of the local employees in stigmatized suburban metropolitan areas relate to national policies on social inclusion and sustainable development and to the needs and opinions of the citizens.

Additionally, an opportunity appeared for me to be involved in commissioned research on a half-time basis with the evaluation of the Local Development Agreements for a period of two and a half years. The commissioned research in total is spread nationally and includes researchers as evaluators from many different fields – in total there have been about sixty evaluators involved on a part-time basis. For my part, the commission consists of participation in two different research groups in Göteborg, evaluating two different themes. This will be further described later on in the chapter on the empirical studies. Discussed here will only be the circumstances of importance to the methodological considerations.

As mentioned earlier, the empirical material used in this thesis comprises *one part* of an evaluation of a national funding programme – this part consists of my evaluation only. The choice has been made mainly because this is the only part that has been fully under my control. There are two important delimitations for my part of the evaluation. First, it has been physically delimited to just one out of four areas in Göteborg receiving

funding – an area called »Northern Biskopsgården«. Second, there is a limitation concerning the themes for which I take responsibility in the evaluation – which are questions concerning ethnic integration; people's feelings of safety; and democratic issues such as information and participation.

CASE STUDY METHOD

THE EVALUATION, i.e. my part of it, was designed as a regular »case study«. This method for design of research projects – which has been utilized in numerous studies within the field of architecture and planning as well as in many other disciplines and fields – has been thoroughly described by Robert Yin (1994). However, Yin is not only engaged in research design, but has also reflected on the use of case studies in evaluation (Yin 2000). According to Yin, there are three features that must be satisfied if an investigation is to be defined as a case study. First, there must be use of information from multiple sources – e.g. direct observation, interviews, documents, archival files, actual artefacts – and a possibility to triangulate these data. The data are most often both qualitative and quantitative. Second, there must be richness of data; data should derive from a study that investigates events in the real-life situation. And therefore, the boundary between the phenomena and the context may not be at all sharp. Third, the generalization of data is dependent on the development, testing and replication of theoretical propositions (i.e. analytic generalization and not statistical generalization) – it is especially helpful to test rival theories. Generalization is therefore not dependent on whether or not the study involves a single or a multiple case study (Yin 2000: 185-186).

Moreover, Yin stresses that this description of a case study certainly excludes some methods that at times have been confused with case study research – e.g. the classic ethnographic study that often uses only the participant-observer method with no accompanying interviews, documentary or archival records. However, supplementary data would not be sufficient either, as the third feature discussed above is not often fulfilled in such studies. These misunderstandings are important to discuss, Yin continues to argue, as it is essential to keep in mind that the case study method must rather be considered as the *design* of the research or the evaluation, not just a data collection technique.

Returning to the design of the case study for this thesis, it has been built up with the intention of including the three features expressed by Yin. Considering the first requirement, multiple sources, all his examples are used as the basis for information in the evaluation, as well as the participant-observer method. The collected data are both qualitative and quantitative, and the feature of taking into consideration different phenomena with the help of various types of data has also often been possible to include. Interview transcriptions, notes from direct observations and participant-observations have additionally been treated in a computer program designed for code-based qualitative analysis.

The second requirement, achieving a richness of data, has been satisfied thanks to the construction of the evaluation – as it has allowed me to spend a lot of time in the area. At least one day a week, but often much more, for a period of two years, I have had the possibility to conduct interviews, make observations, participate in projects, sit in on meetings, search for information or just talking with people in the area under study. This has enabled me to understand a great deal more than would have been possible if I had not been part of the evaluation team. This has also facilitated my understanding of how the context is influenced by internal and external circumstances – and it also gave me the opportunity to understand how these conditions have changed over time.

The third characteristic, analytic generalization of the results by developing, testing and replicating theoretical propositions, has been satisfied through a process whereby the empirical data have been analysed with the help of a theoretical framework developed within the thesis. This has been conducted through a systematic analysis of the interviews and the observations using the above-mentioned computer program, where the whole content, sentence by sentence, was analysed from the point of view of three different theoretical themes.

This is the principal theoretical analysis upon which this thesis is built. However, there have also been several analyses conducted within the realm of the evaluation that have been of importance for the above-mentioned analysis. One example is a document analysis carried out to search for the definition of the concepts »integration« and »democratic participation« in official documents from the national level, and to compare these statements with the opinions of the local professionals, on the one hand, and the inhabitants, on the other. This analysis was also conducted within

the computer program. Another example is the investigation of how local professionals distributed the funding locally, i.e. how much money was given to projects within their own organization and how much was given to non-governmental organizations. Such facts were also included in the interviews with local professionals and inhabitants. A third example is statistical data on developments, during a five-year period, concerning the parts of Göteborg in which people born abroad live – such data were also included in interviews with, e.g., local politicians, civil servants and inhabitants.

A fourth, but quite different example, is a series of three seminars, aimed at implementing some experience from the Local Development Agreements into a local plan for democracy in the city district committee. These seminars, taking place just before this thesis was written, used the results from the evaluation concerning democracy, my material, to influence the development of the local plan. The seminars were also recorded and analysed in the same way as the interviews and the observations, consequently it was possible to include in the case study whether the present persons had changed their opinion over time, and also how the local actors reacted to the presented information from the evaluation

In this way, information from *all* sources was put into action in the evaluation and therefore became visualised in the documentation of the interviews and the observation. This was also the purpose of the chosen methodology for the evaluation – and for this thesis – everything of importance to the research question was to be present in the computer program at the end of the process, so it could be analysed from the point of view of the three different theoretical themes.

THIS DESCRIPTION of the research design – which will be more intelligible in the following chapters on the case study and the theoretical framework – also represents a description of the quality of the research design concerning its validity and reliability. Validity has to do with relevance, i.e. whether or not the research project has recognized effective measures for the concepts that are in focus (Yin 1994: 32-36). Using multiple sources is one way to construct validity, which, as referred to above, was achieved in the research project. Another is the opportunity to achieve a richness of data, which was possible as a result of the engagement in the evaluation. Additionally, analytic generalization may be considered to increase the

validity, as may the routine of locating information from all sources in the computer program and making it available for an overall analysis.

The question of reliability in case study research is closely related to how the investigations are accomplished, e.g. whether they are performed correctly and whether they are properly coded (Yin 1994: 36-38). One important aspect of reliability concerns how data from the interviews have been collected. Tape recordings, for example, give higher reliability than if the interviews have been documented by taking notes. Transcription of recordings also gives higher reliability, as well as keeping a copy of the raw material in its original form to enable another researcher to reanalyse the case. Additionally, data treatment in a computer program allows the work to be followed step by step, as all phases of the analysis are saved. All these precautions have been possible to realize concerning the interviews and the series of three seminars discussed above. Direct observation and participant-observation have been documented by taking notes. The reliability of a case study is also dependent on how the description of the case study is conducted when the research is reported, accordingly, the case study chapter in this thesis will include a considerable amount of information about the case.

OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

THE INTRODUCTION chapter first described the background of a social problem expressed by two teenage girls in the quotation that opened this thesis. Further, a literature review on previous research within the fields of social inclusion and sustainable development was conducted to expound the context of the research problem. Subsequently, the purpose and the research questions were discussed, which ended up in a description of methodological considerations leading to the choice of empirical material and the actual design of the research project.

THE CASE STUDY chapter will describe my part of the evaluation of the national funding programme Local Development Agreements. This will be accomplished, first, by briefly describing the programme and the purpose of the evaluation; second, by going through the material and the evaluation

methods in a more detailed fashion than was done in the chapter on methodology; third, by describing the actual city district socially and physically; and fourth, by showing how the implementation of the programme has been conducted. Finally, preliminary results from the evaluation will be presented.

The chapter THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND EMPIRICAL FINDINGS will first describe why and how the theoretical framework was developed and in what way the analysis has been conducted – implying that also this chapter consists of further considerations about methods, though here they will instead be theoretical. Then each of the three theoretical themes will be described, first the theories and then the practice. A shortcut for practitioners with a specific interest in the evaluation of the national funding programme would therefore be to – except for reading the chapter about the case study – focus on the three chapters on practice, which largely consist of quotations from local employees and inhabitants. In the end of this part of the thesis, there is also a summary of the analysis and in the CONCLUSIONS the findings are discussed and related to the research problem and the purpose of the thesis.

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The Case Study

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In 1998, the Swedish Government introduced a government bill on policy for development in metropolitan areas, »Development and Justice - A Policy for Metropolitan Areas in the 21st Century«. This government bill may be considered as the accumulated result of two decades of focusing on metropolitan areas suffering from problems related to segregation. The goals of the metropolitan policy are (Swedish Government 1998):

- to provide for sustainable growth in the metropolitan regions, and consequently, contribute to new employment opportunities in both the metropolitan regions and the country at large
- to stop social, ethnic and discriminating segregation in the metropolitan regions, and work for equal living conditions and gender equality amongst people living in the cities

The Government appointed a new commission, the Commission on Metropolitan Areas, to develop and coordinate this metropolitan policy, and the commission's first strategy was to initiate an urban development programme called »Local Development Agreements«. Funding of this programme involves an

investment of SEK two billion in seven municipalities over six years, 1999-2004.[6] With respect to this funding, the two overall goals of the metropolitan policy, as mentioned above, have been broken down into eight objectives:

- employment rates are to be raised
- benefit dependency is to be reduced
- position of the Swedish language is to be strengthened
- school students are to be given the opportunity to reach secondary school
- educational level of the adult population is to be raised
- city neighbourhoods are to be experienced as attractive and safe
- public health is to be improved
- democratic participation is to be increased

Further, the commission advocates that four key methods be applied when implementing the programme (The Commission on Metropolitan Areas 2003). First, *objectives and evaluations* are to be formulated at different levels in society – at the national level; the municipal; the city district; and at the project level. The reason is the desire to replace a project grant model with a learning and improvement process. Second, the programme is to have a *long-term approach*, which implies that the development agreements should be considered as permanent change. Third, *collaboration* is to be central to the programme, new forms of collaboration between central government and the municipalities are to be permanent. Fourth, the *bottom-up perspective* is said to be perhaps the most important method for long-term, sustainable and successful development of activities within the framework of metropolitan policy. Even if a bottom-up perspective is not the same as a bottom-up initiative, it includes »self-reflection by officials and other professionals [involved] in metropolitan policy measures so that they do not ›take over‹ from those concerned« (The Commission on Metropolitan Areas 2003: 15). Therefore, they argue that it is important that the residents take part in describing the present situation, formulating objectives, choosing measures and formulating local action plans.

In February 2001, the municipality of Göteborg made an agreement with the Swedish Government concerning this new financing program (Johansson and Sahlin 2001). Accordingly, Göteborg received in total SEK 340 million for a period of four years, and they are also required to spend the same amount themselves locally during the period (2001-2004). In Göteborg there are four city district committees – »Bergsjön«, »Biskopsgården«,

[6] For further information see www.storstad.gov.se/english.

»Gunnared« and »Lärjedalen« – in charge of the funding programme, except for a minor portion, which is intended for coordination and evaluation and for which the municipality is responsible. The four city districts were chosen by the municipality, out of a total number of twenty-one city districts in the municipality. The four districts received funding in relation to the number of inhabitants in the specific area that the city district considered as most segregated. Thus, the four areas with Local Development Agreements concern altogether about 30 000 inhabitants – to be compared with the total of nearly 500 000 inhabitants in the municipality.

EVALUATION OF A PROGRAMME

EVALUATION OF the overall perspective of this programme from a national point of view has been assigned to the »Swedish Integration Board«. This organization was founded by the Government in 1998 to ensure that the visions and goals of Sweden's integration policies have an impact in the various areas of society.[7]

At the local level, the evaluation was commissioned to a number of researchers with explicit knowledge of specific themes. In Göteborg there are, e.g., about twenty researchers involved with the evaluation on a part-time basis. These researchers come from the faculties of sociology, public sector, political science, work science, economics, education, culture studies and architecture/planning. Some of them have been commissioned to evaluate the programme from an overall perspective from the municipal point of view, e.g., with respect to organizational structure. However, most of the local evaluators were assigned to investigate how the programme has worked with regard to one or two of the above-mentioned eight objectives – keeping in mind that these objectives were formulated with the intention to achieve the overall goals, i.e. to provide for sustainable growth and to stop social, ethnic and discriminating segregation. The evaluations are also expected to take shape as »process evaluations«, i.e. so as to be of help to local actors during the entire duration of the programme.

For my part, the assignment to evaluate the Local Development Agreements involves participation in two different evaluation teams. First, at the

[7] For further information about the Swedish Integration Board, see www.integrationsverket.se.

Department of Culture Studies at Göteborg University, where we are six researchers from the areas of ethnology, social psychology, sociology and architecture/planning, focusing on ethnic segregation and democratic participation. Second, at Chalmers Architecture, where we are five architect planners concentrating on the experience of city neighbourhoods as attractive and safe. In both teams, we have chosen to organize the work such that one person takes responsibility for his or her city district, which means that I am responsible for the same area in both teams.

As discussed earlier, in the chapter on methodology, the case study for this thesis has been delimited so as to comprise only my part of the evaluation – as this is the only part under my control. Consequently, even if it is naturally quite hard to distinguish the source of knowledge – whether it comes from my own case study or is a result of the team work – I have still found it best to delimit the case study in this way because of the importance of outlining it properly, as proposed by Yin (1994; 2000). Another reason for this choice is the temporal aspect. The final conclusions from the evaluations in Göteborg will not be finished and reported until June 2004, thus, after the completion of this thesis.

In the following chapters, a more detailed description of the case study will be provided: first, by outlining more explicitly the purpose, evaluation questions, material and methods used; second, by describing the area – Northern Biskopsgården – both socially and physically; third, by describing how the Local Development Agreements have been organized in the local area; and fourth, by presenting the conclusions that have been possible to draw, so far, based on the evaluation questions.

PURPOSE AND EVALUATION QUESTIONS

THE PURPOSE of the two evaluations was to find out how the programme of Local Development Agreements in Northern Biskopsgården has been realized with regard to the objectives of increased democratic participation and city neighbourhoods being experienced as attractive and safe. Beginning with the first-mentioned objective, the evaluation questions were outlined as follows (Franzén, Borelius and Stenberg 2002):

1. How does the programme influence the involvement of the inhabitants in local development work?
2. How does the programme succeed with regard to the intention of facilitating the existence and development of local social networks?
3. How may the programme contribute to the development of knowledge concerning reinforcement of local citizenship?

In Northern Biskopsgården, there is also a special focus on three specific sections of the population – youths, immigrant women and Somalians – as these groups are often discussed, e.g. in the Agenda 21 document, as having a »democratic deficit« in society.

The evaluation questions related to the second-mentioned objective were formulated as follows (Schulz et al. 2002):
1. What obstacles and possibilities are to be found in the physical environment that are of importance to the required development in the programme?
2. What physical expressions may be found in the area that are a result of the programme?
3. How may existing premises, squares, thoroughfares, places and spaces facilitate the local development work?

This evaluation focuses largely on a local partnership called »Bo Bra i Biskopsgården« (Live Well in Biskopsgården), a ten-year-long collaboration process between public and private housing companies, the local authorities in the city district and the municipal town planning office. The reason for focusing on »Bo Bra« is that it has been designated as a body to which all project applications for Local Development Agreements must be referred for consideration. Another reason is the interest »Bo Bra« takes in developing the city neighbourhood so that it will be experienced as attractive and safe – as this has been the overall objective of »Bo Bra« for the past ten years.

Additionally, as the bottom-up perspective has been pointed out by the Commission on Metropolitan Areas as perhaps the most important strategy for achieving the goals of the programme, both evaluations have a specific focus on the relation between the top-down and the bottom-up perspectives (see Fig. 4) (Franzén, Borelius and Stenberg 2002).
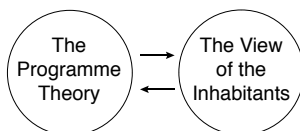

Fig. 4. The evaluations focus on the relation between the top-down and the bottom-up perspectives.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

AS PREVIOUSLY RELATED in the chapter on research methodology, the empirical material in this case study consists of information from multiple sources. Here a more detailed outline of how this information was collected will be presented.

The Local Development Agreements in Northern Biskopsgården were initiated in different stages, thus they were separated in time for reasons outside the control of local officials. The first step was to conduct a local plan of action. This took place 1999-2000, which was long before the formal agreement with the government was made. During 1999, my research project had recently been initiated, and because of my interest in the local partnership »Bo Bra«, I had already decided to choose this city district as part of my empirical studies. This is the reason why I have spent time gathering information in the area, even before my assignment to evaluate the program was formally set in January 2002.

Still, it is preferable to chose a specific time period when limiting a case study. The study period began when the actual applications for project subsidies were first received by the city district committee, which took place just after the agreement was signed in February 2001. The information used in this case study, thus, was collected during the period February 2001 to October 2003. The sources used are documents, archival files, actual artefacts, direct observation, participant-observation and interviews. Additionally, at the end of the case study, I also took on the role of action researcher.

DOCUMENTS AND ARCHIVAL FILES

COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS and archival files constitutes an extensive effort within this evaluation, as there is an enormous amount of written material about the Local Development Agreements at all levels in society. It has been important to study these to understand the theory of the programme

as well as to obtain information concerning time aspects. At the local level in Northern Biskopsgården, the most important material to study has been the applications for subsidies, which include statements concerning the expected outcome of the projects, the amount of money applied for, the time perspective of the project and, of course, the organization applying for funding. Those who receive subsidies also write yearly self-evaluations, and these have been collected and included in the documentation. Further, documentation produced by the city district committee has been collected as have documents produced by the bodies to which a proposed measure has been referred for consideration. These documents gave information about which projects received subsidies, and on what grounds a project was denied money. With this material it was also possible to get an overall perspective on the Local Development Agreements in Northern Biskopsgården over time – hence, an understanding of the proportion of the subsidies that were divided at a certain time, what type of organizations received funding and for what purposes. A third example of collected information concerns documents about the city district from the point of view of its social environment and physical shape – statistical data on the inhabitants over time, results from general elections, maps and drawings of the urban environment, future plans from the Town Planning Department and so on. Collection of documents and archival files has been going on during the entire period of the case study.

DIRECT OBSERVATION AND PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION

INFORMATION THROUGH direct observation and participant-observation has also taken place during the entire period of the case study, i.e. February 2001 to October 2003. Direct observation is defined as making visits in the context, while participant-observation is a »special mode of observation in which you are not merely a passive observer« (Yin 1994: 87). The observations have been documented with notes, i.e. on the one hand, notes about the activities taking place, on the other my own thoughts on these activities in relation to the evaluation questions – thus, these notes are not an exact depiction of the discussions, as they were not recorded. There is one exception, however: the recorded seminars discussed at the end of this chapter. In total about one hundred and twenty documented observations were made during this time.

The selection of occasions has been based on different considerations. First, the decision-making process has been observed, i.e. the City District Committee meetings where the decisions were actually made – but also the forums where these things were discussed in advance, e.g. »Bo Bra« meetings, City District Administration meetings and politician meetings. Further, some projects with goals closely related to the evaluation questions have been followed quite close. The focus of the evaluation on three specific sections of the population – youths, immigrant women and Somalians – has also had importance for this choice.

Another consideration concerns the two perspectives of the evaluation, top-down and bottom-up, and the observations have therefore been planned so as to be distributed equally between the realm of decision-making and the realm of the inhabitants. The observations from the realm of the inhabitants consist of meetings or activities where I have had the opportunity to meet people living in the area – either active as participants in a project with subsidies or locally active in some other way. As shown below (see Fig. 5), one third of the observations concern each of the two realms, and the remaining third have taken place in the context of some sort of meeting between the two realms.

The last-mentioned participant-observations – the seminars to develop a democracy plan for the city district – are, as mentioned in the chapter on research methodology, quite different in comparison with the other observations. The role of the researcher may always be discussed when conducting investigations, as it is obvious that the presence of a researcher influences the development. For example, the mere knowledge that an evaluation is taking place may cause local actors to think about how they work. Further, when the researcher asks about a specific theme in an interview, or takes an interest in observing, e.g., the decision-making procedures, this automatically causes the actors to reflect on how they act and what knowledge they base their decisions on. Such an influence was naturally also a result of my interest in Northern Biskopsgården. However, as this happens to every researcher or evaluator conducting qualitative studies in the investigated environment, there was no reason to consider it as particularly problematic.

The seminars on democracy, however, may be considered in a different way, as these were organized to *deliberately* influence the local development with the help of results from my evaluation – as this was an expected

The Realm of Decision-Making
»Bo Bra« meetings (18 occasions)
»Bo Bra« conference (1)
City District Administration meetings (9)
City District Committee meetings (8)
Politician meetings (7)
City Council Office meetings (2)
Project: »Crime«, meetings (1)
Project: »Neighbourhood«, meetings (1)

The Realm of the Inhabitants
Project: »Youth Film«, activities (26)
Project: »NGO Leadership«,
activities (4)
Project: »Cooperative
Workshop«, activities (2)
Project: »General Elections«,
activities (1)
Project: »Voting«, activities (1)
Project: »Somalian Link«, activities (2)
Youth council, activities (1)
Parent demonstration (1)

**The Realm of Decision-Making
meeting the Realm of the Inhabitants**
Project: »Northern Forum«
for Somalians (10)
Conferences/seminars organized
locally by the programme (4)
NGO: Integration Centre for Women (6)
Seminars: City District
Administration and NGO's (5)
Job Exhibition at the Square (1)
Meeting: Politicians and inhabitants (1)
Activity: Housing company
and inhabitants (1)
Seminars: Development of a
Democracy Plan (3)

Fig. 5. Direct observation and participant-observation in the case study.

result of the commissioned evaluation. Although this kind of interfering may be considered a normal procedure for the participant-observer, according to Yin (1994: 87), these seminars were prepared with special care to avoid major problems related to the method.

First, the seminars were planned to take place as late as possible, so that they would not influence the evaluated development more than marginally until October 2003. Another precaution was to ensure that no interviews with the participating actors, or with persons that otherwise may had been influenced by these actors, were conducted after that point in time. The seminars were also recorded and transcribed to ensure that everything that happened there could be discussed afterwards in order to reveal reactions, such as my becoming a supporter of the group (Yin 1994: 89). The transcriptions were also analysed within the computer program, in the same manner as the other direct observations, the participant-observations and the interviews. This also made it possible to include in the case study the possible change in the knowledge and opinions of the present actors over time.

The number of participants present at the seminars varied from ten to fifteen, encompassing one or two politicians; four to seven civil servants; two to four representatives from projects; three to six inhabitants; and one evaluator. Three to four participants were born abroad and seven to eleven born in Sweden. Only two of the participants were men.

Unfortunately – for my research, though not for Biskopsgården – the politicians came to a decision to enlarge the series of seminars. First from three to five seminars, which meant that two of them took place after my case study had come to an end, and later by including a new series of three seminars with politicians, civil servants and citizens. The current plan is to come to a decision about the local democracy plan in May 2004.

INTERVIEWS

A CONSIDERABLE portion of the sources of information for this case study comprise qualitative interviews (Kvale 1996). Because they were qualitative, the interviews were carried out as open conversations rather than inquiries. With the above-mentioned research questions in mind – and relating them also to the overall goals of growth, sustainable development and integration – an interview template was constructed. The guide contained

the following themes: the project within the programme; the city district; integration/segregation; feeling of safety; bottom-up perspective; comprehensive perspective; democratic participation; social networks; local citizenship; knowledge and learning; sustainable development; inhabitant dialogues; physical environment; landowner and property owner; squares, places and spaces; meeting places; densification of physical environment; sense of locality; and finally, some questions about the interviewed person, e.g. his/her age, place of birth and current place of residence.

The selection of informants has been based on the same considerations as the observations. Thus, the interviewed persons either have a relationship of some kind to the projects under study or to the domain of decision-making; and/or are included in some of the specific sections of the population in focus. Moreover, the interviews were planned so as to be distributed equally between the realm of decision-making and the realm of the inhabitants. Here, however, it is important to stress that it is quite hard to distinguish these two realms, as the people involved in this programme most often act as both decision-makers and inhabitants at the same time. Yet, as the most important point is to ensure that there will not be too few interviews in the realm of the inhabitants, those who have a role of decision-making or policy-making have been placed in the top-down realm, even if they often consider themselves rather as project leaders who are expressing the »voice of the people«.

In the realm of decision-making, nineteen interviews with twenty informants have been completed. Most of the informants were interviewed individually and only one was interviewed twice. Additionally, one of the informants was interviewed a second time by telephone, because of the need to follow up a few uncertainties. In the realm of the inhabitants, fourteen interviews with twenty-five persons have been conducted, thus, most often two, and sometimes three, persons were interviewed together – only five of the informants from this realm were interviewed individually. All of the interviews were conducted during one year, from October 2002 to October 2003. A more thorough depiction of the interviewed informants is shown in Fig. 6a and 6b.

ALL INTERVIEWS, except one with three women, were conducted without an interpreter, which means that most of the informants speak Swedish. However, as most interviews with inhabitants were carried out with more than

The Realm of Decision-Making

out of 20 informants:

4 politicians

8 civil servants

4 employed in housing companies

7 project leaders

3 NGO leaders

11 women

9 men

6 are 25-40 years

8 are 40-50 years

6 are 51-70 years

13 were born in Sweden

2 were born in Somalia

1 was born in Lebanon

1 was born in Turkey

1 was born in the Netherlands

1 was born in Congo

1 was born in India

2 live in Northern Biskopsgården

1 lives somewhere else in Biskopsgården

5 live in neighbouring Lundby

Fig. 6a. Depiction of the interviewed informants in the case study.

one person, they also helped each other out quite often when they found it hard to explain things in Swedish. This allowed me to also interview inhabitants with limited knowledge of the Swedish language. I have translated the quotations to English, although the proof-reader has also had access to the original statements in Swedish, changing them where appropriate. For reasons of anonymity, all informants have been given pseudonyms, which are gender-appropriate. I have additionally tried to find names appropriate to the informant's ethnicity and age. For reasons of anonymity, the information about the interviewee in conjunction with the quotation has been kept as brief as possible.

THE PEOPLE IN
NORTHERN BISKOPSGÅRDEN

The Realm of the Inhabitants

out of 25 informants:

3 project leaders
10 project participants
4 NGO members

17 women
8 men
14 are 16-17 years
7 are 25-30 years
4 are 40-60 years

8 were born in Sweden
8 were born in Somalia
4 were born in Iran
2 were born in Iraq
1 was born in Eritrea
1 was born at Cap Verde
1 was born in Lebanon

14 live in Northern Biskopsgården
10 live somewhere else in Biskopsgården

Fig. 6b. Depiction of the interviewed informants in the case study.

IN NORTHERN BISKOPSGÅRDEN live about 4 500 inhabitants – born in about a hundred different countries.[8] The largest group, 2 100 inhabitants, were born in Sweden. The second largest group, about four hundred inhabitants, were born in Turkey. Some of the Turks came to Sweden during the sixties and seventies as manpower immigrants; others came during the eighties and nineties as political refugees or relatives. The third largest group consists of about three hundred inhabitants from Iran, most of them political refugees or relatives arriving in the eighties because of the war between Iran and Iraq. The fourth group, Somalians, consists of about two hundred and fifty persons, who immigrated to Sweden mainly during the nineties as political refugees or relatives – a flight caused by the war between Somalia and Ethiopia as well as the civil war in Somalia. There are also about two hundred persons born in Iraq and Bosnia Herzegovina, respectively, and further, about hundred inhabitants born in other former republics of Yugoslavia, in Ethiopia and in Lebanon, respectively. Additionally, there are refugees who are seeking asylum, living in the area with their relatives during the waiting period. The Swedish Migration Board stated in 2002 that thirty-six asylum seekers were living in Northern Biskopsgården, most of them from Iraq.

It is not easy to describe an area with such a multi-faceted population. However, given that the people were born in different countries all over the world and that most of them come to Sweden as a result of war or related difficult situations, one thing is important to remember: Almost half of the population was born in Sweden. This means that, even if these people often have one or two parents born abroad, which is the case for about 1 200 of them, they have lived in Sweden their whole life – studying, working and living an ordinary everyday life. Especially with respect to the young people, it is essential to keep this in mind. They may have very strong bonds to the cultures of their parents, which many express as extremely positive, but they have often also developed a parallel identity with roots in the Swedish society. My experience therefore is that Northern Biskopsgården may never be understood or described as either Swedish *or* something else – it must rather be discussed as having a multiple identity, including the Swedish. Those born abroad may also feel comfortable with this kind of reasoning, as 2 000 of them have actually been living in Sweden for more than five years.

There are about 1 800 households in Northern Biskopsgården.[9] Most of the people live in rented apartments in multi-storey buildings owned by two public housing companies, but there also exist about hundred apartments in multi-storey buildings owned by a private company and about hundred apartments in semidetached housing owned by a private company. The apartments are appreciated for their functional design, even if they also may be considered inflexible and outmoded. Most of the households, about 1 500, have two or three rooms in addition to the kitchen and bathroom – and many of them, at least two hundred households, live in overcrowded conditions, according to an investigation completed 2003 by the largest housing company. The yearly rate of moving within the area is about five per cent, and the rate of moving to/from the area is about twenty per cent. In total, the yearly rate of moving is thus twenty-five per cent – to be compared with the average rate in the municipality of eighteen per cent.

The average age of people in the area is low in comparison with the entire municipality. This means that there are more kids up to the age of ten and fewer middle-age and elderly, forty-five years and up. This is also quite easy to see when visiting the area, as the public spaces at squares and the areas between multi-storey buildings often are crowded during days and evenings – especially in the summer time. Actually, people often seem

PHOTO: AGNETHA NORDIN

PHOTO: AGNETHA NORDIN

PHOTO: AGNETHA NORDIN

to be active in the outdoor spaces of the area, quite as much so as in the commercial centre of Göteborg. Northern Biskopsgården, thus, may not at all be described as a dormitory suburb, as is often the case with many of its neighbourhoods.

These circumstances are often referred to by people in the area as the main reason why they live in Northern Biskopsgården. They like the crowded outdoor environments and the frequent opportunities to meet people they know. They also often express that the multicultural environment makes them feel safe and secure – they feel this is their home. Especially, but not only, youths discuss the area in such a manner. Young people, however, seem to share close friendships with people from many different cultures to a larger extent than do adults – which is not surprising as young people meet in school. For adults, the massive unemployment for people born abroad is a serious obstacle to such a development.

In Northern Biskopsgården, 9,4 per cent of the inhabitants between eighteen and sixty-four years are unemployed, as compared with the 4,2 per cent average for Göteborg. Yet, these numbers do no reveal the whole situation, as several of the inhabitants are not registered as unemployed even if they wish to work. If we instead consider the number of gainfully employed, the picture changes a bit. Out of 2 155 inhabitants between twenty-five and sixty-four years in Northern Biskopsgården, 811 are employed – 38 per cent – and if we look only at the people born abroad, those employed represent 33 per cent. This is in comparison with the average rate of gainful employment in the municipality of 72 per cent.

Also the average rate of people receiving social allowance in the area is high, a natural consequence of its relationship to unemployment. One reason, however, why people are not registered as unemployed when looking for work may be seen in the gap between statistics showing a low level of educational attainment and the area residents' conceptions of themselves as well-educated. Nowadays, it is quite clear that there is a huge problem with the verification in Sweden of foreign educations. Still, there is also insufficient insight to place additional value on language competencies. In Northern Biskopsgården alone, there are about 2 400 persons speaking, e.g., English, Persian, Kurdish, Arabic, Assyrian, Armenian, Somali, Italian, Amharic, French, Turkish, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Greek fluently – not to mention their 1 200 children with an even more extensive knowledge base.

The attentive reader may now wonder why there has been no description at all of the group often referred to as »the Swedish people«, i.e. those born in Sweden who have two parents born in Sweden. This group consist of about nine hundred inhabitants in Northern Biskopsgården. People in the area often say that many members of this group have deep historical roots in the place. Their background may therefore be expressed, to some extent, by a brief description of the earlier period of this city district, which will be presented in the next chapter.

[9] Statistics on households, ages, movements and unemployment originate from the municipal website of Göteborg, see www.goteborg.se/statistik, and concern the year 2000.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

NORTHERN BISKOPSGÅRDEN is one part, out of five, of the city district Biskopsgården, which has a total population of about 25 000 inhabitants. The city district Biskopsgården is, in its turn, one out of twenty-one city districts in the municipality of Göteborg, which has a population of about 500 000 inhabitants (see Fig. 7).

Biskopsgården, which is situated in the north-western part of Göteborg at the Island Hisingen, was built between 1956-1965. This was a phase during which Göteborg had a very strong period of economic growth, and the apartments in Biskopsgården were largely sought-after by working class families suffering from overcrowded conditions in the centre of Göteborg. There was also an extensive immigration of manpower to Sweden during this period, and many of these people settled in Biskopsgården, close to the new workplaces Volvo Torslanda and Götaverken Arendal. They came from Finland, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Turkey and Greece. Accordingly, the roots of the area may be described as based in the Swedish and European working class.

The number of gainfully employed in Biskopsgården was high during the sixties and seventies, higher than the average for Göteborg – especially for women – and the number receiving social allowance was low (Hägglund, Wickström and Gunnarsson 1979: 17). It was not until the end of the eighties that the social and economic problems of the inhabitants begun to be exaggerated – linking the three concepts poor, immigrant and housing area – even if there often existed a local critique of e.g.
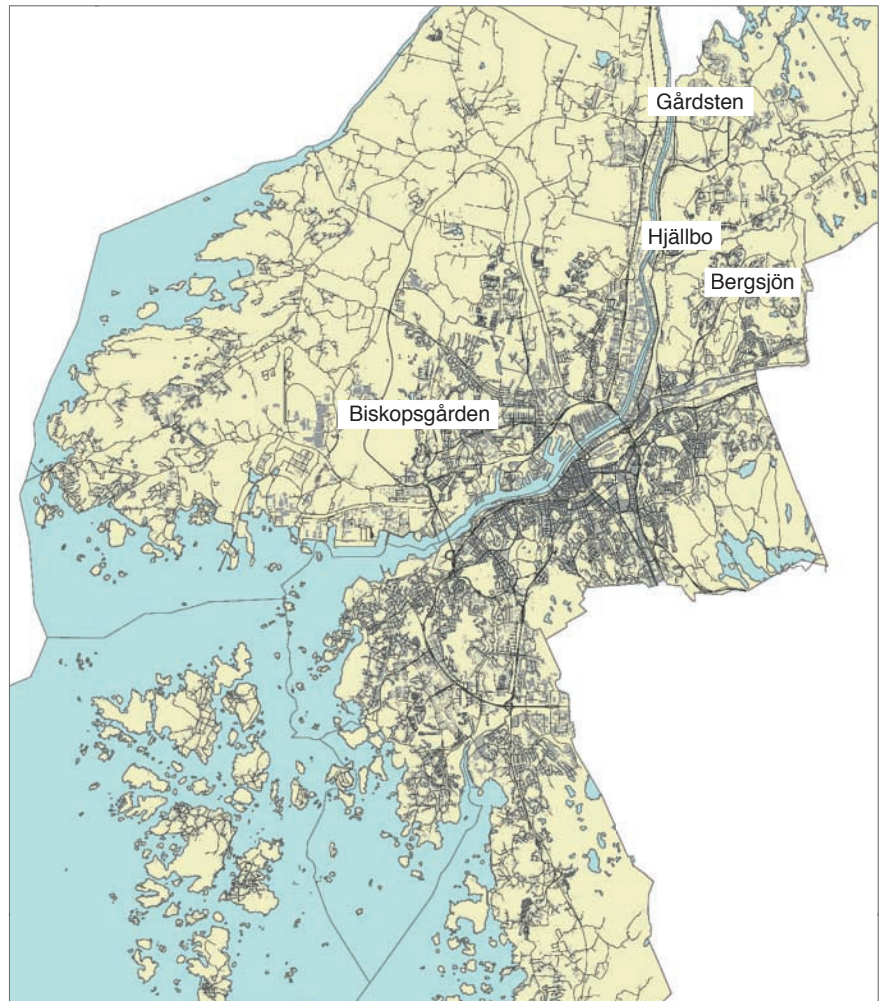
deficient maintenance in these areas also during the seventies. The end of the eighties in Göteborg was also characterized by a large number of empty apartments, which particularly struck the urban areas built in the fifties, sixties and seventies.

The city plan for Biskopsgården was set 1956 and follows the ideals of modernity. Thus, it is characterized by the functional division of housing, traffic and parking, and, additionally, the housing areas were constructed as cul-de-sacs with car entrances from one single main street through the entire city district and with obvious barriers between them. These barriers divide not only the physical environment, but also economic and ethnic segregation have been a characteristic of the different housing areas ever since the area was built. Along the main street the public transportation

is situated, a tram with seven stops within the city district, taking about twenty minutes to reach the railway station in the centre of Göteborg.

Returning to the area in focus for this case study, Northern Biskopsgården, it is situated in the middle of the city district. The built environment comprises five distinctive parts with different characteristics (see Fig. 8). The first consists of a small square close to the central tram stop (see Fig. 9-10 and A in the air-photograph).[10] This square was built in 1958-59 and is surrounded by a low commercial building with facing brick, privately owned, and an eight-storey aluminium sheeted building with one hundred and twenty apartments upstairs and shops on the ground floor – owned by a private housing company. The design and the administration of this square in Northern Biskopsgården is not very appreciated by the inhabitants, even if it is frequently used as both a meeting place and for shopping. The reason for the critique concerns, first, the lack of power of imagination of the architects and planners when designing the walk between the tram stop and the housing in Northern Biskopsgården – it is ugly, dark and scary. Second, the maintenance of the square has resulted in a fragmented and hard-to-grasp space, experienced as messy and filthy by many people – still, the existence of many small shops is highly valued.

Close to the square on its north side, but hidden behind another aluminium sheeted eight-storey house with one hundred apartments and geriatric care owned by a public housing company, the local school, built in 1964, is situated (see B in the air-photograph). The design of this plastered building is quite appreciated, at least by architects, as the many different buildings form exciting and human spaces between them and in total comprise well-preserved aesthetic elements. However, from the outside the school is not experienced as particularly positive, as there are many spaces around it that are »left over«, as is often the case with planning from this period.

South of the local square, a housing area built in 1957-58 is located (see Fig. 11 and C in the air-photograph). It has two hundred and thirty apartments and is owned by a public housing company. The long building has three to five storeys and is covered with light boards, the building is curling to form pleasant yards for recreation and preserving the genuine nature. Originally there existed a mirror image of this building westwards, however, that part was demolished in the early nineties, leaving space for a new area with apartments in semidetached wooden houses – first owned by a private housing company, but now to be sold to a tenant-owner's associa-

Fig. 8. Air-photograph of Northern Biskops-gården.

Fig. 9. The local square built 1958-59.

Fig. 10. The local square built 1958-59.

Fig. 11. A housing area built in 1957-58.

Fig. 12. A new housing area with apartments in semidetached wooden houses.

Fig. 13. A housing area comprising eight closed large yards, surrounded by four-storey buildings.

tion (see Fig. 12 and D in the air-photograph). On the edge of this area, a water tower built in 1957 is located. This special landmark – which looks like a space ship ready for take-off – is visible from the entire municipality and signifies a positive artefact of the city district.

West and northwest of the local square is a large housing area with 1 500 apartments owned by a public housing company (see Fig. 13 and E in the air-photograph). This area was built in 1957-59 and comprises eight closed large yards, surrounded by four-storey buildings with red facing brick and white balconies. On the ground floors there are sometimes apartments and sometimes shops or other premises. This housing area is quite appreciated, especially by families, because of the suitable environment for the children, but also by other people who appreciate that the built environment facilitates the feeling of vicinity. This area is also a good example of Biskopsgården being – at least partly – an area built in a time of tension between the ideals of modernity and previous principles. Functionalistic ideals of, e.g., sun shine and fresh air within the apartments and in the housing areas were, during a period in the fifties, fortunately amalgamated with adaptation to nature – resulting in carefully designed neighbourhoods (Olsson, Ohlander and Cruse Sondén 2004: 39). However, as mentioned previously, there are also many left over spaces in the area, surfaces that no one seems to be responsible for.

This was a quick review of the built environment in Northern Biskopsgården. What about the nature areas then? Nature is certainly present in this district, in fact the area often feels as if it were totally surrounded by nature – green areas constituting »impenetrable« barriers for the inhabitants. There is a huge recreation area westwards (see Fig. 14), with a very beautiful bird lake and possibilities to stroll in the woods that extend all the way to the Volvo workplace. This area, which is very popular – although not used by the majority of the inhabitants – also contains possibilities for sports activities such as tennis, football, miniature golf and jogging.

Eastwards, between the housing areas and the tram stops, nature is often felt as very present – though most often discussed in negative terms, as it is not managed in a way that brings feeling of safety. Southwards, there is another forested recreation area, bordering the Southern Biskopsgården where the main square of the city district is situated.

In the next chapter, a more thorough description of this relationship southwards will be provided, as it is there the City District Administration is located – the centre of the formal institutional space in Biskopsgården.

Fig. 14. A popular recreation area.

INSTITUTIONAL SPACE

HERE, INSTITUTIONAL SPACE refers to formal and informal communication, thus, including civil servants and politicians as well as locally positioned enterprises and non-profit associations of the inhabitants.

DECISION-MAKING AND ADMINISTRATION

AS MENTIONED EARLIER, Biskopsgården is one of twenty-one city districts in Göteborg. After general elections in the municipality every fourth year – at the moment the Social Democrats together with the Left Party and the Green Party have the majority – the Municipal Council appoints politicians for the twenty-one City District Committees. The local share between po-litical parties mirrors the result of the municipal election. Thus, the City

[10] The information about the built environ-ment comes from the »National Heritage Board«, for further information see www.be byggelseregistret.raa.se.

District Committees neither reflect the *local* political preferences nor are local politicians elected directly by the inhabitants of the actual city district. However, the politicians that are locally appointed by the Municipal Council, should – but must not – live in the same area they control.

The City District Committees include eleven politicians each, plus six substitutes. These are »leisure politicians«, i.e. they are employed and work part-time or full-time at their ordinary jobs. They may also be retired or unemployed. The politicians receive economic compensation for the time spent at meetings. For the chairman this amounts to about SEK 10 000 monthly, before taxes are paid, for the vice-chairman and the chairman of specific committees, the compensation is about half of that sum, and for the rest of the politicians it is about one fifth.

City District Committees are responsibility for social care – the »soft questions« – i.e. preschool, school, recreation care, local culture (e.g., libraries), geriatric care, home-help service, functional disability care, and social care for individuals and families. They may also be appointed as responsible for one or two comprehensive questions in the municipality, e.g., foster homes. The City District Committees are however not responsible for »hard questions« such as traffic, public communications, waste management or housing – such questions are assigned to municipal committees.

Each City District Committee employs civil servants to fulfil their responsibilities – constituting the City District Administration. In Biskopsgården there are about 1 600 employed in total, including both administrative directors as well as, e.g., schoolteachers. The budget of the City District Committee in Biskopsgården for the year of 2000 included about SEK 900 000 million, the main part coming from municipal and governmental subsidies. Decision-making of the local administration takes place in the City District Committee about fifteen times a year and the decisions are based on the formal reports of civil servants. Minutes and formal reports from City District Committee meetings are official documents. Before decision-making takes place, the issues in question are discussed by the politicians, first two weeks before decision-making when the presiding committee meet (the chairperson and vice chairperson of the district board as well as the district head), and second one week before decision-making when the politicians meet in their two groups, the left wing and the right wing, respectively.

The City District Committee of Biskopsgården does not have a well-developed strategy for formal communication with its inhabitants. This

means that they, unlike many of the other City District Committees in Göteborg, have not yet tried new initiatives, e.g., local boards of education with parents in the majority. Actually, they have not even fulfilled the obligation to write a Local Democracy Plan, which they were asked to do by the Municipal Council and which should have been completed by 1999 at the latest. What they do is to announce about three City District Committee meetings a year as open for the public. However, this has thus far proved to be a great disappointment, as so few people turn up. Informal communication has turned out to be more fruitful, e.g., the politicians invite the inhabitants to talk with them one evening regularly or they visit activities organized by non-governmental organizations. However, informal communication between the politicians and the inhabitants of Biskopsgården was not part of any ordinary process in 2000.

The City District Administration, however, communicates with the inhabitants, which is natural as the employed personnel do have daily contact with many of the inhabitants. Except for this, the City District Administration also often arranges meetings, seminars and conferences aimed at better understanding the inhabitants' thoughts on specific themes. They have also tried conference techniques like »Future Search« with the intention of getting the inhabitants involved in the local administration. The local employees often express a feeling of encouragement after these initiatives, as they learn a great deal. The inhabitants, however, are often not as pleased – they feel that the same problems are discussed every time and that nothing really happens after the conferences. Additionally, these communicative arenas with the inhabitants are not part of any ordinary process in the City District Administration and therefore are dependent on real enthusiasts within the administration. This lack of formal incorporation of communication with the inhabitants may also result in bad timing with, e.g., the yearly development of the budget.

NON-PROFIT ASSOCIATIONS

THERE ARE about one hundred non-profit associations in Biskopsgården and eleven of them have their formal addresses in Northern Biskopsgården. Yet, as people are mobile, the associations may have more or less extensive recruitment areas. Therefore, when discussing non-profit associations, it is not

appropriate to be very strict when considering the physical limitations. The non-profit associations in Biskopsgården may be divided into nine groups:

- sports associations (22)
- cultural associations (21)
- pensioners' associations (18)
- local residents' associations (11)
- political associations (4)
- parents' associations (4)
- nature and scouting associations (3)
- religious associations (2)
- other associations (9)

The City District Administration does have a close relationship with many of the associations, as it constitutes one of the formal institutions to which associations can apply for funding. All associations in Biskopsgården are also represented through a »Association Council«, i.e. a group of people with the specific commission to work on behalf of non-profit associations in general – however, they work voluntarily and are not formally elected by these associations. As mentioned earlier, the City District Administration sometimes invites this council and all of the non-profit associations to an informal arena to communicate certain issues. One example was when

Fig. 15. A civil information office called »Idépunkten« is situated at the local square in Northern Biskopsgården.

the Local Development Agreements programme was in the planning stage in 1999 and the civil servants discussed it with several of the non-profit associations in a series of three seminars.

Even if there are positive examples of communication, the overall impression is that this interaction is complicated. Most often, only a few associations show up when invited, and further, it is often the same people who attend. Additionally, the City District Administration does have an intricate relationship with some of the non-profit associations, as they are involved in solving social problems that are traditionally the responsibility of the civil servants. These associations work more like non-governmental organizations, i.e. taking responsibility for, e.g., social problems of people born abroad in a more comprehensive perspective and often in relation to policy-making at the municipal and national level.

BO BRA AND BUSINESS COMPANIES

THE CITY DISTRICT of Biskopsgården is unique with regard to the existence of »Bo Bra«. This local partnership between the City District Administration; two public housing companies, »Bostadsbolaget« and »Poseidon«; one private housing company, »Niam/NewSec«; and the Town Planning Department of the municipality was initiated in 1993 by the private housing company »Drott«. They had taken over property in the area in which they were about to make investments and therefore wanted to know what contribution the municipality would make to turn around the present development marked by many empty apartments. The answer was »Bo Bra«.

The participants in the local partnership together employ a process leader, a person responsible for carrying the process through. Three different process leaders have been employed since the process was initiated, thus, this is not a short-sighted project dependent on an individual enthusiast. The purpose of »Bo Bra« in an overall perspective is to work towards making Biskopsgården an attractive area and to help people feel safe and secure. An additional goal is to encourage people to feel proud of and involved in the local development. The work of the process leader largely entails »networking« – on the one hand, between different local professionals, e.g., employed in the housing companies, and the civil servants, as they often have the same objectives with their activities but distinctive assignments and responsibili-

ties, on the other, between groups of inhabitants and the local professionals, as the main task of the latter is actually to be of help to the former.

To fulfil these objectives, »Bo Bra« is organized with a »director group« with one person from each organization making strategic decisions for the future; a »steering group« with operative personnel transforming the ideas into activities; and »working groups« carrying out the actual projects. In the latter groups – at the moment there are seven – inhabitants are also included to some extent. Two examples of activities or projects that »Bo Bra« is involved in are: »Quality Walks« twice a year with local professionals pointing out problems of the physical environment and »Non-Profit Associations' Day« where these organizations can show what they do and communicate with each other. »Bo Bra« is also involved in an effort to locate a folk high school and a civil information office in the district.

Besides the above-mentioned companies, there exist about thirty smaller private housing companies, none of which, however, own property in Northern Biskopsgården. Many of them are organized in a national association called »The Swedish Property Federation«. Another local professional present in the district, but not in Northern Biskopsgården, is »GöteborgsLokaler« – a public company administrating two of the local squares. There also exist a large number of small private companies with premises, and a smaller industrial area is located in the Southern Biskopsgården. In total there are two or three hundred small premises.

In this chapter, the local institutional space has been illustrated – i.e. formal decision-making processes as well as informal communicative arenas. This view is quite important to have in mind, as it constitutes the background for the chosen strategy of implementation of the Local Development Agreements. This will be further described in the next chapter.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME

IN NORTHERN BISKOPSGÅRDEN, the Local Development Agreements amount to SEK 45,8 million during four years, thus about SEK 12 million yearly. As mentioned earlier, the overall objectives of the programme are to provide for sustainable growth and to stop social, ethnic and discriminating segre-

gation. These overall goals have been broken down into eight objectives:

- employment rates are to be raised
- benefit dependency is to be reduced
- position of the Swedish language is to be strengthened
- school students are to be given the opportunity to reach secondary school
- educational level of the adult population is to be raised
- city neighbourhoods are to be experienced as attractive and safe
- public health is to be improved
- democratic participation is to be increased

Implementation of the programme in Northern Biskopsgården is founded on five basic principles. First, it is the City District Committee that makes the decisions concerning distribution of funding. Therefore a project leader was appointed, responsible for the administration. The project leader is employed as a civil servant by the City District Administration. Second, decision-making has to be based on formal and official reports written by this civil servant, who is also supposed to inform about and gain approval for the applications in the administration management. Third, the formal reports must be based on applications, which are made on official forms, ten pages in length, comprising objectives, methods, staff and economic calculations. Fourth, the applications are to be referred for consideration to the director group of »Bo Bra«, as this partnership constitutes an important channel to the inhabitants. Fifth, the applications are also to be referred for consideration to a committee composed of two politicians, one from each wing, appointed by the City District Committee. This is a political precaution taken because »Bo Bra« includes companies that must show a profit. Additionally, the applications and the formal reports are also discussed in the ordinary procedure of decision-making, i.e. when the presiding committee meet and when the politicians meet in their left and right wings.

This is the formal decision-making process for transfer of funding from the programme in Northern Biskopsgården, which has also been followed during the entire period. The time perspective they have in mind for this process is about one month from completed application to a response about funding. In reality it has taken much more time; people have generally had to wait three or four months, and some applicants have had to wait even longer.

The funding from the programme has been divided into different target areas, following the origin of the subsidies coming from different Governmental Ministries. The first area concerns employment and adult education;

Fig. 16. Intended Allocation of Funding in Northern Biskopsgården according to the first Action Plan, in per cent.

Fig. 17. Intended Allocation of Funding in Northern Biskopsgården according to the second Action Plan, in per cent.

the second is about language and compulsory school; and the third area involves local development work, i.e. public health, safety and democratic participation. The division of funding for each area has been determined at the national level, yet there are possibilities for local variation – and also to change these standpoints over time. In Northern Biskopsgården, the original division, according to Action Plan 010409, entailed giving thirty-five to forty per cent to each of the two first target areas and sixteen per cent to the third area – additionally nine per cent for administration (see Fig. 16). At that point, Northern Biskopsgården had been promised SEK 32 million. Later came a supplementary offer from the Government of SEK 13.8 million to be focused on the first two target areas. Consequently, the division between target areas was at that point changed in favour of these two areas. However, as visible in Action Plan 020319 (see Fig. 17), the division also meant an unmotivated reduction in funding for the third target area. These figures concern the planned division of funding. The actual division will be described later.
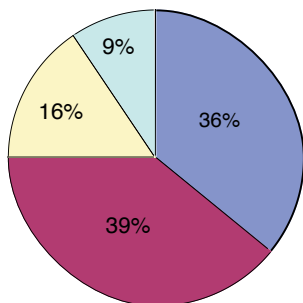
THE APPLICANTS AND THE RECEIVERS

IN TOTAL, seventy-eight applications have arrived at the City District Committee (until 040127) and out of them were thirteen applications from previous applicants concerning project extensions. The total funding applied for amounts to SEK 69 million – some projects asking for smaller sums, e.g., SEK 30 thousand, others for larger sums, e.g., SEK 2-3 million. The distribution of applications across target areas is about the same for all three areas in terms of the amount of money applied for; however, there are somewhat fewer project applications in the first target area than in the others.
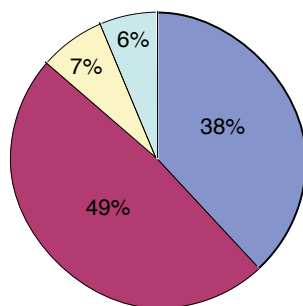
Who are the applicants? Most of the applications, fifty-five per cent, concern projects run by personnel employed by the City District Administration, and if we also include projects run by municipal and regional institutions, this group is responsible for sixty-seven per cent of the total amount of funding applied for (see Fig. 18). Five non-governmental organizations and ten non-profit associations together have applied for twenty-nine per cent of the total sum, and two enterprises only applied for a smaller amount.

In total, forty-eight projects have received funding from the programme in Northern Biskopsgården – twelve concern employment and

adult education; seventeen are about language and compulsory school; and sixteen relate to local development work, i.e. health, safety and democracy. Additionally, there are three projects with a close relationship to the last-mentioned target area, but these were implemented mainly to facilitate the local administration of the programme.

In total these projects have been pledged SEK 40,3 million in funding (until 040127). If we study the distribution from the same point of view as the applications, those projects receiving funding are largely – sixty-eight per cent – run by personnel employed by the City District Administration (see Fig. 19). If we also include projects run by municipal and regional institutions, this group has been granted seventy-eight per cent of the money. Non-governmental organizations and non-profit associations together have been granted seventeen per cent and the enterprises five per cent.

If we look at the actual distribution from the point of view of target areas (see Fig. 20), the division of funding follows the first action plan rather than the second – thus, projects in the third target area have been given greater preference than was intended in the plan in force.

As many projects are being funded through the programme, it is not possible to describe all of them here. Still, it may be necessary to describe the projects to some extent, to enable the reader to better understand how implementation of the programme has been carried out in reality. Therefore, some projects from each target area have been chosen, one run by the City District Administration and some run by a non-governmental organization or a non-profit association. Note, however, that these projects are not the only ones followed in my own evaluation; these were selected to give the best overall picture of the programme in Northern Biskopsgården.

THE PROJECTS

IN THE FIRST target area, there is a project aimed at increasing employment, intensifying adult education and reducing social allowance using unconventional methods based on individual solutions and empowerment. The project is a collaboration between the social welfare service within the City District Administration and the Adult Education Administration at the municipal level. In total they receive about SEK five million over four years to fulfil these objectives, which will result not only in a higher rate of

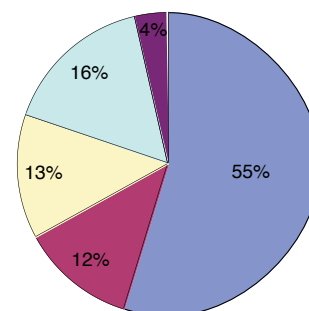Fig. 18. Funding Applied for in Northern Biskopsgården.

■ City District Administration
■ Municipal and Regional Institutions
□ Non-Governmental Organisations
□ Non-Profit Associations
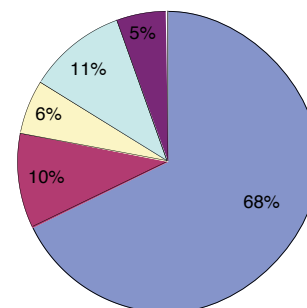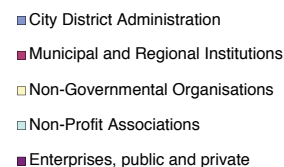■ Enterprises, public and private

Fig. 19. Received Funding in Northern Biskopsgården.

employment and education for the inhabitants, but also in certain changes within the two above-mentioned workplaces, to better meet the needs of the inhabitants in the future.

Another project within this target area is run by the non-profit association »Kurdish Women for Integration«. This project, with a budget of about SEK 200 000 for two years, aims at facilitating employment for women without much education, by teaching the basics of computer usage and use of the Internet for their purposes. Another project, run by the non-profit association »Youths for Integration« in close cooperation with the City District Administration, focuses on the situation for Somalians. With a budget of SEK one million for one year, this project aims to attend to the problematic fact that Somalians, as an ethnic group, have more serious problems finding a job in Sweden than do other ethnic groups.

In the second target area, there are several projects run within the schools and the preschools – owned by the City District Administration. One example is a project in the preschool with a budget of SEK two million; the aim of this project is to develop the mother tongues of the children. In another project related to the schools, run by the non-profit association »Neutral Youths«, youths in general, but especially Somalians, are offered help with their homework. The project has a budget of about SEK one million for three years.

The third target area includes a project, run by the City District Administration, aimed at families. With a budget of SEK four million for three years, the objective of this project is to broaden the feeling of safety for the people – especially for women and children – and to, by the end of the programme, achieve a ten per cent decrease in matters reported to the social authorities – most often concerning physical abuse within the home. There is also a project run by the non-governmental organization »Integration Centre for Women«, which has the objective to open a place for dialog also for men who feel they are excluded from society. The budget for a year was SEK 250 000. In another low-cost project, SEK 30 000 for one year, initiated by the City District Administration, a group of youths made a film describing Biskopsgården from their point of view. This work, and the film, was then used as an artefact for dialogue between the youths and interested adults. Yet another example of a project run by a non-profit association is a project with a budget of SEK 200 000 that includes activities initiated by »Iraqi Culture House« and aimed at increasing the number of voters in the general election of 2002.

- Employment and Adult Education
- Language and Compulsory-School
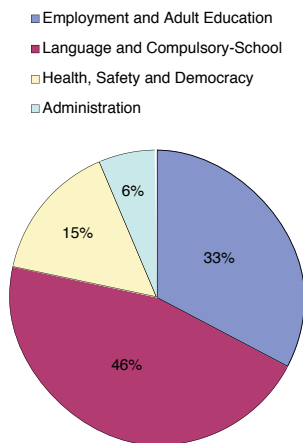- Health, Safety and Democracy
- Administration

Fig. 20 Received Funding per Target Area.

THIS WAS a brief description of how implementation of the Local Development Agreements was carried through in Northern Biskopsgården. The description of the local institutional space in the former chapter and the description of the projects in this chapter emphasize that implementation is not only a question of finding the proper technique for execution, but rather of managing social and technical processes simultaneously.

INDICATORS OF THE DEVELOPMENT

HERE SOME INDICATORS will be presented, with the purpose of providing a complementary picture of the development in Northern Biskopsgården during the period before and concurrent with the programme. Statistics certainly do not tell the whole truth – there are, e.g., numerous current events not being analysed, as this has not been part of my assignment as evaluator – yet, statistical data are interesting to include as parallel information, because they may actually reveal some ways of relating this area-based programme to the comprehensive perspective.

The indicators have been chosen to show the development related to the three target areas and to show the difference between Northern Biskopsgården and the whole Municipality of Göteborg – still, as it is not possible to include all available statistics here, a smaller amount of data has been chosen.

First, a series of statistics on the number of gainfully employed, social allowance, income and educational attainment will be shown. Second, some statistics concerning youths are presented; these concern subject grades in school and admission to upper secondary school. Third, election results are presented as well as some crime figures. Finally, some statistics are presented showing the overall perspective of the municipality concerning economic and ethnic segregation.

These pictures could have been presented here altogether, although considering the risk of this becoming monotonous, they have instead been placed in the margins of the subsequent chapter, as complementary images to the preliminary results discussed there.
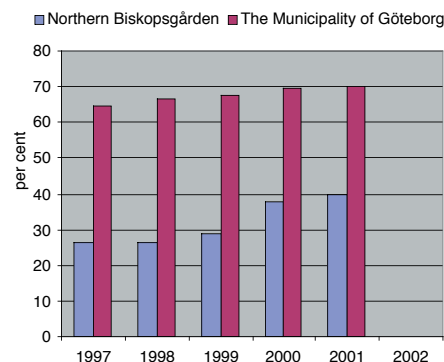
Fig. 21. Gainfully employed in the ages 20-64 in Northern Biskopsgården compared to the Municipality of Göteborg. Sources: www.goteborg.se/statistik and the municipal section of statistics.

Unfortunately statistics concerning gainfully employed fall behind by 1,5 years, which means that it is not possible at this moment to get hold of figures for 2002 – which is a problem as the programme was initiated in 2001. What the figure shows, so far, is that the number of gainfully employed in Northern Biskopsgården increased more than the average in the Municipality, although this may not be considered a consequence of the evaluated programme.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS
FROM THE EVALUATION

IN THE CHAPTER describing implementation of the programme in Northern Biskopsgården, the focus was broadened somewhat to deal with all three target areas – a natural consequence of describing the actual local situation. However, in this chapter the focus will again return to the two parts of the evaluation that are under my control. Presented here will be the conclusions that I have been able to draw, thus far, considering the evaluation questions.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND SAFETY

BEGINNING WITH the evaluation at Chalmers Architecture, three themes have turned out to be important to discuss in order to answer the evaluation questions. The first theme is about the municipal joint responsibility for the Local Development Agreements. According to the agreement, the Municipality has to put as much money as the funding programme into the local development work – SEK 340 millions – in the areas in question. This has been accomplished in three ways: first, by an increase in the budgets of the City District Committees involved – consequently this money mainly concerns children's education and social care; second, by referring to specific local projects influencing the same objectives as the programme, which in the case of Northern Biskopsgården concerns a project on unemployment and adult education; and third, by considering the investments of the public housing companies in these areas as joint responsibility. The last-mentioned strategy is of special interest for the evaluation at Chalmers Architecture, as this financing concerns investments in the physical environment.

The problem with this third strategy of municipal joint responsibility is twofold. First, the local responsible actors – civil servants, politicians and employees in housing companies – have had very little knowledge of the existence of this money. Consequently, these actors have not considered the activities of the extra funding as also part of the Local Development

■ Northern Biskopsgården ■ The Municipality of Göteborg

Fig. 22. The share of inhabitants in the ages 18-64 who are registered as unemployed or in labour market measures, Northern Biskopsgården compared to the Municipality of Göteborg. Source: www.goteborg.se/statistik.
The figure shows that the reduction in registered in Northern Biskopsgården more or less follows the average in the Municipality. If we summarize the statistics on gainfully employed and registered as unemployed or in labour market measures, it becomes obvious that about half of the population of Northern Biskopsgården are, for different reasons, not involved in the ordinary public procedure for unemployment.

Agreements. Second, this third strategy of municipal joint responsibility in Northern Biskopsgården turned out to comprise only SEK six million, while the other three housing areas in Göteborg received about SEK 800 million – additionally, five million of the millions that were planned to be invested in Biskopsgården concerned a square outside the area of Northern Biskopsgården. Later, in October 2003, these figures were adjusted and 28 million were referred to as joint responsibility in Northern Biskopsgården – which still is a reduced amount per capita compared to the other districts (a proportional amount would have been about 115 million). This inequality has not been discussed at all in the city district, a natural consequence of it not being known.

Many people simply shrug their shoulders at this, as the municipal joint responsibility is most often considered imaginary. The Swedish Integration Board, e.g., write in their evaluation report that »whatever the actual interpretation of municipal joint responsibility, it is obvious that the municipalities have not contributed SEK two billion in ›new‹ means, allocated to the Local Development Agreements. The municipal coordinators also regard this as an impossibility, considering the economy of the municipalities. Therefore we assume the State is pragmatic and realistic when making allowances for equivalent municipal joint responsibility« (The Swedish Integration Board 2002: 100, my translation).

Such a pragmatic strategy has, as previously mentioned, turned out to imply negative consequences for Northern Biskopsgården, as the means for the physical environment – in this case probably not imaginary – were not equally divided in the Municipality. The lack of knowledge also implies they initially thought that the Local Development Agreements were not even *allowed* to be allocated to the physical environment. The pragmatic strategy of the State and the Municipality have also caused problems for the evaluators, as it is not at all clear which initiatives we are supposed to be included in the evaluations. As the team at Chalmers Architecture naturally must embrace the physical environment in the evaluation, these limitations have been extra problematic. Additionally, in contemporary planning and administration, the correspondence between social and physical development is most often stressed as essential, if the objectives, such as those of the programme, are to be met. However, physical change takes time, usually much more time than given in urban programmes. Consequently, programmes concerning the physical environment really
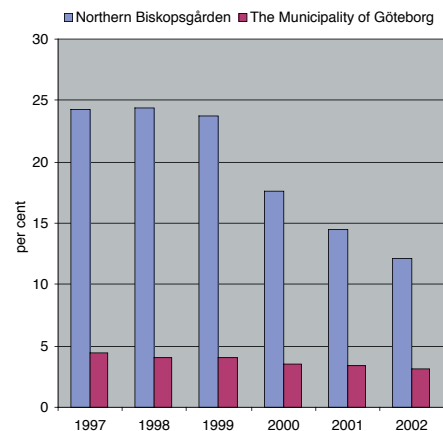
Fig. 23. The share of inhabitants in the ages 18-64 receiving social allowance on a long-term basis (more then ten months), Northern Biskopsgården compared to the Municipality of Göteborg. Each inhabitant receiving social allowance may additionally support its family, which increases the concerned proportion of the population. Source: The database STATIV, Swedish Integration Board.

The figure shows that many of those unemployed, for different reasons, receive social allowance instead of unemployment benefits. The figure also shows a steady and considerable decrease in social allowance, which was initiated already in 2000. The decrease does not seem to be entirely synchronized with the development concerning gainful employment and registered as unemployed or in labour market measures. Thus, there must also exist other grounds for the positive development of the statistics.

do need to be complemented by extra funding under long-term conditions. Obviously, such funding should not only be real, it should also be openly accounted for – and evaluated.

The second theme discussed in the evaluation at Chalmers Architecture concerns the strategies of the local actors as regards the problems of safety. This complex of problems is not easy to discuss concisely, as it includes far more aspects than the evaluation at Chalmers Architecture was able to embrace. Safety, from the point of view of the inhabitants, is largely related to having a job and an income on which it is possible to live a decent life – or, from the point of view of the youths, being part of an educational system and an everyday life that opens up a future filled with possibilities. Therefore, projects with such objectives should be those considered to primarily deal with helping people to feel safe. Evaluations of these objectives are, however, in the hands of other professionals. Consequently, when discussing the theme of safety here, it is rather a question of limiting the problems to those concerning outdoor spaces and feelings about the physical environment.

One exception to this limitation does exist in my evaluation, however, and that is the fear some women and children have of being physically abused in their homes, which is quite a problem in Northern Biskopsgården. When discussing safety, this is of course one of the most serious problems. To elucidate this problem, new strategies of the City District Administration have been tried out within the Local Development Agreements. The strategy is to hire social workers and »cultural interpreters« who speak the languages in question and have knowledge of people's cultures – meeting women, youths and children in an environment where they feel comfortable to discuss whatever problem they wish to bring forwards. This strategy clarifies the need for a close interrelationship between social and physical development, as it reveals the call for the City District Committee to plan for the existence of meeting places where people can feel comfortable.

What about the outdoor spaces of Northern Biskopsgården, do people feel safe there? All of the people interviewed have had a positive answer to that question. Youths, e.g., seem to feel safer in Northern Biskopsgården than in other parts of Göteborg – young men more than young women perhaps – but, also women of all ages say they feel safe in the area. On the other hand, the number of informants is not significant and there are several places people refer to as dark, filthy and unpleasant to pass – although not ex-
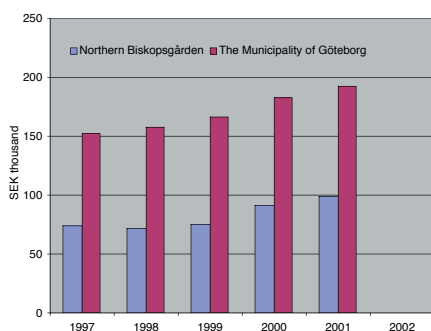
Fig. 24. The incomes in Northern Biskopsgården compared to the Municipality of Göteborg. Source: www.goteborg.se/statistik.

Unfortunately also statistics concerning income fall behind by 1,5 years. What the figure shows, so far, is that the difference in incomes between Northern Biskopsgården and Göteborg is significant and even if income increases in Northern Biskopsgården, there is no sign of equalization compared to the Municipality.

tremely frightening. These places will be further discussed below. However, the problem of outdoor safety seems to be largely a question of fulfilment of the obvious daily responsibility of the house owners and the Municipality – rather than one of insurmountable social or physical problems.

Still, there are crime problems, although statistically Northern Biskopsgården is not affected more than other parts of the Municipality. The youths describe, e.g., their everyday life as being quite influenced by violence. For instance, when visiting the neighbourhood Torslanda – which has the second lowest share of people born abroad – the risk for racist violence is obvious. They have also described terrible situations when starting upper secondary school – which is not related to the city district, as is the nine-year compulsory school – where classmates, and even teachers, have discriminated them because of the origins of their parents.

There is also a discussion between civil servants and the local police concerning how children in the ages eleven to thirteen will manage in the future. These kids, growing up mainly during the nineties when reductions in funding for the schools were most acute, may now begin to show signs of being left outside the network that the social welfare system should provide. That is at least what they fear. The City District Committee is actually seeking new approaches to crime prevention, e.g. in a project within the Local Development Agreements offering young criminals and their parents help directly, instead of waiting until the crimes become more serious. This strategy may not only help young people to chose another path in life, it is also economical, as each placement in special care is extremely expensive for the City District Administration.

There also exist other strategies for crime prevention in Northern Biskopsgården. The catchwords of »Bo Bra« are closely related to this theme and their efforts concerning cooperation between different local actors, resulting in, e.g., quality walks, are consequently in line with this theme. Additionally, during the past two years, »Bo Bra« has initiated a project, »Feel Safe in Biskopsgården«, containing inventories of crime, which will result in an action plan concerning how to explicitly achieve a reduction in crime in the local areas. The actors will in this project be expanded to comprise all thirty-five housing owners in the city district, if they volunteer, and the inhabitants in the housing areas in question. The action plan will presumably include technical measures such as extra steering locks, door locks and lightning. Additionally, discussions may be raised
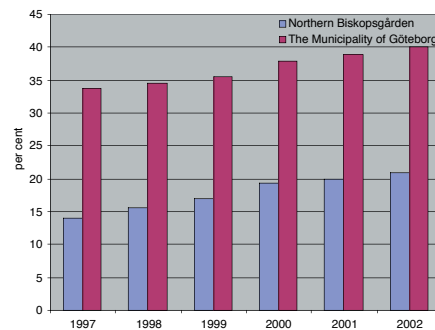

Fig. 25. The share of inhabitants in Northern Biskopsgården in the ages 20-64, compared to the Municipality of Göteborg, who have completed a higher grade than upper secondary school. Sources: www.goteborg.se/statistik and the municipal section of statistics. The figure shows that the difference in level of education between Northern Biskopsgården and the Municipality of Göteborg remains.
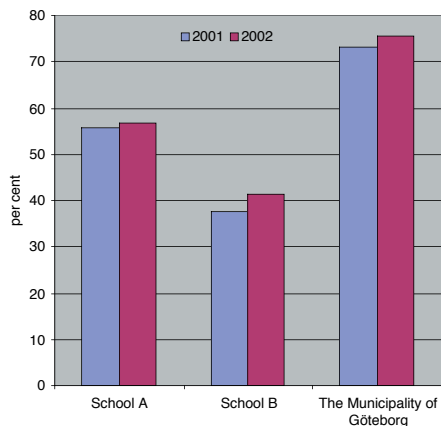
Fig. 26. The share of youths that have reached the objectives in all subjects. Two schools with Northern Biskopsgården as recruitment area and the average in Göteborg are shown. Source: The National Agency for Education, www.siris.skolverket.se.
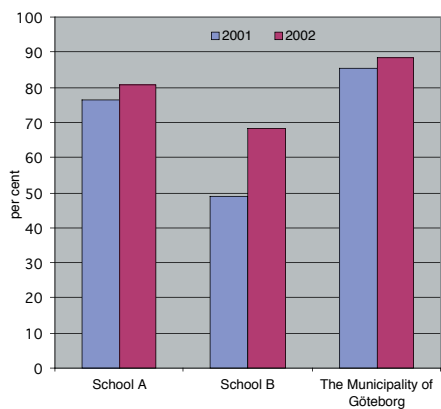

Fig. 27. The share of youths who may be admitted into the national programme, i.e. to upper secondary school. Two schools with Northern Biskopsgården as recruitment area are compared with the average of the Municipality of Göteborg. Source: The National Agency for Education, www.siris.skolverket.se. The figures show that the prerequisites for youths from these two schools to shape their future are much more finite than for youths in general. Still, the situation has improved significantly in the school with the poorest preconditions.

concerning housing for the socially excluded – resulting in fewer car burglary and car thefts, which constitute the majority of the crimes.

All this may seem perfectly fine; why would there be a problem if local partnerships take responsibility for crime prevention? First, there is a democratic problem. If the City District Committee is not fully involved in the decision-making in the partnership, the overall social responsibility for people may be neglected – as the housing companies, even public housing companies, are adjusted to conditions on the market, and additionally, have objectives aimed only at their own inhabitants, and not those left outside.

The second reflection concerns the effects of the area-based interest in crime. What if the stigmatization problems turn out to be much more significant than the possible positive effects of the local action plan? This question is even more central considering the sudden interest, during the nineties, of private consultants in conducting such crime investigations in ethnically segregated housing areas. Additionally, in the Municipality of Göteborg, there is only one consultant, whose business concept is to conduct such crime investigations in all of the segregated housing areas from the sixties and seventies in Göteborg. In an overall perspective, one should require knowledge of whether the inhabitants are actually experiencing a positive outcome of this work that can offset the stigmatization effects it causes – especially considering that crime does not take place more often in these areas than in Göteborg on the whole.

The third theme discussed in the evaluation at Chalmers Architecture concerns the physical environment – do the planning and the architecture of this area function as a prerequisite for or as an obstacle to the desired development in the Local Development Agreements?

There are some serious problems with the physical environment in northern Biskopsgården, which will be briefly described here. First, the local square is a problem, due to inadequate planning and poor maintenance. The potential for keeping this area as an outdoor meeting place is high, due to the location close to the tram stop and the school. Physically, it is quite easy to attend to the problems. However, lack of organization and funding seem to have been the main obstacles to action. It is a shortcoming of the Local Development Agreements not being able to initiate changes in a meeting place of such importance for the people. Consequently, last year the cash dispenser was removed by the bank, and therefore, the plausible change now will include all the shops closing up and the square transform-

ing into an empty space – constituting a barrier between the housing areas, the school and the tram stop.

The second physical problem is the traffic route through the whole area of Biskopsgården, where the tram also goes. The problem is the lack of urban environment along this endless straight stretch, leaving it boring, windy and scary at night. With housing all along the road these problems would disappear, which should be interesting also from the point of view of the municipality as they lack areas for densification. It is a pity that the Local Development Agreements have not initiated such a change, even if this naturally is not something that can be completed within such a short period of time.

The third problem concerns the physical barriers between Northern Biskopsgården and the rest of the city district, which was earlier discussed in the description of the physical environment. To some extent this problem has been treated within the time span of the Local Development Agreements, as »Bo Bra« in collaboration with the City Real Estate Office has chosen some of these barriers as future potential areas for densification (see Fig. 28). This is one part of an assignment that the City Real Estate Office has from the City Council, aimed at finding adequate areas for densification in the Municipality.

Fourth, there has been a problem for inhabitants to find premises when needed for meetings or other activities. This problem, initially thought of as physical, turned out to involve a lack of organization, lack of money, or hostility towards foreigners. During the period of the Local Development Agreements, this problem has been discussed a great deal, and the possibilities of finding long-term solutions seem to be high – e.g. many premises within the schools now are available for the inhabitants at night, and a civil information office, opened for coordination of the programme, will probably remain after the Local Development Agreements are finished.

Finally, the fifth physical problem is families living under overcrowded conditions. According to the largest housing company in Northern Biskopsgården, there are two hundred and twenty families in their area – fourteen per cent – with such problems. However, even if this housing company has initiated an investigation to map the problem, the Local Development Agreements have no project aimed at finding a strategy for its solution. This problem will probably rather be addressed back to actors at the municipal level, leaving the current and acute problems of these
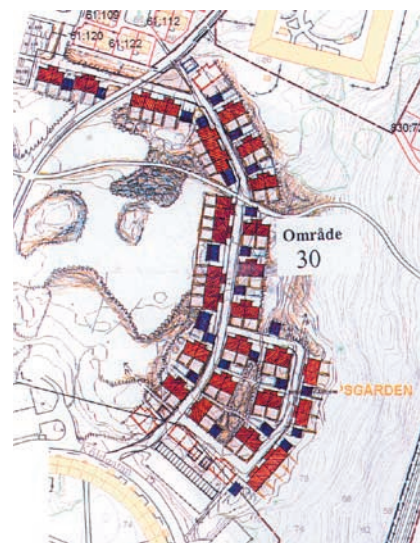
Fig. 28. Investigatory sketch of plans for densification of an area in need of regeneration because they are dark and scary at night. Source: The City Real Estate Office. Architect: Efem.

families unsolved in the short-run. The Somalian women interviewed in the evaluation have an extremely critical standpoint towards their lack of realistic choices when talking about the small apartments – there are no options at all for them to find another flat, not in Biskopsgården or in any of the other city districts. Additionally, the considerable lack of childcare, Biskopsgården has one of the longest queues in Göteborg, binds them even more tightly in a situation they do not desire.

This was a short review of the preliminary results of my part of the evaluation at Chalmers Architecture. In the next chapter, a similar review will be presented of my evaluation at the department of Culture Studies.

INTEGRATION AND DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

THE INFORMATION shown earlier on division of funding shows that the intentions to include the inhabitants not only as project participants, but also as initiators and persons responsible for projects, have not been fulfilled in Northern Biskopsgården – as a minority of the local organizations have been involved in the programme and most of the funding has been distributed to projects owned by the City District Administration. Such facts raise questions of why these organizations have not applied. Has there been a lack of information? What signals have the civil servants sent out to the inhabitants? Does the division into target areas serve as an obstacle for the inhabitants? Is the application to hard to complete? Did the decision-making process take too much time? Moreover, the lack of enterprises applying for funding gives rise to questions. What are the reasons for their absence?

These facts, however, do not imply that the Local Development Agreements have necessarily failed totally. Admittedly, the bottom-up perspective is said to be perhaps the most important method for long-term sustainable and successful development of activities within the framework of metropolitan policy. And although not equivalent to bottom-up initiatives, self-reflection by officials and other professionals is required so that they do not »take over« from those concerned. This intention statement by the Commission on Metropolitan Areas is not fulfilled in Northern Biskopsgården – even if they may be considered as having taken some steps in the right direction.

Still, maybe local professionals should be considered as most suitable in achieving the aim of the programme? Perhaps they will succeed without a bottom-up perspective and reach the previously mentioned objectives, such as having connections with local actors at the municipal level? Another thought is that perhaps the changeover from the period of subsidies to the ordinary process will be facilitated when such a considerable part of the funding is invested in projects within the City District Administration? Unfortunately, such knowledge will not become apparent in time to be included in this thesis.

The preliminary results from the evaluation at the department of Culture Studies will instead, to begin with, comprise the material discussed at the seminars to develop a democracy plan for the city district – in which my participation was asked for. For the purpose of these seminars it was natural to focus on three themes – information, dialogue, and participation – investigating the experience of the Local Development Agreements concerning each theme.

Beginning with information, the experience from the initial phase of the programme was depressing. The actors largely trusted in non-functioning technical means of spreading information, i.e. the website of the city district – which was most often disappointingly poorly updated, a written folder available for those interested; a letter to the board of the non-profit associations; and mass media coverage – with little coverage of Northern Biskopsgården. Later, but much later, these mistakes were rectified; a local paper with information is regularly sent out to all of the inhabitants; information has been sent on local radio in different languages; and local TV channels have been used to inform people. The local actors also initially, to some extent, used social information channels, e.g., previously mentioned meetings with non-profit associations.

After two years the spreading of social information also increased, and the local actors committed themselves to conferences and seminars with participants from the projects. These were mainly initiated for dialogue, however, they revealed a requirement of information that was not really known by the responsible local actors earlier. At this time, the lack of information on the programme for the inhabitants *not* included in any project also began to be further expressed by people. Not many of the inhabitants seemed to have understood the purposes of the programme and on what bases they, or their organizations, may apply. From the point of view of
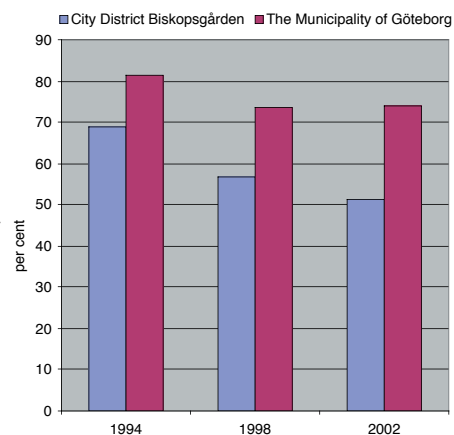

Fig. 29. Election participation in municipal elections. The City District Biskopsgården compared with the Municipality of Göteborg. Sources: www.val.se/val and www.ssd.gu.se.
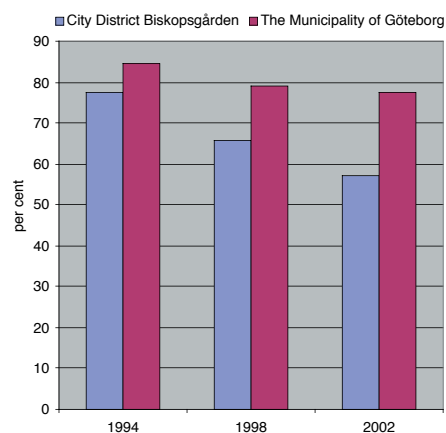

Fig. 30. Election participation in national elections. The City District Biskopsgården compared with the Municipality of Göteborg. Sources: www.val.se/val and www.ssd.gu.se.
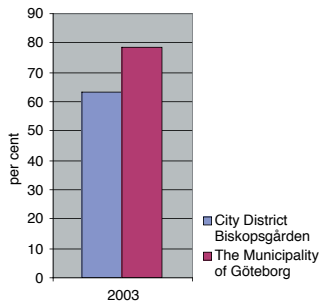
Fig. 31. Election participation in the referendum about EMU. The City District Biskopsgården compared with the Municipality of Göteborg. Sources: www.val.se/val and www.ssd.gu.se.

Unfortunately it is not possible to show statistics on voting from Northern Biskopsgården, due to changes in the physical limitations over time. These figures concerning the city district, however, show no positive signs concerning the problem of low participation in general elections.
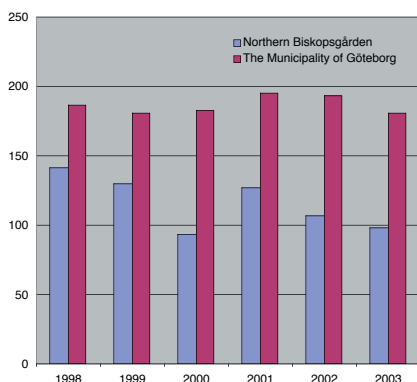
Fig. 32. The number of reported crimes per thousand inhabitants. Crimes committed in Northern Biskopsgården compared with the Municipality of Göteborg. Source: RAR-stat, The Police Authorities in Västra Götaland.

most of the inhabitants, the Local Development Agreements therefore gave the impression of being meant for those employed in the City District Committee – this picture was of course also accompanied by the fact that eighty per cent of the money was granted to such projects.

When focusing on dialogue, the experience of the programme is much more positive – even if the early lack of information has had serious negative effects on the will of the inhabitants to have a dialogue with those responsible for the programme. Still, the reality of forty-eight ongoing projects mean that a large number of employees and inhabitants feel that they are participating in an improved development. These projects may be seen as representing three different strategies of making dialogues – and of course spreading information. The first strategy is dialogues in a permanent base, e.g. the civil information office from which the programme was coordinated or the premises of the non-profit associations where people are invited to come if interested. The second strategy is dialogues through mobile activities, directing specific groups, e.g. youths committing crime, thus communicating at places where these people feel comfortable, which may change over time. The third strategy is dialogue with the participants in long-lasting local processes such as »Bo Bra«, also involving connection to actors at levels of society other than the local area.

Hence, many of the projects are associated with positive experiences considering the possibilities of people to have a dialogue with employees, and possibly influence the negative situations the inhabitants experience. On the other hand, there are several examples of this potential not being made use of. One example is the film project where the youths described their neighbourhood and used the film to communicate their feelings with different groups of adult, e.g. the education for recreation instructors. They also went to England and communicated with a group of youths in Manchester, who later came to visit them in Sweden. However, the local politicians in Biskopsgården did not see the film and, therefore, missed this opportunity to have a natural discussion with the youths – in a place where they felt comfortable.

Considering the theme of participation, i.e. when the inhabitants in one way or another influence the decision-making, the experience from the Local Development Agreements is not very positive. This is not because participation is experienced as particularly difficult, rather because the programme – as far as I know – has not tried any strategy including pure

participation. This was not even the purpose, according to interviews with the local people responsible – their intention was initially to keep the programme within the existing representative system. On the other hand, the boundaries between dialogue and participation may be described as quite vague. It is hard to separate activities of the inhabitants that influence the decision-making of the politicians and activities that have no effect at all. What is discussed here is rather the existence of any particular strategy, except general voting, that deliberately influences the local decision-making – such strategies are conspicuous in their absence in the Local Development Agreements in Northern Biskopsgården.

This was a brief summary of the preliminary results discussed at the seminars to develop a democracy plan for the city district. This chapter will be brought to an end by also including a short discussion of how the Local Development Agreements deal with the objective of increased integration.

As shown in Fig. 33, ethnic housing integration does not seem to be within reach in Göteborg – with city districts such as »Gunnared« and »Bergsjön« still having a considerable increase in people born abroad, and thirteen city districts holding significantly less than the average. The share of people born abroad certainly sometimes increases in city districts with few foreigners, however, as the share did not decrease in *any* of the so-called exposed city district this year, ethnic integration in Göteborg will require innumerable years, if it is not influenced in any way. The Local Development Agreements were supposed to make a difference – why is it this has not been achieved?

If we begin with official documents on the Local Development Agreements and compare the objectives on different levels concerning integration, an important dissimilarity is revealed (Swedish Government 2001c: 3; City Administration of Göteborg 2002: 8; City District Administration of Biskopsgården 2001: 21). The objective on the national level corresponds well with the municipal level, focusing on changes in both the individuals themselves and the society around them. On the local level in the city district, however, they only focus on the individuals and the *city district*, not on the municipal or the national environment. Accordingly, when the objectives are described at higher levels as concerning, e.g., obstruction of discrimination and change in people's attitudes to promote ethnic integration and diversity in the whole of Göteborg, the local level
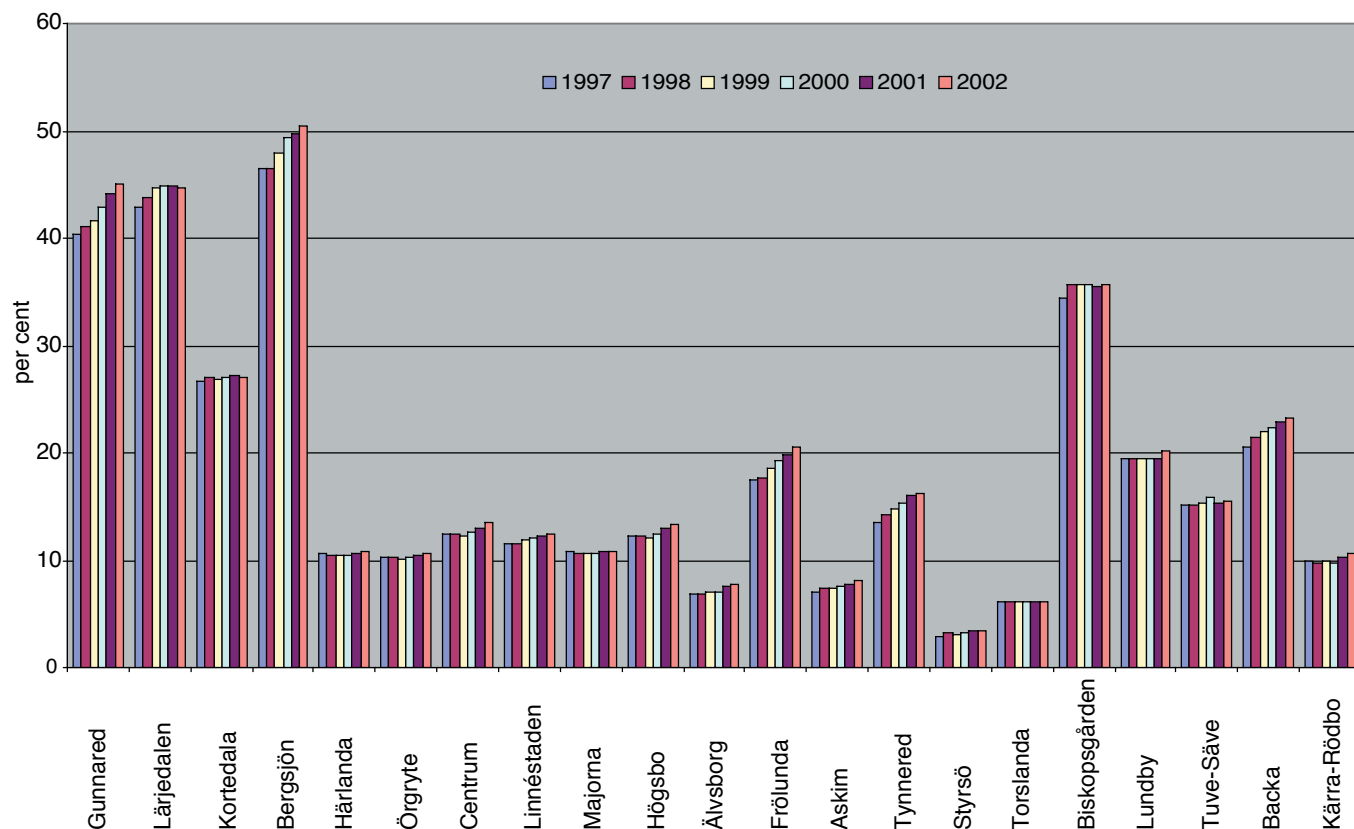
Fig. 33. The share of inhabitants born abroad in the 21 city districts of the Municipality of Göteborg. Source: The database STATIV, Swedish Integration Board. This figure reveals the absence of functioning measures in Göteborg to solve the problem of ethnic housing segregation.

describes the same integration objective as only being a matter of changing the inhabitants and making the local area more attractive. Nothing is said about the idea that people moving out from the area may part of a positive development for ethnic integration in Göteborg. Nor are there any objectives describing changes in attitudes towards immigrants, on the part of the *rest* of the inhabitants in Göteborg, as a natural part of the Local Development Agreements in Northern Biskopsgården.

Consequently, the responsibility for the failure to influence ethnic integration in a positive direction must be considered to be held by the City District Administration and the City District Commission – they were not at all forced to interpret the objectives from higher levels as they did. Furthermore, even if the natural perspective of the City District Administration and the City District Commission is of course to care for those people living in their own neighbourhood, to want them to stay forever, they ought to have taken another role when managing the funding from the

Local Development Agreements. In the interviews with civil servants and politicians, this complex of problems is quite clear to follow, all of them have had the ambition to fulfil their own local objectives – thus, ethnic integration in Göteborg has not been considered as in reach. This attitude has been clearly observable when studying which projects were sanctioned and which were rejected. Interviews with leaders in non-governmental organizations, however, show that they would not at all have acted in the same way if they had had power to influence the distribution of funding. Is this perhaps a lesson for the future? Additionally, the State should have been able to recognize this before the programme was initiated in Göteborg, as it was clearly visible in the first local plan of Northern Biskopsgården.

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Theoretical Framework and Empirical Findings

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THE EMPIRICAL MATERIAL described in the previous case study chapter has been analysed using a theoretical framework based on three themes: time, power and learning. In this chapter, the theoretical framework will be discussed and described; additionally, the empirical findings from the analysis will be presented.

The reason to why these three themes in particular have been chosen for the analysis is mainly based on considerations expressed in the literature review on previous research, including my licentiate thesis, although the impression of these three themes as being essential has also been reinforced throughout the evaluation of the national funding. The first theme – time – has, e.g., most often been discussed by the locally employed and inhabitants as being a severe complication in fulfilling their aspirations, due to dissimilarities such as perception of time in projects and processes. Although, neither groups seems to consider it possible to influence time aspects, they just leave them to continuously work as a sort of self-evident

background prerequisite. In this thesis, the concept of time will be included in the analysis, the aim being a better understanding of how time aspects are related to the research question: What are the roles of the locally employed in stigmatized suburban metropolitan areas; how do their roles relate to national policies on social inclusion and sustainable development; and how do their roles relate to the needs and opinions of the citizens?

The second theme – power – is the theoretical perspective that has been possible to examine most thoroughly, to a great extent thanks to valuable previous research on this theme within the field of planning. Accordingly, the empirical findings on this theme also constitute the most extensive part of the thesis. The inclusion of power aspects in the theoretical framework was, as mentioned above, motivated both by previous research and experience in practice. Additionally, the evaluation of the national funding continuously revealed, as will be illustrated later on, certain reasons for also investigating the links between time aspects and power aspects.

The third theme – learning – may be considered somewhat obvious to include in a thesis on societal changes such as ethnic integration and sustainable development, as any kind of development must imply some kind of learning. Learning is, however, also closely related to power and time. To avoid a much too extensive review on the theme of learning, the focus has been put on theory that is often referred to in the field of planning as well as theory that is often closely related to theories used in relation to the themes of time and power.

ANALYSIS METHOD

READING AND WRITING on the three theoretical themes took place concurrent with collecting the empirical material, though the main part of the writing was conducted during the past year. As a result of this work, a number of concepts related to each of the three themes were found, and further, a definition of each of the concepts was formulated, which is presented at end of the following three chapters on theory.

These concepts were then applied when analysing the empirical material, comprising the data described in the chapter on material and methods

in the case study. All data were imported into a computer program designed for code-based qualitative analysis, and the empirical statements were coded (coupled) sentence by sentence to the theoretical concepts formulated earlier.

Thereafter, during a finite time period, the actual analysis took place. The procedure implied a systematic examination of every statement coded to each concept, within one of the theoretical themes at a time, comparing them to the descriptions in the theoretical review. What did the informants say about, e.g., theory-in-use and how did this relate to the theoretical discussions on theory-in-use? Thus the analysis moved back and forth, from data to theory, aiming at a better understanding of similarities and dissimilarities.

The analysis resulted in a story, or actually three stories that follow each of the theoretical chapters, concerning how the concepts of time, power and learning, respectively, were perceived in practice by the locally employed and the inhabitants. There is also a summary at the end of the chapter.

THEORIES ON TIME

WHEN SEARCHING for a theoretical point of departure for analysing the implications of time aspects in the empirical material from the case study, it was not possible to find a detailed theoretical framework with explicit connection to planning procedures, as was the case with, e.g., power aspects. Additionally, literature concerning temporal aspects is often combined with spatial aspects – time and space – which may of course be considered a natural connection from a contextual point of view. However, in this stage, when searching for specific theoretical concepts useful for analysis, such literature seemed to be of limited help. This led to a more general search for basic concepts concerning temporal aspects, though there has not been time to include a comprehensive philosophical analysis of time. But then, the purpose of this literature review was not to comprehend everything about temporal aspects, but rather to understand, to some extent, the logic that time aspects in contemporary planning in the Western World are based upon.

WHY IS TIME A PROBLEM?

IF WE BEGIN with the situation of today, why is it that time is often considered such a severe problem? Which dilemmas are discussed in the public arena? What are the implications of the actual view of time that people seem to have?

The Swedish physicist Bodil Jönsson has discussed this complex of problems from the point of view of an everyday life with which many people can identify. She argued that instead of being hunted by time, the clock-time, we should turn the problem upside down. We must not feel we have a lack of time. Time *is* what we have and this is our capital – in fact every human being has an average of 30 000 days to live (Jönsson 1999: 11). We must change our way of thinking. She gave an example by illustrating how time is perceived when one makes the choice of mode of transport to a place. It takes presumably one hour with the car, one thinks, but does it really? If you include the time you have to work to cover the car costs, then it may take you five hours, according to Jönsson's calculations. Further, one must distinguish between clock-time and personal time, according to Jönsson, and the fundamental question everybody has to ask themselves is: How do I get more personal time? Personal time is considered to be the experienced time; it is the time when an individual may think and feel (Jönsson 1999: 31). Which mode of transport then is most preferable, car or bicycle? The answer is no longer not self-evident (Jönsson 1999: 15).

One way to increase personal time is to be aware of »set-up time«,[11] e.g., the time a difficult task often demands before it is possible to really carry it out (Jönsson 1999: 37). Another way is to plan the task such that time is not split up into small pieces, as this reduces the personal time spent on the task (Jönsson 1999: 49). The Norwegian social anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen had a similar description of the dilemma of time. According to him, fragmentation of time is the most severe problem, which results from the extremely fast increase in release of information. »When time is chopped up into sufficiently small units, it ceases to exist. That is to say, it ceases to exist as duration (which presupposes that events take a

[11] »Ställtid« in Swedish.

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certain time), but continues to exist as moments about to be overtaken by the next moment« (Hylland Eriksen 2001: 123, italics removed).

This kind of thinking about time is quite common, and not only in the Nordic countries. Biologist Stewart Brand from the United States has been, among others, involved in attempts to influence the pace of development and the problem of fragmentation by not only producing literature on the theme (Brand 1999), but also by forming strategies such as »The Long Now Foundation«,[12] with the purpose of reducing speed in society. In Europe, philosopher Peter Heintel from Austria has also been involved in a similar strategy in the foundation »Tempus«, which has the aim to delay time. According to him, a hectic way of living suffocates the development of human beings, and the natural philosopher, which exists in every person, may never get the chance to blossom. Further, Heintel argued that these circumstances are due to industrialization, the development of technology and capitalism, which in its turn are closely interlinked with a linear, measured and economically valued time. »Industrialization (a prerequisite of capitalism) as well as globalization enforce an erosion of local communities and religious belief systems. As a consequence of and an answer to these tendencies, a growing time compression and therefore acceleration occurs (a well-known diagnosis which has been named 'the non-stop-society')« (Haunschild 2001: 402). The negative outcome of the behaviour of human beings in such a society is ecological crises, said Heintel, and his solution to the problem concerned deceleration of time and self-reflection. Furthermore, he argued that everything cannot possibly be measured using the same gauge. There exist, at least, four different systems each with their own »personal time« or »Eigenzeit« (Lundqvist 1996; Haunschild 2001: 402; Heintel 1999: 79):

First, »the economic-technical system« where modern machines work rapidly and time is regarded as money. Second, »the biologic system« with its own rhythm in the human being or in nature, the time aspects of which are considered difficult to influence. Third, »the mental system« of thoughts and feelings, which may be extremely fast or very slow, but also hard to influence. And finally, »the social system« that concerns interrelations between individuals. Influencing the time perspective of this system is possible, but it takes time.

The problem is, according to Heintel, that all processes in society have been subordinated to the economic-technical system, e.g., agriculture,

[12] For further information see www.longnow.org.

health care, education, local partnership and, perhaps most important of all, policy making. All these realms have been adapted to the rhythm, and the velocity, of the economic-technical system, and, as Heintel argued, this is not sustainable in a long-term perspective.

LINEAR OR CYCLIC TIME?

WHEN TIME DILEMMAS are discussed, a discussion often ensues of the Western World having problems because of our understanding of time as a linear phenomenon. The hypothesis then is that if we would adapt to a more cyclic understanding of time, some of our urgent problems could be solved. In this thesis, there is unfortunately not sufficient scope for a more thorough investigation of Asian and African time perspectives. However, as this theme is often put forward as an important problem with no quick answers, a minor investigation has been carried out. This discussion is mainly based on articles published on the website »The Time Document« in Sweden, created at the turn of the new millennium as part of a research project.[13]

Theologian John Mbiti, who studies African cultures, maintained that the idea of a linear time perspective, as adopted in the Western World, is considered very strange in traditional African cultures (Mbiti 2000). By linear he means that the past is considered indefinite and the future infinite. In traditional African cultures, Mbiti argued, the present is closely interrelated with the past. Thus, what has not yet happened, or is not likely to happen, is considered as »non-time«. However, there are exceptions, e.g., natural phenomena that are likely to happen may be considered as »possible time«. Another difference is that time is not calculated in African traditional cultures; it is instead related to and named after activities. Additionally, when something happens that is of today, this event will at the same time be shifted to the past. People are in this way considered as *producing* time, instead of *using* time, as we feel we do in the Western World. This difference in perspectives made Mbiti conceptualize the African traditional view on time as a movement in reverse, compared to the Western World view. It is, thus, this close interrelation to the past that seems to have made Mbiti consider the time perspective of African cultures as circular and not linear.

This point of view on time seems to have been shared by traditional cultures in South and North America. For the Indians in Bolivia and Argen-

[13] For further information in Swedish see www.tidsdokument.org.

tina, the language supports this standpoint, according to cultural anthropologist Jan-Åke Alvarsson (Alvarsson 2000). There, »I will go« and »I went« are expressed with the same words, in the same way as the Western World often does not distinguish between the present and the future. Thus, in the Western World, »I will go« may be considered as »I will go immediately«, but it may also be perceived as »I will go later on«. In North America, the Lakota Indians seem to have had the same time perspective. Cultural anthropologist Mikael Kurkiala illustrated how time was related to activities that took place, and further he described how history was recaptured over and over again when activities of today were interwoven into the past (Kurkiala 2000). The truth therefore was closely related to a morality within the social sphere, rather than to abstract and objective aspects outside of it.

Furthermore, Asian traditional cultures seem to have shared the view of time as cyclic rather than linear, if we take into consideration their notion that the present is more closely related to the past than to the future. However, in relation to religion there may also exist, in all traditional cultures, a fatalism that is tied to strong belief in a predestined future, circumstances that may contribute to people feeling no responsibility, and therefore not planning, for a future of their own personal wishes (Behros 2000). Reincarnation is also often discussed when a cyclic understanding of time is debated. Further, circularity may also be perceived as an intimate relationship to nature, which all traditional cultures originally encompassed. This was, and still is according to historian Cecilia Lindqvist, particularly obvious in, e.g., China, where farmers, when discussing longer time perspectives, considered the cycles of the moon to be the most practical way of communicating time (Lindqvist 2000b). However, it was also in Asia and Africa that different mechanical methods for time management seem to have been first developed several thousand years before Christ (Lindqvist 2000a).

To sum up, the differences between a cyclic and linear understanding of time, considering the historical perspective of various cultures, seem to mainly concern disparities in how to perceive the present: Is it most closely related to the past or to the future? Consequently, may time be theoretically supposed as going forward or backward? Do we use time, or actually produce it? Further, is it the past or the future that is considered indefinite, and is the past or the future considered infinite? In any case, should this understanding of time really to be perceived as a cyclic movement, or is it indeed linear? Here it may also be relevant to discuss the importance of religion

and the relation to nature, however, even if these aspects may be understood as cyclic, they may also be perceived as linear insofar as it is not exactly the same life, or precisely the same nature, that returns in cyclical systems.

WHAT IS TIME?

THIS OPPOSING view of regarding reincarnation and seasons as indicating a cyclic time perspective and not linear was stated by, among others, historian Lennart Lundmark (1993: 17). Such concepts cannot, according to him, lead to an understanding of the time perspective of different cultures, as they are built upon confusion of reality and the world of ideas. An approach like this would create a perception that there exists one single relation between time and reality, thus, an existence of absolute time. Consequently, Lundmark did not oppose the existence of different time perspectives; they do of course exist in different cultures and also historically. What he opposed was the way of searching for knowledge. What is it that one should *not* be doing when searching for understanding and comprehension, he asked, and then answered: Do not start with the question »What is time?«, as this will inevitably lead to a deadlock:

> – What's time?
> – It's something you measure with a clock.
> – What's a clock?
> – That's what you use to measure time with.
> (Lundmark 1993: 21, my translation)

Lundmark concluded that time is nothing but a concept, and further that concepts are instruments that facilitate the human imagination. Knowledge about time perspectives must, Lundmark argued, therefore be sought in qualitative studies of different cultures, on the one hand, and historically, on the other.

FACILITATING IMAGINATIONS

ONE COMMON misunderstanding, historically, is that measurement of time came as an solution to the problems human beings had in managing time. On the contrary, Lundmark argued, it was with the introduction of clock-

time that the serious problems began (Lundmark 1993: 21). Before the clock, there existed different well-functioning methods for measurement of time: a) hunger and tiredness of the human beings, b) movements and sounds in nature, c) position of the sun and the stars. Nobody knows for certain why the mechanical clock was constructed, Lundmark concluded, but there are two widespread theories: the monastery explanation and the astronomer explanation (Lundmark 1993: 26). The first theory holds that the monks needed to be reminded of the time for prayer, a need especially indispensable at night and in the early mornings. The second theory concerns the imitation of planetary movements, however, with the primary purpose to develop an understanding of outer space by reproducing it.

There is also another theory related to a human need, namely the call for birth control (Roslund 2000). In China the successor to the emperor was chosen based upon the positions of the planets at the moment of conception, thus it was fundamental to plan that the empress, and not the concubines, would to be close to the emperor on that crucial night. This problem was, according to, e.g., astronomer Curt Roslund, one of the reasons for the development of the first mechanical clock in China, constructed by Yi Sing in 725 and later completed by Su Song in 1092 (Roslund 2000; Lindqvist 2000a).

Another theory, in Europe, concerning the reason for introduction of mechanical clocks, also involved power aspects, but in another way. As mentioned before, there was, according to Lundmark, no social or cultural need among the people for initiating clock-time. Further, as church clocks were often put into place by watchmakers with no relation to the church, clock-time may have come as a result of the civil society wanting, for reasons of prestige, the clocks to toll every hour (Lundmark 1993: 40). Another theory, expressed by psychologist Sten Andersson, was that clock-time was initiated for the simple purpose of disciplining the people (Andersson 1985: 91)

Before further discussions concerning the importance of introduction of clock-time in the Western World, a brief summary of the background of the development of the mechanical clock will be conducted.

DIFFERENT CALENDARS

THERE ARE THREE different cycles that must be considered when materializing a calendar for time management: the sunrise and the sunset; the dif-

ferent phases of the moon; and the seasonal changes. However, as, e.g., theologian Jan Hjärpe pointed out, these phases are not equally divisible, which has resulted in several different calendars with the purpose of keeping time in order (Hjärpe 2000). The year of the sun, which corresponds to seasonal changes, is 365 days, five hours, forty-nine minutes and twelve seconds – while the phase of the moon is 29,5306 days and nights. Hence, in some calendars, as in the contemporary Gregorian calendar, the moon-months are omitted. In others, as in the Jewish calendar, a leap-month is put in sometimes, to adjust the sun-year and the moon-year. Contemporary Islamic calendars are built upon the phases of the moon, containing eleven moon-months in a year and, consequently, a continuous irregularity exists between the moon-year and the sun-year – resulting in, e.g., Ramadan taking place differently according to the seasons. However, even if the phase of the moon is considered as omitted from some calendars, in view of the length of the month, it may still remain in the form of commemoration days. As in the Christian calendar, which has a mix of the sun-year, with Christmas, and the moon-year, with Easter, even if the length of a month has nothing to do with the moon (Hjärpe 2000).

What then are the origins of the seven-day week? According to theologian Anders Piltz, the week seems to originate from the Jewish tradition, as the first biblical texts were written as a commentary on six days of work and the seventh day for God's rest (Piltz 2000). However, the moon-month may also have been of importance here, as each of the four phases of the moon is 7,38265 days and nights long (Hjärpe 2000). Although, when choosing a seven-day long week, still another cycle was included into the system, which is not equally divisible by any of the others.

In summary, the calendars used for management of time did not have any precise relationship to cycles in nature, even if they were to some extent related to different natural sequences. The same conclusion, as will be shown in the next chapter, may be considered regarding the existence of clock-time.

CLOCK-TIME

IT SEEMS TO have been the Egyptians that first split the day into hours, originally by dividing daylight into ten parts, adding an extra hour for dawn and another for twilight, and leaving the rest for the night. These were called »natural

hours« or »temporal hours« (horae inaequales), as their length varied with the season, subsequently with longer day-hours in summer and shorter in winter. Later on, during antiquity, it was the Hellenists who divided the hour into sixty minutes and the minute into sixty seconds (Lundmark 1993: 32-33).

When the mechanical clock came, natural hours were thus prevalent and at first technical innovations strived for, and to some extent also succeeded in, adapting the clock to natural hours. However, when also aspiring for construction of clocks that strike every hour, it was in practice not possible to maintain temporal hours. This may be considered just a small detail, however, as Lundmark argues, historically this will prove to be only the first step towards a total separation of time and nature (Lundmark 1993: 36).

Time being just *one* time, an absolute time, is a recent idea that is only about two hundred years old. During antiquity, three different attitudes towards time were formulated: a materialistic by Aristotle; an idealistic by Plato; and a phenomenological by Augustine – all of which were based on time perceived as *relational*. Thus, time was considered as being a function of something more than itself. Today we, on the contrary, consider time as unrelated to anything else; not to planets in outer space, not to ideas or human beings (Lundmark 1993: 45-48). According to Lundmark, the main reason for this change is to be found in the bible, when Joshua asks God to stop the sun in order to give people more time for revenge in a war. As religion during this period was becoming increasingly important, the relational time perspective was gradually abandoned and the development towards perceiving time as absolute increased in speed. Even Newton is often considered as an agent for regarding time as absolute, although he in reality always argued for two types of time: an absolute time (today we call it »mean solar time«), which is useful in science of mathematics and physicians; and a relative (relational) time, which is how people perceived time in everyday life (Lundmark 1993: 56).

Such thoughts were, however, not discussed in Europe during this period and the mechanical clock was further developed during the 17th century into a pendulum clock of high accuracy. Because of the high quality of the clocks at this time, the already known fact that the sun is not always »punctual«, as the orbit of our planet around the sun is not circular, also came to be important. The difference between sun-time and uniform clock-time was, at the most, sixteen minutes and conversion tables were therefore spread together with the clocks, to inform people how to repeatedly

synchronize them so as to conform to sun-time. Hence, mechanical clocks were subordinate to sun-time during the whole period until the 18th century (Lundmark 1993: 60-69). In Sweden mean solar time was introduced in 1841, without explanations in the documents that are to be found, and with this the second step was taken towards a separation of time and nature – in science as well as in everyday life (Lundmark 1993: 76).

Indications and measurements of time, from that time forward, constituted more a convention or an agreement between actors than a connection to reality. However, when the atomic clock was invented, a discussion appeared between astronomers and physicists concerning objectivism contra conventionalism. And, even if the atomic clock is extremely exact, there still exists a difference between atomic time and astronomic time. A difference that, in fact, is possible to hear when time is given in the Swedish radio; some signals have a lower tone than others and the amount of such low signals indicates how many tenths of a second separate atomic time from astronomic time at that moment (Lundmark 1993: 81).

Another implication of time was the differences concerning a person's location on the earth's surface. Different places used different clock-time, which is not a problem unless one is travelling between these places by, e.g., railway. In Sweden, the difference between the sun-time of Stockholm and Göteborg is about twenty-four minutes, which nowadays is not considered to be a problem as people in general are largely separated from nature. However, when the government in 1871 tried to introduce a common clock-time for the whole country, the protests were widespread. It was not until 1900 that this was possible – an additional step towards separation of time and nature, as Lundmark puts it (1993: 86). The fourth step in this direction was taken in 1916, when Sweden, to save energy, introduced »summer-time« for the first time. Altogether, argued Lundmark, this meant that Sweden, as probably all countries in the Western World, now embraced a conventional, abstract and instrumental perception of time (Lundmark 1993: 99).

CHRONOS AND KAIROS

THIS DESCRIPTION corresponds with the Aristotelian notion »chronos«, which, according to philosopher José Luis Ramírez, is historically the best known temporal term and, to a great extent, also still in use in current languages in

words like chronometer and chronology (Ramírez 1995: 168). The notion of chronos may be summarized as change, measure and serial order.

There is another temporal notion mythologically rooted in Greek history, »kairos«, which is less known and not used a great deal in the terminology of the contemporary Western World. Kairos has often, by e.g. Ramírez, been referred to as qualitative to contrast it from chronos, which is quantitative in nature (Ramírez 1995: 168). Hence, kairos is considered to be time that gives value – to sow in season. Consequently, this definition of the notion of kairos denotes a moment when something happens that could not have happened at just any time – timing – which may also be perceived as closely related to the notion of personal time used earlier in this chapter.

Perceiving time as relational also implies a natural association to context. Ramirez maintained that the Aristotelian concept »topos« – concrete place – may be considered as the contextual localization related to kairos, while »chora« – abstract space – may be thought of as closely related to chronos (Ramírez 1995: 171). He has also argued that with kairos follows a natural relation to another Aristotelian concept – phronesis – a form of knowledge related to human activities based on an amalgamation of temporal and spatial aspects (Ramírez 1995: 169). We must, however, not become absorbed in these themes at this point, as there are plenty of reasons to return to phronesis later on in the chapter on learning.

The kairos view on time as related to spatial aspects has quite a positive outlook on things or material, considering material as a result of professional and intelligent actions within a constructive development towards the future. However, as sociologist Dag Østerberg put it, material, as it embodies praxis, may also lead to alienation between things and their users (Østerberg 1985: 12). Material must therefore, Østerberg maintained, be considered as communicating with its users, and this interaction thus constitutes the praxis the material is representing.

A similar outlook on material was expressed by psychologist Sten Andersson, who argued that things most often disperse social bonds rather than being of help in everyday life (Andersson 1985: 81). For instance, using cutlery is often thought of as a practical way to eat, however, this may not be true, as it would take a child more than seven years to eat properly if forced to eat with a knife and fork. Andersson instead insisted that things were invented, and put into use, to discipline people. There exists three purposes of things, he argued, first to prevent physical contact between

human beings; second to prevent human body contact with objects in the world; and third to prevent the human being from having contact with its own body (Andersson 1985: 83). Consequently, if people conform to such praxis, it is the material, and not human beings, that exercises power over a person, and therefore, as Andersson maintained, it is important to conduct a psychoanalysis of things if we are to visualize this often-concealed materialistic discipline of people (Andersson 1985: 87).

Sociologist Jens Tonboe also argued for considering material not only as surroundings, but also to focus on material as the starting point for a process. This is essential, he claimed, as social aspects may be considered as determining the material, by e.g. praxis, and at the same time as material is determining social perspectives. Consequently, Tonboe maintained that even if material aspects and social aspects may be analysed separately, they must be concurrently related to each other. Hence, positioning them together in »the social context of space« facilitates our understanding of how these relations between the material and the social are constructed at the moment (Tonboe 1993: 513).

SUMMING UP ON TIME

WHAT OVERALL CONCLUSIONS may then be drawn based on this literature review on time, considering the analysis of temporal aspects of the empirical findings within the scope of this thesis?

Time seems to be considered as absolute, instrumental and abstract in the contemporary Western World. When people discuss temporal aspects in everyday life, they most often relate to the calendar, one the one hand, and the clock, on the other. The calendar and clock-time are indeed related to the rhythms of nature, to the sun, to the moon, and to the seasons. However, as Hjärpe and Lundmark illustrated, calendars and clocks have not succeeded in conveying all of these rhythms momentarily – consequently, the rhythms are certainly not interwoven into one single system that we could call a universally prevailing structure. Hence, sun-time (astronomic or natural time) is still not exactly the same as mean solar time (atomic, uniform, calculated, or conventional time). The rhythms in nature, thus, do not seem to constitute a particularly appropriate foundation for the construction of a system for temporal aspects – at least not if our goal is *one* single system.

Nonetheless, there are reasons to believe that there is a need for several different systems to manage temporal aspects. As Lundmark argued, calculation of time was not invented to help human beings in their everyday life, underlying the invention are rather other purposes that probably to a great extent concern power aspects. Nowadays, however, time is just a concept that facilitates the human imagination, said Lundmark. Yet, calculation of time may still be regarded as an instrument for exercising power. As Heintel argued, realms like agriculture, health care, local partnership and policy making are subordinate to the economic-technical system's outlook on time, leaving out the temporal aspects of biologic, mental and social systems.

At least two different views on temporal aspects were discussed by all the authors in the literature review – time as an absolute and time as a relational phenomenon. Further, most of the authors agreed that, historically, the first-mentioned aspect has been given an increasingly superior position compared to the second-mentioned aspect – chronos is considered to be a more relevant and proper way of discussing temporal aspects than is kairos. These circumstances have caused severe damage in the everyday life of human beings, and Heintel argued that, in a long-term perspective, this also causes serious ecological crises. Therefore, Heintel, and also Brand, argued that a slowdown is necessary in society as a whole and a respect for personal time and self-reflection has to be developed as a part of ordinary procedures. Further, as Hylland Eriksen argued, strategies must be developed to avoid fragmentation, e.g. as Jönsson put it, by being aware of, and planning for, the set-up time a difficult task requires before implementation.

However, according to Greek mythology, this second-mentioned time perspective, i.e. kairos-time or relational time, was not constituted by one single relation. Rather this view on time indicated temporal aspects as related to several different topics – time being a function of something more than itself, as Lundmark put it. Three different issues on this theme were discussed by Lundmark, all of them originating from antiquity: time related to material; time related to idea; and time related to phenomenon. The last-mentioned view on time seems to have been prevailing in traditional African, Asian and American cultures, which was illustrated by Mbiti and Kurkiala, as when activities taking place are related to natural phenomena rather than to a figure or a certain year. With this time perspective seems to follow also a distinctive attitude towards the past and the future, compared to the time perspective of the contemporary Western World. For traditional

cultures, past was considered as infinite and future regarded as indefinite, and further, what happens today was closely intertwined with the past – people thus were considered as *producing* time. In the contemporary Western World, temporal aspects were understood precisely the opposite way; consequently human beings were regarded as *using* time. These circumstances, which are also often closely related to religion, may possibly be understood as an example of time related to idea.

This perspective on time, as in traditional cultures, has often been regarded as cyclic, while the modern understanding of time has often been considered as linear. However, as Lundmark maintained, such a difference is not really possible to grasp, and further, using such concepts could not possibly lead to a deeper understanding of temporal aspects of different cultures, as it involves a confusion of theory and practice. Consequently, the question of whether time is considered to be cyclic or linear is not the right question. Instead, it is important, argued Hylland Eriksen, to consider whether time is really able to flow in a linear way, as this is what constitutes its characteristics.

The discussion of Ramírez concerning topos and chora, and further the relation to the Aristotelian notion phronesis, may be considered as examples of the third theme within the scope of kairos-time – i.e. time related to material. With this line of thinking, material must not be regarded as inert objects, instead, as Østerberg and Andersson maintained, there exists quite a strong communicative link between the material and human beings. Consequently, as Tonboe argued, even if material aspects and social aspects may be analysed separately, they must simultaneously be related also to each other.

In the next chapter this discussions on time will be transformed into a theoretical framework for the analysis of temporal aspects.

PRESENT THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON TIME

THERE SEEMS to be great consensus in the literature regarding the need for more than one system for describing and discussing temporal aspects in the contemporary Western world; the prevailing perception of time as absolute is consequently not adequate for describing everything. Most authors consider absolute time to be instrumental and abstract – facilitating the exercising of power. However, to some extent absolute time may also be

considered as facilitating imaginations, as clock-time from the beginning may have been invented to facilitate the human temporal imagination, at least for the higher stratum of society. This is history, however, and today absolute time is largely separate from nature. When considering these explanations altogether, a definition of the concept is outlined:

> ☞ ABSOLUTE TIME will in this thesis be regarded as synonymous with the concept CHRONOS, thus, change, measure and serial order. CLOCK-TIME is an example of how absolute time is implemented.

Consequently, absolute time is a concept that may be used in an agreement, a convention, facilitating the exercising of power. This convention is, however, not in itself an example of absolute time, it must rather be considered as a perception that time is relational – time related to an idea. Accordingly, as I understand it, time must be regarded as absolute and relational simultaneously.

> ☞ RELATIONAL TIME is defined in this thesis as time as a function of something more than itself. Relational time is thus regarded as synonymous with KAIROS, indicating quality, context, timing, time that gives value, natural hours and personal time.

Absolute time constitutes the basis for economic-technical systems, and this view on time most often has a superior position in society, even if a different perception of time when related to the biologic system, the mental system and the social system is often, from a contextual point of view, regarded as most relevant. According to the literature review, there are three distinctive themes with which time may be considered as interlinked. First, time related to phenomenon; second, time related to idea; and third, time related to material.

> ☞ TIME RELATED TO PHENOMENON will be defined in this thesis as when activities of today, instead of being calculated, are related to an occurrence in the past or in the future. With this time perspective follows a perception of time as either PRODUCED or USED, closely related also to concepts like non-time and possible time.

An example of the second relational time perspective, temporal aspects related to idea, may, as mentioned above, be perceived as facilitating the exercising of power. Also material may, as discussed earlier in this chapter with cutlery as an example, be perceived as an idea facilitating the ex-

ercising of power, as it may be regarded as material embodying praxis.

    ↬ TIME RELATED TO IDEA is therefore regarded as temporal aspects associated with ideology, e.g. policy-making, implementation and learning. This attitude towards time is closely related to time perceived as a CONVENTION, facilitating the exercising of power.

With the third theme, time related to material, follows concepts like topos; which is defined as a meaningful place and closely related to kairos, and chora; with the definition abstract space and related to chronos. The contextual focus thus implies, when related to material, an obvious connection between considering time as absolute and understanding it as relational.

    ↬ TIME RELATED TO MATERIAL will be defined as when temporal aspects link topos and chora, resulting in human activities based on an amalgamation of the two.

To sum up, this literature review on temporal aspects in planning is concluded with five groups of concepts, which will be used to conduct the analysis of the empirical findings: absolute time; relational time; time related to phenomenon; time related to idea; and time related to material. The results of the analysis of the empirical material in the case study will be presented in the next chapter.

TIME IN PRACTICE

IN PRACTICE, the perception of time as only absolute, instrumental and abstract – chronos – has often had serious implications locally. Urban development programmes always imply an actual period of time during which the local actors are forced to implement the programme, as the Swedish Government needs to keep control of and evaluate the funding. For the Local Development Agreements, the Swedish Government has decided that this period will comprise a total of six years (1999-2004), which is quite a long period of time compared with similar interventions.

PROGRAMME DURATION

STILL, IN PRACTICE the local actors had not at all had the possibility to experience such a long time perspective. In Göteborg, the agreement was not signed until February 2001, due to disagreements between the City Council and the State concerning the responsibilities of the programme. Moreover, even if there then existed formal possibilities in the agreement to spend the funds also during the year 2000, the real situation most often did not allow such arrangements. This was particularly obvious in Northern Biskopsgården, as they lacked earlier experience of urban development programmes – additionally, they lacked ongoing projects of former interventions that could be maintained with the new funding of the Local Development Agreements. In Northern Biskopsgården, the programme therefore must not be considered as initiated until the spring of 2001, resulting in most project applications arriving as late as autumn 2001 – and many projects actually not being initiated until 2002.

This left a real time period of three years locally, during which the projects were to be initiated, moved along, and brought to an end. This includes activities such as advertisement and conducting interviews for employment on a project basis, development of the employed personnel into a team, building up indispensable networks with surrounding institutions, formulating the action plan on which the group was to succeed with its objectives, and finally, investigating the possibilities of converting the project idea into ordinary procedure after the programme has come to an end.

Furthermore, the Swedish Government abbreviated this already short time perspective even more, when the supplementary funding for 2004 was only allowed to be allocated to projects concerning target areas one and two (i.e. employment, adult education, language and school). This restriction – surprisingly – resulted in the city districts adopting an understanding that the Local Development Agreements would be terminated at the end of 2003. In Northern Biskopsgården, the people in charge locally actually thought for a long time that the programme had to come to an end at that point, and then later, when they fully understood the conditions, they still claimed that only SEK 3,5 million remained for the last year, even

if the supplementary offer amounted to SEK 13,8 million. Hence, the local actors must be considered as having themselves abbreviated the period of the programme, even if they, at the same time, commented that the short perspective was a serious problem.

The local responsible civil servant for the programme in Northern Biskopsgården expressed that it is a hopeless to try to get results in only three years – twenty years would be more reasonable, or at least seven or eight years (interview, 030219). Another civil servant objected not only to the short time perspective, but also to the necessity of the Swedish Government maintaining such control:

> It's a tragedy that the money came for three years. It would have been much better if we got a bag of money from the State, telling us to economize as long as we could (participant-observation, 030911).

Such statements concerning the short time perspective were quite common in the evaluation, which makes it even more interesting to try to understand why the local actors themselves abbreviated the time period of the programme. Possibly, this has, among other things, to do with their feeling of insufficient ability to reach the objectives of the programme, even if it would last an additional year. Therefore, they may have felt it wise to phase out the projects as quickly as possible, not to risk increasing the costs to be covered by the ordinary budget of the city district. Such conclusions, made by the locally employed, may have come as a result of the economy of the City District Committee being largely dependent upon temporal aspects. The civil servant responsible for the local economy clarified this relationship when describing the local school situation for parents complaining about the reduction of the school budget:

> The budget of the schools has been cut because Biskopsgården has lost six hundred and twenty pupils, who have chosen schools in other city districts – partly private schools but also other public schools. The sum for each pupil is 70 000 a year, resulting in a loss for us of 43 million every year. Additionally, as this has been going on for one or two years now, the schools have had plenty of space nobody paid for. Neither has the number of teachers been reduced during this period of time (direct observation, 021119).

One thing, however, was not discussed at that meeting between civil servants, politicians and inhabitants – the reasons for this lagging behind of the proper administration of the schools. Yet, at least one of the reasons was exposed in another meeting, when parents gathered to discuss how to react to the budget cut:

> As late as last spring, the Communists stood on the square, giving away candy for the kids and promising to commit themselves to the schools. The Social Democrats walked around in the housing areas and gave the kids red roses, told them to tell their parents that also the Social Democrats would commit themselves to schools. ›They're lying!‹ said the kids. Nine years old – they will never forget! This will follow them their entire life. Nineteen teachers are to be dismissed… (direct observation, 021209).

Of course, there is no way of telling whether the general election of 2002 was the reason for not cutting the school budget in time – maybe the cause was simply the reasonable fear of cutting the budget in schools where so many pupils do not pass the core subjects. Still, if this suspicion of the young people is correct, it shows that such temporal aspects as general elections may also influence the economy of the local environment extremely rapidly. Such circumstances clarify how the locally employed are put under pressure to be prepared to act extremely fast when the local environment changes, if they are to fulfil their economic obligations as demanded by the City Council. The locally employed therefore must be considered as obliged to act in response to events not only within their own specific assignments, but also concerning phenomena in society ostensibly outside of their area of responsibility – in other words, be fully aware of »timing«.

THE INHABITANTS

THE IMPORTANCE of perceiving time not only as chronos; change measure and serial order, but also as kairos; the time that gives value, has been stressed by many of the inhabitants in Northern Biskopsgården. The youths, e.g., were often extremely present in »the here and now« and maybe value it more often than grown-ups do. One of the youths, participating in the film project, expressed herself in this way when discussing the positive outcome of the project:

> It's been good for my life. While you're living, life is supposed to be filled with a lot of things. This project is one of those good thing that… it really feels like it influenced my life to be great! One and a half years. Actually, if I weren't participating in this, I wonder what else I would have been doing. I don't know… maybe I would have kept studying… (interview, 021031).

Furthermore, the inhabitants did not seem to let go willingly this feeling that »the here and now« is most important, even if they were involved in activities for the purpose of making visions of the future – an activity civil servants welcomed gladly, as they regarded such methods as meaningful considering their assignments. When the series of seminars aiming at forming a local Democracy Plan took place (participant-observation, 030911, 031025, 031109), this problem became obvious at several occasions. When politicians and civil servants, e.g., wanted to discuss what future measures the people present could imagine for improving the dialogue between the employed and citizens, the inhabitants preferred to discuss why the chairman of the City District Committee was not present the previous Wednesday in the civil information office, as she was supposed to be. Here, however, it is important to add that this difference is not a question of the inhabitants not being concerned about the future. On the contrary, the inhabitants most likely care much more for their future than do the locally employed; they just refer to different contexts. One of the youths, e.g., when asked whether his marks in school were important to him, expressed that good marks were the same thing for him as the future:

> Marks? – that's life! That's what life is about, getting good marks. Now, at least, I feel so (interview, 021029).

Two other youths also confirmed this obvious concern for the future, when discussing their visions of Göteborg in general, with a special focus on the neighbourhood city district »Torslanda«:

> SARA: Take Torslanda. I've been everywhere hanging around. In Torslanda they just care for their own village.
> MALENA: The thing is, when we're sitting here telling such stories about Torslanda, we're also biased…
> SARA: What's disturbing me, that's…was it true? What's that with the taxes?

They wanted their own…

JENNY: They wanted to constitute their own Municipality.

MALENA: Their own Municipality…

SARA: That's because they're conservatives in Torslanda.

MALENA: And that's the proof! They don't care about other people. It's an obvious proof of this! Think about those who need. Need our money. I don't care about paying taxes, I don't give a damn. The thing is, if I attend to my studies and get a good job, then I can afford living on the money left after paying taxes. Letting a family have…

SARA: I am glad to pay taxes, cause then I know this will make it better for youths, pensioners… Everybody is going to feel better (interview, 021031).

Consequently, the difference between the perspectives of the locally employed and the inhabitants must not be confused and regarded as a matter of different views on the future. The distinction rather seems to be a matter of claiming the importance of the existence of diverse understandings of time, the locally employed in their working life understanding time mainly as chronos; change measure and serial order (stressing the abstract space – chora), while the inhabitants in there everyday life rather perceive time as kairos; the time that gives value (emphasizing the concrete and meaningful place – topos). One way to gain a better understanding of the prerequisites for inhabitant participation in local development work, may be to shed light on the tug-of-war between these two understandings of time.

TIME AS POWER

WHEN CONDUCTING the analysis of the empirical findings concerning temporal aspects, one theme closely related to this tug-of-war turned out to be a topic of discussion in many of the environments – time being used as an instrument to exercise power. As already discussed in the beginning of this chapter, the locally employed largely experienced the top-down instrumental perception of time from the State as having serious implications locally. The same feeling was experienced by the locally employed when they, after having fulfilled the obligation to form a local Action Plan about the Local Development Agreements and send it to the Municipality in October 1999, had to wait – for one

year and four months – for the City Council to sign the agreement with the State. When asked of the probable reason for this delay, one of the civil servants expressed an irritation with the fact that important time aspects had been neglected, in favour of power aspects:

> For him the most important thing, which caused the time delay, was the municipal precaution to make the City District Committees – not the Municipality – responsible for the results of the Local Development Agreements (interview, 030212).

Even one of the local politicians, although she to some extent also thought the precautions of the municipal politicians were important, shared the opinion that the time delay had been a serious problem locally:

> We were really on our toes at that point and organized meetings with the non-profit associations, building up expectations as we wanted the associations to get ready. From the first meeting until the time we got the money I think amounted to precisely one year – and that wasn't very good. We lost a great deal in the local area, we lost their trust. This would have been much easier to fend off if we had been part of the process – participating in the negotiations – been better informed of the reason for the time delay (interview, 030226).

The inhabitants naturally experienced, when exposed to abstract top-down perception of time from the City District Administration and the City District Committee, the same frustration as the locally employed did when referring to the Municipality and the State. However, even when the funding after this long waiting period finally arrived to Northern Biskopsgården, the management of temporal aspects continued to be used for exercising power – from the point of view of the local organizations.

The first obstacle they discussed was the shape of the application; it was very long – ten pages – and extremely time-consuming to fill in. Additionally, as the people locally responsible for the programme often demanded close collaboration with other local groups or organizations, requirements were frequently made that they rewrite the application once more, in collaboration with the partner. Furthermore, after the application was sent to the City District Committee, a long period of time passed due to administrative procedures and overloading.

Most projects had to wait for at least four months for decision-making, some waited as long as one year, moreover, some projects received no answer at all. However, even after the decision was made, there still remained problems related to temporal aspects. A project leader in a non-governmental organization described how her project suffered from such problems:

> Then, when we finally got a decision about funding from the programme, it took an extremely long time before we got straight answers as to whether we were really going to get the money. The decision was made in June, I think, but we didn't get the money until August. Then, the next time we presented our expenses, we once more got the answer that we were not going to obtain the money after all – now they suddenly decided that a written agreement had to be established. This dragged on, until it was time for the next part of the money to be distributed. It's been falling behind like this all the time, we've got the money very late. We've had to get along using other funding, actually meant for other purposes. And now it's the same again… (interview, 030120).

Naturally, such effects may be considered as the inevitable results of precautions made for democratic reasons. Still, these descriptions do have certain similarities with other stories the inhabitants in Northern Biskopsgården have told in interviews about their everyday life – many different stories of how temporal aspects most often are managed by the society in a way that puts inhabitants in a weak position. Many people have told, e.g., about how they felt when they received no answers about their residence permit, waiting for years, resulting in difficult situations particularly for the children.

Another example is the waiting list for preschool. One Somalian woman, e.g., described how, after one year of waiting when she finally got a preschool place for her child, the City District Committee had made a decision that the children of the unemployed were only allowed to be in preschool for three hours a day. Additionally, if they were to use these three hours, the children of the unemployed had to be in the preschool during a period in the morning when the rest of the children were eating. This was because the time schedule of the preschool – adapted to the eating habits of kids – had less than three hours between meals.

They say it's the law…, the law says that he is not allowed to eat breakfast or lunch (interview, 030922).

This may not seem like a very important detail in the wider context of the Local Development Agreements. Nevertheless, as this programme did have an objective to increase integration as well as democratic participation in society, it is extremely hard to understand how such use of time aspects as an instrument of power could exist. Considering the feelings of the inhabitants towards such problems, it seems wise to question every occasion at which time is used to exercise power. One of the civil servants introduced the concept »time abuse« in a conference discussing the disfunctional dialogue between the locally employed and the inhabitants:

Democracy takes time! – still, time abuse is a serious problem (direct observation, 030222).

If we listen to inhabitants and the locally employed in Northern Biskopsgården, trust and time are closely related phenomena – implementation of programmes such as the Local Development Agreements is largely dependent upon trust. There were actually also examples of how people deliberately did *not* use time to exercise power – avoiding time abuse. One project leader of a non-governmental organization explained how she worked, when people came to them searching for help about serious problems:

We're both indispensable. The social welfare secretary is needed as well, we can't replace them. But we have more time to talk, we commit ourselves to those who come to us – we don't say ›we have half an hour for you‹. We have a background, facilitating our understanding of the problems he tells us about. I already know some things about his family, because I know him also through the woman and the kids – its possible to gain a comprehensive perspective. Still, even if an unknown man comes here, we give him the time he needs – he himself talks about himself (interview, 021209).

This strategy of deliberately relinquishing the control over time may be regarded, in other words, as this woman *producing* time, instead of using it – as discussed earlier in the chapter on theories of time – and as a result, this kind

of strategy may therefore be considered as to a greater extent relating »the here and now« to history, rather than to the future. Accordingly, it may be this difference that constitutes the obvious distinction between the work of the non-governmental organization and the work of the social welfare secretaries.

VELOCITY OF TIME

WHEN ANALYSING the empirical findings concerning temporal aspects, another theme turned out to be frequently discussed – the perception of the speed of time. In the chapter about theories on time, velocity was discussed as often being too great, however, in reality time may not exactly be perceived as moving too fast, even if severe strain was often discussed as a problem. Instead, the most obvious impression in the case study was the inhabitants' problems with slowness – laws, rules, traditions, thoughts, biases, and procedures in society changing too slow to meet the desires and needs of the people living in Northern Biskopsgården. At any rate, stress was certainly described as a problem as well, e.g., by youths when talking about their school situation:

> ANDERS: It could have gone better for me, but nobody cares about youths that are a bit unconcentrated, they just go for the ones who are focused.
> KENN: There were no teachers. Strenuous, when one asked for help then it took half an hour before anybody came. Then they were so harassed themselves. It wasn't really their fault. But I've heard it's better here now.
> ANDERS: Still, the classes are large, you probably don't get help.
> KENN: But it's more disciplined.
> JENNY: That's sought after?
> KENN: Yes it is. That's when the pupils are listening, when they can sit at the lessons and hear. I've been thinking of that now that I ruined it for my mates… makes you feel sorry (interview, 021030).

Adults also described their everyday situation as one of exposure to sever strain, a kind of pressure that is perhaps hard to understand for those who regard gainful employment as the most urgent situation when discussing stress. This woman, active in a non-governmental organization, had meet the problem several times:

The welfare authorities may have difficulties seeing this. They think ›is she stupid?‹ or ›why is she doing this or that?‹ When you have grown up with something, it's not that easy to change it suddenly. For example, if the woman says that ›I can't do that‹, for example studying or working, ›cause of the husband or the family‹. Maybe she has too much pressure on her, for taking care of the household and the children. Severe strain from the family, and simultaneously from the welfare authorities. The social secretary says that ›well, its just to study!‹, or work. But the woman has to manage all of the other work as well. Then the social secretary says ›well, your husband must help you.‹ That's not easy to say to your husband, he won't care! But, if you could understand the woman, then you may help her out. Choosing *one* day for studies, or two, and not so many hours. If you insist on five days a week at full-time, then she would fell even worse! Nobody at home forgives her for working! ›If you don't manage, then quit!‹ But at the same time it's a freedom and you get your own money. Not being forced to ask for a hundred kronor to buy something (interview, 021213).

Another problem related to the velocity of time – lack of time for reflection – was often discussed by inhabitants as well as by local employees. Some of the youths, e.g., expressed that the stress of writing the manuscript for their film led to their including more violence than they would have done if they had thought more about the reactions of the audience (interviews, e.g. 021028). According to the theoretical framework on time, such problems may arise as a result of the extremely fast increase in the release of information in society, resulting in time being sliced into such small pieces that it ceases to exist. This description of fragmentation of time does admittedly seem to correspond quite well with the local situation. Anyway, in the case study, it was also possible to imagine this problem as a result not only of time being too fast, but also of time being extremely slow – slowness, not only fastness, may cause fragmentation of time.

The earlier-mentioned complaint from the local employees, about the conditions under which the funding programme was initially handled, may also be considered as an example of how slowness of time implied fragmentation:

KARL: We were a team of twelve persons at that point in time. We didn't think much about its role then, but now our group rather handles the decision-making: ›how do we distribute the money?‹ ›what does this proposition look like?‹ That

dynamic working process we had initially, I haven't seen much of it since then.

JENNY: You thought it would still be there?

KARL: It would have been positive. If time would have been more continuous between our application and implementation, and if we wouldn't have had such an application procedure, then there would have been more continuity in the process and also in the engagement. The time loss was negative. And our system of application is not good, it kind of stifles the initiative. One can't just sit and wait, you must have dialogues. We didn't initially, and the application procedure was an obstacle, both for the city district administration and for non-profit associations (interview, 030219).

What this civil servant actually admits is that they did not really manage to fulfil their expectations although they were not under a time pressure. In other words, as was discussed in the literature review, the problem was one of time not flowing in a linear way, as is its nature. Naturally, all of the involved local employees were fully occupied with other undertakings, meanwhile waiting one year and four months for the Local Development Agreements to be decided upon. However, the time problems they experienced may not so much be described as problems related to stress, but rather problems of keeping vivid the link between the funding programme and their ordinary procedures. It is as if the Local Development Agreements were an island, a project, floating around with no bridge to other islands or to the mainland – resulting in them not managing to use this time break as so-called set-up time puzzled time, even though there was a great need for this.

PERSONAL TIME

THERE ARE very few examples in the empirical material of people, employees or inhabitants having positive experience with regard to personal time for reflection. One exception exists, though, resulting from one of the interviews, which by coincidence occurred in a fortunate moment. The interview was to take place in the late afternoon in premises on the ground floor in a housing area. When we entered the Somalian woman said »Are you in a hurry? Would you give me ten minutes?« and when I agreed, she began to pray. These ten minutes were extremely interesting for me, suddenly finding

myself sitting quietly in an empty spacious room with almost no furnishing and bare fluorescent ceiling lamps and forgotten Christmas ornaments still hanging – watching this woman search for the correct orientation and then begin a discreet religious conversation. A large wall clock ticked loudly. Then, when the interview began, the opening subject was predetermined:

JENNY: Do you pray many times a day?

HANAD: Five times a day. /…/ Morning prayer is the first, in summertime this may occur at two o'clock at night. /…/ But in wintertime, in December, it's nice because then it's seven o'clock in the morning.

JENNY: Why is the first prayer later in wintertime?

HANAD: Since we follow the lunar calendar, there is a difference compared to the solar calendar in use here. Therefore it's totally distinct in these countries in Europe and Scandinavia. In our countries, time for prayer used to take place at almost the same time throughout the year. /…/
And now Ramadan will come soon. Right now it's OK, it is quite nice because it's not so many hours. But it comes closer and closer, as it's eleven days shorter every year. Ramadan may occur in June or July. In Sweden, then, you must fast until nine at night. From two o'clock in the morning until nine at night.

JENNY: What about work then, do you take a break when it's time for prayer?

HANAD: Thank heavens, people have many breaks here, this is never a problem. /…/ Prayer is relaxing – that's why there's a time schedule. You need a break, to be alone for a moment and think. /…/ You are put under such pressure at work and in school, it's not even possible to get time to reflect on ›what am I doing here?‹. I find it extremely good to have the prayer. Five times a day I can stop bothering about everything – but myself and my soul – and that feels… it's like a private conversation with God. Between me and him (interview, 030929).

Prayer is personal time, »Eigenzeit«, for this woman, additionally her understanding of how Islam is to be practiced makes it easy for her to make room, on a regular basis, for personal reflection in her everyday life. Moreover, her story also depicted the rare connection between time and nature – her personal time being constantly linked to the movements of the moon instead of being controlled by clock-time. In metropolitan areas in the Western World, when discussing temporal aspects, such a linkage between everyday life and nature is not very common – chronos is considered to be

a more relevant way of discussing time than is kairos. This may cause not only ecological crises, as discussed in the literature review, but also other kinds of problems related to mental and social systems.

DIFFERENT SYSTEMS

IN THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS, another often-discussed theme was the question of all processes in society being subordinate to the great velocity of the economic-technical system. Although they did not always describe this system as too fast, the informants seemed to largely agree upon the assumption that most processes in society have to conform to the rhythms of this system if objectives are to be reached. One of the youths describes this problem, when discussing the difficulty they had getting through to the local politicians. Even after they had put considerable effort into making their own film to describe the local environment, the politicians did not seem to be interested. This is what the young woman answered, when asked about the message of their film:

> Like a tune by Stevie Wonder about a woman constantly being physically abused – and everybody just passes by… It's the same thing we do in the film. Things happen in Biskopsgården, but nobody cares. It feels like they don't care, as long as it's not a question of money. There's a great difference between the film project and the Youth Council. In the film project we didn't even have one politician caring about us. In the Youths Effort, there were suddenly plenty of politicians fancying what we stand for, just because we claimed our money. It was the same thing with the international exchange, nobody cared. Then, when we wanted money, we had to describe everything. Of course, you have to show your calculations. But what about the previous situation? If we had not done the exchange, the film would have been totally invisible! Therefore, it's good they're doing a documentary about us – showing it in public so they finally grasp something about what we stand for. We may, in the documentary, explain more deeply what our film stands for. Then, maybe they'll take us seriously at last (interview, 021030).

Demanding money, thus, seems to be a constructive strategy for the inhabitants to become visible. Perhaps this also pertains to the locally employed,

as the effect of applying for funding from the Local Development Agreements certainly has made the problems of Northern Biskopsgården more visible, from a national point of view. However, in this way problems are presented as being mainly economic and technical – e.g. society losing money because of the unemployment and a change is possible if only we find new methods – even if the inhabitants and the locally employed are fully aware that some problems are mainly related to other systems. However, referring desirable processes of society to mental, biological or social systems does not at all capture the attention of the surrounding world to the same extent as does referring to the economic-technical system. Consequently, the required national and municipal support for such development remain absent, if such support is not accompanied by discussions of money when being transferred from the bottom and up. This statement made by an employee in a private housing company, stressing money rather than the feelings of the homeless, immediately resulted in the set-up of a meeting between him and the economy chief of the district:

> If this special group of social workers is taken away, it will result in a financial catastrophe. We'll be forced to throw people out immediately from their apartments when they become troublesome. This must not happen – we'll have to discuss this with the economy chief! This will increase the costs by about three million a year, thirty to forty thousand a month. But these costs are not visible for the City District Committee, they don't know this cost is now being saved (participant-observation 021108).

Still, this group was actually disbanded, due to the time limits within which the civil servants are forced to work – keeping the costs within the budget by the end of the year in question. One of the civil servants, when asked about how they exchange ideas within their organization, expressed that the contemporary period will probably later be called the period of »how-to-cope-with-the-budget«, as this is the only thing they really do discuss (interview, 030212). Another civil servant seems to fully agree:

> In the sixties and seventies, the civil servants adopted some kind of Maoist ›serve the common people‹ attitude, quite nice really. This attitude has largely disappeared from the Swedish model of social services, thus, these days we've instead turned into social branch accountants (interview, 030331).

The same civil servant, however, did not seem to consider it such a problem that their application system for funding from the Local Development Agreements, which follows common democratic procedures, was actually marked by the economic-technical system rather than adapted to mental, biological and social systems:

JENNY: The form you choose, ten pages long, isn't it quite complicated?

SUSAN: No! It's not complicated. I've used it earlier with EU-funding, it worked. The basic data should be the same, those writing neatest shouldn't get most money. The form should be considered as a questionnaire and we printed the brochure about the funding so everybody could see for themselves what the committee had decided. They could study it together with friends. It's part of the democratic procedure. Then they were to fill in the form and come back.

JENNY: You don't understand that people feel it's too much to fill in the form?

SUSAN: No. Yes, if you just see it. But that's not how it was going to be, just to send it out.

JENNY: And the time aspect. If first a dialogue would take place to understand the form, and then…

SUSAN: The idea was that people should manage to fill it in themselves, but we should be prepared to answer their questions. People are not at all stupid, they should not be underestimated.

JENNY: Then the civil servant was to write a formal report, to be referred for consideration to the director group of ›Bo Bra‹; to the political committee; to the left and right wing; to the chairman and finally to the City District Committee for decision-making – this usually took half a year.

SUSAN: That wasn't the intention, that's wrong. But this is actually tax money…

JENNY: Isn't it experimental money?

SUSAN: Still, one must deal with the matter properly, check if they applied for money elsewhere and so on. /…/

JENNY: So, you don't think the complicated and time-consuming application procedure kept non-profit associations from applying?

SUSAN: I don't think it's complicated. No, I don't think so. This form should make the progress smooth (interview, 030331).

Also the housing companies seem to have accepted the economic-technical system as the sphere in which they are principally obliged to operate. One representative of the national association of private housing companies,

e.g., in a conference stated that if only the problem with crime and safety could be solved, then the rest would appear automatically. »It's a win-win concept«, she claimed, as increase in safety will result in an increase in real estate value (direct observation, 031014). Also one representative of the public housing companies in Göteborg seems to share this view, as he at a seminar pointed out the importance of the company being »AAAA-rated«. This implies that the public housing companies emphasize low interests on their loans, at the expense of the economic security of the buildings – as the security has been left to the banks, instead of being kept in the hands of the Municipality (participant-observation, 030520).

This emphasis on the economic-technical system also seems to have pervaded the comprehensive perspective of the Local Development Agreements, letting the market economy rule the policies of ethnic and economic integration. In all the official documents concerning the programme, the concept »economic growth« is put ahead of the other objectives, thus stressing the economic-technical system as being of principal concern. The consequences of this emphasis seem to imply that measures to increase ethnic and economic integration only concern such activities that may be directly related to economic growth – e.g., immigrants getting a job and their housing areas being turned into secure and safe places. Nothing has, e.g., been done to change the ongoing increase in ethnic housing segregation in the twenty-one city districts of Göteborg. This, however, may not be considered as astonishing at all, when such an important actor as the above-mentioned representative of public housing companies in Göteborg – with altogether 67 800 apartments in nineteen of the twenty-one districts – on the question: »Thus, for you integration is economy?« finds it patently obvious to answer »yes« (participant-observation, 030520).

THE ANALYSIS of the empirical findings concerning temporal aspects has resulted in a wide range of descriptions of distinctive perspectives, many of them closely related to the assumptions in the theoretical framework, although there are also dissimilarities, such as the inhabitants perceiving slowness than rather fastness as a problem in relation to the authorities. One interesting result of the analysis was the obvious function of time in the exercising of power – expressed by local employees when complaining about governmental and municipal actors, and uttered by inhabitants suffering from time abuse exercised by the locally employed. Another out-

come of the analysis was the apparent emphasis on the economic-technical system in local development work, resulting in difficulties to endorse solutions to severe problems such as ethnic segregation.

In the next part of the thesis, a similar analysis will be conducted concerning the theme of power. First, by accomplishing a literature review on the theoretical perspectives on power, and second, by describing the results of the analysis on power aspects of the empirical findings in the case study.

THEORIES ON POWER

IN MAYOR URBAN CENTRES in Sweden, Urban Development Programmes, such as the Local Development Agreements, have had importance for social and physical change in suburban areas built in the sixties and seventies. Such programmes not only constitute a considerable part of the local development in terms of economy and time, they also often have an affect on and interfere with ordinary local planning processes and local public administration. When searching for a theoretical point of departure for analysing the power aspects of the empirical findings from the Local Development Agreements, the choice initially fell on theories developed in the analysis of the Aalborg Case in Denmark, conducted by planning researcher Bent Flyvbjerg, and first presented in his thesis in Danish in 1991.

The case study of Flyvbjerg is relevant as a starting point for several reasons: First, because it has a planning perspective, which is also the main basis for this thesis. Second, because of the similarities concerning the difficulties in implementing the program, especially considering the outcome of the projects in comparison with the formulated overall goals. Third, because of the similar problems concerning power structures that originate from implementation of the projects. Fourth, because the Aalborg case study considers the local context to be of great importance, which also makes sense with regard to the Local Development Agreements – as local politicians in the City District Committee, and not politicians in the Municipality, are held responsible for planning and implementation of the program.

THE AALBORG PROJECT CASE STUDY

THE ANALYSIS of the Aalborg Project was conducted with the explicit aim to contribute to the progress of the planning process, especially considering themes such as modernity and democracy. »It is put forward as a case of the more pervasive problem of how to make democracy work in a modernity that is strong on democratic ideals but weak on their realization« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 4). The Aalborg project was initiated in 1977, and the overall intention was to change the discourse of city planning from one adapted to cars and modern building traditions, to one with the policy that cars must adapt to the city – to its inhabitants and to its historical and social culture. However, implementation of the project resulted in the contrary; car traffic, for example, increased by eight per cent instead of being reduced by thirty to thirty-five per cent, as had been planned. This constituted a development of car-use comparable to that of central Copenhagen, where no such plan had been put into action (Flyvbjerg 1998: 219).

Flyvbjerg made an incredibly thorough reconstruction of the whole process, by interviewing the actors involved and through analysis of official documents and unofficial notes. Further, he transformed the empirical material into an easy-to-read narrative on the progress of the Aalborg Project during its fifteen-year duration.

In sum, the narrative described how the Aalborg Project was initiated by a handful of city officials: the city engineer, the chief of city planning, the city architect, and the director of the Aalborg Bus Company. All four of them were placed under the Technical Department, which in its turn was placed under the Municipal Administration, which in its turn was directly placed under the Aalborg City Council. The handful of city officials formed two groups for the development of the Aalborg Project: The Executive Commission, members of which themselves were project leaders, and the Task Force for implementation, with one representative from each member organization. A three-year plan was developed containing one official plan for traffic and environment, and another for land use. The intention was to complete the implementation as *one* broad and well-structured project, within these three years, instead of dividing it into phases that could hazard

the comprehensiveness of the strategy. The participants were personally engaged in the project and they described themselves as working day and night during the first period.

One important subproject was to locate a larger bus terminal in Aalborg, with the aim to increase the quantity and quality of public transportation. Another basic idea that emerged early in the project was to divide the city centre into sectors, with barriers that cars cannot cross. The first subproject, the bus terminal, was built quite quickly. However, its location and size were decided upon in a process that Flyvbjerg defined as very unexpected. It was located in the old town in the centre of Aalborg, although its location and size were clearly a threat to the cultural values of the built environment there. The location would also, as will be shown later, come to have other serious implications for the project. The decision turned out to have been based upon an inadequate evaluation. Only the advantages of the proposed location were presented, while only the negative consequences of the alternative locations were presented (Flyvbjerg 1998: 22). In a subsequent interview, one of the involved actors admitted that the decision had already been made when they agreed that a memorandum should be written backing up their choice (Flyvbjerg 1998: 24). This alternative was the one that the Bus Company preferred, and Flyvbjerg, in his analysis of the empirical findings, asked: »Why does the bus company have so much power?« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 15).

When the second subproject – dividing the city centre into sectors – was to be implemented, a new series of interesting actions took place. Here one specific interest group, the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, entered into the planning process. They claimed that dividing the centre into zones would harm the profits of the local merchants seriously, as their customers mainly travelled to the centre by car. The local newspaper took the same standpoint and there was great pressure on the Technical Department to change their ideas. The Chamber took an open antagonistic position against the Technical Department, with the help of the local newspaper.

At this point, the Chamber initiated an investigation of purchasing habits in the centre, something that they earlier had not agree to, even though the Technical Department questioned their conclusions concerning how the customers travelled to the centre. The result of the investigation showed that only twenty-two per cent of the customers travelled by car, forty-three per cent by bicycle or on foot, and thirty-three per cent used

public transportation. However, the Chamber did succeed in upholding their standpoint; they suddenly claimed that only specialty goods were important to discuss in terms of profit and that fifty per cent of such customers travelled by car. Flyvbjerg showed, however, that specialty goods comprised only thirty-three per cent of the profit and forty-five per cent of such customers travelled by car, which amounts to fifteen per cent of the profits in total. In any case, nobody fought to show these facts at this point, and the Chamber instead succeeded in convincing the surrounding world that almost hundred per cent of customers reached the centre by car. The newspaper also took this position, for example by using the headline »Aalborg's Best Customers Come Driving in Cars«, although the body of the article did not show such results (Flyvbjerg 1998: 110-113).

The Chamber then officially declared the Technical Department's plan as »dead« – a plan decided upon by twenty-five politicians voting in favour and only one against. As it turned out, this second subproject was now not only delayed, but the plans had also changed rapidly through a series of actions and were now not recognizable as the original plans. The Chamber proposed a plan of their own, which allowed car traffic all over the city centre, and the Technical Department was more or less shocked by this. Until now their strategy had been to avoid open conflict – a stroking strategy – as they, according to Flyvbjerg, could not fight in the same arena as an interest organization, for example by using the newspaper for their purposes. Also this time, the Technical Department failed to react officially in any way.

Suddenly, another alternative plan emerged, this time from the Social Democratic Party (Flyvbjerg 1998: 147). The plan came to be called the Dream Plan, because of its questionable economic and physical scope. The Technical Department first reacted as if this plan was a joke, but then realized the seriousness. Now they finally responded. Bit by bit they picked the Dream Plan apart using rational arguments mainly connected to technical and economic factors – and the plan was abandoned. However, they accomplished this while avoiding open antagonistic confrontations with the Social Democrats (Flyvbjerg 1998: 165). And there would be no official report from this process, because the documents were marked »for internal use only«. The newspapers did not pay any attention to this news either, maybe because they had no information this time, when the Chamber was not involved in the process. But, as Flyvbjerg pointed out, the earlier passivity of the Technical Department was still one important reason why »the

implemented version of the Aalborg Project [was] just a faint reflection of the original project eleven versions earlier« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 192). In the end, Flyvbjerg, as mentioned, designated the project to be a failure, at least considering its original aim. When the implementation of the project encountered reality, »it disintegrated into a large number of disjoined sub-projects, many of which had unintended, unanticipated, and undemocratic consequences« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 225).

The passivity of the Technical Department was not the only reason for the failure of the Aalborg Project. Flyvbjerg's theoretical framework, which will be described in the following section, leads to the essential question for the analysis of the empirical findings: »What basic relations of rationality and power have shaped the Aalborg Project and have led to its lack of balance, fragmentation, and lack of goal achievement?« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 226).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF FLYVBJERG

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK for the analysis of the Aalborg Project draws »upon an intellectual tradition largely ignored by the Enlightenment, a tradition that started with Thucydides, and continued with Machiavelli and Nietzsche to Michael Foucault« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 1). In the Enlightenment tradition, rationality was typically seen as well-defined and context-independent. However, the Greek historian Thucydides (400 BC) had already presented the understanding that »reasoning often turns into rationalization and dialog becomes persuasive rhetoric under the pressure of reality« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 5). The Italian philosopher Machiavelli (15-16th century) followed this line of thinking, and in his writing on monarchies focused on practical problems, realpolitic, rather than exploring the foundation of political authority.[14] The expression »realpolitic« was later introduced by Ludwig von Rochau and was also by him defined as the opposite to formal politics (Flyvbjerg 1998: 6).

However, this early understanding of power was ignored during the Enlightenment (17th century) when confidence in reason and knowledge was high, often exemplified by Francis Bacons' dictum »Knowledge is power« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 2). The ideas of the German philosopher Nietzsche (19th century), one of the first existentialists, were closely related to those of Thucydides and Machiavelli (Flyvbjerg 1998: 5). According to Flyvbjerg, Nietzsche was dis-

[14] The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, www.utm.edu/research/iep/, 030131.

cussing the concept of rationality in the sense of »the less visible mechanisms of the modus operandi of power« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 6). Flyvbjerg explains how the Nietzschean theories fit into the analysis of the Aalborg project: »In sum, when using a strategies-and-tactics approach to the study of power, the main question is not only the Weberian »Who governs?« posed by Robert Dahl and most other students of power-as-entity, though this question is still important. It is also the Nietzschean question »What governmental rationalities are at work when those who govern govern?« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 6).

The strategies-and-tactics approach Flyvbjerg refers to above, which derives from Machiavelli and was advanced with the help of the interpretation of Nietzsche, was also further developed by philosopher and historian Foucault, who with his historical skills put the strategies-and-tactics view of power into »practical historical and empirical use in [his] famous studies of imprisonment, insanity, and sexuality« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 5). It is this approach, the strategies-and-tactics view of power, that Flyvbjerg then used in his analysis of the Aalborg Project and developed into a grounded theory that may be useful for analysing power aspects in other empirical findings.

Summing up, Flyvbjerg said that he may be considered as sharing the ideals of the Enlightenment, ideals such as freedom, justice, and truth, if this is understood as »the more Enlightenment – the more rationality – the better« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 3). Though, there is a problem, he added, because modernity seems to be a norm, and the idealistic actors involved do not investigate modernity as it is experienced in reality. The Enlightenment did not understand how power works, and the theories of Plato, Kant and Habermas would only be useful if we wish to justify the ideal of modernity. This is why Flyvbjerg instead turned to other theorists who focus on how modernity works in practice. »I maintain that if one takes Enlightenment ideals seriously, one needs to understand the Enlightenment in anti-Enlightenment terms, that is, in terms of Nietzschean will to power and Foucauldian rationality-as-rationalization« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 3).

DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS ACCORDING TO FLYVBJERG

UPON WHAT DEFINITIONS of present concepts is Flyvbjerg's approach built? First, rationality is not characterized as a well-defined and context-independent notion based on reason, as it was in the Enlightenment tradition.

It has rather the Nietzschean definition, i.e. rationality is the less visible mechanisms of the modus operandi of power (Flyvbjerg 1998: 6).

Second, Flyvbjerg argued that the distinction between formality and reality, which were discussed by Machiavelli and later Ludwig von Rochau, has the same relevance when discussing rationality. Therefore, he introduced the expression »Realrationalität«, practical rationality, to contrast formal rationality (Flyvbjerg 1998: 6). Thus, one essential foundation for the approach is the insight that there is more than one rationality in the planning process. He also confirmed this later on, when he said that there is a conflict between rationality of power, on the one hand, and rationality of technique or rationality of economy, on the other (Flyvbjerg 1998: 53). Different rationalities thus exist not only in the two realms of formal and informal, but there may also exist different rationalities with respect to distinct aspects in society.

Third, there are not only different rationalities within the theory, but also Foucauldian »rationalizations«. Unfortunately, the definition of this expression was not quite clear in this book by Flyvbjerg. To begin with, he said that rationalization is often presented as rationality and further that power deliberately blurs the dividing line between rationality and rationalization (Flyvbjerg 1998: 2). Rationalization therefore seems to be considered as negative by Flyvbjerg, as it hides at least one of the rational arguments that constitute the basis for a decision. For example, the rationality in use in the Aalborg Project concerning dividing the centre into sectors was: (a) what is good for business is good for Aalborg, (b) what is good for car-users is good for business, therefore (c) what is good for car-users is good for Aalborg (Flyvbjerg 1998: 58). Later on, with the investigation of the purchasing habits, this rationality turned out to be a rationalization – it was built upon a false picture of reality.

On the other hand, Flyvbjerg also admitted that rationalizations may be considered as natural, or even as helpful: Natural, because it is common for an individual, or even for a whole organization, to believe that their rationalization is a rational argument – the truth, and helpful, because rationalizations may be considered as necessary for survival. »Nietzsche, in fact, claims that this self-delusion is part of the will to power« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 228). Thus, is rationalization considered by Flyvbjerg to be a prerequisite for action – something that is made necessary by the need to abridge reality in order to understand it – and act?

Finally, the definition of the concept »power« is central to the theories of Flyvbjerg. As mentioned above, power is not seen as an entity, it is rather defined as *relations* – a network constructed with the intention to act (Flyvbjerg 1998: 36). Further, power constitutes the context of rationality, as rationality is context-dependent (Flyvbjerg 1998: 97). Flyvbjerg also concluded that Francis Bacons' expression »Knowledge is power« must be considered as incorrect. »Power does not *seek* knowledge out of a Baconean imperative. Rather, power *defines* what counts as knowledge and rationality, and ultimately, as we shall see, what counts as reality« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 27).

> So far, we can provisionally conclude that power does not limit itself to defining a specific kind of knowledge, conception, or discourse of reality. Rather, power defines physical, economic, ecological, and social reality itself. Power is more concerned with defining a specific reality than with understanding what reality is. Thus, power seeks change, not knowledge. And power may very well see knowledge as an obstacle to the change power wants. This, I will argue, is the most important single characteristic of the rationality of power, that is, of the strategies of tactics of power in relation to rationality. Power, quite simply, produces that knowledge and that rationality which is conducive to the reality it wants. Conversely, power suppresses that knowledge and rationality for which it has no use. In modern societies the ability to facilitate or suppress knowledge is in larger part what makes one party more powerful than another (Flyvbjerg 1998: 36).

Power thus produces knowledge, in the same way as it produces rationalities, which fit into the reality that power wants to see. To complicate this a bit more, the quotation says that power also has its own rationality. Powerful actors may, thus, produce the reality they need. But this is not all. Flyvbjerg showed through his case study that when powerful actors ask for rationalizations, they are often astonishingly easily produced (Flyvbjerg 1998: 98). He also maintained that such a procedure is easier to conduct in an open antagonistic confrontation between actors, thus, rationality yields to rationalization when instable power relationships exist. That also makes rationality more invisible. And further, he argued that such relationships (stable/unstable power relations) are asymmetric; in reality stable power relationships are more often present than are instable relationships (Flyvbjerg 1998: 150).

TEN PROPOSITIONS ON RATIONALITY AND POWER

FLYVBJERG's crucial research question »What basic relations of rationality and power have shaped the Aalborg Project and have led to its lack of balance, fragmentation, and lack of goal achievement?« is elucidated at the end of his book by making ten propositions on rationality and power (Flyvbjerg 1998: 227-236). The propositions may be considered as a »grounded theory«, understood as »theory inductively founded upon concrete phenomenology« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 226). Flyvbjerg added that, as the theory derives from one single case, it cannot be seen as general theory. However, it may serve »as useful guidelines for researching rationality and power in other settings« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 226).

1. Power defines reality.
2. Rationality is context-dependent, the context of rationality is power, and power blurs the dividing line between rationality and rationalization.
3. Rationalization presented as rationality is a principal strategy in the exercise of power.
4. The greater the power, the less the rationality.
5. Stable power relations are more typical of politics, administration, and planning than antagonistic confrontations.
6. Power relations are constantly being produced and reproduced.
7. The rationality of power has deeper historical roots than the power of rationality.
8. In open confrontation, rationality yields to power.
9. Rationality-power relations are more characteristic of stable power relations than of confrontations.
10. The power of rationality is embedded in stable power relations rather than in confrontations.

If we consider this theory in practice, what are the implications for politics, administration and planning? According to modern theory on democracy, the constitutional legislation pronounces and the institutions perform – thus

this theory on democracy is built upon the hypothesis that rationality ought to be stronger than power (Flyvbjerg 1998: 235). However, Flyvbjerg showed with his study of the Aalborg Project that this was not the case in practice. Not even the police intended to follow the law here, instead they actively repudiated the legislation through a silent agreement not to impose a fine on motorists driving illegally through the bus-terminal. He said that these kinds of effects were also found in the studies of Putnam in Italy, where pre-modern social practices dating back several hundred years ago were shown to have an effect even on modern-day institutional efficiency. This does not imply, however, that it is worthless to put effort in changing the institutions, only that it takes much more time than one can imagine.

> Modernity relies on the rationality as the main means for making democracy work. But if the interrelations between rationality and power are even remotely close to the asymmetrical relationship described above – which Aalborg and the tradition from Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Nietzsche tell us they are – then rationality is such a weak form of power that democracy built on rationality will be weak, too. The asymmetry between rationality and power described in the ten propositions makes for a fundamental weakness of modernity and modern politics, administration and planning. The normative emphasis on rationality leaves the modern project ignorant of how power works and therefore open to being dominated by power. Relying on rationality therefore risks exacerbating the very problems modernity attempts to solve. Given the problems and risks of our time – environmental, social, demographic; globally and locally – I suggest we consider whether we can afford to continue this fundamental weakness of modernity. The first step in moving beyond the modern weakness is to understand power, and when we understand power we see that we cannot rely solely on democracy based on rationality to solve our problems (Flyvbjerg 1998: 234).

Thus, one must have an extremely long time perspective, if one is to take part in this, as Flyvbjerg puts it, challenge to democracy. Further, he pointed out three important basic aspects to be considered when taking part in this development: more participation, more transparency, and more civic reciprocity in public decision-making. »The tradition shows us that forms of participation that are practical, committed, and ready for conflict provide a superior paradigm of democratic virtue than forms of participation that are discursive, detached, and consensus-dependant, that is rational« (Flyvbjerg 1998: 236).

CRITICISM OF THE THEORIES BY LAPINTIE

BEFORE FURTHER consideration of the potential of Flyvbjerg's theory as a theoretical framework for this thesis, a closer look at the content of one of his critic's arguments will be conducted. Planning researcher Kimmo Lapintie from Finland argued that Flyvbjerg did not use his theoretical framework properly. There is an »apparent inconsistency in the theoretical and empirical intentions« (Lapintie 2002: 38). To put it more clearly, Lapintie thought that Flyvbjerg, on the one hand, connected the two notions of rationality and power conceptually – referring to Foucault – and, on the other, wanted to preserve the dichotomy between the notions, when, e.g., arguing that planning knowledge is not power – which is contrary to the ideas of Foucault, according to Lapintie (2003a: 6). Another example is when the Chamber won the battle over the Technical Department concerning cars in the centre of Aalborg. It is not possible to draw the conclusion that rationality yields to power, at least not if we are drawing on Foucault. Lapintie instead argued that »if we use Foucault, we should describe this as a strategic and tactical production of power positions, not as a fight between power and rationality« (Lapintie 2003b).

The term strategic seems to comprise another of the differences between the theoretical discussions of Flyvbjerg and Lapintie – a term that is also closely related to the term rationalization. Lapintie did not discuss this term, rationalization, in the article mentioned above. However, his impression was that Flyvbjerg, when he discussed the location of the bus-terminal in Aalborg, used the term rationalization instead of using the term legitimating, which would be more correct (Lapintie 2003b). According to Lapintie, Flyvbjerg did not use rationalization in any of the senses mentioned earlier, i.e. either as a false picture or as facilitating the efficiency of a process. What the Bus Company produced, was not a rationalization, according to Lapintie, but a strategic action – which he defined as a clever action oriented towards success, as defined by Habermas (Lapintie 2002: 33). May strategic rationality then be perceived as rationalization, in the sense of the definition (negative/positive) mentioned earlier? According to Lapintie, the answer is no, »strategic rationality is /.../ not the same as ra-

tionalization in any of its senses, although strategically rational action may include rationalization« (Lapintie 2003b).

Another critique that Lapintie expressed was the existence of some kind of supreme rationality in the analysis of the Aalborg Project (Lapintie 2002: 38). Lapintie argued that such rationality cannot exist, as this does not go along with the theories of Foucault and Nietzsche, additionally, the failure to analyse the specific interest of the planner – different professionals involved in the planning process naturally also have an interest in maintaining their positions – may come as a result of an inconsistency in the treatment of the theoretical framework: »In a Nietzschean perspective, this morally supreme rationality should be replaced by an immanent rationality directly bound with the social position of the planner« (Lapintie 2003a: 7).

CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRITIQUE

WHAT CONSEQUENCES, then, will the criticism of Lapintie have for the theories of Flyvbjerg, or more explicitly for the outline of the ten propositions? The key question seems to be that Flyvbjerg separated rationality and power into two different realms, which implies that, theoretically, nothing at all should be able fit into both of the realms. It is not feasible to make such a differentiation between rationality and power, if following Foucault says Lapintie (2002: 39). The consequence will be that rationality *cannot* yield to power. If this is the impression empirically, it is something else has happened.

Another consequence of the criticism is that rationality may not be seen as a weak power, as Flyvbjerg argued. Consequently, we cannot assume that power has a rationality that rationality does not know (Lapintie 2003b).

For Lapintie, such conclusions also make sense in practice, as he believes that powerful forms of expertise should maintain their professional role in the planning process. However, he agrees with Flyvbjerg that there exist asymmetrical power relations in planning, especially, but not only, if the desires of the inhabitants are considered (Lapintie 2003b). His response to this democratic problem, though, takes another direction. While Flyvbjerg seems to consider traditional planning procedures within the representative democracy as capable of developing a more democratic planning, if only power relations were analysed, made visible and neutralized, Lapintie seems to believe communicative approaches to be more appropriate

– a development within the tradition of deliberative democracy. Lapintie is not, however, discussing genuine Habermasian communicative theory, as this theory, due to its purism, has a problem with exclusion of strategic thinking (Lapintie 2002: 39). He rather searches for communicative theory supplemented with argumentation theory. This supplementation is necessary because communicative planning theory has a normative-practical approach and therefore needs to be strengthened with empirical and normative elements of communication – such as are developed in argumentation theory (Lapintie 2002: 34). Argumentation in communicative planning entails, according to argumentation theory, a situation in which an actor creates a discussion that is as rational and solution-oriented as possible. However, the situation must be open-ended, i.e. if the argument turns out to be indefensible, the actors must be willing to give up their position (Lapintie 2002: 34-36; Lapintie 2003b). With such theory, arguments cannot be seen as rational from an objective point of view – they may rather be seen as tools in a power struggle between different actors. As such struggles are always present in a planning processes, it must thus be seen as essential to admit that »power is created and recreated through various local strategies and tactics, including those of the planner (Foucault 1978/2000)« (Lapintie 2002: 39).

To sum up, Flyvbjerg argued for a more central position of the analysis of power in planning. Lapintie agreed, but what he wanted to say with his criticism was that a much more complex situation exists than Flyvbjerg suggested when he used a dichotomy between rationality and power. According to Lapintie, all actors use the composed expert system of planning, constituted by their own strategies and tactics. Also the planner. Therefore the planner must be aware of his or her own role as the producer of local power, »instead of retraining to rational, artistic, or other types of distancing professional strategies« (Lapintie 2002: 39). The planner must thus take an interest in politics again, if to become a significant participant in urban development.

POWER ACCORDING TO FOUCAULT

THE CRITICISM stated by Lapintie to a certain extent requires alteration of the theories of Flyvbjerg. Yet, this cannot be achieved by looking at each and every one of the propositions and trying to designate it as possibly true or

false – the interrelation between rationality and power seems to be far more complicated, according to Lapintie, who is drawing on Foucault. Clear definitions of crucial notions such as rationality, rationalization and power are, however, still missing, and this ambiguity makes it quite hard to put the theories into practical use. In order to understand a bit more, but without reconsidering the literature of Foucault altogether, an article has been chosen that discusses the question of why Foucault thinks power is important to study.

In this article, Foucault first declared that the general theme of his research is the subject, and particularly »the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects« (Foucault 1982: 208). Further, in the article he maintained that there is a lack of instruments for power analysis related to objectification of the subject. We only have instruments for analysis based on legal models; What legitimates power?, or power based on institutional models; What is the state? (Foucault 1982: 209). What we need is a new economy of power relations, Foucault expressed, and his proposition for considering such development was not based on reason in a comprehensive perspective – as he could not see how such an approach and recognitions of power relations could possibly have the potential to change practice. He suggested a different approach to investigating the links between rationalization and power.

It may be wise not to take as a whole the rationalization of society or of culture, but to analyze such a process in several fields, each with reference to a fundamental experience: madness, illness, death, crime, sexuality, and so forth. I think the word *rationalization* is dangerous. What we have to do is to analyse specific rationalities rather than always invoking the progress of rationalization in general. I would like to suggest another way to go further towards a new economy of power relations, a way which is more empirical, more directly related to our present situation, and which implies more relations between theory and practice. It consists of taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point. To use another metaphor, it consists of using this resistance as a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations, locate their positions, find out their point of application and the methods used. Rather than analysing power from the point of view of its internal rationality, it consists of analysing power relations through the antagonism of strategies. For example, to find out what our society means by sanity, perhaps we should investigate what is happening in the field of insanity (Foucault 1982: 210-211).

In other words, he proposed an analysis that does *not* take as its point of departure the rationality of power itself, rather on that starts with investigating the forms of resistance and attempts made to disconnect power relations. If, as in this thesis, one wishes to analyse power relations concerning social inclusion, one should focus on the field of social exclusion; and if one is interested in power relations concerned with the sense of security, one should rather focus on the realm of insecurity. With such an approach, he argued, it is possible not only to discover power relations, but also to locate them, to understand their application and the methods in use.

Foucault, in the above quotation, also seemed to be determined that analysis of power relations must be conducted in different fields or realms, i.e., it is not recommendable to include society or culture as a whole in the analysis. Here, he used the word rationalization in the sense of some kind of overall rationalization concerning the whole society, a perspective that, according to Foucault, is extremely hard to analyse and understand. He thus did not seem to consider it possible to analyse rationalization directly, rather that this should be done through analyses of rationality in different realms.

What then would the definition of power be? According to Foucault, power cannot be considered as something that exists universally (Foucault 1982: 219). Power is totally dependent upon action and only exists in the same moment action is performed – it is thus dependent on individuals. However, power is not exercised through just any action.

> The exercise of power is not simply a relationship between partners, individual or collective; it is a way in which certain actions modify others. Which is to say, of course, that something called Power, with or without a capital letter, which is assumed to exist universally in a concentrated or diffused form, does not exist. Power exists only when it is put into action, even if, of course, it is integrated into a disparate field of possibilities brought to bear upon permanent structures (Foucault 1982: 219).

Power relations therefore must not be defined as a relation between persons. According to Foucault, a power relation is instead defined as a mode of action *not* acting directly upon others. »Instead it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future« (Foucault 1982: 220). Its opposite pole is, thus, passivity.

When defining power relations in this way, another element is also included: freedom. »Power is exercised only over free subjects, and insofar as they are free« (Foucault 1982: 221). He thus argued that slavery is not a power relation when the slave is shackled – this is instead a physical relationship. Further, he concluded that »there is no face to face confrontation of power and freedom which is mutually exclusive (freedom disappears everywhere power is exercised), but a much more complicated interplay« (Foucault 1982: 221).

In sum, this article by Foucault may be seen as supporting Lapintie's criticism of Flyvbjerg concerning Flyvbjerg's inconsistency when discussing the relationship between rationality and power. This relationship must, drawing on Foucault, be considered to be quite complex and it is therefore not possible to put the notions into two separate realms by logical division – constructing a dichotomy. Further, Foucault's discussion of the word rationalization may also be considered to influence the theories of Flyvbjerg, as Foucault encourages us to search rather for different rationalities than to try to conduct a direct analysis of a well-defined notion of rationalization. Still, the term rationalization makes sense, because of its special signification of something that is hidden, consciously or unconsciously. If this condition is not implicated in the analysis of power aspects in planning, the analysis may be considered to be based on the belief that power is exercised only on one type of rationality – namely a positive or natural rationality, close to some kind of truth. However, if the definition of rationality is stated as the less visible mechanisms – positive or negative – of the modus operandi of power, then there should not exist a theoretical unpredictability concerning definitions of the notion. Nevertheless, it seems relevant to investigate this a bit further, by discussing the theories on power relations used by sociologists Michel Callon and Bruno Latour, the latter often also referred to as philosopher.

CALLON AND LATOUR ON POWER

ONE OF THE DEFINITIONS of power used by Callon and Latour followed the description discussed earlier, in the sense that power is not something that may be possessed – power is exercised in an action and an actor is thus *given* power from another actor the same moment it acts. What Callon

and Latour contributed to the discussion on power was a consciousness of the disparity between actors, separated into two groups: micro-actors and macro-actors. They exemplified micro-actors as individuals, groups, and families, and examples of macro-actors are institutions, organizations, social classes, parties, and states. When power is exercised, the relationship between these two types of actors is formulated, drawing on Hobbes, by some sort of contract or agreement – the Leviathan.[15] However, what is important here is that there really »is no difference between the actors which is *inherent in their nature*. All differences in level, size and scope are the result of a battle or a negotiation« (Callon and Latour 1981: 279). Therefore, what interested Callon and Latour was not the question of classifying different groups of actors, but of trying to understand the process of how micro-actors became macro-actors.

One important standpoint for such understanding concerned the circumstances under which power analysis is performed. They argued that sociologists, among others, often strengthen the power of macro-actors, when analysing individuals and institutions in different realms, i.e. the fields of psychology and economy, and with different tools. »*There are* of course macro-actors and micro-actors, but the difference between them is brought about by power relations and the constructions of networks that will *elude* analysis if we presume *a priori* that macro-actors are bigger than or superior to micro-actors« (Callon and Latour 1981: 280).

Thus, Callon and Latour argued in this article that if power analysis is carried out with an approach that examines the transactions (translations) between actors instead of focusing on different actors presumed to be smaller or bigger than one another, it is possible to avoid errors and to really understand how the agreements between the actors are actually produced – how power is exercised. Thus, with such an approach it would be possible to answer the question »How do a micro-actor become a macro-actor?«

They believe this takes place and is enforced by the establishment of relationships between actors, durable relations that are constantly strengthened by actions upon other actions. »The best way to understand this is to consider actors as networks« (Callon and Latour 1981: 280). However, a micro-actor may become a macro-actor not only by recruiting other groups. »A difference in relative size is obtained when a micro-actor can, in addition to enlisting bodies, also enlist the greatest number of durable

[15] »Though the expression ›Leviathan‹ is usually considered synonymous with ›totalitarian monster‹ [drawing on Jobs book], in Hobbes the sovereign says nothing on his own authority. He says nothing without having been authorized by the multitude, whose spokesman, mask-bearer and amplifier he is« (Callon and Latour 1981: 278).

materials« (Callon and Latour 1981: 284). Consequently, an actor grows or shrinks depending on the actions of another actor, with which it struggles or establishes a union. With establishing a union also follows some sort of translation of the interests, desires and forces of the other actor (Callon and Latour 1981: 298). And with successful translation of such interests of another actor follows the possibility to put certain elements into so-called black boxes.

> An actor grows with the number of relations he or she can put, as we say, in black boxes. A black box contains that which no longer needs to be reconsidered, those things whose contents have become a matter of indifference. The more elements one can place in black boxes – modes of thoughts, habits, forces and objects – the broader the construction one can raise. Of course, black boxes never remain fully closed or properly fastened /…/ but macro-actors can do *as if* they were closed and dark (Callon and Latour 1981: 285).

Thus, a macro-actor with certain elements put into black boxes does not need to re-negotiate from scratch all the time; this actor may instead use the taken-for-granted assumptions hidden in black boxes in new negotiations. »To summarize, macro-actors are micro-actors seated on top of many (leaky) black boxes« (Callon and Latour 1981: 286).

Black boxes may of course also be re-opened, according to Callon and Latour, and that is what usually happens when we see a strong actor in society suddenly changing place in the hierarchy. The prerequisite for such change to take place is established when a micro-actor no longer takes for granted the elements in black boxes and questions the content – and if this questioning turns out to be successful, the actors change places with regard to their respective strength. »In order to grow we must enrol other wills by translating what they want and by reifying this translation in such a way that none of them can desire anything else any longer« (Callon and Latour 1981: 298). In other words, an actor that succeeds in formulating a value-ground on which several actors may agree is in a position to exercise power.

In sum, Callon and Latour considered power as a *consequence* of collective action, not the *reason* for action. They also concluded that power may be exercised in two ways, on the one hand, by recruiting actors in networks, on the other, by enlisting durable physical material. The latter implies that power may be considered not only as relations, but also as some

kind of entity. Thus, this implies the introduction of a physical artefact into the theoretical framework, something that has not been made use of in the discussion earlier in this chapter. It is the artefact that makes it possible to act from a distance, thus the artefact may be considered as supporting the exercise of power.

Further, Callon and Latour argued that an important base for the exercising of power is the macro-actor's translation of the micro-actor's desires, and additionally, the strategy of putting elements into black boxes: boxes that are possibly re-opened by micro-actors when questioning their content – a phenomenon that seems to have much in common with the notion of rationalization. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Callon and Latour contributed with a consciousness of the disparity between actors. Different actors may not be considered as equally strong from a democratic point of view. However, this dissimilarity does not legitimate the separation of them into different realms when we are analysing power aspects.

SUMMING UP ON POWER

WHAT OVERALL CONCLUSIONS may then be drawn from this literature review on power, concerning the analysis of power aspects in the empirical findings within the scope of this thesis?

Given his conclusion that rationality is context-dependent, Flyvbjerg argued for an analysis based on the context, as this is the only way to understand power. He thus proposed searching the empirical material for existing rationalities and a consciousness of such rationalities may be a strategy to exercise power. Additionally, a focus on the different actors involved is essential, and particularly important is to observe which actors exercise power and, as mentioned above, why they are doing it. Further, he emphasized the importance of concentrating not only on antagonistic power relations, but also on stable and non-antagonistic relations – they are equally important. The former may often seem to be a more visible relationship, whereas the latter rationality may be much more visible – as rationality influences the planning process more often in stable power relations. Finally, Flyvbjerg pointed out the importance of being aware of power relations' continuous change over time and the interweaving of power relations into social structures in society. Howev-

er, how this last conclusion is to be implemented in an analysis of power aspects is not at all clear.

The contribution that may be considered from the criticism of Lapintie concerns four main aspects. First, the theoretical framework of the studies of Flyvbjerg should be used in a more consistent way, and consequently, the definitions of the basic concepts for power analysis should be further developed and made more stringent. Second, according to Lapintie, in power analysis it is important to study all actors and not leave anybody out, not even the role of the observer of the analysis. Third, Lapintie stressed the importance of understanding rationality as an ordinary strategy of an actor, instead of assuming that it is a lie. What such reasoning indicates is the importance of trying to understand the complex situation of power relations, instead of preserving a dichotomy between rationality and power. Fourth, Lapintie argued that such understanding may be facilitated by using argumentation theory. Rationality in this theory is not seen as the truth from an objective point of view, it is rather seen as a tool in a power struggle between various actors.

With the reading of Foucault followed, as Lapintie also made clear earlier, a more intensive emphasis on the notion that power analysis should not be based on reason in a comprehensive perspective. Further, Foucault stressed that power should not be considered as an entity but instead as relations – though, not relations between *actors*, rather relations between *actions*. Consequently, one should search for actions upon other actions, he argued. In the analysis it is necessary to look for actions that have the purpose of dissolving a present form of power. This is a relevant approach if our purpose is to observe rationality and understand power relations, according to Foucault. He also argued the importance of conducting power analysis in delimited realms or fields, not in society as a whole, and, considering definitions of concepts, he therefore seemed to consider the concept of rationalization to be difficult to use.

One contribution of Callon and Latour is their differentiation of actors based on power aspects, micro-actors and macro-actors, however not based on their growth or another aspect – they should thus be analysed within the same discipline and with the same tools. Another important contribution was their emphasis on power not only as relations involving actors, but also on power as entity, involving the enlistment of physical material. This implied the introduction of a physical artefact in the discussion on power,

an artefact that supports acting from a distance. A third contribution was the visualization of exercised power when taken-for-granted elements are put into black boxes. Thus, in power analysis one should search for black boxes and the relations or translations between actors that always precede the closing of a black box. Then one can understand how and why a micro-actor becomes a macro-actor, an action that has taken place results in the exercising of power, an action that relinquishes power to another actor. Finally, Callon and Latour also considered it important, when discussing power analysis, that the observer be aware of its contribution to a re-opening of black boxes. Thus, the observer is considered to be, willingly or not, an operational actor in the development when he/she analyses power relations.

In the next section, these theoretical contributions on power aspects will be transformed into a theoretical framework for the analysis on power aspects for this thesis.

PRESENT THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON POWER

FLYVBJERG initially argued for using rationality in the same sense as Nietzsche, implying that rationalities are the less visible mechanisms of the modus operandi of power. Further, he maintained, drawing on Thucydides and Machiavelli, that power is context-dependent. So far there do not seem to be any disagreements. However, when Flyvbjerg later discussed modern theory on democracy and claimed that it was built upon the hypothesis that rationality should be stronger than power, he used the term rationality in another sense, namely as a context-independent notion based on reason as it was conceived of in the Enlightenment tradition. It must be this inconsistency that gives rise to Lapintie's criticism of Flyvbjerg for having some kind of supreme rationality.

As a consequence of perceiving rationality as context-dependent, Lapinie stressed the importance of studying all actors, not leaving anybody out – especially not the observer of the analysis – and of understanding rationality as an ordinary strategy of an actor. Hence, Lapintie, drawing on Foucault, put the emphasis on understanding the complex situation of power relations, rather than preserving a dichotomy between rationality and power. When considering these explanations altogether, a definition of the concept is outlined:

↬ RATIONALITY in this thesis will be considered as the less visible mechanisms of the modus operandi of power. Additionally, rationality is considered to be context-dependent.

The notion of rationalization is not as easy to clearly define. Flyvbjerg first discussed the term real rationality and contrasted it to formal rationality, however, this only indicated the existence of several different rationalities. Further, he argued that there also existed rationalizations, and defined this as both negative and positive. Negative inasmuch as it is built upon a false picture of reality and therefore hiding rationality. Positive because it may be considered as natural for individuals to rationalize for their survival, thus, it is considered as a prerequisite for action. However, in the analysis of the empirical findings, he actually, according to Lapintie, used the term rationalization instead as synonymous to the term legitimating.

Even if the double meaning of the term rationalization is important to keep in mind, there actually seems to be no point in separating the notion of rationalization from that of rationality – which is also discussed to some extent in the articles by Lapintie and Foucault. As a consequence of these discussions, the term rationalization will not be used as a concept in the theoretical framework on power relations for this thesis.

The existence of hidden agendas is, of course, still necessary to investigate further when analysing power aspects. The discussion of Callon and Latour about black boxes may be helpful in analysing such aspects. The definition of this concept in the theoretical framework on power relations follows Callon and Latour:

↬ A BLACK BOX will in this thesis be considered as containing elements – modes of thoughts, habits, forces and objects – which no longer need to be reconsidered.

A black box may thus be regarded as both something positive and something negative – the answer depends on who the observer is.

The subsequent concept – power – may be considered as closely related to the concept of black boxes. However, we will first reflect on how power has been defined by the authors in this literature review. According to Flyvbjerg, as well as to Lapintie and Foucault, power is not thought of as being an entity, but as a relation. They also agreed upon the conclusion

that power is not something one can possess; power is rather considered as exercised or given away in an action.

Callon and Latour do agree upon regarding power as a relation, but also believe power to be some kind of entity – as, according to them, power may be exercised not only by recruiting actors to networks, but also by enlisting durable material. They thus considered power as a consequence of action, not the reason for action. It is the actions that makes it possible for the actor to put elements into black boxes, and that is how an actor grows in strength. The network of actors as well as the physical material help the actor to exercise power – the latter also helps the actor to act from a distance. This view on power is also in good accordance with Foucault's, as power, according to him, is not exercised face to face, but takes place as actions upon other *actions*. In view of this discussion, a definition of the concept has been outlined:

  POWER is in this thesis considered as relations, but also entity. However, power may not be possessed, it is rather given away by an action. Though, not an action based on a face-to-face situation, but an action upon another action. Power, thus, is a consequence of action, not a reason for action.

The actor is still important, as it is the actor that exercises power and grows by putting elements into black boxes. This possibility, however, is based on actions made by other actors – actions of recruiting actors into networks and enlisting durable material. An action of a micro-actor thus relinquishes power to the macro-actor and facilitates the closing of a black box. Or the opposite, which happens when the micro-actor acts with the purpose of opening a black box. If such processes are analysed, one may thus comprehend the answer to the question »How is power exercised?« The answer is thus not available only by analysing different actors. However, the definition of micro-actor and macro-actor is essential when analysing the actions of the actors. The definition follows Callon and Latour:

  A MACRO-ACTOR is in this thesis considered to be exactly alike A MICRO-ACTOR, the only difference being their respective positions. Macro-actors are micro-actors seated on top of many (leaky) black boxes.

To sum up, this literature review on power aspects in planning is concluded with four concepts, with whose help the analysis of the empirical

findings in this thesis will be conducted: rationality; black box; power; and micro-/macro-actor. In the next chapter, the results from the analysis of the case study will be presented.

POWER IN PRACTICE

IN THE CASE STUDY, it is obvious that power aspects have influenced the implementation of the Local Development Agreements to a great extent, however, it is not unproblematic to understand how the distinctive perceptions of the local actors really have interacted. When analysing the empirical material, four subjects turned out to be of particular interest in relation to power aspects – the distribution of funding; the safety project; democratic participation; and the concept of integration. These themes and their relation to power aspects will therefore be further discussed in this chapter.

DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDING

THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT, in one of their official documents of the programme, stressed that it is »important that the bottom-up perspective be integrated into all work on the action plan, i.e. the description of the present situation, analysis, strategy and choice of measure« (The Commission on Metropolitan Areas 2003: 15). As my part of the evaluation of the programme was conducted as a processing appraisal, it was possible to comprehend how the implementation of the programme changed over time. After one and a half years, in September 2002, analysis of how the funding had been distributed thus far showed that most of the money had been granted to projects managed by civil servants. Many of the locally employed interpreted this as an encroachment. In a City District Committee meeting, one of the civil servants illustrated these circumstances by putting up an overhead – a result of my evaluation – with two diagrams showing that fifty per cent of the funding had been applied for by themselves and eighty-two per cent had been granted to their own projects. Only nine per

cent had been distributed to non-profit associations. My documented note from this meeting illustrates the reactions:

> The politicians clearly draw a breath of surprise – they had not realized these circumstances earlier. Karl presents two explanations for this situation: ›We ourselves own the system‹, he first explains, and he concludes that ›we haven't put enough effort into preparations‹. Further, he explains that one of the main reasons for this failure is that Biskopsgården has not received such funding earlier. Thus, the failure has come as a result of lack of time to develop local networks. ›Not until now have the applications from non-profit associations begun to arrive‹, he says, ›but surely, this will turn out to be a ketchup-effect‹ he concludes (direct observation, 021001).

This expectation turned out to be met to *some* extent, though, probably not at all to the degree of the expectations at that meeting – in January 2004 still as much as sixty-eight per cent of the money had been granted to projects managed by the City District Committee. If projects run by municipal and regional institutions are also included, this group used seventy-eight per cent of the money. Non-profit associations and non-governmental organizations together used seventeen per cent and the enterprises five per cent.

Yet, was this development really the result of a failure? How did the locally employed reflect, in interviews and observations, on this issue of the distribution of money? Many of the politicians disapproved of such a development – some of them were in fact still hopeful that the programme might take another direction, even when the programme actually had been underway for two years.

> JENNY: What's your reaction to the fact that eighty per cent of the money has been distributed to projects controlled by the City District Administration?
> TINA: I don't find it satisfactory.
> CAMILLA: Neither do I.
> TINA: Many probably think it's hard to apply.
> JENNY: What other reasons are there for inhabitants not being involved?
> TINA: Lack of information, people are not aware of the possibilities. Now this has been taken care of. Hopefully this will prove to be a ketchup-effect (interview, 030226).

These politicians seem to have adapted – at least at that point – a view on citizen participation closely related to the governmental intention, consequently, an awareness that professionals should not ›take over‹ from those concerned. Then again, there are also local politicians who take the opposite standpoint, arguing that the funding is best invested in the ordinary administrative structure of the city district:

> ALAN: I think it's fine that a large amount of the funding goes to more or less ordinary activities, creating possibilities for testing different methods – and creating activities with better chances for survival. Additionally, there is room for some projects with non-profit associations and inhabitants. Otherwise, it'll result in a lot of dreadful tinkering with minor projects, just living as long as the money is available – maybe with no effect at all. Therefore, I don't find these figures so disadvantageous (interview, 030212).

Perhaps the existence of these two diverging rationalities constitutes one of the reasons for the City District Committee's inconsistency when running the implementation of the programme – legitimating the split into two camps also in the realm of the civil servants. Accordingly, in one camp there were civil servants arguing that the funding programme was meant to be experimental and therefore to a great extent should be given to projects initiated by the inhabitants, while in the other camp, there were civil servants guarding the money for projects run by e.g. the preschool and the social services. The rationality of this last-mentioned camp may be summarized with this statement, made by a civil servant when asked to describe how her colleges in the City District Administration reacted when the funding arrived:

> When the money really arrived and an application came from a non-profit association, being granted by the committee, then there was…, the economists took a deep breath and said: ›Are we going to hand over *money* in this way?‹ And then…, they decided how agreements were to be written and how receipts were to be presented and made a lot of templates and… really were writing agreements like that. About this money, how it was going to be presented – very thoroughly and *carefully* (interview, 030212).

This cautious attitude may, among other things, have come as a result of the national impact of the subsidies originating from different governmental

ministries. The same civil servant as above describes how she experience the top-down approach, when invited to an early seminar run by national actors explaining how this funding was to be distributed by the State:

> A man came in, from ›E‹ – I realized this was the Ministry of Education, – and he made it *very* clear, he even shook his finger at us, that money coming from the Ministry of Education actually *had* to be invested in school activities. They would check to ensure that this actually was carried through. We had not really understood this previously (interview, 030212).

The rationality of the Ministry of Education, thus, seems to accord very well with the above-mentioned politician Alan not finding the figures of the distribution of funding to be disadvantageous. This camp also seems to have been the one that wields considerable clout. As a feasible consequence, applications from non-profit associations and non-governmental organizations have quite often been discussed, by politicians as well as by civil servants, as being unreliable, having economic problems, being recently constituted, being merely interested in their own members and so on. Additionally, such suspicions have sometimes, as shown in the chapter on time, brought considerable pressure to bear – exercised through time aspects. Three different local politicians clearly expressed this concern, first when discussing one of the local non-governmental organizations applying for funding, and also later on when this organization was invited to present its activities for the politicians:

> This non-governmental organization developed so fast, it's superhuman! Won't the bubble burst soon? (direct observation, 020820).
> We've invited you because you're doing decent work, but we wonder how you manage to shoulder the large burden you have – additionally, now you want to expand even more (direct observation, 020910).
> Maybe it's better if you focus on your area, the social area? The role you're really good at? (direct observation, 020910).

This tradition of conjuring up imaginary horrors when associations applied for money pertains to many of the non-profit associations and non-governmental organizations, a rationality clearly visible most often at City Districts Committee meetings when politicians made decisions on applications:

ᴸᴱNᴬ (politician): Is this association a construction just for the programme?

ᴷᴬᴿL (civil servant): No, this is really a non-profit association.

ᴬᴸᴬN (politician): One should know more about these associations, if they have experience of the activities they apply for. One wonders if they apply for money just to get a job for themselves. Sometime it's like that – they're making a career in this way. Therefore, it's good if we check them out (directs observation, 020820).

ᴬᴸᴬN (politician): I oppose this association is not registered, have you made a thorough check of it?

ᴷᴬᴿL (civil servant): Yes, the economist in the city district and me sat down with the association yesterday and went through its constitutions and so on. It looks alright. But, the Local Development Agreements do not actually require them to be registered.

ᴵNGᴱᴸᴬ (civil servant): We're regularly giving some money to non-registered associations as well (direct observation, 020820).

Although quite a few civil servants took such a standpoint as the last-mentioned one, their opinions do not on the whole seem to have influenced the development. Even if some of the funding was after all granted to non-profit associations and non-governmental organizations, the hesitancy with regard to initiatives of the inhabitants was the prevalent attitude. This statement by one of the civil servants is significant:

The rumour says that they're travelling to their homelands. They get a receipt for the computer, but then sell it and use the money for travel (participant-observation 021008).

Another civil servant disapproved of such a rumour, he claimed that the objection must be considered as being a protest against something else:

What Swedes really are in opposition to is the Somalians wanting to be by themselves! But this is not only up to the Swedes to decide upon – shouldn't the opinion of the Somalians also be heard here? (participant-observation, 021008).

Maybe this objection to the above-mentioned rumour reveals the existence of a black box – a taken-for-granted assumption that other cultures

than the Swedish would benefit from collaborating with and adapting to different cultures, especially the Swedish culture. On top of this back box sits the macro-actor: the City District Committee, legitimating power being exercised by another macro-actor: the City District Administration. Some micro-actors: politicians, civil servants, local organizations and inhabitants, do attempt to re-open the black box and discuss whether this taken-for-granted assumption may be false, however, their attempts have not yet proved to be successful. The black box still seems to be sealed in the realms where decision-making takes place.

From the point of view of the inhabitants applying for funding, the existence of this black box often seems to have resulted in a refutation that is hard to understand and accept. The most common obligation non-profit associations and non-governmental organizations were asked to fulfil was that they cooperate with other clusters interested in the same target group – i.e. with inhabitants as well as projects run by civil servants. Of course, this requirement is quite easy to understand as an expected rationality of the politicians and the civil servants, in the light of their above-mentioned cautious attitude. One of the civil servants explained:

> SUSAN: One fundamental requirement for getting hold of funding is to cooperate with somebody. This programme is not a solo scene! Joint effort is important. In such a small area it's not possible to give money to different projects with the same target group, they must have been talking to each other.
>
> JENNY: But doesn't this limit the programme? It may result in rejection of good ideas? Everybody may not be interested in cooperation with anybody?
>
> SUSAN: They don't have to carry through the projects together, or use the same method. But they have to talk to each other. Otherwise, we miss synergism effects (participant-observation, 020213).

For non-governmental organizations, though, such a conclusion was not necessarily logical. One of them explained why: After they had turned in the ten-page long application for funding to the City District Committee, they were being contacted by the civil servant responsible for the funding programme, asking them to contact another similar project that was also applying for funding – and to write a joint application. The non-governmental organization thought it might be a good idea, contacted the civil servant in charge of that project – as it was planned to be run by the City

District Administration – and discussed the proposition to write a joint application. But this civil servant was not really interested in cooperation – and expressed, according to the non-governmental organization, that even if she had been, she would have refused to fill in the extended form once more (participant-observation, 020225). This resulted in both projects being rejected, harking back to their disinterest in collaboration. The non-governmental organization was critical:

> Are there really directives to collaborate, as this civil servant insisted on? Where has this been stated? Even if we want to collaborate, it may also counteract the objectives of the programme. The most serious problem with the funding programme is that there is only one judge, and she doesn't want us to get money. Her criticism results in us not getting any answer at all about our project. We don't understand what she wants – everything is just left up in the air (participant-observation 020225).

Directives for collaboration do admittedly exist, it is explicitly written about in the local Action Plan – a document produced by the City District Administration. This, however, seems to be a socially constructed instruction produced at the local level, as such precise orders are not to be found in documents produced by the Swedish Government or the Municipality of Göteborg. Still, this intention may be quite easy to observe also in these documents, as collaboration and cooperation of different kinds are generally discussed as a fundamental prerequisite for success. At any rate, the purpose of this discussion was probably not to impede the development of positive ideas in the local non-governmental organizations. Some of the civil servants have also changed their minds about this directive with the passage of time:

> KARIN: It was caused by our attitude, we told them ›you must cooperate with them‹ and so on, we thus stopped several of the first applications. It's a pity some of them never came off, like the project with elderly – immigrants and Swedes. But they couldn't cooperate.
> JENNY: Why was it so important that they cooperate?
> KARIN: They had identical activities, in the same premises, addressing very similar persons.
> JENNY: Wouldn't it have been better if they had run their own projects – resulting

in anything at all happening?

KARIN: Yes, I have realized this later (interview, 030310).

This conclusion may be even more important to consider, if we also listen to the experiences of another civil servant, who replied when asked to comment on the fact that most of the money was distributed to the City District Administration:

> Most of the projects that have not been properly managed, they are run by the City District Committee. And they have received large sums of money. That's my answer – then you know what I think about this (interview, 030224).

Then again, in the realm of »Bo Bra« – the partnership to which the applications were referred for consideration before decision-making took place – the rationality of considering civil servants as best suited to handling the funding was clearly visible. Some of the employees of the housing companies within this realm, e.g., expressed that the civil servants, and not themselves, would probably be best suited to handling the funding – as they have 1 500 employees in close contact with the inhabitants. Additionally, they argued that the poor economy of the City District Committee was a good reason for the civil servants to be kept in control of the funding (interview, 030930). All the same, one of the civil servants in this realm gave the impression of having quite ambivalent feelings about civil servants being in charge of most of the funding:

> It really stinks! At the same time, I'm indecisive… Ordinary people don't have visions about the future. Maybe we employees are better suited for that, making proposals. That way, the idea becomes mine. However, this is because our inhabitants don't follow this line of thinking. The society is like that – everything has already been taken care of. Why is it that people have no say in the matter of rental apartments, but do have in tenant-ownership? This is what society is like! People already know that they won't be allowed to realize their ideas. Still, some of the inhabitants can – and they're present everywhere (interview, 030310).

This civil servant often objected to the projects providing temporary jobs for the inhabitants. From the point of view of the inhabitants the actual

distribution of funding – being left mainly to civil servants – however, caused quite a lot of irritation. Actually, not only irritation over the funding being delivered mainly to civil servants, but also irritation with people born in Sweden. One of the politicians interpreted this connotation of his compatriots:

> Some immigrants are included now, as ›cultural interpreters‹, though most of the money goes to Swedes. That's an opinion they have – Somalians (interview, 021028).

For the inhabitants, it was not at all strange that applications for funding also contained, besides the project idea, an opportunity for them to find a temporary job – as unemployment was their primary problem and, as a matter of fact, minimizing it the main objective of the funding programme. For the sake of argument, we may think of how many jobs the funding would support, if the money were just distributed directly to local employments. With taxes excluded, the Local Development Agreements in Northern Biskopsgården would provide fulltime work for about fifty inhabitants during four years – thus, quite a good chance for a significant group of people to begin to get established on the labour market. Still, as this funding programme was not meant to fill gaps such as these, this kind of thinking may no be relevant after all. Then again, isn't this what has happened in the end? Although, most of the people being financed by the funding are not inhabitants, but civil servants most often already employed in the city district. One of the civil servants agreed with the above-mentioned politician:

> When the funding programme was to be realized in Sweden, there was a great deal of disappointment that the money was being put under the control of the City District Committees. Because people were afraid the committees would take all of the money themselves. Thus, the strong non-governmental organizations all around the country pointed out this problem to the Swedish Government, and to everybody really. There was a concern, actually, they wanted everyone to be aware of this – guarding the money from being used for the employment of civil servants. More jobs for the ›whites‹, so to speak (interview, 030331).

With this statement, the civil servant also maintained that these circumstances were predictable – it would have been possible to prevent disappointment, if the distinctive rationalities had been analysed earlier. Perhaps such a reflection would have resulted in another organization for implementation of the funding programme. If it really was obvious that the City District Committee would mainly adopt the rationality of »social branch accountants«, rather than the rationality of »serving the common people«, one may wonder if it was considered logical to chose this institution as responsible for implementing the programme?

THE SAFETY PROJECT

THIS CHAPTER will discuss power aspects related to the project »Feel Safe in Biskopsgården«, which is here referred to as the »safety project«. This is not really a project within the programme – as they have not applied for money from the funding programme. Nevertheless, the involved local employees consider it part of the municipal joint responsibility and therefore important to include in the evaluation. Moreover, the activities are also interesting to include in the analysis because of the obvious importance power aspects seem to have had for their development.

These activities, which originated from the local partnership »Bo Bra«, are based in two different local realms – one the one hand, in the world of the housing companies and, on the other, in the world of the civil servants. In the first-mentioned realm, one private and two public housing companies are operating partners of »Bo Bra«. The first priority of housing companies is to manage their respective housing areas in a manner that gives their tenants the highest possible comfort, at the lowest possible price. The housing companies within »Bo Bra« mainly use two indicators to measure how they are succeeding with their administration – the proportion of rented apartments and the tenant index of approval. The proportion of rented apartments is high in the area, due to the general housing shortage in the country, and is therefore currently not available as an indicator of success. Left is the last-mentioned indicator, which is measured in yearly questionnaires sent out to all tenants. In the largest housing company in Northern Biskopsgården, this indicator has pointed out the area as being quite troublesome:

> In 2000 the tenant index decreased so much in the questionnaires in Northern Biskopsgården, that the MD told us to conduct interviews with tenants to learn more about the underlying reasons. The interviews strengthened the picture of dissatisfaction and got the board to invest money, which has been used during 2001 and 2002 (participant-observation, 020911).

This money was mainly invested in a project called »Tent Meetings«, i.e. they used a tent put in all of the eight yards for one day each as an artefact to signal their intention to communicate with the tenants – this time they mainly discussed entry code lockers and laundry rooms, but also listened to the tenants' general opinion of the area (direct observation, 030603). This new method was a success, considering the proportion of tenants they reached – fifty per cent, as compared with the around twenty per cent who usually come to general meetings. However, they did not seem to really grasp why the tenants were disappointed – and most important, the tenant index did not increase. Such circumstances are referred to as the main reason why housing companies do have an interest in the safety project.

The three most important aspects for the tenant index in the questionnaires are in turn: how the real estate owner responds to the expressed needs of the tenants; whether and after what time period the owner answers when the tenants attend; and whether the area is nice and clean. As already discussed in the chapter on time in practice, actors within this realm consider activities aimed at getting to the bottom of crime and safety as a »win-win concept«, resulting not only in a better tenant index, but also an increase in real estate value.

Examining the rationality of the inhabitants, the theme of safety seems to be more multi-faceted. Considering how the housing companies respond to the needs of the tenants, the reactions from a group of Somalian women may tell an interesting story. This group felt they were badly treated when they contacted the landlord with questions about the maintenance of their apartments. Then, after a period of complaints, this resulted in the housing company initiating a cooperation with a Somalian woman, paid by the tenants' association, who acted as intermediary in the discussions. This resulted in both parties being reasonably satisfied, at that point in time at least (participant-observation 030828).

A more serious problem related to safety involves those individuals who suffer directly from physical abuse in their homes – most often

women and children. Statistically, such crimes have been reported more frequently in the area in question, still it has not been confirmed whether it is abuses that have increased or people's tendency to report abuse to the police (participant-observation, 030605). According to one of the inhabitants, though, there may still be many hidden cases:

> Sometimes, especially if she already has children, maybe she can put up with it – if he hits me now and then. But it depends on how serious the physical abuse is. I know women who shut their eyes to it, quite a lot, really, you hear about. If all of them would separate, there would be an immense number of divorces… (interview, 021213).

The youths who have been interviewed seem to have quite a different outlook on the theme of safety, even if they naturally also are influenced by the above-mentioned crimes. As discussed in the case study chapter, none of them really felt unsafe in this city district. For instance, they worried much more about going to the wealthy neighbourhood area where there are racists. Many of them also talked about being discriminated against because of the origin of their parents, but also the environment in which they grew up – which became obvious for them particularly when they entered upper secondary schools, as these are situated in other districts of Göteborg. When they were younger, though, there actually were many courses of events that caused them to feel less safe, e.g., post office robberies and brutal assaults in the streets. The film they produced in fact shows this situation – it is not their own actual world they show, but rather a picture of a reality in which they think youths now in the ages of thirteen to fifteen may live in the future.

Another side of reality, however, is also clearly visible in interviews with youths in the ages of sixteen and seventeen. They were often keen on showing all the good things about their district – especially when they considered how mass media always point out the problems of their neighbourhood. This naturally results from young people's awareness of how actual occurrences, as well as rumours, in the local environment in which they grew up negatively affect everyday life. In the light of this, it may be quite difficult to understand why they, when describing their neighbourhood, made a film pervaded by violence. One of the young women reflected on this afterwards, discussing what people who had already judged people from Biskopsgården would think:

This film wasn't really useful for that. Now they'll judge us even more. ›Look, they are shooting people over there – don't go down there‹. Instead of showing what Biskop in fact is like. I really like Biskop a lot and I've never seen anybody being shot on those stairs. I think we should've like illustrated all those girls' evenings we use to have. The special bonds everybody has. Whenever we go somewhere we feel this, when we greet each other (interview, 021028).

Was the problem perhaps that the young men were most powerful when writing the script? Is this the reason why they described lack of safety in terms of shooting, instead of discussing, e.g., safety problems associated with early marriages and mutilation of genitals – which were also talked about when writing the script. The young women were not convinced such power aspects were the reason though:

JENNY: Was there a difference in the film project, if you were a guy or girl?

SARA: There was really! In the film, guys are more visible then girls.

MALENA: In fact, that's true.

SARA: One of the field workers did have some favourites there, they're pretty visible.

MALENA: I think it was quite random, really, we ourselves were the one's writing the script. We used a lot of guys in the script.

SARA: It was OK.

MALENA: There are equal opportunities in the group, I think (interview, 021031).

Still, it seems strange that they would consciously promote stigmatization of their city district, as they are so aware of the consequences. All of the youths in the interviews seemed quite conscious that the result of their work might symbolizing Biskopsgården as unsafe, however, many of them did not really seem to be surprised, or even regard themselves as potential actors capable of influencing these circumstances. »Bad takes over good, you know«, as one of the young men expressed it (interview, 021030). Perhaps it is also possible to imagine some kind of satisfaction over being frightening, as shown in this quotation from one of the young men:

Now, when I'm in a new school they always talk like this: ›Where do you live?‹ and everybody says ›Askim‹, ›Tynnered‹, nice ›Billdal‹, and like that. Then they ask: ›Where do you live?‹ and I: ›No, I live in Biskopsgården…‹ They

kind of stop… ›OK… is it nice there?‹ ›Yes, I like it‹, I say. ›OK…, is there a lot of crime and things like that?‹ ›It happens sometimes‹. They're really getting frightened! ›Have you been to Northern Biskopsgården?‹ ›No, I've never dared to go there‹ (interview, 021029).

What was it he gained? Perhaps it was respect. If it is not possible to gain respect in any other sense, then the stigmatization problem may be worth being respected as one of the dangerous immigrant youths from Biskopsgården. The local police also seemed to share this rationality of young people, when stressing that youths in Biskopsgården are perhaps in the beginning of a problematic phase:

> Youth factions existed earlier here, though, they go by car now and it's not that messy in Biskopsgården any more. There are trends at the intermediate level, though, indicating kids who have behaviour that may lead to more problems. They end up fighting too easy and the language is terrible. I'm there and talk with them sometimes (participant-observation, 031009).

One of the civil servants in the realm of »Bo Bra« admitted there was anxiety about youths in the ages of thirteen to fifteen, however, she was quite suspicious of the information from the police saying that their youths were criminals:

> The police say youths commit crime close to where they live. They also say our youths are more likely to be criminals than other youths. Still I've not got statistics on this information. It must be possible to see in the statistics if this really is true: Where are the youths registered? Where do they commit crime? I'll find out! (participant-observation, 021111).

Except for youth problems, civil servants of the City District Committee seem to feel that safety problems are largely a question of, on the one hand, attending to those inhabitants who have safety problems with the help of the social service secretaries, the teachers in school etc., and, on the other hand, cooperating with the housing companies so they will not throw troublesome inhabitants out of their homes. The primary concern of the civil servants, thus, is to care for those inhabitants registered, at any moment, within the physical boundaries of Biskopsgården. Their rationality may be summarized as »stability« – the longer people stay in the district, the better.

Therefore, people moving to other districts constitutes their primary threat, as it most likely results in newcomers who are new refugees or relatives who have recently arrived to the country – which naturally increases the responsibility of the civil servants, as these people most often need considerable help and support. In this way the civil servants seem to share the rationality of the housing companies, aiming at the area being stable, tranquil, safe and secure. »So those who have cars stay put« as one of the civil servants puts is – presupposing that these people are the ones with money and most likely to get by (participant-observation, 021111).

Consequently, one problem often discussed by civil servants and housing companies simultaneously was crime related to theft, burglary and damage to cars and premises. Such crimes entail a lack of safety, said the civil servants and the housing companies, mainly because people are afraid to meet the people who perpetrate these crimes, as such people, according to the police, most often lack compassion because they are affected by drugs. Another problem, according to one civil servant, was that people are being frightened by strange activities in the middle of the night:

> They're selling stolen goods from lorries at nights, it's meat, tins, bread and detergents – a kind of Mafia movement. It's the inhabitants who are buying, they themselves contribute to the feeling of insecurity (interview, 030310).

Still, even if it is the most common crime, statistically the prevalence of crimes such as theft, burglary and damage to cars and premises was not high in Northern Biskopsgården, as compared with the average for the Municipality. Additionally, the numbers over time show that this area has already seen a positive development as compared with the average.

NOW THAT the rationalities of the different local actors have been presented – at least those visible in the empirical material – a description will be made of how the safety project gradually changed direction over time. The trigger for change was the decision to engage a private consultant for further development of the safety project. However, before further descriptions of these circumstances are provided, it is probably necessary to make a short summary of what had happened before this point in time.

The focus on safety was not at all new for »Bo Bra«, as this had been one of their primary objectives since the group was constituted in 1993 and

they had already conducted a large number of activities aimed at improving safety in the district. However, in March 2002 they were contacted by a private consultant (which will be called Crime Prevention Ltd in this thesis), who offered to conduct an inventory of crime for them – amounting to about SEK six hundred thousand.

The director group of »Bo Bra« discussed this offer at forthcoming meetings and many of the participants were sceptical towards the proposition. They thought it was expensive and could not really see a purpose from which they could benefit – they already knew the problems, they maintained, such knowledge was not what was lacking. It would be better to invest the money in direct measures. Others argued that such an inventory actually was needed, as they were not fully aware of what the statistics looked like in the different areas within the city district. They maintained that controlling the statistics would constitute a joint responsibility for action. Others insisted that »Bo Bra« itself constituted exactly such a joint responsibility for action, additionally, that it had been exceedingly effective for the past ten years (participant-observation, 020417).

After some time they agreed upon a strategy. In August 2002, they made a decision in the director group that they themselves were going to conduct a thorough inventory of crime and two of the civil servants in the director group were appointed to carry through this investigation. The intention thereafter was to use the statistics as triggers for change in the five areas of the district, respectively – using the method »focus groups« for communication between inhabitants, housing companies, civil servants and police. The results of the crime inventory were presented for the different actors of »Bo Bra« in stages during that winter, and the final report was presented for the director group in April 2003 (Bo Bra i Biskopsgården 2003).

After this meeting something, happens that changes the direction of the safety project. At the June meeting, the present chiefs were suddenly confronted with the fact that the earlier-mentioned private consultant had been appointed as project leader for the work with »Live Safe in Biskopsgården«:

> CIVIL SERVANT 1: A and B [two public housing companies in ›Bo Bra‹] hire Crime Prevention Ltd. It has been settled. The other housing companies are going to be invited too. The project leader is to be appointed by Crime Prevention Ltd. The given task for ›Bo Bra‹ is to assist Crime Prevention Ltd with the safety work. NN and NN [those who made the inventory of crime] are our representatives.

HOUSING COMPANY: The details are not yet set.

CIVIL SERVANT 1: The presiding committee has also been informed.

HOUSING COMPANY: Then there are no other comments?

CIVIL SERVANT 2: It would be interesting to hear what you expect to gain by giving Crime Prevention Ltd the assignment.

HOUSING COMPANY: We want a platform as a basis for answering the question ›how do we proceed?‹. The platform is one of the steps we need.

CIVIL SERVANT 2: Is there a description of the assignment?

HOUSING COMPANY: We've not come to that yet.

MUNICIPAL ACTOR (towards NN): What are the main conclusions you've drawn from the crime inventory?

CIVIL SERVANT 3: First, we have more indoor violence than other districts, though, this may be a result of people reporting more violence, we don't know that yet. Second, thefts have decreased in Biskopsgården. Third, we're doing pretty well statistically on crime, if you compare with other districts (participant-observation, 030605).

Surprisingly, there was no further discussion on this theme at that meeting, even if it was obvious that several of the participants felt run over by those who had made the decision. The rumour of the decision had admittedly preceded the meeting. However, one may still wonder why the participants did not take the opportunity to air their opinions. One may also wonder why the directors of »Bo Bra«, without even discussing it, accepted having to assist Crime Prevention Ltd in their safety work. Why did they not just leave it to the two housing companies in question to run the project at that point? My presence may of course have had a negative effect on their willingness to argue, however, there also seemed to be wide-spread resignation. Now they were back at square one again, where they stood more than one year ago, instead of initiating the local work in focus groups as was the intention. When would the inhabitants be able to observe their ambitions?

What was the reason, then, for this development? Are there extant rationalities that have the potential to explain why this decision was made? If we start with the realm of the housing companies, with the one that really had made the decision, their intention seems to be quite clear:

In the city district ›Gunnared‹ – it's an example – a mapping was conducted and the real estate owners have had a project leader running the project, re-

sponsible for making things happen. This was shown by Crime Prevention Ltd at that meeting in Biskopsgården: the drastic reduction in reported crimes. This is where we're heading everywhere. We also think this is in line with the focus of the City Council on a safe and secure Municipality, they have their own secretariat because they find this important. We know from thousands of investigations what's important in living environments. I don't think anything can outshine ›safe and secure‹ (interview, 030924).

The rationality of this housing company seems to be comprehensible. Their main interest was a reduction in crime in their housing area, as this raises the tenant index as well as the real estate value. Why then was the crime inventory made by »Bo Bra« not sufficient, especially considering that they already had a project leader responsible for making things happen? Unfortunately, none of the interviewed employees in the housing companies really had an answer to that question. They just refer to things like the finished crime inventory not being complete with e.g. questionnaires to the inhabitants, as their opinions may not be the same as the statistics indicate – which of course would have been possible to go through with also within »Bo Bra«. One thing is clear, though, there was disagreement within the director group. This has been confirmed in all of the interviews with involved actors, also by the housing company responsible for the decision:

JENNY: Did you agree upon this in the director group? To give Crime Prevention Ltd this assignment?
STEN: There were different opinions, maybe there still are. But sometimes one has to force things through… (interview, 030924).

What rationality do the civil servants seem to adapt to then? What reason did the civil servant have for legitimating the decision of the housing company in the above-mentioned meeting of »Bo Bra« in June? The same civil servant who seven moths earlier had stated »rather action than action plan« when discussing the offer from Crime Prevention Ltd (participant-observation, 020909). He explained his standpoint in a telephone interview, after being asked about it in an e-mail:

JENNY: I've heard you made an agreement with A and B [two public housing companies in ›Bo Bra‹] to give a crime inventory assignment to Crime

Prevention Ltd. Why is this considered a beneficial strategy? What's missing in your own inventory? And why did you choose not to go further within ›Bo Bra‹ instead?

PATRIK: There are several reasons for this: First, the economy. This is an issue the housing companies should pay for. The City District Administration should join in, but not invest large sums in inventories of crime. Such things are not part of the mission of the City District Administration. The Crime Prevention Ltd people are used to making such inventories and the housing companies do have higher legitimacy to involve all of the minor real estate owners. They're speaking the same language, they're mates – they do have similar missions. Our material wasn't complete.

JENNY: Can't you imagine any risks with the City District Administration letting its influence die out, in favour of the housing companies?

PATRIK: I don't see any risks at all with this. ›Framtiden AB‹ [parent company of all public housing companies in Göteborg] does have obvious social responsibility in their directives, additionally, in ›Bo Bra‹ we've built up a capital of trust that will not be ruined that easy. Crime inventories and safety, admittedly, are at an interface with respect to municipal responsibility. The Municipality thus must join in, but without paying too much.

JENNY: Why didn't you choose to continue the safety project within ›Bo Bra‹?

PATRIK: We couldn't afford to put more personnel time on this (notes from telephone interview, 031021).

Also this rationality of the civil servant seems to be quite understandable, especially considering the demanding economic pressure the Municipality put on the City District Administration. Still, it has always been common procedure in »Bo Bra« to conduct their projects with the awareness that those actors most concerned should also incur most of the costs – this obviously would have been possible also with the safety project. Why was the decision made outside of the director group of »Bo Bra«? That question still remains.

One speculation concerns the future development of »Bo Bra«. The actors of the housing companies have repeatedly initiated a discussion on what new actors should be involved in »Bo Bra«, as they are concerned about stagnation of the process. In these discussions they talked about including more real estate owners, e.g., the tenant-owner's associations. This may, however, not be as easy as it sounds, as former contacts resulted in some of them uttering racist opinions concerning the inhabitants living in

rental apartments. Still, this discussion has not yet really been seriously by the participants in the director group – resulting in the issue being left up in the air. Maybe this is one of the reasons why the housing companies do not trust that »Bo Bra« is capable of solving crime problems?

Another speculation, coming from one of the civil servants, expresses the fear that this decision was made because private companies are not obliged to engage in »official purchasing« – i.e. to present the assignment on the open market – as the City District Administration must do:

> Buddies… Thus, this is another kind of thinking they have. They are… this has not even been out for official purchasing! You get what I mean, don't you? No, this has been decided upon at upper levels, so to speak (interview, 030527).

Even if this speculation should turn out to be true, it would probably never be confirmed in a case study like this. One thing indicating that this assessment is incorrect, however, is the above-mentioned discussion in which »Bo Bra« is said to be used to handling their projects with unequalled economic responsibility. Accordingly, shouldn't they have had the potential to handle these kinds of problems as well?

Unfortunately, the analysis of power aspects does not seem to sufficiently reveal this complex picture of rationalities. Maybe this should be considered as a black box – yet, it is quite hard to tell. It may also be because the empirical material were delimited in a manner ill suited to the purposes – i.e. the lack of empirical material, e.g., at levels of society other than the local.

IF CONTINUING the course of events now that this has been decided, what are the consequences locally? If we consider the above-mentioned hidden agenda as a black box, it would explain a series of activities that otherwise seem to be quite illogical. When »Bo Bra« initiated their inventory of crime, and simultaneously started to discuss the figures in different contexts, it was obvious that »Bo Bra« had suddenly found an opportunity to make use of those figures as part of their own everyday working life – they managed to open a black box. One example of triggers for this to take place was the above-mentioned civil servant's eagerness to understand how the police could be sure their youths were criminals. If the safety project would have continued as planned, »Bo Bra« would probably have

been able to become a macro-actor, keeping the knowledge of crime within the realm of the local partnership – resulting in their being in charge of the local development of safety in Biskopsgården. They thought that was natural, as this really was what they had been doing for ten years.

In the Municipality, though, there was an other macro-actor – Crime Prevention Ltd – eager to maintain control of this black box as the basis of their business concept, used for crime inventories in a number of ethnically and economically segregated suburban areas of Göteborg. If the actors of »Bo Bra« themselves could manage crime inventories, what signals would this give to their prospective customers? Maybe this is the rationality underlying their activities? Actions resulting in their sitting, yet again, on top of the black box.

For »Bo Bra« these activities caused serious damage as their position as local macro-actor was hazarded – this problem may not even have been visible from higher levels, as most Municipal actors are not even aware of the existence of »Bo Bra«. With this in mind, it is not difficult to understand why the director group quietly accepted that the name of their own organization was used as responsible for the safety project, even if it would be managed by Crime Prevention Ltd. As one of the civil servants put it:

> Now I feel we must join in and uphold our position, therefore ›Bo Bra‹ has been set as sender of the questionnaire (participant-observation, 030911).

The stigmatization problem has been another reason for taking this decision, as some civil servants consider that the interference of Crime Prevention Ltd may mean a bad reputation for Biskopsgården (participant-observation, 030911). With this decision »Bo Bra«, thus, seems to have made the right choice, if it is to remain a macro-actor at the local level. Still, the outcome of the project is not yet possible to ascertain.

At this point, what consequences of the safety project for the inhabitants were discernable? Does the project seem to have the potential to solve the most serious problems of the inhabitants? One of the housing company employees was optimistic when referring to former experience in other districts:

> For example, last time we had thirty-five per cent of those asked pointing out crime as a big problem. This has been reduced to nineteen per cent in one year in ›Gamlestaden‹ (interview, 030930).

One of the civil servants, however, was not convinced that such a strategy was best for the inhabitants:

> In ›Gamlestaden‹ they pulled through such a project, gathering the real estate owners, and discussed the district. There was quite a lot of crime. It's quite interesting to study what happened there – cause that's important to me. Well, they threw out all social housing from ›Gamlestaden‹! All of the addicts! They took everything away, made student apartments. And they closed two or three pubs. Then they claim they've been successful… Then I say: ›Where did they go then? Did they come to us? Or where did they go?‹ You don't solve city district problems in this way! (interview, 030527).

The housing company in charge of this development agreed with the description of the historic events, although from their point of view this was not considered problematic. They bought about three hundred apartments, characterized by the »wrong tenant composition«, e.g. an apartment house for male petty criminals, according to the employee in the housing company.

> JENNY: Where did they go then?
>
> HENRIK: Spread out. Then the problem doesn't exist…
>
> JENNY: The Municipality didn't take care of them?
>
> HENRIK: No, we took over the building and solved the problem. Some of them didn't have legal contracts and some got new apartments in our stock.
>
> JENNY: How many got new apartments?
>
> HENRIK: This house had about two hundred apartments – say it was twenty. Now there are students in the whole building and it's been done up. This really changes the street scene (interview, 030930).

In another building where the City District Committee had social housing, this employee described how, in one of the staircases, the tenants were often frightened by those living in the social housing, not to mention what they felt when the police arrived with machine guns. This staircase was also evacuated by the housing company.

> HENRIK: There were twenty apartments. We didn't think the City District Administration was taking responsibility for those apartments in a proper way. But we offered to spread them out as well.

JENNY: They've got new apartments?

HENRIK: They have. Not the same tenants, though. Because this has to be ›top expectation tenants‹. It wasn't the same, so they maybe started in another programme, some of those went to more protected housing, so to speak. And those with the best prognosis went to our spread out apartments (interview, 030930).

In this project, the City District Committee was not involved as equally responsible, they were just called in when the real estate owners thought is was necessary. From the point of view of the housing company, the rationality was quite clear. When the above-mentioned housing company did not consider that the Municipality had taken their social responsibility for the tenants, they wanted to be free to act as an enterprise – even if they have politicians on the board as they are a public housing company. The directives of »Framtiden AB« (the parent company of all public housing companies in Göteborg) – which the earlier mentioned civil servant thought was sufficiently honourable – are perhaps not that trustworthy after all? One of the private housing companies active in »Bo Bra« seems to be much more aware of the risks of local real estate owner partnerships:

JENNY: Then you consider local partnerships with real estate owners to be a way of taking care of things the Municipality used to be responsible for?

KAJ: Sure, of course, exactly! We take social responsibility to a certain extent here. That's my opinion.

JENNY: What happens if the City District Administration is not part of the process?

KAJ: That's not positive, absolutely not. Because, we're working in their territory really. So it wouldn't work, obviously. I think.

JENNY: How is it negative? For whom?

KAJ: It's of course negative for the inhabitants in the city district. That's patently obvious. The City District Committee exists for the sake of the inhabitants and those working in the district. Therefore, if only *we* would act, then we would run them over (interview, 031010).

In this line of thinking, it is natural to be critical concerning the decision about the safety project – and accordingly the power of its fulfilment – being made outside of the director group of »Bo Bra«. The just mentioned real estate owner in Biskopsgården was invited to become a pay-

ing party in the crime inventory by Crime Prevention Ltd. He was rather critical of the procedure:

> KAJ: I questioned the inventory of Crime Prevention Ltd, why it would be necessary. As ›Bo Bra‹ just had completed their own investigation, which I had read thoroughly. This file, which I think would be enough to know where to put the investments. Therefore I think it's just frittering away the money, it would have been better to put that money into measures instead. Though, I fully respect them making such a decision and I think it's good that ›Bo Bra‹ is behind all this.
>
> JENNY: Then, when you asked about why Crime Prevention Ltd was to make this inventory, what answer did you receive?
>
> KAJ: I got the answer that this was a decision made by the director group. There were doubts also in the director group before they made the decision, however, when the decision was made it was democratic (interview, 031010).

This was, thus, the impression one of the real estate owners got from the involved actors in the safety project, making him – at that point in time – fairly positive to the project after all. The statistics on crime reduction was another thing that made strong impressions on real estate owners. »The figures are fantastic«, as one representative of the private housing companies uttered at a public information meeting about the project (direct observation, 030916). Another real estate owner at the same meeting, however, asked: »What about the police, didn't they move their efforts to this area at the same time?« (direct observation, 030916). The answer to that question was not further developed at that meeting, however, it was actually discussed later on in a newspaper-article about the experience they referred to. The article stated that the police had had a substantial resource increase in the shape of fifteen new jobs at the same time as crime declined; additionally, in the neighbouring municipality they had concurrently noticed an alarming increase in crime (Göteborgs Posten, 031123).[16] Hence, the most important question for Biskopsgården still has not been answered: Will the project solve the most serious safety problems of the inhabitants? Including e.g. the earlier mentioned physical abuse of women and children, and the stigmatization problems youths, among others, experience when they are in other city district. It is still too early to tell.

[16] »Göteborgs Posten« is the main paper in Göteborg.

DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

THIS CHAPTER will discuss power aspects related to democratic participation, one of the eight objectives of the Local Development Agreements. This theme includes the distribution of information, dialogue between the local actors – politicians, civil servants as well as inhabitants – and forms of actual democratic participation taking place in the local environment. Also this theme seems to have been rather plagued by power aspects, although not to the same extent, and in the same way, as the safety project.

Beginning with the rationalities of the inhabitants, a number of different standpoints were visible in the case study. First, an elderly woman stressed a commonly expressed view on democracy:

> I think you should always be able to turn to the politicians in the city district where you live. That's what I call grass-roots democracy! Even if it's about issues outside of Biskopsgården (participant-observation at recorded seminar, 030911).

This may seem to be a pretty modest request, though when listening to the opinions of the politicians it is not at all self-evident that this is possible. We will return to this later. Another inhabitant, a young man, expressed himself in this way, when asked to describe what democracy is for him:

> Being able to make decisions, being involved, in how to live my life – like to decide where to live, in what district (interview, 021028).

Many of the women interviewed in the case study agreed upon this description of democracy – that it should be able to guard the basic safety of every citizen, also of women born abroad:

> Democracy for me is being allowed to be myself. Being safe in my home, in my working life, and being able to do the things I feel are the right things. Not being forced to adapt to others all the time. Maybe others think it's wrong, but if I think it's right, then I can do it. Having the right to dress like you want, and work wearing a head scarf (interview, 021213).

Former experience of another inhabitant had convinced him that the Local Development Agreements, and actually the entire Swedish society, had established a situation for Somalians implying assimilation instead of integration – »or even slavery« as he expressed it (direct observation, 030301). Therefore he, and the non-profit association he represented, was against all kinds of dealings with the national funding programme or community work of the Swedish society – instead his organization concentrated on improvement of the situation for Somalians. One of the women in the case study, born in another country, seemed to fully agree with this statement of expecting society to guard the basic safety of every citizen. Unfortunately her statement also seemed to have been based upon a not very encouraging experience:

> The word democracy here in Sweden, it sometimes feels like everything is coercion. You are supposed to do so, you are thought to do this and you are imagined to do that. You feel like you're being forced, you can't make your own choices (interview, 030128).

The young woman in the film project, which in the chapter on time expressed her frustration over not being taken seriously if you don't ask the politicians for money, maintained that youths often do have a hard time when requiring a dialogue with grown ups:

> JENNY: When talking about democracy, what do you think is most important?
> NAZILA: It stands for everybody being included!
> JENNY: You think youths are included?
> NAZILA: I think we should be included more.
> JENNY: Is it hard to be acknowledged – make your own space?
> NAZILA: Yes, or it's kind of… you have to fight for it too much. If you are grown up, then you don't have to struggle that much. You go there, show you are seriously involved in something and you need… kind of, you really are engaged in something. Youths must prove this ten times more than you need to do when you are grown up (interview, 021030).

One of the other young women in the film project was also quite clear in her opinion on democracy, a result of being active in the democratic body of the school for quite a long period of time:

> When I was on the pupil's council, the only thing we managed to carry through was the ›rose week‹… It was near St. Valentine's day, we had a week when everybody could send roses to each other (interview, 021028).

Many of the young men and women in the case study described themselves has having been quite active before the latest public election. Two of the young men, e.g. told about a dialogue they had in the library with a political party that was hostile towards foreigners. The arguments of the youths were so overwhelming, that the representatives of the party after some time refused to answer more questions and called the police. The youths were quite pleased with the police when they arrived, as they just stood by and guarded the argumentation, to prevent physical abuse. This is democracy, the young men seemed to think (interview, 030114).

Party politics were unfortunately not described in positive terms by any of the youths, some of them have had depressing experiences from being part of youth leagues, others discussed their impression of the political parties when they came to the schools before the latest election:

> The political parties are really… they claim they don't have the same opinion, but everyone does! They're really one-sided, they all say the same things – unconsciously almost. Lots of them came to our school, they were supposed to talk in favour of their parties, making us vote for them. Then I asked the same question to all of the parties – and all of them answered the same thing! And all of them said what they wanted to achieve, nothing about how they would do it… (interview, 021030).

When discussing dialogues and democratic participation, many of the women seemed to find it quite hard to imagine how to participate in the dialogue, as they often found it difficult to express their opinions in the Swedish language. This naturally seemed to be most difficult in general meetings, but was a serious problem also in minor contexts. They seemed to be disparaged, just because it was sometimes difficult to understand their comments, or even if they only spoke with an accent. This effect became quite obvious to me, as direct observation of projects sometimes brought me to contexts where lectures, seminars and discussions were translated by an interpreter. There, I suddenly became aware of my own impression changing, concerning the present women. The same women I had met ear-

lier, who were quiet and reserved in general meetings with civil servants or politicians, here gave the impression of being competent, demanding and having the authority to argue on their own behalf. Maybe this woman based her opinion of democracy on such an experience:

> It's incredible they can promise things, then break it with no reaction afterwards. /.../ I think people are too indifferent. They think it doesn't matter anyway. Maybe if debating – kind of beginning to take the debate seriously (interview, 020929).

One day, such a debate did take place in Biskopsgården, though it was probably not realised in a way that this woman would have wished. The occasion took place because the City District Committee had announced their annual meeting about the budget – keeping this yearly meeting open for the public is an obligation stipulated by the City Council – and concurrently the rumour started to circulate among the inhabitants that the budget meant a reduction in the resources by about SEK thirty million for the next year. In practice this reduction would imply, e.g., the removal of nineteen teachers, additionally moving all the five-year-olds from the preschools to the schools. Also the social service, geriatric care, etc., had to reduce their costs just as much. These yearly budget meetings generally attract four or five inhabitants – this time hundreds of inhabitants were there even before it started and several were waiting outside for a chance to get in. Radio, television and press covered the meeting (direct observation, 021119).

The politicians and the civil servants had planned a procedure in which they would first present the budget, and after that open up for questions. In two minutes the inhabitants had changed that procedure and a two-hour-long debate was initiated in which many inhabitants, with help from a list of speakers, furiously but calmly, asked questions and argued on behalf of the schools and their children – however, mostly focusing on the situation of the five-year-olds. Even the teachers lectured the politicians and their superiors, which is quite rare as they, according to the system, are supposed to be faithful to their employer. The criticism of the inhabitants may be summarized as clear evidence of the failure of the politicians and the civil servants at higher levels to stand up for the inhabitants, and of their focus on defending the economic-technical system. There were also many youths present at that meeting, expressing their anger that the

meeting had not been prepared to be conducted in a democratic manner. There were no microphones for the audience, it was very hot and all of the interested inhabitants could not enter. Additionally these youths had taken the responsibility to copy information about the budget and spread it to the parents. »You didn't even inform them about this«, they said, »you call that democracy?«

After the inhabitants had left, the meeting continued for some hours and, among other things, resulted in the politicians changing their minds about moving the five-year-olds to the schools. Still, the removal of nineteen teachers etc. remained in the budget proposition, which was approved on 021126. However, after about two weeks most parents were aware of what had happened. Parents and teachers held general meetings in the schools at night, discussing how to act. Their main complaint concerned the decision to reduce the number of teachers, when many children were not passing the core subjects. In one of the schools the decision was made to carry out a strike, keeping the kids at home, if the politicians would not listen (direct observation, 021209). The parents in the other schools also decided to do the same.

The next meeting of the City District Committee was not public. Nevertheless, outside the room, hundreds of inhabitants had organized a demonstration against the policy of the politicians. Also this meeting was covered by radio, television and press, but now the atmosphere was not at all as calm as the previous time. The youths pounded in the walls and the parents shouted out slogans and protests, it was hot in the narrow corridor and the irritation increased. A couple of civil servants were there all the time, taking care of things so they would not get out of hand. After about half an hour or more, some politicians came out and talked with the parents – the atmosphere was quite ominous. A small group of parents were let in to have a discussion with the civil servant responsible for the schools. They came back, though, with no result – and the strike was a fact (direct observation, 021210).

How did the politicians react then, considering these protests? They were not happy about the situation, naturally, as they felt threatened and had been treated quite badly when the demonstration was going on. Still, they were pleased that so many inhabitants had come to the open meeting and carried out the two-hour-long debate. But why were they not really prepared to meet the inhabitants' reaction to the drastic budget cuts? May-

be one of the reasons is them, at least not all of them, not being fully aware of the budget implying such serious consequences? After the civil servants had presented the proposed budget for the first time, one of the politicians was asked whether the budget would imply large cutbacks next year. She answered: »No, that's not what they've told us, at least. It's more a question of working differently« (participant-observation, 021022).

This answer, at that point in time, was quite difficult to understand, as the rumour of serious budget cuts had already reached the realm of several of the activities observed by me in my role as evaluator. Most of the politicians live in Biskopsgården, they could not possibly have avoided hearing the rumour. Consequently, the answer must rather be considered as part of the rationality of this person in her role as politician, and not the actual everyday situation she lived in. What rationality, then, is the answer based upon? Maybe this statement gives the answer:

> This thing about different roles. As a politician you're not supposed to be operative. We must trust our civil servants, have faith in them doing what they are assigned to do (interview, 030226).

This kind of statement is quite common when discussing how the dialogue between citizens and employees is to be conducted. It has been used to such an extent that it should perhaps be considered a kind of mantra. Another important standpoint, criticized by some of the politicians, complements this picture:

> One of our political parties has stated that ›we keep in contact via our local party organization. We are not interested in other contacts, we have contact with our members‹ (interview, 030212).

Both these standpoints seem to constitute the present rationality – even so, not all politicians share the view of this being the best way to bring about the resources of the City District Committee Additionally, this rationality was the reason why the City District Committee did away with the school committee after the general elections in September 2002:

> The school committee was started when there was a need to show our concern for the school, additionally, there was a difficult situation when the head-

master and teachers left. Though, a school committee is troublesome because in ninety per cent of the cases the law gives the headmaster the responsibility for organization, the number of teachers in different fields, and economic priorities. But the parents are asking us questions in the committee that are issues for the headmaster. As a politician you want to be accommodating, thus, you sit there and discuss all conceivable issues that you shouldn't interfere in… Resulting only in the headmaster becoming annoyed – and the inhabitants thinking that politicians don't do anything (interview, 030212).

Even if the rationality behind abolishing the committee was quite obvious for the politicians, it was extremely poor timing considering the protests of the inhabitants. »Why didn't you cooperate with us?«, those parents that had previously been part of the committee naturally asked the politicians at that budget meeting (direct observation, 020911).

RETURNING TO the two standpoints that constitute the basis for the rationality of the politicians concerning the dialogue with inhabitants, how do they go along with the rationalities of the inhabitants? Do »trust the civil servants« and »communicate via the political parties« seem to be potentially fruitful strategies in Biskopsgården?

The last-mentioned standpoint may at first glance not be considered as particularly successful, as youths already declared their view on political parties. Additionally, immigrants are most often not considered to be sought-after members of political parties. Changes may take place, though, and admittedly, such a strategy could be successful if the expressed desires of the people are considered – the belief in the debate as a possible pathway to communication. If discussions are to become helpful, however, the political parties must probably change their ideas about how to conduct debates. What the inhabitants ask for is not promises, uniformity and simplifications, but rather that local politicians expose their dissimilarities with regard to the implementation of politics – additionally, that they allow the inhabitants to participate in the debate and facilitate an open discussion on the complexity of the problems at hand. This of course would make a difference for the role of the local politicians, as they not are elected by these inhabitants but appointed by the City Council. How would such a development change their role? This has been discussed to some extent locally and the politicians involved do have an interest in changing their function.

There are problems, however, the politicians, e.g., stress their lack of time as a serious problem, as they do have regular daytime jobs:

> I don't want to be negative, but I can see there is lack of time, thus, the politicians must be given other preconditions. But I know this is being fought for in several of the political parties.. /…/ I'll stand up for this, us trying to raise questions, concerning for example the service for our inhabitants, even if this may not be our responsibility (participant-observation at recorded seminar, 030925).

Another problem with local debates concerns languages. It is probably obvious to anyone that an equal debate demands interpreters, as there are in reality many people who have not mastered the Swedish language sufficiently. However, interpreters may be considered expensive, and there are many different languages to be translated. These problems would, however, most likely be solved quite »easily« – as they just include technical and economic aspects – if it were not for the »parabolic aerial discussion«.

The parabolic aerial discussion really seems to have developed into a black box of taken-for-granted assumptions about foreigners. Many people, employees as well as inhabitants, are actually very eager to jump onto this box to keep it closed, as soon as any discussion approaches the question of in what languages the Swedish society should offer information addressed to immigrants. In this discussion in one of seminars on democracy, two of the inhabitants are pretty sure of their opinions:

> LINNEA: There are so many parabolic aerials and stuff like that. Many of the elderly are not very interested in learning the Swedish language.
> ULLA: That's true.
> ANNIKA: It's maybe hard to learn Swedish if you are analphabetic and don't have a written language.
> ULLA: What you say, it's true. The women are at home all day, they have two parabolic aerials in each apartment. They sit there, at home, watching their programs, coming from, the other side…
> ANNIKA: What a terrible attitude…
> ULLA: From Turkey. They don't hear anything else. They'll never learn Swedish, they won't even leave the apartment… maybe they're shopping. That's another damn mistake, I've been up there a few times, there are just Arabian shops. Therefore they go to these shops, there is maybe one Swedish shop, then they

speak their language when they shop as well. If you put people in one and the same place, like a ghetto, they won't learn Swedish – whatever interpreters you put in there (participant-observation at recorded seminar, 030925).

The problem of parabolic aerials has been discussed in the realm of the politicians at all levels of Swedish society – Göteborg is no exception. When the discussion reached the City Council for once, the elected immigrants raised their voices and demanded that their colleagues explain their standpoints – thus acting as micro-actors with the intention to open this box. As a matter of fact they had some success. In September 2003, five of the public housing companies in the Municipality suddenly offered their tenants thirty new cable channels with news from different countries. This would have been considered absolutely impossible six months earlier.

Now, the inhabitants in Biskopsgården just have to wait for this rationality to be deeply rooted also in their district, opening up for a free debate on how to find the best strategy of communication between the inhabitants and those who are in charge of the social service to them. Education in the Swedish language is certainly important, but should not be mixed up with this discussion.

ONE OF THE STANDPOINTS of the politicians still remains to be discussed, though, how does »trust the civil servants« go along with the rationalities of the inhabitants? Is it possible, given the role the civil servants have, to live up to the inhabitants' expectations that civil servants should be their allies?

Let us now return to the budget and the incident in which the politicians seemed to have got the impression from the civil servants that the budget cuts were a question of working differently, rather than of a deterioration of the quality of service. From the point of view of the civil servants this was not a lie, it was the given answer considering *their* rationality – they are employed to implement the policy of the *politicians*.

Civil servants must have a better dialogue with the politicians, tell them how things really are. Not twist things around so much… but everybody wants to succeed (interview, 030401).

What this civil servant also expressed, besides this reflection on their role being quite problematic, was that with a given budget, no matter how small

it is, they are supposed to do their best for the inhabitants – concerning »soft questions« like preschool, school, recreation care, local culture like libraries, geriatric care, home-help service, functional disability care, and social care for individuals and families. As long as they do not break the law, they may consider themselves as free to form the activities as they see fit. Admittedly, decision-making concerning the activities does take place in the City District Committee, however, as one of the politicians expressed it, » actually, the real power – to be fairly truthful – real power is in fact possessed by the civil servants in Sweden« (interview, 021028).

The role of the civil servants at higher levels in the City District Administration, thus, seems to have been developed into some kind of political secretary post – with a rationality quite distinct from that civil servants at lower levels adapt to. Subsequently, at higher levels the rationality – concerning the dialogue with the citizens – may be summarized as this civil servant put it:

> Citizen dialogues with politicians, that's what our present system can accommodate. Additionally, the politicians get a lot of money for that. They've already got such a mission and the need for dialogue has therefore already been provided for (interview, 030219).

They are not yet pleased with this, though, as most civil servants, also at higher levels, seem to be aware that they are also obliged to improve the dialogue with the citizens – civil servants have double roles. This dialogue must, however, take place within the existing activities, they seem to think:

> The citizens are to be represented directly towards these actors: school (parents), housing company (tenants), civil information office (inhabitants). There may not yet be dialogues, though there are potentials for communication (interview, 030219).

This rationality, however, does not really seem to be in particularly good accordance with the present-day situation of the inhabitants in Biskopsgården, because what they need to influence is not the circumstances within these local realms, but rather problems being settled by actors at considerably higher levels in society.

Perhaps the traditional view on democracy – politicians say and civil servants carry through – should be called into question – is it the best means for realizing the national policy of social services? However, in that case – if we listen to the inhabitants in Biskopsgården – it would also be essential to include a change in the role of the civil servants, back to their former position as »serving the people«, and consequently released from the obligation to principally be loyal to their employer. Because such a change in roles would facilitate natural dialogues between citizens and civil servants, it would also open up possibilities for the civil servants to adapt to the actual needs of the inhabitants concerning the »simpler« problems solvable at the local level, e.g., at the level of a single school.

These conclusions are based on analyses of the rationalities of the civil servants in the case study, including also the rationalities of the politicians and the inhabitants concerning democratic participation. The discussions at the seminars on democracy were particularly valuable, as they brought together politicians, civil servants and inhabitants in a multiparty context – perhaps resulting in a new and distinctive local approach to democracy. Naturally, the limitations of the case study, focusing on the local city district level, make it hard to tell whether such a strategy as discussed above would be possible also in the comprehensive perspective of the Municipality or the nation. Nevertheless, from the bottom-up perspective of the local level, this is my impression of this complex of problems.

INTEGRATION

ONE OF the main objectives of the Local Development Agreements, and the whole policy of the Commission on Metropolitan Areas, is to stop the negative trend of ethnic and economic segregation. All actors seem to fully agree that unemployment for immigrants is one of the most serious obstacles for a positive development, however, activities directly aimed at increasing employment among immigrants are not included in the case study, as these are evaluated by other professions. Regardless of unemployment, however, many inhabitants do consider it a serious problem to be placed in ethnically and economically segregated areas. This is the kind of segregation in focus for this thesis – ethnic and economic housing segregation.

This discussion of segregation has already been initiated in the chapter on the case study, as it constitutes one of the most important themes studied within the evaluation. Statistics on the development of ethnic segregation in the Municipality, e.g., show that ethnic segregation in housing is still increasing when comparing all of the twenty-one city districts of Göteborg over time. The same picture pertains to economic segregation. Accordingly, the Local Development Agreements cannot claim to have changed the negative trend. Furthermore, as shown in the case study chapter, two conclusions could be drawn with the help of document analysis. First, that the locally employed were responsible for having interpreted that the objectives are best implemented in accordance with their ordinary procedure, resulting in their believing that ethnic and economic housing integration in Göteborg is outside their reach. Second, that these conclusions would have been possible for even the state to understand before the programme was initiated in Göteborg, as these circumstances were quite visible in the first local Action Plan written by the locally employed in Biskopsgården in October 2000, an official document sent to the authorities at that point in time.

This chapter will discuss how the civil servants, the employed in housing companies and the politicians were thinking about integration when implementing the programme, and how their rationalities correspond to those of the citizens.

ALL OF the politicians were quite clear on this issue, in fact, none of them expected the Local Development Agreements to have any influence on housing segregation. Actually one of them thought *nothing* really could change these circumstances:

> We've got housing segregation and we will always have it. I mean, regardless of whether it happens in Biskopsgården or somewhere else, we will always have a group coming last to the city, being forced to take those…, move to those areas. /…/ In such places will be put people who lack a social network, have a low income and are not established. We may say we'll transfer half of ›Askim‹ compulsorily to ›Biskopsgården‹, however, we'll have to count on a new such area developing in a year at the latest. Some areas are predestined to be segregated, I don't think there is anything we can do about that (interview, 030212).

Additionally, this rationality seemed to be so important to uphold, that the politicians felt compelled to argue for it by using one of the richest city districts as an example when discussing the »only possible« strategy for such a change to take place – compulsory transfer. Some of the civil servants admittedly discussed ethnic and economic housing segregation as a problem: »It's a pity we're working with integration in four city districts, when this should really be a matter for twenty-one« (interview, 030219). However, the most common attitude mirrored the opinion of the cited politician, the civil servants did not feel it was possible to use funding to decrease housing segregation – in fact, not even to use it to change the attitudes towards immigrants in areas like Biskopsgården – attitudes held by people living outside of the area. The civil servants naturally had a reason for this rationality – their primary concern was their responsibility for the people living in their housing area:

> We've probably arrived at this thinking: We have the people we have in Biskopsgården. Those we have, the people living here, it's they who *are* Biskopsgården. It would be arrogant to say that ›twenty per cent have to move, because we are going to send in others, with another background‹. We would feel terrible if we had to act like that. Therefore, the people living here, those are the ones we're working for. It's them we must respect and serve (interview, 030219).

With this rationality naturally also followed a focus on unemployment, as this is the main problem not only for the inhabitants, but also for the City District Administration due to the high costs of social allowances:

> I've got the same picture as most people have: Through work you get integration for free, and you get the language as well. Employment, that's our primary concern (interview, 030224).

As mentioned in the chapter on time, this strategy was also in good accordance with the national policy on integration – emphasizing integration activities directly related to economic growth, i.e. employment of immigrants, and putting no weight on, e.g., housing integration. With this line of thinking also followed stressing positive aspects at the local level in order to counteract stigmatization effects caused by e.g. mass media

– not to mention evaluators and researchers – as the locally employed, as well as the inhabitants, experienced the negative effects of the surrounding world's interest in their suburb. For most of the civil servants this rationality seemed self-evident:

> We've got ›Bo Bra‹ and one of the guiding-stars of that process: Increased inclination to remain in the area. This kind of a guiding-star is something we… for ages we have assumed that this is central. We have the people we have here, they're the ones who are going to live here. Somehow I think integration will be better, if they know the people living around them. The existence of social networks around people – it's this social network that really makes you integrated. Not the place where you happen to live in the city (interview, 030212).

The employees of the housing companies gave the impression that they fully agreed with this rationality. »Getting people to remain, that's the greatest victory we can reach« (direct observation, 031013). This may be considered as a natural reaction on the part of the real estate owners, as their assignment, at least that of the public housing companies, is in fact mainly about attending to the people living in their housing areas. Still, they also have been appointed to work for the development of the entire Municipality in an overall perspective. This assignment, though, does not seem to include ethnic housing integration:

> JENNY: Do you discuss positive special treatment of people born abroad, to increase ethnic housing integration?
> STEN: We don't have this in our letting policy.
> JENNY: Why not?
> STEN: Well… I don't have an answer to that question. /…/
> JENNY: Do you think it would be possible to realize positive special treatment – say forty per cent of all apartments being given to people born abroad?
> STEN: Of course it's possible.
> JENNY: Is it possible politically in your company?
> STEN: Well, it's… it sure isn't uncontroversial, not at all. But how controversial… You must recon, if we take the director of a district as an example, he or she has no private personal opinion about a Somalian family living at ›Solbacken‹. He or she is not against this. The thing is, all of the Swedes living at ›Solbacken‹ may tear up everything under the sun.

JENNY: And then she prevents such things from happening? By refusing the Somalian family?

STEN: No, I just say that if you would establish a rule that forty per cent of the flats are given to… well, however you want to say it… then, that effect may occur. Therefore this issue may be controversial. But for me as an individual, at least if I'm not a racist, if being director of the district of central Göteborg, it doesn't matter who lives at ›Solbacken‹. If they just behave and pay the rent. And get on well with each other. Therefore, the pressure does not come from the employees of the housing company. The pressure we, if so, are put under, is the pressure of the tenants. I'm not saying it's like this, but it could be like this.

JENNY: In the same way as being met with social housing you mean?

STEN: Yes. I mean, it is like that. That's what the society is like…

(interview, 030924).

The public housing companies within the case study had different letting policies, some required people to have an income from employment, while others accepted the tenants receiving social allowances. They had one thing in common, however: Even if economic discrimination has been accepted from time immemorial, the letting policies did not allow discrimination on ethnic grounds. All tenants have had a possibility to move from one area to another, the only two selection mechanisms in use are the time the tenants have lived in their flat, or within the realm of the housing company, and the income or the social allowance. Additionally, they have recently found out that using rental time in the realm of the housing company as a selection mechanism may be unfair, therefore one of the companies has instead chosen to use the time in the flat as such mechanism. Consequently, from the point of view of the hosing companies, the ethnic segregation in Göteborg thus must be a result of either the rental costs in, e.g., the centre of Göteborg being too high for immigrants or the immigrants selecting the ethnically segregated areas of their own free will. The employees in housing companies do not seem to think that the rationality cited above possibly be an ingredient in the negative development of ethnic segregation.

The inhabitants in the case study, however, did not find the selection mechanisms to be free from ethnic elements. On the contrary, many of the inhabitants have witnessed that they have been discriminated against when trying to be put on a waiting list or wanting to change their apartment. In a public meeting in Northern Biskopsgården, where about fifteen inhabit-

ants, most of them women from Somalia, met four of the politicians from the City District Committee, this theme was discussed. There were plenty of stories of how these women had suffered and all of them were certain that rental time had not been the selection mechanism in their cases. They were convinced that employment is the main instrument for selection in Biskopsgården; they also suspected that selection was made based on ethnicity and the number of children in the family (direct observation, 030924). Such stories have been related by several of the interviewed inhabitants. Most of the inhabitants do not have proof of discrimination, as this is quite hard to document if one does not have insight into the affairs of the company. This young woman, though, was quite convinced of the existence of selection mechanisms other than time and income:

> ›Granbacken‹ and ›Tallstigen‹ are nicer but it isn't possible to get a flat there if you are a single mother. My mother has applied there but she has never got one. She worked and had money – she's sent me to Eritrea which costs about twenty thousand, so she's got money. But she can't have an apartment there (interview, 021028).

The segregation thus is not only a question of differences between the city districts, also within the district, as this young woman has noticed, the differences are quite visible:

> There are many cultures in Biskop, you see a lot. Though, the thing is, I think Biskopsgården in itself… I mean, it's segregated. Immigrants from different countries, it's obvious really, in one yard lives Somalians, in the other Turks, maybe a little bit further down live Swedes. In between live Swedes. On the other side live mixed people. Then over there are rich people. You know exactly. ›I'm from Biskop‹. ›Well, you live on that street, right?‹ You know it! (interview, 021031).

Returning to the local employee's rationalities concerning segregation, how do they relate to these stories of the inhabitants? From a comprehensive perspective, the rationalities of the politicians, the civil servants and those employed in housing companies seem to include some kind of turning a blind eye to social injustice. The politician cited above, e.g., did not even seem to think about why ethnic segregation goes hand-in-hand with

economic segregation in the housing of Göteborg, and what consequences that may have for the society. The civil servants admittedly discuss this as a serious problem, however not one within the scope of their mission. One of the inhabitants expressed herself in this way when asked to describe her opinion about integration:

> Integration, as we know we immigrants, is the possibility to spend time with each other and learn from each other. There is going to be a better life, better opportunities, a better society (interview, 030121).

What happens, then, in the local environment, when the locally employed and the rest of the society leave the problems of ethnic and economic segregation to be managed by the inhabitants? This story, told by one of the young women in the film project, comprises a description of what kind of reality the ethnic segregation may result in for the inhabitants living in the actual area:

> One of my mates had a party for our class. She had moved from an island to Biskopsgården, to get to school faster. Her parents had bought her a flat. There was the party, thus, people came there, some were dark skinned. You know, at parties like that you really don't know… you may let anybody in to some of them, you kind of lose the control. They were like… then there was a fight. Between a black kid and another. Then… it was really a fight, bottles were thrown here and there, it was truly a fight.

> Then the next day in school – I wasn't there at the party – then I hear people talk about it. I'm sitting behind them in the classroom! Two Swedes are sitting in front of me. They talk like, they use words like… I haven't even *heard* these kind of words! Not even in the suburbs when people are fighting. ›Those fucking nigger fucks! Fucking coal-black niggers, they beat…‹ Like that! I promise, it really was that crude, Sara. I've never even heard an immigrant speak like that! You get it? Crude like that.

> Then I got up and: ›What are you saying? You don't have any respect! First of all, I'm sitting behind you! OK, I won't take that to my heart when you say coal-black nigger – but in fact I'm dark! Second, you can't talk like that!‹ They just: ›We can't control ourselves‹ and that's the worst part, when you stand up and you're resolute, then they… they're creeping so much… cause they, OK

they've got prejudices, but they've got no defence. And I just don't speak about Swedes! Really not. I mean, my stepfather is Swedish, I've grown up as half Swedish, kind of, my whole life since I was four years old. This was about… I don't know… people not coming from the city… kind of… not being from the suburbs (interview, 021031).

This story, about how youths may be treated if they look like foreigners or grew up in a suburb that is ethnically segregated, is unfortunately not exceptional in the case study. Such occurrences have naturally also affected their future visions of where they can settle when they are adults:

> KENN: For the kids I think it's better to grow up here, in the suburb, some kind of… Cause you learn a lot about everything and you see everything.
> ANDERS: It's not necessarily good always, there are advantages and disadvantages.
> KENN: Sure. But you'll see so much, all cultures, things you maybe would not have seen if you lived in the countryside. You get more… you kind of know more about other people, I think (interview, 021030).

From this point of view, segregation thus is considered to be positive, according to these young men. Several of the interviewed youths actually agreed with this statement, they liked living in the suburb where many different cultures are mixed up. Some of them did not consider it self-evident that housing integration would be worth striving for:

> MALENA: The thing is, I think… I… I don't want it to be *too* mixed in the whole of Göteborg. I don't want that. Everybody having a joint spirit of togetherness, everybody feeling… being equally safe. Because that day, another problem will arise… and I don't want to see that problem.
> JENNY: What problem?
> MALENA: I don't know. It will come, though. It's always like that, when you solve one problem, another shows up.
> JENNY: What is the problem then? /…/
> MALENA: Segregation. Racism. Everything… (interview, 021031).

It may not have been obvious what problem this young woman was referring to, however it seems to be closely related to racism. These statements may clarify her fear:

MALENA: The thing is: What is actually ›Swedish‹? I don't think I know one single Swede. I know lots of people with Swedish blood, but they are not real Swedes, you know (interview, 021031).

MARTINA: I am Swedish. But people, sort of, say like this: Swedes – real Swedes – they are racists (interview, 021029).

It is certainly positive that the youths are proud of their living environment and want to stay there when they grow up, that is not a problem. The trouble is that ethnic segregation seems to create a rationality of the inhabitants, implying more and more ethnic segregation – resulting in people outside of the suburbs, the Swedes, being considered as racists.

On the one hand, understanding the interdependencies of these aspects is difficult as is knowing what actions would be most beneficial and for whom – the youths are e.g. not even talking about where people were born, it is rather a question of a kind of suburban culture. However, as a consequence of this ambiguity, it is not really possible, and not my intention, to suggest any kind of desired strategy. On the other hand, as the policy of the national politicians initiating the funding programme was to aim for ethnic integration, it must be considered as quite negative that their strategies have made no difference in the physical environment supporting ethnic housing segregation – as was visible in the statistics.

SEGREGATION resulting in segregation – that is a relation most often cited by municipal and national actors to legitimate non-action concerning ethnic housing segregation. »It is their own choice if they are segregated«, such actors often explain their passivity, or they say »discriminating people born in *Sweden* is not possible with our laws«. What puzzled me most during the entire period of the evaluation was not the fact that these different rationalities on ethnic housing segregation are entangled in a complex way and constitute obstacles for a desired development, even if this has also been quite difficult to understand. What confused me most was rather the *total* absence of will and of the belief that ethnic integration in housing is worth striving for. Not one of the locally employed showed any sign of this possibly being part of their working life – not even those with direct contact to strong actors at the municipal level. And what about the public housing companies, e.g., why were they not striving for ethnic integration

in housing, when they have direct insight into the policy of their mother company – »Framtiden AB« – which, additionally, has some of the highest ranking municipal politicians on its board? The politicians of the City District Committee also have their direct channels to the Municipality, as their ordinary political procedure includes regular meetings between municipal politicians and politicians from the city districts. Why did they not, in the interviews, express any desire for ethnic integration in housing as part of their mission as local politicians? Also the civil servants may have channels to actors at higher levels. In one of the interviews, when we were discussing another theme than segregation, the civil servant suddenly mentioned her being a political representative in a regional committee, additionally, acting on the board of one of the public housing companies in Göteborg:

> JENNY: Then you can strive for integration from the inside!
> SUSAN: That's different… Well, if you don't have any further questions…
> (interview, 030331).

I did have further questions, actually, and the interview went on for more than half an hour after that. However, this issue was certainly not something she was at all interested in discussing. Also an actor at the municipal level, employed by the above-mentioned mother company for the public housing companies in Göteborg, repudiated my insinuation, as he seemed to perceive it, that he might be a proper actor for the assignment of ethnic housing integration:

> Ethnic integration is not our responsibility, it's not our pigeon, we can't do anything about that (participant-observation, 030520).

What would happen then, in practice, if this mother company and its six subsidiary housing companies – with altogether 67 800 apartments in nineteen of the twenty-one districts – would adapt to a common policy aiming at ethnic housing integration in Göteborg? Beginning with the apartments the companies are to build next year, these will, according to their own plans, amount to about 1 600 apartments in nine of the districts of Göteborg – 938 of the flats are to be built in areas with a very low percentage of immigrants (participant-observation, 030520). What would happen if these

apartments were offered to people born abroad? In the city district »Majorna« (240 new apartments), the share of inhabitants born abroad would increase from 10,9 per cent to 11,6 per cent, and in »Torslanda« (269 new apartments), this would imply an increase from 6,2 per cent to 7,5 per cent – within one year. If this had been done for four years, which was the total time perspective of the Local Development Agreements, the share would have been 13,8 per cent in »Majorna« and 11,2 per cent in »Torslanda«. If also the natural vacancies and the apartments involved in exchange of flats, which is about 10 per cent, had been offered primary to people born abroad, the share would most certainly not be very far from the municipal average of 19,4 per cent. Consequently, a municipal policy aiming at ethnic housing integration *would* make a difference in such a short time perspective as four years.

In fact, taking that sort of responsibility is not as unfeasible as it may appear to be in the interviews. Actually, last year, one of the public housing companies in Göteborg reacted really rapid when they heard that students from other cities had to decline their admission to the University because of the housing shortage. In a twinkling, they had offered five hundred apartments to non-local students, in e.g. the city districts »Majorna« and »Masthugget« (Göteborgs Posten, 020830). When local students then complained that they were being neglected, as they also had problems and were forced to stay in their parental homes because of the housing shortage, the company answered that they are, as usual, put in another prioritized group, called lodgers. This group, which constitutes about one fourth of the tenants that succeed in contracting apartments in the company, obtained about the same number of apartments as the non-local students – i.e. five hundred apartments (Göteborgs Posten, 020909).

Admittedly, this strategy of the housing company may also have caused quite a lot of criticism and discussion not visible in mass media. One thing pointing to such circumstances was an article published later on – in which the company stressed that most of the non-local students were actually offered apartments in suburban areas and those who got an apartment in the central districts of Göteborg where only offered short-time contracts (Göteborgs Posten, 021221). This, however, just supports the feeling that the problem is a question of social shortcomings – not physical shortage.

Perhaps this rationality of turning a blind eye to social injustice – resulting in a steady increase in ethnic housing segregation in Göteborg – ac-

tually should be perceived as a black box. There certainly are such signals, e.g., the cited politician who was so compelled to argue for his rationality that he used the concept compulsory transfer in an attempt to stop further discussions; and the civil servant who did not feel like participating in any dialogue at all on integration, if it was connected to her activities as political representative in the housing company. Both of them were eager to keep the black box of ethnic housing segregation locked.

TO SUM UP, the analysis of the empirical findings concerning power aspects has resulted in a greater awareness of why local employees have acted in the way they have when implementing the Local Development Agreements. Circumstances that seemed extremely complicated during the period of data collection, turned out to be quite explicable when conducting the analysis – from the point of view of the context of a certain actor.

Additionally, the analysis has resulted in the exposure of some black boxes; those boxes that have actually been under reconsideration due to micro-actors finding reason to oppose them. Perhaps this is actually what one can expect as an outcome of a national funding programme such as the Local Development Agreements, which has stressed the bottom-up perspective so intensively: Helping micro-actors to reconsider certain black boxes used by macro-actors, such as the City District Administration and the City District Committee, as prerequisites for their accomplishments.

In an analysis such as this, it may be easy to yield to the temptation to only see black boxes as something negative; a conspiracy obstructing a positive development from the point of view of the inhabitants. The existence of black boxes is of course also positive, as they facilitate action within a reasonable time perspective. What is important, however, is that the thoughts, habits, forces and objects that are sealed in black boxes actually contribute to a better life for the inhabitants in the so-called exposed suburban housing areas – as it was for them, and not the local employees, that the national funding programme actually came into being.

What the analysis of power aspects has brought into light is an awareness of the need for inhabitants to take the role of micro-actor and reconsider black boxes, as they seem to be the only ones with the ability to understand when a black box is impeding their progress. Local employees such as civil servants, politicians and the employed in housing companies may certainly be eminent micro-actor allies. However, they

will probably never manage to actually take notice of potential black boxes, as they are prisoners in their own contexts.

IN THE NEXT PART of the thesis, an analysis will be conducted concerning the third theoretical theme: learning. This will be accomplished, first, through a literature review on the theoretical perspectives on learning and, second, by describing the results of the analysis on learning aspects of the empirical findings in the case study.

THEORIES ON LEARNING

WHEN SEARCHING for a theoretical point of departure for analysing learning aspects in the empirical findings from the case study, the choice fell on theories developed within organizational research. The reason why these theories were found to be relevant as a starting point was, first, that they are often referred to in the field of planning and, second, that the findings are often closely related to theories used in the area of time and power.

According to organizational researchers Mark Easterby-Smith, John Burgoyne and Luis Araujo, there are two diverging approaches within the field of organization and learning, which are being developed in the domains of management and corporate strategy, respectively. First of all, there is the »organizational learning approach«, which concentrates on »understanding the nature and processes of learning (and unlearning) within organizations« (Easterby-Smith, Burgoyne and Araujo 1999: 8). And secondly, there is the »learning organization approach«, which seeks to develop »normative models and methodologies for creating change in the direction of improved learning processes« (Easterby-Smith, Burgoyne and Araujo 1999: 8).

The main distinction between the two directions is the domain in which they have been developed and, consequently, how the approaches are used – organizational learning being developed in the realm of academic research and the learning organization approach developed mainly in the realm of consultants. Further, even if the last-mentioned approach most often draws on ideas from organizational learning, there has not been much transfer
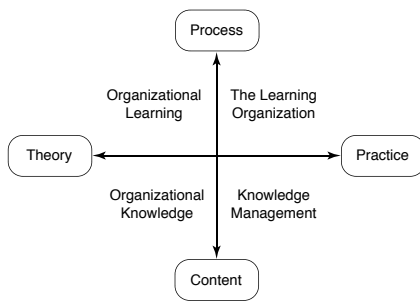
Fig. 34. Mapping of key topics. After Easterby-Smith and Lyles (2003: 3).

in the other direction. Therefore, knowledge of organizational learning is most often found in literature on academic research, while literature on learning organization is often based on the same theoretical framework, but has a more action-oriented approach and also often comprises elements of measurement aimed at evaluating what the organization has learnt.

Except for the above-mentioned distinction between theory and practice, a similar distinction can, according to Easterby-Smith and Marjorie A Lyles, also be made between the learning process and knowledge (see Fig. 34) – »knowledge being the stuff (or content) that the organization possesses, and learning being the process whereby it acquires this stuff« (Easterby-Smith and Lyles 2003: 3).

In this chapter of the thesis concerning theories on learning, there is a special focus on the topics organizational learning and organizational knowledge – as the present aim is to search for a theoretical framework appropriate for analysis. Still, if we consider the research project as a whole, it may of course be thought to focus also on the realm of practice: the learning organization. However, this does not imply that the thesis will be concluded with normative models and methodologies for creating change in the direction of improved learning processes, but rather it will attempt to contribute knowledge that facilitates the development of such methodologies.

DOUBLE-LOOP LEARNING

ONE VIEW of organizational learning thinks of learning as being based on effective processing: understanding of, and responding to, information both inside and outside the organization. Chris Argyris and Donald Schön, researchers in organizational behaviour and planning, are representatives of this viewpoint of organizational learning (Easterby-Smith, Burgoyne and Araujo 1999: 3). They have developed a theory of action for organizational learning, which has its roots in the Lewenian[17] tradition developed in the 1940s (Argyris, Putnam and Smith 1985: 8). Thus, the theory is built upon the conviction that change in knowledge is always preceded by an action.

The idea of organizational action is logically prior to that of organizational learning, because learning itself – thinking, knowing or remembering – is a kind of action, and because the performance of an observable action new to

[17] Kurt Lewin was a pioneer in group dynamics and action research.

an organization is the most decisive test of whether a particular instance of organizational learning has occurred. How can we know what it means for an organization to learn, then, unless we know what it means for it to take action? (Argyris and Schön 1995: 8).

This focus on action, consequently, makes the learning process visible, the action can, in itself, reveal whether the learning process has been effective (Argyris and Schön 1995: 33). Further, it was argued by Argyris and Schön that an organization starts to learn whenever an individual in the organization inquires into a problematic situation on the organization's behalf (Argyris and Schön 1995: 16).

The notion of organizational inquiry is understood as the process of an individual looking for more information in order to really understand and to be convinced of something. It is not sufficient, however, that the individual herself understand something; this knowledge must also be part of the organization in some way. Thus, as Argyris and Schön argued, an organization may know more, or less, than its individuals do. This is dependent on how the organization is structured.

If a collectivity meets these conditions, so that its members can *act* for it, then it may be said to learn when its members *learn* for it, carrying out on its behalf a process of inquiry that results in a learning product (Argyris and Schön 1995: 11).

However, for an organization, there are different ways of learning. Argyris and Schön distinguished between »single-loop learning« and »double-loop learning«. Single-loop learning may be adequate for solving several organizational problems. Such learning processes may work out very well when an organization only needs to change its *strategies* of action (Argyris and Schön 1995: 20). These situations, however, are hardly ever a problem for organizations, as the procedures of single-loop learning are more or less well known. One example of such a process is when politicians increase the number of schools because they realise that the present schools are overcrowded.

More serious problems, however, often occur when an organization needs processes of double-loop learning in order to solve a problem. In such a case, one of the conditions that has to be fulfilled relates to the philosophy – or *theory* – on which the organization has built its activities

(Argyris and Schön 1995: 24). A well-known and stable theory of the organization's actions is always embedded in its structure. This theory may be seen as the »instrumental theory-in-use« (Argyris and Schön 1995: 14). The theory may, for example, be embedded in the form of maps, files, computer programs, physical objects, action programs, or other systems that the members of the organization use regularly. Individual actions may be considered as constituting double-loop learning only when individual inquiry leads to considerable changes in the organization. »By double-loop learning, we mean learning that results in a change in the values of theory-in-use, as well as in its strategies and assumptions« (Argyris and Schön 1995: 21).

THEORY-IN-USE AND ESPOUSED THEORY

ACCORDING TO organization researcher Edgar Schein, a parallel approach, which also stresses theory-in-use, considers that learning is implicated in the culture of the organization. He has argued that the importance of culture certainly is underestimated in theory on organizational learning and also maintained the value of integrating social psychology, sociology and anthropology. »Culture needs to be observed, more than measured, if organization studies is to advance« (Schein 1996: 229). Shared norms, group values, and assumptions have a crucial effect on how the systems of organizations operate. These are often held tacitly and are often stable, to a great extent influencing new staff even if they are employed to initiate learning processes aimed at organizational change. According to Schein, anchoring of theoretical concepts in observed reality is fundamental, if the purpose is to produce useful results for practitioners. If not, academic research will only establish the fact that even if individual projects learn new operative methods, these do not diffuse into other groups or organizations. Thus, lacking double-loop learning, as discussed by Argyris and Schön. Further, Schein maintained that culture plays a crucial role in this process, defining the concept of culture as »the set of shared, taken-for-granted implicit assumptions that a group holds and that determine how it perceives, thinks about, and reacts to its various environments« (Schein 1996: 236).

Schein argued that there are three different occupational cultures, in which there exist quite different assumptions, fairly visible through their

norms: »the operators« fulfilling the basic mission of the organization; »the engineers« supplying the organization with technical systems; and »the executives« responsible to the owner shareholders. While the first-mentioned group is often involved in learning processes that are the target of change programs, their experience seldom diffuses into the two other cultures. This is why organizational learning hitherto has failed, Schein maintained – most likely referring to a specific learning process not taking place. To be successful, the built-in conflict between these three cultures must be reconciled with the learning system (Schein 1996: 238).

Argyris and Schön seem to agree with this when discussing the experience that individuals of an organization, when asked to describe an organization's theory-in-use, often describe theories that are completely different from what they obviously use in their everyday working life. Argyris and Schön referred to this as »espoused theory«, e.g., the theory that the members use to »explain or justify a given pattern of activity« (Argyris and Schön 1995: 13). It is quite easy to identify an organization's espoused theory, i.e., what its members usually respond when asked in questionnaires or structured interviews. The theory-in-use, however, is considerably more difficult to grasp, and such a study, consequently, requires time-consuming processes within the organization. Another important aspect is, that when the organization finally discovers the real state of the theory-in-use, the dilemma is that most organizations embed theories-in-use that are counterproductive to double-loop learning (Argyris and Schön 1995: 76). These systematically counterproductive theories are often sustained by feelings of embarrassment and threats, something that also makes practitioners defensive when asked to discuss them. Here, the issue of power relations also becomes tangible.

TRIGGERS FOR LEARNING

THIS INTERPLAY of power aspects may be considered to be partly paid attention to in an evaluative and action oriented model called UPQA, short for »User Participation in Quality Assessment«, developed by social scientist Hanne Kathrine Krogstrup (1997). This approach, because it is action-oriented, may mainly be considered to be a »learning organization approach« (see Fig. 34). Here, however, we will discuss the theoretical standpoints it

is based upon, additionally the theoretical improvement that has been made within the approach, which is valuable for the framework of this thesis. Krogstrup argued that in a management-oriented evaluation approach, which is the general mode of working, the evaluation commences from goals formulated by the politicians in the programme and the criteria for evaluation are formulated based on these goals. The role of the user then, in such a top-down approach, is to determine within this framework whether or not the intervention is satisfactory. And, which is important, the users do not participate in any social process with each other. In a bottom-up approach such as UPQA, in contrast, the aim is to create a dialogue, on the one hand, between the actors at the field, and on the other, between the field and the evaluators.

UPQA thus is a process-oriented approach, supposed to promote learning in the organization that is to be evaluated. Krogstrup used the concept »triggers for learning«, which are the elements that break the barrier of such change and endorse organizational learning in the public sector. She maintained that such triggers must be sought for among the activities of the inhabitants and in social movements of the local context – hence, it is here in the public discourse that citizens make their demands of the future (Krogstrup 1997: 210, drawing on; Ranson and Stewart 1994). The aim of UPQA is the development of self-reflection for public actors, which in turn shall contribute to revealing latent levels that may lead to the recognition of the real obstacles to implementing the demands of the users. With such knowledge it would be possible to carry out changes at both levels: on the one hand, at the level of the users and, on the other, at the level of the locally employed. UPQA thus contributes to double-loop learning. This distinguishes it from top-down approaches that lead to single-loop learning, which will only allow changes *within* the existing rationality (Krogstrup 1997: 213).

TRIPLE-LOOP LEARNING

THE UPQA APPROACH seems to have certain similarities with the concept »triple-loop learning«, which has recently begun to be discussed in the field of organizational learning (see e.g. DiBella 2003: 150, drawing on; Bartunek and Moch 1987; Torbert 1994; and Säntti 2003 drawing on; Beairsto and Ruohotie 2003: 134). According to organization researcher Risto Säntti,

double-loop learning may be considered to have taken place when there has been a revision of established theories of business, while triple-loop learning additionally includes a generation of processes to challenge theories of business (see Fix. 35). Triple-loop learning thus describes a situation where a process has been initiated that deliberately aims at confronting the prevailing theories-in-use of an organization.

Fig. 35. Triple-loop learning not only includes »regulation of behaviour« (singe-loop learning) and »revision of theories« (double-loop learning), but additionally includes »generation of processes to challenge theories of business«. After Säntti (2003) and Beairsto/ Ruohotie (2003: 134).
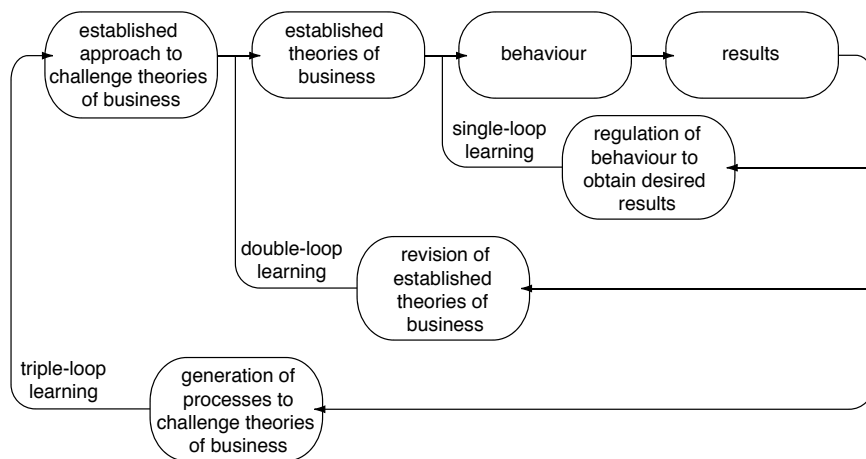
This concept of triple-loop learning was actually not known to me at the time when the theoretical framework for the thesis was formulated and when the analysis of the empirical material was underway. Therefore it was not applied as a »node« when the coding took place. Still, the concept has been included in this chapter about theories on learning because of its close relationship to the concept of triggers for learning. Actually, the concept of triple-loop learning seems to describe theoretically what occurs in the UPQA approach when it deliberately promotes double-loop learning in the organization that is to be evaluated.

PHRONETIC ORGANIZATION RESEARCH

THERE IS yet another approach – discussed by Flyvbjerg drawing on the Aristotelian concepts of knowledge – arguing for a progression of organization research through use of an approach labelled »phronetic organization research« (Flyvbjerg 2003a). With phronetic organization research we have actually moved the focus from »organizational learning« towards

»organizational knowledge«, if using the terminology of Easterby-Smith and Lyles (see Fig. 34), as phronesis is considered to be knowledge.

Flyvbjerg has described that »epistemic organization research«, which is the mainstream of organizational research according to him, results in scientific knowledge – *knowing why* (Flyvbjerg 2003a: 359). In contrast, the objective of techne, which is often used in development work on the part of consultants aiming for better functioning organizations, is to create technical *know how*. Phronesis, which is often translated as »prudence«, means when a person possess practical wisdom, e.g. »knowledge of how to manage in each particular circumstance that can never be equated with or reduced to knowledge of general truths about managing« (Flyvbjerg 2003a: 360-361). Flyvbjerg maintained, drawing on Aristotle, that the proper functioning of every organization and society is dependent on efficient operation of all three virtues – however with a specific focus on phronesis, as it incorporates the possession of them all.

> *Phronesis* concerns values and goes beyond analytical, scientific knowledge (*episteme*) and technical knowledge or know how (*techne*) and it involves judgement and decisions made in the manner of a virtuoso social actor. I will argue that phronesis is commonly involved in practices of organization and, therefore, that any attempts to reduce organization research to *episteme* or *techne* or to comprehend organizational practices in those terms are misguided (Flyvbjerg 2003a: 358).

In what way then may such research be conducted? What are the special signs of classic phronetic organization research? Flyvbjerg pointed out three value-rational questions that are important to pose (Flyvbjerg 2003a: 364):

1. Where are we going?
2. Is this development desirable?
3. What, if anything, should we do about it?

He then explained that the »we« is not only the researchers, but also concerned practitioners within the organization under study. He also added yet another question, when realizing the implications of power aspects for phronesis (Flyvbjerg 2003a: 364):

4. Who gains and who loses, and by which mechanisms of power?

Nobody is wise enough to answer the fourth question alone, he admitted. Still, he expects phronetic organization researchers to do what they can do

to contribute their share to facilitating further development of organization research. Because, if the contemporary marginalization of phronetic research continues, ethics will continue to be excluded.

THEORIA AND EPISTEME, POIESIS AND TECHNE

PHRONETIC organizational research, thus, according to Flyvbjerg, implies a certain inclusion of ethics in planning – or at least the absence of phronetic organization research entails exclusion of ethics. To understand more about this correlation we turn back to the human activities that always precede learning – theoria, poiesis and praxis, using the vocabulary of Aristotle. Beginning with the first two notions, Aristotle stressed the importance of distinguishing between action (theoria) and production (poiesis):

> Within the sphere of what can be otherwise, there are both things that belong within the realm of production and things that belong within that of action; but production is a different thing from action /…/, so that rational disposition in the sphere of action will also be different from rational productive disposition. By the same token, nor is either of them a species of the other: it is not the case either that action is production, or that production is action (Aristotle 2002: p. 179, Book VI, 1140a1).

The understanding of the concepts of human activities may be more clear if related also to the two interrelated concepts of knowledge. Systematic knowledge (episteme), which is related to action (theoria), was defined by Aristotle as follows:

> Systematic knowledge, then, is a disposition that is active in demonstration /…/; for a person knows in this sense when he has conviction of a certain sort and the starting points are known to him – since if they are not clearer than the conclusion, he will have the knowledge only in an incidental sense (Aristotle 2002: p. 179, Book VI, 1139b30).

Systematic knowledge (episteme), hence, is knowledge that we know cannot be otherwise, this knowledge therefore is also eternal and cannot come into being, nor pass out of being (Aristotle 2002: p. 178, Book VI, 1139b20).

This kind of knowledge is different from technical expertise (techne), which is knowledge closely related to production (poiesis):

> Every technical expertise is concerned with coming into being, that is, with the practice and theory of how to bring into being some one of the things that are capable either of being or of not being, and the origin of whose coming into being lies in the producer and not in the thing being produced; for technical expertise is not concerned with things that either are or come to be by necessity, nor with things that are or come to be by nature, since these have their origin in themselves (Aristotle 2002: p. 179, Book VI, 1140a15).

As is obvious in the quotation, the distinction between systematic knowledge (episteme) and technical expertise (techne) has nothing to do with the difference between theory and practice. It is instead apparent that also the concept of technical expertise (techne) is the result of thinking and theorizing, only it aims at being prepared to produce something, rather than at being ready to act. With this in mind it may be better not to use the concept »scientific knowledge« for episteme, as does Flyvbjerg (drawing on another translation of the Nicomachean Ethics), as it may result in the erroneous conclusion that episteme is produced only in the realm of academic research. To clarify, the significant difference between the notions is that action (theoria) relates to systematic knowledge (episteme), which is eternal and we know cannot be otherwise; while production (poiesis) relates to technical expertise (techne), which is knowledge only in an incidental sense.

PRAXIS AND PHRONESIS

AS MENTIONED EARLIER, it was with the third concept of human activities – praxis – that inclusion of ethics was supposed to take place, according to Flyvbjerg. What was then meant by praxis in the works of Aristotle? Also this notion was defined by relating it to a kind of knowledge – wisdom (phronesis):

> On the subject on wisdom, we may get what we need once we have considered who it is that we call ›wise‹. /…/ [W]isdom will not be systematic knowledge, and neither will it be technical expertise: not systematic knowledge, because what is in the sphere of action can be otherwise, and not technical expertise,

because action and production belong to different kinds. It remains therefore for it to be a true disposition accompanied by rational prescription, relating to action in the sphere what is good and bad for human beings. For the end of production is something distinct from the productive process, whereas that of action will not be; here, doing well itself serves an end. It is for this reason that we think Pericles and people of that sort wise – because they are capable of forming a clear view of what is good for themselves and what is good for human beings in general; we think that this description applies to those who are good at managing property and at politics (Aristotle 2002: p. 179-180, Book VI, 1140a25-35).

What Aristotle stressed was that wisdom (phronesis) is neither systematic knowledge (episteme) nor technical expertise (techne) – wisdom (phronesis) is closely related to a capability of human beings to form a clear view of what is good for themselves and what is good for human beings in general. Consequently, the notion of praxis must be equivalent to this capability or disposition of goodness. Still, wisdom (phronesis) may also be considered an amalgamation of systematic knowledge (episteme) and technical expertise (techne):

> The necessary conclusion is that wisdom is a disposition accompanied by rational prescription, true, in the sphere of human good, relating to action (Aristotle 2002: p. 180, Book VI, 1140b20)

What is important, though, is that wisdom (phronesis) must not be considered to be related *only* to this amalgamation – as wisdom (phronesis) is actually primarily interconnected with the third human activity: the disposition of goodness (praxis).

SPACE, PLACE AND FACE

NOW THAT we have understood more about the significance of phronetic organization research, there may be reason to turn back to some of the spatial approaches to interorganizational learning discussed in the end of the chapter on previous research and see how these may be related to the Aristotelian concepts.
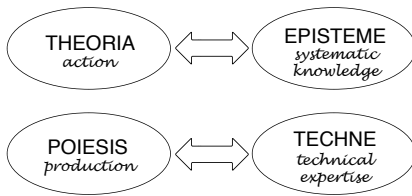
Fig. 36. Aristotelian concepts of human activities and knowledge (Aristotle 2002: p. 178-179, Book VI, 1139b20-1140a15).

What all of these approaches to interorganizational learning actually had in common was that they discuss how to bridge over, or to reach understanding between, two different worlds. Læssøe labelled them the world of control and the world of susceptibility (1995: 339); Malbert identified them as theory and practice (1998: 39); Michaeli called them the system and the lifeworld (2000: 31);[18] Latour named them the abstract and the concrete (1998: 253); Jensen called them environmental management and urban ecology (1994: 364); Bech-Danielsen described them as a superior idea and the genius loci (1998: 19-31); while Birgersson, Malbert and Strömberg referred to them as space and place (2001: 39) – tags corresponding also to the Aristotelian spatial concepts chora and topos, discussed by Ramírez in the chapter on time (1995: 171). In these approaches to interorganizational learning scholars sometimes, instead of using spatial concepts, named the two worlds after the kind of action being conducted. Birgersson, e.g., called them instrumental action and meaning-in-action (1996: 197). Occasionally they also used the kind of knowledge that was developed to distinguish the two worlds. Falkheden, e.g., labelled them intellectual knowledge and sensuous knowledge (1999: 189).

Except for these differences, it actually seems to be possible to understand the two worlds presented in all of these approaches by using the Aristotelian terminology on learning (see Fig. 36): action (theoria) being related to systematic knowledge (episteme), and production (poiesis) relating to technical expertise (techne).

Some of these approaches to interorganizational learning also included a third world when they discussed the problem of bridging the two worlds of space and place; abstract and concrete; or whatever labels were used. Latour, e.g., discussed this essential relationship in terms of successive layers of transformation (1998: 253); Læssøe proposed catalyst organizations (1995: 339); Malbert said link functions (1998: 39); Falkheden stressed designed links (1999: 230); Bech-Danielsen described the aesthetic of locus (1998: 31); Birgersson discussed well-considered-action (1996: 197); Jensen used several expressions to capture this: locality (1994: 355), face (2001: 3) and site (1995); while Forsén and Fryk labelled it interplace (1999: 22) – maintaining that the consciousness of the place is born in the interplace, i.e., the capacity for self-reflection.

What all these concepts in the third realm had in common was that they were discussed in terms of amalgamating the former two concepts. The

[18] The distinction between system (the structure of society) and lifeworld (the everyday life) – both being indispensable for the understanding of social change – was the fundamental principal in Habermas' theory of communicative action (Habermas 1984).

aesthetics of locus, e.g., being a result of the amalgamation of the aesthetics of place based on topology, and the aesthetic of space departing from a superior idea that perceives all places as identical – and, as Bech-Danielsen put it, each of them constituting three different ways of understanding reality.

The question is whether this third world may also be understood by using the Aristotelian terminology of learning (see Fig. 37): disposition of goodness (praxis) relating to wisdom (phronesis). The situation, however, turns out to be more complicated. Even if it seems obvious that all of the approaches are discussing learning as a self-evident strategy for achieving understanding between the two worlds of space and place; abstract and concrete; and so on, not all of them discuss what sort of human activity precedes the learning process, or the kind of knowledge resulting from the learning process. The activities and the knowledge may of course be considered to be present anyway, however, these are not often explicitly discussed and examined. Actually, this third world is instead often discussed in spatial terms, as e.g. successive layers of transformation; catalyst organizations; designed links; or aesthetics of locus. Some of the approaches actually also refer to the kind of knowledge being developed, e.g. competencies developed in the interplace, but more seldom they discuss the kind of action that precedes the learning process, e.g., well-considered-action. Maybe this last-mentioned deficiency is the most problematic, as it is quite complicated to understand what kind of activity the Aristotelian notion of praxis implies in reality.

As a consequence of this lack of stringency, it may be quite difficult to tell whether the above-mentioned approaches to this third world are discussing a disposition of goodness relating to wisdom (phronesis) – or whether they should instead be considered epistemic organization research resulting in know why knowledge, or development work on the part of consultants leading to know how (techne), as was discussed by Flyvbjerg. In relation to this, it is important to consider the role of the researcher or the practitioner as well, as was highlighted, e.g., by Lapintie in the chapter on power (Lapintie 2003a: 6). The theoretical framework on learning in this thesis should show whether it is fruitful to keep the Aristotelian concepts on human activity and knowledge at a distance when analysing the empirical material on learning aspects, and additionally to keep them separate from the spatial and temporal aspects discussed in the chapter on time.
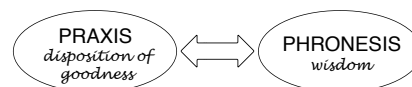

Fig. 37. Aristotelian concepts of human activities and knowledge (Aristotle 2002: p. 179-180, Book VI, 1140a25-1140b20).

SUMMING UP ON LEARNING

WHAT OVERALL CONCLUSIONS may then be drawn based on this literature review on learning, considering the analysis of learning aspects of the empirical findings within the scope of this thesis?

Argyris and Schön stressed action as a prerequisite for learning and developed the two notions of single-loop and double-loop learning. They argued that single-loop learning has occurred when an organization changes its strategies, while double-loop learning results in change of the philosophy, the theory, on which the organization has built its activities. This theory they entitled theory-in-use or instrumental theory-in-use, as it is embedded in the system used by members of the organization. However, most often the theory-in-use it not visible, instead an espoused theory is often presented to explain or justify a given pattern of activity. The serious problem is, according to Argyris and Schön, that most organizations embed theories-in-use that are counterproductive to double-loop learning.

This last-mentioned discussion on theories-in-use has certain similarities to cultures sharing taken-for-granted implicit assumptions, which determine how they perceive, think about things, and react. Schein argued that there are three different occupational cultures, in which there exist quite different assumptions, fairly visible through their norms. While one of the groups is often involved in learning processes that are the target of change programs, their experience seldom diffuses into the two other cultures. To be successful, the built-in conflict between these three cultures must be reconciled with the learning system

As the learning organization approach in the realm of consultants aims at developing models and methodologies for improved learning processes, they are most often based on theoretical concepts developed by the field of organizational learning in the realm of academic research – and as mentioned before, transfer in the other direction is not at all as frequent. There are exceptions, however, and the UPQA approach seems to be one of them. UPQA is a process-oriented evaluation approach, supposed to promote learning in the organization that is to be evaluated. Krogstrup, drawing on Randson and Stewart, used the concept triggers for learning, which are the

elements that break the barrier of such change and endorse organizational learning in the public sector. She maintained that such triggers must be sought for among activities of the inhabitants and in social movements of the local context – hence, it is here in the public discourse the citizens make their demands of the future. The concept of triple-loop learning was also discussed in relation to the UPQA approach. This concept, as described by Säntti, implies that there is a generation of processes to challenge theories of business, i.e. this may be considered as what actually occurs in the UPQA approach when it deliberately promotes double-loop learning.

There was yet another approach – discussed by Flyvbjerg drawing on the Aristotelian concepts of knowledge – arguing for a progress of organization research by using an approach denominated by »phronetic organization research«. Flyvbjerg pointed out four value-rational questions he considered to be most important and concluded that if the contemporary marginalization of phronetic research continues, ethics will continue to be excluded. For further understanding of Flyvbjerg's ideas, we went directly to Aristotelian literature in order to get a clear definition of the concepts in use. Aristotle stressed the importance of distinguishing between the notions, the significant difference between them being that with action (theoria) follows a relation to systematic knowledge (episteme), which is eternal and we know cannot be otherwise; while with production (poiesis) follows a relation to technical expertise (techne), which is knowledge only in an incidental sense. However, it was with the third concept on human activities – praxis – that inclusion of ethics was supposed to take place, according to Flyvbjerg. What Aristotle stressed was that wisdom (phronesis) is neither systematic knowledge (episteme) nor technical expertise (techne) – wisdom (phronesis) is related to a capability of human beings to form a clear view of what is good for themselves and what is good for human beings in general. Consequently, the notion of praxis must be equivalent to this capability or disposition of goodness.

Subsequently, we returned to some of the approaches of interorganizational learning that had been discussed in the chapter on previous research and found that what they actually had in common was that they discussed how to bridge over, or to reach understanding between, two different worlds. These worlds, which were, e.g., called space and place or environmental management and urban ecology, were also possible to understand using the Aristotelian concepts described above. However, when the ap-

proaches to interorganizational learning discussed a third world, e.g. using terms like face or competencies in the interplace, the relationship to the Aristotelian concepts were not formulated as stringently as with the former two worlds – resulting in uncertainty as to whether the above-mentioned approaches to this third world actually discussed a disposition of goodness related to wisdom (phronesis). As a consequence, the theoretical framework on learning for this thesis will be shaped to keep the Aristotelian concepts at a distance, in order to investigate whether this may be a fruitful way of analysing the empirical material.

PRESENT THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON LEARNING

FIRST, there seems to be a need to distinguish human activities from knowledge. The prerequisite for learning is that some kind of action takes place. Three different Aristotelian concepts of human activities have been discussed:

☞ THEORIA is action and POIESIS is production and either of them is a species of the other. PRAXIS is a capability of human beings to form a clear view of what is good for themselves and what is good for human beings in general – in short it is a disposition of goodness.

As mentioned earlier, these activities are related to different Aristotelian concepts of knowledge, which we will return to, however, human activities result in different kinds of learning processes:

☞ SINGLE-LOOP LEARNING takes place when an organization needs to change its *strategies* of action, while DOUBLE-LOOP LEARNING occurs when the embedded *theory* on action of the organization has to be changed. TRIGGERS FOR LEARNING are defined as elements that break the barrier of change and endorse double-loop learning in an organization.

Such learning processes may be developed with the help of different kinds of contextual activities. The socially constructed shared assumptions of an organization may obscure the existence of a hidden agenda.

☞ The THEORY-IN-USE of an organization is the theory embedded in its structure. The members use this theory, with or without conscious-

ness, when acting and producing in their everyday working life. The ESPOUSED THEORY of an organization is the theory the members present, when asked to explain their activities.

The learning processes include different kinds of knowledge. In the literature review three Aristotelian concepts of knowledge were discussed:

&⸋ EPISTEME is systematic knowledge, a disposition active in demonstration, related to action (theoria), thus eternal knowledge that cannot be otherwise. TECHNE is technical expertise related to production (poiesis), consequently context-dependant knowledge related to a concern with coming into being. PHRONESIS is wisdom, related to a disposition of goodness (praxis). Phronesis is neither systematic knowledge nor technical expertise, although both of them may be considered amalgamated in it.

In summary, this literature review on learning in planning is concluded with some concepts that will be used in conducting the analysis of the empirical findings in the case study: three kinds of human actions preceding learning; three concepts of learning procedures; two theories that may be embedded in the structures of the organizations; additionally three sorts of knowledge. In the next chapter, the results from the analysis will be presented.

LEARNING IN PRACTICE

IN PRACTICE, it was obvious that all of the organizations included in the case study, in one way or another, were involved in learning processes – some changing the strategies of organizations and others also having the potential to influence the basic theories of organizations. In this chapter, we will look at how learning took place in relation to some of the projects in the case study and what consequences the learning processes seem to have had for themes like safety, segregation and democracy – the themes being in focus in the evaluation of the funding programme.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

A RATIONALITY, irrespective of whether it is open or hidden in a black box, must be considered as being constituted by knowledge. Further, as discussed in the chapter theories on learning, an action is what initiates a learning process and makes it visible. Consequently, when power has been exercised, through an action upon an action, the learning process will be revealed. As a consequence, situations in which a black box, or a visible rationality, is attacked by a micro-actor, or in which an actor seems to be eager to keep a black box closed, have been considered to be of special interest when analysing the theme of learning.

Such an event took place when the civil servants involved in the distribution of funding demanded that non-profit associations and non-governmental organizations collaborate with others, if perchance to receive funding. This requirement was also referred to sometimes when proposals were rejected; the argument being that such demand was documented at higher levels as a prerequisite for the funding. However, this prerequisite later on turned out to have been socially constructed at the local level. As it simultaneously also became obvious to some of the civil servants that this ultimatum was an obstacle for the required change locally, they started to alter their opinion about it. Therefore, this prerequisite must rather be considered as having been the espoused theory of the civil servants. The theory-in-use that instead was revealed at that point, by one civil servant, was the taken-for-granted assumption that immigrants always benefit from adapting to other cultures, and particularly to the Swedish culture. If this hypothesis had been discussed, instead of insisting on collaboration between reluctant actors, it would have opened up opportunities for quite an interesting learning process.

There *were* strong reactions against this rationality, mainly coming from non-governmental organizations with considerable experience from local development work. It should have been possible for the local employees to turn these reactions into triggers for learning – facilitating double-loop learning. This was in fact within reach, as one of the non-governmental organizations actually was invited to the City District Committee with the purpose of having a dialogue with the politicians. However, as

shown earlier, suspiciousness towards the non-governmental organization was predominant at that meeting, and therefore this opportunity was not triggered. The only thing the City District Committee could offer the non-governmental organization, at that point in time, was to collaborate with them within the existing rationality – even though they were aware that their present strategies was inadequate, if the goal was to help some groups of inhabitants with their most severe problems.

Awareness of this restriction of the City District Committee and its administration caused some non-governmental organizations to transform their strategies, at least in their applications for funding, so as to conform to this rationality. Consequently, instead of interfering in the everyday working life of e.g. the social welfare workers, they tried to find approaches that would not interfere with the present way of working. Thus, they changed their strategies, not their theories. Additionally, there was no influence on the strategies or the theories of the City District Administration – consequently, a development took place that facilitated single-loop learning (in the realm of the organization) instead of double-loop learning (which could have taken place in both realms). The earlier mentioned theory-in-use – immigrants will always benefit from adapting to other cultures, and particularly to the Swedish culture – therefore must be considered as an obstacle to double-loop learning.

If we try to apply the Aristotelian concepts of human activities and knowledge on this situation as well, what would be the outcome? What kind of knowledge is it that may be found in the realm of the non-governmental organization and why would it be beneficial for the City District Administration to be part of a double-loop learning process with them included? This statement, made by a project leader in one of the non-governmental organizations, may help us to understand more:

> We work differently here, but it's hard to say exactly ›this is how we work‹. We don't have an established formula, but we must be prepared to meet people. Inhabitants coming here must be offered help and support, I must have resources for that, or I can't help. We try different things, we proceed by trial and error – we don't have a fixed plan (interview, 021209).

What she actually seems to be referring to is knowledge of how to manage in each particular circumstance – wisdom (phronesis) – i.e. knowledge re-

lated to the human activity disposition of goodness (praxis). In its practice, this particular non-governmental organization was deeply involved in two of the themes that were in focus for the Local Development Agreements – the theme of safety and the theme of integration. When discussing the Aristotelian concepts of human activity and knowledge, it is thus these two themes that are in focus.

The active members of the non-governmental organization, when such a specific meeting with one of the inhabitants took place, seem to have acquired a disposition that leads to the development of wisdom – a disposition that is, partly, related to the members of the organization previously having acted (e.g. reading literature or listening to lectures) in a way that increased their context-independent systematic knowledge (episteme) of the theme of safety and integration. Additionally, the disposition of goodness may also be related to the accomplishment of different kinds of production (poiesis) they had made as part of their non-profit commitments – e.g. the production of a national aid system for people in distress due to physical abuse – where they had the possibility to increase their context-dependant technical expertise (techne) on the inhabitants' opinions about safety and integration.

Naturally, disposition of goodness (praxis) and wisdom (phronesis) would also have been within the realm of the social welfare secretaries, if the inhabitant had chosen to turn to the domain of the City District Administration with her troubles. Presumably, the Aristotelian notions do not imply either wisdom or no wisdom at all – it must rather be a question of the extent to which wisdom (phronesis) is developed and what kind of, and to what extent, systematic knowledge (episteme) and technical expertise (techne), respectively, have been included in the learning process.

Empirically, the problem, from the point of view of some of the inhabitants, is that the welfare system is organized in a way that makes the inhabitants feel they are being treated badly – the result being that they do not choose this realm for help if they can avoid it. The non-governmental organizations may be of help with many things, such as e.g. shelter when a person has been physically abused or medical examination for refugees who live secretly in the country; they are, however, not authorized to distribute subsidies such as social allowance to the inhabitants. Therefore, there has most often been a need for communication between members of the non-governmental organization and the social welfare secretaries

in order to explain for the local employees how the resident in question feels about a problem, and to explain to the resident how the rules of the society work. The project leader within the non-governmental organization explained how this worked in the beginning when their non-governmental organization was new, and how the relation subsequently changed:

> MAYA: Earlier it was tough when I called. For example, if a woman came to me with a problem and I realized it was solvable. /…/ So I called the social welfare secretary, then, she asked questions like ›who are *you*?‹ and ›why are *you* calling?‹. Like that, you know. She didn't really want to…, and there were plenty of secretaries acting like that. No, she actually did not listen to that woman and she didn't want a dialogue with me. Now it's different.
>
> JENNY: What happens today then?
>
> MAYA: Today *they* are calling, the social welfare secretaries. Asking a lot of questions really… yes, they ask a lot… ›We have a family‹ they say, and explaining the circumstances. ›How should we act?‹ And then we may give advise together (interview, 021209).

Such a communication most often resulted in single-loop learning, i.e. the local employee finding a way to help the person in question, even if the system actually should not let her, or the resident finding a way to reach for help officially without feeling offended. But these occasions were actually also potential situations for double-loop learning – they could have been used as triggers for learning and strengthening further knowledge development in both realms. That did not take place in this case – instead that non-governmental organization has been closed down as a result of their being audited due to problems with their accounts.

What knowledge the social welfare secretaries, and their organization, actually lacked is, however, not easy to reveal. Mainly, this shortcoming may be considered as a result of the case study not being included within the everyday working life of the social welfare secretaries, who are busy with the ordinary procedure of the City District Administration. Only those working differently, trying new procedures, have been observed and interviewed. Still, some issues may be discussed.

The social welfare secretaries may e.g. be considered to lack time, or other prerequisites, for the development of systematic knowledge (episteme), as the theory-in-use on which they seem to have based their produc-

tion of the welfare system – immigrants will always benefit from adapting to other cultures, and particularly to the Swedish culture – was actually revealed as counterproductive to double-loop learning concerning, e.g., safety and integration. They may also be considered to lack contextual knowledge about the problems of the inhabitants, as they, for, e.g., security reasons, are located in such a way that complicates everyday contact with inhabitants. Such shortcomings may, however, not be considered to be a lack of technical expertise (techne), as the Aristotelian concept of techne is rather related to production (poiesis), i.e. the production of a social welfare system – about which, we may presume, the social welfare secretaries are actually quite knowledgeable.

The lack of contextual knowledge about the problems of the inhabitants must therefore be considered to be a lack of wisdom (phronesis). This deficiency may have resulted from the activities in the entire realm of the City District Administration during the nineties, which was largely determined by a lack of economic resources, thus, time for reflection during working hours most often seemed to be neglected. Perhaps this shortcoming constitutes one of the explanations for the social welfare secretaries' inability to show a disposition for goodness (praxis), with a potential to help all of the inhabitants.

The story about the non-governmental organization may seem quite depressing – as the potential for double-loop learning was not triggered by the City District Administration and the non-governmental organization was closed down. However, there actually existed parallel activities revealing that the City District Administration *had* learnt from the activities of the non-governmental organization – as they initiated a new project, financed by the funding programme, which was largely based upon the concept of the non-governmental organization.

Admittedly, this strategy was not a completely new idea. It had been applied by the Municipality for several years, also in Biskopsgården, when working with youths – field workers on a regular basis visiting the places where young people usually stay or social welfare workers on a regular basis visiting people in their flats when there seems to be a risk that they will be thrown out for being troublesome. The project idea was, however, new for the local employees in relation to physical abuse of women and children in so-called exposed housing areas with many immigrants and

also new considering that the overall purpose of the funding programme was integration in the Swedish society.

What they actually did in this new project financed by the funding programme was first to take a physical step out of the domain of the City District Administration, and second to employ »cultural interpreters«. With these two steps they seem to have done three important things related to the Aristotelian concepts of human activities and knowledge. First, the social welfare workers in the project were given time for self-reflection, individually and as a group, as part of an experimental funding. This allowed them to reflect (theoria) on their theory-in-use, thus, to relate to systematic knowledge (episteme) concerning the purpose of the project – which was to broaden the feeling of safety for the families in the actual housing area and strive for integration in the society.

Second, as the chosen head of the project had been employed in the city district for twenty years, she had access not only to the entire social network of employees in the district, but she was also knowledgeable of how to produce a social welfare system (which not included distribution of subsidies) within legal limits and according to the city district's economic prerequisites. This strategy made it possible for them to produce (poiesis) a welfare system, based on technical expertise (techne), which had the potential to survive even after the experiment ended.

Third, as they came physically closer to the environment of the inhabitants by positioning themselves within the housing area, it was easier for the inhabitants to come to them – but also gave the social welfare workers in the project access to knowledge of the everyday life and activities of the inhabitants. The circumstance that four of the social welfare workers were also »cultural interpreters« brought new knowledge about the cultures of the inhabitants into the project. This made it possible for them to better be in disposition of goodness (praxis), a condition important for development of wisdom (phronesis), which entails the potential to help the inhabitants with their most urgent problems.

Such an uncomplicated concept, thus, may have been sufficient if we are aiming at development of wisdom that is more beneficial for the inhabitants – yet, there are no results in numbers from the project, indicating whether they succeeded with their mission. Another interesting thing is that the arguments most often used by civil servants when they earlier discussed problems with the strategies of the above-mentioned non-govern-

mental organization – such as staff safety, confidentiality and obligation to report crime – did not seem to trouble these social welfare workers, who were physically positioned outside of the traditional domain, more than is generally the case for social welfare workers. In this way, this instrumental theory-in-use of the City District Administration, may therefore, surprisingly for some civil servants, be considered to be compatible with this new concept.

Then again, as far as was visible in the case study, there were no real signs of change in the earlier mentioned theory-in-use – that immigrants will always benefit from adapting to other cultures, and particularly to the Swedish culture – that can be attributed to this experimental project. Of course the choice to employ a project leader who was already familiar with the common procedure of the City District Administration may have caused difficulties in initiating double-loop learning with a potential to change the theory-in-use. Using the terminology of Aristotle, this shortcoming may be described as an inadequacy in the actions (theoria) they conducted, hence, even if they seem to have had time for reflection, these human activities were perhaps not accomplished in a way that included such systematic knowledge (episteme) that has the potential to challenge the actual theory-in-use. As a result, the human activities labelled as disposition of goodness (praxis) may also have been based on this shortcoming.

The non-governmental organization did not suffer from such a problem and it therefore seems to have had greater potential for changing the theory-in-use. Their shortcoming, however, was rather one of production (poiesis), as they were not familiar with the economic and legal prerequisites for producing an adequate welfare system (and this was not really their ambition). Accordingly, even if the non-governmental organization would have had the responsibility to fulfil the experimental project, they too would possibly have lacked some kind of knowledge, but rather technical expertise than systematic knowledge, to achieve all of the objectives of the project.

The experience from this experimental project will be integrated, at the end of the programme duration, into ordinary procedure of the City District Administration. The realization of that intention, unfortunately taking place after this thesis has been put together, will provide interesting information on how the City District Administration manages the challenge of learning. Thus, at that point it will be obvious whether the City District

Administration is structured in a way that allowing learning, based on that of the seven individuals in this experimental project.

THE ROLE OF THE LOCALLY EMPLOYED

ANOTHER OUTCOME of the analysis, of particular interest from the point of view of learning, was the obvious desire on the part of all of the locally employed to keep the black box of ethnic housing segregation locked. As discussed in the chapters on time and power, the origin of this black box was in fact possible to relate to the Government's stated objectives in initiating the Local Development Agreements – stressing integration as an important prerequisite for economic growth, rather than as important for reasons such as equality and justice. The complex of problems related to housing segregation, hence, is closely related to the problem that the society is largely adapted to the rhythm of the technical-economic system, which was discussed in the chapter on time.

This focus on integration as being important for economic growth was also consistent with the rationalities of the locally employed in the case study. The local politicians, e.g., declared that nothing really could change housing segregation – therefore they just focused on unemployment – and the civil servants, as well as those employed in housing companies, expressed in common that their first priority was to care for the inhabitants within the district – and the best thing for them would be if everybody were to stay where they are. Gradually, however, this image of harmony started to pass over to another rationality – housing segregation being upheld because of the expected hostility of people born in Sweden. This seems to be the theory-in-use that preserves housing segregation.

Bringing this theory to the light actually revealed the need for a completely different learning process than most of the locally employed had in mind when distributing funding from the Local Development Agreements. If this theory had not been the starting point for their ambitions, the local employees would, e.g., probably have been interested in projects aiming at influencing the feelings and the opinions of the surrounding world – such projects were instead rejected on the grounds that they would not do any good for the inhabitants of Northern Biskopsgården. This statement from a woman in a non-governmental organization highlights the circumstances:

JENNY: Your first application, the one on integration and democracy, what was that about?

ANN: To start TV and radio editorial boards with minority groups and youths. Integration – that was the purpose – helping them to reach out with their reality. First, integration by means of collaborating with each other, second, by being visible and heard. Broadcasting on the local radio and in the ›open channel‹ on TV. The overall purpose of everything we do is to open up contact with people outside the city district. It's one of the most important things to do. I think there is really a shortage of such things. But this has always been… kind of… when we apply for money they always argue that we include people from other districts in our activities, and they don't want to give money for such things.

JENNY: On what grounds do they reject?

ANN: They just want to give subsidies for things we do for people in this city district.

JENNY: Can't it be for people in this district, when you turn to the surrounding world?

ANN: Of course! That's what integration really is! (interview, 030120).

This non-governmental organization consequently did not receive funding from the Local Development Agreements for the project on democracy and integration. There were, however, strong signals from the inhabitants indicating that the locally employed had made a mistake. One possible trigger for learning on this problem, which was found in the local environment of the inhabitants, was the youth's stories describing how they were met when they left Biskopsgården for secondary school – encountering prejudices not only from pupils but also from teachers. These signals were fairly obvious in the film the youths were producing thanks to the funding programme – a film that was unfortunately not really made use of for learning by the politicians and the civil servants, as was described in the chapter on time. But if they had made use of it as a trigger for learning, perhaps the above-mentioned non-governmental organization would have been give a chance to run their integration project – perhaps resulting in, e.g., youths in radio and television officially expressing their feelings about how they are treated because of their skin colour, the origins of their parents or because they have grown up in Biskopsgården.

What kind of learning would such a project then have contributed concerning the theme of integration, in terms of the Aristotelian concepts of human activities and knowledge? First, it would possibly have implied an

increase of systematic knowledge (episteme) of the problems of segrega-
tion and discrimination by making the opinions of the youths available for
a larger audience, something that must be considered important, as there
are so many prejudices in general concerning immigrants and their situa-
tion in Sweden. On the other hand, there would also be a risk of intensify-
ing the stigmatization effects for the city district, if the programmes were
not produced with special precautions to prevent such a development. As
one of the youths put it:

> The society wants everybody to *keep* that impression of Biskopsgården! They
> don't want the image to be improved (interview, 021030).

Local production (poiesis) of radio and TV programmes on the theme of
segregation, thus, requires technical expertise (techne) if the human ac-
tivities altogether, within such a project, are to constitute a disposition of
goodness (praxis) with regard to the immigrants. What the youths actually
seem to have experienced when they made their film was a lack of techni-
cal expertise (techne) – this was, however, later dealt with in a better way
when a documentary on the work of the youths was made (techne) by pro-
fessionals with knowledge (phronesis) of how to handle the stigmatization
problem and also of how to reach out with the film.

Another project, which was rejected on the same grounds as the
above-mentioned democracy and integration project, would also have had
the possibility to influence the earlier mentioned theory-in-use – housing
segregation being upheld because of the expected hostility of people born
in Sweden. What these professionals wanted to accomplish was a docu-
mentary film on how immigrant youths from Biskopsgården and four other
areas of Göteborg would think and act upon meeting groups of Nazis from
e.g. the neighbourhood area »Torslanda«. What would that project have
contributed, if considered using the terminology of Aristotle?

That project too would of course be completely different, if compared
to projects aiming at a change in the thoughts and habits of the inhabitants
of Northern Biskopsgården. The outcome in terms of knowledge would
possibly be pretty much the same as that of the democracy and integra-
tion project, hence, an increase in systematic knowledge (episteme) of the
problems of segregation and discrimination by making the opinions of the
youths available for a larger audience; technical expertise (techne) about

film production and how to reach out with the film; additionally, wisdom (phronesis) with regard to making the right moves in relation to the stigmatization effects. In total, this would actually encompass a potential to challenge the above-mentioned theory-in-use: housing segregation being upheld because of the expected hostility of people born in Sweden.

LEARNING FROM THE EVALUATION

NATURALLY, the entire experience of implementing a programme such as the Local Development Agreement is of particular interest from the point of view of learning – as the overall aim was actually to learn how common procedures in society may be changed to better correspond to the needs of the inhabitants in the »exposed areas« in question. The idea of the programme was to offer extra resources, as a »lubricant«, to the local actors who control the public function for the population, and therefore, the City District Committee was appointed as responsible for the distribution of funding. The locally employed were, thus, offered resources, to find out how they themselves should change their procedures to better fulfil their mission. The experiments within the programme were, however, going to be conducted in close cooperation with the inhabitants as well as with local non-profit associations and non-governmental organizations. The theory of how learning was going to proceed thanks to the Local Development Agreements, must therefore be considered as closely related to the concept of double-loop learning – using the everyday life and activities of the inhabitants as triggers for such learning to take place.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the City District Administration found it rather difficult to learn from the collaboration with the local organizations of the inhabitants, and inhabitants have criticized them for that:

> AHMED: The opinion of the immigrants is that it's only the capable Swedish civil servants who make use of the possibility of bringing the money into play.
> JENNY: Do Somalians say that?
> AHMED: It's not just Somalians. People who live in Northern Biskopsgården say so. Some immigrants are included now, as ›cultural interpreters‹, but most of the money goes to Swedes. It's an opinion they have (interview, 021028).

As a large amount of the funding has actually been distributed to projects run by civil servants already employed in the district, perhaps these circumstances have facilitated learning *within* the realm of the City District Administration and the City District Committee? Unfortunately, according to the findings in the case study, there is no reason to give an affirmative answer to that question. This civil servant was quite convinced of their insufficiency as a learning organization, when asked how they would be able to benefit from ideas elucidated in all of the evaluations of the funding:

> ANNIKA: No, but we don't *have* any discussions, there is no point in asking that! We don't have a forum for discussions! /.../
>
> JENNY: How have you intended to benefit from the evaluations, then, if not by having a forum where this may be discussed?
>
> ANNIKA: If we have thought, that's a good question… I don't think there is much thinking. Ugh, now I'm being wicked. To be honest, I don't think there is much of a ›development climate‹ actually. It's a ›the-money-verdict climate‹ or a ›how-are-we-to-control-the-budget climate‹. If something can save money, then I think it would be given a chance (interview, 030212).

As a result of this discussion, a minor learning process was actually initiated within the organization of the civil servants and the politicians. Admittedly, the reason was not mainly this conversation, but probably the reminder, coming from me in interviews, of the obligation to write a local plan on democracy. This they had been appointed to do by the City Council several years earlier, but had not yet accomplished. It was interesting to hear why this document had never been written, that was why the question was included in the interviews. The questions about the democracy plan, actually, functioned as a trigger for learning – even if that was not the intention at that point in time. It was obvious, however, that posing these questions to politicians and civil servants during some time prepared them for being part of a learning process concerning democracy. When I offered to supply them with the preliminary results from the evaluation, to help them make use of this experience in the democracy plan, it was self-evident for them to accept – which is also a good example of why timing is so important to consider in local development work.

The series of seminars on democracy, aiming at an official democracy plan, thus seem to have constituted a learning process, including not only

politicians, civil servants, and myself as evaluator, but also some of the inhabitants with experience from projects within the programme – projects that were closely related to information, dialogue and the democratic participation of the inhabitants.

What was the outcome of these seminars, if thinking of knowledge and learning more than of democracy? One thing of particular interest was the difficulty the locally employed seemed to have in imagining the activities we were discussing, released from the common procedure of describing such activities in a protocol. With that, they thus limited themselves into single-loop learning, as they were not ready to discuss ideas that broke with the ordinary procedure. The inhabitants, in contrast, instead limited themselves through their eagerness to reach an understanding on their view on former failures of civil servants and politicians. This also resulted in their only being prepared for single-loop learning. After some time, however, these obstacles were to some extent overcome, resulting in, e.g., a discussion of the need for a new role for local politicians. This was a result of the inhabitants' challenge to the theories of the politicians, to take the standpoint of the inhabitants even concerning issues the politicians are not formally responsible for as City District Committee. One such example was the drainage of services such as cash dispensers and commercial life from the district, which instead had been placed in rich neighbouring areas.

The politicians participating in this series of seminars on democracy certainly seemed to have been influenced in a way that included double-loop learning, as they gradually became more and more open to discussions implying a basic change in the prerequisites for local politicians – their theory-in-use. The next obstacle, however, may not be as easy to overcome. This will take place when the discussions of the seminars – which were gradually put together by a civil servant during the whole period into a conclusive proposition of a local democracy plan – will first be presented in an information meeting for all of the seventeen politicians of the City District Committee; second, they will be discussed at a meeting where all of the politicians will have a dialogue with the involved civil servants and inhabitants; and third, they will be decided upon at a formal City District Committee meeting.

These meetings, thus, represent important occasions considering the learning process the politicians are to be included in. The information they will be presented – thus coming from the dialogue between politicians, civ-

il servants, inhabitants and the evaluator – will in this process be reshaped into a comprehensive description of knowing *why* the democracy plan is important (episteme) and knowing *how* it may be implemented (techne). The approach for reshaping the experiences from the series of seminars is thus essential for the outcome of the learning process: the wisdom (phronesis) in the appearance of a practical democracy plan to be implemented in the ordinary procedures of the City District Administration. These meetings will unfortunately be realized after this thesis had to be concluded, therefore, the outcomes could not be presented here.

Also a new role for the civil servants was actually discussed at the series of seminars on democracy, even if this may not have been evident to all of the participants. This was however apparent considering how the discussions were conducted in the seminars, and comparing this to the earlier mentioned description of civil servants as »social branch accountants«, followed by statements such as »politicians are not supposed to be operative, we must trust our civil servants«. As was discussed in the chapter on time, this theory-in-use proved to be counterproductive to double-loop learning, in that the ordinary procedures of the administration are marked rather by the economic-technical system than adapted to mental, biologic and social systems, as the theory, e.g., seems to have influenced them to shorten the programme duration instead of using the valuable time for learning within their own organization.

Another example, which was discussed in the chapter on power, was when the citizens were supposed to be represented directly by the locally employed in, e.g., schools and in housing companies, a rationality shown not to be in accordance with the present-day situation of the inhabitants in Biskopsgården, because what they need to influence are not circumstances controlled by the local realms, but rather problems that are settled by actors at higher levels in society.

A third example of this theory-in-use being counterproductive to double-loop learning was when, as discussed in the chapter on power, the civil servants presented the reduction of the budget as a question of working differently rather than deterioration of the quality of the service. In this way, all relevant knowledge necessary for decision-making was not revealed; thus, the theory-in-use prevented knowledge from being included in the learning process. However, what they discussed in the seminars on democracy was actually a role of the civil servants closer to the Maoist »serve

the common people«. A natural consequence, perhaps, of the politicians being interested in changing *their* role, taking responsibility for their own communication with the inhabitants. Such change of roles of the civil servants implies a possibility to improve how knowledge is brought to light concerning undertakings of the local administration, i.e. allowing them to be freer to inform about and discuss their strategies (techne) with the inhabitants and to spread light on what systematic knowledge (episteme) they base their strategies upon – thus, to facilitate double-loop learning.

The learning process that was initiated thanks to the evaluation of the funding programme was premeditated, as the evaluations were expected to take shape as »process evaluations«, i.e. so as to be of help to local actors during the entire duration of the programme. In fact, this strategy of the Municipality to shape process evaluations may be considered to be equivalent to the concept of triple-loop learning, intentionally aimed at generating processes to challenge theories of business.

THE FUNDING PROGRAMME

THE LEARNING PROCESS resulting from these series of seminars on democracy, however, is just one single fraction out of a large number of potential learning processes being realized thanks to the Local Development Agreements. The civil servants responsible for the entire implementation have, e.g., prepared several conferences and seminars on different themes. Additionally, project leaders within preschools and schools have certainly conducted different activities including learning processes. Most of these occasions are not included in the case study. In this thesis it is, thus, not possible to express an opinion on how much or what the entire city district has learned as a result of the Local Development Agreements. What is discussed here is rather how learning has taken place in those realms that are included in the case study, and what conclusions can be drawn based on this experience, concerning themes like safety, integration and democracy.

One of the conclusions from the analysis on learning within the seminars on democracy was that there do not seem to be any forums for discussion already in place, waiting to be filled with learning processes on democracy. Naturally, there are many meetings, e.g., when the administrative directors meet; when the presiding committee meet; when the politicians

meet in their left and right wings; and when the City District Committee meets; however, none of these meetings really seem to be used for longer discussions and dialogues on democracy. Consequently, if double-loop learning on this theme is really going to take place – e.g., as a result of a four-year-long specific intervention such as the Local Development Agreements – this must be planned for by the responsible politicians and civil servants.

Another conclusion from the analysis on learning within the seminars on democracy was that there are serious difficulties in including inhabitants in the dialogue, especially those who really should have been there – immigrant women and youths – as civil servants and politicians to a great extent seem to lack knowledge about their point of view on democracy. Admittedly, there *were* inhabitants at the seminars, also immigrant women and youths, however even if the inhabitants were part of the group, their perspectives were not at all the most prevailing image in the discussions – especially not at the end of the process when the civil servants felt an obvious need to transform the discussions into a proposed democracy plan (techne) to present to the politicians. As a result, the knowledge (episteme) that was made known at the seminars about the inhabitants' point of view on democracy was rather finite. Accordingly, there is a risk that, at the end of the process, this lack of systematic knowledge (episteme) on democracy will cause the politicians to drop proposed measures that are counterproductive to their theory-in-use – »politicians are not supposed to be operative, we must trust our civil servants«. With Aristotelian concepts this may be described as a lack of knowledge (episteme) influencing the politicians to make decisions about the plan (praxis) that are not wise from the point of view of the inhabitants living in Northern Biskopsgården.

This problem with a lack of systematic knowledge of the theme of democracy was also discussed earlier in the chapter on power, where the belief that politics must consist of simple explanations resulting in all of the political parties saying exactly the same things was criticized. The inhabitants saw this rhetoric as an insult, blunting the intellect, resulting in a repudiation of party politics:

> You lose the interest in them, you don't respect them when they act like that. Kind of makes you feel like starting your own political party (interview, 021028).

Such theory-in-use is obviously counterproductive to double-loop learning concerning themes like integration and democracy, as it may not only bar certain groups of inhabitants from communication about politics, but also seems to lower the intellectual level of the discussion to a point significantly below the wishes and demands of the inhabitants.

As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the hypothetical theory on how learning was going to proceed thanks to the funding programme was considered as closely related to the concept of double-loop learning: the locally employed were appointed as responsible for, with the help of inhabitant cooperation, developing their ordinary procedures to better fulfil their mission in the »exposed areas« in question.

The overall question in focus, considering the learning perspective, is whether this theory-in-use of the national actors – trusting the City District Committee to change their own common procedures with the help of double-loop learning – may be regarded as a passable road? Or would it have been better, as this civil servant proposed, to appoint this responsibility to another actor:

> In fact, I don't think they should have put the money in the hands of the Municipality – if they really had meant something with the bottom-up perspective. It would have been much more exciting if they had put the money in a foundation, or something like that. Additionally, we should have had a large pot of money for immediate ›means satisfaction‹. Because if the inhabitants are going to be engaged in this, they will probably most often need the money on the spot. We should be able to support bright proposals in an easy and handy way. We've kind of been thinking that the bureaucracy this ended up in made things not be like that (interview, 030212).

This may be quite a rational reaction after experiencing – and evaluating – the implementation of the Local Development Agreements. Although, such a conclusion must naturally give rise to the question: What is it that makes it conceivable that such a free-standing foundation would have the potential to include the locally employed in a learning process – a process changing those theories-in-use that constitute an obstacle to double-loop learning concerning themes like safety, integration and democracy. The answer to that question, however, cannot be included in this thesis.

INTERORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING IN FACE

AS DISCUSSED EARLIER, some of the approaches to interorganizational learning described a third world as the answer to the problem of bridging over the worlds of space and place; or abstract and concrete – a world that was, e.g., labelled face by Jensén (2001: 3) and interplace by Forsén and Fryk (1999: 22). This third world of face or interplace was also discussed as being closely related to the Aristotelian concepts of praxis and phronesis, additionally, it was here triggers for learning were to be found.

What indicates the existence of a third world in the empirical material? One way of answering that question would be to think of where the triggers for learning have been found in practice. The trigger from the non-governmental organization complaining about the demand of cooperation in order to attain funding, challenging the theory-in-use that immigrants always benefit from adapting to other cultures and particularly to the Swedish culture, seems to have become obvious at the point in time when the person responsible for the funding programme was replaced with a new person. Further, the youth's stories describing how they were met with prejudices upon starting upper secondary school, challenging the theory-in-use that housing segregation should be upheld because of the expected hostility of people born in Sweden, became obvious in the film project. Additionally, the trigger from me asking why the municipal demand for a democracy plan was not fulfilled, challenging the theory-in-use that the contemporary representative system of democracy does not need to be supplemented with participative democracy, came as a result of the evaluation of the funding programme.

It seems as though triggers for learning are to be found when an organization is new or when an existing organization does something they not usually accomplish. Additionally, it seems as though the existence of a conflict may reveal triggers for learning. This is not unexpected, though, as reorganizing is a well-known strategy for new directors to initiate a learning process in an organization and new circumstances naturally open up new channels for individuals to influence the development. What it reveals, however, is that funding programmes such as the Local Devel-

opment Agreements may actually benefit from any project, whatever the objective may be, as long as the persons responsible for the funding programme make sure they attend to the triggers for learning that can be found thanks to these new situations. Accordingly, the triggers must be made use of to expose theories-in-use, primarily by revealing any espoused theories, and in an open debate examining whether or not the theories-in-use are counterproductive to the objectives of the funding programme, in particular, and the mission of the City District Committee and its administration, in general. After such a learning process, they may be ready to make decisions about measures for changing theories-in-use that obstruct a desired development – measures to be financed by the funding programme in question; by the ordinary economy of the city district; or perhaps, depending of the time schedule, with the help of new funding programmes.

Deliberate organizational learning, however, is probably not easy to accomplish in such a short time perspective as the funding programme permitted, which is particularly important to have in mind when discussing an organization such as the City District Administration of Biskopsgården with as many as 1 600 employees. Moreover, the employees have widely differing assignments and, as Schein maintained, the built-in conflict between the different cultures must be reconciled with the learning system (Schein 1996: 238).

He stressed the existence of three different groups: »the operators« fulfilling the basic mission of the organization; »the engineers« supplying the organization with technical systems; and »the executives« responsible to the owner shareholders. The first-mentioned group, the operators, would in Biskopsgården be exemplified by social field workers such as those working with the youths in the film project, experimenting with new methods for a period. As compared with the total number of employees, this group of employees are few. Examples of from the second group, the engineers, may be economists and administrative personnel. Also this group is by all accounts small as well. The third group, however, is most likely represented to a higher extent. Here are the politicians, the persons in command of the different sections, the civil servants responsible for the funding programme and those who are temporarily employed as a result of the funding programme.

Organizing learning processes that enable all of the 1 600 employees to learn from the experience of the executives is complex – this is, however, what is actually expected from funding programmes such as the Local De-

velopment Agreements in the long run. If we consider themes like safety, integration and participative democracy, which were focused in the evaluation of the funding programme, according to the case study the learning process resulting from the Local Development Agreements does not – thus far – seem to have entailed extensive changes.

SUMMING UP THE ANALYSIS

THE ANALYSIS of the empirical findings on time, power and learning resulted in three descriptions of how the implementation of the funding program was conducted and the implications of these local activities for the inhabitants with regard to themes like safety, participative democracy and ethnic housing integration. Here a brief summary of the outcome of the analysis will be presented.

Analysing the empirical material from the point of view of time resulted in three major conclusions. First, there was a discussion on fragmentation of time implying that time ceases to exist as duration. In practice fragmentation of time was found to occur not only as a result of the extremely fast increase in the release of information in society, but there were also problems with slowness – laws, rules, traditions, thoughts, biases, and procedures in society changing too slowly to meet the needs of the inhabitants. Thus, slowness, not only fastness, may cause fragmentation of time. The second aspect discussed was the apparent emphasis on the economic-technical system at the expense of time rhythms in biologic, mental and social systems, which seems to have resulted in difficulties in endorsing solutions to problems such as ethnic housing segregation – the local employees, e.g., focusing only on unemployment and not on housing segregation when discussing social exclusion in society. Third, the apparent function of time used for exercising power was highlighted and criticized – expressed by local employees distressed over governmental and municipal use of time for control and by inhabitants suffering from time abuse perpetrated by the locally employed.

The analysis on power aspects resulted in an awareness of the rationalities of the local employees when implementing the funding programme – most often quite explicable activities from the point of view of the context of a given actor. Additionally, the analysis resulted in the exposure of black

boxes, which were found to be under reconsideration due to micro-actors finding reason to oppose them. Further discussed was the question of whether such a result – micro-actors opposing black boxes – would actually be a reasonable objective for a national funding programme stressing the bottom-up perspective, hence, helping micro-actors to reconsider certain black boxes used by macro-actors such as the City District Administration and the City District Committee as prerequisite for their accomplishments. This would seem to be a fairly reasonable bottom-up perspective, as the thoughts, habits, forces and objects that are sealed in black boxes must be made to contribute to a better life for the inhabitants in the so-called exposed suburban housing areas – it was, after all, for them, and not the local employees, that the national funding programme actually came into being. In relation to these findings, it was also discussed how the analysis of power aspects actually kindled an awareness of the call for inhabitants to take the role of micro-actor in reconsidering black boxes, as the inhabitants seemed to be the only people who could understand when a black box impeded their progress – whereas local employees such as civil servants, politicians and housing company employees seemed to be prisoners in their own contexts.

Analysing the empirical material from the perspective of learning highlighted the potential of focusing on situations in which a rationality within a black box was being attacked by a micro-actor, or in which an actor seemed eager to keep a black box sealed. This is because, in such situations, when power was exercised by an action upon an action, there followed an opportunity to reveal triggers for learning that could facilitate double-loop learning. As a consequence of employing such a focus when analysing the empirical material, it became obvious that civil servants and politicians found it difficult to make use of the funding programme in such a way. Reactions from non-governmental organizations and from inhabitants' projects, which had the potential of being developed into triggers for learning, were not made use of – accordingly, theories-in-use such as »immigrants will always benefit from adapting to other cultures and particularly to the Swedish culture« and »housing segregation should be upheld because of the expected hostility of people born in Sweden« were not really challenged as a result of the Local Development Agreements. Therefore discussed in the chapter on learning was the question of whether responsibility for the funding programme should actually have been placed upon another actor.

However, one theory-in-use was actually challenged thanks to the funding programme and the evaluation of it, the principle »politicians are not supposed to be operative, they must trust the civil servants« (even though this does not mean that they thought the entire representative system was wrong; it just implied a discussion of how the system may be improved to better correspond to the needs of the inhabitants in the so-called exposed housing areas). The outcome of this challenge will not be observable until May 2004 and has therefore not been included in this thesis.

The analysis on learning ended with a discussion about a so-called third world – labelled face or interplace – a world included in the theoretical framework as it improved the potential to achieve an understanding between the two worlds of space and place. Such a world was found to be perceptible in the empirical material when focusing on triggers for learning, possibly prevalent when an organization is new or when an existing organization does something they not usually accomplished, and, additionally, when there is a conflict. What this brought to light was that funding programmes may actually benefit from any project, what ever its objective may be, as long as the people responsible for the programme make sure they attend to the triggers for learning that are to be found thanks to these new situations – accordingly, using the triggers for learning to expose theories-in-use, primarily by revealing any espoused theories, and in an open debate examining whether or not the theories-in-use are counterproductive to the objectives of the funding programme, in particular, and the mission of the City District Committee and its administration, in general. Thereafter, they may be ready to make decisions about measures for changing the theories-in-use that obstruct a desired development.

Awareness of such a third world of face or interplace when implementing funding programmes such as the Local Development Agreements aiming at social inclusion and sustainable development seem to be fruitful. In the next chapter, this experience will be discussed in relation to the purpose of the research project, hence, it will also take up the possible benefit of the analysis for the field of planning.

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Conclusions

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WHAT ARE the roles of the locally employed in stigmatized suburban metropolitan areas; how are their roles related to national policies on social inclusion and sustainable development; and how are their roles related to the needs and opinions of the citizens? This research question is now ready to be answered in a concluding discussion.

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK on time, power and learning was created under the assumption that it is fruitful to analyse the empirical findings from the perspectives of the three themes independently. Moreover, as was discussed in the chapter on methodology, the analysis procedure was to some extent inspired by critical realism (Bhaskar 1978).

Critical realism has been an inspiration for this research project mostly because it highlights reality as being composed of three ontological domains (see Fig. 38) – the empirical domain containing what we encounter, directly or indirectly; the actual domain being what actually happens independent of our observations; and the real domain consisting

of the mechanisms that are producing the events (Danermark et al. 2002: 20, drawing on Bhaskar 1978: 56).

Understanding reality as being composed of three ontological domains was valuable when analysing the empirical material. In short, the analysis resulted in an inclination to become aware of theories-in-use, instead of acknowledging any espoused theories that first came into vision. Consequently, it became possible to understand when there existed theories-in-use that were counterproductive to double-loop learning, thus keeping organizations from changing theories blocking a desired development. The analysis on time and power aspects made it obvious where one should search for theories-in-use, e.g., where there existed time abuse; where the technical-economic system seemed to be prevailing; where a rationality was challenged; or where a black box was preserved. Thus, the mechanisms that manoeuvred the development were not directly observable, but they were possible to become informed about by analysing the empirical material.

The critical realist way of understanding reality has also been useful when considering notions such as space and place. The analysis ended up in a discussion about a third world – the interplace – being important if we wish to reach an understanding between the two worlds labelled, e.g., space and place. One way of understanding critical realism is that this third world is essential because it facilitates understanding the different natures of the two worlds of space and place.

As the critical realist concepts also describe different understandings of reality, it presents itself immediately to compare them with space, place and interplace: The mechanisms in the real are the same as space; what actually happens in the actual corresponds to place; and what we encounter in the empirical is equivalent to interplace. Yet, it is obvious that such a conclusion would not be correct if we thought of space, place and interplace as different social practices, which is perhaps the most common interpretation of the concepts of space and place in the realm of urban design and planning (see e.g. Lapintie 2003a: 14).

With this line of thinking the environment is space-divided between different experts and their jurisdictions; while it is simultaneously place-divided as stage for the inhabitants' ordinary social actions. Such thinking naturally entails that the critical realist concept of the actual (what actually happens) must be considered to exist both in the space-divided understanding of reality as well as the place-divided understanding of reality – though
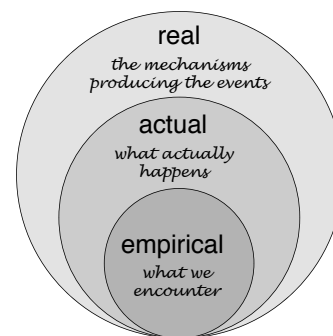

Fig. 38. Reality comprises three ontological domains according to critical realism. Adapted after Castro (2002).

it actually happens at different physical positions: one taking place in the local environment where people live, and the other, most often, at the Town Planning Department.

Accordingly, the same must pertain to the critical realist concepts of the real (the mechanisms producing the events) and empirical (what we encounter): There may exist different mechanisms influencing what actually happens in the everyday life of the inhabitants compared to what happens in the Town Planning Department, where the planning experts are; and consequently, when we, e.g., conduct research about a certain process, we encounter different things when we focus on the place-understanding of the environment as opposed to the space-understanding of the environment.

HOW THEN may this discussion of interplace be related to the research question? The different natures of the two worlds of space and place were to some extent discussed by Lapintie when he, as mentioned earlier in the chapter on power, debated the role of the planner and argued that in communicative theories on planning, the power of the planning expertise itself has often been neglected (Lapintie 2003a). As was obvious in the case study, such a discussion may also be considered relevant to local employees such as civil servants and those employed in housing companies. Including also the power aspects of expertise when discussing communicative planning would reveal, according to Lapintie, an obvious shortcoming in some research applying Habermas' theories of communicative action – approaches that, according to Habermas, lack the indispensable distinction between system and lifeworld (Lapintie 2003a: 3; drawing on Habermas 1984).

Such approaches most often resulted in a description of communicative planning as being part of the lifeworld; as a kind of everyday activity of the stakeholders, rather than as part of the system; as an instrument for control of land use and the real estate market. This description also seems to be relevant when thinking of local employees in the case study, considering how they often thought of themselves as most competent to solve the problems of the inhabitants – eager to express the voice of the people. This actually often pertained to leaders of non-governmental organizations as well. Lapintie maintained that such a description of communicative planning – as a kind of everyday activity of the stakeholders – does not go along with Habermas' theories, as Habermas regarded lifeworld as the everyday life of the inhabitants (possibly visited by planning experts at

certain times). Planning activities conducted by stakeholders should rather be perceived as part of the bureaucratic and economic system pervaded by success-oriented action – threatening to colonize the lifeworld of immediate social relations (Lapintie 2003a: 3).

What Lapintie wanted to open the door for with his criticism was the question of whether communicative planning could be understood and realized as functioning in quite the reverse way – thus, the system being colonized by the lifeworld (Lapintie 2003a: 4). This was described by Lapintie as the communicative turn in planning being a sort of mixture of the system and the lifeworld, however, such a situation could also be described as appearing in a third world. This third world, thus, would exist as a consequence of the determination to keep apart the two worlds of space and place – as each of them, as Bech-Danielsen put it, constitutes three different ways of understanding reality (Bech-Danielsen 1998: 31).

In the earlier mentioned approach labelled »development of competencies in interplace« built up by Forsén and Fryk, which was described in the chapter on previous research, the third world of interplace was found to be important because of the learning process it opened up. They concluded that the consciousness of place is born in interplace, i.e., the ability for self-reflection (Forsén and Fryk 1999: 22). This point of view resulted in them stressing the importance of carrying out local activities in a way that facilitates development of interplaces, i.e. meeting places in between the indispensable places of distinct groups of professionals – where also non-profit associations and non-governmental organizations of the inhabitants are considered as such places.

However, as Forsén and Fryk pointed out: nobody can own the interplace. This understanding of the third world seems to be concurrent with the Aristotelian view on learning; as Forsén and Fryk stressed place as indispensable for the development of knowledge in interplace. Turning back to the Aristotelian concepts of praxis and phronesis may help us better understand the nature of interplace. Praxis was defined as a capability of human beings to form a clear view of what is good for themselves and what is good for human beings in general – in short a disposition of goodness. Phronesis was defined as wisdom and closely related to praxis. Phronesis is neither systematic knowledge (episteme) nor technical expertise (techne), although both of them may be considered amalgamated in it. Likewise may praxis be considered to embrace an amalgamation

of action (theoria) and production (poiesis), though praxis must not be considered as action or production.

Encapsulating the findings of Forsén and Fryk together with the Aristotelian depiction of phronesis implies that interplace may be best described in relation to the two themes of learning and knowledge – a conclusion that was revealed thanks to the analysis of the case study. This way of thinking about local activities with communicative ambitions – such as communicative planning; implementation of funding programmes with an explicit bottom-up perspective; or local administration including an increase in participative democracy – implies a consciousness of the characterization of interplace.

First, the description of interplace is dependent on what may be labelled as places – as interplace in this line of thinking is considered to be created thanks to the places around it. Second, it is important to be aware of the changes that takes place over time, as interplace should most likely not be regarded as constant – on the contrary, it is to be expected that, over time, interplace will either develop into places or disappear; remember that nobody can own the interplace. Third, this way of understanding the local environment implies being aware that the interplace may be where inhabitants take the role of micro-actor reconsidering black boxes. Hence, in interplace it may be possible to comprehend how micro-actors become macro-actors. Accordingly, one way of indicating an interplace would be where triggers for learning are found, which in the case study occurred when an organization was new; when an existing organization did something unusual; or when there was some kind of conflict. Interplace-divided understanding of the environment, thus, may reveal theories-in-use that are counterproductive to double-loop learning concerning a certain objective.

Now it may be obvious that there is also a need for more stringent definitions of the concepts of space and place. In the thesis, these concepts may have been used in different ways, a natural result of them being characterized differently in distinctive approaches. The analysis of the case study, however, resulted in a preference for identifying place as institution, hence, social practices that have been institutionalized, including not only the professionals' but also the inhabitants' social practices.

Space may not be as easy to characterize considering the outcome of the analysis of the case study. One may wonder whether it is really useful to apply the concept at all, or whether it would be more helpful to understand the

environment in terms of place and interplace – and instead of space use the critical realist concept of the real to expose mechanisms that influence actual events in place and interplace. However, these thoughts have not been possible to further develop within the time perspective of this research project. Therefore, in the following sections, a space-divided understanding of the environment will be used to describe when the environment is understood from the point of view of the bureaucratic and economic systems, i.e. the environment is space-divided between different experts and their jurisdictions.

To sum up, an interplace-divided understanding of the environment as a complement to space and place may have the potential of improving the local employees' activities in relation, on the one hand, to broad national policies such as social inclusion and sustainable development, and on the other, to the needs and opinions of the inhabitants.

NOW THAT the concept of interplace has been discussed and described – to the extent possible on the basis of this research project – how may the society make use of these findings?

In an overall perspective, the locally employed, have been criticized to a great extent for not obtaining positive results concerning the theme of social inclusion. This is a natural consequence of the fact that the research project was designed to bring to light difficulties obstructing a desired development and make use of this knowledge for improvements in future planning procedures or implementation of new funding programmes. This thesis, thus, must not be considered to *be* an evaluation of the funding programme – the evaluation of the programme has been used as something to learn from.

What can be learnt from the role of the locally employed when implementing the Local Development Agreements? This will be concisely answered in the following: first by relating the question to the field of policy-makers, i.e. politicians and experts most often operating at the national or the municipal level; second in relation to the field of local administration in city districts, i.e. civil servants, local politicians and those employed in housing companies; and third in relation to the field of planning, i.e., experts at the city planning offices or local Agenda 21 offices – and also to the vision of sustainable development.

WHAT CAN be learnt from the research project for the field of policy-makers, i.e. for politicians and experts at the national or the municipal

level, with perhaps an intention to create new funding programmes with similar objectives?

The local organizations appointed as responsible for implementation of the funding programme had theories-in-use that were counterproductive to double-loop learning concerning themes like safety, social inclusion and participative democracy – themes directly related to the main objectives of the funding programme in focus for this thesis. Yet, the organizations actually had potential to reveal these theories, as there were members in the organizations who had knowledge that the theories were an obstacle to desired development. However, these individuals would have needed a specific temporary assignment, both from the state and from their own organizations, to take primary responsibility for the prospective learning process resulting from the funding programme, even if this would be in conflict with the ordinary procedure of the organizations – which is obviously based on its theory-in-use.

The national politicians could have appointed a local joint organization of non-profit associations and non-governmental organizations as responsible for the implementation of the funding programme. Such a strategy would have had the potential to make the funding programme more receptive to approaches aimed at changing the habits and thoughts of the other twenty city districts of Göteborg, consequently, a strategy with potential to challenge at least one of the obstructing theories-in-use concerning social inclusion. Still, the strategy would not be a sure-fire method for changes within the city district – as the relationship between non-governmental organizations and the City District Committee and its administration may be infected.

A free-standing organization could have been given the responsibility to implement the funding programme, i.e., free-standing with respect to the Municipality and the City District Committee and its administration. Such a strategy, however, would call for establishing a thorough learning process, including local employees in the city district, if the knowledge gained through the project should not get lost. Then again, maybe such a structure would be the best way to make sure that a learning process actually takes place.

Another option would be that a free-standing organization be given the responsibility just to develop the learning processes, not the entire implementation of the funding programme. This was perhaps the intention of the Municipality of Göteborg when requesting that the evaluations be process oriented and be of help to the local employees during the entire period of the funding programme. If this was the intention, the outcome has probably not

been as expected – perhaps due to lack of legibility in the assignments. Still, even if there had been an obvious responsibility for such an assignment for all of the evaluators, the earlier mentioned lack of specific and temporal assignments for learning processes would still have been an obstacle.

Yet another option would be just to increase the budgets of the local organizations in order to help them fulfil their assignments. Such a strategy would be sufficient if there did not exist theories-in-use counterproductive to double-loop learning concerning a certain development. An interplace-divided understanding of the environment may reveal such theories-in-use, as it is in interplace that triggers for learning are found. In the case study, this occurred when an organization was new; when an existing organization did something unusual; or when there was some kind of conflict. Accordingly, just increasing the budgets of the local organizations does not seem to have had the potential to make a difference in complex objectives such as social inclusion.

TURNING TO the second field, what can the local administration in city districts, i.e. civil servants, local politicians and those employed in housing companies, learn from the research project with regard to implementing new funding programmes or just realizing their ordinary procedure including objectives such as participative democracy?

There are obviously theories-in-use counterproductive to double-loop learning concerning themes like safety, social inclusion and participative democracy within the local organizations. These may be revealed with the help of an interplace-divided understanding of the environment. Interplace may be deliberately shaped as a result of a funding programme (e.g. the projects receiving funding), or it may be naturally developed as a result of the activities of the inhabitants (e.g. new non-profit associations). In interplace triggers for learning may be found, which are potential starting points for a learning process that should include actors from all of the surrounding places. However, someone must be appointed as the person responsible for the development of learning processes.

The local employees seem to lack knowledge about the local prerequisites for improvements concerning participative democracy, hence, they presumably lack knowledge about the existence of theories-in-use in the realm of the inhabitants that may be counterproductive to double-loop learning concerning this theme. The local democracy plan, when implemented in

practice, may result in the emergence of an interplace-divided understanding of reality with potential to reveal such theories-in-use. Triggers found in interplace may have, when developed into learning processes, the potential to reveal theories-in-use counterproductive to double-loop learning also in the realm of civil servants and politicians.

Local employees seem to hold theories-in-use counterproductive to representative democracy if we consider how they handled the present local partnership in the city district. Admittedly, this partnership seems to have functioned fairly well for ten years, even from the point of view of democracy. However, when a conflict appeared concerning the safety project – taking the shape of an interplace containing triggers for learning – it became obvious that not all of the involved actors where aware of the importance of keeping the right to vote for all local actors, not leaving out the City District Committee, even if they were not to contribute money for the safety project. Otherwise the citizens lose their voice.

It was not possible, on the basis of the case study, to directly point out any theories-in-use counterproductive to sustainable development. This has resulted from the fact that, among other things, the Local Agenda 21 plan is just a document and has never been implemented in practice – few of the employed knew, e.g., who the appointed Local Agenda 21 coordinator was even if more than ten years had passed since the Swedish Government signed the official document of Agenda 21 in Rio de Janeiro.

TURNING TO the third field, what can the field of planning, i.e. experts at the city planning offices or local Agenda 21 offices learn from the research project – including further discussions of the notion of sustainable development.

The Town Planning Department is normally locally involved only if there is a specific reason, i.e., if a new area is to be built, roads are to be changed or the like. The relationship between the Town Planning Department and Biskopsgården, however, were special, as they have been part of »Bo Bra« ever since it was founded. There is also another organization in which architects and planners may be employed, the City Real Estate Office. This is where the Municipality of Göteborg normally directs its assignments related to housing politics – in Biskopsgården this organization was recently involved in plans for densification. Other municipal departments with architects and planners that may be involved in local development work concerning the physical environment are. e.g., the departments

of traffic, parks and public localities. What can this extensive group of experts and related politicians learn from the research project?

When studying the physical environment in Northern Biskopsgården, it is not possible to tell that the people living there were born in about hundred different countries. Even if Swedish architects and planners most often travel all over the world for inspiration, in the outdoor environment of Northern Biskopsgården, there does not exist a single visible element from, e.g., Turkish, Iranian, Somalian or Ethiopian architecture. The reason for this absence of foreign influence is obviously not a widespread satisfaction with the architecture, as certain parts of the environment are constantly criticized for being ugly, dysfunctional and scary. Consequently, there has been a need for improvements in the physical environment and many improvements have also been made since the area was built. However, why has the inhabitants' understanding of architecture not influenced at all the development that has taken place?

One reason is how urban design and planning is carried out in Sweden. The planning procedures are not organized so as to allow the inhabitants' understanding of reality to influence them. The planning procedures are just arranged to inform the citizens of certain plans and give them the possibility to object, although the experts are not obliged to take the objections seriously if the citizen is not considered, by the society, to be affected. The same pertains to the City District Committee – they are thus only allowed to make objections on themes for which they are formally responsible, i.e. soft questions like schools and elderly care. This means that the inhabitants may not make objections through their local politicians and civil servants to plans in their neighbourhood concerning, e.g., construction of flats. This procedure is relevant to the Town Planning Department. The procedure of the City Real Estate Office and most of the other municipal offices entails that they are only obliged to follow the normal procedure in the Municipality, thus, their plans are to be decided upon in their respective municipal committees.

Thinking of the physical environment as embodying praxis, as did e.g. Sten Andersson in the chapter on time, may perhaps influence the fundamental values upon which the above-mentioned procedures are based. Andersson maintained that if people conform to such praxis, it is the material, and not human beings, that exercises power over a person, and therefore it is important to conduct a psychoanalysis of things if we are to visualize this often-concealed materialistic discipline of people (Andersson 1985: 87).

Also Callon and Latour thought of physical material in this way: an artefact makes it possible to act from a distance, thus the artefact may be considered as supporting the exercising of power (Callon and Latour 1981: 284).

Being interested in how to avoid conforming to such a praxis brings to light the potential of stressing an interplace-divided understanding of reality. Perhaps this is particularly important now, as communicative planning, in the shape of local partnerships, is often considered to be a proper substitute for traditional planning procedures, even if they are obviously formed to fulfil a specific mission of the partners and often lack the voice of the citizens.

Contemporary planning presumably implies relating the experts' space-divided understanding of the environment to the inhabitants' place-divided understanding of the environment. It is, however, more complicated than that: The expert of course may also have a place-divided understanding of the environment when he or she is there experiencing what happens; and the inhabitant may have a space-divided understanding of the environment when thinking of it as a system of e.g. social actors. Planning in interplace implies complementing these appreciations with an interplace-divided understanding of the environment – though, the procedure would still be part of the ordinary democratic procedure of the Municipality.

Such an interplace-divided understanding would facilitate the development of a learning process enhancing double-loop learning on themes focused on in an assignment. In practice, planning in interplace would most certainly imply more time in the local environment – investigating which places may be affected by the plan; facilitating the development of an interplace out of the interface between the places; visiting potential inter-places that have developed naturally, such as new non-profit associations, organizations with new assignments or realms where there exist conflicts. Planning would then also include an assignment to seek out triggers for learning in these environments; reveal theories-in-use counterproductive to double-loop learning concerning the themes in focus; and be responsible for the development of learning processes – at all levels of society – challenging such theories. As is obvious, this would not be a task for a single person, but an assignment for a whole team of planners and other professionals.

One prerequisite, however, for the vision of interplace-divided understanding to make a favourable contribution in planning, must be that the selection of places discussed above be made in a democratic way. Interplace-divided understanding of the environment could actually be

described as a »traditional« local partnership, if it were not for these pre-cautions about democracy. Subsequently, it would seem to be important to position the responsibility for interplace-divided understanding, and the subsequent development of learning processes, to an organization already responsible for relating space-divided and place-divided understanding of the environment – i.e. interplace-divided understanding must not be considered as a substitute for either of them, but rather as a complement. Such an organization most likely operates within a democratic structure and is therefore probably better suited than is a private company to select the above-mentioned places – not leaving out any concerned parties.

Still, as the individuals working within the institutions of society are largely prisoners in their contexts, i.e. strongly influenced by their organizations' theories-in-use that may be counterproductive to double-loop learning concerning these issues, such a vision may not be easy to implement just by assigning existing organizations a new task. One should perhaps rather think of such a development in two steps: How would it be possible to initiate a learning process within the field of planning, aimed at changing ordinary procedure such that it would include learning processes based not only on a space-divided and a place-divided understanding of the environment, but also on an interplace-divided understanding of the environment?

THIS THESIS will be concluded with a brief discussion of what can be learnt from the research project concerning the notion of sustainable development. This vision is of course not only a natural part of urban design and planning, it is an overall vision for all social activities in the society – consequently, included also as one of the main objectives of the Local Development Agreements. Sustainable development, however, was not included as a concept in the funding programme at the local level, and the local activities were generally not discussed in relation to this vision.

Despite these facts, there are actually other ways of understanding the vision. Sustainable development of course is closely related to the concept of learning, as the vision implies that individuals and organizations must change their behaviour in order to contribute to a better society for all human beings – now and in the future. Accordingly, an interplace-divided understanding of the environment is a beneficial complement to contemporary planning procedures bridging space-divided and place-divided understandings of the environment, naturally also pertaining to the vision of sustainable

development. Discussing such a local strategy for sustainable development is not new; this has been highlighted by various researchers referred to in the chapter on previous research. What is new is rather the focus on *how* this could be accomplished – taking into consideration the local prerequisites of a stigmatized and ethnically segregated suburban metropolitan housing area.

Consequently, investigating local prerequisites for a learning process to take place may be considered to be an important part of the vision of sustainable development. Such knowledge was revealed to some extent thanks to the implementation of the funding programme and the evaluation of it. This naturally assumes that this knowledge will be brought into play in other realms where sustainable development is discussed and implemented.

As mentioned above, few of the interviewees explicitly related their local activities to the notion of sustainable development. One of them, a planner, had, however, an exceptionally clear view of how the notion was related to the local ambitions of his organization. This expressive quotation describing sustainable development can bring this thesis to a close:

> It's actually about the will to take responsibility: to be offered the opportunity to take responsibility, and the will to take responsibility. Then you can deal with these questions. You are prepared to solve the problems that arise. Sustainability is largely about these questions we've discussed. Hence, are you allowed to be involved in the social life or not? Are you placed outside it? Can you take responsibility? Are you prepared to take responsibility? It is actually a question of creating something. It's about creating a city, a society where the positive spirit is stronger than the negative – here I mean not taking responsibility. Being able to balance this. Then we can say it's sustainable. Because we don't know what is sustainable in the long run. /../ It's actually just our ability to act this very moment, face to face with the questions we meet, which in my mind is what entails sustainability. This also implies that we must be ready at any moment to change, we must read what's happening and be ready to change when we're confronted with new information about these questions (interview, 031003).

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❧

This thesis focuses on how urban design and planning are related to the changes in so-called exposed suburban metropolitan areas in Sweden, areas built in the period of mass housing during the sixties and seventies. The empirical material comprise an evaluation of a national area-based funding programme, the Local Development Agreements, aimed at social inclusion and sustainable development. The research question addresses the roles of the local employees responsible for implementation of the programme. What can the field of planning learn from the case study if implementation of the funding programme is related to national policies on social inclusion and sustainable development, as well as to the needs and opinions of the citizens?