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Transformative Dynamics in Detailed Planning

- Sustainable Solutions through Strategic Navigation rather than Impositions?

Paper for City Futures 2014
Session on Cities and Environmental Sustainability

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Abstract

Many of the ambitious sustainable strategies on how to integrate sustainable solutions expressed in urban development projects do not become materialized in the urban design. This paper aims to uncover the transformative dynamics involved in this translation process of materializing the formulated sustainable strategies into the project design. Through an action-research inspired methodology, this paper provides deep insights into the struggle of the urban planners to integrate sustainable solutions into a new urban development project in the city of Malmö in Sweden. The analysis shows that the translation process relies heavily on integration of impositions in the detailed plan, although this has clear limitations, since some sustainable strategies are more difficult to impose than others. It also shows how strategic navigation may represent an alternative translation strategy to promote more difficult sustainable strategies that address the project design more directly. In conclusion, the paper argues that strategic navigation represents a stronger mediator of change compared to the detailed plan, but that especially timing issues in the coordination between formal planning and design processes makes it difficult to apply such a translation strategy.

Introduction

Cities in the Northern Øresund Region are no exception to the trend of cities becoming strategic players for addressing the global challenge of sustainable transformation. On the contrary, several of the cities in the region recognize that new urban development areas represent a strategic opportunity to integrate sustainable solutions, and work determinedly to enable such transformations through spatial planning projects. Such initiative by local governments are now, to some extent, even challenging and outpacing national government initiatives with regards to e.g. sustainable development (Bulkeley et al., 2011).

Urban governance processes are often exploited as a means to enable processes of change related to global sustainability challenges (ibid). A wide array of governance strategies are applied by local governments in order to address sustainability issues such as climate change, including governance through authority and governance through enabling (Bulkeley & Kern, 2006). These strategies represent different forms of governance processes applied in specific processes of local development in order to integrate sustainable solutions. Governance through authority represents the use of sanction that certain local governments apply, when they wish to promote sustainability in urban development. Governance through enabling represents the use of facilitation, co-ordination and encouraging action that certain local governments apply, often in partnership with actors in the private sector (Bulkeley and Kern, 2006).

At least in the Nordic context, the detailed planning of new urban areas represents a specific

planning practice, where strategies of governing through authority and enabling often comes into play in order to integrate sustainable solutions. Governance through authority has been especially strong in relation to this kind of land-use planning, which according to Albrechts (2004) has put great emphasis on controlling change and regulating private development. Technical and legal regulations are applied in the detailed plan in order to control and steer the physical development of an area in a specific direction. Most Planning Acts in the European context allow for this kind of regulation by either the regional or municipal government and often this supplements the regulation stated in the national Building Code. Governance through authority provides an effective instrument to provide pressure on private stakeholders to adopt common goods like that of sustainable solutions, which may have difficulties in penetrating the market without regulative pressure.

A key challenge, however, is that the physical hard planning in the widespread form of detailed planning, including its regulative instruments, do not always succeed in achieving the planning concepts advocated by the planners, like e.g. coherent and compact cities. The actual implementation of land-use plans illustrate that more powerful policy fields can easily sabotage the spatial plans although the land-use plans had formal status and served as official guidelines for implementation (Kreukels 2000). This illustrates the critical challenge of effectively connecting political authorities and implementation actors in order to enable the necessary transformations in real life practice (Albrechts 2004). Governance through enabling is interesting in this regard, because it builds on more networked and collaborative forms of governance. Enabling governance strategies are believed to be necessary in order for the planning practice to be in synch with the rapid pace of change, complexities and uncertainties that characterize the context of planning (Hillier 2011).

This paper aims to uncover the transformative dynamics involved in the translation process of materializing the formulated sustainable strategies into the project design. The notion of translation relates to the different forms of governance strategies applied with the aim of enacting certain transformations in urban structures. As introduced above, we see governance through authority and governance through enabling as two very different translation strategies, which rely on different dynamics of transformation. Through the paper, we wish to illustrate important differences between these translation strategies and to evaluate their effectiveness in terms of ability to carry the sustainable strategies through to the project design. The study implies an analysis of how urban planners can position themselves and behave in certain ways in order to deal with the internal delimitations and external pressures connected to the development of a new urban area. Our analysis of these issues are based on an action-research inspired methodology, which provide detailed knowledge about the struggle that urban planners (and researchers) have to integrate sustainable solutions into a new urban development project in city of Malmö in Sweden.

The paper firstly introduce its action-research methodology, which focus on how sustainable strategies can be enacted through translation in a specific urban development project. In the analysis, we first introduce the studied planning process of Västra Dockan in Malmö and outline the sustainable strategies that have been developed for this urban development. We then illustrate how the planners rely heavily on the detailed plan as a means to impose sustainability requirements and what limitations they experience in this regard. Then, we illustrate how attempts to strategic navigation provide a different approach to the translation process. In the concluding discussion, we argue that strategic navigation represents an alternative translation strategy compared to impositions through the detailed plan.

Enacting sustainable strategies through translation

The paper is based on an action-research methodology, which focus on how sustainable strategies can be enacted through translation in a specific urban development project. This implies that the research is aimed at experimenting with theoretical knowledge in the practitioners' field (Reason and Badbury 2001). This research process is initiated by and driven by the wish to engage in a reflective process of progressive problem solving by actively bridging practical and theoretical knowledge.

An important starting point for the action-research is the theoretical hypothesis that governance through authority tends to be ineffective in terms of integrating sustainable solutions in urban development projects. This hypothesis is based on the on-going discussion about effectiveness of strategy making in planning, which indicates that certain planning practices tend to neglect the complex character of spatial processes of development. According to Albrechts (2004), the whole apparatus of adverse bargaining, negotiation, compromise and deadlock, which normally surrounds the planning process, must be questioned in terms of effective forms of strategic spatial planning.

The concept of translation is at the core of the action-research, since it represents a specific way to conceptualise how certain actors may try to enroll other actors into a specific course of action. In doing that, these actors take the role as translator by expressing their desires and interests to others, hereby seeking to determine the identity of certain elements and regulate their behaviour and evolution (Callon 1986). According to Callon (1986), translation should foremost be perceived as an endeavour, since other actors may block the translation and define its future differently. This way of conceptualising processes of transformation posses emphasis on enactment, as an important dynamic of transformation. This is because, it recognises the highly variable and malleable process of transformation, which emerges from and is performed in very specific circumstances and where there is an intention to change those circumstances in some way (Bryson et al. 2009). This provide a very specific perspective on strategy making in relation to planning.

The relational approach to processes of transformation, which is taken up in the action-research is inspired by Actor-Network Theory and relational planning theories. This implies that the social world is perceived as precarious networks of associations characterized by contradictions, tensions and ambiguities that require ongoing attention and care in order to perform in an expected and desirable way (Callon and Latour 1981). The object of study is the concrete performances of these precarious networks of associations. In relation to strategy making, this implies a move away from treating strategic planning as a routine in the form of a fixed object (Bryson et al. 2009). Instead, a move towards highlighting the performative aspects in the form of what we observe in terms of real actions, by real people in specific times and places is made. In this perspective, strategic planning should be seen as a discursive practice, which does not only represent forms of saying, but also forms of doing, as Reckwitz (2002) would say. This implies that it is not a fixed intermediary, but a highly changeable mediator (Bryson et al. 2009).

A core perspective is to view strategic planning as a generative system comprised of many interacting and changeable parts in order to enable tranformations (Bryson et al. 2009). Several studies have outlined general principles about the 'how' of strategic spatial planning in terms of the planner's ability to address the great number of challenges involved in

planning. A few examples on how to do strategic spatial planning include: focus on a limited number of strategic key issues areas, study external trends and forces, a broad involvement of stakeholders and take into account power structures and uncertainties (for a more elaborate list, see Albrechts 2004). One key element is the application of more flexible and navigational forms of strategic spatial planning, based on communication and involvement of actors (see among others Albrechts 2004, Hillier 2011, Healey 2009). This kind of planning work involves *'taking risks, the consequences of which can be thought about, but cannot be known'* (Healey 2008).

Strategic navigation has been presented as a specific approach to planning, which build on the idea of strategic planning as a performative practice, involving a relational and pragmatic view of the planning process. As Hillier (2011:504) formulates it: *"strategic spatial planning represents an issue of a strategically navigated becoming"*. This means that the planning should evolve, function and adapt pragmatically with regards to what can be done and how new things, new foldings and connections can be made experimentally, but still in contact with reality (Hillier 2007). In that sense, the planning would aim at embracing a future that is not determined by the continuity of the present, nor the pathdependent repetition of the past (Hillier 2011). This point towards a very specific way of performing the planning process, where the planner orients him or herself in the specific process and attempts to navigate (or steer) the process in certain directions.

In the action-research, we are interested in understanding the extent to which the detailed planning process enables the alignment of different relations and components in the actor-network in order for a translation to occur. Although certain systems in relation to urban development may seem stabilized, this is only because these are constantly being maintained. In order to manifest an opening for transformation, some kind of work need to be performed in order to push the associations or relations into a new state of equilibrium. Such a shift in the actor-network to a new equilibrium requires that a new kind of alignment is established between the different associations. The dedicated work involved in this process is the translation process. The process of translation may seem simple or evident, but in practice, it is very difficult to perform effective processes of translation, because certain associations might fight back and try to re-stabilize the actor-network in the original position.

As we see it, urban planners are constantly engaged in different processes of translation, since this represent an important part of their working conditions and competences. Urban planners have the responsibility of translating different interests into a specific urban design. A key question in relation to sustainability strategies is how planners are able to translate these into effective alignment of associations that will result in actual changes in real life practices. In this regard, governance through authority and governance through enabling represent different strategies of translation, whereas the first relies on regulative tools as a means to influence the actor-network and the latter on dialogue.

The action-research project sengages with a specific urban development project in Malmö in Sweden. A researcher from the Urban Transition research project has followed and been involved in the urban development process. This involves taking part in the meetings between the planning department of the city and the private developers involved in the process. In addition, interviews have been made with different actors involved in the process in order to get a deeper understanding of the background of their dispositions during the process. During the first phases of the action-research project, the researcher has taken a passive stance in terms of firstly understanding how the planners themselves approach the translation process

and merely observe the process. In the later phases, the researcher has engaged more actively in the discussions about the development, trying to shift the translation process from impositions in the detailed plan towards that of strategic navigation. The researcher has also discussed the process with the project leader from the municipality in order. The urban development process is still on-going, but the researcher now returns to a more observative and reflexive phase in terms of how well the shift to strategic navigation worked. The meetings and interviews have been recorded as far as possible, and this provide the background for this paper.

Formulated sustainability strategies in Västra Dockan

The urban development of Västra Dockan in Malmö represents a long-term process, which was initiated a couple of years ago. A detailed plan is currently in the process of being developed for this small area. The area in the detailed plan (see figure 1) is part of the large structural change from an industrial city dominated by its shipyard, towards a knowledge- and service based city. Malmö City, which is located in Southern Sweden and is Sweden's third largest with approx. 312.000 inhabitants. The area contains a few historical buildings (e.g. the former submarine production halls) that will be kept, but otherwise the overall plan is to add a mixture of residential and commercial buildings in the area.

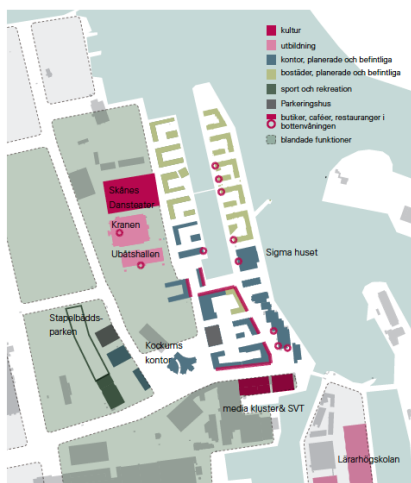


Figure 1: Illustrative plan of the entire Dockan area in Västra Hamnen, Malmö. From Malmö Stad and Dockan, without year.

Sustainability represents an important issue in the urban development, since the area is part of the Västra Hamnen District, which Malmö City perceives as a strategic area for promoting sustainable solutions. This process was initiated in 2001 with the environmentally oriented housing fair called 'Bo01'. This provided the beginning of a series of sustainability oriented urban development projects in this district in Malmö with different forms of integration of sustainable solutions. During this process, Malmö City has developed and formalised an approach to dialogue with developers (Constructive Dialogue) and a regulation scheme (Miljöbyggprogram Syd) for environmental requirements (Smedby and Neij, 2013).

The planning programme for the entire Dockan area was approved in year 2000 and a quality program for the entire area was developed in accordance with the overall vision for Västra Hamnen. On this basis, a number of different detailed plans have been developed for specific areas in Dockan covering approximately 70 % of the realisation of the area today. For the Västra Dockan area, a parallel quality program was developed in cooperation with Gehl Architects formed as a competition for architectural suggestions for urban designs. On this

basis, the design template from Nyrén architects became the foundation for the detailed plan. In addition to this template, a so-called 'Valueprogram' was also developed, which highlights the core values that should be developed in the area in order to simplify the planning process and make it more effective. The Valueprogram attempts to formulate what the common vision of the municipality and developers are with regards to development of the specific area. It builds on broad involvement and dialogue with the actors involved in the decision process (Värdeprogram 2012). The Valueprogram provides the targets for development of Västra Dockan and provide a guarantee for quality and flexibility. The planning is currently in the phase of formulating the detailed plan in order to get the final improvements of the plan of the area (ibid). This vision was developed prior to the action-research process. This vision represents an important part of the 'Valueprogram' that has been developed as foundation for the urban development process. This new tool that Malmö City has integrated in the planning process seems very interesting in terms of strategically addressing sustainability, because it has resulted in the formulation of pragmatic and realistic visions rather than ideal statements for sustainability.

In the Valueprogram, a number of bullet points describe how Västra Dockan will contribute to sustainable development. As figure 2 shows, this includes a wide array of specific spatial strategies that will support sustainable development and living patterns. Some of the spatial strategies concern the structural layout and location of the area, whereas some concern more detailed functions. Common for all of these spatial strategies is that a broad perspective on sustainability is applied, where the environmental sustainability issue is closely linked to especially the social sustainability. This is reflected in the strong focus on liveability issues and its connection to sustainability. On one hand, this provides more holistic spatial strategies that embrace sustainability issues more broadly, on the other hand, it also represents a first step towards establishing a synergy between liveability and sustainability, which might fit better with the economic interests of the developers.

- *Väl utnyttjad centralt lokaliserad mark och infrastruktur*
- *Återbruk av befintliga kulturhistoriskt värdefulla byggnader*
- *Ett grönt koncept för bebyggelsemiljön och en parkmiljö för omgivningen*
- *Västra Dockan ska bidra till att Västra Hamnen fortsätter att vara ett nationellt och internationellt ledande exempel vad gäller energi-användning, lokal produktion av förnybar energi och materialval.*
- *Förutsättningar för utveckling av sociala aktiviteter och kulturverksamheter*
- *Fler arbetsmiljöer, förutsättningar för utvecklad service och konsolidering av Västra Hamnen som blandstad*
- *Nyskapande boendekvaliteter med utgångspunkten att skapa en grön och tät stadsmiljö*
- *Det ska vara lätt att göra rätt i Västra Dockan, infrastrukturen för avfallsåtervinning ska vara praktisk och lättanvänd.*
- *Transporterna i Västra Dockan är hållbara. Gång-, cykel- och kollektivtrafik är prioriterad. Cykelparkeringar är attraktiva och välplanerade och hänsyn tas till bilpoolbilar vid planering av garage och p-hus.*
- *Ett starkt sammanhang av omväxlande publika rum*
- *Förstärkta öst-västra förbindelser med Västra Dockans kulturstråk, Dockans vattenrum och havet*

Figure 2: Spatial strategies developed to support sustainable development and living patterns in Västra Dockan (Värdeprogram 2012:9).

This way of approaching sustainability and urban development represents a break from more rationalist and modernist forms of planning, which have prevailed during the past decades. There has been a growing critique of the rational way that many cities and districts have been planned, where deductive reasoning have provided the basis of the development, rather than paying attention to the human needs and living patterns (see e.g. Jacobs 1961). This has led to serious urban challenges in the form of unsustainable living patterns (e.g. car use) and displacement of human life (e.g. sleeping towns) (Gehl and Svarre 2013). This point towards a

more human-oriented focus in urban design in order to develop liveable cities. The Valueprogram of Västra Dockan builds to a greater extent on this philosophy, compared to the rational approach of deductive forms of planning. This is probably also a result of the involvement of Gehl Architects in preparation of the program for the architectural competition of the area, which has contributed in highlighting the issue of liveability. In concordance with e.g. Gehl (2010), the Valueprogram equals development of human-oriented and liveable city with that of development of healthy and sustainable cities. This implies that these spatial strategies are seen as reinforcing rather than competitive.

By building on the idea of human-oriented and liveable cities, the spatial strategies reflect formulation of common goods that most people can relate to and agree with. This represents an interesting way of translating environmental sustainability (which very few people feel strongly motivated by) into issues that more deeply concern and motivate people in their daily life. This opens up a more attractive arena for dialogue about sustainability with regards to the developers, because it becomes more tangible in terms of their interests in the market dynamics (e.g. the human needs) compared to environmental solutions per se. In doing that, the Valueprogram has successfully achieved a translation of idealistic sustainable visions into more pragmatic and realistic visions, which seem more relevant for the people involved.

The development of the Valueprogram took place prior to the action-research program and for that reason, we will not further elaborate on how such spatial strategies become developed and what kind of strategic work this has involved. Our main interest concerns how these sustainability strategies become translated into specific design solutions. However, as mentioned above, we see the formulated strategies as a good starting point for the translation process, due to the pragmatic and realistic approach to sustainability. It seems like there is a general trend towards the acknowledgement of developing liveable cities in urban planning and that this trend in that way supports the strategic navigation of planners, by helping to translate sustainability into more pragmatic and realistic issues in the planning process. Our judgement would be that the planners are not in that sense aware of translating sustainable visions into liveability, but rather that liveability has become a strong vision for urban planning, which progressive planners has seen as an opportunity to link sustainability and liveability. Our point in relation to this paper is mainly to illustrate that the strategy making also involves a strong spatial component in terms of considering how the spatial strategies applied may help to translate sustainability into a common good in the development project.

The development of the detailed plan is carried out by a project leader, who is responsible for coordinating and carry through the planning in close cooperation with the developers. This planning process consists of internal meetings in both the Municipality and Dockan Exploatering and of common meetings between the municipality and Dockan Exploatering. Different planners from Malmö City attend the common meetings, depending on the subjects of the meetings. Besides the meetings, the process also consists of formal hearing and review processes, where neighbors, other municipal departments and the developers formulate and express points of interest and criticism of the drafted plan. The process is in its final phase, where the first draft of the plan is being revised in accordance to the first hearing reviews. The action-research process was initiated in September 2013 and is still on-going. Although the Developer Dialogue is not formally applied in the process, it involves a close dialogue between the municipal planners and the developers and the detailed plan is developed in close cooperation.

Our main interest in terms of the research project has been to study the implementation process in terms of translating the visions from the Valueprogram into specific design solutions.

Translation through imposition

The work process consisted of a row of meetings between the involved developers and different planners from the municipality. The process was facilitated and led by a municipal project leader. At the meetings, the draft of the detailed plan was typically discussed with regards to different relevant issues that needed to be addressed. The project leader had a list of issues that needed to be covered during the planning process, including: structure and townscape, landscape, vegetation and natural environment, cultural environment, traffic, health, safety and security. This list of issues built on the reviews from the hearing and specific concerns from both the developers and the municipality. Some of the issues involved development of further analyses and inquiries in order to document different relevant elements, like noise and parking. These reports were often demanded by the different municipal departments either as background material for their work or as documentation of the handling of a specific subject. The focus of this work seems to mainly have been set by the type of regulations involved in the detailed plan and the concerns raised by different stakeholders in the process.

In terms of the withholding and promotion of sustainability in this process, it is interesting that there is a remarkable shift towards the practical issues concerning the specific regulations involved in the detailed plan. This indirectly links to the sustainability strategies from the Valueprogram, but these are very seldom articulated specifically. An example of this is that the Valueprogram mentions that it should be easy to sort out and collect waste, but it is never addressed specifically in the discussions of the detailed plan how guidelines for waste collection should be handled for the design projects. This indicates a shift of focus from the 11 sustainability strategies in the Valueprogram to more formal negotiations concerning specific physical delimitations in the detailed plan. This involves, among other things, positioning the buildings in order to provide clear land registrations, agreeing about building heights, materials and functions for each of the buildings. It also involved more general contractual discussions. It is also characteristic that the concerns raised often tend to be reactive in terms of pointing out certain needs for documentation in relation to specific issues, like noise and parking. As a result of this, the meetings were mainly characterized by discussions on how to document that the chosen solutions were appropriate with regards to certain factors, rather than addressing the sustainability strategies.

Some of the sustainability strategies have been materialized in the detailed plan. For example, it is clear that the structural outline of the area aims to promote walking and biking, while delimiting car use. This is reflected in the integration of a parking house for the area combined with pedestrian streets within the area, hereby avoiding car traffic. Similarly, the idea of implementing a 'cultural line' in the area (see figure 3) represents a specific attempt to concentrate the daily life in the area in specific places, rather than dispersing these in the entire area. This illustrates that the detailed planning process successfully provides a basis for implementing the strategies of establishing good conditions for walking and biking in the area. The sustainability strategies are translated into specific structural patterns that favour the desired behaviour. The detailed plan represent an important tool to implement these structural designs, since the legal framework impose the developers to follow the outlined structure in the plan.

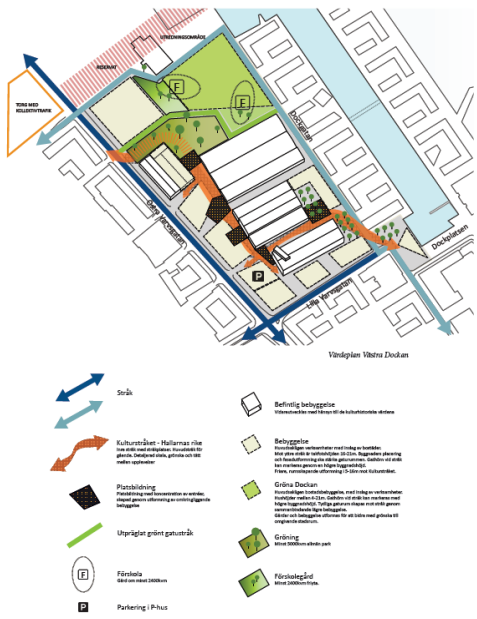


Figure 3: Illustration of the plan for Västra Dockan. The orange lines represents the so-called 'cultural shopping street', the white buildings represent existing buildings and the sand-colored buildings represent new buildings. From Värdeprogram (2012).

However, some of the other sustainability strategies, like the one with waste, is not in the same way materialized through the detailed plan, since the plan do neither visualize nor describe the solutions to this issue. In that sense it seems like the planning process 'jumps' a step in terms of how the sustainability strategies become materialized in the plan itself. A special characteristic of the entire development area of 'Dockan', which Västra Dockan is a small part of, compared to many of the other districts in Västra Hamnen, is that the area is not municipal ground. The development area is owned by three developer companies and organised in a consortium, called 'Dockan Exploatering AB'. The development of the area is undertaken by the three developers, but Malmö City is involved as planning authority. This impacts the applicability of the detailed plan, since this undermines the possibility to impose certain issues.

Translation through strategic navigation

As part of the action-research initiative, an attempt was made to re-direct focus back towards the 11 sustainability strategies formulated in the Valueprogram in order to carry these through to the detailed plan and the final designs. Focus was only put on a few issues, because it was deemed unrealistic to cover all of the strategies in the planning process. One issue, which was raised was that of parking for bikes, because this represent an important part of the infrastructure needed for riding a bike. This quickly led to discussions in the group about whether the bikes should be parked inside the buildings, in the court or in the public space in front of the buildings; illustrating how different interests compete. Firstly, there is a competition of the space itself, since the space for bikes takes up the space for other functions, e.g. green areas or benches. This then leads to a competition between the actors, since the developers wish to avoid expensive and useless facilities for bikes. Their experience is that there is a great need from the daily users to park their bike in front of the entrance. Some of the planners from the Street Department, however, were not interested in having too much bike parking in the public space, as they wish to provide other forms of functions here. This gap between Malmö City and the developers was difficult to overcome, although attempts were made to identify both interesting parking solutions for bikes in the building and interesting parking solutions for bikes in public spaces. These discussions have so far not led to any constructive solutions, other than pointing at the possibility of common bike parking

facilities in one of the parking houses and the integration of bike parking in the parking analysis report, which otherwise only included car parking.

Another discussion was raised about waste handling, where VA-Syd, the municipal waste company, wanted to integrate a local recycling station in the area. They wanted to experiment with this type of facility, where the local residents could more easily recycle in their local area. The developers were sceptical about this idea at the outset in terms of how it fitted in with the target group of the area, since most of the apartments are sold at high prices. They also had practical concerns regarding heavy traffic and the aesthetics of such a place. In this relation, arguments about liveability issues were made, however, by the researcher by indicating that such a facility could represent an important generator of public life in the area. During this discussion, the developers became more positively inclined and pointed out that they could see the benefit, but that they would have certain requirements in terms of how it would be designed and implemented. Agreement was made that the consultant from VA-Syd would bring this development project further and get back with more detailed plans. In terms of the detailed plan, there was an attempt to point out a specific spot for the recycling station in the area. But it was agreed that it would be best not to point a specific spot out at this point, but to keep the options open, since many of the ground level areas reserved for outward activities would function well for this kind of initiative. The lack of pointing out a place for the facility was also related to the challenge that future residents should have a saying in terms of what they want in their ground floor. The developers did not feel at ease by imposing such a facility on a specific building complex without prior agreement with the residents. A broad formulation about the recycling station would be inserted in the descriptive part of the detailed plan, but no specific requirements were included.

These two examples illustrate how the materialization of the sustainability strategies require different forms of initiatives in order to be carried through the planning process, because other issues currently take over the focus in the detailed planning. Some strategies are more naturally embedded in the detailed plan as a result of their structural character and the concerns of the planners, whereas others do not easily fit into the format of the detailed plan. To carry through this kind of strategies represents a proactive form of work, which is very different from the more reactionary type of focus, which seem to dominates the planning practice. This implies that the challenge is not only connected to the creativity of identifying viable paths of development in terms of design of solutions, but also a more managerial task of providing room for the involved stakeholders to engage in a more proactive form of dialogue.

Concluding discussion

The main result in terms of regulation and guidelines is the development of the detailed plan, seen in figure 4. This plan includes all the requirements that the municipality will set up for the development of the local area. As mentioned earlier, regulation represents a widely used strategy for achieving sustainable solutions, when it comes to urban planning. The legal format of the detailed plan provide an opportunity for the municipalities to regulate how the plan is materialized. In the Scandinavian context, the local government typically have some room of freedom for regulating the built environment through the detailed plan. Nevertheless, the degree of regulation applied is regulated by the dialogue with the private developers and their willingness to accept the regulation. Regulation through the detailed plan represents a powerful tool in the sense that it provides profound pressure on the private stakeholders to comply to the local requirements. However, it also represents a very formal and rigid tool with very little flexibility due to its legal roots and its application in practice illustrates that it

is often subject for negotiations and compromises anyways.

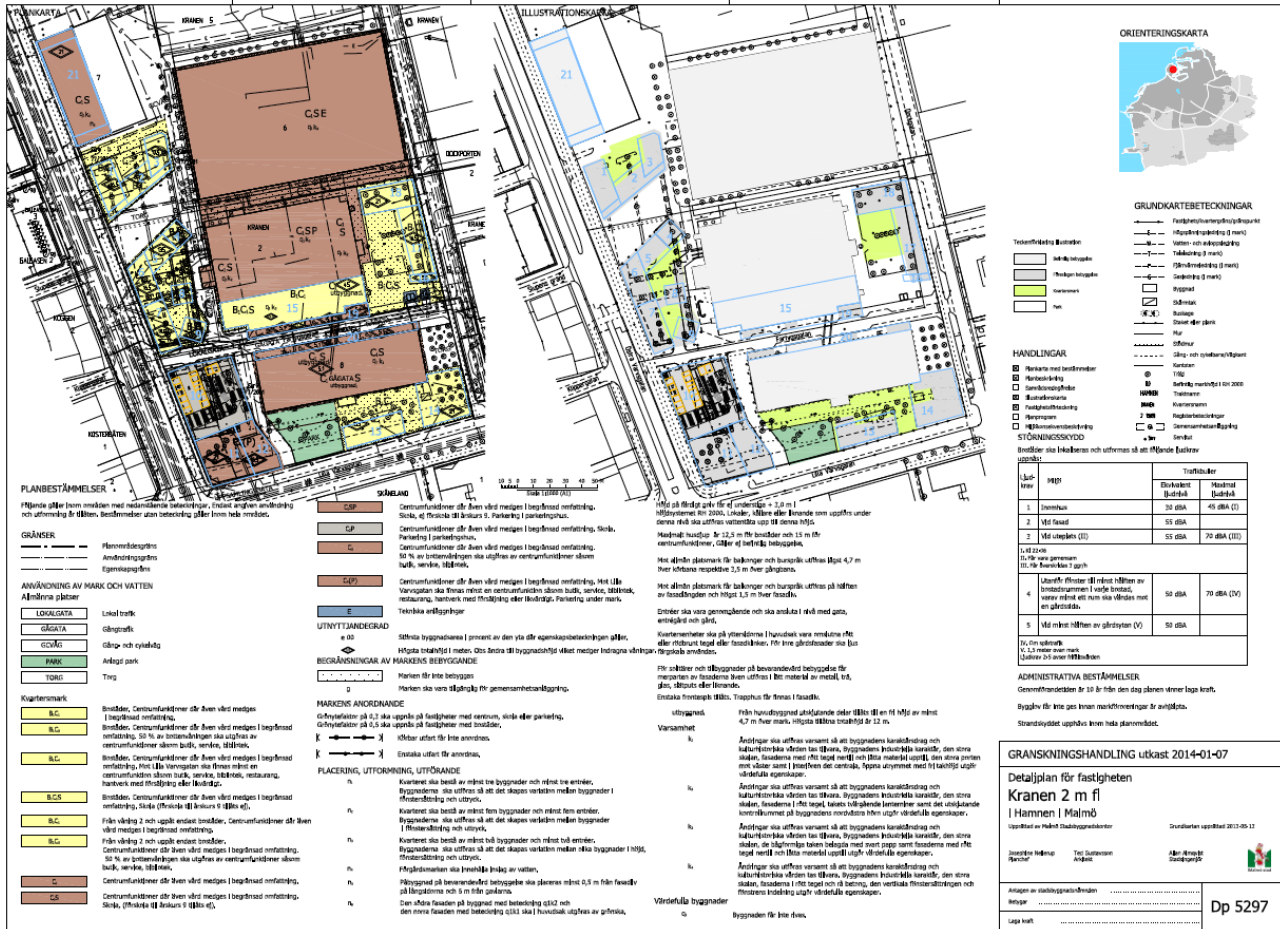


Figure 2: Overview of the draft of the detailed plan for Västra Dockan.

In relation to the detailed planning of Västra Dockan, there is a widespread focus on the detailed plan as the main document for ratification of the plan. At several occasions of the discussions about the sustainability strategies, either the developers or planners argue that an issue cannot be dealt with because it does not relate to the detailed plan. In that sense, the detailed plan become the center of attention, rather than the design and development process itself.

This also relates to an issue of timing, since in the case of Västra Dockan, there are no specific ideas about the building design yet. This makes it difficult to discuss the materialization of certain issues, since the detailed plan concern more structural issues compared to the building designs. However, this is also a question of what is thought about a detailed plan, since it is possible to visualize certain materializations in the plan, e.g. the placement of waste collection. A key challenge with the format of the detailed plan is that it is developed prior to the design process and in that sense there are a lot of unknown factors, especially, when these relate to innovative issues like integrating a recycling station in a compact neighborhood. On the basis of the experiences of the process, the detailed plan seemed to represent a rather poor instrument to regulate certain aspects of sustainability in the new area, since it was often not lack of willingness of the developers that resulted in abandonment of certain ideas, but rather the lack of identifying a satisfying solution.

This advertises for working processes that might supplement the detailed plan. An example of this could be to work on specific subprojects, like that of the recycling station, where a specific idea is followed up throughout the entire design process. This also involves setting up proactive teams that work with specified issues in the plan in order to co-design viable solutions. During the action-research initiative, several of this kind of sub-projects were launched in order to attempt to establish different forms of networking around the materialization of certain sustainability strategies. The experience, however, has shown how difficult it is to juggle with such development initiatives, while at the same time dealing with the formal elements.

The detailed planning process in Västra Dockan showed that although a great emphasis is put on the detailed plan as a core document for regulating. This is although, in practice, a great deal of other documents and guidelines are in play in the development and design process. For example, interviews with the developers illustrated that they had internal guidelines on how to build and what levels of sustainability to meet. These guidelines thus represent important means of actually achieving the sustainability strategies in the specific design process. It would be interesting to think about whether alternative guidelines or agreements could be worked out that would be better to formulate some of the more processual challenges and find a way to commit to these, rather than simply relying on the detailed plan.

The paper shows that reaching the city's sustainability goals and policies through imposition proves to a great extent to be ineffective. In most situations, these goals and policies were either not considered or brushed aside by the implementation actors, since the City of Malmö could not impose these for practical reasons. However, the experimentation with strategic navigation proved that it is possible to promote sustainability strategies through a targeted dialogue, where viable solutions are sought identified. An important difference between the two approaches is that the strategic navigation involves a greater degree of dedicated work to translate the sustainability strategies into specific initiatives that could work under the given conditions of the implementation actors.

The sustainability strategies will ultimately be realised through each of the development projects on the site, but the detailed plan is seen in the planning process as an important part of translating the strategies into specific sustainability solutions. However, as we have shown, governance through authority has its limit. Firstly, because the traditional regulation tool of Miljöbyggprogram Syd cannot be applied in the area, because it is not municipal land. Secondly, because it is difficult to negotiate requirements about sustainability with the developers, when the municipality do not have authority to set up specific requirements. These requirements often become compromises, which water down the sustainability strategies. Thirdly, because the requirements only address the willingness to act, and not the barriers that certain solutions face, which require other forms of measures. As a result, we would argue that the detailed plan often merely transport existing norms rather than transforming these. This lack of impact of the detailed plan is connected with its rigid character, where standard requirements are pointed out as solutions to sustainable development.

Although it is clear that governance through enabling represents an important strategy for implementing sustainability, this represents a difficult task to perform in practice. It involves the challenge of translating and aligning different bits and pieces in the transformation process, so that a path towards the desired vision can be cleared. This requires dedicated and hard work, which cannot be accomplished through the current work form involved in detailed

planning. It represents a more proactive and network-based form of work, compared to the negotiative form of cooperation that prevails today. It is interesting in this regard to see that very different approaches are needed for different sustainability strategies. Some may be achieved through the detailed plan, because of their structural character and the wider recognition of these issues. Some can only be achieved through a more design-oriented process, where specific design solutions are discussed and developed.

A core challenge in this regard seems to be the prevailing focus, which is put on the detailed plan, although this merely represent a sideproduct in the form of a legal document. It seems like more focus could be put on the co-creation process of designing the area and providing design guidelines for how it should be developed. The design and regulation processes are divided and this makes it difficult to implement the visions in practice, because the regulations regulate issues that do not have any importance in the design process, which is then left to itself. The action-research initiatives indicate that it is difficult to bridge the two, because the actors are used to think about the two processes as separate. It is difficult to say at this stage of the process, where the buildings have not been built, whether the action-research initiatives have had any impact or not. But in terms of attitudes, the proactive discussions about different sub-projects seem to have led to an increased focus among the developers and planners about the sustainability strategies from the Valueprogram, compared to the more traditional detailed planning process. This kind of learning process might prove valuable.

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