Gender and the City

a comparative analysis of how Malmö and Umeå approaches
gender and intersectionality in urban planning

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Abstract

This thesis is a comparative case study about how the Swedish municipalities Malmö and Umeå address gender aspects in their comprehensive plans. It also discusses how these municipalities approach the situation of women with diverse ethnic backgrounds in their planning strategies. According to previous research, immigrant women often have different experiences of the city than other women. The theoretical framework consists of feminist planning theories, a section on participatory planning as well as an intersectional part followed by critique on traditional feminist theories. Results show that the two municipalities address quite similar aspects in their gender-sensitive planning approaches, however, *how* they address these issues differ. With regards to the intersectional framework, it is argued that the municipalities fail to recognize gender as a differentiated concept and thereby do not highlight the situation of women with various ethnic backgrounds in their comprehensive plans. According to theories and previous research, this is an important aspect to accomplish a truly democratic and gender-equal urban environment.

Key words: Gender, intersectionality, Malmö, Umeå, comprehensive plan.

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1   Introduction

1.1   Gender in Human Geography

Human geography is about in what ways spaces, places and people are interconnected. Central issues in the field are how social interaction create spaces and how space can impact social interactions (Forsberg 2003: 6). Society in general and social interactions in particular, can be argued to be highly affected by power relations between men and women. In that sense, gender-sensitive geographers argue that gender roles and power relations affect the production of place and space (Ibid.:7). Main issues when discussing gender in human geography is this relation between gender and space. In other words, how the organisation of society is linked to gender and in what way this is visible in the urban environment (Ibid.:17). Studies have shown that the city is perceived variously by men and women and that men and women engage differently in the urban environment. (Ibid.:15).

Feminist geographers have broadly been working within a social constructionist framework in the attempt to make women's experiences visible (McDowell 1992:409). By focusing especially on women, the aim was to remove women from the shadows of the domestic life, and to highlight their experiences so that they become not only an object, but also a subject in geographical research (Ibid.).

Leonie Sandercock and Ann Forsyth (2005) argue that a distinctive feminist epistemology would be controversial in planning practices, however, they state that feminist insights could expand the planner's perspectives beyond scientific and technical knowledge and stress other ways of gaining knowledge and new ways of knowing (Ibid.:72). This could lead to a recognition in the planning practice, that knowledge can be gathered by talking and listening to people, through symbolic forms such as painting or poetry, as well as by acting and reflecting on action (Ibid.). Knowledge is argued to be inseparable from the subject who is doing the talking, the listening or the acting. Thereby, knowledge is partly autobiographical and due to societal orders, it is also gender based. The construction of meaning and knowledge involves communication, politics and passion and is therefore an ongoing and unfinished business, influenced by the people who are communicating. Hence, knowledge must be regarded as a social construction (Ibid.:73).

The creation of isolated categories, such as only gender or only class, belongs to the anatomic world view represented by positivism (de los Reyes & Mulinari 2005:24). The production of such a fragmented world view in science and media can be regarded as an exercise of power and a way to naturalise inequalities. Thereby, from a constructivist, and also feminist view, it can be seen as necessary to include a more intersectional analysis on social issues, also on the already stated intersection of gender and planning. Intersectionality is an epistemological critique on the positivistic paradigm (Ibid.:25). The general idea with an intersectional approach is that people exist in the intersections between gender, ethnicity, class, citizenship and other categories that place people on different positions in a global hierarchy (Hill Collins & Bilge 2016:20). A woman is not only a woman, she also belongs to a certain class, culture and maybe religion, and these aspects put together, creates her premises in life.

This study has an interpretivist approach and is based on the assumption that the social world can be understood through interpretations made by people. The ontological position is as stated above, of a social constructionist character, which suggests that what happens in the social world, are outcomes of interactions between individuals (Bryman 2012:380).

1.2   Background

More than half of the earth's population is now living in urban areas and this is a challenge for city governments all over the world (UN 2017a). According to UN Habitat, urbanisation has resulted in increased socio-economic inequalities and segregation and gender-sensitive and inclusive urban planning has been put aside by urban planning for the wealthier strata in society. This increases economic instability and does not help to reach the UN goal on social sustainability (UN Habitat 2012:2). Local as well as national governments must realise the importance of gender-sensitive planning. To build a safe and inclusive city, we need to uncover the gendered power relations in planning (Ibid.).

According to traditional gender stereotypes, the home was regarded as a woman's place to be. In other words, the private sphere, whilst men dominated public spaces (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:18; Fainstein & Servon 2005:3). This division and dichotomy between private and public, women and men, has for a long time been deeply rooted in society (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:18). Even when women became more politically engaged in the beginning of the 20th century, they often fought for the rights of the poor, children and elderly. Issues, argued to belong to the private sphere of the home. Thereby, this entrance by women in the public and political field was only seen as an extension of the female sphere and not really an entrance into the public (Ibid.). The connection between public policy and the

private world was mostly of a regulatory character, such as making sure that sexual relations only occurred between husband and wife and that children went to school (Fainstein & Servon 2005:4).

Later, after women started to take part in the paid labour force outside of the home, they were to a large extent expected to be the link between public and private. For example, public childcare, where mainly women worked, was seen as a complement to the home (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:22). Though women continued fighting for their rights to be seen as full worthy citizens. At that time women were mainly regarded as either caregivers in the private sphere or as potential victims who needed protection in the public. Some might argue that this way of looking at gender roles in the public and private still exist today (Ibid.:23). The struggle for gender equality has been going on for a long time but during the feminist movement in the 1970s the separation between the public and private started to be questioned more and more and issues such as domestic violence and reproductive rights reached into the public (Fainstein & Servon 2005:4).

Today both men and women are using public spaces, however, the urban environment can still be seen as a mainly male sphere, where women might to a larger extent than men feel insecure, unwelcomed or not included (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:16). UN Habitat argues that public places should be regarded as the soul of a city, since they provide a "key support" for social interaction, cultural expressions and economic exchange (UN Habitat 2012:11). Thereby the importance of inclusiveness in public spaces is stressed if the aim is to create a socially sustainable city. Traditionally, most urban planners have been male and have left out a gender analysis on urban planning. Urban planning has traditionally been regarded as a gender neutral and objective practice. Though, when one combines gender inequalities in society with planning strategies, it can be argued that planning has occurred from a male point of view (Ibid.:15).

1.2.1   European planning for gender equality

Gender equality in planning is nowadays on many political agendas and levels. Multinational policy arenas as the UN and EU have both approached gender in planning in different programs and conferences. The Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), presented the European Charter for Equality of women and men in local life in 2006 (CEMR 2006:1). The main aim of the charter is to encourage local and regional governments in the EU to use their powers and partnerships to achieve greater equality for people (Ibid.). Local and regional governments are invited to sign the charter and thereby commit to the suggested strategies, goals and implementations to reach a greater gender equality (Ibid.:3). The report stresses that even though multinational as well as national aims are important in when working for gender equality, local and regional

governments have a particular role in the implementation of strategies connected to gender equality (Ibid.). Local and regional governments are often the policy levels closest to the citizen and they thereby have a certain ability to be more sensitive concerning local contexts which is important to create a comprehensive and sustainable strategy for equality (Ibid.:4). Local and regional governments need to take the gender dimension fully into account in policies, practices and organisations in order to achieve a society based on equality (Ibid.). The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR) supports the CEMR Charter of Equality and encouraged its members, the Swedish municipalities and regions, to sign the charter and follow its strategies (SALAR 2017).

1.2.2   National policy for gender equality in Sweden

The present Swedish government is the first government in the world set out to be "a feminist government" (Regeringskansliet 2017a). The aim is that a gender perspective should be underlying all policy fields, both nationally and in the government's international work (Ibid.).

In regard to gender equality, the Swedish national government has an overarching goal saying that "women and men should have the same power to affect society and their own lives" (my translation; Regeringskansliet 2017b). This goal concerns both societal structures as well as individual freedom (Regeringskansliet 2017b). To narrow this overarching aim down to more specific and operational goals, the Swedish government has stated six goals on prioritising fields where strategies for gender equality are needed:

1. Gender equality concerning the power and possibility to influence society.
2. Economic gender equality.
3. Equal possibilities and conditions for men and women, boys and girls regarding education.
4. Regarding unpaid domestic work and care, there must be gender equality.
5. Gender equality in terms of health care must be reached.
6. Men's violence against women must come to an end.

In order to implement the national goals on gender equality, the Swedish government has adopted a strategy called *gender mainstreaming*. According to the government this strategy is regarded to be the most important and efficient tool to reach gender equality in society (Regeringskansliet 2017a). Gender mainstreaming aims to assure gender sensitivity in all policy fields and their implementation processes. The underlying thought is that gender issues should not only be a question on its own, but an integrative part of all fields, aspects and policy levels of society (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:37). Since gender mainstreaming

is supposed to be applied in all policy fields and at all policy levels, it also becomes relevant for the act of urban planning in the municipalities.

1.2.3   The Swedish Planning and Building Act

In Sweden, urban planning is regulated by the Planning and Building Act (SFS 2010:900). The first paragraph of this act regulates planning of land and water use as well as containing regulations on building and construction. The aim of the act is to support a development where equality and good social living conditions are central. With this legislation, a long-term sustainable living environment for people living today as well as future generations is to be ensured. The second paragraph states that the municipalities are responsible for the planning of land and water use (Ibid.). Each municipality is obliged to have a *comprehensive plan*, describing the long-term development of land use as well as the development of the built environment. It is to be seen as a guideline for planning in the municipality and is not legally binding. The comprehensive plan must include a vision of how the built environment should be developed and strategies of the municipal implementation of national aims and interests (Ibid.).

Besides the comprehensive plan, the *detail plan* is an important document. The detail plan provides information about changes in the municipal environment, such as in public land use or construction work in the built environment. The detail plan is also a document that holds information on borders of public land, areas under protection and buildings of special historical interest. The detail plan is, as opposed to the comprehensive plan, legally binding (SFS 2010:900).

The Planning and Building Act defines the municipalities as the policy level most bound to planning and local urban development. This policy level is thereby a highly accurate level of analysis concerning research on planning. Some researchers have argued that there is a lack of gender-sensitivity in the Planning and Building Act, which might lead to neglect of gender issues (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:62). The importance of the comprehensive planning level is stressed by Anita Larsson and Anne Jalakas. They argue that if the detail plans alone would set out to be gender sensitive, the aim to create a whole, gender-equal urban environment would fail. In that case, gender-sensitive implementations would be small-scale and focused on small areas', which would consolidate the idea that women and gendered zones are to be close to home, close to the private and not in public (Ibid:152).

1.2.4   National Board of Housing, Building and Planning

There have been projects in many Swedish municipalities to increase the awareness of gender-sensitivity in planning. Boverket, the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, started a project to financially support municipalities in order for them to create public places with a gender analysis. The project took place from 2014-2016 and Malmö and Umeå were two municipalities taking part in the development programme from Boverket. (Boverket 2017:3, 11). Both cities have been nationally and internationally noticed for their ways to address gender in planning and they have also both signed the CEMR Charter for Equality (Malmö Stad 2015; Umeå kommun 2016, Boverket 2017:37). Therefore, it is argued that these two municipalities are interesting cases to highlight in this research.

To conclude, gender aspects in planning are seen as very important by multinational, national as well as local authorities, in order to establish a true democracy where all people are equal. Sweden has high aims regarding gender equality and the adopted gender mainstreaming strategy means that all dimensions of policy should address gender issues. According to Swedish legislation, the municipalities have the main responsibility for urban planning. Thereby, in order to address gender aspects in planning, the municipal level seems like an appropriate one to do so. Malmö and Umeå are two municipalities that seem to stand out among others in their ways of addressing gender in planning. Thereby, a research study can be built up around these two municipalities. By studying the comprehensive plans of these municipalities and evaluating the stated strategies, a greater understanding about gender aspects in planning can be reached.

However, what has not really been addressed or mentioned in the documents above and at the different policy levels, is that *women* are no homogenous group or single unit of analysis. Women have different experiences of urban life depending on cultural affiliation, religion, ethnicity and class. The recognition that feminism is not only done in one way and that the term gender must be regarded as complex and diverse, is something that needs to be recognised in the field of planning and not in feminist theories only (Sandercock & Forsyth 2005:70). In planning, the importance of gender-sensitivity has often been highlighted, but the importance of an intersectional analysis and the differentiation of the terms women and gender have often been left out. In order to create a sustainable and gender-equal city it is important to lift how the city is experienced not only by women in general, but how it is experienced by women belonging to different groups (Listerborn 2008:62).

1.3   Aim and research question

This thesis will have a point of departure in theories concerning urban planning from a feminist perspective and the aim is to critically analyse and compare how Malmö and Umeå are approaching gender issues in their comprehensive plans. Also, the thesis will investigate how the municipalities address the intersection between ethnicity and gender in their planning. In other words, how they approach the situation of women with different ethnic backgrounds. The aim with the intersectional approach is to broaden the perspectives on women in the urban environment and planning theories.

The first two research questions in this thesis are of a more descriptive character. The third and more analytical question is connected to the intersectional part of this thesis. The research questions are:
1) How are Malmö and Umeå approaching gender aspects in the planning strategies?
2) What are the similarities and differences between the municipalities in regard to gender aspects in planning?
3) How do the comprehensive plans of Malmö and Umeå address the intersection between gender and ethnicity and the situation of women with diverse ethnic backgrounds in the city?

1.4   Previous research

In a Swedish context, and therefore especially important for this research, a gender-sensitive view on urban planning is not necessarily new. However, in the last couple of years, there have been some events that have been discussed and have received a lot of attention not only in academia, but also in the general media. In Stockholm, the feminist planning strategies in the city district of Husby, have been highlighted as an important and ground-breaking project for gender-sensitive planning (Randawa Bergmark 2017; Sjöqvist 2017; Lund 2015). Carina Listerborn, professor in urban planning and design at Malmö University, stressed the case of Husby in 2005 in the study "Husby in the world". The article is about the everyday experiences of women living in the multicultural, segregated and often seen as a problematic part of the city (Listerborn 2005). Listerborn has also focused on Malmö in her research and in the article "Who speaks? And who listens? The relationship between planners and women's participation in local planning in a multi-cultural urban environment". She analyses the role of immigrant women in participation processes in Malmö (Listerborn 2008). This article was very important for me at the start of this project and provided me with

many valuable ideas. The study "Home and Alienated in the city" by Johanna Sixtensson, also focuses on Malmö and contains several narratives told by women wearing hijab, highlighting their experiences of the public spaces and urban life in Malmö (Sixtensson, 2009).

The report "Spontaneous sport for who? – A study on gender and the usage of outdoor public spaces for spontaneous athletic activities during summer" by Blomdahl et al (2012) gained a lot of attention when it got published. The research result shows that boys use public outdoor sport facilities to a much larger extent than girls. Some of the studies mentioned in this section will be further elaborated upon later in this thesis.

1.5   Delimitations

The empirical part of this study focuses on the comprehensive plans of Malmö and Umeå. Other documents connected to planning and gender equality in the urban areas have not been studied. Of course, it could be of interest to include these documents in research to accomplish a more overarching study. But due to time and space limits these documents could not be included in this study. However, I regard the comprehensive plan as a guideline and framework for the overall planning strategies in a municipality. What is not mentioned in the comprehensive plan might risk not being stressed in the planning at all.

The intersectional analysis concerns the intersection between gender and ethnicity. I acknowledge that there are many other intersections as well, such as class, citizenship, age and so on. However, due to limits in time and space these aspects will not be stressed in this research.

This study uses a quite traditional way of looking at gender. There is a binary gender approach, however I am aware that not all people see themselves as either men or women and that gender is no longer such a dichotomy as it used to be. Unfortunately, it was not possible to take this into further considerations when conducting this thesis. Research on how transgendered persons experience the city could also be a case for further research.

1.6   Disposition

Chapter two will describe the theoretical framework, focusing on gender in planning, participatory planning, intersectionality and critique on traditional, western feminism. Chapter three describes the methods used to answer the

research questions, the research design and the type of analysis chosen for this thesis. Chapter four will describe the documents chosen for the analysis, the comprehensive plans of Malmö and Umeå and chapter five contains an analysis where theory and empirical information are put together. In chapter six, a short discussion and conclusion follows as well as considerations and suggestions about how further research could be conducted.

2   Theoretical framework

Spatial planning is never a neutral process. It reflects social and power relations within a society as well as affecting them and, to a large extent, spatial relations actually represent and sometimes also reproduce social relations (Moore 1996 in Fenster 1999:4).

2.1   Gender inequalities and power relations

According to a feminist view on politics, the personal sphere is political in the same ways as the public sphere, and the everyday life is an arena of gender discrimination (Young 1990 in Healy 2005:211). Differences between men and women are not only biological, but also socially constructed (Young 2005:88). In other words, the sex is from feminist perspectives regarded as a biological feature, while gender is a social construction (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:43).

To understand gender inequalities, it is necessary to discuss the power relation between men and women (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:52). By embracing a gender perspective as an analytical tool in social sciences, gender inequalities can be addressed. It is argued that the man is seen as a norm in society and that women and women's issues are inferior to men and policy agendas created from a man's perspective (ibid.). One way to look at social and economic privilege is that the people who have privilege, on the contrary to the unprivileged, often behave self-evidently as if they have the natural and unquestioned right to speak and be heard. At the same time, they possess material, personal and organisational resources that enable them to speak and be heard and other people give them the space they claim (Young 2005:96).

The differences between genders in terms of power and privilege is something that needs to be highlighted in order to change prevalent circumstances in society. Though, highlighting the field needs to be done without deepening the inequalities further (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:46). How to do so, is a dilemma that feminist writers and researchers have fought with for a long time. How can the gender inequalities to be highlighted without becoming further consolidated (Ibid.)?

The societal system created by gender inequalities can be argued to underlie all aspects of society. This results in that whatever a man does, this seems more valuable than whatever a woman does. Gender inequalities are often reproduced

in the everyday life without being reflected upon or even noticed (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:53). Healy refers to Foucault's conclusion about power relations, saying that every informal or formal element of an institution or society, such as routines, practices, structures and discourses, carries social meaning and are connected to the power relations and a social order (Healy 2005:37). This societal power construction is from a gender perspective something that penetrates society in an informal way through discourse, rules, expectations and even identities. It has become a way of thinking and a way of life, creating what is viewed as normal and not (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:53-54).

2.2   Gender in planning

Planning can be defined as "a set of rational actions, which aim to organise the use of space according to principles and goals determined in advance, usually by those in power" (Fenster 1999:8). Thereby, planning is a powerful action that forms the arenas of where people's lives take place (Ibid.).

Gender issues were for a long time in history invisible in planning and planners often aimed to find universalising approaches and did not distinguish among persons based on their group affiliations (Fainstein & Servon 2005:1). The man was most often set to be a neutral point of departure in planning and women, disabled people, children, immigrants and the elderly were to be regarded as "the other" (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:54). Historically the fields of planning and policy have been dominated by white, middle-class men. Mainly interests and experiences of this rather privileged and homogenous group were lifted, which affected the urban environment. In the 1970s the gender awareness grew in the planning discipline and scholars began to realise the biases in the field, caused by a non-existing gender lens (Fainstein & Servon 2005:2).

It must be clear in planning practices, that societal structures create different expectations of what and how a woman or a man should behave and that these expectations are produced and reproduced in all dimensions and aspects of society, also in physical planning (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:51). A gender perspective in planning concerns how power relations in the gender system are connected to space and place. The point of departure is that there is a connection between gender and the production of places and spaces, that societal orders impact and create spaces due to how people act and at the same time, the spatial dimension impact people (Forsberg 2003:17). Therefore, the interconnectedness between the surrounding environment and people is highlighted. Space and place are social constructions as well as gender (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:49).

Gender equality in planning will not occur just by including more women in the processes, even though women's participation is a crucial matter in order to reach gender equality. Of course, women need to be present when and where decisions are being made, to be able to impact these decisions. But, even women are affected by the existing structures and cannot be seen as self-evident carriers of a gender-sensitive approach. Both women and men need a thorough gender analysis and awareness of the issue, otherwise, gender equality will be more of a dream and less of a reality (Larsson, Jalakas 2007:44). With an increase of women as professional planners, gender inequality in the field is not about the absolute number of women or men in the profession. Rather the gender inequalities in planning are about the theoretical framework of planning and the implementations of these, that still suffer from a male perspective (Sandercock & Forsyth 2005:77). Gender equality should not be seen as a problem for women, which is only to be solved by women. Instead, the responsibility of men to be a part of the solution must be stressed. By leaving the issue of gender equality for women to take care of, is to reinforce gender stereotypes (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:44).

Social issues have been highlighted before in the planning practice, but mainly without a gender perspective. Instead, the ruling gender stereotypes where the man is a part of the paid labour force outside of the house and the woman as a caring housewife, was the idea on which society was built (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:54). The top-down planning strategies did not critically approach gender stereotypes, instead traditional planning worked to enforce and reproduce them (Ibid.). The social dimensions of planning were based upon a view of what is best for a common societal interest. There was little interest in uncovering the experiences of different individuals (Ibid.:58). As stated above, balancing the aim of equality and special treatment is always a complicated task, but to ignore gender aspects and inequalities and to choose not to highlight experiences made by women, could lead to a false sense of equality (Sandercock & Forsyth 2005:71).

2.3   Social production and reproduction

Two important concepts that can describe the realities and daily-life of men and women are production and social reproduction (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:48). Social reproduction is a term that mainly is connected to unpaid domestic work as well as care and love for one's loved ones, which has traditionally been regarded as women's responsibility. Production, on the other hand has more to do with paid work outside of the home, where men have been in charge (Ibid.). Feminist researchers have revealed in which ways dichotomies such as the private and the public, nature and culture, body and mind and emotion and reason are mapped into gender differences and power relations. This has contributed to a gendered coding the concepts into feminine and masculine, where the feminine ones, such

as private, nature, body and emotions are inferior to their opposites. McDowell argues, that the "feminine" concepts have been seen as natural and thereby traditionally have been excluded from theoretical investigation (McDowell 1992:409).

Traditionally, reproduction has been regarded as a concept belonging in the private sphere. Since reproduction has been strongly connected with femininity and the life of women, women have also been put in the private sphere. Due to the strong traditional focus on the public by geographers, the private, women and social reproduction have been left out of geographical research (McDowell 1992:409). Also with regards to urban design and planning processes, it can be argued that the production has been placed hierarchically higher than social reproduction, which has been of subordinate importance (Ibid.). Thereby, planners have for example been more concerned with how people could efficiently travel from home to work, instead of focusing on the close-to-home environment.

The hierarchy between production and social reproduction has mainly been built up subconsciously and unintentionally. However, if planners are supposed to accomplish a gender-equal urban environment, this relation between production and reproduction must be approached (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:48). The division, described above between production and reproduction is today not as distinct as it might have been earlier. Women are now also a part of the non-domestic paid workforce and men also take care of the unpaid domestic work. The limits between production and reproduction have become blurrier. However, the traditional mind-set has neither among citizens, nor planners totally vanished and we still organise our lives much after this idea (Ibid.:63). There is still a hierarchy between gender, production and reproduction as men tend to have higher wages and work in more economically prosperous fields than women. There is still a gender-specific division of labour where men are privileged and there is still a hierarchic relation between men and women in terms of productive and reproductive labour (de los Reyes & Mulinari 2005:59). As stated in the introduction, even after women entered the paid labour force, they were still expected to act as a link between the home and public (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:22).

Anita Larsson and Anne Jalakas argue that there is a hierarchic relationship between comprehensive planning and detail planning and that these two are connected to the hierarchic relation between production and reproduction (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:63). Comprehensive planning that is more overarching and regarded as a guideline for the entire urban planning, is much more connected to production than reproduction. The detail plan on the other hand, which traditionally can be regarded as subordinate to the comprehensive plan, is more related to reproduction (Ibid.:64). A key feminist argument has been that the dichotomy between private and public is wrong since it captures women in their

subordinate role within the economy and allow a focus on women's reproduction instead of their participation in the public (Fenster 1999:13). To accomplish a more gender-equal planning, these hierarchies and dichotomies must come to an end (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:65).

As argued above, the private and public used to be strictly separated. However, today they are more integrated, much thanks to gender issues that highlighted this division and fought against it. The private and public spheres are very connected and changes in one of them will affect the other (Fainstein & Servon 2005:6). The dissolution of the private-public dichotomy, thanks to the feminist movement, has provided us with a more useful base on which theory can be built and policy affected. The information gained since the private became more highlighted and politicised in the 1970s, has been of great importance for gender equality in policy as well as planning (Ibid.:5). The main achievement by feminist scholars is, according to McDowell, the deconstruction of the "naturalness" of these dichotomies and thereby the possibility to view them as social constructions and subjects for social research and theory (McDowell 1992:409).

2.4   Gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is a key concept in gender politics and an international strategy to increase gender equality that was launched 1995 at the UN women's conference in Beijing (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:37). The main concern is that gender equality, should not be a topic on its own, instead it needs to be integrated into all other societal matters (Ibid.). UN Habitat states the importance of gender mainstreaming in national and local governments. Through this holistic framework, it is argued that women's realities can be changed for the better (UN Habitat 2012:23). Gender mainstreaming is especially thought to have a more striking impact if combined with an intersectional analysis (Ibid.:19). National policy is regarded as crucial to enable a gender mainstreaming strategy and is seen as a first step to implement gender-sensitive urban planning (Ibid.:35)

In Sweden, a part of the gender mainstreaming strategy is that a gender perspective should underlie all political agendas and decisions no matter what authority or what policy level it may concern (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:37). The integration of gender-sensitive approaches should be a natural part of all processes. Every authority, ministry, municipality and so on, are responsible for the implementation of this (Ibid.).

2.5 Participatory planning

Participatory democracy is supposed to be an element to assure social justice. However, this can in practice exclude and silence voices of less privileged groups in society. Formally, democratic processes often raise the experiences and perspectives of privileged groups and silence the voices of people not belonging to them (Young 2005:94). Studies have shown that women, ethnical minorities and socio-economic weak strata tend to participate to a much lower extent in democratic procedures than white middle-class men that was the group that participated the most (Mansbridge 1980 in Young 2005:95). Young suggests (2005:95) that a truly democratic public policy should provide mechanisms for the recognition and representation of the voices and perspectives of those that are disadvantaged.

In regard to planning, Listerborn argues that a new paradigm has been established (2008:61). The traditional top-down planning approach which was focused on the "producers" of planning has increasingly been pushed away in favour of planning strategies more sensitive for the "consumers" of planning (Healy 2006:205). The citizens and not the planners should be at the centre when urban areas are formed and developed (Ibid.). Planning should, according to Healy, have a communicative approach and consensus-building practices (Ibid.:5). The main argument is that the multiplicity of stakes concerning the development of a place should be recognised and that more people should contribute with their diverse knowledge to accomplish the construction of better places (Healy 2005:337).

However, feminist and post-colonial criticism on the participatory planning paradigm, argues that even though it sounds good with a more inclusive and collaborative planning approach, the gender and racial power relations and structures in society will mean that not all voices are heard in the planning processes (Listerborn 2008:62). Listerborn elaborates on statements by Snyder (1995 in Listerborn 2008:63) saying that marginalised people tend to have less credibility than others, which undermine their participation in planning, leading to biased planning strategies which have consequences for the urban space. Sandercock and Forsyth (2005:71) argues, that discursive inequalities have a particular effect in participatory planning. Professional jargon and argumentative speaking risk making women participating in neighbourhood planning meetings, feel uncomfortable and thereby alienating them from the process to a larger extent than men. Even though many planners are women and many male planners are sensitive to participation processes and communication, theory needs to address these issues more, according to the authors. Especially the assumption, that if given the chance, all interest groups participating in planning processes, will make their voices heard in equivalent manner. Given the gender inequalities in society and the power relations between different groups, particularly women who suffer

multiple disadvantages because of their place in the hierarchies of class, race, education among others. This traditional assumption is simply not the case in reality (Ibid.).

2.6   Intersectionality

Gender issues can be argued to have had a more or less established role in planning, thanks to feminist scholars in the human geography discipline (Fainstein & Servon 2005:1). Though, as shown above, literature in planning often discuss the importance of including experiences made by women in planning, but it can be argued, that these texts fail to mention gender as a differentiated concept (Sandercock & Forsyth 2005:71). In other words, that all women cannot be regarded as one social group even though they all share the experiences of being women. Different women belong to different cultures, ethnicities, classes and have different citizenships (Hill Collins & Bilge 2016:20). Intersectionality provides a framework to discuss how such different factors affect people in society, especially in relation to social inequalities. People exist in the intersections between gender, ethnicity, class, citizenship and other factors that causes discrimination and place people on different positions in a global hierarchy. For example, the wealth gap is not only gendered or racialized, it is both and should thereby rather be analysed in terms of intersectionality, than treating the concepts separately (Ibid.). An intersectional research approach sheds light on the complexity of people's lives within an equally complex social context (Ibid.:27). De los Reyes and Mulinari (2005:8) argue that classic gender research so far has failed to include other concepts connected to gender that could affect equality and that there have been difficulties to differentiate the concept of gender (Ibid.).

Mohanty (2003:38) argues that western feminist scholars much too often have based their research on the assumption that all women across the world are a homogenous unit of analysis that is held together by a common patriarchal oppression. The assumption, that all women face the same kind of oppression eliminate the very important aspect that other factors such as class and ethnicity also matter when conclusions on the social world are drawn (Ibid.:39).

An intersectional view on power is that power is more of a dynamic relationship, than as a zero-sum game with one winner and one loser. Thereby it is important to analyse power in its societal and complex context (Hill Collins & Bilge 2016:29). Power is not a pre-determined closed system in the eyes of de los Reyes and Mulinari (2005:11). Instead, power is seen as something discursive that is defined through every-day actions, language, economic inequalities and ideological fundaments that vary historically and spatially. Power is something complex as well as dynamic (Ibid.). Power structures of racism and sexism gain

meaning in relation to each other and can hardly be separated in a comprehensive analysis. An intersectional approach would argue that there is no pure racism or sexism, instead such discrimination takes place in an interconnected and intertwined way and thereby it is a must to analyse them together (Hill Collins & Bilge 2016:28). Gender inequalities and racial structures are always interconnected and must be regarded as processes embedded in each other. Therefore, they cannot be separated in a discussion on power relations (de los Reyes and Mulinari 2005:10).

Young (2005:97) states in her discussion about privileges, that it is important to remember that privileged groups have already been represented and their voices, values and experiences have already been acted upon. Therefore, it is important to call for specific representation of disadvantaged groups (Ibid). Theories of planning and citizen representation need to be developed to understand these complex inequalities and to bring women out of silence (Sandercock & Forsyth 2005:71).

2.7   Critique on traditional feminist research

Mohanty (2003:33-35) argues that western feminism has accomplished a homogenous view on women of colour and women in less privileged parts of the world. The white, western woman has become a norm in feminist theories and thereby all other women have been excluded into an "otherness". It is important to understand that feminist research also is a part of the societal structures that it is criticising and thereby can risk reproducing power structures. Especially when western feminist research concerns topics related to what Mohanty (2003:36) refers to as the third world, there is a risk that the Eurocentric hegemony is reinforced. There is a global power structure in knowledge production that needs to be reflected upon (Ibid.:37).

Black feminism concerns the experiences of women of colour and how these differ from the experiences of white women and a major critique on traditional feminist research is that this fails to include perspectives from women of colour (de los Reyes & Mulinari 2005:54). Deborah King, who's reflections upon black women's particular experiences in the intersection between race and gender received a lot of attention in the 1980s (Sandercock & Forsyth 2005:69). She argued that traditional feminism assumes, though never explicitly discuss the experience of black women. From King's point of view, traditional theories have taken for granted that either there is no difference in being black or there is no difference in being a woman. This assumption fails to uncover the experiences of black women (King 1988:45). King states that the traditional, white feminism has somewhat tried to create a sense of sisterhood that crosses racial borders. The

particular oppression caused by racial discrimination was not lifted to an extent that penetrated the feminist movement. Instead, black women's' experiences were in many ways excluded from the mainstream, white feminism (Ibid.:57-58).

2.8 Gender and ethnicity in Sweden

Feminism is not only done in one way and the term gender must be regarded as complex and diverse. This is something that need to be recognised also in the field of planning and not only in feminist theories according to Sandercock and Forsyth (2005:70). Cities are changing when people from all over the world share the space. New identities and cultural expressions expand and develop in the urban space and global influences meet with the local context and create a sense of "glocalness" (Listerborn 2005:248). Listerborn states in her research about the Stockholm suburb of Husby that the female immigrant population often is stereotypically described as helpless and vulnerable and that media construct a picture of Husby as an area characterised by social problems. Though, the situation is more complex than that (Ibid.:247). The densely built environment of Husby together with the local atmosphere makes the place feel safe for many of the people living there. Listerborn describes that the inhabitants rather have a feeling of living in a small, isolated village even though the area counts as urban and is highly multicultural and international (Ibid.:248). The interviewees taking part in Listerborn's research described their neighbourhood as a village forgotten by the rest of society (Ibid.:251).

Many local projects in Husby have been initiated by women living in the area, for example a Muslim preschool and discussion forums for women (Listerborn 2005:252). Though, many public places in Husby such as cafés and restaurants in the local square are considered to be very gendered and not inclusive for women (Ibid.:253). This leads to a perception of limited space for the women in Husby. The feeling of a safe village and social inclusiveness is thereby questioned if a gender perspective is included in the analysis. There is a need for public spaces where women can go and be a self-evident part of the community as well as in the public (Ibid.:259).

Sixtensson (2009) lifts the narratives and experiences of women wearing hijab in Malmö. Some of the women state that they feel at home in areas generally regarded as segregated and problematic such as Rosengård, where they can speak Arabic without any problems being understood. On the other hand, they witness not feeling at home "in the Swedish parts" of Malmö (Sixtensson 2009:18-19). Sixtensson conclude that many of the women she has interviewed feel unsafe in areas such as Limhamn-Bunkeflo or Västra Hamnen, districts which are characterised by a wealthy and mainly ethnically homogenous, Swedish

population (2009:22, 26). Some women have experienced harsh and direct discrimination in the central parts of Malmö (Ibid.:33) and feel much more safe in the ethnically diverse suburbs than in the inner-city (Ibid.:23). The women in Sixtensson's study express that they feel alienated in their hometown Malmö and have adapted their movement pattern around the city in order to avoid discrimination. However, many do feel at home in Malmö, just not in all parts of the city (Ibid.:63).

2.9   Towards an analytical framework

To conclude the theoretical framework, the different theoretical standpoints will be connected. The chapter started with a description and discussion on gendered power structures in society, which I regard as an important point of departure in order to understand the approach of this study and the used theoretical framework. Then in the sections 2.2 and 2.3 a connection was made to create an understanding of how these power structures have had an impact on the practice of urban planning and what that means for the city life in general, and for women in particular. The section on participatory planning can be regarded as an opening for critique and a bridge between the traditional feminist planning theories and the section on intersectionality. To gain a deeper understanding of the intersection between gender and ethnicity and to clarify the connection to urban geography, section 2.7 and 2.8 were added.

3 Method and research design

3.1 Research design

As stated earlier, the aim is to conduct a comparative case study where the focus lies on gender aspects of urban planning and how the intersection between gender and ethnicity is addressed in the comprehensive plans of two chosen municipalities. The similarities and differences between the municipalities will be analysed as well as how the comprehensive plans can be connected to an intersectional framework. Bryman (2012.:72) argues that comparative and multiple case studies help us to better understand a social phenomenon, due to the comparison they enable. Viewed in relation to something else, the investigated phenomenon might appear clearer. The aim for a comparative study can be to seek for similarities and differences as well as creating a larger awareness of how one phenomenon appears in different places. This correlates well with the aim for this research.

Critique against multiple case studies has for example been, to what extent the surrounding context of the unit of analysis is paid attention to. Dyer and Wilkins (in Bryman 2012:75) argue that the context might not be as discussed as necessary, since the researcher tend to focus on finding contrasting characteristics of the cases in the study. By being aware of this critique, I will try to not neglect the contexts of the cases and to stay open-minded to avoid a too narrow focus. One of the strengths with a multiple case study is argued to be the possibility for theory-building that can be accomplished through comparisons (Ibid.:74). By having a point of departure in more traditional feminist planning theories and to complement these with a discussion on intersectionality and how the intersection between ethnicity and gender is addressed in urban planning, it could be argued that the study allows some kind of theory-building, or rather, theory-expanding (Ibid.:24).

3.2   Method and material

The empirical material used for this study will be the comprehensive plans of the two municipalities Malmö and Umeå. The Umeå comprehensive plan is an exhibition document that most probably will be accepted by the city council during 2018. It will then replace the expired comprehensive plan from 1998 (Umeå Kommun, 2017e:1). I chose to do the research on the not yet accepted plan after consultation with Pernilla Helmersson, planner at Umeå Municipality. The Malmö comprehensive plan was accepted by the city council May 22nd 2014 and is still valid (Malmö Stad 2014:1). When conducting research based on official documents, one must be aware of the original purpose of the documents and thereby the risk of bias (Bowen 2009:32). However, in this paper, the bias of the documents becomes an important part of the research due to the critical and discursive approach this study is aimed to have (Ibid). I regard the comprehensive plans as important planning documents that are relevant for research due to their hierarchical position as a guide-lining document for all planning in the municipalities.

This study will have features from both content analyses as well as critical discourse analyses. A content analysis often concerns the quantitative existence of certain words or terms, connected to a unit of analysis, in one or several specific documents (Bergström & Boréus 2005:43). Though, a content analysis can also be completely qualitative or both qualitative and quantitative (Ibid.:44). This type of analysis can help to create an overview of an existing topic and to find patterns in larger samples of documents that also enable and facilitate comparisons, which fits with the aim of this study. Most often explicit statements concerning a social phenomenon are searched for in the chosen documents (Ibid.:45). It is a common critique against content analyses that the unsaid in the social debate is not focused upon and thereby left unanalysed. Discourse analyses tend to focus more on what has not been stated than what a pure content analysis traditionally does (Ibid.:77). However, to find what is unsaid, one might first have to find what is expressed and that is something that a content analysis can contribute with. This study will look for what has been stated in the comprehensive plans concerning gender aspects in planning, but be open for an analysis of what has been left out. Therefore, a mix of the two mentioned analyses has been chosen for this research.

A discourse analysis stresses how social phenomena are produced by the way we speak and write about them. The language that we use, creates a discourse about a phenomenon which constitutes the way we see the social world (Bryman 2012:528). We build our understanding of things through language and whenever we speak or write, we construct a certain reality (Gee 2011:17). Critical discourse analyses aim to not only describe language, moreover they often aim to connect language to the social world, its practices and politics. Critical discourse analysts

argue that language in itself is political (Ibid.:9-10). These analyses involve exploring why some meanings become privileged and others become marginalised (Bryman:536). A discourse analysis can achieve an advanced and nuanced understanding of the complex ways that discourse is related to power and ideology and how this accomplishes and sustain a hierarchically gendered social order (Lazar 2005:1). Since gender as a category intersects with other categories of social identity such as sexuality, ethnicity, class and geography, at the same time as the ideological system of patriarchy is ruling, a discourse analysis can become relevant to reveal how language, gender and power are intertwined with each other (Ibid). Power is interwoven in expectations, rules, institutions and identities, moreover, in all dimensions of the social world and thereby one can talk about a discursive power. Since the act of planning often is built on tacit knowledge and common practice, there is a lot of room for a blurry discursive power that needs to be investigated (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:53).

The reading of the empirical material has been done carefully, thoroughly and rather sceptically. I have seen it as very important to read the entire comprehensive plans and not only the sections that more directly mention gender equality, ethnical diversity or similar, in order to detect how these aspects are expressed throughout the plans. Many discourse analysts reject the idea of coding their empirical material and instead view their research style as an "analytical mentality" (Bryman 2012:530). Since this study is a mix between two analytic approaches, I have tried to use this analytic mentality and at the same time code the texts in a more traditional content analytical way (Bergström & Boréus 2005:49). When reading the comprehensive plans, I have been looking specifically for a couple of words in a codifying way and considered the extent of their appearance. However, I have tried to stay open-minded to how these words are presented, as well as the potential absence of them in some sections of the documents. Words I looked for extra carefully were: gender, gender equality, sex, men, women, integration, segregation, diversity, participation, safety, intersectionality and social sustainability. Due to the intersectional approach of this paper, special attention was put to how these words were combined, connected and mentioned together. If there was an "and" instead of an "or" between words like *gender* and *integration*, I have regarded that sentence as more intersectional than if it would have been an "or".

The study will be of an abductive character, where the most likely conclusion will be drawn, based on the theoretical framework and the analysis of the empirical material (Bryman 2012:401). The two comprehensive plans will be compared with each other and with the theoretical framework. The hope is that this will enable a broader perspective of the issue of gender and intersectionality in planning.

3.3   Role of the researcher

In many social sciences and particularly in qualitative research, it is highly important to reflect on the role of the researcher and which biases and values that might affect the research and its result. It is important to be aware of the fact that researcher is a part of a societal, cultural and political context, thereby, the knowledge that is produced is also coloured by these contexts Philosophical self-reflection as well as methodological self-consciousness are issues, researchers need to approach (Bryman 2012:393-394). Or as the feminist geographer Linda McDowell stated it:

> We must recognize and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants and write this into our research practice rather than continue to hanker after some idealized equality between us (McDowell 1992:409).

I am a white woman and it can be argued that I have privileges and advantages in society that other women do not have. I have not had the same experiences as women of colour or women belonging to other cultures and religions outside of the western part of the world. I cannot tell the narratives that these women can and neither should I. Though, what I can do, is to use my privileged position in society to stress the importance that their stories are heard. I am not trying to do this research from an immigrant woman's perspective, instead I am trying to understand the importance of listening to the experiences made by women with different ethnic backgrounds. I am searching for a deeper understanding of the diverse and variated discriminations that women face by immersing in existing research and theories. As a young woman, heading for a career in policy, planning or academia, I am convinced that a deeper understanding for these issues is highly important and something I will have use for many times in my future career. This study is very much for my own awareness, but also for my future colleagues and present peers and how naïve it may sound, to make some kind of change in society.

With regards to the two municipalities chosen for this research, there is also a possible bias, which needs to be discussed. My personal relations to the two cities Umeå and Malmö differ a lot and there is a risk that this could affect the research. Even if I have very much tried to treat and discuss both comprehensive plans in an equal way, the fact that I am living in Malmö, was born and raised in the nearby region and that I unfortunately never have had the possibility to visit Umeå, must be stated. In what sense and to what extent this can have an effect on the research results, I will not discuss further here, instead that will be for the reader of this study to judge.

4   Empirical findings

4.1   Malmö

Malmö, with more than 300 000 inhabitants, is the third largest city in Sweden, located in the southern part of the country. Malmö is the fastest growing Swedish city, due to both natural population increase and a positive net-migration (Malmö Stad 2017; SCB 2017). The inhabitants in Malmö are younger than the national average. The average age in Malmö is 38.5 years old and almost 50% of the inhabitants are aged under 35 (City of Malmö 2017:10). The largest age cohorts are people aged 20-29 years old and people aged 30-39 years old (Ibid.). Malmö is an ethnically diverse city and about one third of the inhabitants are born abroad (SCB, 2017). 178 different nationalities are represented in Malmö (City of Malmö 2017:10).

Malmö is a city that has gone through huge changes during the late 20th century. The city was for a very long time dependent on the heavy manufacturing industry, but due to structural changes many of these industries had to close down, which affected the municipality tremendously (City of Malmö 2017:20). Since then, the Öresund Bridge, which connects Malmö to Copenhagen, was constructed (inaugurated 2000), Malmö University College was established in 1998 and the city started its development into becoming, what the municipality wants to be an international and attractive knowledge city, with strong ties to Denmark and Europe (Malmö Stad 2014:19; City of Malmö 2017:20).

4.1.1   Malmö comprehensive plan

The structural changes that Malmö has gone through at the end of the 20th century, are the point of departure in the introduction written by the chairman of the city council. She states some of the policy priorities and goals that the municipality wants to achieve in the next 20 years. The overarching aim is to make the city denser, greener and that the different parts of the city should "heal together" (Malmö Stad 2014:5). The main goal is that Malmö should become a socially, environmentally and economically sustainable city and an attractive place to live

and work in (Ibid.:6). Malmö comprehensive plan is thematically divided and separate sections address themes such as gender equality, citizen participation and public transport (Ibid.:4). Even though the plan is sectioned thematically, it is stated that the planning needs to be done from a holistic point of view and that all sections in the comprehensive plan are interconnected (Ibid.:25). The entire organisation of Malmö municipality is said to be responsible for the implementation of the aims stated in the comprehensive plan (Ibid.:59).

Social sustainability is argued to have just as high a priority in the planning strategies of Malmö as economic and ecological sustainability (Malmö Stad 2014:7). Social balance and cohesion are key concepts for the municipality and the aim is to build a flourishing city where people feel safe and have the power to impact the city's formation. Also, it is stated that gender equality is to be improved in the urban space of Malmö (Ibid.).

It is repeatedly mentioned throughout the comprehensive plan, that the city should heal together and that mental as well as physical barriers between districts should be torn down (Malmö Stad 2014:15, 19, 23). It is stated that the spatial dimension of the city should contribute to a well-functioning development of society (Ibid.:16). However, the municipality argues that the physical and built environments in themselves cannot accomplish a positive socio-economic development. Instead, in order to approach these topics, it is above all social and political arrangements that need to be done. There is the possibility to affect the social life of the city through the physical environment, but only in combination with other initiatives (Ibid.).

It is acknowledged and discussed in the comprehensive plan, that along with Malmö's development the last decade, as well as the rise out of the structural crisis, the social development has not kept pace with the progress in other sectors (Malmö Stad 2014:16). Parts of the population have not been reached by this reconstruction of the city. Instead, this development has partly created alienation and tensions between different groups in society. The differences in health and living standards between people living in different city districts have increased and it is acknowledged that not all groups have experienced the overall changes in Malmö as positive (Ibid.). Different groups in society have different conditions and needs. The needs of an individual are not always correlated with the needs of a larger group and the strategical planning and policy level that a comprehensive plan constitutes, often requires generalisations (Ibid.:70). How the municipal planning and its implementation affect different groups for example from an integration and gender perspective should continuously be analysed (Ibid.:62).

4.1.2　Gender and diversity

One specific section in the comprehensive plan describes the strategies and approaches that policy makers and civil servants should focus on to establish gender equality in the city planning (Malmö Stad 2014:39). However, gender aspects are not only mentioned in this section, but are also discussed in the main priorities and in other parts of the comprehensive plan. At the beginning of the plan it is already stated that a socially balanced city must be a gender equal city (Ibid.:15). Gender equality is defined as the equal rights, obligations and possibilities between women and men, girls and boys (Ibid.:39). The broad term equality is by the municipality defined as everyone, men, women and transgendered people, regardless of ethnic background, religion, sexuality or age, should have the same rights, possibilities and obligations (Ibid.). Men and women should have the same opportunities to form society and their lives. Everyone's different experiences and needs should be expressed in the city planning (Ibid.:15). To enable a gender perspective on all aspects of planning, methods for a representative and broad citizen participation needs to be developed (Ibid.:39).

It is expressed in the comprehensive plan that men and women use the public areas differently and also move around in the city in different ways. This usage of the city's public spaces needs to become more gender equal according to the municipality and to accomplish that, these differences should first be further examined and analysed, and then to be approached in the city planning (Malmö Stad 2014:39). One such aspect mentioned is that men travel by car to a larger extent than women. Women instead tend to use public transportation, bicycles or go by foot to a larger extent than men (Ibid.:22). Underlying factors that are regarded to affect the unequal and gendered engagement in the public environment are power relations in society, habits, family situations and economic conditions (Ibid.:39).

Gender equality is often mentioned together with aspects such as safety, health, accessibility and justice. These are factors that according to the municipality, always should be included in the holistic planning approach. Personal safety and freedom to move around in the city are particular targets for the gender-sensitive approach of Malmö municipality (Malmö Stad 2014:22). It is stated that women tend to feel less safe in public areas than men and the main approach to deal with this situation is to accomplish a living city where people move around more in the public. An empty city could create a sense of insecurity. Especially the strategies to densify the city and make it more functionally mixed are considered to be solutions to increase the experience of safety and thereby the gender equality (Ibid.). Absolute as well as relative proximity are crucial factors where security and gender sensitivity could be addressed (Ibid.:39). It is stated in the comprehensive plan that the strategies for gender equality, to a large extent are the

same, or at least correlate very well, with the strategies to increase the overall safety in the city (Ibid.:22)

The focus on an extended network of public transport and bike lanes is purposed to increase the experienced gender equality (Malmö Stad 2014:71). On the other hand, a denser city could aggravate trade-offs between different interests in the planning process. In such cases, it is the city's wellbeing on an overarching level that is most important (Ibid.:67). It might then be necessary to reconsider routines, conventional processes, regulations, norms and legal frameworks in order to accomplish a sustainable urban development (Ibid.).

The environment close to one's home should contribute to a sense of security and offer opportunities to get to know one's neighbours (Malmö Stad 2014:40). The design of neighbourhoods and districts should offer an identity to the area that the inhabitants can be proud of (Ibid.). Security, gender and diversity aspects should always be included and considered in every dimension of urban planning in Malmö and especially when it comes to the construction of new public meeting areas (Ibid.:22, 38, 40).

As already mentioned, the aim is that Malmö socially will heal together and barriers and boundaries between different parts of the city be broken. All city districts and neighbourhoods should be attractive to live in and the experienced segregation and alienation should decline (Malmö Stad 2014:15, 23). It is said that a more socially coherent Malmö, has a high priority and a less segregated city seems to be an important issue for the municipality (Ibid.:22-23). The Malmö municipality has set out to try to counteract any kind of residential segregation (Ibid.:31). An urban environment that supports diversity and confronts people with different cultures, lifestyles, ideas and thoughts can contribute to a dynamic and vital economy. New facilities for cultural activities should be geographically spread across the city (Ibid.:22).

4.1.3   Citizen participation

The importance of the public space as an arena for meetings between people, is stressed in the comprehensive plan. Public spaces are regarded as important in order to stimulate democracy and citizen participation. The city planning of Malmö is thought to have a holistic perspective on city life in order to affect public spaces into increasingly becoming democratic meeting points. The urban space should be an arena for cultural expressions, art and activity (Malmö Stad 2014.:22, 38). In order to support integration, activities for children should be geographically allocated so that children with diverse backgrounds can meet each other (Ibid.:41). Facilities for spontaneous sport activities should be developed with a gender perspective to support gender equality, integration and cultural

diversity (Ibid.:35). In general, the municipality should construct public places that invites meaningful meetings between people. The city centre, especially, is regarded as an important meeting place and therefore it is of extra importance, that all people can feel safe in this area (Ibid:38.).

People who feel involved in and supported by their communities are to a larger extent healthy and feel well than people who do not feel like a part of a larger social context, according to the comprehensive plan (Malmö Stad 2014:23). Thereby, the municipality sees it as an obligation to increase citizen participation in planning processes as well as to plan for participation and facilitates citizen contributing to the planning. The city in general is seen to be strengthened by participating citizens and the municipality should formally as well as informally support citizen initiatives and participation in planning processes (Ibid.). Citizens participation is regarded as crucial for a democratic society and the municipality stresses the importance of public meeting areas where different groups can meet on equal conditions and feel that they contribute to and participate in the city life (Ibid.:71). Strategies to encourage more people to engage in democratic planning processes are necessary and the municipality should create more arenas where people can meet and organise to influence the urban society and life (Ibid.:62).

4.2   Umeå

Umeå is the largest municipality in northern Sweden in regard to population. About 120.000 people live in the municipality, however one third of the inhabitants in the municipality live outside of the city centre (Umeå Kommun 2017a). Umeå is a growing city and the average population change has been positive in the last five years. During this time, the population has approximately increased by 1100 persons per year. The changes in population are to a large extent depending on the semesters at the Umeå University. During the autumn, when many education programmes start, the population tends to increase, to then decline during June when students are graduating (Ibid.).

In 1965, Umeå university was established and since then the population in the city doubled. Today, about 54% of the inhabitants in Umeå were born elsewhere and have moved to the city (Umeå kommun 2017b). The average age of the local population is 38 years old, which is lower than the national average. The policy makers in Umeå are profiling the city as a growing knowledge hub and also choosing to highlight the proximity to the surrounding nature and the interesting cultural atmosphere in Umeå. Today the university has about 31.000 students (Ibid).

In the last two decades Umeå has been nationally as well as internationally awarded as a liveable city. The municipality has received many awards such as in 2005 when Umeå was regarded as "the most qualitative municipality in Sweden" and the "student city of the year". Though, the most recent and very proudly presented recognition, was the election of Umeå to be, together with the Latvian capital Riga, the European Capital of Culture in 2014 (Umeå kommun 2017c).

Around 12.000 people that are living as Umeå inhabitants are born abroad (Umeå Kommun 2017d). Which counts for about 10% of the population (my calculation). The three largest groups of nationalities represented in Umeå are from Finland, Iraq and Iran (Umeå Kommun 2017d).

4.2.1   Umeå comprehensive plan

The Umeå comprehensive plan is not divided into sections where different themes are separately covered. Hence, similar themes and topics can be discussed in different parts of the document (Umeå Kommun 2017e:5). Thematic issues such as technical infrastructure, traffic, integration and gender equality are instead supposed to be integrated in development strategies. It is argued in the comprehensive plan that a sectorial way to approach such issues would aggravate an integrative and holistic perspective on the city planning. Such a holistic perspective is hoped to contribute to a truly sustainable city where all aspects of society and planning are integrated and focused upon (Ibid.:15).

The main vision for the municipality is to make Umeå grow and the city aims to have more than 200.000 inhabitants by the year 2050 (Umeå Kommun 2017e:14). A growing population, will make the city increasingly diverse, which is seen as an attractive characteristic that will impact Umeå and the region for the better (Ibid.). The main challenge for Umeå is argued to be the risk of population decline, which the entire region in northern Sweden struggles with (Ibid.). The development strategies in the comprehensive plan are all supposed to be connected to the 200.000 inhabitants-goal and this vision is stated to underlie all the dimensions of the city planning. In order to make this vision a reality, the construction pace in the municipality needs to be twice as high (Ibid.: 23).

Central issues for planning in Umeå are to densify the city with a strategy called "the five-kilometre city". A dense city is assumed to be a lively city with mixed functions in the city centre. The aim is also to create a "city for everyone" by focusing on openness, democracy and gender equality (Umeå Kommun 2017e:23). "The five-kilometre city" is argued to be important mainly because of gender aspects and it is expected that a denser city will improve women's mobility in the city. Environmental aspects are also expected to improve and become more sustainable through this. The main thought, is that official services, commerce and

housing areas should all be in reach of a five-kilometre distance (Ibid.:15). The dense and mixed city is hoped to create an attractive and living city all day and all night (Ibid.:67). Also, sustainable travelling and commuting has a high priority in the comprehensive plan (Ibid.:17). The municipality is foreseeing a new transport and travel paradigm, where people are depending less on car transportation (Ibid.).

The urban area constitutes a framework for the everyday life of the inhabitants in Umeå and thereby it is extra important that the aspects and conditions of the everyday life are central in the planning strategies (Umeå kommun 2017e: 19). The residential areas and the environment close to people's homes are an important point of departure for the city planning (Ibid.: 35). It is of relevance that the urban environment is accessible and available for all different groups in society (Ibid.:19). The creation of good and safe living environments has a high priority for the municipality (Ibid.:35).

To accomplish a sustainable city, social, economic, technical as well as cultural aspects need to be considered and addressed in the urban planning. To face the challenges of building a truly sustainable society, innovative ideas need to be developed (Umeå Kommun 2017e:21). The municipality has high ambitions to create attractive and environmentally sustainable public spaces. These high ambitions are hoped to be expressed by the visions and strategies in the comprehensive plan. The local population is supposed to have good possibilities for living healthy lives and to participate in the development of the city. Also it should be easier for the inhabitants to live more environmentally sustainable (Ibid.:67).

4.2.2   Gender and diversity

The public space in Umeå should be developed so that girls and boys, women and men can live in the city on equal conditions (Umeå Kommun 2017e:17). Gender and ethnic diversity are two aspects that both contribute to the creation of the identity of the urban space. It is thereby important to highlight experiences on how the different spaces and places are perceived by different people and to have knowledge about how people live their everyday lives (Ibid.:19). A city with mixed functions and different forms of housing is seen to counteract segregation and enable the creation of a city where all kinds of people meet, regardless of gender, age or background (Ibid.). This is of extra importance in the light of the growing city that Umeå aims to be, since a growing city also brings increased challenges and eventual tendencies of segregation and alienation (Ibid.:36).

Umeå municipality argues that risk calculation regarding sexualised violence is a normalised way of thinking and behaving for many women and something that to a large extent affects the possibility for women to move around the city and feel

safe. This is something that needs to be addressed in the urban planning (Umeå Kommun 2017e:20). In general, gender inequalities need to be challenged and problematised to enable a sustainable society. Especially important for the city planning is to approach gender patterns with regards to travelling (Ibid.:21). The city should be planned from an understanding of people's experiences of feeling unsafe. The sense of security and safety must be addressed in the city planning and the practice of planning must be seen as a way to equalise power relations between different groups (Ibid.:19). The allocation of bus stops, train stations, bike and pedestrian streets is an important aspect in order to increase the sense of safety (Ibid.). The construction of safe and secure places as well as pathways is important from a child and gender perspective (Ibid.:68).

In order to accomplish a more living city during the majority of the day and night and in the eyes of the municipality, and thereby a safer city, it is important that the municipality offers diverse services and meeting areas such as culture and amusement facilities (Umeå Kommun 2017e:70). A mixed and variated housing supply close to official services will, according to the municipality, most probably accomplish more meetings between people from different cultures and could be a positive factor for integration (Ibid.).

According to the Umeå municipality, a multicultural and diverse environment creates the best conditions for a socially sustainable development. Integration between different groups, has in itself a value and thereby, meetings between different cultures should be encouraged and stimulated by the municipality (Umeå kommun 2017e:49).

4.2.3   Citizen participation

The Umeå municipality claims that a sustainable city can only be built together with the people who are living in it. It is therefore of importance that openness, democracy and gender equality should be part of all planning (Umeå Kommun 2017e:17). There must be opportunities for citizens to have a dialogue with the municipality concerning the urban planning and people should have the possibility to contribute with their own resources and networks to the city's development (Ibid.:14).

The entire city will benefit from increased accessibility to meeting areas where people with diverse backgrounds can meet and together create a sense of community. Where people can develop together with other people, exchange experiences and opinions with each other. That is where the society of the future can grow (Umeå Kommun 2017e:36). A multicultural context can enable and enforce a dynamic development which is important for the sustainability of the city. The main challenge for the municipality is to establish places and spaces

where such meetings can occur. Meeting points and public areas that offers integrated cultural and leisure activities for different ages are regarded to have a positive influence on social aspects of the city. The feeling of belonging to a community could also improve the sense of safety as well as positively affect social integration (Ibid.:36, 68).

Engagement in leisure and cultural activities can contribute to the sense of community in the city and thereby strengthen as well as challenge ruling norms and practices in planning. The urban space should be developed with the main focus on the local population and its needs. Hence, public meeting areas should be further developed and new methods for citizen participation accomplished (Umeå Kommun 2017e:49). Children need good and safe outdoor environments to play in and it is important that the urban spaces do not constrain the possibility of spontaneous activities for children (Ibid.:20). It is important that sport associations, where many young people gather, also address gender sensitive approaches to motivate both boys and girls as well as giving them equal room to develop in the organisations (Ibid.:49).

The local population is the most important resource for the municipality. Girls, boys, women and men, people with different ethnic backgrounds, the elderly, disabled people and so on, shall all be made visible in the planning process. Thereby a broad citizen representation is of the highest relevance and shall be an integrated part of all planning aspects. This will hopefully improve social sustainability and aspects such as democracy, gender equality and openness (Umeå Kommun 2017e:70).

5   Analysis

Even if Malmö and Umeå have been argued to be comparable cases, the two cities have quite different characteristics that can affect their planning strategies. Geographically, there is a large distance between the cities. Malmö is located in the very south of the country and tries to strengthen the city's connection to Denmark and the rest of Europe physically as well as mentally. Umeå on the other hand is located in the north, quite far away from other big cities (Malmö Stad 2014:19; Umeå Kommun 2017a). As stated earlier, the two cities differ a lot in regard to population size and Malmö is much larger than Umeå. Malmö is also the fastest growing city in Sweden and even though Umeå is growing, the city is struggling with a regional context of population decline (Malmö Stad 2017; Umeå Kommun 2017e:14). Malmö is to a large extent more ethnically diverse than Umeå, which is something that definitely can impact the social geography of the city. However, some similarities between the municipalities are that both cities increasingly have become knowledge hubs in the past few decades and are leading growth motors in their respective regions (City of Malmö 2017:20; Umeå Kommun 2017a). These are some factors that could impact the local premises for planning and is something that must be stated when now moving on to a comparison of the municipalities' comprehensive plans.

5.1   Gender in the comprehensive plans

The municipalities of Malmö and Umeå both highlight gender issues in their comprehensive plans. Umeå argues that the public space in the city should be developed so that girls and boys, women and men can live in the city on equal conditions. Malmö states that men and women should have the same opportunities to form society and their lives. Both municipalities acknowledge that men and women engage differently in the public environment and they aim to create more gender equal cities (Malmö Stad 2014:15, 39; Umeå Kommun 2017e:17, 19).

5.1.1   Safety in the city

In many ways Malmö and Umeå have similar approaches to accomplish the desired gender equality in the urban environment. Security and safety are words

often mentioned in combination with gender. Both municipalities argue that a dense and lively city will improve the overall sense of security. Especially women's experience of safety is hoped to get better when more people are out in the public during most hours of the day (Malmö Stad 2014:22; Umeå Kommun 2017e:23). The Umeå municipality goes more into detail in explaining how this sense of safety could be achieved and stresses the responsibility of the municipality to ensure this is done. An example of arrangements that are mentioned is the allocation of official services and meeting places for people (Umeå Kommun 2017e:70). However, Malmö stresses the eventual trade-off between different interests, that could increasingly emerge in a dense city. In case of such a situation, it is the overarching wellbeing of the city that should be of highest priority (Malmö Stad.:67). What the overarching wellbeing of the city could be, is, however, not further discussed and thereby open for interpretation. If gender issues are not sufficiently highlighted in the comprehensive plan, a trade-off could risk that such aspects do not become addressed. This while planners traditionally have failed to highlight women's experiences in their planning and tacit knowledge, the habit of praxis, as well as power structures in society might result in that other aspects are found more important (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:44, 54).

Umeå stresses that risk calculation regarding sexual violence is a part of many women's lives. This is something that can restrain women's movement in the city and therefore it becomes a topic for urban planning. However, no specific strategies are mentioned on how to deal with the problem, instead more general safety measures, like those mentioned above, are discussed (Umeå Kommun 2017e:20). The acknowledgement that sexual violence is a problem for women in their everyday lives is important. To bring this up as an issue for planners at a comprehensive level, could be of great meaning in the work towards a gender equal and safe city (Sandercock & Forsyth 2005:71). Malmö never mentions sexual violence in the public as an aspect relevant for planners, they chose to focus on more overarching safety for everyone, without clearly specifying what that is (Malmö Stad 2014:22).

5.1.2   Mobility, the public and the private

Both Malmö and Umeå have chosen to focus a large part of their gender-sensitive strategies to public transport, bike lanes and pedestrian paths. The municipalities argue similarly, that women use these ways of transport to a larger extent than men and in order to create a gender equal city, this is something that must be stressed in the planning (Malmö Stad 2014:71; Umeå Kommun 2017e:21). Together with the strategies for accomplishing denser and livelier cities, a gender-sensitive approach on transportation is argued to have a great positive impact on women's mobility as well as safety in the urban space (Ibid.:22; Ibid.:15). To focus the urban planning on transportation preferred by women and thereby facilitate women's mobility in the city, can be regarded as a way for the

municipalities to approach the dichotomy between private and public and to work for a dissolution of it (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:48). On the other hand, it could still be argued that this is a focus on the productive part of society, since the paths between work and home are stressed (McDowell 1992:409). That would mean that traditional planning patterns are still valid, which could be an obstacle for accomplishing a gender-equal city (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:48). But times have changed, women are a part of the production too and to facilitate their participation in it by improving and extending the transport networks preferred by women, a better gender equality in the urban environment might be in reach.

The close-to-home environment is, however, not excluded from the comprehensive plans. Neither is the focus on social reproduction, even though the exact term "social reproduction" is not used. Malmö states that the close-to-home environment should contribute to a sense of security and that there should be possibilities for people to get to know their neighbours (Malmö Stad 2014:40). Umeå argues that residential areas and the everyday life of the local population and must be central in the municipal planning (Umeå kommun 2017e:19). This can be interpreted as a focus on social reproduction. Hence, both municipalities address social reproduction in their plans, however, somewhat differently. Still this could mean that the hierarchical relation between production and social reproduction and maybe even between comprehensive and detail planning is becoming increasingly dissolved and that steps are made towards a more gender-equal city (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:48, 63; Fenster 1999:13).

5.1.3   Gender mainstreaming and holistic approaches

The Umeå municipality has chosen not to specifically highlight gender in a separate section of the comprehensive plan. According to the municipality, this has been chosen due to the holistic planning approach that they aim to have (Umeå Kommun 2017e:5, 15). This corresponds with the national gender mainstreaming strategy (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:37). The Malmö municipality argue that they too have a holistic perspective on the municipal planning. But they have chosen a slightly different approach than Umeå and highlights gender in a specific section, as well as bringing it up integrated in other parts of the comprehensive plan. (Malmö Stad 2014:15, 25). By letting gender issues take place in one entire section, it can be argued that the municipality is taking the issues of gender more seriously. To highlight gender issues separately can reduce the risk that these aspects are less focused upon due to societal power structures and traditional planning practices (Sandercock & Forsyth 2005:71). Malmö also accomplish a thematic integration, more in line with the gender mainstreaming strategy. To integrate gender with other issues is supposed to assure gender sensitivity in all aspects of society (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:37). By doing both, it can be argued that Malmö manages to bring up gender issues more sufficiently than Umeå.

In the Malmö comprehensive plan, it is consistently stated that social, economic and environmental sustainability are of equal priority. Social sustainability and gender equality are aspects already mentioned in the introduction of the plan. Gender equality is argued to be a precondition in order for social sustainability and democracy to be truly implemented (Malmö Stad 2014:7). Umeå, on the other hand, does not differentiate the concept of sustainability as much and as early as Malmö, which results in the impression that social sustainability is not as prioritised in Umeå as in Malmö. Since gender equality can be argued to be a part of social sustainability, this is worth noting.

5.2   Intersectionality in municipal planning

The assumption that all women face the same kind of oppression or discrimination, eliminates the aspect that factors like class and ethnicity matters too, when global hierarchies and power structures are created (Mohanty 2003:38; Hill Collins & Bilge 2016:20). Power can be seen as a discursive creation, defined through everyday actions, language and ideology (de los Reyes & Mulinari 2005:11). With this perspective on power, power structures of racism and sexism are created in our everyday lives and in the way we use language. *Women* is not a homogeneous group and different women have different experiences based on religion, class and ethnicity (Hill Collins & Bilge 2016:20). This is important to acknowledge and stress also in planning documents, especially if the aim is to create a gender equal city (Sandercock & Forsyth 2005:71).

5.2.1   Differentiation of concepts

According to the empirical findings, both municipalities fail to directly mention women as a differentiated group in line with the intersectional framework. In the comprehensive plans, it is nowhere stated that immigrant women, Muslim women, black women and so on, have a different experiences of the city life and that this should be addressed in the planning. Instead it is often expressed that the experiences that women *and* people with different ethnical backgrounds have made, need to be made visible in the urban planning (Malmö Stad 2014:39; Umeå Kommun 2017e:19). These statements can be seen as steps towards a more intersectional approach, since gender and ethnicity are mentioned together. However, the recognition of gender as something complex and diverse, is still not made. As it has been stated in the theoretical framework, such an acknowledgement would be of value, also in planning documents (Sandercock & Forsyth 2005:70). The research of Listerborn (2005) and Sixtensson (2009) highlights the need to see women in a differentiated way, since immigrant women often have distinctive experiences of the city. The underprivileged position of

immigrant women in theories as well as in society must be addressed in order to accomplish a city free from sexist and racist discriminations (Mohanty 2003:35).

5.2.2 Meeting places and urban democracy

Both municipalities, especially Umeå, tend to focus much on creating meeting places for people to strengthen the democracy and social sustainability in the urban area. Improved accessibility to meeting areas where people with diverse backgrounds can meet and together create a sense of community, will benefit the city environment (Umeå Kommun 2017e:36). Malmö states that the municipality should construct public places that invites meaningful meetings between people (Malmö Stad 2014:38). Meeting places are for sure necessary in order to enable and encourage citizen initiatives. However, it can be argued that further actions and strategies are necessary, otherwise there is a risk that gender and racial power structures in society will impact the citizen representation and undermine the participation of marginalised and discriminated people (Listerborn 2008:62). Young (2005:97) argues that it is important to call for specific representation of disadvantaged groups since privileged people to a larger extent already have been represented. When reading the comprehensive plan of Malmö, particular arrangements to increase the participation of disadvantaged groups in the urban planning are not mentioned, instead it is focused on a general, broad citizen participation (Malmö Stad 2014:23). Neither Umeå address a representation of disadvantaged people directly. However, it is mentioned that the city planning must be seen as a way to equalize power relations between various groups. It is also highlighted that different people experience the city differently and that it is important to address these experiences in the planning (Umeå Kommun 2017e:19). Also Malmö states that the municipal planning affects different groups in various ways and that the implementation of the planning strategies must be analysed from gender and integration perspectives (Malmö Stad 2014:62). These acknowledgements could be regarded as steps towards an intersectional approach by the municipalities, since connections between power relations, gender and integration are made.

5.2.3 Diversity in the city

Diversity is addressed by both cities. Umeå municipality regards gender *and* ethnicity are two aspects that can contribute to the creation of the urban identity. A multicultural context can enforce a dynamic development which is important for the city. Integration in itself is given a value and is regarded as a priority for the municipality (Umeå Kommun 2017e:17, 36). In Malmö it is stated that the public space should be an arena for cultural expressions, art and activity (Malmö Stad 2014:38). Malmö municipality acknowledges that the city struggles with

segregation and alienation and that the urban development the past few decades has not been positive for everyone (Ibid.:16). However, they aim to socially heal the city and break down barriers between different districts. A socially coherent and a less segregated Malmö is of high priority (Ibid.:23). As Listerborn (2005: 248) argues, cities are changing to become increasingly ethnically diverse and global influences meet with local contexts. That Malmö and Umeå have addressed these changes in their comprehensive plans can be argued to be good for the social sustainability and inclusiveness of the cities. Here it is of value to discuss the different premises of the municipalities. Malmö, with a large immigrant population, might need to stress diversity in a different way and to a larger extent than Umeå.

Strategies in Malmö in order to improve the gender equality in the urban area are very similar to the strategies to increase the general safety in the city, so it is stated in the comprehensive plan (Malmö Stad 2014:22). This is a problematic approach in the light of intersectional theories and earlier research from Listerborn (2008) and Sixtensson (2009). Peoples experiences and insecurities when moving around the city are not the same. The experience of insecurity is not only gendered, but also ethnically differentiated and for women of colour and women wearing hijab, it is both (Ibid). To improve an overall sense of safety without approaching the different problems experienced by different groups, risk to not create a truly safe city for all. Since Malmö is so ethnically diverse, the intersection between gender and ethnicity could be argued to be extra important for the municipality and thereby necessary to address in the planning. Especially since they aim to accomplish a socially sustainable, gender-equal and diverse city. In Malmö, the city centre is regarded as an especially meaningful meeting point and it is of extra importance that people can feel safe here (Malmö Stad 2014:38). In general, it is stated in the comprehensive plan that women might feel less safe than men in the public space. However, it is not addressed that some women might feel less safe than other. The results from Sixtensson's research show that women wearing hijab experience the inner city of Malmö as more insecure, than their home districts, and that they have faced harsh discrimination in the inner-city of Malmö (Sixtensson 2009:63). This situation that disadvantaged women face, due to racial and sexist power structures, could be very important for the municipality to address in order to create a city without gender or racial discrimination. However, this is not explicitly done in the comprehensive plan of Malmö.

5.2.4 Participatory planning and intersectionality

The, according to Listerborn (2008:61), new paradigm of planning where citizen participation is of great importance, is noticeable when reading the comprehensive plans of Malmö and Umeå. Umeå acknowledges that a sustainable city only can be built together with the people who are living in it and that girls and boys, men

and women and people with different ethnical backgrounds should be made visible in the planning. The importance to enable a broad citizen representation is stressed (Umeå Kommun 2017e:17, 70). In Malmö, the municipality feels obliged to increase and improve the citizen participation in planning processes, since this can strengthen the city and increase the wellbeing of the local population. The municipality should formally as well as informally support citizen initiatives and participation in planning processes. Strategies to encourage more people to engage in democratic planning processes are necessary and the municipality should create more arenas where people can meet and organise in order to influence the urban society (Malmö Stad 2014:23, 62). These statements clarify that both municipalities have adopted the participatory planning approach, however, the post-colonial and feminist reflections on participatory planning, mentioned in the theoretical framework, are not really discussed in the comprehensive plans. Even though the municipalities argue that men, women and people from different ethnical groups should be made visible in the planning, the double discrimination due to sexist and racist power structures that immigrant women face, is not discussed. Sandercock and Forsyth (2005:71) argues that not all interest groups participating in planning processes, will be able to make their voices heard in equivalent manner. Particularly women who suffer multiple disadvantages risk not being heard, given the power relations between different groups (Ibid).

5.3   The meaning of the comprehensive plan

The comprehensive plan is an overarching planning and policy document that states the visions and main priorities of what a municipality want to accomplish (Larsson & Jalakas 2007:63). The language in the studied comprehensive plans is often quite vague and not many direct strategies for how the municipalities are supposed to reach their goals, are expressed. There is no large focus on implementations of the planning strategies, at this planning level. However, it is important to discuss if the comprehensive plan is the right planning level for explicit strategies and implementations, due to its overarching purpose. Maybe, an intersectional analysis and special focus on women of various ethnicities are to specific aspects to include at a comprehensive planning level. Still, as argued in the introduction, what is not mentioned in the comprehensive plan, might risk not being addressed in the urban planning at all and thereby it could be valuable to at least approach these issues. Especially due to the increased global influences on a local level (Listerborn 2005:248), intersectional approaches could be of great importance for planners in their aim to accomplish gender equal as well as diverse urban environments.

6   Conclusion

To approach the first two research questions; Malmö and Umeå both address gender in their comprehensive plans by connecting gender with safety in the public environment and by focusing on women's mobility in the city. Public transport, bike lanes and pedestrian paths are to be improved in order to facilitate women's mobility. Both cities argue that densely built cities where people move in the public during all day will improve the overall sense of safety, but in particular the experienced safety by women. The municipalities have different approaches when addressing gender issues and Malmö highlights gender more separately and focused than Umeå, that has chosen a more integrated approach in line with the gender mainstreaming strategy. According to parts of the theoretical framework, gender aspects need to be highlighted separately, due to discriminating power structures in society in order to not be ignored. Nonetheless it is also stated that a holistic and integrative approach could be of importance to thoroughly bring up gender issues in all parts of society. Together these two approaches would be about keeping things separated and still finding the connections between them. In this study it has been argued that the Malmö municipality accomplish this in a more sufficient way than Umeå.

The third research question is focusing on the intersection between gender and ethnicity and the specific situation of women with diverse ethnic background, in the urban life and planning. Both gender and ethnicity/diversity are approached concepts in the comprehensive plans of Malmö and Umeå. However, a discussion about the connection between the concepts is rather rare. Immigrant women or women of colour are not explicitly addressed in the comprehensive plans even though research has proven that these women often have quite specific experiences of the urban environment and that it could be valuable to specifically address these issues in planning strategies. The municipalities fail to differentiate the concept of gender and to discuss its complexity, which is a crucial aspect in the intersectional framework. It is mentioned in the plans that power relations between different groups affect the urban environment. However, this issue is not more explicitly expressed or discussed, not even in relation to citizen representation in the urban planning.

Citizen representation in municipal planning was initially not a focus area for this research. However, this aspect grew of importance during the research process to an extent that it could not be left out of discussion. Citizen representation is the entrance gate for people to engage in urban planning and to strengthen the urban

democracy. It is important that all groups of citizens are made visible in this process. However, due to power structures in society, participatory planning often fails to be truly democratic. By adding an intersectional perspective to this and realising that immigrant women have both sexist and racist discrimination against them, they definitely risk not getting heard in planning processes. Theory calls for specific representation of disadvantaged people. The empirical findings of this study shows that the comprehensive plans of Malmö and Umeå does not address this. If the comprehensive plan even is the right place to approach these issues, due to its overarching character, has been discussed. On the other hand, it was argued that what is not mentioned in the comprehensive plan might risk to not get addressed in the planning. Especially in a context of ethnic diverse cities and racist and sexist power structures, it can be important to address the situation of immigrant women specifically.

6.1   Further research

Except for the small notes on further research made in section 1.5, future research connected to this study, could be to investigate the implementations of the gender-sensitive strategies in the two municipalities. This could be done by focusing on detail plans or specific projects. It could also be of interest to conduct research on how the gender mainstreaming strategy is approached and implemented in the planning departments of the municipalities. There are policy documents on gender mainstreaming that could be interesting to discuss and it would also be valuable to conduct interviews with municipal planners.

However, the further research that I would argue is of highest relevance would be to deepen the academic understanding of the experiences of the urban space made by immigrant women, women of colour and women wearing Hijab. This goes in line with the research conducted by Sixtensson and Listerborn. Though such research needs to be conducted in more municipalities to achieve a nuanced and overarching picture of the situation in Sweden. It is crucial for the creation of a socially sustainable urban space that the voices of these women are heard, in academia as well as in the planning practice. Moreover, this could be interesting for policy makers addressing integration and gender equality.

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