

An aerial photograph of a city, likely Karlstad, Sweden, showing a river winding through the urban landscape. The image is in grayscale and serves as the background for the entire page.

IN WHOSE INTEREST?

A discourse analysis of the development of Karlastaden and its effects

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Master's Thesis at Chalmers Architecture
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I started my studies at Blekinge Institute of Technology, where I took my bachelor's degree in Spatial Planning. It was during my studies at BTH that my interest in the city began to grow, but also my critical thinking and questioning of who we are building the city for: *who has the right to the city*. From this, my interest grew in studying various planning ideals and processes and the effects that follow these approaches. During my two years at Chalmers University of Technology and in my specialization in 'Architecture and Planning Beyond Sustainability', I have developed my knowledge in social, ecological and economical sustainability. I have had the opportunity to tie my educations together in a direction that questions the societal development that we as architects and planners have such an important role in, namely, to create environments that contribute to equal and good social living conditions for all individuals in society.

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Isabella Bergh, June 19, 2019

ABSTRACT

This master thesis is designed as a theoretical work within spatial planning. It investigates problem representations and their effects on the development of Karlastaden within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg. Studies of problem representations provide insights into proposals for change that in turn shape the development of society in a certain direction. The theory and method is based on Carol Bacchi's 'What's the problem represented to be?' – approach (WPR). The WPR approach assumes that problem representations elaborate in discourse. Here, discourse can be seen as 'socially produced forms of knowledge that set limits upon what it is possible to think, write or speak about a given social object or practice' (Bacchi 2009, p. 35). In discourse analysis, theory and method are closely intertwined and the theoretical framework sets the premises for the thesis's methodology. In other words, the analysis translates the theory into method. The empirical material primarily consists of the detailed development plan (with supplementary planning documents) that underlies the development of Karlastaden. Various vision documents from the municipality serve as supplementary material.

The result shows a representation of problems, which mainly focuses on segregation, climate change and a changed economy. Behind this problem representation, different values and interests are made visible through a discourse. The discourse largely builds on the idea of creating attractiveness and sustainability, with the aim of being visible in an international market and to generate economic growth. The result also shows that the discourse is maintained by the Planning and Building Act, which has gone towards strengthening the economic dimension and making the planning more efficient by shortening the planning process. This has to do with the fact that the politics and private developers point to a society that is moving towards a more market-oriented system. Further, the discourse seems to create certain inequalities in society. These aspects concern the survival of alternative or non-profit organizations and activities as well as decreased opportunities for individuals and groups with lower socio-economic status to take part in society.

”

Imagine a place no one experienced before, high, high above the city. Here, you wake up with a miles wide view of Gothenburg in an apartment carefully designed by some of the world's top architects. You have access to a unique range of services from the hotel in the same building. Order room service directly home to the apartment - perfect for a dinner after a long day or brunch after a long night. There will also be possibilities to order cleaning, washing and to take the lift directly to the hotel gym, spa and restaurant. Directly below, the crowds of people are waiting among shops, cafés and restaurants in Karlastaden, Gothenburg's new district.

”

Serneke Bostad 2019

GLOSSARY

ACTORS

Land and Environmental Court (*Swedish: Mark- och miljödomstol*)

The Land and Environmental Court is a special court whose main task is to handle cases according to the provisions prescribed in the Environmental Code, the Property Formation Act (1970:988) and the Planning and Building Act (2010:900) (Sveriges Domstolar 2016).

County Administrative Board (*Swedish: Länsstyrelse*)

The County Administrative Board is responsible for representing and coordinating the state's interests and producing planning documents. In addition, the County Administrative Board has supervision of detailed development plans and can in some cases revise the municipality's decision to adopt, amend or cancel detailed development plans (Boverket 2018b).

City Council, Municipal Council (*Swedish: Kommunfullmäktige*)

The City Council is the municipality's decision-making assembly. The City Council consists of local politicians, whose main task is to decide on matters of fundamental importance (Boverket 2018b).

Municipal Executive Board, City Executive Board (*Swedish: Kommunstyrelse*)

In each municipality there are committees appointed by the City Council. One of these committees has a leading position as the municipality's board. The Municipal Executive Board's main task is to lead and coordinate the municipality. The Municipal Executive Board also consists of local politicians (Boverket 2018b).

Municipal Committee (*Swedish: Kommunal nämnd*)

The Municipal Committees' tasks consist of administration, that is, independent handling of cases according to current laws or on the City Council's assignments, as well as preparation and enforcement of the Municipal Council's decisions. The Municipal Committee also consists of local politicians (Boverket 2018b).

Local Building Committee (*Swedish: Byggnadsnämnd*)

The Local Building Committee is the municipal committee that shall fulfil the municipality's tasks according to the Planning and the Building Act (Boverket 2018b).

City Committee (*Swedish: Stadsdelsnämnd*)

The City Committee is a form of Municipal Committee that, instead of being responsible for a specialist area, is responsible for a local geographical area. In Gothenburg, the City Committees decide on matters related to libraries, individual and family care, leisure activities and social care for disabled and elderly (Göteborgs Stad n.d.).

City Building Office (*Swedish: Stadsbyggnadskontor*)

The City Building Office is the municipal administration that handles questions concerning housing and construction, primarily spatial planning, land supply, building permits and supervision of construction work. The City Building Office usually comes under the Local Building Committee (Göteborgs Stad n.d.a).

Private developer (*Swedish: Privat byggherre, byggherre*)

A non-municipal developer that carries out or allows performing planning, construction, demolition or land work (SFS 2010:900, Chapter 4).

Public interests (*Swedish: Allmänna intressen*)

Public interests are stated in the Planning and Building Act's second chapter. These include: an appropriate structure and an aesthetically pleasing design of buildings, green areas and communication routes; a living environment that is good from a social point of view, which is accessible and useful to all societal groups; a good and long-term management of land, water, energy and raw materials as well as good environmental conditions in general; a good economic growth and effective competition; and housing construction and development of the housing stock (SFS 2010:900 Chapter 2).

PROCESS

Comprehensive plan	Översiktsplan
Detailed development plan	Detaljplan
Planning process (detailed development plan)	Planprocess (detaljplan)
Standard procedure	Standardförfarande
Extended procedure	Utökat förfarande
Plan description	Planbeskrivning
Planning permission	Planbesked
Consultation	Samråd
Consultation circuit	Samrådsrets
Review	Granskning (tidigare utställning)
Come into force, become legally binding	Laga kraft
Appeal	Överklagande

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1. INTRODUCTION

Planning and Building Act 1 Chapter 1 §: This Act contains provisions on the planning of land and water and on construction. The purpose of the provisions is, with regard to the individual's freedom, to promote a societal development with equal and good social living conditions and a good and long-term sustainable living environment for the people of today's society and for future generations (PBL 2010:900, 1 Chapter 1 §).

The above quotation describes the basic purpose of Swedish planning, namely to create environments that give rise to equal and good social living conditions for all individuals in society. But how does this take place in reality? Building a city for everyone is not an easy task. It is often about conflicts between different values and interests. Many cities formulate visions and strategies that seem to convince most of the people, but what do these formulations really mean in the realization and composition of the city?

Between 1930s and 1960s, the Swedish societal development was characterized by a welfare policy, where a stronger state played a more active role in the national economy. Part of this policy involved housing, which with public support was going to generate good housing for all without profit (SABO n.d). Today, research shows that Swedish municipalities have become considerably more market-dependent than before. As a result of ideological changes, shifts in the distribution of power between the private and public sector as well as tighter competition between municipalities and regions, local planning has become increasingly focused on economic growth (Henecke 2006, p. 24).

By studying discourses, values and interests that often affect the outcome of planning are made visible. This thesis consists of a discourse analysis according to Carol Bacchi's approach 'What's the problem represented to be?' (WPR). The approach, with an unusually long term, aims to study problem representations by identifying 'proposals

for change; deep-seated presuppositions underpinning the proposed change; possible silences in the understanding of what needs to change; and the effects that are likely to accompany this proposed change’ (Bacchi 2009, p. x).

1.1 THE CASE OF KARLASTADEN

In 2012, the City Council of Gothenburg initiated the document ‘Vision Älvstaden’ which describes the future development for the central part of Gothenburg. The document highlights segregation, climate change and a changed economy as major challenges for the city's future development. With the vision in mind, in 2013 an urban development project was initiated that has come to be called Karlastaden. The area that is to become Karlastaden is located at Lindholmen in Gothenburg, a district that historically has been characterized by shipbuilding industry and which over time has attracted many cultural-related activities. The site has therefore been characterized by alternative organizations and businesses and a strong cultural-historical heritage. The project of Karlastaden has come to be talked about both by the city's residents and professionals in architecture and urban development. Since 2015, the project has resulted in 57 articles in Göteborgs-Posten and 249 articles in total printed press (May 2019).

The project started as an architectural competition announced by the private developer SEFA AB (today: Serneke Group AB¹) in collaboration with Sveriges Arkitekter, the municipal company Älvstranden Utveckling AB² and the Gothenburg City Building Office. The purpose of the competition was to produce a high-quality, realizable proposal for skyscraper and city blocks at Lindholmen, Gothenburg. The Competition Program expresses, among other things, the importance of designing residential environments that contribute to attractiveness and vitality (Serneke Group AB 2013, p. 5, 13). The project of Karlastaden expresses three main strategies or focus areas: ‘create a city for everyone and get more people involved’; ‘create a lively river area and make it easy to live sustainable’; and ‘release the driving forces and create an attractive urban environment’. But what do these formulations of strategies really mean for the development of society?

¹ Further referred to as Serneke

² Further referred to as Älvstranden

In 2014, the architectural competition resulted in the ‘detailed development plan for housing and business at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg’. The project then came to be questioned, among other things, regarding the possibility of the city's residents to take part of and influence the project. Other questions concerned the cultural heritage and the survival of alternative organizations and businesses since existing buildings within the planning area will be demolished due to the project.

However, this discussion opens up for a questioning of whose interest is really being ensured? and what consequences does this have for society's development? This thesis has its starting point in this discussion and questioning, which will continue to be studied and analysed in line with the theoretical perspective described in the next chapter.

1.2 PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis is designed as a theoretical work, with the purpose to highlight and create a deeper understanding of how Swedish planning is managed and with what repercussions for different groups of people in society, thus placing no emphasis on trying to find new solutions. The thesis is based on the overarching research questions:

- What discourse forms the basis of the development of Karlastaden?
- What effects does this discourse have on society's development?

Studying the underlying discourse for the project of Karlastaden aims to highlight and illustrate general ideological changes in the practice of planning that affect the city's development. These ideological changes are further connected to the development towards a more market-driven society that is characterized by greater influence for private actors and economic growth etc. By identifying this development, a discussion can be made concerning the consequences and effects planning have for the individuals and groups living in and taking part of the society. More specifically, this is about which people come to talk, how different interests are balanced and which individuals and groups have access to the planning process.

Further on, the thesis is based on the ‘What's the problem represented to be?’ – approach (WPR), which in turn is based on a couple of analytical questions that will help answer the overarching research questions:

The questions are searching to find proposals for change, deep-seated presuppositions underpinning the proposed change, possible silences in the understanding of what needs to change, and the effects that are likely to accompany this particular understanding of the problem (Bacchi 2009, p. x).

1.3 DISPOSITION

The thesis begins with an explanation of the theoretical perspective (**chapter 2**), which consists of Carol Bacchi’s ‘What's the problem represented to be?’ – approach (WPR). The theory originates from Foucauldian discourse analysis and constitutes a guide in the analysis of the empirical material. Furthermore, background and previous research in the field of spatial planning and power relations is described as a way to put the case in relation to the context of the thesis (**chapter 3**). Thenceforth, the method of the thesis is presented (**chapter 4**), including the sub-questions that are used in the WPR approach. This part also introduces the case and material that will be studied in-depth (the material to which the analysis is applied). Furthermore, a deeper explanation of the case is described (**chapter 5**). This concerns the project’s background and process as well as the debate that arose in relation to the development. The empirical result is described (**chapter 6**), which is the part of the thesis where the analysis is applied to the selected material explained in the method section. The empirical material is analysed through the theoretical framework (WPR) but is also discussed in relation to previous research. The thesis ends with a discussion and conclusion (**chapter 7**), which aims to answer the overarching research questions of the thesis.

2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The theoretical perspective is selected with the aim to study power relations within the Swedish planning system and what effects these will have on the society's development. It serves as a tool to understand, explain and evaluate what has emerged from the thesis investigation. The theory is based on Carol Bacchi's 'What's the problem represented to be?' – approach, which originates from Foucauldian discourse analysis.

2.1 POWER AND DISCOURSE

There are different ways of understanding power, but a common basic idea is that all power, to some extent, is based on the fact that there is a system in which power gets its shape (Börjesson & Rehn 2009, p. 12). The system is further covered by various techniques, which in turn create power. One of the more in-depth power techniques, which is often based on Michel Foucault's work, is described as 'to control the discourse'. An initial explanation of the concept of discourse is often formulated as 'a definite way of speaking and understanding the world' (Jørgensen & Philips 2000, p. 7). To control the discourse can thus be described as the power to control the language, the power over how different types of discussions are formed and disciplined (Börjesson & Rehn 2009, p. 12). To control the language is thus a technique that affects how people think about things (Fejes & Thornberg 2009, p. 96). Foucault defines discourses as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1969/2002, p. 67). The distribution/spread that is created within the discourse, the people who can speak and in what way they do it, is in turn permeated by power relations. In this case, it is not about power being something that a person possesses and wields on another person. Here, power is something that is constantly present and which positions different subjects and their relations with each other (Foucault 1980, p. 98). In

the discourse theory, there is thus an idea of a re-creation of power relations even within the current or leading discourse.

2.2 WHAT'S THE PROBLEM REPRESENTED TO BE?

In discourse theory, it is considered that language is not a neutral instrument for communication. Language does not represent a given reality, but does always provide a perspective on the world (Bergström & Boréus 2018, p. 255). There are different types of analysis methods within the discourse theory. This thesis is based on Carol Bacchi's 'What's the problem represented to be?' – approach (WPR). The approach is clearly influenced by Foucault and serves as a tool for critically reviewing taken-for-granted assumptions about social and political problems and the power relations that these assumptions create or maintain (Bergström & Boréus 2018, p. 271). As in many other areas of discourse theory this approach is based on the assumption of discourse as 'socially produced forms of knowledge that set limits upon what it is possible to think, write or speak about a given social object or practice' (Bacchi 2009, p. 35). In that sense the theory focuses on the knowledge that has been produced in a social context, what is possible to think, write or speak, but not only the language or the use of language.

The WPR approach is both a theory and method in such a way that it offers theoretical perspectives for the analysis of the material, but also a clear explanation of what should be selected from the material (analytical framework). The method is derived from social constructivism, post-structuralism, feminist theory and governmentality studies and highlights constructions that are often taken for granted. It has a strong connection to Foucault's reasoning on power and discourse, including Foucault's theory of governmentality, and is based on a critically reviewing agenda rather than a descriptive one (Bacchi 2009, p. 264). The WPR approach aims to critically review and analyse public policy. The basic idea of studying policy is to get an understanding of how rule takes place, how we are governed. In that sense, there is an intention to understand how society is managed and with what effects for different groups of people. The WPR approach assumes that problematisations provide an entry point into how rule is thought:

In a WPR approach we are focusing on the knowledge through which rule takes place, and the influence of experts and professionals on and through these knowledges, rather than examining their direct role as participants in political processes (e.g. as members of lobby groups) (Bacchi 2009, p. 26).

The way to understand different forms of rule is through identifying and analysing problem representations. Here, Bacchi refers to Foucault's way of using the term problematisations as 'to signal the need to put taken-for-granted assumptions into question; and as a way into the thinking behind particular forms of rule' (Bacchi 2009, p. 30). By analysing problem representations, we can gain an understanding of how different issues are understood and problematized. Bacchi believes that 'policy' is often associated with something that is good, something that 'fixes' things. However, she believes that the idea of fixing something also carries preconceived notions that something must be fixed, 'that there is a problem' (Bacchi 2009, p. ix). Bacchi also believes that the state plays a privileged role since its understanding of problems is formed in legislation, reports and 'technologies' used to govern. The 'problems' that the state depicts are therefore 'real' (Bacchi 2009, p. 33). By questioning how an action is designed and functioning, one can create a greater understanding of how the state works and how it affects those governed by the state. In summary, the WPR approach builds upon three key assumptions (Bacchi 2009, p. xxi):

- We are governed through problematisations
- We need to study problematisations (through analysing the problem representations they contain) rather than 'problems'
- We need to problematise (interrogate) the problematisations on offer through scrutinising the premises and effects of the problem representations they contain

In Bacchi's approach, 'policy' is often associated with a state action, or a so-called 'program' (Bacchi 2009, p. ix). In this work, however, the method will not be used on a policy document, but on a plan proposal. Although planning documents do not originate directly from a state activity, these are proposals for actions that affect the development of society, which are ensured through municipal activities and the Swedish legislation (Planning- and Building Act).

3. BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

As previously mentioned, this thesis focuses on exploring power relations in the field of spatial planning. This is further connected to the aim of the thesis: to highlight and create a deeper understanding of how Swedish planning is managed and with what repercussions for different groups of people in society. It is therefore of interest to study this phenomenon related to the Swedish planning context. Further, this chapter aims to place the thesis in a certain context and to use the case of Karlstad as an illustration to this. Focus is on the societal and planning development over time, changed planning ideals and how this can be linked to the thesis case.

3.1 FROM CENTRALISED CONTROL TO INTERACTIVE CONTROL

Since this thesis concerns a case that is related to the Swedish planning system, which is part of the overall Swedish control system, it relates to how this control system has operated and developed over time. In this sense, it is relevant to describe how the distribution of power has evolved and changed over the years. Further on, parallels can be drawn to the case of Karlstad.

In the field of political science and spatial planning, the concepts of *government* and *governance* are often used, which according to Montin and Hedlund (2009) are described as central control and interactive control (Montin & Hedlund 2009, p. 7). The main basis for the Swedish state administration, the so-called *central control*, was developed by Axel Oxenstierna in order to centralize the government organisation, control various executives and separating responsibilities (Wetterberg 2002, p. 11). The public influence was at this time relatively limited, but got expanded during the following centuries. The state regulation of spatial planning was largely initiated by the introduction of the 1874 years Building Statute (Swedish: 1874 års byggnadsstadga),

which over the years has evolved and changed until the current existing Planning and Building Act (2010: 900) with subsequent revisions.

Governance, or what Montin and Hedlund call *interactive control*, is closely related to what David Easton (1953) describes as a political process that ‘consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocate values’ (Easton 1953, p. 130 in Montin & Hedlund 2009, s. 13). The phenomenon had its major impact in the late 1980s and early 1990s when complex issues were supposed to be solved through new political approaches. The basic idea is that increased cooperation between public and private actors is necessary to achieve a desired development. The approach meant that production of service from political institutions could take place in an open market or in cooperation between public and private actors (Pierre 2009, p. 38).

Such collaboration has occurred earlier in Scandinavia and Western Europe, but has become more common since the creation of the EU Structural Funds, where resources have been provided in various ways to strengthen the economic development at the local level. The reason was, among other things, that the Structural Funds made formal demands for cooperation between local public and private partnerships. This meant that the municipalities no longer had to be responsible for the production of the services themselves, but this could now be handed over to the private and local actors (Pierre 2009, pp. 40-41). Montin and Hedlund believe that cooperation between public interests has been a distinctive feature of modern political history in Sweden and that negotiations between the state and municipalities have been commonplace. Similarly, there have been agreements in local municipal politics between public and private authorities in large-scale construction projects and industrial establishments (Montin & Hedlund 2009, p. 24).

It has also been discussed whether governance, in this case collaborations between public authorities and private actors, leads to a weakening of the state's role. However, Pierre (2009) believes that the interactive form of political governance is rather a change than a weakening of the state:

The power base and the exercise of power are changing, and the political ideals of the state's role are also changing, but this does not necessarily imply a weakening of the state's power (Pierre 2009, 47).

He further believes that governance increases the possibility for institutions to increase their ability to act. Municipalities can, through collaboration with the business community, achieve things that have not previously been solved through their own actions (Pierre 2009, pp. 52-53). The author, however, highlights a conflict between transparency and efficiency. A complete openness can make collaboration between businesses more difficult since these often requires greater confidentiality and integrity than the municipalities in their business activities. High transparency can therefore obstruct and affect the efficiency negatively (Pierre 2009, p. 53).

Hans Abrahamsson (2018), associate professor in peace and development research, also describes the development of Swedish governance in his research essay *Today's great social transformation* (Swedish: *Vår tids stora samhällsomdaning*). His research fundamentally coincides with the description above. Abrahamsson argues that there has been a shift in power within the Swedish governance. He explains that the national government's strength (central control) has diminished and that globalization has led to the creation of new power structures, among other things through the European Union, transnational companies, urban regions etc. (Abrahamsson 2018, p. 10-11).

In summary, it is possible to identify a development that has gone towards involving private actors to a greater extent in the realisation of projects. This change has not only taken place in Sweden but also internationally. The fact that interactive control, or governance, would weaken the state's role can be discussed but researches rather show that the exercise of power is changing. However, there is a problem between transparency and efficiency, where high transparency contributes to reduced efficiency and vice versa. This can be exemplified through the case of Karlstad, where there have been difficulties in communication and transparency, which has led to problems for the civic society to take part of the project.

3.2 GOVERNANCE IN SWEDISH PLANNING HISTORY

In order to understand the concept of power and control in relation to Swedish planning today, and the case of Karlstad, it is necessary to study how the practice of spatial planning has evolved over time, what has influenced the various processes that have contributed to the reality that prevails today.

Looking at the historical context, the development of spatial planning during the post-war period was characterized by expansion and rationality. A scientific approach was used where the planners were seen as experts. There was a strong link between the rationalist planning and the elected parliamentary representation that acted and looked after the public interest (Granberg 2004 in Åström & Granberg 2009, p. 162). In the early 60s and 70s, a debate about increased civic influence started, which concerned changes in communication and transparency as well as attempts to strengthen the public's interest in participating in the existing parliamentary representation and the prevailing control system. This was, among other things, due to the fact that social critics started to question the potential of the rationalist planning to achieve a desirable development (Henecke 2006, p. 23). In the late 70s and early 80s, interest and attempts were made to develop a more bi-directional involvement from the public (Miller 1988 in Åström & Granberg 2009, p. 162). Various interest groups were invited to participate more actively and to express their opinions on plan proposals. However, this did not have any major impacts on the existing planning process. Several researchers (Miller 1998, Gidlund 1981) argue that it partly had its explanation in the fact that the earlier rationalist planning structures survived and inhibited the new ideas (Åström & Granberg 2009, pp. 162-163).

During the 90s, a new type of municipal planning started to grow, which focused on a more process-oriented and project-oriented governance that to some extent was conducted alongside the parliamentary model. The new model implied involvement of actors outside the municipal sphere, above all, to improve the financial opportunities for realizing projects. There were also ideas of an active citizen participation, which would give all concerned citizens or interest groups equal opportunities to enter into the political process. These theories are still valid today and are based on Habermas ideas of

communicative action. Habermas theory is based on ‘the ideal conversation situation’, where joint decisions are made by having the best arguments determine and not negotiation based on power relations (Henecke 2006, p. 23).

These ideas were also made visible in the new Planning and Building Act in 1987, which among other things set formal requirements for increased opportunities for public participation (Sundin 1997 in Åström & Granberg 2009, p. 163). This was further strengthened in revisions of the Planning and Building Act during the 90s (Åström & Granberg 2009, p. 163). Despite these ambitions, the outcome between the theoretical ambition and the practical work was not so great and the prevailing system largely remained (Khakee 1999 in Åström & Granberg 2009, p. 163). The civic participation was, in practice, a collecting of the public's opinions, which were then incorporated through the municipal planning process. Many researchers (Boverket 1998, Åström & Granberg 2009) still perceived the system as bureaucratic and too much like previous forms of planning (Åström & Granberg 2009, p. 163).

Åström and Granberg believe that municipalities today have a request for increased participation and commitment from the citizens, but that this is hampered by the fact that there is a reluctance to practice a direct involvement in the actual decision-making. This poses a problem for how to find new methods for involving citizens (Åström & Granberg 2007 in Åström & Granberg 2009, p. 163). Despite this contradiction, various attempts are still being made to find forms for increased civic participation. The authors believe that the result of the trials often depends on how the dialogue is formed and what attitude the participants have (Åström & Granberg 2009, p. 164). Tahvilzadeh (2015) also describes the problem of finding functioning models for citizen participation. He believes that a central question is what citizens can participate in and decide on and if participation can actually affect the overall agenda (Tahvilzadeh 2015, pp. 40-41).

In summary, it is possible to identify a development where the planner has gone from taking a relatively strong role (expert-role) to attempts to let the citizens influence the process to a greater extent (communicative role). At the same time, problems arise in how the dialogue should be designed and used to give a legitimate result, or a result that is accepted by the majority of the different actors.

There are connections between Åström and Granberg's reasoning and the dialogue work related to the development of Karlstad. The City of Gothenburg often emphasizes the importance of letting citizens engage in and influence the development of the city, but there is no direct strategy for how this should happen. The project's extended dialogue work is first starting during the implementation period (Swedish: genomförandetiden) and when the proposal has already won legal force. This can be interpreted as a kind of reluctance, both from the City of Gothenburg and the private developer, to see a direct involvement in the actual decision-making. Just as Tahvilzadeh emphasizes, it is possible to question what the citizens really *can* participate in and decide on and *if* the participation actually can affect the overall agenda.

3.3 POWER RELATIONS IN SWEDISH PLANNING

Since 1947, Swedish planning has been based on the so-called Swedish municipal plan monopoly, which gives the municipality the right to decide over the use and development of land and water. This can be seen as one of the most important prerequisites for the municipal self-government in Sweden. In the practice of the plan monopoly, the municipalities have an obligation to comply with the basic legislation. This is primarily expressed in the Planning and Building Act, but does also have its foundation in, for example, the Constitutional Law:

Public power must be exercised with respect for the equal value of all people and the freedom and dignity of the individual person (SFS 2011:109, 1 Chapter 2 §).

One of the most important aims of the Planning and Building Act is to ensure that the public interest is not overlooked by the private interest:

When planning and in the case of building permits or preliminary decision under this act, land may be used to be built only if the land from a public point of view is suitable for the purpose (SFS 2010:900, 2 kap 4 §).

As a result of the economic crisis in the early 1930s, the foundation for Swedish housing policy and the public housing companies (Swedish: allmännyttiga

bostadsföretagen) was created. A new vision of society started to grow, where a stronger state played a more active role in the national economy. Part of this vision came to be known as the welfare state (Swedish: *folkhemmet*), which was based on a number of social reforms. The basic idea was that the state was responsible for ‘ordinary people’ being able to live in social and economic security. A part of this change involved housing, which with public support was going to generate ‘good housing for all’ without any profit. In connection with the Social Housing Investigation 1945 (Swedish: *bostadssociala utredningen 1945*), housing became a separate policy area (SABO n.d).

Later on, in the 1970s, many municipalities discontinued the production and management of housing and also reduced their land ownership due to cuts in the public sector. The influence that the public sector had since the 30s decreased, and the idea grew that increased cooperation between public and private actors is necessary to achieve a desired development. During the same period, a new type of planning approach started to grow. The planning process, which was previously considered to be independent and driven by public initiatives, now, to a greater extent, came to be characterized by conditional agreements between private actors and public authorities with increased influence for private actors (Khakee 2000, pp. 32-33, Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 162). This planning approach has come to be called negotiation planning (Swedish: *förhandlingsplanering*) and is explained more in detail in the next section.

3.4 NEGOTIATING PLANNING

Negotiation planning (Swedish: *förhandlingsplanering*) can be connected to the overall change that has taken place in the Swedish governance, where increased cooperation between public and private actors is seen as necessary to achieve a desired development. The approach has thus grown in parallel with the fact that collaboration between public and private actors has been promoted to a greater extent. There are many connections between this planning approach and the process that has driven the project of Karlstad forward, which makes it interesting to study this phenomenon more closely.

Negotiation planning had its major impact at the end of the 70s as a result of the economic crisis (Khakee 2000, p. 32). The planning process, which was previously considered to be independent and driven by public initiatives, now, to a greater extent, came to be characterized by conditional agreements between private actors and public authorities with increased influence for private actors (Khakee 2000, pp. 32-33, Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 162). During the same period there was a shift in the interest from a more comprehensive planning to project planning (Khakee 2000, p. 33). In practice, this type of planning means that the first phase of the process, where the overall structure and land-use are set, is replaced by private initiatives and the actual planning work is replaced by conditional agreements (Figure 1).

FORMAL PLANNING PROCESS	NEGOTIATING PLANNING
Idea-phase	Private initiatives
Program work	Program work
Planning work	Conditional agreements
Consultation/exhibition	Consultation/exhibition
Approval	Approval
Implementation	Implementation

Figure 1. The planning process in practice (Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 162).

Negotiation planning is an accepted approach in the practise of planning since there are significant opportunities to interpret the legislation (framework legislation). This type of planning is often motivated by the ambition to ‘get things done’, as previous models have been criticized for being routine, slow and bureaucratic (Boverket 2007, p. 13, Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 163, Nyström & Tonell 2012, p. 117). Many researchers, however, show a resistance to this type of planning since they consider it to have negative consequences. Cars and Hedenström Thune believe that it causes lost creativity among the municipalities, as problems arise by weighing different interests against each other (Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, pp. 163-164). The authors argue that the creative challenge lies in getting past the notion that planning is a zero-sum game, that it is about ‘either/or’ and ‘winners/losers’, which many times are lost in this type of planning (Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 163-164).

Researchers also believe that the democratic process is negatively affected (Boverket 2007, p. 26, Khakee 2000, pp. 32-33, Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 166). The

transparency and opportunity for participation, which is emphasised in the Planning and Building Act, is lost since contracts and/or agreements already have been signed when the formal planning process starts (Figure 1). Cars and Hedenström Thune argue that the result of the planning process is often already decided when the matter is formally handled in consultation (Swedish: *samråd*) and referred for comments (Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 166).

This planning approach also becomes problematic from a political point of view, as there is a tension between real and formal decision-making. Since an agreement that is signed between public and private actors at an early stage is not legally binding, the municipality must adopt the detailed development plan in accordance with the agreement signed between the parties at an early stage. The authors argue that this becomes problematic because the political assumption (the formal decision-making) of the plan becomes a formality/necessity and that it is rather the early agreement (the real decision-making) that determines whether the plan is adopted or not (Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 168). In other words, the formal planning process is in these cases used as a tool to legitimize already made decisions.

Another criticism directed at negotiation planning is that it many times leads to municipalities losing initiative, which can be seen as an important aspect in the outcome of certain questions (Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 165, Boverket 2007, p. 26). Cars and Hedenström Thune argue that there are mainly two advantages of being an initiator: one is better prepared; and one has more opportunity to act tactically. The latter entails a greater opportunity to act strategically, since at an early stage it is possible to predict possible reactions from the counterpart. On the basis of these reactions it is then easier to consider how to best ‘get ahead’ (Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 165).

Despite much criticism, negotiation planning is also considered to have positive effects. Collaboration between public and private actors can, among other things, result in that resources can be used more effectively. Municipalities can, through collaboration with the business sector, achieve things that have not previously been solved through their own actions and vice versa (Pierre 2009, pp. 52-53). Thus, there are arguments that speak both for and against this planning approach. For the planner, however, this can

imply a kind of double-sided role, since one must use resources as efficiently as possible to achieve the desired outcome and at the same time ensure the public interest and a democratic decision model.

In connection to the case of Karlastaden, there are some similarities that can be highlighted. The project of Karlastaden started as an architectural competition announced by Serneke. Although this competition was announced in collaboration with Sveriges Arkitekter, Älvstranden and the Gothenburg City Building Office, the initiative was taken from the private developer. This is in line with what Cars and Hedenström Thune discusses about lost initiative. As in Figure 1, the ‘idea-phase’ of the planning process consists of private initiative, which gives the private developer greater opportunities to act tactically and thus remain a step ahead. Another aspect that emerges from the process is the citizens' opportunity to influence the project. Many of those who submitted comments during the consultation argue that the decision had already been made before the matter went out for consultation. The municipality argues that dialogue will take place during the implementation period, but that it is up to the private developer to organize this.

3.5 GLOBALISATION, COMPETITION AND GROWTH

Swedish planning has become increasingly focused on economic development. In the case of Karlastaden, there is a clear focus on economic aspects, among other things, through attractive housing and business climates or through the ‘global icon’ Karlatornet. By studying this phenomenon more closely, it creates an understanding of the context in which the case is located.

The development of society is governed not only by laws and regulations. In addition to these laws and regulations, there are also governing norms and conditions that affect society's development. Henecke (2006) points to such a condition and believes that the prerequisites for public governance of spatial planning recently have been reduced in several respects. She believes that, despite the municipal plan monopoly, the municipalities are considerably more market-dependent than before. This is considered to be due to reduced municipal land ownership, dismantling of the government interest

subsidies (Swedish: statliga räntesubventioner) and cuts and privatization of public activities. As a result of ideological changes, shifts in the distribution of power between the private and public sector as well as tighter competition between municipalities and regions, local planning is also considered increasingly focused on economic growth (Henecke 2006, p. 24).

In line with Henecke (2006), Fredriksson (2011) points towards a new type of planning discourse, which she calls ‘the new reality’ (Fredriksson 2011, p. 5). Fredriksson explains that the new discourse is based on Swedish municipalities’ perception that resources are lesser than before and that municipalities therefore are dependent on the private sector to implement their projects. She also believes that municipalities have a strong belief in attractiveness as a way to generate economic growth in the regional, national and global competition: ‘There is a common notion that strategic alliances must be built between public and private actors to meet the new growth requirements’ (Fredriksson 2011, p. 5). The importance of economic growth was also strengthened in connection with an update of the Planning and Building Act in 2008, which specified the importance of economic growth and effective competition (PBL Chapter 2 § 2). Fredriksson points out how studies (Cars & Engström 2008, pp. 110-111, Cars & Thune Hedström 2006, p. 159) show increased competition between Swedish cities and regions to attract business start-ups:

That business is willing to move to where it can find the desirable labour is by municipalities interpreted as a need to make efforts to attract ‘the right’ citizens (Fredriksson 2011, s. 67).

She further believes that there is an assumption that ‘the right’ citizens values attractive living environments, which is why municipalities often choose to profile themselves within this category (Fredriksson 2011, p. 68). Short (2015) points to similar ideas and argues that globalization and the increased capital mobility contribute to cities competing for being places for, or supporting in, business development. By offering a business-friendly climate, qualified workforce, good infrastructure and good locations and premises, cities are strengthening their position (Short 2015, p. 239). Nylund (1995) also believes that changes in the economic policy has contributed to a change in planning which nowadays tends to go from ‘[...] ensure the welfare state's ideal of

equality to create favourable conditions for establishment [...] in a harder international competition' (Nylund 1995, p. 23 in Mukhtar-Landgren 2009, p. 131).

There are many similarities between these arguments and the case of Karlastaden. In the project of Karlastaden, the concept of attractiveness is often used as an incentive to attract new businesses to establish and grow:

Älvstaden implies a unique opportunity to market Gothenburg on a national and international level. We will use the project to make Gothenburg visible, take advantage of the opportunity to attract national and international investors, actors, tourists and skills. We will market Älvstaden, and tell the world about Gothenburg (Göteborgs Stad 2012, p. 34).

3.6 CLIENT-DRIVEN PLANNING PROCESS

Another phenomenon that goes in the direction of strengthening the role of private actors in the Swedish planning is the client-driven planning process. This is a relatively new phenomenon and can, among other things, be linked to the Swedish Government Official Report about private actors' right to initiative (Swedish: privat initiativrätt) (SOU 2009:9). Although this process has not been used in the case of Karlastaden, it can be linked to the overall orientation of the Swedish planning's interest in efficiency and growth.

Several investigations (SOU 2019:9, SOU 2013:34, SOU 2012:91) point to an increased interest in new forms of cooperation between municipalities and private developers with the ambition to make the planning process more efficient and increase the building rate. Several municipalities (Ale, Alingsås, Härryda, Kungsbacka, Kungälv) are now trying out a so-called client-driven planning process (Swedish: byggherredriven planprocess), which is initiated by the private developer, often together with consultants and administrators from the municipality. In a client-driven planning process, the private developer is responsible for the preparation of planning documents and investigations while the municipality administer the legal responsibility. In other words, the municipality retains the government intervention and the contact with the politics whereas the private developer carries out the work that is otherwise performed by the municipal planning office. Edlund (2018) carried out an evaluation of the client-driven

planning process in four municipalities in the west part of Sweden with a focus on increased efficiency of time, responsibility distribution, costs, quality and operability. The analysis indicates that there is no major difference in the outcome of a client-driven and a traditionally driven detailed development plan in terms of time, costs or quality (Edlund 2018, p. 6, 63-69, 71). However, the study shows that there are great opportunities to improve the working method since it is relatively new and contains many beginner errors (Edlund 2018, p. 6, 63-69, 71). Edlund believes that this could be solved through a clearer distribution of responsibility and better communication between municipalities and private developers (Edlund 2018, p. 6, 63-69, 71).

4. METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

As mentioned before, this thesis focuses on exploring power relations in the field of spatial planning, which is why the theoretical framework is motivated and based on the concept of power and discourse. The concept of power and discourse builds on the idea that power is created through discourse. To control the discourse is a way to control what it is possible to think, write or speak about a given social object or practice. In that way it generates power. To be able to understand and connect this concept to the context of Swedish planning, extensive knowledge and insight into the Swedish planning process is required.

In this thesis, the study consists of a qualitative research approach (Yin 2011, pp. 19-20). Qualitative research is suitable when the researcher wants to study people's opinions and interpretations, in other words, people's perceived situation. It also provides the ability to collect, compile and present data from multiple sources. In contrast to quantitative research, which often focuses on numbers, qualitative research instead focuses on words (Yin 2011, pp. 19-20).

This chapter begins with an explanation of the thesis research design, which consists of a case study of the planning process related to the detailed development plan for housing and business at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg. Then, the method chosen for collecting information on the case is presented. Finally, the analytical framework is presented, which in a systematic way delimits the analysis of the work and 'picks out' the material that is of value to the research interest.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN – CASE STUDY

The empirical material consists of a case study of the planning process related to the detailed development plan for housing and business at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg. In this thesis, the interest is primarily directed towards the written document (the detailed development plan and its related documents) and how these, by focusing on certain aspects, have consequences for different groups in society. According to Denscombe (2009), case studies can be seen as a motivated method when you want to study events, relationships, experiences or processes in-depth (Denscombe 2009, p. 60). In many cases, social relations and processes are interconnected and to understand one thing it is important to understand another and how they may affect each other. In comparison with survey studies, case studies give the researcher even more opportunities to go in-depth in certain situations. It allows a combination of several sources, data and research methods (Denscombe 2009, p. 60). Since this master thesis intends to study a particular project in depth, the discourse in a local or specific context, case study is considered as a motivated research design. According to Denscombe, there is a risk that case studies become more descriptive than analytical (Denscombe 2009, p. 72). To counteract this, an analytical framework is used (WPR), which in a systematic way ‘picks out’ what is of value in the otherwise extensive material. The case study in combination with the analytical framework, results in sufficient data for the final discussion and conclusion.

4.1.1 SELECTION OF CASE

There are different types of case studies and this thesis is outlined in a single case study. When choosing case, it is important that the problem formulation and research questions are indicative (Yin 2009, p. 30). This thesis is based on the premise that private initiatives have become increasingly common when it comes to initiating new construction projects in Sweden. This also implies an assumption that there has been a shift in power, where private developers have gained greater influence in Swedish planning. The thesis further aims to investigate whether this takes place in practice, how this leads projects in a certain direction, and what affects this could bring. With this assumption, a number of selection criteria follow when choosing which case to study.

An important criterion has been that the case should consist of a project where a private developer has been the initiator. Another criterion has been that the case should consist of a Swedish planning context and thus be related to the Swedish law system (Planning and Building Act). The Swedish planning system builds upon different levels. The *comprehensive plan* (Swedish: översiktsplan) describes the land-use and the design in more general guidelines. In the *detailed development plan* (Swedish: detaljplan), the land-use and the design are more specific and the plan also becomes legally binding. In that sense, the detailed development plan may seem to have a more ‘direct’ impact or more ‘real’ consequences. Since this thesis intends to study the orientation of the planning discourse and the effects that may be entailed by the discourse, a criterion has been that the case consists of a plan developed through a detailed development planning process. Further criteria have been that the case, in some way, has been made up of a process that caused a certain debate between different actors, that different interests have been involved. Furthermore, a geographical delimitation has been made to Gothenburg. Partly because it is a large city with many interesting objects, but also to facilitate a closer acquaintance with the case since I have my location here.

The case that has been selected is the process and the detailed development plan for Karlstaden in Gothenburg. The project was initiated by an architectural competition created by the private developer Serneke in consultation with Sveriges Arkitekter, Älvstranden and the Gothenburg City Building Office. The purpose of the detailed development plan is to enable construction of mixed-use buildings with housing, commerce, hotel, care, schools and offices. The project has, among other things, been debated concerning social, cultural-historical and aesthetic aspects, but also concerning the democratic process. The case is further described in chapter 5. Since the detailed development plan won legal force in 2017, the plan matter has now ended. However, the construction has just begun and the discussion and conclusion that are made along the analysis are thus based on the process and documents that have formed the basis of the project and not the physical outcome.

When working with case studies, the specific case always affects the results of the thesis and the generalizations that are made. According to Denscombe, it is one of the case study’s disadvantages. In the same time, it is possible to back up the result of the case

study with other theories and literature in order to be able to conduct a more general discussion.

4.2 COLLECTION METHOD – DOCUMENT STUDIES

In this thesis, the collection method consists of document studies. The documents have, first and foremost, been based on the detailed development plan with its associated planning documents. The detailed development plan was established according to the Planning and Building Act (2010:900, SFS 2014:900) and won legal force in the City Council of Gothenburg December 18th, 2017. As the detailed development plan, to some extent, is based on and refers to the Municipality's various vision documents, some of these serve as supplementary material. In addition to the detailed development plan, other public documents such as governmental bills and articles from local newspapers have been studied. Within the framework of the plan matter, supporting material has been studied such as the Competition Program and Consultation Report, Impact Assessments, incoming opinions, minutes from political decisions etc.

As this master thesis contains of a public case, studies of documentary data can be seen as a motivated method. Since the municipality acts as a public authority, most events in the process are documented as public documents and are accessible to the public. In other words, it is possible to access the entire act. According to Denscombe, written sources also appear to be authoritative, objective and fact-based (Denscombe 2009, p. 295). The reason why public documents concerning the plan matter were acquired was primarily to obtain relevant background information, which is first and foremost collected by the municipality. Studying political protocols and decision-making, newspaper articles etc. also contributed to the possibility of being able to map the chronological order and the current context.

4.2.1 DOCUMENTS AND DISCOURSE

The selection of documents have also been based on the thesis overall problem formulation of studying the underlying discourse in the case of Karlstad and its consequences. In agreement with the thesis's theoretical perspective, discourses can be

made visible by studying proposals for change (in this case the plan proposal). That one proposes a certain change also brings with it a thought that something is ‘wrong’ and that something must be ‘fixed’. What is to be ‘fixed’ is also based on a thought about how something should be, an underlying discourse. By studying what is to be ‘fixed’, through the new plan proposal, the underlying and valued discourse for the society's development is made visible. The plan description is the document that primarily describes and justifies the new proposal and therefore constitutes an important part of this thesis.

4.3 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK – WHAT’S THE PROBLEM REPRESENTED TO BE?

A strength with qualitative analysis is that it enables a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the collected data. However, there is a risk that the implementation of the analysis requires a large amount of time and in order to counteract this risk, further delimitation of the empirical material is required. According to Denscombe, a systematic approach with some type of coding of the material is advocated. There is no standard template for how the coding should be outlined, but there are many approaches. It is up to the researcher to find a method that is suitable for the study to be carried out (Denscombe 2009, pp. 398-399, 373-374).

This master's thesis aims to study discourses in the Swedish planning context and the consequences these brings for different groups in society. There are different ways of studying discourses, and this work is based on the ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ – approach (Bacchi 2009). The approach is based on *how* problems are formulated (problem representations) favouring different groups in society (Bacchi 2009, p. xii). What we propose to do about something indicates what we think needs to change (‘the problem’) or how an issue is being thought about (Bacchi 2009, p. xi). To study a plan of action, in this case the process and detailed development plan for Karlstad, proposals for change and values (discourses) that lead society in a certain direction are made visible. The analysis is therefore based on the idea of studying problem representations as a way of understanding discourses.

The approach provides a systematic methodology based on six analytical questions, which aim to analyse a certain ‘problem’ in a reversed perspective. Depending on the scope of the work and what is to be studied, the researcher can choose to use all the questions or select those that are assumed to contribute to the result that is sought. In this work all questions are used to give a comprehensive analysis of the case. Bacchi's analytical framework will thenceforth act as a complement or tool to answer the thesis overarching research questions. In order to avoid unnecessary repetitions, question two and four will be answered together under the same section, since they concern similar themes. The same goes for question three and six. To maintain the validity of the work and avoid misinterpretation of the raw material, the analysis will to some extent contain quotations. Further, the questions will be described one by one to give an explanation of how they will contribute to my work.

Q1	What does the project of Karlastaden pose as a ‘problem’?
Q2 + Q4	What assumptions underlie the project’s representation of ‘problem’? What are the silences?
Q3 + Q6	Where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced disseminated and defended? How can it be challenged?
Q5	What effects are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?

Figure 2. Analytical framework based on the ‘What’s the problem represented to be’ – approach (Bacchi 2009).

4.3.1 Q1: WHAT DOES THE PROJECT OF KARLASTADEN POSE AS A ‘PROBLEM’?

Bacchi's first question aims to identify implied representations of ‘problems’ (Bacchi 2009, p. 2). What objectives, strategies and actions can be identified? Bacchi believes that by identifying and studying proposals for changes, it clarifies behaviours or phenomena that are considered problematic. It is based on the idea that certain types of actions reflect how a particular problem is thought of (Bacchi 2009, p. 3). In other words, the first question is about how the ‘problem’ itself is understood. In this thesis, it concerns what strategies and actions the municipality proposes in the detailed development plan (with associated planning documents) that is related to the development of Karlastaden. As the area of Karlastaden is part of the larger development that is going on throughout Lindholmen, the comprehensive vision document ‘Vision Älvstaden’ has been studied together with the more site-specific

detailed development plan. Bacchi also points out that the representation of a ‘problem’ can be based on several problem representations (Bacchi 2009, p. 4, 21). She clarifies that discourses are often intertwined with each other, which can create contradictions. Discourse should therefore not be considered static (Bacchi 2009, p. 13). Figure 3 explains the logic behind question one, where the left column describes the implied representation of the ‘problem’ (what is going to be identified and studied in question one), the middle column describes the proposed actions, and the right column describes the implied result.

NOW	PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE	OUTCOME
Implied representation of problem/s	The project of Karlstadén	Less problem

Figure 3. The logic behind question one.

4.3.2 Q2 + Q4: WHAT ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLIE THE PROJECT’S REPRESENTATION OF ‘PROBLEM’?

WHAT ARE THE SILENCES?

Bacchi’s second question aims to analyse the assumptions and beliefs that underlie the problem representation (Bacchi 2009, p. 4). In comparison with Bacchi’s first question, which is only focusing on identifying the problem representation, this question is directed more deeply to find the assumptions that the problem representation is based on. Assumptions can, according to Bacchi, be understood as knowledge that is taken for granted and by identifying these one can access and make the discourses behind the problem representation visible (Bacchi 2009, p. 5). By using this kind of questions, it is possible to identify the conceptual logic, or discourse, that underlies a certain proposal for change. According to Bacchi, there are various tools that can be used to identify these assumptions, among other things by identifying key concepts. This tool is not unique to Bacchi’s model but is often used in various forms of discourse analysis. Identification of the key concepts is useful given that policy texts or proposals for change often contain abstract or ambiguous concepts open to different interpretations (Bacchi 2009, p. 8). Bacchi states that ‘Disputes over the meaning of key concepts are related to competing political views’ (Bacchi 2009, p. 8), and it is therefore of interest to define what meaning the concepts are given within a specific problem representation. Another tool for studying assumptions or beliefs is through ‘binaries’. Binaries can be

seen as concepts that consist of an opposite relationship, an ‘A/not-A relationship’ (Bacchi 2009, p. 7). What is included on one side of the binary is excluded from the other side. Bacchi also believes that there is an implied hierarchy in binaries, that one side is considered more important than the other side. Using binaries can thus help the identification of ‘unspoken truths’ or discourses and in what order things are valued and prioritized.

Bacchi’s fourth question draws attention to things that are not problematized, things that the current problem representation does not stress or deal with as problematic (Bacchi 2009, p. 12). This can be interpreted in such a way that what does not fit within the problem representation is not considered to be a significant explanatory model (Swedish: förklaringsmodell) and is therefore silenced (Bacchi 2009, p. 12-13). What does not fit within the problem representation thus reveals which discourses that are prioritized. Bacchi believes that discourses, which originate from and are constructed through problem representations, make us understand the world in a certain way and therefore prevent us from thinking differently about the state of things (Bacchi 2009, p. 16). These possible silences, which tend to end up in the background of the leading discourse, must therefore be stressed and reviewed. A supplementary question to the material is therefore: ‘Are there alternative ways to consider the problem that is not mentioned?’ (Bacchi 2009, p. 12). In this regard one can use the same tools as in the second question to identify key concepts and binaries. Bacchi believes that possible silences are often in the shadow of the leading binary (Bacchi 2009, p. 48).

4.3.3 Q3, Q6: WHERE HAS THIS REPRESENTATION OF THE ‘PROBLEM’ BEEN PRODUCED

DISSEMINATED AND DEFENDED? HOW CAN IT BE CHALLENGED?

Bacchi's third question aims to identify how past events have affected the emergence of a particular problem representation: ‘The purpose of Question 3 of a WPR approach is to highlight the conditions that allow a particular problem representation to take shape and to assume dominance’ (Bacchi 2009, p. 11). It is about identifying the present process and the actors that contributes to maintaining a certain problem representation (Bacchi 2009, p. 10-11). It is thus about studying political decisions or actions that have influenced the subject and in that way create an understanding of how the problem representation has been dominated and shaped over time (Bacchi 2009, p. 10). Policy

documents often refer to other decision-making documents or events, which together creates a larger network of assumptions that form the basis of a certain problem representation. Hence, Bacchi's third question aims to study the historical origin of the problem representation, which is based on Foucault's genealogical theory. The analysis thus has its starting point in the present and seeks a historical perspective on how we have come here from there (Bacchi 2009, p. 10). According to Foucault, this road is not always linear but often revolves around twists and turns. By studying these twists and turns, one eliminates the assumption that 'current practices and institutions, and the ways 'problems' are understood, are the inevitable product of 'natural' evolution over time' (Bacchi 2009, p. 10). Studying the history of a particular problem representation also creates insight into the power relations that affect the success of certain problem representations and defeats others (Bacchi 2009, p. 11). In this thesis the historical perspective consist of the development of the Planning and Building Act over time and how this development and orientation has affected the discourse of Karlastaden.

Bacchi's sixth question can be seen as an extension of the analysis third question about the processes and practices that allows a particular problem representation to dominate (Bacchi 2009, p. 19). The author highlights Foucault who pinpoint the question:

What individuals, what groups or classes have access to a particular kind of discourse?
How is the relationship institutionalized between the discourse, speakers and its destined audience? (Foucault 1991, s. 60 in Bacchi 2009, s. 19).

The aim of the question is to pay attention to the means by which certain problem representations become dominant, but also the possibility of challenging the problem representations that are judged to be harmful (Bacchi 2009, p. 19).

4.3.4 Q5; WHAT EFFECTS ARE PRODUCED BY THIS REPRESENTATION OF THE 'PROBLEM'?

The fifth question of the framework aims to highlight the consequences and effects that are reproduced by a particular problem representation and in what way it can have negative impact on certain groups in society (Bacchi 2009, pp. 15-18). The WPR framework distinguishes between three types of effects:

Discursive effects (effects which follow from the limits imposed on what can be thought and said); *subjectification* (or 'subjectivisation') *effects* (the ways in which subjects and subjectivities are constituted in discourse); *lived effects* (the impact on life and death) (Bacchi 2009, s. 15).

Discursive effects can be seen as a consequence of how a problem representation, the normalized discourse, limits what can be thought and said about something (Bacchi 2009, p. 15). The subjectification effects include how policies or actions construct subject positions. These positions, in turn, have an impact on how affected individuals perceive themselves and others, and who is considered responsible for the existence of a particular problem (Bacchi 2009, p. 16-17). Lived effects are in turn related to the direct impact that a problem representation has on people's lives, which follows from the first two effects (Bacchi 2009, p. 17). According to Bacchi, these effects can be studied together as they, to some extent, overlap each other (Bacchi 2009, pp. 15-18).

5. THE CASE OF KARLASTADEN

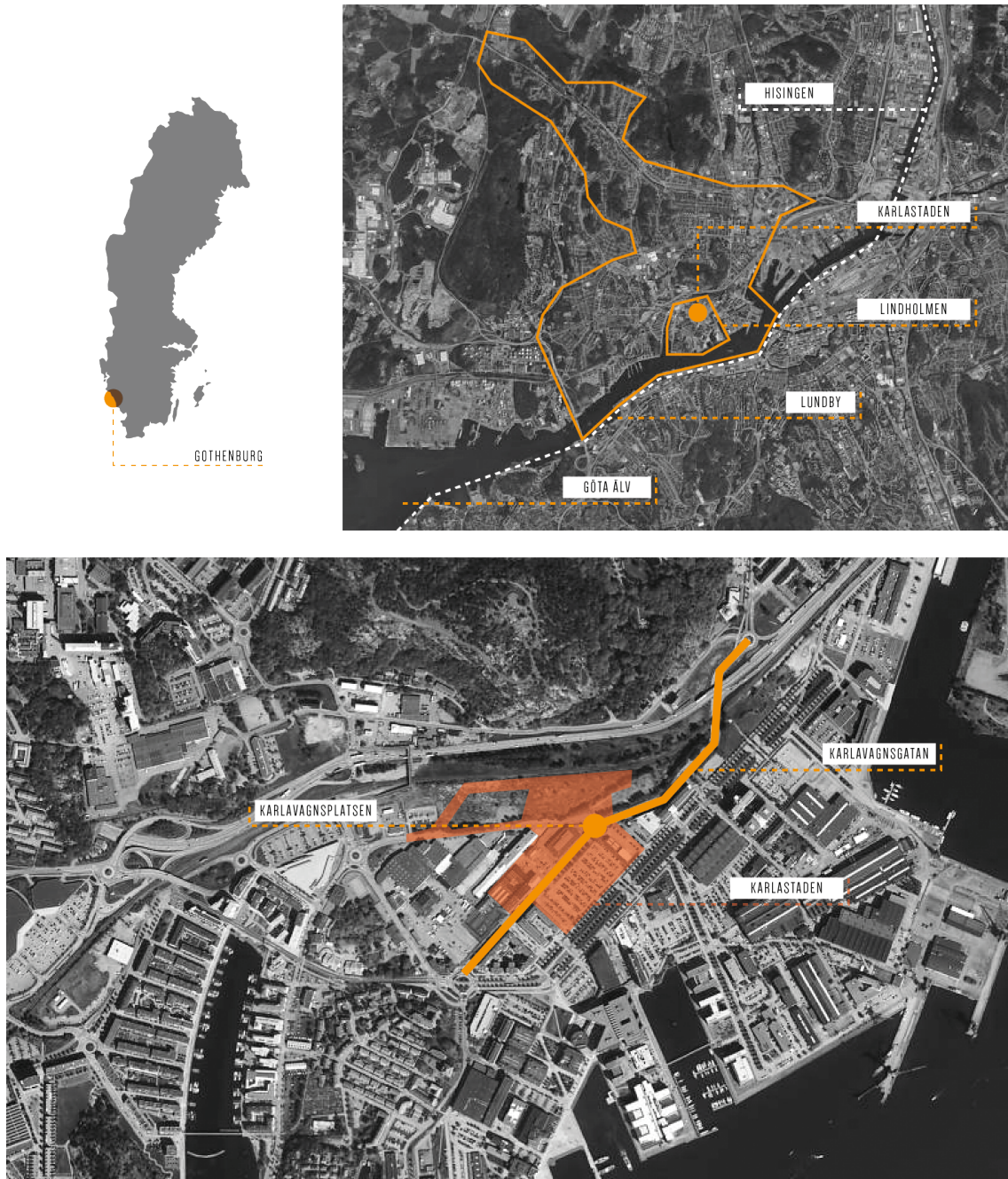


Figure 4. The location of Karlastaden.

5.1 BACKGROUND

Karlastaden is located at Lindholmen and belongs to the district area Lundby at Hisingen in Gothenburg. The site has historically been used as an industrial and shipyard area, and is today a sub-area in one of the Nordic region's largest urban development projects - Älvstaden. In connection to the urban development project, 'Vision Älvstaden' has been developed on behalf of the City Council of Gothenburg. The vision describes the future development for the central part City of Gothenburg and aims to contribute to sustainable development in Gothenburg and West Sweden. The ambition is to create an attractive and sustainable city from a social, ecological and economical perspective. In order to respond to the vision, three overall strategies have been formulated: 'the whole city'; 'meeting the water'; and 'strengthening the core'. These strategies aims to meet the challenges that Gothenburg faces in terms of segregation, climate change and a changed economy (Göteborgs Stad 2012, pp. 8-10).

In connection to the planning process for Karlastaden, a cultural-historical documentation was made by the Gothenburg City Museum. The area of Karlastaden is part of the landscape that is located along the river and formed by the shipbuilding industry. When the city was growing during the 19th century and when the inner city was no longer able to accommodate everything, the industries were moved to Hisingen at the northern side of Göta Älv. The shipyard of Lindholmen (Swedish: Lindholmsvarvet) is one of the shipyards that were established during this time. The northern river front has been seen as a peripheral area with industrial and business premises. The buildings are mainly from the 1940s and 1970s and are relatively varied in terms of volumes and materials. What characterizes the buildings is their functionality. The cultural-historical documentation emphasizes the importance of taking advantage of the historical heritage and the heterogeneous character of the buildings (Göteborgs Stadsmuseum 2016).



Figure 5. The shipbuilding industry of Lindholmen. Image: Erkisbergs Samverkanförening.

Today, Lindholmen consists of development-intensive technology and media companies with researchers and students. The area has an important role as a knowledge node (Swedish: kunskapsnod) with collaborations in the media, art and academia. Within the area that is to become Karlstad, companies in the field of film production work side by side with smaller business owners and cultural activities. This has contributed to identity and created an alternative environment to those offered through Lindholmen Science Park. The character of the place has come to attract businesses, cultural practitioners and visitors. The industrial character has partly served as an attractive force for the establishment of experimental activities, but also contributed with functional conditions and attributes such as goods lifts, loading docks, large window sections with northern position, high ceilings etc.

In connection to the future development of Lindholmen, an inventory was made in 2016 that explains the current business and cultural life on Karlavagnsgatan and the surrounding area. The inventory was produced as a Resource Committee Assignment (Swedish: resursnämndsuppdrag) called 'the City Districts of Älvstaden' and aims to

monitor social aspects as well as the space of culture and leisure in Älvstaden. The purpose of the inventory was to investigate and make visible the area's existing values from a social and economic perspective and what significance these have at a local level and for the city as a whole. The inventory showed a number of important values, especially for the business and cultural life located on the existing site (Göteborgs Stad 2016):

- The permissive and alternative character of the area as special value-adding
- The area's functional attributes (e.g. goods lifts, loading docks, large window sections with northern position, high ceilings)
- Developed collaborations and networks between organisations and businesses in the area and in its vicinity
- Low rents as a prerequisite for most activities (e.g. start-ups, small businesses, creative industries and artists)
- The geographical location in terms of access to public transport, customer base from surrounding neighbourhoods and proximity to Lindholmen Science Park

5.1.2 COMPILATION OF SOME OF THE BUSINESSES CONNECTED TO THE SITE

Karlavagnsgatan 7

Ateljé Inge Sjögren
Bema Däck
Kvdpro.com

Karlavagnsgatan 9

Mijas Thairak Thaimassage
Thai Lunch
Hotell Lundby

Karlavagnsgatan 11

Callsign AB
Crossfit
Folkes Trafikutbildning
Holst Elektriska*
Katarina Anderson Ateljé
MR Piloterna
Peter Ojstersek
Studieförbundet Vuxenskolan
Torbjörns Träverkstad
Pia Hansson Ateljé

Karlavagnsgatan 13

Truckstop Alaska

Ceresgatan 22

Lai Thai "Lilla röda stugan"

Polstjärnegatan 4

Folkuniversitetet

Polstjärnegatan 8

Göteborgs Stadsmuseum (arkiv och magasin)

Polstjärnegatan 10-14

Gothenburg Film Studios AB
Media arena
Interactive Institute Swedish ICT

*Holst Elektriska rents one of several warehouses in the area. According to information from Serneke, there is a 15-30 number warehouse space that varies from 20 to 80 square meters.

Source: Göteborgs Stad 2016

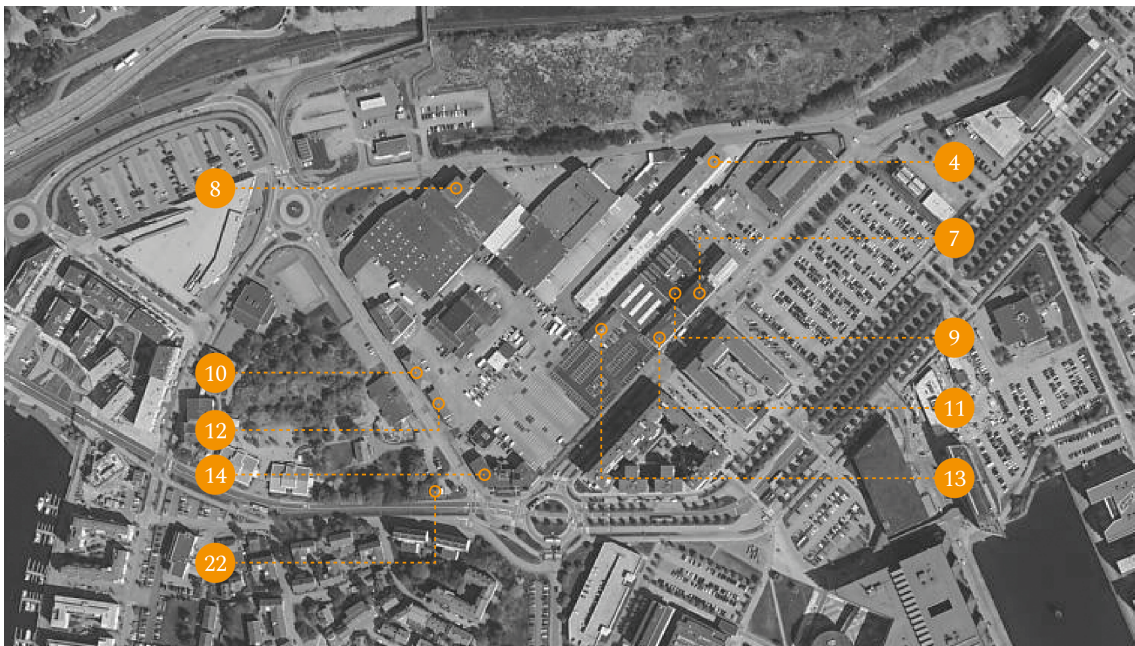


Figure 6. Location of organisations and businesses connected to the site of Karlavagnsplatsen. The numbers are connected to the addresses above.

5.2 PROCESS

Serneke has been involved in several projects in the Gothenburg area: Karlastaden with the associated Karlatornet; Prioritet Serneke Arena; expansion of Svenska Mässan (the Swedish Exhibition Center); expansion of Handelshögskolan (the School of Business); and Säve Airport with experience facilities, motor and test tracks. It is an influential company that for several years has acquired properties where Karlastaden will be constructed. At the end of 2013, the company applied for a planning permission for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg. The application was based on the company's architectural competition, which was conducted in consultation with Sveriges Arkitekter, Älvstranden and the Gothenburg City Building Office. At the end of 2014, the Building Committee of Gothenburg (Swedish: byggnadsnämnden) gave the approval to start the detailed development plan and three years later, in December 2017, the plan won legal force in the City Council of Gothenburg after the Land and Environment Court rejected the incoming appeals.

In connection to the development of the detailed development plan, the comprehensive plan that was adopted in 2009 specifies the site as a renewal area. The site is further proposed to be used for mix-use urban development with housing, service, businesses and smaller green areas. A mix of housing and non-intrusive activities is described as desirable (Göteborg Översiktsplan 2009). During the consultation process, comments have been received regarding the detailed development plan's compliance with the comprehensive plan. Some people believe that the character of Karlastaden, with its 'extreme' environment, cannot be compared to the character described as desirably worthy of the comprehensive plan (Göteborgs Stad 2016b, pp. 62-63).

'Vision Älvstaden', which describes the future development for the central part of Gothenburg, was developed in 2012 and have been a guide in the development of Karlastaden. Other investigations, such as a City Development Program (Swedish: stadsutvecklings-program) and an in-depth comprehensive plan (Swedish: fördjupad översiktsplan), was started in 2016 when the area was already planned. This has been stressed in media, where questions are asked why this process has begun at such a late

stage (Rosenhall 2018, May 11). Incoming comments have also concerned the present architectural competition, where the Gothenburg City Architect Björn Siesjö was hired as chair for the jury. People argue that a situation of conflict (Swedish: jävsituation) has arisen as the project already at an early stage was ‘approved’ by the Gothenburg City Architect and that the planning process has only been used as an incentive to legalize an already made decision (Göteborgs Stad 2016b, p. 51).

5.2.1 TIMELINE OF POLITICAL DECISIONS

DECEMBER 2013

Serneke Fastighets AB applies, based on the architectural competition that was carried out in consultation with Sveriges Arkitekter, Älvstranden and the Gothenburg City Building Office, for a planning permission for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg.

OCTOBER 2014

Based on a preliminary examination regarding the detailed development plan for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg, the City Building Office submits a request for a planning permission to the Local Building Committee (Swedish: byggnadsnämnden).

NOVEMBER 2014

The Local Building Committee decides to start the detailed development plan for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg.

DECEMBER 2015

The City Building Office submits an application to the Local Building Committee about having the consultation carried out for the detailed development plan for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg.

JANUARY 2016

The Local Building Committee decides to have consultation on the detailed development plan for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg.

NOVEMBER 2016

The City Building Office submits an application to the Local Building Committee about having the detailed development plan for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg reviewed (Swedish: granskad).

DECEMBER 2016

The Local Building Committee decides to re-submit the plan and requests minor adjustments to the City Building Office (among other things regarding the design of Karlatornet and the enforcement of schools).

FEBRUARY 2017

The Local Building Committee decides to have the detailed development plan for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg reviewed.

APRIL 2017

The City Building Office submits an application to the Local Building Committee where they propose the City Council of Gothenburg to adopt the detailed development plan for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg.

MAY 2017

The Local Building Committee decides to propose the City Council of Gothenburg to adopt the detailed development plan for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg, which is forwarded to the City Council on the seventh of June 2017.

JUNE 2017

The City Council of Gothenburg adopts the detailed development plan for housing and businesses at Karlavagnsplatsen within the district of Lindholmen in Gothenburg.

AUGUST 2017

The detailed development plan is appealed to the Land and Environmental Court.

DECEMBER 2017

The Land and Environmental Court reject the incoming appeals against the City Council of Gothenburg's decision and the detailed development plan wins legal force.

5.3 PLAN PROPOSAL



Figure 7. The proposal for Karlastaden. Image: Serneke AB 2019.

The project is based on the architectural competition that Serneke carried out together with Sveriges Arkitekter, Älvstranden and the Gothenburg City Building Office. The

purpose of the competition was to produce high quality, realizable proposals for skyscraper and city blocks at Lindholmen (Serneke Group AB 2013, p. 5). The winning proposal was produced by the American architectural firm Skidmore, Owings & Merrill together with the Danish architectural firm Entasis. The project's surface area is 31 000 square meters. 270 000 sq.m. will be built, of which approximately 200 000 sq.m. is for housing and approximately 70 000 sq.m. is for commercial activities. The project is designed in eight blocks (Karlatornet; Callisto; Lynx; Virgo; Cassiopeja; Aries; Auriga; Capella; and a pavilion) and will be expanded in stages (Figure 8). The first part of Karlastaden is planned to be ready for Gothenburg's 400th anniversary, which includes Karlatornet and the neighborhoods of Callisto, Lynx, Virgo and Capella. In addition to the planned housing, the plan also includes commerce, preschools, hotel activities and offices.

During the planning process, investigations have revealed some scepticism about the project regarding social conditions. In the analysis of social consequences and children's perspective, risks and issues that cannot be regulated in the plan map and the planning documents are identified. These risks includes issues concerning tenure forms and renting arrangements, non-commercial activities and meeting places, replacement premises with reasonable rent, local climate and the possibility of recreation. In comparison with how the proposal was presented from the beginning, the project has not undergone any major changes. After receiving comments at the consultation, Karlatornet has been moved southwards and turned 45 degrees. The tower has also decreased in height from 266 m to 240 m, which was regretted by politicians (Liberalerna, Moderaterna, Kristdemokraterna). One of the larger green areas has been halved and one of the municipal preschools has been removed, as it did not meet the City Committee of Lundby's requirement for a separate schoolyard. The distribution between housing and offices has changed to a larger share of housing.

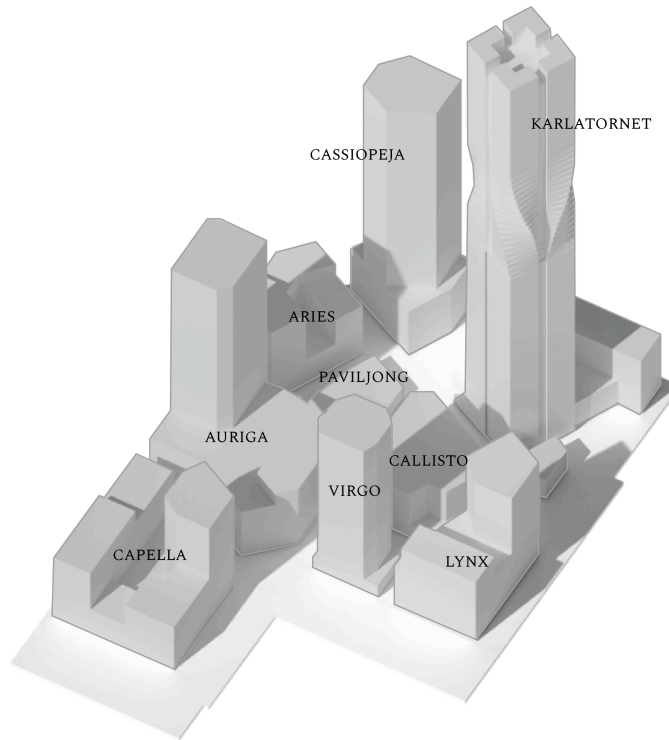


Figure 8. Karlastaden's eight residential quarters (Serneke AB 2019).

5.4 PROTEST

The complaints to the proposal have mainly concerned the content of the detailed development plan, but also the process that has led to the final result. Regarding the content of the plan, Karlatornet has been questioned over the height and the character of the proposal, but also what it should contribute to in the city. The public often believes that it is a ‘brag building for the upper class’, since it only includes condominiums to high market prices (Göteborgs Stad 2016b, p. 46). Anxiety is also expressed about whether the proposal will contribute to the speculation economy in the housing market being triggered further (Göteborgs Stad 2016b, p. 45). Incoming comments also concern the city's view of segregation and Claes Caldenby, professor emeritus in the theory and history of architecture, calls the skyscraper ‘a monument to our unequal society’ (Egefur 2017, June 22).

In addition to the high-rise tower, it has been questioned in what way the plan ensures the history and culture that have shaped the place for such a long time. The Cultural Committee (Swedish: Kulturnämnden) believe that the project's analyses are deficient

and that the character of the new type of development, which has no previous counterpart in the city, should be investigated at a more fundamental level with regard to the cityscape and its cultural environments (Göteborgs Stad 2016b, p. 10).

Several (the Culture Committee, Studieförbund Vuxenskolan Göteborg, Truckstop Alaska and others) have also questioned how the companies and businesses that are present on the site will be treated. Since the proposal involves a demolition of all buildings that are within the planning area, many organisations and businesses will need to move. A prerequisite for many organisations and businesses has been the location but also the low rent, which will be different in the new proposal. The Culture Committee points out a risk that the area's existing business and cultural life will disappear if it is not taken into account. In connection to the comments received regarding the place's cultural life, the interest group 'Karlavagnen Lever' was formed, which already after a few days collected 200 signatures. Among other things, the group set three requirements that were addressed to the City Council of Gothenburg: 'preserve the Karlavagnen music house'; 'save all cultural heritage created around the site of Karlastaden'; and 'give creative actors new local premises to continue working in the area'. Mariya Voyvodova, municipal councillor with responsibility for cultural concerns, however believes that this has already been pointed out in earlier stages but that it is up to the real estate company to replace the premises that are demolished (De Vivo 2017, July 20).

In addition to the content of the plan, comments have also been received regarding the public's ability to access and influence the proposal. Many argue that the project was already completed before the consultation was held and that there was no opportunity to influence. The municipality expressed before the consultation that the dialogue so far has been limited, but that an extended dialogue is supposed to be held during the project's implementation period and that the developer is responsible for this. Questions are then asked *why* the dialogue so far has been limited and that the public dialogue is about to lose when moving over this work to the private developer, who has his own interests in the project (Göteborgs Stad 2016b, p. 51).

SUMMARY

Henecke (2006) highlights *future* and *change* as two key words in spatial planning. Since the future is uncertain, planning is often characterized by values or value-based decisions. She believes that the arguments for these decisions further are influenced or colored by trends in the planning context and current political directions on what type of projects that are needed for the development of social welfare (Henecke 2006, p. 109). As can be recognized in the case of Karlstad, the project is characterized by many different interests and values. Partly the interests of the private developer, but also the interests of politicians, officials, organisations and businesses as well as the civic society.

The public has an interest in housing and not just condominiums with high pricing, but rental apartments with differentiated rent arrangement. There is also a desire for greater opportunity to take part of and influence the process that the whole city is affected by and that the culture will have a greater place in the city. In summary, this is about social, cultural-historical and aesthetic aspects, but also about democratic issues. The developer of course has a profit interest, but at the same time there is an aspiration for a successful project that is anchored by the city. Discussing the politics, there is an idea that attractiveness is going to generate economic growth. There is a thought that by offering attractive urban environments, innovation and future companies are attracted, which is supposed to lay the foundation for the future welfare in the form of tax bases, jobs etc. (Göteborgs Stad 2012, p. 10).

To sum up, the protests are not *about* building, but rather about *what* is appropriate to build and *how* to build. There is a questioning from *whose* perspective the design is considered appropriate and *what* is appropriate, in other words who decides on the city's development. This is further connected to the thesis research questions about the project's leading discourse and what affects this discourse entail on society's development. Identifying the leading discourse does not mean that certain interests are denied but, on the other hand, it shows that certain interests can be valued higher than others, which can result in inequalities in society.

In the next part of the work, the analytical framework will be applied to the plan proposal for Karlastaden. As previously described, the analytical framework builds upon how problems are represented (problem representations) and the underlying values and interests on which these specific problems are based. The City of Gothenburg has described segregation, climate change and a changed economy as its biggest challenges. By studying the proposal for Karlastaden and the assumptions that underlines this proposal, primary interests are made visible which shape the district's and the society's development. When these primary interests are made visible, a discussion can be made concerning how these interests bring consequences for different groups of people in society.

6. EMPIRICAL RESULT

This chapter describes the empirical data collected through the collection method. The analytical framework (WPR) has in a systematic way, by asking questions to the material, picked out what is of value in order to later be able to answer the thesis overarching research questions. The chapter serves as a foundation for the final discussion and conclusion of the thesis. As mentioned before, the analytical framework is based on a couple of questions that will be asked to the material. The material first and foremost consists of the detailed development plan for Karlastaden, but since this document often refers to other documents such as ‘Vision Älvstaden’, the Competition Program etc. these will also be treated within the analysis.

The chapter is divided into four parts, which in turn are based on the critical questions of the analytical framework. The first part **(6.1)** describes the City of Gothenburg’s stated ‘problems’, as well as the strategies that are assumed to solve these ‘problems’. The second part **(6.2)** aims to find the assumptions behind the stated ‘problems’ and strategies, and thus access the discourse on which the project of Karlastaden is based. The second part also highlights things that do not fit within the discourse and thus become invisible. The third part **(6.3)** is focusing on political events that in a way have contributed to the emergence of the problem representation. Here, the development of the Planning and Building Act is described, which has gone towards making the planning more efficient by speeding up and shortening the planning process. The third part concludes with a questioning of this development and orientation. The fourth and final part **(6.4)** concerns the effects and consequences that are reproduced by the problem representation pictured in the first and second part of the chapter. These concern the survival of alternative organizations and businesses; commercialization; housing; and democracy. Each part ends with a summary.

PART 1

6.1 WHAT DOES THE PROJECT OF KARLASTADEN POSE AS A ‘PROBLEM’ (Q1)

The analytical framework's first question aims to identify implied representations of ‘problems’. The question is based on the idea that certain types of actions reflect how a particular problem is thought of. The first question thus aims to identify ‘problems’, but also strategies and actions that the municipality proposes in relation to the development of Karlastaden.

The City of Gothenburg expresses the city's main problems as segregation, climate change and a changed economy (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 81). Therefore, on behalf of the City Council of Gothenburg, a vision (Vision Älvstaden 2012) has been produced with three main strategies: ‘the whole city’; ‘meet the water’; and ‘strengthen the core’ (Göteborgs Stad 2012, p. 12, 20, 28). In the detailed development plan, it is further stated that Karlastaden is a piece of the puzzle in this long-term work and that the project will contribute to ‘strengthening the core’, which is one of the strategies in ‘Vision Älvstaden’ (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 6). Further on, the City of Gothenburg expresses that the detailed development plan has been directed to certain parts of the vision, which are seen as special focus areas. The reason why these particular parts have been selected is considered to be because they have a greater opportunity to contribute to fulfilling the vision and that they include particularly important questions for Lindholmen, Älvstaden and the city in general (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, pp. 81-83). The focus areas selected for the project of Karlastaden are: ‘create a city for everyone and get more people involved’; ‘create a lively river area and make it easy to live sustainable’; and ‘release the driving forces and create an attractive urban environment’ (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, pp. 81-83). In addition to these focus areas, through the zero alternative (Swedish: nollalternativ), a problem is formulated as if the site would not be developed at all:

The current planning area is in the current detailed development plan proposed for industrial purposes. The zero alternative generally means that the **possibility** of densifying the city in a central location is **not utilized**. The area would also continue to be constituted by industry and business premises and the **ambition** to **develop Lindholmen** into a mixed

city would be **postponed to the future**. The harbour line and Lundbyleden would probably remain in the current route. Lindholmen would **still be separated** from the rest of Hisingen by **large barriers** and Lindholmsallén would in principle **constitute the boundary between old and new**. The new neighbourhoods that are already built north of Lindholmsallén would **not have any natural connection** to the surroundings. The area is likely to **remain insecure** in the evening and at night (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 61, the author's emphasis).

SUMMARY

In summary, the overall 'problem' or challenge is related to segregation, climate change and a change economy. The zero alternative also depicts a problem in that sense that the area looks and works the way it does today. To deal with these problems the municipality proposes to, through the project of Karlastaden, 'create a city for everyone and get more people involved'; 'create a lively river area and make it easy to live sustainable'; and 'release the driving forces and create an attractive urban environment'.

PART 2

6.2 WHAT ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLIE THE PROJECT OF KARLASTADEN'S REPRESENTATION OF 'PROBLEMS'? WHAT ARE THE SILENCES? (Q2 + Q4)

In relation to the analytical framework's first question, which aims to identify the stated problems, the second question aims to find out the assumptions behind the stated problems. As mentioned in chapter four, assumptions can be understood as knowledge that is taken for granted. By identifying these assumptions it is possible to access the discourse that lies behind the stated problems. This section therefore aims to take a deeper look at the proposed strategies that are presented in connection to the project of Karlastaden, which by the City of Gothenburg is assumed to contribute to a solution to the 'problems' presented in question one. This part also includes discussing the silences behind these assumptions and proposals.

6.2.1 'CREATE A CITY FOR EVERYONE AND GET MORE PEOPLE INVOLVED'

In order to 'create a city for everyone and get more people involved', the City of Gothenburg has formulated a number of underlying strategies that comprise of: 'build for mixed housing'; 'provide space for meetings and play'; 'create a city at an eye level'; 'take a dip in the existing'; 'more people should have the opportunity to influence'; and 'start with temporary measures' (Göteborgs Stad 2012, pp. 14-15, 18-19). The City of Gothenburg expresses great challenges in building a city for all. In order to solve these challenges the municipality defines that particular focus must be given to the design of play and living spaces and paths to neighbouring areas (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 81). The City of Gothenburg expresses:

The outdoor environments should be high quality, creative and stimulating and promote children's motor and mental development based on their different needs and functions (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, pp. 81-82).

At the same time, the analysis of social consequences and children's perspective points out that the proposal's outdoor environments connected to the preschools are smaller than what the City of Gothenburg's framework program for preschools and schools indicates. According to the framework program, the surfaces should be 35 square meters per child in the school. The proposal corresponds to about 20 square meters per child in the school, which is 43 per cent lower than the standard measure (Göteborgs Stad 2017b, p. 34). The City of Gothenburg therefore expresses the need to apply the latest available knowledge and new research to find solutions that compensate for the lack of surfaces with high quality play and residence environments (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 82). However, the statement is difficult to interpret since the 'latest available knowledge and new research' are not further defined. There is no description of *what* knowledge or research that should be applied or in *which way* it should be used. In the analysis of social consequences and children's perspective, instead, it is expressed that studies show that pre-school yards on the roofs often become windy places, which creates anxiety among the employees. This further leads to increased safety thinking about the children and often leads to less time spent outdoors (Göteborgs Stad 2017b, p. 35).

Another aspect that is highlighted in connection with the category ‘create a city for everyone and get more people involved’ is an increased participation. The City of Gothenburg expresses:

Increased participation from civil society, organisations and businesses is an important tool in making Karlastaden inviting, stimulating and to meet the people of Gothenburg’s (Swedish: göteborgarnas) different backgrounds (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 82).

This can be seen as problematic since the municipality, despite the emphasis on dialogue work, largely did not engage in any dialogue with the civic society. It is expressed that ‘The possibility of citizen dialogue has so far been limited’ and ‘During the implementation period (Swedish: genomförandetiden), the intention is to begin dialogue processes regarding the design of different public places’ (Göteborgs Stad 2017b, p. 9). In the matrix that compiles what can and cannot be regulated through planning documents and agreements, it is made clear how citizen dialogue and co-creation processes cannot be regulated: ‘An eventually citizen dialogue related to the design of the outdoor environment can not be regulated in agreements or planning documents, but is up to the private developer to implement’ (Göteborgs Stad 2017b, p. 37). The City of Gothenburg clarifies and summarizes the social consequences and children’s perspective as following:

Where it is possible to regulate these qualities in the plan map, this has been done. For the vast majority of questions, however, this possibility is not available, but there are issues that lie outside the City Building's office. Some of these can be solved through e.g. agreements but for most issues it is concerning the private developer's own will to work with these questions (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 86).

This situation can be connected to the type of planning previously described as ‘negotiation planning’ and which, according to Cars and Hedenström Thune (2006), rather aims to legitimize already made decisions. The document intended to deepen the social sustainability perspective and the children's perspective was designed during the detailed development plan phase and during a period when contracts were already signed for land sales. The situation can thus be interpreted as saying that the decisions taken between the City of Gothenburg and Serneke are hierarchically higher than the citizen dialogue that the municipality emphasizes in the detailed development plan.

SUMMARY

From the analysis of the first strategy, it emerges how aspects that are depicted as important (play and outdoor environment, civic dialogue etc.) are difficult to solve through the project. It also appears that many social qualities cannot be regulated in agreements or planning documents, which means that the private developer is responsible for the development of most of these questions.

6.2.2 'CREATE A LIVELY RIVER AREA AND MAKE IT EASY TO LIVE SUSTAINABLE'

In the same way as it has been formulated objectives for the first strategy, a number of objectives have also been formulated to achieve the strategy of 'create a lively river area and make it easy to live sustainable': 'develop the shipping in interaction with the city'; 'create meeting places near the water'; 'add more greenery'; 'develop smart systems'; 'make green technology visible'; and 'facilitate sustainable lifestyles' (Göteborgs Stad 2012, pp. 22-23, 24-25). The City of Gothenburg repeatedly expresses its ambition to develop a sustainable neighbourhood. This is a relatively broad concept and can be attributed to different meanings depending on the underlying assumptions and values that exist. By studying what meaning the term is given, the underlying discourse is made visible (Bacchi 2009, p. 8). The measures that are related to the concept of a 'sustainable neighbourhood' are often formulated in line with technical solutions:

The project intends to be characterized by a high-tech development that enables new solutions and technology that can contribute to a reduced climate and environmental impact (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 83).

The City of Gothenburg further expresses: 'Älvstaden will be developed into a green city near the river, a global icon for green urban development where it is easy to live sustainable' (Göteborgs Stad n.d.c., p. 7). In this situation, a 'sustainable neighbourhood' is rather described as a marketing incentive to reach a global market.

The City of Gothenburg also emphasizes the importance of adding more greenery as a way of managing climate change: 'Greenery is supposed to contribute to sociotopic values (social activities and experiences) that will strengthen biodiversity and contribute

to ecosystem services’ (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 82). In ‘Vision Älvstaden’, greenery is closely connected to attractiveness: ‘We will build on Gothenburg's tradition of creating parks and use the greenery as an attractiveness for the city’ (Göteborgs Stad 2012, p. 23). The vision also expresses that places that are attractive to buildings must be able to be renounced in favour of the greenery (Göteborgs Stad 2012, p. 23).

However, there is a contradiction to these arguments as the analysis of social consequences and children's perspective emphasize a lack of greenery as a consequence of the project (Göteborgs Stad 2017b, pp. 33-34, 36-37): ‘The park is too small to be able to function as a city park, and will be used together with the preschools, which gives a very high pressure on the park surfaces’ (Göteborgs Stad 2017b, p. 36).

SUMMARY

In summary, the second strategy focuses *on* introducing sustainable solutions, and not necessarily *how* to implement them. The proposal also emphasizes the importance in allowing green areas to be valued higher than places that are attractive to buildings. Behind this argument, there seem to be perceptions about the opposite, since the analysis of social consequences and children's perspective emphasizes the lack of green areas due to the project. Furthermore, greenery is also linked to attractiveness, and in some cases the concept of a 'sustainable neighbourhood' is described as a marketing incentive to reach a national or global market.

6.2.3 ‘RELEASE THE DRIVING FORCES AND CREATE AN ATTRACTIVE URBAN ENVIRONMENT’

In order to achieve the strategy of ‘release the driving forces and create an attractive urban environment’, the following objectives has been formulated: ‘take advantage of existing strengths’; ‘use the culture as a driving force’; ‘the big ones is supposed to meet the small ones’; ‘create an international luminescence (Swedish: lyskraft)’; ‘build a dense city’; and ‘strengthen diversity’ (Göteborgs Stad 2012, pp. 30-31, 34-35). Just as in the overall vision, the detailed development plan expresses the importance of a variety of activities, people and expressions (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 83). The City of Gothenburg points out that:

The area will be developed in harmony with Lindholmen's strong knowledge cluster with technology-intensive companies, creative and artistic activities, higher education and the industrial shipyard (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 83).

At the same time, the analysis of social consequences and children's perspective describes that content and types of activities are not regulated within agreements. If the municipality wants to rent premises to secure that organisations have somewhere to stay, a specific agreement is required (Göteborgs Stad 2017b, p. 37). The business premises that the private developer markets are linked to commerce, restaurants and offices (Karlastaden Utveckling AB 2019). According to the private developer, this is about 'offices with that little extra', often linked to service companies in IT, management, communication or law (Karlastaden Utveckling AB 2019). Stores and restaurants are expected to strengthen the attractiveness through niche market concepts: 'We are looking [...] for you who can contribute the excellence and finesse that the area deserves' (Karlastaden Utveckling AB 2019).

The City of Gothenburg further expresses the importance of taking advantage of existing functions and activities (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 83). The same paragraph describes:

At the same time, urban environments with a multitude of activities, people and expressions are seen particularly attractive internationally and as an incentive for new companies to establish and be able to grow (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 83).

There is an assumption or a conception that by offering a variety of activities, people and expressions in this way can attract new international business establishments. This can be compared to what Short (2015) describes as that globalization and the increased capital mobility contribute to cities competing for being places for or supporting in terms of business development (Short 2015, p. 239). By offering a business-friendly climate, qualified workforce, good infrastructure and good locations/premises, cities are strengthening their position.

The proposal also means that all properties in the area must be demolished (Göteborgs Stad 2017b, p. 5). The municipality states that 'Possible solutions to counteract the pressing effects of existing activities is supposed to be investigated and tested'

(Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 83). However, the statement is questioned by the Cultural Committee (Swedish: Kulturnämnden), which expresses:

Nor does the proposal contain any conservation based on the aspect of how old and new should be mixed. In today's area, there is a large cultural activity offering as rehearsal space with many visitors, film studio, Backateater, atelier, lunch restaurant, training facilities and more. The proposal means that existing buildings will be demolished and the supply of cheap premises will be reduced (Göteborgs Stad 2016b, p. 10).

The municipality answers that 'Work is underway to find replacement premises for the organisations and businesses that will disappear' (Göteborgs Stad 2016b, p. 10). At the same time, the analysis of social consequences and children's perspective declares that this is something that can neither be regulated in the plan map or in agreements, so it is up to the private developer to offer new premises.

The City of Gothenburg repeatedly expresses the importance of creating an attractive urban environment. An 'attractive urban environment' is just as a 'sustainable neighbourhood' a multi-faceted concept and should therefore be studied according to Bacchi's model as a key concept (Bacchi 2009, p. 8). Many times, attractiveness is related to ideas about offering housing and businesses in a close connection to public transport locations (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, pp. 10, 83, Göteborgs Stad n.d.c., p. 26). The concept is also related to high living standards:

The housing and living environments [...] must be designed so that they become attractive and requested from both a market perspective and an architectural perspective. That is to say, having living qualities beyond the ordinary (Serneke Group AB 2013, p. 13).

The planning documents also link attractiveness to measures that are supposed to put Gothenburg on the world map and to 'attract people and activities from the rest of Sweden and the world' (Göteborgs Stad n.d.c., p. 7). This is often done in connection with the 'icon building' Karlatornet. The motivation for the winning proposal in the architectural competition is stated:

An identity-creating proposal that takes a holistic approach to both skyscraper and urban environment. The proposal integrates the local environment into a whole that provides the

opportunity for a living urban environment. The skyscraper's clear identity gives character and vitality to Lindholmen and becomes Gothenburg's new landmark and pride (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 11).

Another aspect that is addressed in connection with attractiveness is the local climate (wind, sun, shade), which the City of Gothenburg believes is a crucial factor for the area's attractiveness. The solar study shows that the outdoor environment for most of the year becomes dark and shady (Göteborgs Stad 2017b, p. 6). This can be interpreted in such a way that the tower is considered so important that it hierarchically stands above the local climate. At the same time, it is described that the solar study shows good lighting conditions (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 66). It is emphasized that the 'roof terraces of the area receive more solar radiation than traditional courtyard environments as they are only shaded by a few higher buildings for shorter periods' (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 66). What is silenced, however, is that the plan description mainly discusses lighting conditions connected to housing and it looks different for lighting conditions connected to urban space (ground level).

Another argument that is connected to the creation of an attractive urban environment is the concept of social mixed housing. According to the plan description, this includes housing offering a variety of sizes and forms of tenure (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 9). This argument is also considered to be justified by the possibility of supporting a broader business community:

Socially mixed housing creates a varied urban life and an interesting range of services. It also supports a broader business community where more people have the opportunity to work (Göteborgs Stad 2012, p. 14).

SUMMARY

At first glance, the third strategy seems to express an interest in taking advantage of the site's existing variety of activities, people and expressions. However, on a closer look, the variation does not seem to be a significant interest, as the project proposes that all existing organizations and activities in the area must move. The strategy also mentions the importance of utilizing the identity and the cultural organizations and activities that

have come to characterize the development of the site for a long time. At the same time, there is no description of how this should be done, which is questioned by the Culture Committee. Instead, it is proposed to invest in companies related to commerce, restaurants and offices, and preferably those who can contribute with ‘that little extra’. There is a strong idea of the concept of attractiveness as a way to favour the business community and attract international companies to generate economic growth. The concept of attractiveness is, among other things, related to high living standards.

PART 3

6.3 WHERE HAS THIS REPRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM BEEN PRODUCED, DISSEMINATED AND DEFENDED? HOW CAN IT BE CHALLENGED? (Q3 + Q6)

The analytical framework’s third question aims to identify how past events have affected the emergence of the problem representation. One way of understanding the origin of the problem representation is to study political events that have affected the discipline during the same time period. The events can be government bills, but also other events such as expert knowledge, political trends etc. Lastly, the section ends with an account of how this development and orientation can be questioned.

6.3.1 A STRENGTHENED ECONOMIC DIMENSION

Historically, it is possible to identify some legislative changes that have affected the practice of planning in recent years. In 2006, a government bill called ‘A First Step Towards a Simpler Planning and Building Act’ (Proposition 2006/07:122) was prepared. The government bill is based on the appointed committee ‘PBL Committee’ and its report ‘Do I Get Permission? About Planning and Construction’ (SOU 2005:77). The investigation was developed with the purpose of revising the earlier Planning and Building Act and submitting proposals for legislative amendments (SOU 2005:77, p. 3). The committee consisted of politicians from the current parliamentary parties and experts in areas such as law, spatial planning etc. The following government bill (Proposition 2006/07:122), which in turn lies behind the legislative amendment of the Planning and Building Act that came into force in 2008 (SFS 2007:1303), among other

things, proposed a strengthened economic position of the sustainability dimensions (social, ecological, economical):

Unlike the social and ecological dimensions of sustainable development, the economic dimension has not been clearly expressed in the regulations. This sometimes results in opposing interests and trade-offs within the framework of a holistic approach not being presented (Proposition 2006/07:122, p. 29).

The Government emphasized the importance of competition and growth, and therefore proposed a legislative change to that:

‘The economic dimension in sustainable development is expressed in Chapter 2 § 2 in the Planning and Building Act through the general requirement that good economic growth and effective competition will be promoted in planning and construction’ (Proposition 2006/07:122, p. 29).

The Government did the assessment that economic growth and a strong business community based on competitive companies is a prerequisite for sustainable development (Proposition 2006/07:122, p. 29-30). The proposal came into force through SFS 2007:1303.

Similarities can be identified between the Government's assessment of a strong economy as a prerequisite for sustainable development and the visions that the City of Gothenburg has developed for Älvstaden. The City of Gothenburg expresses:

With a strong centre core, we stimulate development towards an increasingly diversified and robust economy that in the long term can strengthen the entire West Sweden in the future challenges (Göteborgs Stad 2012, p. 28).

Similar ideas can also be found in Gothenburg's Regional Development Strategy ‘Sustainable Growth’, which expresses a basic assumption that a large and dense region creates the conditions for developing a diversified and strong economy, which in turn is assumed to create good living conditions and sustainable development (Göteborgs Stad 2012, p. 10). The City of Gothenburg repeatedly expresses the importance of

‘strengthening the core’ as a fundamental part of this strategy (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, pp. 6, 10).

6.3.2 INCREASED EFFICIENCY AND PREDICTABILITY

Another government bill that was produced in 2010 is called ‘A Simpler Planning and Building Act’ (Proposition 2009/10:170). The government bill constitutes the background to the updated Planning and Building Act that came into force in 2011 (SFS 2010:900), as it was intended to propose a new Planning and Building Act that replaced the previous one (1987:10) (Proposition 2009/10:170, p. 1). The proposition is based on the above-mentioned PBL Committee's investigation ‘Do I Get Permission? About Planning and Construction’ (SOU 2005: 77), but also on the Construction Process Study (Swedish: byggprocessutredningen) ‘Build – Simply!’ (Swedish: Bygg – helt enkelt!) (SOU 2008: 68). The Construction Process Study, which was produced by an inter-ministerial expert group, emphasized that there is dissatisfaction among politicians and private developers that the planning process is ineffective. The report therefore emphasizes that the process must be made more efficient and predictable:

It must be considered a legitimate interest for the business community and private developers in general, that the Planning and Building Act provides rules that offer reasonable security, speed and predictability in the overall planning process (SOU 2008:68, p. 124).

The argumentation is based on the impression that the development has gone towards a more market-oriented system, where the previous government interest subsidies (Swedish: räntesubventionerna) for housing construction have been replaced by private financing (SOU 2008:68, p. 123). The investigation, which in turn was passed on in the government bill, thus resulted in an updated Planning and Building Act. The updated law meant, among other things, that the requirement for detailed development plans to be preceded by a program was abolished in order to simplify the process (Proposition 2009/10:170, p. 1).

6.3.3 REDUCED PUBLIC INFLUENCE

Another government bill was produced in 2014 and is called ‘A Simpler Planning Process’ (Proposition 2013/14:126). The government bill is based on the Plan Implementation Report (Swedish: plangenomförandetredningen), which had the task of investigating whether the planning and construction process could be simplified and shortened. This was done by reviewing the requirements for detailed development plans and building permits. The report also investigated the possibilities to apply the Planning and Building Act's provisions of a simple planning procedure, and the potentials for the City Council's ability to command other Municipal Committees to adopt detailed development plans (Proposition 2013/14:126, p. 39). The investigation resulted in the report ‘A More Efficient Plan Implementation’ (SOU 2012:91), which was later supplemented by the report ‘A More Efficient Planning and Building Permit Process’ (SOU 2013:34). Thus, in the successive government bill, amendments were proposed to the Planning and Building Act in order to simplify the building permit process and make it more efficient:

The purpose is to achieve as simple and effective planning and construction processes as possible, which means that the implementation of a project - from idea to completion - must be possible without undue delay (Proposition 2013/14:126, s. 51).

With the change came that the old simple procedure now constitutes of the normal procedure, and that the earlier normal procedure now constitutes the extended procedure. The extended procedure is only used if the detailed development plan does not: correspond to the comprehensive plan; County Administrative Board's assessment opinion; is of considerable interest to the civic society; or can be assumed to have a significant environmental impact (PBL Chapter 5 § 7).

The City of Gothenburg does not refer directly to this change of legislation, but the orientation of the development can still be seen as an event that have influenced the overall planning process. The fact that today's extended procedure covers what was previously used as a normal procedure affects the public's possibility of transparency and influence, since the consultation circle is not as extensive as it have been before the law came into force.

6.3.4 A CLEARER HOUSING SUPPLY

Another government bill that has influenced the planning orientation is ‘A Clearer Law for the Municipal Housing Supply’, which was developed in 2013 (Proposition 2012/13:178). The government bill is based on the increased demand for housing, and the Government therefore commissioned the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Swedish: Boverket) to examine the law related to municipal housing responsibility (SFS 2000:1383). The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning suggested, among other things, that housing construction should constitute a public interest:

The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning proposes to introduce a new paragraph in Chapter 2 § 3 of the Planning and Building Act, which makes housing construction and development of the housing stock in the municipality a public interest according to the Planning and Building Act. This legislative amendment aims to clarify and emphasize the municipality's responsibility for housing and to strengthen the connection between the municipality's work on housing and spatial planning (Proposition 2012/13:178; appendix 1, p. 33).

The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's proposal resulted in a change in the Planning and Building Act (SFS 2013:867), where the municipality's guidelines for housing supply shall be indicative in the application of Chapter 2 § 3 point 5:

Planning in accordance with this act shall, with regard to natural and cultural values, environmental and climate aspects as well as inter-municipal and regional conditions, promote (5) housing construction and development of the housing stock (PBL Chapter 2 § 5).

The project of Karlastaden does not directly refer to this change of law, but it can be seen as an event that have influenced and strengthened the housing supply's position in the overall discussion. In the detailed development plan, the housing supply is a central part and it is repeatedly expressed that: ‘The ambition is to strengthen the attractiveness and offer more housing and businesses in a close connection to public transport

locations’ (Göteborgs Stad 2016b, p. 69). Also, in the Consultation Report, the contribution of housing is associated with sustainable development:

Many referral bodies look favourably on the plan proposal, which among other things provides a large contribution to housing in a close connection to public transport locations. The area's development is thus also a part of the work on sustainable development (Göteborgs Stad 2016b, p. 2).

6.3.5 A PRIVATE RIGHT TO TAKE INITIATIVE

The latest investigation was published in 2019 and concerns private developers’ right to take initiative and be part of the municipality's work in developing detailed development plans according to the existing Planning and Building Act (SOU 2019:9). The purpose of introducing a private right to take initiative is considered to enable faster processes by allowing the private developer to hire consultants who can relieve or assist the municipal organization in producing planning documents (SOU 2019:9, p. 42). The investigation considers that the opportunities private developers have today do not need to be further expanded or formalized. The investigation, however, states that the involvement of private developers or individual stakeholders can be clarified and developed with the justification that the time between a planning permission (Swedish: planbesked) and initiated planning (Swedish: startskede) can be made more efficient. The investigation therefore proposes new provisions in the Planning and Building Act that the municipality must state in the planning permission: what type of planning documents that may be needed; and that planning documentation may be produced by others than the municipality. Furthermore, the investigation proposes that the individual stakeholder should be given the opportunity to let the County Administrative Board (Swedish: Länsstyrelsen) comment on what planning documents that may be needed e.g. in relation to national interests etc.

6.3.6 HOW CAN THIS ORIENTATION AND DEVELOPMENT BE CHALLENGED?

The analytical framework also gives the opportunity to question how the context and maintenance of the problem representation can be challenged. In the report ‘How Could It Be Like This?’ (2018) (Swedish: ‘Hur kunde det bli såhär?’), which intends to review

the decision-making processes behind three current urban development projects in Stockholm, the strong belief in market solutions that have taken place in the recent decades is questioned.

The report emphasizes legitimacy as a prerequisite for urban construction projects to be accepted and seen as successful by the society as a whole. For the legitimacy to be achieved, a dialogue and cooperation between different actors is required. This means that the process is carried out with transparency so that the competence of different citizens and experts can be utilized throughout the whole process. The review report emphasizes that the cases studied are characterized by an overly strong belief in the private actors. This meant that the private interests gained too much weight when the early overall decisions were made. This further led to the trade-offs towards the public interests being transferred to the detailed development plan stage (Swedish: detaljplaneskedet), and that it was then too late to influence the quality of the project (Berglund, Ingo & Pemer 2018, pp. 7-9, 50-54).

The above reasoning calls into question the fact that the Planning and Building Act has opened up and strengthened the market and private developers' ability to influence the planning process. Instead, the authors emphasize the importance of expanding the dialogue, which according to previous investigations (SOU 2008:68; SOU 2012:91; SOU 2013:34; SOU 2019:9; Proposition 2009/10:170; Proposition 2013/14:126) has been described as ineffective. Furthermore, the importance of politicians creating clear frameworks and guidelines that actors involved have to relate to is also mentioned. It is also emphasized the importance of ensuring that planning documents, environmental goals, applicable legal requirements etc. are ensured in the planning work. This orientation is thus assumed to create a more efficient planning process that facilitates actors, reduces the risks for conflicts and in turn contributes to a more value-creating planning (Berglund, Ingo & Pemer 2018, pp. 7-9, 50-54).

Abrahamsson (2016) also discusses the orientation of the overall societal development. He emphasizes that the increasing influence of market forces has meant that the political scope has gradually reduced the possibility for the state and the municipalities to influence the societal development. The development has also led to a decline in

confidence in politics. Abrahamsson therefore emphasizes the importance of co-creation in the development of sustainable societal planning:

A social sustainable development requires not only active leadership of economic and political decision makers. It also requires active participation by civil society organizations and social movements as well as from the citizens and its, often relatively volatile, networks (Abrahamsson 2016, p. 6).

Abrahamsson also believes that co-creation often requires a slower process. This is often limited by the demands for efficiency, which does not always correspond with the way in which co-creation requires. Furthermore, the author emphasizes that co-creation requires that participants participate on equal terms throughout the whole process. In this way, all actors are responsible for the result (Abrahamsson 2016, p. 7). In conclusion, Abrahamsson's ideas are about developing an active meeting between the political leadership and the initiatives of the civic society, which often occurs in new forms of networking.

SUMMARY

In summary, it is possible to identify a development that has gone towards making the planning more efficient by speeding up and shortening the planning process. The initiative has mainly come from the politics and private developers, which means that society is moving towards a more market-oriented system. The changes that have taken place in the legislation seem to impose restrictions on the citizens possibilities in transparency and participation, which by politicians and private developers, is considered to be the main reason for an inefficient process. It is possible to find certain coherence between the described development and the case of Karlstad.

The analysis of social consequences and children's perspective states that the citizens' dialogue has been limited (Göteborgs Stad 2017b, p. 9), which could be the result of the quest for efficiency that the law opened up for. There are also connections between the law's enhanced economic dimension and the project of Karlstad, which appears in an increased focus on releasing driving forces and creating an attractive urban environment (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 83).

However, there is a questioning of the speed and efficiency that the law opened up for. It is assumed that the efficiency improvement leads to restrictions on the direct citizen participation, which intends to lead to deterioration in the legitimacy of projects. This can in turn lead to the planning process being extended due to problems that arises afterwards. There is an idea that the complexity of the modern society requires co-creation processes to create a sustainable society. Furthermore, it emerges that co-creation takes time, which is set against efficiency and progress and creates problems that must be solved through a development of political leadership.

PART 4

6.4 WHAT EFFECTS ARE PRODUCED BY THIS REPRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM? (Q5)

Question five aims to highlight the consequences and effects that are reproduced by a particular problem representation and in what way it can have negative impact on certain groups in society. The analytical framework distinguishes between three types of effects (discursive; subjectification; and lived effects). In accordance to the analytical framework these effects are presented together since they many times overlap each other.

6.4.1 ORGANIZATIONS, BUSINESSES AND CULTURE

The plan proposal expresses, among other things, the importance of taking advantage of the diversity of the site and existing potencies (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 83). However, the second question of the analysis shows that the concept of diversity tends to be used as an incentive to promote the business world. The identity and diversity that exists on the site today can be linked to various associations and activities that practice a certain type of lifestyle, many times related to cultural activities. In their case, the area's alternative character, functional attributes, low rents etc. are valued. When diversity is categorized according to the business world's needs, larger gaps are created in society as the business sector instead targets another type of lifestyle that values commercial activities such as retail trade, restaurants, offices etc. The possibility of conducting

alternative associations and activities decreases and an effect is thus an exclusion of lifestyles related to these activities.

The private developer expresses a demand for businesses that can contribute with ‘excellence and finesse’ and ‘that little extra’. Along with this statement, there are also sample images that exemplify an ideal picture of how the situation could look like in reality. It thus creates a clear image of the types of activities that ‘belong’ and ‘do not belong’ in the new district. This categorization thus tends to shut down those activities that cannot live up to these ideals. A possible effect is that the activities that do not live up to these ideals are assigned a sense of inadequacy.

It also appears from the plan proposal that the organizations and businesses that are located within the planning area will need to move. In addition to the organizations and businesses losing out on space-related benefits (location, low rent, alternative character etc.), their conditions for survival also deteriorate. For many of the organizations and businesses that were located at the site, the low rents were a prerequisite for their survival. The new plan proposal will probably not be able to offer the same economic conditions as before. The organizations and businesses will then have to find new premises, which are often located in neighbourhoods or rural environments alongside the most attractive stretches (Dalborg & Löfgren 2016, s. 238). The effect will eventually be a price increase, which leads to a gentrification process at the expense of cultural activities.

Additional effects resulting from allowing the business world to control concern the survival of smaller businesses. Organizations and businesses that move to the outskirts of the city get to work harder to reach out to the surrounding community. They also attract fewer sponsors than larger businesses that are located in the middle of the city and which can thus offer a completely different range. This is made visible by statistics produced by the Arts Council England, which show that more than 67 per cent of all donations to NPO organizations went to London-based organizations. The remaining 33 per cent went to the remaining parts of England (Dalborg & Löfgren 2016, p. 72).

Mikael Löfgren (2016) discusses the place of culture in society and highlights the problem of running organizations whose purpose is first and foremost not financial gain

(Dalborg & Löfgren 2016, p. 233). Running an organization that is driven by the ambition to create social, cultural and artistic values is problematic in a society that is based entirely on the market economy model. The effects of the culture giving way to other types of activities are not only made visible in the individual organization or cultural life in the city, but can also be linked to a living public conversation:

A living public conversation about humanistic, cultural and artistic values is an indispensable part of the ever-on-going struggle for a society and a world characterized by human rights, democracy and sustainable development (Dalborg & Löfgren 2016, p. 233).

The fact that cultural activities have a reduced place in society, which is governed by the laws of the market economy, contributes to multiple negative effects. If not least, it leads to a reduction of general meeting places that inspires to artistic and political conversations, which strengthens the democratic infrastructure of society (Dalborg & Löfgren 2016, p. 241).

6.4.2 COMMERCIALISATION

Another conceivable effect of letting the business community's needs control the design of the city is that public spaces are commercialized. This entails an exclusion of marginalized individuals who are unable to live by the neoliberal market (Short 2014, p. 162-163). This exclusion many times appears in the increase of excluding socio-spatial strategies that deliberately and actively shut out individuals and groups who are unable to pay for themselves or is perceived as constituting threats (homeless, addicts, beggars etc.). A further effect of this exclusion is that the alienation in the city increases, as the possibility that people with different backgrounds encounter each other in the city decreases (Short 2014, p. 162-163, Sennett 1990, p. 159). In the proposal for Karlastaden, there is a clear focus on making space for businesses related to commerce. This is made visible, for example, through Karlatornet that is presented as Gothenburg's new pride and which is supposed to strengthen the site's identity (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 11). The planning documents describe how the tower is designed with high availability for the public. At the same time, it is described that a fee will be charged in connection with the visit to the tower (Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 27, Göteborgs Stad 2017b, p. 24). The effect is that only those individuals who have enough resources to

pay to visit the tower can take part of what the proposal suggests as Gothenburg's new identity and pride. In other words, what is pictured as Gothenburg's new identity is only available to certain individuals or groups in society, which contributes to larger gaps and an increased sense of 'we and them'.

6.4.3 HOUSING

The urban environment is also discussed in relation to housing. The proposal emphasizes that mixed housing is supposed to create conditions for a socially mixed population and a varied urban life (Göteborgs Stad 2012, p. 14, Göteborgs Stad 2017a, p. 83). Lees, however, mean that there is a 'weak evidence base for the principles upon which social mix policies are based'. She stresses how studies (Butler & Robson 2003; Randolph & Wood 2003) show that socially homogeneous societies often are more socially inclusive than socially heterogeneous societies (Lees 2008, p. 2456). Another problem lies in the fact that it is many times difficult to keep down the costs of new housing production. The housing are thus only available for those who have enough resources to pay for a home. That mixed forms of tenures would contribute to a socially mixed population can be questioned. Socio-economic factors are not always based on the availability of mixed housing, but rather what economic conditions the residents have of taking part of the varied supply. An expensive rental apartment is not a better option than an expensive condominium.

The proposal also expresses the idea of creating an attractive urban environment, which is often related to high living standards, in this case, 'housing qualities beyond the ordinary' (Serneke Group AB 2013, p. 13). In this way, the statement creates an image of 'what type of individual' that belongs in the new proposal. Short (2014) describes how accessibility in the housing market steer the distribution of different social groups in the city, and where accessibility is a function of socio-economic status, ethnicity etc. (Short 2014, pp. 127-128). He further argues that the individuals or groups with high income populate the most attractive residential areas, and that households with lower incomes are passed to poorer areas that are often placed in the outskirts of the city. This in turn leads to a polarized society, characterized by exclusion and segregation (Short 2014, p. 129, Bondi & Christie 2000, pp. 300-301). Categorizing housing according to attractiveness thus creates an insecure existence for those who cannot identify within

this category. These are often individuals and groups with lower income (students and young people, single parents, retirees and elderly etc.). The problem representation could also lead to a feeling of inadequacy for the individuals or groups who cannot afford to pay for an extraordinary residence, which in the long run could affect the mental health of individuals and groups. Creating an attractive urban environment is seen as a benefit to all people in the city, but in reality it only benefits the norm of individuals and groups with high socio-economic status.

6.4.4 PROCESS AND DEMOCRACY

The planning process that resulted in the final proposal has some limitations in the citizens' opportunity to transparency and influence. These limitations are affected, among other things, by the fact that decision-making is still within the framework of representative democracy, but also by an increased focus towards speed and efficiency, where direct democratic elements are seen as ineffective (Henecke 2006, p. 184, SOU 2012: 91, SOU 2013: 34). Henecke (2006) argues that the focus on speed and efficiency often leads to restrictions on the citizen actual participation and that there is a need to clarify the concept of efficiency. So far, the concept of efficiency has only touched upon time and cost aspects, while quality aspects have received less space (Henecke 2006, p. 185). Effects can be shown by the fact that projects are influenced by short-term economic viability and that visions and qualities in this way become more difficult to achieve.

The project's planning process can also be related to Henecke's explanation of a liberal elite democratic model. The liberal democracy model is based on the idea that individuals participate in the political process to promote their own interests, which are seen as defined in advance. There is no dominant public interest as it is considered impossible to determine. Democracy is instead characterized by a compromise between different interests, since there is an assumption that these are incompatible. Which interests that are prioritized are in turn influenced by how politicians manoeuvre to acquire the citizens' votes and thereby political power and influence. The elite democratic model limits citizens' participation in choosing their representatives. The model sees a direct participation as undesirable and is characterized by the idea of the ordinary citizen as unable to insightful political action. Reduced participation by

citizens is seen as something positive since representative institutions can work more harmoniously and without disturbance (Held 2002, pp. 210-217 in Henecke 2006, p. 151).

Within the planning process for Karlastaden, the formal process is often subordinated to informal negotiations between the municipality and the private developer. Just as Cars and Thune Hedenström describe, the formal process becomes only a tool for legitimizing already made decisions (Cars & Hedenström Thune 2006, p. 168). There are also connections between the elite democratic model and the development of the legislation (Planning and Building Act), which in the search for speed and efficiency sees direct democratic elements as ineffective. The dialogue rather results in a one-way communication and a way of informing. The fact that, as in the project of Karlastaden, the extended dialogue is moved to the implementation phase strongly limits a real impact. It will be difficult to achieve any major impact or significant changes when the planning phase has passed. The citizens will only be given the opportunity to influence parts of the design in an already decided case.

The effects further result in a restriction of communication and openness, which creates disappointment and resignation among citizens. This, in turn, can contribute to reduced belief in the democratic system and that individuals and groups instead seek out informal channels to strengthen their influence. This is made visible, for example, through ‘Karlavagnen Lever’, the association that was started in connection with the urban renewal. Through opinion forming (mainly through media), collecting signatures, direct contact with politicians etc., different individuals and groups have tried to strengthen their influence. In the long run this could lead to individuals and groups looking for alternatives to influence outside the democratic and open process.

Henecke (2006) also stresses Gidden's (1984) reasoning about access to different types of resources as a crucial factor for influence. She addresses *allocative resources* (material or financial resources), which can often be related to the private developer. She also addresses *authoritative resources* (influence over decisions on future actions with collective effect), which are instead often related to the municipality. Other influence is described as *expressive resources* (opportunities to make one's voice heard), which can be used, among other things, by concerned interested parties or local

residents (Henecke 2006, p. 217, 232). However, there is a problem that some individuals or groups do not have access to any of these resources and is thus ‘shut out’ from the decision-making. In the case of Karlstad, the decision-making power that determines the result is often based on allocative and authoritative resources, which means that the individuals and groups not covered by these resources are rather objects than subjects (Henecke, p. 232). One effect of this may be that some discussions and criticisms are silenced when resources are lacking to drive these issues forward.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, the possible negative effects touch upon the survival of alternative organizations and businesses. There is an inherent problem in that organizations and businesses, whose purpose is first and foremost not financial gain, ‘compete’ in a society that is based on a market economy model. Further negative effects also affect the proposal's focus on commercial activities, which tend to shut out certain individuals and groups from society. Other adverse effects touch upon the housing supply, which tends to be categorized by attractiveness and socio-economic status, which in some cases has proved to result in a polarized society, characterized by exclusion and segregation. Finally, the democratic process also proves to have negative effects, among other things by limiting communication and openness.

6.4.5 SUMMARY OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Q1	Q2 + Q4	Q3 + Q6	Q5
<p>‘PROBLEMS’:</p> <p>Segregation</p> <p>Climate change</p> <p>Changed economy</p> <p>How the area looks and works today</p> <p>STRATEGIES AND ACTIONS:</p> <p>Create a city for everyone and get more people involved</p> <p>Create a lively river area and make it easy to live sustainable</p> <p>Release the driving forces and create an attractive urban environment</p>	<p>DISCOURSE:</p> <p>Attractiveness</p> <p>Increased business community</p> <p>An established and strong position on the international market</p> <p>SILENCES:</p> <p>Civic dialogue</p> <p>Cultural-historical perspective</p> <p>Play and outdoor environment</p> <p>Local climate</p>	<p>DEFENDED BY:</p> <p>Strengthened economic dimension</p> <p>Reduced public influence</p> <p>A clearer and more efficient housing supply</p> <p>Strengthened role for private developers</p> <p>HOW CAN IT BE CHALLENGED?:</p> <p>Increased legitimacy through dialogue</p> <p>Clearer frameworks and guidelines</p> <p>Value-creating planning</p>	<p>NEGATIVE EFFECTS:</p> <p>Limited opportunities for alternative businesses</p> <p>Gentrification at the expense of culture activities</p> <p>Reducing of public meeting places that inspires to artistic and political conversations</p> <p>Increased commercialization - increased alienation</p> <p>Expensive housing - increased polarization and segregation</p> <p>Reduced direct democracy - increased distrust of the democratic system</p> <p>Short-term and economical perspective - reduced quality</p> <p>Limited communication and openness - disappointment and resignation by citizens</p>

Figure 9. Summary of WPR analysis.

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to highlight and create a deeper understanding of how Swedish planning is managed and with what repercussions for different groups of people in society. By using the ‘What's the problem represented to be’ framework, the leading discourse of the development of Karlastaden has been identified as well as the effects that this discourse entail on society's development.

7.1 ‘WHAT DISCOURSE FORMS THE BASIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF KARLASTADEN?’

The dominant problem representation is based on the City of Gothenburg's challenges regarding segregation, climate change and a changed economy. Through this problem representation, the development of Karlastaden has become possible, which is influenced by underlying values and interests. The discourse that underlies the plan proposal is also an effect of these values and interests. The discourse is partly influenced by the private developer's interests, but also by the City of Gothenburg's overall vision and the general orientation and development of the planning context. There is a clear focus on attractiveness as a way to attract innovative future companies and thus generate economic growth. This is evident, for example, through the project's public environments, which are aimed at individuals and groups who have the resources enough to take part in commercial activities. It also appears through the project's residential environments that target individuals and groups with high socio-economic status.

7.2 'WHAT EFFECTS DOES THIS DISCOURSE HAVE ON SOCIETY'S DEVELOPMENT?'

The effects of this discourse may to some extent seem to create inequalities in society. When weighing different interests against each other, some aspects may be left to others. These concern, among other things, the survival of alternative or non-profit organizations and activities, or individuals and groups with lower socio-economic status opportunities to take part in society (students and young people, single parents, retirees and elderly etc.) (Figure 9). The City of Gothenburg expresses segregation as one of its three main challenges. What emerges from the analysis, however, is a project that seems to increase gaps in society. It is possible to question the development of the project in such a way that it rather creates or adds problems that later become difficult to solve if the municipality's different visions and objectives is supposed be fulfilled. For example, there are problems in form of a shortage of schoolyards and green areas, which are not considered sufficient in connection with having chosen to place these on the roofs. Other problems can be related to the area's local climate (lighting), which due to the high towers is adversely affected and therefore compensated by roof terraces. Difficulties are also expressed in conducting public dialogue, which is weighted up with extended dialogues after the final proposal is already statutory. The proposal thus seems to consist of a series of compensations for weighing up or legitimizing negative consequences that follow after different early taken decisions.

7.3 FURTHER DISCUSSION

Many times there is a coincidence of the interests of the private developer and the municipality. This could be a consequence of new legislative changes and planning ideals such as increased faith in attractiveness and economic growth, 'to place the city on the world map' etc. What further emerges from the analysis is that planning, through the current planning ideals and changing legislation, seems to focus even more on accelerating and streamlining the planning process. It also emerges that the efficiency improvement mainly concerns time and cost aspects, since quality aspects do not get as much space. The fact that the direct involvement of citizens is often seen as ineffective could be a result of this. The municipality still seems to hold a relatively strong position

as the legislated decision-making is still in their hands. At the same time, the private developer's resources are seen as a prerequisite for being able to carry out projects.

How should the conclusion of this thesis be used in practice? As described in chapter one, the thesis aims to highlight and create a deeper understanding and transparency in the orientation and practice of Swedish planning. The result is aimed at planning practitioners, but also at the 'ordinary' citizen who does not always possess the deeper knowledge that is often required to understand the consequences that spatial planning conditions and regulations can entail. What emerges from the thesis's analysis is that a clearer problematisation is required over which individuals and groups are benefiting from what is considered desirable. Which individuals and groups benefit from 'living qualities beyond the ordinary' and which organizations and activities can contribute with 'that little extra' or the 'excellence and finesse that the area deserves'? The analysis also raises issues of justice and democracy. Which individuals and groups can decide what is desirable? It is this kind of questions that should be asked when planning our future cities.

7.4 REFLECTIONS ON METHOD AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The WPR approach worked well for capturing discursive constructions and the consequences and effects of these. It has contributed to a critical examination and questioning of the thesis empirical material. Since the detailed development plan sometimes lacked explanations and justifications for different decisions, it could in some cases be somewhat difficult to interpret. In these cases, interviews could possibly have been a supplement, but since neither the municipality nor the other actors involved had the opportunity to assist, the thesis has instead been based on the written documents that are linked to the case.

This thesis consists of a case where the private developer has acquired land for a long period. Henecke (2006) has carried out research that shows that land holdings are a significant factor for what influence is provided in planning (Henecke 2006, p. 200). In further research, it would therefore have been interesting to carry out a comparative study consisting of one case where the land is provided by the municipality and one

case where the land is provided by the private developer. In this way, similarities and differences could have been compared to identify whether the discourse had looked different depending on who holds the allocative (ownership or property) resources.

The fact that negotiations between private builders and municipalities take place before the formal planning process is started seems to have gained acceptance and is considered almost as a matter of course in today's planning context. Despite this, research shows negative consequences for this approach, including the democratic process. It would therefore have been useful to discuss how the approach can be applied in a way that makes it more legitimate and accepted by the majority of stakeholders. At least in what way it can be managed through the Swedish legislation (Planning and Building Act).

What further emerges from the studied material is that visions and objectives, which for example are presented in 'Vision Älvstaden', can be difficult to interpret or 'translate' as they are often generically formulated. Other research could therefore be aimed at investigating how vision documents can be used as means of power, even though they rarely have formalized status linked to the legislation.

Isabella Bergh, June 19, 2019

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FIGURES AND IMAGES

Fig 1 Cars, G. & Hedenström Thune, R. (2006). Nya villkor för den kommunala planeringen, i Blücher, G. & Graninger, G. (red.), Planering med nya förutsättningar – Ny lagstiftning, nya värderingar, ss. 157-175. Stiftelsen Vadstena Forum för samhällsbyggande, Linköping University Interdisciplinary Studies. (Revised by Isabella Bergh 2019)

Fig 2 Created by the author (Isabella Bergh 2019)

Fig 3 Created by the author (Isabella Bergh 2019)

Fig 4 Created by the author (Isabella Bergh 2019)

Fig 5 Eriksbergs Samverkanförening. (2015). Retrieved 2019-03-25 from: http://eriksberggoteborg.se/bilder-fran-forr/vastra_lindholmen/

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Fig 7 Serneke AB. (2019). Retrieved 2019-02-15 from: <https://www.mynewsdesk.com/se/karlastaden/images/karlastaden-oversikt-1378060>

Fig 8 Serneke AB. (2019). Retrieved 2019-02-15 from: <https://karlastaden.se/om-karlastaden/oversiktsbild/>. Revised by the author (Isabella Bergh 2019)

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