The Meaning of Path-dependence in Planning Practice: A Swedish Case Study

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ABSTRACT

Is modernism in planning really a thing of the past? It has been suggested that its ideals such as separation of functions and standardization still influence planning practice today. At the same time, there has been a shift towards contemporary planning ideals characterized by mixed use and diversity, that are seen as directly opposite to those of modernism. This thesis thus contributes to an ongoing debate in Sweden on whether or not modernism still can be said to influence planning practice. This qualitative study has made use of interviews, document analysis and a questionnaire in order to investigate how both formal and informal norms have evolved, and how they are being produced and reproduced. As focus has been on explaining an institutions persistence over time the study has applied the concept of path-dependence as it offers insights into the slow-changing character of well-established values, norms and patterns of behavior. To investigate this, the thesis has studied the high-profile sustainability project Norra Djurgårdsstaden in Stockholm, Sweden, as it offers the perfect setting with its emphasis on the implementation of contemporary planning ideals. The findings clearly suggest that Norra Djurgårdsstaden could be seen as an exception of planning practice in Sweden as it seemingly overrides or circumvent formal norms of separation of functions and informal norms of standardization. The main conclusions that can be drawn in this thesis however is that separation of functions and standardization can be discussed in terms of spinoff path-dependent subsystem that continues to influence planning practice to a high extent even though the planning context in general has radically changed. These ideals has been made path-dependent within formal policies as well as through patterns of behavior inherent in the practice of large developers.

Key words: planning, modernism, institutions, norms, path-dependence
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1. INTRODUCTION

Stockholm, the capital of Sweden prides itself on its high aim of becoming the leading European sustainable capital, being appointed European Environmental Capital of 2010. A major step in realizing this aim is the completion of the high profile sustainable city development project Norra Djurgårdsstaden. The views on the project in the national newspapers are divergent however. Some praise the project for its high sustainability aims and technical innovation (DN 13/11) while others criticize the requirements put on future residents to themselves take responsibility to lower their energy consumption, to exercise and to use public transport, and the dangers inherent in selling such a lifestyle (DN 11/9, DN 18/11). Another article states that large-scale projects like Norra Djurgårdsstaden and its forerunner Hammarby Sjöstad will turn into tomorrow’s large scale modernist problem areas and that they have the same type of standardized aesthetics (DN 21/9). In the academic literature some voices suggest that modernist principles are still embedded in planning practice and that they still might be instrumental in shaping planning practice (Andersson 2009, Strömgren 2007). Are characteristic modernist ideals such as a separation of functions and standardization still influencing planning practice in Sweden today?

A part of achieving the ecological friendly city district of Norra Djurgårdsstaden is to implement contemporary planning ideals such as mixed use and diversity. These ideals may be seen as closely related to New Urbanism, which is an American urban design movement promoting communitarian ‘small town’ city developments (see for instance Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1991). These ideals are further promoted as good for sustainability (cnu.org). If modernist ideals are still embedded in planning practice, how can the city of Stockholm achieve its high sustainability aims with this project? This thesis will contribute to an ongoing debate surrounding to what extent modernist ideals continue to shape urban planning practice through an investigation of the norms that regulate planning practice in the case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden.
Contemporary planning ideals in the Swedish context closely follow the ideal of the old European medieval city with its diversity, density, centrality and ‘ecology’ (Tunström 2009; Sieverts 2002). This study will add empirical indepth knowledge on the interplay between seemingly opposing norms and how they are shaping planning practice.
2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS & HYPOTHESIS

The aim of this study is to investigate planning norms and their effect on planning practice through the case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden. This will be done by focusing on four norms that could be said to be characteristic of two different planning paradigms. These are modernism and contemporary ideals (New Urbanism). The specific norms to be studied are separation of functions and standardization for modernism and mixed use and diversity for the contemporary paradigm. Of interest is how institutionalized modernist norms have developed and if and to what extent they continue to shape planning practice today while planning for seemingly opposing ideals such as mixed use and diversity. Mixed use and diversity are ideals that are very prominent in a contemporary discourse on the sustainable city form while modernist planning principles often get blamed for creating problems for the attainment of sustainability. The guiding research question for this study will thus be:

To what extent do the ideals of modernist planning influence planning practice in Norra Djurgårdsstaden?

And the associated subquestions are:

Which laws and national planning policies are most influential in the planning process?; In what ways?; How have they evolved over time?

What patterns of behavior are most determining for the planning process?; In what ways?

2.1 HYPOTHESIS

Modernist planning ideals remain instrumental in shaping planning practice.
3. OVERVIEW OF CONTENT

The study will start with a Literature review in which relevant literature on subjects that the study is dealing with will be reviewed and presented. This section focuses on identifying the indicators to be studied as well as how theoretical concepts that will be used in the study have been studied by others. The following chapter, *Theoretical framework*, will dive deeper into the specific theoretical concepts that will be used to analyze the empirical findings. The focus of the chapter is on defining the concepts as well as on how they will be operationalized and used within this study. The next chapter, *Methodology*, will present the methodological base of the study. Here, the reasons for doing a case study will be outlined, the units of analysis to be studied will be presented (along with a description of the specific research methods that will be used to study them), and the merits and disadvantages of those methods will be discussed. The following chapter *Background* gives a short overview of planning in Stockholm and the case of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* in order to familiarize the reader with the context of the study. In addition to that the chapter will further outline the evolution of modernist planning principles within the Swedish planning system, drawing on the research of Monica Andersson (2008). The empirical findings will be presented in the chapter *Presentation of empirical findings* by aligning the findings with the indicators and analytical categories of separation of functions, standardization, mixed use and diversity. An analytical chapter, *Analysis of the empirical findings*, then analyzes the findings and relates them to the theoretical framework. The last chapter will be devoted to summarizing the analysis into conclusions. It will also offer further reflections on the significance of the findings and their potential practical implications.
4. LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature is focused on how academic research has dealt with norms, institutions and the effect of urban form on human relations. Core Concepts like modernism and New Urbanism are explained. Further, four indicators to be studied are chosen as they can be said to be characteristic of the two planning paradigms of interest here.

4.1 MODERNISM

The origin of modernism may be traced back to the emergence of industrialism since it was then that the location of urban industry gave birth to zoning and separation of functions (Andersson 2008:65f). Modernism could further be argue to stem from three key figures: Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier whose ideas came to dominate city planning from the 1920s to the late 1970s (ibid:70). While Le Corbusier was concerned with the organization of the city on a macro level (Scott 1998:109), Gropius focused on the organization of neighborhoods on a micro level (Andersson 2008:71). Gropius advocated free standing tower blocks of 8 to 12 floors that didn't have gates facing the streets, that had direct sunlight and which were to be separated from each other with a length the same as the height of the building (ibid:71). Perhaps the most influential publication concerning modernist planning was the Athens charts of the CIAM which incorporated Le Corbusier's ideas (Scott 1998:103). All of Le Corbusier's own plans for various cities are characterized by their magnitude, strict separation of functions and utter lack of reference to urban history (ibid:104). Le Corbusier did in fact have a strong dislike for the dense, dark and disorderly European cities and his plans can be seen as a response to the misery which many European inner cities experienced at the turn of the century. The wealthy elites at that time further feared revolution so they sought to preserve social stratification via modernization (Peter Hall 2002:13ff). The demolition of inner city slums advocated by Le Corbusier had far reaching consequences and was carried out on a large scale in Sweden (Andersson 2008:160ff).
The urbanism advocated by Le Corbusier was one that praised Cartesian pure forms and technological advancement (Scott 1998:107). Le Corbusier foresaw the coming standardization in which all construction elements could be prefabricated and he further advocated a standardized technical language to be taught worldwide. This language would give exact requirements for lighting, heating, ventilation, structures, and aesthetics (ibid:109). The separation of functions inherent in Le Corbusier’s vision was not only a separation of different functions from each other but also a further differentiation within one function such as automobile streets from pedestrian streets. Zones of workplaces, housing, shopping and governmental buildings were all to be separated from each other and this became a standard urban planning doctrine until the late 1960s. The reason for strict separation of functions was that it was thought of as being the most scientific and simplistic way to plan a healthy and functional city (ibid:109f). Following Scott (1998) it can be argued that to understand modernism one has to understand Le Corbusier. Even though most of Le Corbusier’s own plans were never realized his planning principles dominated planning practice for a long time. Thus modernism could be discussed in terms of an “episteme” which consists of many parallel discourses which structures peoples way of thinking in an unconscious way (Danaher et al. 2000:16f).

Strömgren (2007) sees modernism as a continuation of the enlightenment and its firm belief in ‘rationality’ and ‘reason’. Liedman (1997) divides the enlightenment into a “hard” enlightenment and a “soft” enlightenment in order to respond to post-modern critique of the enlightenment (and modernism) as having caused much ill in society. According to him, it was the hard enlightenment that came to dominate, emphasizing technology and the natural sciences. He claims that the hard enlightenment brought with it a lot of positive aspects that are crucial for the welfare of western societies but at the same time, it was indifferent to moral and ethics. Thus, it thrived in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Administrative and technological progress could thus be made under such regimes and the ideas of Condorcet that inequality and diseases could be cured
with the help of the social sciences were rejected (Liedman 1997:26f). Liedman further connects the natural sciences and technology of the hard enlightenment with economic rationality. Strömgren and Liedman’s theories are strengthen by Schön’s (2000) economical-historic overview of industrial development in Sweden in which he shows how industrial standardized large-scale development is favored. In her comparative study of the development of Newcastle in England and Malmö in Sweden and their respective shift from industrial cities to a post-industrial cities Vall (2007) suggests that the Swedish case is characterized by an alliance between (social democratic) politicians and large developers that institutionalized standardized large-scale development. Baeten (2011) claims that this essential modernist way of development still dominates in Sweden today in the form of high profile large-scale projects. Swyngedouw (2011) further claims that such largescale projects creates camps of the excluded in the periphery of the city, as low-income households are generally not incorporated.

4.2 NEW URBANISM AND URBAN FORM STUDIES

New Urbanism is an American ‘neo-traditional’ philosophy of urban design that promotes diversity (of design, businesses and residents/stakeholders), walkability, and clear automobile free centers with distinct edges (Sander 2002:214; Jepson 2001:505). It has drawn much inspiration from the American urbanist Jane Jacobs critique on modernist planning (Shin 2009:425). Further, it promotes traditional planning ideals such as small town development with a main street as well as transitoriented development, the use of building and street typologies to create coherent urban forms and architectural design that shows respect to local history and “regional character” (Ellis 2002:262). Ellis states that efforts to achieve the more balanced transportation system of New Urbanist developments are blocked by a lack of political will, existing policies and building practices and the fact that future land-use are locked in old zoning ordinances (ibid:264). New Urbanist principles can be seen in plans and projects by leading New Urbanists such as Andres
Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. A famous example of such a project is the highly debated town of Seaside in Florida built by Duany and Plater-Zyberk. Seaside is a neo-traditional town which architectural and urban codes are based on the morphology of historical Southern towns. It is a suburb distanced from the multiple urban places on which its economy depends. It is characterized by a relative diversity of building styles, fence types, and landscaping within the constraints of the specific architectural code. Projects like Seaside are seen by New Urbanists as attempts to break the “false” modernist division between city and countryside and further as attempts to create small towns in their own right and not as appendages to large urban agglomerations. Seaside’s architectural codes delineate not function but rather form and style, in which locations for specific building types and details concerning the design of the buildings themselves are outlined (Falconer Al-Hindi 1997:351ff).

Norra Djurgårdsstaden is not defined as a New Urbanist project, but it is interesting to compare to such developments since it also advocates a return to past ideals. Shin summarizes the main critique of New Urbanism into three main categories: (i) free market intervention, (ii) romanticizing the traditional ‘community’, and (iii) lack of attention to social and economic transformation (ibid:426). Further critique nurtures the assumption that projects like Norra Djurgårdsstaden might end up predominantly white and affluent due to high amounts of private investment which leads to less ‘affordable’ housing (Neuman 2005; Fainstein 2000; Talen 1999). However, Ellis claims that the critique on New Urbanism uses caricatures and has inadequate sampling of projects, deficient understanding of New Urbanist principles, unrealistic expectations and ideological biases (Ellis 2002:283). Talen has also pointed to the fact that critiques of New Urbanism sometimes turns into lofty abstractions with no real empirical foundation (Talen 2000 in Ellis 2002). Shibley (1998) advocates the ideals of New Urbanism but proposes that it is in need of a rigid theoretical base. He suggests that theoretical base to be pragmatism and states a strong theoretical base together with the practice of place-making would move New Urbanism away from mere imposition of style to a more fluid practice (Shibley 1998:99).
Following Bramley et al. (2009) the relationship between urban form and sustainability such as density and social sustainability are to be seen as complex and often contradictory. Claims have been made that ‘the compact city form’ is better, both for equity, social interaction, safety and the environment (Bramley et al. 2009:2128). This is also stated in the policy of the city of Stockholm (ÖP 2010:5f, 8, 33ff, 42f). Classic writings by Wirth (1938) and Simmel (1910) have on the contrary claimed that high-density cities are characterized by anonymity, which leads to decline in community ties. Some studies, like Leyden’s (2003) study suggests that the walkability of dense mixed-use (traditional) urban forms directly affects the likeliness that residents knows their neighbors, are engaged politically, trusts others and are socially involved. Even though he controls for other variables the case might be (as he suggests himself) that social people might be more likely to choose walkable neighborhoods rather than the neighborhood itself is creating social interaction (Leyden 2003:1550). Bramley et al. finds in their study, in which they also look at other factors such as gardens and housing types, that use of local services as expected are higher in high density locations while outcomes related to residential satisfaction, stability, neighborhood environment and safety are all shown to be lower in high density locations (Bramley et al. 2009). Research in other fields such as medicine suggest that urban forms characterized by mixed use and density leads to improved health (see for instance Saelens et al. 2003; Jackson 2002). Musterd et al. (2003; 2008) finds in two different studies that the neighborhood and their social composition has effects on social mobility and income levels for immigrants. Gans (2002) on the other hand generally criticizes architects for harboring spatial determinism and claims that they believe to much in what a specific urban form can achieve. Thus, research on the field of the effect of urban form on social relations and the environment is often very contradictory and exactly how modernism or compact city planning impact social relations is difficult to prove.
4.3 NORMS, INSTITUTIONS AND “PATH-DEPENDENCE”:
THE DEBATE THUS FAR

Since the study partly will be looking at the evolution of planning norms and institutions, *path dependence* is a relevant concept. Within this perspective *history matters*. The development of institutions is seen as occurring chronologically, following a set path guided by previous development (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Institutions thus give shape to and enforce specific ways of framing and understanding social and political issues, which in turn leads to certain choices that tend to be path-dependent (ibid). Historical development takes a certain path due to “critical junctures” in which institutional change takes place (ibid:942). Bengtsson & Ruonavaara, in their study in comparative process tracing in housing policy, find for instance that the Swedish government tends to lean heavily on existing institutions when striving for a “system shift” (2011:410), which gives incentives to see if the same is true for planning in general. Further, Bengtsson & Ruonavaara suggests that institutional characteristics within housing, such as durability, spatial fixity, the directly institutional nature of production and financing regimes, may foster path-dependency and inertia which in turn tends to become obstacles for policy change (ibid: 398f).

Tusan-Kok (2011) suggests that a neo-liberalization of urban planning has taken place in which neo-liberal restructuring projects have been incorporated into existing planning institutions. Tusun-Kok states that neo-liberalism has never been introduced in its purest form but that it is rather introduced over time into existing institutional and regulatory arrangements. It should be seen as an evolving and ongoing process with path-dependent strategies that adjusts itself to the institutional landscape (Tusan-Kok *et al.* 2011:5f). Following Larner (2000:12), neo-liberalism should thus not be understood as a complete “rolling back” of the state, instead it advocates forms of governance that encourage both institutions and individuals to conform to the norms of the market. Following Baeten (2011:24) neo-liberalism should further be understood as an ideology which might have been transformative of the welfare
state in its early days but which left significant parts intact. In line with this thought it should be understood as more of a strategy, a state of mind or an approach and way of doing things which adapts itself to, and needs, a strong regulatory system in order to prosper (Baeten 2011:25). Even though Tusan-Kok (2011:5ff) claims that the development described above creates contradictions within the system, neo-liberal large-scale mixed use projects still prevails in cities that have well-established systems of comprehensive planning. Tusan-Kok draws on Peck et al. (2009) and their conceptual framework of creative destruction of cities and claims that this creative moment of destruction arises in traditionally social-democratic cities when commercial large-scale projects are initiated at important locations in the city in which other service functions were planned to be located according to zoning plans. The city then changes its zoning plans in order to built the project, as they see it as an opportunity to enhance its competitive advantage (ibid:8). This notion is relevant to bear in mind as Norra Djurgårdsstaden is a large scale mixed use project largely funded by private actors. Further, it is interesting as Tusan-Kok suggests that neo-liberal or contemporary planning ideals might create their own path-dependent strategies that gets incorporated into existing institutions. Thus, ideals that at first might seem in direct opposition to each other might be able to coexist.

Sorensen (2011), in a study on the evolution of property rights in Japan, claims that institutions don’t only change as a consequence of “critical junctures“ but may change in far more subtle and incremental ways, creating spin-off path-dependent subsystems (Sorensen 2011:476, 488). Important to note is that institutions tend to reproduce shared understandings of how the world works, thus producing both formal and informal norms that shape the actions of actors (ibid:476). Thus, it can be argued that for instance informal norms can be reproduced in planning practice and made path-dependent while formal norms might be incrementally changed. Spin-off path-dependent subsystems could be created next to already existing ones. Sorensen summarizes literature that has categorized incremental institutional change into four major modes: displace-
ment, layering, drift and conversion (ibid:476). Displacement occurs when old rules are replaced by new rules, while layering is a process in which new rules are attached to an existing institution without deleting the existing ones. Drift refers to the process of policy change in which existing policy is not directly revised but where the policy context itself is changed. Finally, conversion refers to a process in which the laws are not formally changed but where the interpretation and enforcement of the laws occurs in new ways (ibid:476f).

Mahoney and Thelen have created a conceptual framework based on two questions that is supposed to assert which of the four modes of institutional change that is most likely to occur. The first question refers to the political context and whether there are strong or weak veto possibilities to keep the status quo. The second question refers to whether or not the specific institution offers opportunity for discretion in interpretation or enforcement (Mahoney and Thelen 2010:18 in Sorensen 2011:478). As shown by Monica Andersson (2008) and Blücher (2006) the Swedish policy and legislation context in planning seems to be an example where displacement occurs since there has been formal reform with two new planning laws since 1987 changing the planning context. Hagson (2004) research on traffic planning in Sweden suggest that there is elements of drift inherent in the Swedish planning system as stable traffic norms has only incrementally changed over a long period of time. This implies that there are strong veto possibilities and high level of discretion in interpretation and enforcement while displacement implies weak veto possibilities with low levels of discretion in interpretation and enforcement (Mahoney and Thelen 2010:19 in Sorensen 2011:478). This suggest an interesting contradiction since drift points to pathdependence in policy-making while displacement suggest that there is weak path-dependence.

Anders Hagson (2004) doesn’t use the concept of path-dependence explicitly but traces the principles of the Swedish traffic planning document SCAFT, which incorporated all of Le Corbusier’s ideas on separation of functions, through various replacements all the
way up to 2002. He claims that some of these principles are still in effect. As *SCAFT* is one of the most influential documents in Swedish planning history Hagson’s study is of great relevance to this study. Hagson uses the concept of frozen ideologies to explain how old ideologies continue to be in effect even though they are no longer “alive” in peoples minds. The ideologies are frozen in the sense that they continue to exist within laws and regulations, which in turn are closely connected with the patterns of behavior of actors (Hagson 2004:18). In this way frozen ideologies constitute institutions that maintain ideas of which the foundations are no longer known (ibid:18). *SCAFT* is based on four principles: localization of activities and functions, separation of different kinds of traffic in time and space, differentiation within every traffic network in regards to functions and qualities, and to create lucidity and homogeneity in the design of the traffic environment (ibid:32). Hagson shows how these principles live on in modified ways within regulations and policies on traffic planning up until today, even though the aim of each new traffic planning document changes.

Raito (2011), using qualitative document analysis and interviews to study the impact of both formal and informal institutions on collaborative forest planning, found that informal norms tended to be more resistant to change than formal ones (2011:310). Informal norms are very strong and can either reinforce, conflict or even override formal norms (Hall & Taylor 1996). This ‘new institutionalist’ perspective on institutions thus includes the path-dependent aspects of formal institutions, such as law and policy, while it at the same time gives just as much attention to informal institutions expressed both in text and talk. As shown in this literature review there have been various studies on norms, institutions and path-dependency within urban planning. Bengtsson & Ruonavaara (2011) focused on path-dependence within the housing policy in Scandinavia, Tusun-Kok (2011) explained an ongoing process of neo-liberalization of urban planning in Sweden by using the same concept while Sorensen (2011) explained the evolution of property rights in Japan in a similar manner. By using the same concepts, this study will focus more concretely on urban planning and inves-
tigate whether modernist planning ideals still influence planning practice. Since Sweden was considered a frontrunner of modernist planning in the 1940s and onwards (Strömgren 2007:16), empirical knowledge on if it still has any influence on planning practice today is of great relevance.

4.4 INDICATORS TO BE STUDIED

The four indicators or norms to be studied within this research are presented and justified in this section. The indicators should be seen as analytical categories which functions as clusters to structure the research around. Thus, the definition given here of those categories might be different from the interpretation interviewees and respondents might have of them. The categories are: separation of functions, standardization, mixed use, and diversity. Swedish research using discourse analysis has suggested that modernistic planning was institutionalized in Sweden beginning in the 1930s. This institutionalization might still have an instrumental effect on planning practice today (Andersson 2009; Strömgren 2007).

Modernism is a broad concept that is somewhat hard to define. However, for this study it should be seen as a period in housing, planning and architecture in Europe that stretches from 1919 to around 1975. It was an egalitarian, communitarian, rational and scientific approach aimed at solving problems of social segregation, health and inequality by deploying large-scale standardized and mono-functional development projects (Salet 2011, Wagenaar 2011, Helleman et al. 2004). It should be noted that it claimed to be egalitarian but whether that really was the true aim could be questioned. The indicators characteristic of modernism to be studied in this project are the separation of functions (zoning) and standardization, which were seen as scientific and efficient planning tools (Dekker & van Kempen 2005:20f; Helleman et al. 2004:4).

The separation of functions is equated to zoning and is defined as tools for spatial differentiation. Zoning should further be understood as concerned with public health and safety but also as social engineering that controls social relations (Shin 2009:430ff). Standardization, as opposed to diversity, is defined as both standardiza-
tion of design and construction materials (Helleman et al. 2004:4). The post-war modernist design itself is often referred to as cause for social problems as conditions declined (Scott 1998).

Diversity should be seen as encompassing reference to the physical environment as well as social relations, and further referring to policy ambitions that not only encourages acceptance of others but which also includes the social composition of places (Fainstein 2010:67). Both Jane Jacobs and Richard Florida has argued that diversity is a source of economic growth (see Jacobs 1994; Florida 2002). Fainstein points out that diversity is an aspirational goal to be achieved but that pressing for it might impinge on aspects of equity or democracy and further that diversity can be argued to exist on different scales (Fainstein 2010:75f). Richard Sennett (1990) offers an interesting perspective in relation to diversity when he is discussing impersonality as a compelling value. In his overview of the design of western cities Sennett shows how planning and architecture to a large extent has been focused on how to minimize diversity as it has been seen as relating to chaos and unpredictability. Although promoting diversity, New Urbanism could be argued to trying to eliminate it since much of its focus is on creating whole-ness and sense of community. Sennett (1990:188ff) proposes that it is the exposure to difference that makes people see each other. Thus, according to this view people should not be forced into false sense of community but should rather have arenas of unclear use in the city where there are possibilities for conflict over it since it is in such conflicts over space that people truly see the other.

Following Hirt (2007) mixed use should be seen as a rather vague term. Hirt points to the fact that also mixed use can exist on different scales such as within buildings, within building blocks, within the street or within neighborhoods (Hirt 2007:227). Mixed use is further connected with several benefits such as potentially attracting more pedestrian activity, increasing social interaction, decreasing car usage and as such creating a more environmentally friendly and vibrant urban life (ibid:227). The main definition of the term within this study will be based in Hirt’s definition which is one that
implies a residential and non-residential mix that allows everyday activities to be performed within walking distance (ibid:228). Interestingly Hirt notes that even though mixed use has become standard rhetoric in planning policies in the US and Canada it’s actual implementation has been limited, and that even though it is the new mantra in planning it is an exception in practice (ibid:228).

Using extensive discourse analysis in Sweden, Tunström (2009), has shown that there has been a clear shift in planning rhetoric towards contemporary ideals based on the traditional European city such as density, diversity, centrality and ecology. These ideals are also strongly connected with the New Urbanist movement. In this polarizing discourse modernism is made out as the opposing ideology. Density, mixed use and diversity are seen as best for sustainability. The shift, both in Sweden and internationally seems to be mainly in rhetoric and not in the same extent in practice (Tunström 2009; Strömgren 2007; Hirt 2005; Filion 1999). Bradley (2009) focuses on inclusionary and exclusionary effects of discursive power of official strategies for eco-friendly living in ethnically and socially diverse areas. She argues that sustainability get normalized as a middle class practice. She further claims that aspects such as density and specific lifestyles get imposed on others and are taken for granted as the only way of achieving sustainability (ibid:260ff). The notion of an imposed lifestyle is interesting in relation to Norra Djurgårdsstaden and its forerunner Hammarby Sjöstad as there are certain requirements on the residents such as recycling, exercise and eating “right” (DN 11/9). The discourse on sustainability found in these projects seems to have striking similarities with modernism in the way “a new man” is to be shaped through structuring the behavior of people with the help of the physical environment.

The indicators for contemporary ideals are inherent in the planning policy of Stockholm. Sustainability will not be investigated as such, but the concept is of significance for the research since Norra Djurgårdsstaden aims to be a frontrunner in (environmental) sustainability. In the 1999 masterplan of Stockholm a reference is made to the EU paper “Green paper on Environment” (1990)
which states that the traditional city with its diversity, density and compact form is the best sustainable form as it decreases car travel and energy consumption (ÖP99:15, 63, 47). Post-war modernist planning is described as the period that broke the organic development of the city, and as working against sustainability (ÖP99:28; ÖP10:1, 37). Throughout the 2010 masterplan sustainability is to be achieved through densification, mixed use planning and physical integration (ÖP10:5f, 8, 33ff, 42f). Diversity is discussed as both meaning physical diversity of functions and social diversity (ibid:16f, 38ff). The discourse outlined by Tunström (2009) is clearly evident in the masterplans of Stockholm which makes the indicators of mixed use and diversity relevant to use.
5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As both path-dependence of historical institutionalism and informal norms of sociological institutionalism is of great concern of this study. The main theoretical framework guiding the study will be the “new” institutionalism as it takes into account the approaches of both the abovementioned. Thus, this perspective acknowledges that specific actions taken in an institutional context can be the product of various factors such as path-dependence, cost-benefit maximization or informal norms. In sociology “institutions” are defined as “general patterns of conduct” (Salet 2002:29). The institutions within this research are therefore modernism and contemporary ideals (New Urbanism) and the abovementioned indicators are chosen to represent them. Thus, a distinction needs to be made between the institutions and the organizations, such as Stadsbyggnadskontoret (Stockholm City Planning Office) and Boverket (the Swedish National Planning and Housing Administration), involved in the study. These organizations represents a solidification of behavior patterns that carry out goal-oriented activities (ibid:29).

Hall & Taylor has defined institutions in policy-making as including both formal structures of the law and state organizations as well as norms and conventions that are embedded in the organizational structure of the polity (Hall & Taylor 1996:938). This study will investigate the norms surrounding the four indicators by looking at how they have evolved and solidified within these organizations.

As the evolution and reproduction of institutions and norms are central to this study, it will make use of the concept of path-dependence as it enables an explanation of the persistence of institutions over time. Path-dependence is a concept that emphasizes the role of well-established routines. Certain paths are taken at a point in history, which have direct consequences for future development, as development occurs along that path (Hall & Taylor 1996:941). Thus, the unintended consequences and efficiencies that are generated by such institutional paths challenges the image of institutions as purposive and efficient (ibid:942). Further, within this historical perspective on institutions researchers have focused on “critical
junctures” that are major breaking points in which institutional change takes place, and from which historical development takes a specific path (ibid:942). To find and establish such “critical junctures” would fall well out of the scope of this study. However, important for this study is that Monica Andersson (2008) has shown that modernism was institutionalized in Sweden in the 1931 planning law and that it developed within the law on that set path and had major impact on planning in Sweden until the late 1980s. This study will thus build on that research in trying to find out if modernist ideals remains instrumental in affecting planning practice today. Thus, the study will not focus on “critical junctures” but instead on the continued development of the institutional path of modernism within planning and specifically on the indicators chosen to represent it. Path-dependence is thus a concept that could explain why certain behavior lives on and certain outcomes are reproduced even if there are new discourses advocating different ideals and outcomes.

There are two major strands within historical institutionalism concerned with the question on how institutions affect individual behavior. These are the “calculus approach” and the “cultural approach”. The first approach focuses on the aspect of human behavior that are based on strategic calculation, which assumes that individuals adopt the behavior that is thought to maximize the attainment of certain goals. Institutions are seen as affecting individual behavior in the sense that they provide information on the actions most likely to be taken by others, assumed they act according to strategic calculation (Hall & Taylor 1996:939). The other approach emphasizes the extent to which an individual’s actions are guided by well-established routines and patterns of behavior to attain a certain goal. Thus, an individual is seen as embedded within a world of institutions that provides routines for interpretation (ibid:939). Both of these approaches are relevant to bear in mind for this study although the latter will be focused on more as it provides a firm explanation of why actors within planning in Sweden reproduces certain types of outcomes even though there might be more efficient ways of attaining the same goals.
It should be acknowledged that the distinction between institutions and norms is a bit fuzzy, but within this study institutions are seen as general values and norms, such as modernism and New Urbanism. The norms are more specifically concerned with the four abovementioned indicators. Thus, (social) norms, both formal and informal, are seen as patterns of behavior that guide what the planners should or should not do in a planning situation. The norms can be enforced by external sanctions: formally through the legal system and informally by approval or disapproval of organization members. The study will thus be able to establish whether or not the norms are internalized by the actors (Dequech 2009:72), as well as how instrumental they are in affecting planning practice. As research has suggested that informal norms might be more resistant to change than formal norms (Raito 2011), this study will look at the interplay between the two in trying to establish situations when informal norms override formal norms or vice versa. Institutions should further be separated from organizations. Following North (1990) institutions are defined as "rules of the game" while organizations are the "players of the game". Young et al. (2008), emphasizes the close relationship between institutions and organizations, since standardized processes, norms and routines are rooted and developed in organizations. Thus Boverket’s (the Swedish National Planning and Housing Administration) role in planning in Sweden is highly relevant to investigate.

The relation between norms and actor should be understood as circular. Actors are producers of structures (institutions), in social interaction, and at the same time their actions are defined by the structure (Bourdieu 1989:18ff). The actions of planners should thus be viewed as defined by existing institutions (path-dependence) that they in planning practice have the capability to reproduce but also to change or override. Institutions are broader than consisting simply of formal rules and procedures and are also symbol systems and cognitive schemes of meaning that guides human action. People are socialized into their institutional roles which means that they also internalize the norms inherent in those roles.
Institutional change is seen rather as a consequence of social appropriateness, i.e. because certain norms and practices are getting highly valued in society, than something that happens because of the need for more efficiency (Hall & Taylor 1996:947ff). Institutional norms, both formal and informal, cannot be seen in isolation from what happens in practice since planning practice is intensively connected with the formal (legal) and informal norms that guides it. A study into how planners reflect on the effect of these norms on their own (goaloriented) practices, and on how they are established and reproduced is therefore needed (Salet 2002:26).
MODERNISM
• Separation of functions/zoning
• Standardization

CONTEMPORARY IDEALS
• Mixed use
• Diversity

NORMS
• Formal (Law & Policy)
• Informal (Patterns of conduct)

ACTORS
• Public planning legislators & policy-makers
• Professional planners

PLANNING PRACTICE
• Norra Djurgårdstaden

Figure 1. Conceptual framework shown schematically.
6. METHODOLOGY
6.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

To begin with it is important to establish the ontological position of this study as it, together with the research question, defines what methods are to be used. Since the study will be concerned with norms and how they are being produced and reproduced, the ontological base of the thesis is considered as social constructionism. In constructionism, categories such as norms, are seen as being produced, negotiated and reproduced through human interaction (Bryman 2008:19f). The research design is to be seen as a single case study. Yin (2012) describes a case as “...empirical inquiry about a contemporary phenomenon (e.g., a ‘case’), set within its real-worldcontext...” (Yin 2009a in Yin 2012). This specific case study might be viewed as a critical case study. A critical case study is a study where there is an existing theory that needs to be given a better understanding by testing derived hypotheses in the specific case (Bryman 2008:55). Norra Djurgårdsstaden should thus be seen as having strategic importance in relation to the general problem being addressed (Flyvberg 2006:229). The aim of doing a case study is thus to be able to move from “rule-based knowledge” to the kind of “expert-knowledge” only a case study can provide (Flyvberg 2006:223). This entails the development of a nuanced view of reality in which human behavior cannot be meaningfully understood as only the ruled governed acts found at the lowest level of the learning process and in theory. Further, the case study is vital for the researchers own learning process and development of skills needed to do good scientific research (ibid:223). Flyvberg even argues that there cannot exist predictive theory in social science that can produce general, context independent theories independent from concrete, context dependent knowledge (ibid:223). Thus, the case study of Norra Djurgårdsstaden is aimed at providing context dependent knowledge in order to confirm, challenge or extend the theoretical propositions presented earlier (Yin 2009:47).

This study did not produce the deep contextual knowledge of the case in itself as was the initial idea since the study met certain
limitations of access in the field. Although aspects of generalizability still apply (see Yin 2012; Flyvbjerg 2006). The study has tried to yield analytic generalizability in that its theoretical logic might be applicable to other similar cases (Yin 2012:18). Even though Bryman states that when research is qualitative a case study tends be inductive in its approach (ibid:54), this study should be considered as deductive. It is clearly deductive in that it aims to test a hypothesis, suggesting a simple set of relationships, derived from existing research and theory (Yin 2012:9). However, at the same time the study has stayed open to the possibility of new hypotheses or questions emerging as the research progressed. Case studies have often been criticized for containing subjective bias in that the researcher tries to confirm his or her preconceived notions (Flyvberg 2006:234). However, Flyvberg shows that it is falsification and not verification that are characteristic for case studies and further that all methods of inquiry are affected to some extent by the researcher (ibid:235ff). A test for possible bias is to be open to contrary findings (Yin 2009:72). Thus, it has been my goal to always stay reflexive during the research process and in doing the analysis so as to not try and prove my own suspicions. For instance when transcribing and analyzing I have always tried not to “find” data that fits into one line of thought but I have rather tried to look for contradicting findings and statements in order to explore the complexity of the issue at hand. Finally, the research design and methods of data collection should be seen as closely related to the theoretical propositions as they make up a hypothetical story of why certain structures or events occur (Yin 2009:36). I have therefore tried to provide the complete research design with a strong guidance in determining what data to collect and the strategy to analyze it (ibid:36). Thus, I have deemed a case study to be the best way of shedding light on the theoretical concepts such as norms, their evolution and path-dependency.

6.2 SELECTION OF THE CASE

As the case is to be seen as a critical case study the case of *Norra Djurgårdssstaden* was chosen as it was deemed most likely to falsi-
fy the hypothesis (Flyvberg 2006:231). I deemed it seemingly most likely to falsify the hypothesis since the project is supposed to be the most innovative and environmentally friendly city development project in Sweden. Thus, if modernist planning is thought of as being directly negative for implementing ideals such as mixed use and diversity which are seen as integral parts in achieving sustainability then this project is supposed to prove that modernist ideals are in fact not instrumental for planning practice. However, as Flyvberg points out considerations of the strategies in choosing case or cases are not necessarily mutually exclusive (ibid:233). The case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden was not merely chosen since it is most likely to falsify the hypothesis but also on the basis that it will highlight characteristics or tendencies that are more general, thus the case also has a "paradigmatic" nature (ibid:232).

It should be emphasized that the case was chosen in order to investigate the more general issue of whether modernism or modernist planning principles still influences planning practice in Sweden today. The project of Norra Djurgårdsstaden is a perfect case to use since if the research were to suggest that modernist principles are highly influential in a high profile project that advocates ideals opposite those of modernism it would make a strong case in proving the hypothesis right. However, initially the study was meant to go deeper into the project but access was limited. To begin with the project only had three planners working on it, and interviews could be done with two of those. The planned questionnaire to be distributed at the planning office was stopped by the head of the section of the planning office of Stockholm handling Norra Djurgårdsstaden. The private developers involved in the project did not respond to requests of contributing to the study. However, the project was further chosen because it was deemed advantageous to investigate planning practice as it was being carried out enabling a close contact with planning practice as it is happening. Following Salet (2002:26) the case was chosen because of an interest between planning and law as well as how planners can reflect on social and legal norms when carrying out goal-oriented activities, and further how norms evolves are established, validated and reproduced.
6.3 UNITS OF ANALYSIS

The units of analysis within this study are norms. As mentioned earlier, norms and institutions can be a bit fuzzy to define. However, within this study norms are defined as formal norms in terms of law documents and policy as well as informal norms expressed in statements. The units of analysis comprise formal text, such as official publications, and informal, such as statements made in the interviews and the questionnaire. The law document to be studied is the National Planning and Building Law (PBL) which is informed by Boverket, as well as the widely spread and used policy publications such as Stadsplanera istället för att trafikplanera och bebyggelseplanera (Make towns - instead of traffic planning and housing development) (2002), Bättre plats för arbete (Better Place for Work) (1995) and SCAF (1968). At an earlier stage other publications were considered but when researching and doing field work these documents were the ones mentioned most times as well as suggested by the interviewees as being vital. Boverket doesn’t themselves enact the law, that is done by the parliament, but they enact regulations that are interpretations of the law. Since the evolution of norms is of interest here, the study will look at the abovementioned documents have evolved as well as how the planning law has evolved from 1987 to 2012. Within these years the PBL has been enacted twice. It should be clarified that the study does not aim at analyzing these documents in full detail, instead focusing on the parts related to the chosen indicators.

6.4 RESEARCH METHODS

The research methods that have been employed in collecting the text that will serve as the empirical data are qualitative content analysis, interviews and an online questionnaire. The triangulation of methods used helps make the findings more robust (Yin 2012:13), as the findings are ‘backed’ by multiple sources. Qualitative content analysis should be seen as both the main research method as well as the method used to analyze the data. First of all the method has been used in the study of the law and policy docu-
ments. Later the same method was used to analyze the text being produced through the online questionnaire and the interviews. The specific content analysis that was used is based on Altheide’s ‘ethnographic content analysis’ (ECA) which, in contrast to conventional quantitative content analysis, is a constantly ‘recursive and reflexive movement between concept development-sampling-data, collection-data, coding-data, and analysis-interpretation.’ (Altheide 1996:16 in Bryman 2008:531). Altheide outlines six steps to be taken when using this method that are: (i) generation of research question, (ii) get familiarized with the context of the documents, (iii) become familiar with a small amount of documents, (iv) generate categories and a schedule that will guide the collection of data, (v) test the schedule by collecting data from documents and (vi) revise the schedule.

This process, in a somewhat modified way, was started early since the indicators chosen to investigate norms were generated from academic literature and policy documents, a research question was generated and a process of familiarization with the context begun. Thus, after generating a research question I familiarized myself with the context in which the law and policy documents were produced. This included reading up on the activities of Boverket and its role as well as how it has developed over time. Further, in doing initial research by studying policy documents and masterplans from the planning office of Stockholm a familiarization process with the context in which those documents were produced begun. Altheide’s logic outlined above was applied and indicators or themes were generated. These themes then made up the schedule for further data collection.

Following Altheide’s method, the indicators were later revised since at the start three indicators for each planning paradigm had been generated but one for each was later excluded as they turned out not to be relevant and/or to be closely related to the others. The excluded indicators were zoning respectively density. This was done since zoning for instance should be seen as more or less the same as separation of function or closely related (Shin 2009:430ff). Den-
sity was left out as it would be hard to measure in the scope of this research and mostly since the four indicators or themes finally arrived at are of interest as they are seemingly opposing pairs. The strength of ECA has thus been that it has allowed the indicators or norms to be constantly revised, making sure that they are the most relevant norms affecting practice. This method thus fits well into the deductive-inductive nature of the study since it has been open for constant discovery, comparison and reformulation of indicators and themes (Bryman 2008:531). Another strength of this method is that it allows the researcher to be reflexive enough to not only force findings into predefined categories and exclude other themes that may be of great interest and that data are coded conceptually so that one finding can be relevant for several purposes (Altheide 1987:68). Thus, in doing the interviews structured around the four indicators other interesting closely related themes also resurfaced such as the neoliberalization of the Swedish planning system.

The online questionnaire was used as a general way of verifying informal norms held by the actors at the national planning agency as well as amongst other professional planners. The questions in the questionnaire revolved around the indicators in order to some extent map out the spread of the norms. The initial idea was to also distribute the questionnaire at the planning office of Stockholm in order to get some idea of how the norms are anchored there. However, the head at that section of the planning office declined that request by stating that the employees had too much to do before the summer. The questionnaire was however distributed at Boverket through the help a ‘gatekeeper’ who is the person I had initial contact with and who provided me with other respondents. The initial goal was to distribute up to about 50 questionnaires, however in the field I found out that this was a bit optimistic. The gatekeeper was happy to help in distributing it at the planning section where she works, but wasn’t comfortable on distributing it at other sections such as the juridical department or the section dealing with building permission. It could be argued that those working at these sections are not likely to have a good insight into the questions posited in the questionnaire in any case. The responses are limited since
the questionnaire could not reach a significant number. However, it was distributed to the most relevant persons at Boverket, so it is still well motivated and the answers did suggest very interesting aspects related to the aim of the thesis. The type of questionnaire used was a type in which a link to a website was embedded in the e-mail itself and not attached separately, since the respondents are to be considered “smaller, more homogenous groups of on-line user groups” (Bryman 2005:82). The questions used in questionnaire is available as appendix C.

In order to acquire a deeper understanding of the informal norms the third method used was semistructured interviewing. The questionnaire could thus be seen as touching on the themes in a more general way and the interviews as going deeper into the same areas of inquiry. The semi-structured interviews were carried out using an interview guide in order to properly cover the indicators. Examples of the interview guides used are available as appendix B. A presentation of the interviewees’ are available as appendix A. During the interviews suggestions for relevant publications and general insights to the indicators and planning were given by the interviewees which had the effect that the interview guide developed in the sense that those insights were to be discussed with the next interviewee in line. An example on such topics related to the indicators that came up was for instance the importance of noise levels and SCAF (Traffic planning document). Insights into how regulations concerning noise levels and how that has or hasn’t a separating effect in planning new areas were used in the interview made with a judge in the environmental court who is an expert on such matters. Thus, a few persons in the study are to be considered informants as I have asked them to provide their own insights which I then used for further inquiry (Yin 2009:107). The interviews was further complemented with personal communications via email with the interviewees in which follow-up questions that arose at later stages were asked. This procedure was also carried out with questions to agencies like Länsstyrelsen (the County Administration Board) and Naturvårdsverket (Swedish Environmental Protection Agency) since they were frequently mentioned in the inter-
views. Thus the opinions of those agencies were also covered.

The interview process has been rather flexible since the focus has been on how the interviewee frames and understands the indicators and explains their own patterns of behavior in planning practice (ibid:439). The focus has thus been on how the actors talk, and how the norms are manifested in their statements about the indicators and their affect on planning practice. The interviews further focused on the actors role as a planner or legislator and policy-maker and what expectations they ascribe to that role. Thus, the understanding of that role always begins with an understanding of how the actor himself understands it (Searing 1991:1255).

6.5 DATA PROCESSING

The interviews carried out were recorded with a dictaphone and transcribed using a computer with the help of the software Express Scribe. Further, since I wanted to stay alert as to what was being said in the interviews I didn’t take much notes, except the occasional title on publications I was suggested to look at, since that might be distracting (Bryman 2008:451). As transcribing interviews is a very time consuming exercise I have not been transcribing the complete interviews. Also, as the interviews were done in Swedish this also means that a translation into English was necessary. I started to listen to the interviews with the ECA-schedule devised earlier, leaving room for additional themes, and transcribed the parts referring to the themes. All the statements found to be of interest were thus transcribed in Swedish and those used in the thesis were translated into English and are available upon request. The same process was applied to the questionnaires. The law, regulation and policy documents have all been properly referenced and are all publicly accessible and shown in the literature list. All three types of text: interviews, questionnaire and documents, gathered throughout the research has thus been analyzed using the ECA-method.
7. BACKGROUND
7.1 HISTORY OF PLANNING IN STOCKHOLM

To understand current trends and contemporary ideals within the planning of Stockholm a brief history of the development of the city is needed. The Swedish planner Peter Lundevall (2006) summarizes the development of the city into ten major shifts. The period between 1350 up until 1850 were characterized by shifts that meant that the population steadily grew and included one of the biggest development projects in Europe. Other major changes occurred during this time such as the implementation of renaissance planning principles such as straight streets and perpendicular neighborhoods. Between the 1850s and the 1870s the city turned into a modern capital as a consequence of major infrastructure projects. The time was characterized by technical advancements and optimism and gave birth to innovations such as gasworks, water- and sewer systems and street paving and the railway. In 1862 a municipal reform was passed in which the municipalities saw an increase of power and in 1864 a reform on freedom of economic activity was passed leading to increased opportunities for private businesses. The city's population grew to over 100 000 inhabitants and the physical structure of the city continued to grew within the already established grid structure.

The time between 1870 and 1900 saw the birth of industrialism which resulted in the biggest population increase during the nineteenth century when the city grew with 80 000 new inhabitants. During this time the highly structuring “Lindhagen-plan” was initiated by the politician Albert Lindhagen inspired by Haussmann’s plans for Paris. This meant that the city was planned in accordance with the grid plan but with bigger squares for neighborhoods surrounded by boulevards and parks with the aim of improving health and traffic safety. The predecessor to the planning law regulated the height of buildings in 1870. Between 1900 and 1930, the uncontrolled expansion in the periphery of the city prompted the municipality to acquire large areas outside of town in order to not loose taxation as well as for social reasons. Garden cities were
constructed in those areas after influences from England and Germany with winding streets and parks. It was also during this time that disturbing industries and workplaces were separated from the inner city. With the breakthrough of modernism in the 1930s, the growing population and the lack of property in the inner city called for multifamily apartment buildings in outskirts of the city. The newly constructed areas were connected to the city with expansion of the infrastructure and large bridges. The large-scale projects started during the 1930s marked the beginning of a long relationship between public housing corporations, cooperate ownership organization and the state and municipalities. The apartment buildings were surrounded by green-space and situated in relation to the sun and the different housing areas were separated from each other with large parks and nature areas. Sweden became a pioneer in this type of early modernist planning.

The period between 1945 and 1975 saw a major escalation of housing construction and gave rise to the famous Miljonprogrammet (Million Estate Program) in which one million new dwellings were constructed between 1965 and 1975. The population of Stockholm reached 800,000 people which called for more housing and a general higher standard of dwellings. Much of the inner city was demolished due to overcrowding and a new city center emerged. In 1950 the subway was finished and the city experienced the worlds most radical park-planning, neighborhoods were separated from each other with greenery and strict traffic separation was introduced. The suburbs outside the city got their own “suburb city centers” and Sweden continued to be a frontrunner of modernist planning. The shift that occurred in the late 70s and early 80s brought with it massive critique of the modernist suburbs that started to turn into so called “problem areas” and those in power got heavily criticized. Small scale neighborhood planning became popular again and post-modernism became popular for a while due to its complete break with the standardized aesthetics of modernism. The increased awareness of the environment also affected the type of houses the middle class wanted to live in. The tenth and last shift in planning in Stockholm identified by Lundevall
occurred around 1990, when 750 years of continued expansion of the physical structure of the city stopped as the municipal border had been reached. The dominant role of the state in housing was restructured and rented flats begun to be turned into condominums. As the expansion of the city became limited the trend was now to densify the city. Although the aesthetics of new buildings tended to be very similar to modernist ones. Streets tended to become narrower in order to densify, and old workplaces and industry buildings begun to be turned into dwellings, but high rise buildings were still being constructed in the outskirts of the city.

7.2 EVOLUTION OF MODERNIST IDEALS WITHIN THE PLANNING SYSTEM

Andersson (2008) has shown how the modernist ideas of Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius and the CIAM were well known early in Sweden and that they were incorporated in the planning law of 1931. This was the start of a process in which modernist principles were made path-dependent within the regulatory system of planning in Sweden. Andersson breaks down the ideas concerning modernist ideals such as separation of functions and standardization into concrete principles and focuses on how those principles has evolved within the planning law and planning system. These principles were regulations concerning distance between houses (the height of the building should determine the distance between houses), that all flats should have direct sunlight and that areas with different functions were to be separated from each other with greenery (ibid:113). These principles were directly influenced by the work of Le Corbusier and Gropius. Andersson states that these principles however was a continuation of a debate concerning healthy urban development that existed before the modernist breakthrough in Sweden but that the ideas of Le Corbusier and Gropius helped crystallize those ideas and that is one explanation why they were easily institutionalized (ibid:122f). Important to note is that Andersson shows how modernist planning was advocated from influential people at all kinds of directions affecting the actions taken by legislators and politicians. Thus, the individuals
taking the decisions to incorporate these principles might not themselves have been “convinced modernists”. The modernist discourse had a scientific and all-knowing stance that was hard to object to (ibid:137). Andersson defines the time around 1932 as a critical juncture in which modernist principles were made path-dependent in Sweden (ibid:132).

The abovementioned principles were still present in the planning law of 1947, and were even reinforced. Other principles concerning separation of functions such as a prohibition against gates and exits from buildings towards the street were also included (ibid:147f). This corresponded with the logic of maximization of one function (Scott 1998:110). In the general debate on planning in Sweden at that time modernism had gained such a strong position that those opposing it were considered unprogressive and conservative, and the process of planning became increasingly professionalized and individuals holding important positions within the planning system had to have an education in engineering or architecture (Andersson 2008:152). *Bostadssociala utredningen* (National Housing Investigation) that had a major impact on Swedish housing policy between 1933 and 1947 contributes to the implementation of large scale housing policies in line with modernist ideas on rational large scale development, which was further advocated by the Swedish parliament (ibid:161f). Further, between the mid 1940s and the mid 1950s the Swedish parliament advocated that parts of the cities that were not built in accordance with modernist principles were to be demolished (ibid:166f), and in line with that the legislation of this period made it very easy for the municipalities to expropriate large areas in the inner cities for sanitation purposes (ibid:189).

An investigation of the planning law initiated in 1951 on behalf of the Swedish parliament reveals some changes in the planning law. It advocates continuing regulation concerning distances between houses. The regulation concerning direct sunlight is relaxed, with provisions to achieve this only if made possible by the location of the building (ibid:201f). Further, the investigation suggests that most of the construction of new housing should be done by the mu-
nicipalities or publicly owned companies and that private developers are to be dependent on national or municipal agencies in order to get loans and credits (ibid:200). However, it is important to know that the Swedish municipal planning monopoly was introduced as early as 1907 in the predecessor of the planning law in which the municipalities got both the right, and obligation, to appropriate land as well as zone expropriation rights (Blücher 2006:137). The planning law of 1947 changed the monopoly in that the municipalities no longer had a prerogative towards the state. The law of 1947 gave the municipalities the right to decide where, when and how buildings should be constructed (ibid:143). The power of the municipalities were further strengthened in 1975 when financing of housing was reformed. This meant that financial support from the state would only be given to houses built on property that the municipality has mediated (ibid:145). The planning monopoly prevailed until 1987 when the new version of the planning law arrived.

Interestingly, regulations concerning separation of functions such as industries from housing areas are left out in the planning law of 1959 with the motivation that it should be seen as a minimum demand and that even further separation would be desirable. Further, it is stated that a high differentiation between traffic and housing is to be strived for (Andersson 2008:204f). A standardized way of construction is also advocated since it is estimated that 1,5 million new dwellings will be needed between 1960 and 1975 (ibid:205f). Maybe the single most influential document on the differentiation of Swedish cities was SCAF which was guidelines for regulation concerning traffic planning created in 1968. The guidelines incorporated the ideas of Le Corbusier in which different types of street with different kinds of traffic were to be differentiated from each other and from other functions. (ibid:109f). This type of traffic planning had a major impact and one consequence was that the newly built large-scale areas outside the cities tended to get cut off from the rest of the city (ibid:21). The principles stated that traffic safety was to be achieved through an elimination of conflicts and disturbances. This elimination would in turn be achieved through locating work areas and services away from the
traffic, by separating different kinds of traffic in space and time and by standardizing the configuration of the traffic environment (ibid:212f).

At the start of the 1970s modernist principles such as the prescribed distance between buildings was rarely deviated from (ibid:227). Investigations made into the planning law and other regulations in the 1970s states that the impact of SCAF, for instance, had been total. While traffic safety had been improved, the consequences of SCAF were seen as negative with its stiff character and its neglect of issues other than pure technical ones (ibid:234). When the PBL-investigation published a suggestions for the new planning law PBL it was critical towards the existing law in that it was to specific in regulations on the distances between houses and instead it suggested more general regulations on such matters. Neither of the modernist principles of direct sunlight nor the prescribed distances between buildings are to be found in Svensk Byggnorm (Swedish Building Rules) of 1967 but are still inherent in other policy documents. However, it is stated that the distance between new buildings should at the least be double that of the height of the building in the new version of Svensk Byggnorm published 1975. The regulation is now interpreted as a fire safety regulation, and exemption from the regulation is possible if the building meets certain fire safety criteria (ibid:238).

Andersson states that the regulations concerning direct sunlight and distance between new buildings are not affected in a major way by the changes of the planning law made in 1971, 1972 or 1976, but her interpretation is that they are not as determining as earlier, as it is easier to get exemptions (ibid: 241). It is not until 1992 that the modernist planning principles explicitly are made the target of political debate (ibid:242). Concerns on sustainability and the environment are factors that sparks the debate, and a new urban form of mixed use and diversity is advocated. The modernist principles are criticized for having created social problems as well as having put too much emphasis on the traffic apparatus (ibid:242). SCAF is also officially abandoned for pedestrian and
bicycle friendly planning (ibid:247). However, an investigator hired by Vägverket (predecessor to Trafikverket, Swedish Road Administration) and Boverket (the Swedish National Planning and Housing Administration) to investigate if new guidelines for traffic planning are met states that the principles of SCAF are still dominating. It is stated that the SCAF paradigm is a direct obstacle for mixed use planning (ibid:249).

7.3 THE CASE OF NORRA DJURGÅRDSSTADEN

This section will provide a short introduction to the project Norra Djurgårdsstaden. The city council of Stockholm decided that Norra Djurgårdsstaden would be a project with a strong environmental profile and that it should build on the experiences from Hammarby Sjöstad which is described as a forerunner in eco-friendly city development in Stockholm. Norra Djurgårdsstaden is hoped to not only consolidate the position of Stockholm as leading in environmental sustainability but it is also hoped that it will help market Swedish environmental technology (NDV2030:4). Three main goals have been formulated in order to reach the status of “A world class environmental city district” in 2030 that are: (i) to be free of fossil fuel by 2030, (ii) that the carbon dioxide emissions will be below 1,5 ton per person (the average today is 4,5 ton per person), and (iii) that the whole district will be constructed as to cope with environmental change such as increase in rain (ibid:8). Norra Djurgårdsstaden is one of sixteen projects part of the Climate Positive Development Program which is an initiative by the Clinton Climate Initiative and the US Green Building Council which is supposed to provide examples on how to reduce carbon dioxide emissions and how to develop in an environmental friendly way (ibid:9). The buildings are to be energy effective in that they will produce and contain all the energy they will need or even produce more energy than needed that can be stored and they will be able to produce their own solar- and wind energy. Further, a “smart electricity system” is under development in which the residents themselves will be able to control and adjust their own energy consumption. Waste products produced in the area will be
recycled and cleaned and put back into the surrounding nature. As the location of the project is very attractive property the municipality can put high demands on the private developers to be innovative and to achieve the high environmental goals.

The size of the whole area where the project is situated is 236 acres with 600,000 square meters and a development pace of 500 dwellings per year (ibid:20). The project will in total create 10,000 new dwellings and 30,000 workplaces in various sectors. A further aim is to provide an urban environment characterized by architectural diversity and a diversity of lifestyles. The design itself aims to empower residents to take responsibility and own initiatives for a responsible and environmentally friendly lifestyle that will further result in good social relations. It will have a far reaching mixed use character with all kinds of services such as restaurants, cafés, cinemas, hotels and various locales for dance, music and theater (ibid:6f). Diversity is to be further promoted by offering the residents opportunity to choose local welfare services after their own preferences (ibid:18). As a big harbor is part of the area the project also incorporates investment in upgrading and market-
ing of the city as a cruise destination. The cruise terminal that was inaugurated in 2008 is stated to be the most modern and environmental friendly of its kind in Scandinavia (ibid:10ff). The whole area is planned to be well connected to the city center and surrounding parts of the city with extensions of the subway, a new tram line, bicycle paths and boat buses (ibid:12f).

As the project is situated on prime property there is as many as up to 25 private and semiprivate housing developers involved in the project. The price for the land is reported to be 16 650 SEK per square meter (around 1900 EUR: s), when land agreements were met with the developers but that it has risen to around 20 000 SEK per square meter today (GB12:15). Construction of the first part of the project begun in may 2011 in the area of Hjorthagen where 682 apartments and two preschools are being built. The timeline of the project is estimated to look like the following:

2012 - The first people are estimated to move in to the apartments in Hjorthagen in October.
2013 - Construction of offices and commercial locales will start in Södra Värtahamnen.
2015 - Norra Länken (the Northern Link) will be open for traffic. The offices and commercial locales in Södra Värtahamnen as well as the passenger terminal at Värtapiren are inaugurated. Construction in Frihamnen will start.
2016 - Värtapiren is completed. Traffic is planned to start for Spårväg City (new tram line).
2018 - The first people will move into the houses and work spaces in Frihamnen.
2020 - Construction will start for housing and work spaces in Loudden.

Interestingly the plans for the area of Hjorthagen only received twenty-seven comments when they where put on public display in accordance with the planning law. Only five of the comments where from concerned individuals, seven where from interest groups and fifteen from public agencies. However, interestingly for this study is that comments were made about the physical diversity of the build-
ings illustrated in the plans. In the comments it is stated that the physical environment is to varied and that a structure more even in height with a calmer facades is to be preferred (RS09:4). The interest group *Föreningen Östermalm*, which represents the city district of *Östermalm* of which *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* is a part of, states that there is need for a plan that provides uniform standards for the design of roofs, the height of buildings, material and colors (ibid:13). Of further interest to note is that there seems to be no real conflict at all concerning the general aims and goals of the project. The critique that came up on the overall vision document for the sustainable development of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* in the city council were mainly concerned with smaller aspects such as specific measurements for energy consumption per square meter should be stated explicitly, that the parking standard should be as low as 0,3 per flat and that decisions on plans for the extension of public transport to the area should have been taken at the same time as the other plans (U10:5, 8f). Interestingly there seems to be a general lack of political conflict and contestation for such a large high profile project. It thus suggests a strong internalization of a discourse of ecofriendly sustainable development of a wide range of actors.
Another interesting point, discussed in a national newspaper, is that residents are expected to adapt a certain lifestyle. The future residents will be engaged in a sustainable lifestyle through a Boskola (Living School), area-ambassadors, networks and various activities. The residents will have to learn how to use waste disposers, measuring how much water they are using and how much garbage they are disposing of, but they will also be educated in what kind of food to eat and how to best buy ecolabelled food and how to exercise. On top of that all residents will be offered things like a personal travel plan to and from their work place (DN 11/9-10). Thus, it seems like the project have clear ambitions of shaping the residents into a specific type of resident. Leading politicians in Stockholm claims that such guidelines on how to live will become increasingly common in the future (ibid).
8. PRESENTATION OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

In this section the empirical findings will be presented and contextualized. Sections from the law and policy document will be linked to the ways in which the interviewees talk about them. The findings will be presented, starting with a general discussion on the planning law, its evolution, and the interviewees’ view on it as well as on the role of Boverket (the Swedish National Planning and Housing Administration). Thereafter the section will be divided into subsections that represent the four indicators (separation of functions, standardization, mixed use, and diversity). As the policy documents Bättre plats för arbete and SCAF'T was found to be of great relevance, since they were mentioned and discussed in all interviews, they take up large parts of the sections concerned with separation of functions and standardization.

8.1 THE EVOLUTION OF THE PLANNING LAW BETWEEN 1987 AND 2010

According to Strömgren (2007), one of the all-embracing changes that can be seen in the planning law, PBL, of 1987 is a move away from the scientific rationality, that had previously dominated, to a process-rationality which aimed at establishing correct and rational decision making processes on land use issues. It was no longer seen as desirable to determine the design of a future society in maps that would have far reaching effects. PBL from 1987 instead prescribed that municipalities were to develop masterplans, that are not legally binding, which are to have the function of visions to guide future development that incorporates the interest of the general public (Strömgren 2007:189). The main goal of the law of 1987 was to democratize the planning process through increased public access in order to legitimize plans (Strömgren 2007:190f; Henecke 2006:147). Earlier planning laws advocated a control of future development whereas the law of 1987 rather advocates an administration of the present so that sound decisions on future development can be reached faster (Strömgren 2007:191). In order to legitimize plans the law prescribed that municipalities were to
hold to public consultation meetings at various stages in the planning process. These consultations also included auditing from Länsstyrelsen (the County Administration Board) of plans before they reach legal status. Länsstyrelsen thus has the ability to stop plans or projects that in their view doesn’t meet certain standards, such as environmental standards (PBL 1987, Ch. 4, 5, 20, 21).

**8.1.1 THE PLANNING PROCESS**

A normal planning process according to *PBL* of 1987 starts with a proposition that a detailed plan is to be created, which can be proposed by either the municipality or a private actor. A program is created in order to account for starting points and aims of the detailed plan. If accepted, the program is distributed to affected private property owners, neighbors and Länsstyrelsen and other state agencies for consultation. Sometimes actual consultation meetings can be arranged at this point. The program is to be publicly exhibited at the urban planning administration office and at a local library for at least four weeks. All the gathered opinions are to be summarized in a consultation report. The municipal urban planning office can at this point propose changes in the detailed plans based on the gathered opinions. In the next stage a proposal for a detailed plan is developed which states what, where and how a piece of land can be developed. The detailed plan is to consist of maps which determines land use, description of the maps, description on its execution, and a summary of the consultations. The plans can be complemented with other illustrative documents, and with description of environmental consequences if the plan is thought to have a significant effect on the environment. The proposed plan is again distributed to property owners, affected neighbors, Länsstyrelsen and other state agencies for consultation. A public consultation meeting is also optional here. The plans are to be exhibited again at the same locations as earlier in at least four weeks and the opinions gathered from the consultation process are to be summarized and can be used as a basis for possible changes of the plans. After possible revision, an exhibition proposal is created and property owners and various affected private actors are informed.
about the coming exhibition by mail. The proposed plan is exhibited for at least four weeks at the same locations as earlier. This time, the time and location of the exhibition is published in national newspapers. Responses to the exhibition are summarized in a report which is sent to Länsstyrelsen. The plan can now be approved by the municipal executive board after there is a period of three weeks in which appeals can be made that Länsstyrelsen has the power to approve or disapprove. After this process is finished the plans reaches legal status and building permits can be applied for. The whole process usually takes between three to five years for a normal plan (Boverket 2002:145).

The current planning law, enacted in 2011, mainly meant a change of how the planning process were to be constituted. The planning process was considered to be too slow and in order to speed it up, the amount of consultations prescribed by the first law were reduced. Gösta Blücher (2006) claims that the current law means a further downgrading of the municipal planning monopoly that started with the law of 1987 in which the position of the municipality towards private actors, and later the state, were weakened (Blücher 2006:147ff). The economic position of the municipalities has also been weakened along with their legal position towards the state. However, the municipalities still maintain their planning monopoly in the sense that they still have the power to decide on all future development. As the state doesn’t subsidize construction of new housing the municipalities have fewer planning initiatives of their own which according to Blücher has meant that they feel they have to sell their land to private actors for economical reasons (ibid:150). Some voices states that it is deeply unfortunate for the future development of Swedish cities since the municipalities doesn’t take initiatives for more projects (Hedström 2006:166). Thus, it is suggested that the biggest change that occurred with the arrival of the new law is that private actors can take the initiative for planning and projects easier, although the municipality still has the power to block such initiatives. It thus marks a clear break with past perspectives on planning, since the decision to enable municipalities to stop private property owners to build on their own land
was taken in the parliament with complete agreement amongst all political parties (14:4f). It thus seems like the planning law of 1987 and 2011 are a departure from how the role of urban planning was seen earlier. The change mentioned by Blücher could perhaps be discussed in terms of a neoliberalization of the planning system.

8.1.2 THE NORMATIVE EFFECT OF INTERPRETING THE LAW

The planning law of 1987 was a clear break with earlier regulations and the law of 1947 in which regulations concerning the physical environment were very prominent. In the law of 1987 there are no regulations at all directly concerned with modernist principles such as separation of functions and standardization and the principles Andersson (2008) traced up to that point. What can be found is vague formulations like:

"In order to use land for development it should, from a public viewpoint, be suitable for its purpose." (PBL 1987, Chapter 1, 6§, Authors translation).

"Buildings should be placed and designed in a manner that is suitable in regards to the town- or landscape and the nature- and cultural values of the place. Buildings are to have a outer shape and color that is aesthetically pleasing, suitable for the buildings as such and which gives a whole effect." (PBL 1987, Chapter 3, 1§, Authors translation).

The same type of subjective formulations are used regarding historically and culturally important buildings. An interesting story from the Environmental Court shows how difficult it is to interpret such formulations in which old verdicts of cases on such matters revealed that former judges had based their rulings on a revision of the building regulations of 1957 in which the rights of private property owners are emphasized, and thus ignored the law of 1987. There seems to be a bit of a divergence on how to actually interpret
the law as rulings that take the law literally, in which permission to rebuild a culturally significant is given, can later get reversed. It is of great interest what the final rulings are as they tend to have a normative effect. It should be mentioned that in cases in which municipalities are involved, their interpretation of, for instance, what a piece of land is most suitable for has a lot of power, and the legal system tends to rule in their favor (I5:3f).

8.1.3 SHOULD THE STATE HAVE A NORMATIVE ROLE IN PLANNING?

The question of whether or not the state, through Boverket, should have a normative role in planning is discussed in this section since the findings suggest an interesting ambivalence on this issue. The interviewees seemingly supports the non-normative role of the law and the agency they represent in their roles as public officials. At the same time some expresses the need for stronger regulations that guide urban development towards sustainability. It is thus suggested that Boverket could have a more regulating role, if performed with moderation, as it could benefit the construction industry in terms of having clearer guidelines on how to build sustainably for instance. Interestingly, the same interviewee, working at the Environmental Court, suggested that Boverket is not actually contributing today to planning as such. Rather it contributes to a general discussion on broader societal problems such as energy consumption and social segregation, and thus not to planning as a technical profession. This suggests that there is no real proof on how social relations and the physical environment actually affects one another (I5:5f). However, there is academic research pointing to interesting aspects on that relation, such as improved health due to specific urban forms and likeliness to use public transport (see for instance Saelens et al. 2003; Jackson 2002), as well as discussions on the relation between urban form and sense of community (see Bramley et al. 2009). Musterd et al. (2003; 2008) finds in two different studies that the neighborhood and their social composition has effects on social mobility and income levels for immigrants. Gans (2002) on the other hand criticizes architects in general for
harboring spatial determinism, and thus putting too much faith in thinking one can control social relations with urban design.

The planning law of 2011 starts in a general way by describing the role of planning today when stating that:

“Within this law there are regulations concerning the planning of land and water and concerning buildings. The regulations are aimed at, in consideration with the freedom of the individual human being, to promote a societal progress that includes equal and good social living conditions and a good and long-term sustainable living environment for the people in today’s society as well as for coming generations.” (PBL 2010, Chapter 1, 1§, Authors translation).

In this way the law clearly sets out that the law should be used more as a framework which deals with the best interest of the general public. Within traffic planning however there are strict guidelines for the design of streets, roads and their environs. Those kinds of guidelines are thought of as being obvious since they deal with peoples safety (I1:2). The effect of traffic planning norms on the urban environment is discussed further below. It is suggested that there is a lot of frustration amongst planners working with parks and greenery since they feel that they have no real bargaining power towards traffic planners when they demand a certain amount of space for roads and their environs, and that there could be clearer guidelines for costs and such in relation to planning concerned with parks and greenery (I1:2f). Those kinds of guidelines does not exist on a national level, thus is up to the municipalities themselves to create them if they want. Stockholm for instance has a park program which for example states that city district parks should be accessible within a distance of five hundred meters, and smaller parks within two hundred meters (SP:30). Although it is suggested that the municipalities are not always ready to take on the cost of developing large parks or greeneries but that they have
a powerful tool in the land use contracts they make with private developers when selling the land, in which they can demand that so and so much parks are to be created (I1:3). There appears to be some contradictory views held on whether the planning law and/or Boverket are to be normative as one employee at Boverket states that she never answers when planners calls and asks how many parking spaces there should be in a housing area while at the same time advocating that parking spaces could be a powerful tool to use in order to decrease car usage (I2:1).

8.2 SEPARATION OF FUNCTIONS

The one policy document that resurfaced in all interviews in relation to what regulations or recommendations that affects planning practice was the scripture Bättre plats för arbete which consists of guidelines, measurements and safety distances in regards to the planning of work areas and housing areas near industries and disturbing activities. It has been cited as a direct obstacle for achieving diversity and mixed use (I2:2, I4:2f), and that planners tend to use it too literal (I5:3). In Bättre plats för arbete it is stated that the safety distances given are to be considered as cautionary measurements and as expression of “good planning” (Boverket 1995:9). However it is also stated that measurements and distances should not be less than those given in the book (ibid:9). And further that: “The intention with this text is that the authorities normally should not have to intervene if the municipality has followed the recommendations that are published here” (ibid:13, Authors translation).

The document is however not legally binding but it is suggested that Länsstyrelsen might use it as a basis for their intervention in a project, and that planners are afraid of what would happen if they deviate from the recommendations (I4:2f). However, an employee at Länsstyrelsen states that he can’t recall any situation in which they stopped a plan after it reached legal status. Also Länsstyrelsen seem to think of the recommendations as to general. The practice that has evolved is that Länsstyrelsen makes the munici-
palities develop analyses of the consequences of development for the environment in the plans so that they can make corrections earlier in the planning process (Personal communication 2/8).

*Bättre plats för arbete* was a follow-up document to *Plats för arbete* and the reason these documents were created was because there was a demand for clear guidance from planners. The recommendations were meant to create “peace and quiet” for industries and to protect sensitive environments like housing areas, schools and hospitals. An employee at *Boverket* the Swedish National Planning and Housing Administration) states that the recommendations are well designed, but that the specific safety distances have become problematic. In the beginning they were handled like general recommendations in a good way, but then there was a shift in the implementation of those recommendations that meant that they became perceived of as binding rules (Personal Communication, 24/7). From *Naturvårdsverket* it is stated that general recommendations such as *Bättre plats för arbete* are not legally binding, but that in court those who follow such recommendations are far more likely to win if a plan or project is appealed (Personal Communication, 2/7). However, the planners in *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* normally has a discussion with *Länsstyrelsen* in cases where deviations from the recommendations such as those in *Bättre plats för arbete* are suggested, and further as housing for instance is highly prioritized both by the city of Stockholm and *Länsstyrelsen* agreements can usually be reached on how to deal with the recommendations (Personal communication 20/6). The findings suggest that it is mostly in smaller municipalities that planners tend to follow such recommendations to the point since it is a safe and easy way to plan (I6:5), also, there is generally more land to use (Personal communication 12/7).

### 8.2.1 Norra Djurgårdsstaden - contesting formal norms of separation of functions?

In Stockholm it is suggested that it is not possible to plan in accordance with *Bättre plats för arbete* as it would mean that the city
would swell out too much (I6:5), and further that the aims of Norra Djurgårdsstaden can not be met if all recommendations and safety distances were to be strictly followed. Instead there is a balancing between different interests, aims and restrictions of the specific case as there are always conflicts of interests (Personal communication 12/7). Thus, even though such recommendations are always in the back of the minds of the planners they have to be put in relation to the specific characteristics of the case (I6:4), as they at times can be rather rigid (I6:5f). The following statement, from Norra Djurgårdsstaden, exemplifies this:

"...one example that can be mentioned is Värtaverket. That type of a plant of heating and energy production should according to Bättre plats för arbete be encircled by a safety distance of 700 meters, depending on the effect of the plant. However, it is also stated that the safety distance can be reduced if the plant is built in, so there is an opening for deviating from the safety distance. We haven't really reached a sharp situation for the planning of housing in the vicinity of Värtaverket yet but most likely we will propose houses closer than the safety prescriptions states. The motivation for this is that we will densify the city in order to take advantage of locations with public transport and technical infrastructure, while at the same time avoiding to increase the geographical footprint of the city. How the localization of the will look in the end will be a result of the planning process and the consultations that will take place, not least with Länsstyrelsen." (Personal communication 12/6, Authors translation).

Another story from the Environmental Court points to the arbitrariness, and comical aspect, of some recommendations in Bättre plats för arbete when referring to safety distances surrounding places containing horses in which a safety distance, due to people's tendency to be allergic to horses, of five hundred meters was
randomly suggested at a meeting and later decided upon (I5:3).

That noise from traffic or industries has the most separating effect on planning today is widely shared by the interviewees and respondents (I3:1, I6:3f, I5:7, Q:2: Q4; Q5; Q7; Q9; Q:10; Q11). Certain practices to circumvent guidelines concerning traffic noise has however developed in which a “silent side” can be used on buildings towards traffic. The same type of practices has not however been developed in relation to noise from industries which is seen as negative as it makes it difficult for cities not to expand its geographical footprint as they are very rigid in their nature since the same safety distances applies to different types of industries (I6:4). In *Norra Djurgårdssstaden* noise from the harbor will be handled by using “silent sides” on the office buildings facing it in order to protect the housing on the other side from the noise (I6:2).

### 8.3 Standardization

The traffic planning document *SCAFT* produced in the 1960s at the technical university of Chalmers in Stockholm was referenced throughout most of the interviews as its implementation of standards for traffic planning is stated to have had far reaching effect on the design of Swedish cities. The four main principles of *SCAFT* are localization of activities and functions, separation of different kinds of traffic in time and space, differentiation within every traffic networks in regards to functions and qualities, and to create lucidity and homogeneity in the design of the traffic environment. Localization is motivated with the argument that it reduces the traffic amount and conflict by for instance locating entrances to houses so that they are directed towards footpaths and that parking spaces should be located between houses and the street. Separation is seen as positive as it eliminates conflict between different kinds of traffic such as between “hard” car traffic and “soft” pedestrian traffic. Differentiation in turn is stated to create homogeneous streams of traffic and that traffic safety is increased if “through traffic” is differentiated from local traffic. The last principle is motivated by the statement that it makes it easy to “read”
the environment and to avoid moments of surprise which means that road-users should have a clear overview. It is also stated that shops and signs increases the chance for accidents (Hagson 2004:32).

That these norms were widespread and dominating in planning is exemplified in the findings by a story referring to a meeting, that was a concerned with how to break the norms, in which one of the documents authors came to the meeting and demonstratively ripped up his summon to the meeting (I4:8f). Interestingly this shows how well established and taken for granted these norms were amongst engineers and architects. Andersson (2008) shows how more or less convinced modernists, at various positions at universities and public agencies, formed a sort of planning regime that influenced planning for a long time based on their convictions. However, the document came under heavy criticism and in 1982 an attempt to break the SCAF T norms was made with the creation of the document TRÅD. However, Hagson (2004) shows that the principles based on a strict separation of functions and differentiation that SCAF T advocated essentially remained in TRÅD and in later publications. Thus it seems like the basic preconceptions of traffic safety based on separation of functions and differentiation were so taken for granted that they couldn’t be changed. It is also pointed out in the findings that, while it did “murder” all chances for mixed use, SCAF T was not pointless from a safety perspective (I4:8f), and further that traffic norms in general have to be consistent since they deal with people’s basic safety (I1:2). It is also stated that an attempt to integrate various forms of traffic in a “problem area” in the periphery in Stockholm, characterized by the SCAF T principles, were met with protests by the inhabitants since it was thought of as reckless from a safety perspective (I4:9). Also Karin Bradley (2009:243) notes in her research that residents in Swedish postwar suburbs in fact appreciate the traffic separation, the green spaces between houses and the fact that they are clearly demarcated areas. There are however other perspectives on how to achieve traffic safety than those advocated in SCAF T, TRÅD and currently VGU such as the concept of Shared Space in which barriers and segregation of
traffic are reduced in order to increase an element of risk. The risk is thought to make people more careful, aware of danger, and reliant on eye contact in order to navigate (Hamilton-Baillie 2008).

*Trafikverket* (Swedish Road Administration) publishes interesting texts in relation to traffic planning and the effect of traffic norms as part of a project called *Den goda staden* (The Livable City) which focuses on integrating traffic planning with urban planning in order to achieve sustainable city development. When reviewing academic literature on the field *Trafikverket* points to the effect that the separation of professions within planning have had on the urban design of Swedish cities (Trafikverket 2007:35). An interesting example of that, and of how deep traditional norms concerning traffic planning seem to be in the minds of traffic planners can be seen in an article of the planning magazine *Plan* from 2012. The article describes a process of research by design in which a heavy trafficked area and public transport hub in Gothenburg were to be transformed and updated. Two versions of a new design for the area were developed, one by architects and one by traffic planners. The proposal from the traffic planners was widely different from that of the architects and contained barriers and buffer zones for safety which entailed that large areas became unusable. Whereas the other proposal focused on how to rebuild the entire space to a place characterized not only by the most efficient traffic routes (Gudmundsson & Klasander 2012).

The report from *Trafikverket* discusses critique on modernist traffic planning provided by Hagson (2004) amongst others, in which they agree upon some critique as valid, but interestingly criticizes Hagson for making some unjust remarks concerning separation, and differentiation of different types of traffic (Trafikverket 2007:27ff, 36ff). The report clearly emphasizes the supposed benefits of differentiating different types of traffic, and it further criticizes Hagson’s view that there is an increase in car mileage due to road hierarchy which supposedly is so large that it creates more traffic accidents (ibid:35ff). It further states that the principle of segregation is far from dysfunctional and that Hagson underrates the
positive aspects of environment areas without through traffic and the benefits of car-free roads and paths for the non-motorized (ibid:38). The report also criticizes Hagson’s view that the main problem with car traffic in mixed use urban areas is the speed of cars, and points to other factors such as traffic volume and composition, the design of streets and buildings and the share of traffic space between different users (ibid:39). *SCAFT* advocated lucidity and uniformity of the traffic environment through a minimum of signs, kiosks and long distances between crossings as it was though of as distracting for the driver (Statens Planverk 1967:9, 22, 25). Remnants of this can be seen in existing traffic regulations such as *VGU* (the Design of Roads and Streets) in which safety zones in urban areas are advocated in order to create lucidity and clarity (Trafikverket 2004:63). There is a clear connection with *SCAFT* to be found both in *VGU* and the report from *Trafikverket*, even though it is criticized at the same time.

**8.3.1 PARKING SPACES - A TOOL FOR ACHIEVING SUSTAINABILITY?**

The research found that *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* seemingly tries to break current norms related to traffic planning in an active way for instance by focusing on how much traffic is to be allowed in the area as opposed to how to handle an expected amount of traffic. However, within this ambition an “in-between” result is most likely to occur based on how much traffic are to be allowed and the amount that already exists (I6:6f). It is explicitly stated however that the ambition is to turn the classical traffic hierarchy around in prioritizing bicycles, public transport and lastly cars (I6:6). This will in part be done by having 2,2 bicycle parking spaces per flat and 0,5 parking spaces per apartment (I6:6). There is to be a maximum of parking spaces allowed in the area, opposed to the city in general, which has confused the developers building offices since the companies settling there needs a certain amount of parking spaces for their employees. There has however not been any full agreement on this issue (I6:7). Interestingly this shows how standards for parking spaces are being used to meet the sustainability
aims of the project. At the same time the planners in Norra Djurgårdsstaden claim that it is very difficult to work with standards in planning today as every location is unique and planning has to adjust to the specific situation at hand (I6:7f). Standards for parking spaces is emphasized as possibly being a powerful tool in reducing car usage (I2:1). The views on what standardization is or how it can be used thus seem to be divergent as it is stated to not exist while it is at the same time referred to as a tool to be used in order to achieve sustainability.

8.3.2 STANDARDIZATION OF DESIGN

The findings further found a strong connection between standardization and aesthetic expression and urban design (I4:7ff; I1:4ff; I2:2, Q3). An unreflective repetition of old patterns, such as determining land use in maps, is mentioned as one reason for standardization (I3:1f), as well as economical reasons in which production in long series are thought to be favorable (I3:2, I4:6f), and dominating style-ideals emanating from the Bauhaus (I3:2). One interviewee highlights how dominating the idea of standardization was during the 70s by stating that she doubted whether to become an architect since the education focused a lot of attention on how to built in order to best fit the accessibility of large cranes (I2:1). The standardization of design of large-scale post-war housing was due to the fact that projects with more than one thousand apartments were favorably prioritized for public housing subsidies, and it is suggested that the idea of building in long series still exists amongst politicians today and is advocated when the housing market is functioning poorly (I4:7). A writer in a national newspaper claims that projects like Norra Djurgårdsstaden are just updated versions of the same type of standardized aesthetic expression as the large scale modernist post-war housing areas, and that they will face the same problems (DN 21/9). Andersson (2008:268) claims for instance that the legacy of modernist architects like Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe is very much alive in architecture today in the designs developed by famous architects for global corporations.
Standardization of design is thus blamed on the conservative nature of the construction industry, as it is suggested that Boverket’s building rules offers no regulations determining the aesthetic expression of buildings, as those rules merely focuses on aspects such as accessibility of disabled people and such. It is claimed that the freedom that those rules offers are not utilized and further that Boverket receives a lot of undeserved whining on this aspect. Again it is the interpretations of the rules that seems to have a normative effect as one interpretation gets repeated by others even though Boverket never prescribed it (I1:6).

8.4 MIXED USE

The views on mixed use are also divergent, however most of the interviewees seem to see it as a positive value (I1, I2, I3, I4, I6). Mixed use is thought of as being difficult to achieve in newly built areas as such qualities develops organically over time (I2:3, I4:7f), and the project Hammarby Sjöstad, which can be seen as a forerunner to Norra Djurgårdssvaden, is mentioned as having difficulties in the beginning to attracting businesses to settle in the commercial spaces offered in the bottom floors of the apartment buildings. This was however partly achieved through the use of so called Bokaler in which a commercial locale and an apartment are connected and rented as one object (I4:7f). It has been further suggested that the market has a negative effect on mixed use as those building and renting out office spaces have tended to get the best locations in competition with housing (I4:7f). Thus it is suggested again that the market to a large extent controls urban development.

One of many examples of the national policy document created by Boverket that clearly shows the dominant discourse of contemporary ideals such as mixed use and diversity, outlined by Tunström (2009), is the document Stadsplanera istället för att trafikplanera och bebyggelseplanera (2002) (Make towns - instead of traffic planning and housing development). The document is of further interested in relation to SCAF and the position of traffic planning in Sweden discussed in this paper as the document is advocating
that traffic planning and urban planning have to be integrated in order to achieve a mixed use city. The good and attractive city is constantly described throughout the document in terms of mixed use, diversity and density (Boverket 2002:27; 35; 135). These elements, and others, are suggested to lead to the sustainable city which in turn are suggested to create diversity and chances for people to meet and interact (ibid:145). The far reaching separation of functions of Swedish cities is blamed on modernism and the traffic planning of SCAFT (ibid: 194; 196). Many of the qualities of the attractive city is stated to have been lost due to functionalist planning and it is further stated that the separation of functions led to a segregation of people (ibid: 294; 128). Interestingly is suggested that the increasing involvement of private actors in planning tend to lead to sprawl and a separation of functions (ibid:135).

8.4.1 MIXED USE - CHALLENGING WELL-ESTABLISHED FORMAL NORMS?

Within Norra Djurgårdsstaden it is acknowledged that mixed use can be hard to achieve since it depends on whether or not private actors want to settle in the area, and that future users are unknown in most cases (I6:2f). However the importance of achieving mixed use in Norra Djurgårdsstaden is emphasized, when it is stated that:

"...this is supposed to be a mixed use city, it can’t end up mono-functional like with only office areas..." (I6:1, Authors translation and italics).

The planners in the projects discusses mixed use in somewhat different terms. The statement above clearly signals the failure it would mean if it is not achieved while the other planner discusses it related to the positive aspects of working with such a positive image of the city rather than being afraid of the project ending up "one-functional" (I6:1). In further discussion on the issue it is stated that:

"...the easiest would be to say like ‘well here in the
harbor area where there is a lot of noise and disturbances and such, the easiest would be to only do offices of the whole thing’ that would be a piece of cake. And in the well protected areas it would be easier to only plan for housing since that is what is in demand and the developers often wants to build housing exclusively because it is more rational and so on, this is where we as representatives of the city has to press on integrating commercial activities and shops and other services [...] in order to not end up with a situation where it is ‘dead’ after seven o’clock...” (I6:1).

The notion that private developers might hinder mixed use since they exclusively want to build housing or offices is brought up by other interviewees as well (I1:4f; I3:1), which means that the municipality has to make them build for other functions as conditions for selling the land.

Many of the private developers in Norra Djurgårdsstaden are suggested to be positive towards mixed use but that they rather see someone other then themselves taking the cost for building it. Thus, there is a conflict with the private developers in the project on issues such as how much space for commercial activities there should be and where they should be located (I6:1f). The initiative for mixed use always has to come from the city and the city has to constantly supervise the developers in order to ensure that their demands for mixed use are met (I6:2). From the answers derived from the questionnaire different reasons for why mixed use is hard to achieve is given. It is stated that the planning law and the environmental law are hindering mixed use as well as a lack of coordination between the two (Q12), and further that norms and regulations concerning noise and conditions for animals are hindering since land cannot be used in the most efficient way (Q6).

There seems to be a general opinion expressed throughout the findings that a neo-liberalization of society and the planning system
has radically changed the practice. A deregulated planning system has made it possible to locate external shopping malls outside of cities which is seen as directly negative for mixed use (I2:3; I3:4). It is further suggested that Sweden in comparison with Denmark has deregulated planning to a much greater extent and that it hasn’t been the ambition of the current government or the former to safeguard such issues (I2:4). Baeten (2011) has shown the nature of a far-reaching neo-liberalization of planning in Sweden in his study of a project in Malmö. Baeten suggest that the shift of planning initiatives to private actors and the willingness of municipalities to please them has meant that the social-engineering of modernism in relation to issues of social equity has been disregarded but that the large-scale rationality of it is still being carried out (Baeten 2011:23ff).

8.5 DIVERSITY

As with standardization the findings shows different interpretations of what diversity means in a planning context. A general opinion, which has been discussed earlier, is that there is a lack of diversity in design of new buildings. It is stated that diversity in design does not necessarily mean a bigger cost for the developers (I4:7), but that is generally seen as the major reason developers don’t diversify their projects more (Q;9; Q6; Q8). It is suggested that it is hard to establish new concepts such as diversity in the minds of the developers since they only think in terms of profit, and that it is especially difficult in smaller municipalities (Q9), and further that any initiative for planning is more or less welcomed in such municipalities even though it might not be in line with existing policies (Q8), such as those advocating mixed use and diversity. Interestingly, this further shows the strong role of the developers towards the municipalities. As the municipalities are eager for investment, policies promoted are often not met.
8.5.1 THE INFORMAL NORM OF DIVERSITY IN THE CASE OF NORRA DJURGÅRDSSTADEN

In *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* the planners are trying to provide a base for different kinds of environments in order to achieve diversity (I6:8). Thus, it is suggested that trying to provide the right kinds of conditions that will favor diversity is what planners can do on this matter (Q;7; Q2). In the vision document of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* is stated that the project will be characterized by architectural and lifestyle diversity. Diversity is further mentioned in relation to welfare services in which residents will be able to choose from the diversity of services offered (NDV2030:7). Social diversity is suggested as being difficult to affect as a planner, but that a certain amount of rental apartments, student housing and housing for elderly can be demanded in the contracts made with the developers when selling the land (I6:8). Social diversity is seen as a political question and it is argued that the current political conviction is that it is up to the market to provide housing for all segments of society. As the cost of building on the site of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* is very high, partly due to the land being contaminated and in need of cleaning, and further as the project aims at having a “high architectural standard” the price of building goes up (I6:8). It is stated that:

"...there is no one who believes that there is going to be housing for low-income households in this area, had there been a very strong political ambition then maybe that could have been a tool in the sense that the municipalities various housing corporations could add economical means, but that doesn’t exist today, except for student housing..." (I6:8).

Interestingly the interest group *Föreningen Östermalm* criticizes the plans for the lack of adherence to issues of social diversity and are concerned that the project doesn’t seem to include the weaker segments of society. They further state that the plans are lacking promises that the rental flats being built will have affordable rents
(RS09:13). From the point of view of the planners in the project what in fact can be done is to try to work closely with the architectural firms in trying to affect that there is a diversity of apartment types (I6:8). In order to try and secure a diversity of design “quality programs” for the design of the physical environment have been developed in cooperation with developers and architects. In such documents the design of the area is discussed in relation to the existing physical environment and measurements and standards are given for the design and placement of balconies, entrances and such (KG08).

One of the planners in the project states that the city can “give back” to the people of Stockholm since they make money of selling the land in Norra Djurgårdsstaden (I6:9), while the other planner states that the city makes just as much from selling the land that they need to invest in the project (I6:9). Thus, it seems unclear exactly how the whole of Stockholm will benefit from the project. What is suggested to be needed to achieve some sort of social diversity is state subsidies like those during “the Million Estate Program” era, since the market cant provide suitable housing on its own (I6:9). The issue of diversity is discussed as a mainly political question regarding what kind of society that should be strived for. There is stated to have been a move away from the idea of mixing various types of housing in Sweden, that were used for decades, to a focus on building in attractive locations near the sea (I3:4f). Thus, as the evolution of the planning law, and the political conviction of today, has meant more power to private developers who wants to build expensive housing in attractive locations such as in Norra Djurgårdsstaden, which seems to be negative for social diversity.
9. ANALYSIS OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

In this section the empirical findings will be analyzed using the theoretical framework presented earlier. The analysis will thus focus on connecting and relating the findings with the concepts of path-dependency, institutions and norms. As the four analytical categories or indicators that have been studied are closely connected the analysis of them spills over into each other. Since the categories are opposites of each other the findings or empirical data gathered on one category directly or indirectly deals with its opposite. As the ECA-method was used to process and revise the empirical findings this chapter also deals with related themes that surfaced using the ECA-method. The analysis and the section below will start with a discussion of the evolution of the planning law and in what ways it affects the planning process.


Andersson’s (2008) analysis of modernist planning norms or principles within the Swedish planning system and the planning law shows that they are gradually disappearing from the 1970s and onwards. However, the issue of whether modernist legacy has disappeared altogether is another matter since her indicators are not exactly the same as those used in this study. Hagson (2004) concludes in his overview of traffic planning in Sweden from the era of SCAF T in the 1960s up until today that the same traffic planning norms, based on Le Corbusier’s poorly scientifically based principles, still continues to influence planning practice in a modified way. As shown in the chapter above there is no longer any clear trace of the principles of standardization or separation of functions within the planning law of 1987, except vague comments concerning a separation from industries and traffic. Andersson (2008) operationalized modernism into categories such as separation of functions with greenery, distance between houses and direct sunlight. These no longer exist within the planning law of 1987 or other regulations in the same way as they did before. Even though
it falls outside the scope of this study it can be suggested that the planning law of 1987 might be viewed as a critical juncture in which the path-dependence of modernism within the law stopped and a new path was taken. The quotes from the law presented above shows how vague the formulations in the law are concerning how the physical environment should be regulated. It was suggested that it is the interpretations of such formulations that come to have normative and regulating effects on the physical environment. Using the framework of Mahoney and Thelen provided by Sorensen (2011:478f), the above could be defined as a situation where drift has occurred since there seems to be a gap between rules and enforcement due to a change in the external environment. The situation thus seems to be one in which there are significant space for diverse outcomes since the interpretations of how to implement rules or policies can vary (ibid: 479).

Raito (2011:316) suggests that the more general formal regulations are the more important informal norms become, and she highlights the role that organizations play as interpreters and developers of their institutional environment. This notion is interesting in relation to the Swedish planning system, and Boverket’s role in planning. The interpretations offered by Boverket seem to have a strong impact on planning, even though most of the interviewees states that Boverket should affect as little as possible. At the same time it has been suggested that stronger regulations concerning parking spaces and greenery could be a powerful tool in achieving sustainability (I1:2, I2:1). Thus, there seems to be an interesting ambivalence on this issue as it is stated that Boverket should not be regulating while at the same time there seems to be a demand from planners for certain types of rules and regulations, such as for parking spaces for instance (I2:1f).

### 9.1.1 PLANNERS AND PRIVATE ACTORS ADAPTING TO A NEO-LIBERAL CONTEXT?

The evolution of the planning law from 1987 to 2011 meant an increased shift of power from the municipalities to private actors
With the perspective provided by Tusan-Kok (2011) this shift can be interpreted as neo-liberalism adapting itself to the regulatory planning system of Sweden. The gradual weakening of the municipal planning monopoly can thus be seen as an ongoing process of neo-liberalization of the Swedish planning system in which there are pathdependent strategies adjusting to the institutional landscape (Tusan-Kok et al. 2011:5f). The ambivalence mentioned above thus seems to arise in these slow changes of the law in wherein its regulatory power is weakened. Planners thus seem to miss some forms of regulations on which to lean on. However the municipal planning monopoly still exists, although its conditions are vastly different in big and small municipalities. The empowerment of private actors in planning seems to be looked upon negatively by some of the interviewees (I13f; I2:3f; I3:4f; I6:9).

Bengtsson and Rounavaara (2011:410) found in their study of the evolution of housing policies in Scandinavia that the Swedish government tends to lean heavily on existing institutions when advocating a system shift. The conclusion provided by Bengtsson and Rounavaara offers an explanation to why, although weakened, the municipal planning monopoly persists even though a clear shift towards a neo-liberal planning has taken place within the law. The planning laws of 1987 and 2011 marks clear breaks with the past, however there may still be modernist path-dependent tendencies inherent in the system. The law offers no real direct regulations on the design of the physical environment, instead it does so through the interpretations of it in building rules and recommendations. As it doesn’t offer such clear regulations planners seem to look for recommendations and guidelines to base their actions on. Following Strömgren (2007) it can be argued that planners base their actions on a rational (modernist) planning derived from enlightenment ideas on an objective science that can be directly applied to various planning situations. The planner as a subject thus needs objective knowledge in order to approach the object of planning. Based on this view I will argue that the interpretations of the planning law made in policy documents such as Bättre plats för arbete and SCAF, although criticized, lives on because it is still a ratio-
nal (modernist) planning that dominates in Sweden today.

9.2 SEPARATION OF FUNCTIONS AND PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR IN SWEDISH PLANNING PRACTICE

The paragraphs in the law which directly deal with a separation of functions, and which have a direct effect on planning practice, are the separation of functions due to noise and disturbances produced by industries and traffic. That view that this has a major effect on the physical environment is widely shared by most interviewees and respondents (I2:3; I3:1; I4:1ff; I5:3; I6:3f; Q2; Q4; Q5; Q6; Q7; Q10). These paragraphs have to be interpreted in practice, and from what can be gathered from the interviews one of the most influential policy document affecting planning practice in this regard is the document *Bättre plats för arbete*. The safety distances and recommendations given in the document can be seen as a legacy of a modernist scientific approach. Following Strömgren (2011:114f) they can be argued to be such a legacy in that they are based on a rational planning approach in which the population and commercial activities are to be located separately and the development of society regulated in plans. The document *Bättre plats för arbete* has been stated to constitute a direct obstacle for achieving mixed use and diversity (I4:2, I2:3). Further, noise from traffic may hinder mixed use development since the prescribed level of noise allowed is very strictly regulated. The question is whether such regulations are reasonable, since that they seem to have a hegemonic impact on planning, and escape situations in which they can be put in relation to other aspects. One explanation for this could be that a positivistic tradition has dominated planning for so long that aspects that can be scientifically calculated seem to escape questioning. Liedman (1997) differentiates between a “hard” technical scientifically oriented enlightenment and a “soft” humanistically oriented enlightenment, and states that the “hard” enlightenment got favored over the “soft”. This offers an explanation to why regulations concerning noise are not put in relation to other aspects or values. However, the case of *Norra Djurgårdssstaden* seems to be an exception on this issue which will be elaborated on later.
9.2.1 MODERNIST PLANNING IN A NEW CONTEXT -
THE MEANING OF PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR

A modernist rationality can be argued to have been made path-dependent through documents such as *Bättre plats för arbete* and as such continues to be instrumental in shaping planning practice. The views on exactly what such recommendations constitute seems unclear as they are stated to be very general guidelines (I2:3), but that they still are followed literally, while the text itself states that the authorities won’t intervene in a project if the recommendations are met (Boverket *et al.* 1995:13). The findings suggests that the evolution of the document has made it to be interpreted as legally binding rules when they in fact aren’t, and that they were created because planners wanted clear guidelines on how to plan in relation to industries (I3:3; I4:2f; I5:2f). Following Sorensen (2011) the separation of functions advocated in *Bättre plats för arbete* can be interpreted as a spin-off pathdependent subsystem. As the law itself no longer offers such clear rules for separation of functions as it did earlier, the interpretations of the vague formulations in the law, inherent in *Bättre plats för arbete*, can be considered to be a path-dependent subsystem that continues to be highly influential in affecting planning practice. In this sense *Bättre plats för arbete* can be interpreted as a solidification of modernist norms. The empirical findings suggests that the norms are strictly followed and that planners are most likely afraid of what would happen if they are deviated from (I5:2f, I4:3), which suggests that they are constantly reproduced in planning practice. According to Dequech (2009:72) it is in this way that the fear of sanctions if deviating from a rule or a norm that helps sustain it. However, Dequech also points out that the rewards for disobedience may in some cases outweigh the possible sanctions (ibid:72). The rewards for disobeying recommendations given in *Bättre plats för arbete* in the case of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* may thus be seen as greater than the fear of sanctions.
9.2.2 PLANNING PRACTICE - DEFENDING OR CONTESTING ESTABLISHED STRUCTURES?

*Bättre plats för arbete* and the context in which it was produced is a good example of what Hall & Taylor (1996:939) mean when they state that institutions offers “routines for interpretation”. Interestingly the views on these interpretations are diverse as they are both criticized for leading to a too safe and easy planning that results in a separation of functions (I6:5), while at the same time their very existence is due to planners wanting clear guidelines to plan in accordance with. Thus, *Bättre plats för arbete* is to be considered a collection of norms that has created a certain practice, a pattern of behavior amongst planners that are most defining for planning practice. Interestingly, the case of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* seems to counter these routines and norms when they consciously counter the specific recommendations offered in *Bättre plats för arbete* as shown in the empirical chapter. Following Hall & Taylor (1996) the planners of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* could be interpreted as trying to override these formal norms. At the same time the recommendations in it are described as being used as starting points or that they are always “in the back of the mind” (I6:4f). With Pierre Bourdieu’s (1989:18ff) terminology the planners of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* can be stated to be “defined by the structure” as they cannot work outside it. The implementation of “silent sides” toward noise producing industries further shows how the planners at the same time are producers of structures (ibid:18ff), in the sense that such practices also helps shape the structure.

The informal norm of mixed use, as an opposite to separation of functions, and the implementation of it in *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* should be understood as a way of offering a different interpretation of how the world works than that provided by the formal norms (Raito 2011:310). It can thus be seen as an example of a situation where another value such as mixed use is put in relation to the scientific (modernist) rationale discussed earlier. It is even stated in the project that guidelines concerning noise from industries and traffic has to be deviated from to avoid the city “swelling out” too
much (I6:5). The quote presented in the preceding chapter where a deviation from a recommendation in *Bättre plats för arbete* is proposed is therefore a key finding that indicates that *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* is trying to break path-dependent norms in order to implement contemporary ideals. Following Salet (2002:29) the norm of separation of functions, inherent and advocated in *Bättre plats för arbete*, can be argued to become very manifest in this case as the planners no longer adhere to its traditional meaning. It should be noted that the empirical findings suggest that *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* and Stockholm are to be considered cases in which a planning practice is developed that is different from that of smaller municipalities.

### 9.3 Standardization - A Path-Dependent Spin-Off Sub-System?

Standards for traffic planning can also be seen as a solidification of modernist norms that has clearly developed on a set path from the era of *SCAFF* and onwards which Hagson (2004) nicely outlines. The second edition of *SCAFF* from 1972 builds on the same type of reports that states that variations in the traffic environment affects the number of accidents since people can’t handle complexity in traffic. One of these reports was unpublished but still used, and Hagson claims that the argument made above could not be based on other sources (Hagson 2004:233). That it is better to differentiate certain types of traffic is also not based with proper sources (ibid:234). When the “Million Estate Program” came under criticism *SCAFF* was replaced with *TRÅD* in 1982. Even though *TRÅD* establishes some changes in objectives for traffic planning it is still based on the principle of a localization of housing, industries and services in relation to the domination of the car. The principles of localization, separation of functions and differentiation are again not discussed in relation to academic research on the field. Hagson states that it has evolved into a “normalized science” at this point. According to Hagson these principles are not scrutinized in the publications and documents produced after this point, even though it could easily be done with the help of computer...
calculations (ibid:234).

Even though the document *Stadsplanera istället för att trafikplanera och bebyggelseplanera* (Make towns - instead of traffic planning and housing development) criticizes *SCAFT* for having created cities characterized by a separation of functions it still seems to advocate a differentiation of different forms of traffic. It is stated that traffic safety is to be achieved by clearly defining different types of traffic in order to create lucidity (Boverket 2002:308). This stance, as shown in the preceding chapter, is also held by *Trafikverket* (Swedish Road Administration). Although, *Trafikverket* criticizes *Boverket* for having a too simplistic view of exactly how traffic planning during the last decades have affected urban development, and points out that the great benefits of housing qualities, reduced accident risks in the transport system, and a safer environment tends to get lost in the debate on sustainable and "creative" city development (Trafikverket 2007:35). However, according to *Boverket*, traffic safety is now, contrary to what was advocated in *SCAFT*, first and foremost to be achieved through reduction of speed (Boverket 2002:312). It can be argued that the document shares the main goals of *SCAFT* in creating traffic safety through clear differentiation of traffic, but with a focus on a differentiation based on speed instead of type of traffic. Although, *Trafikverket* clearly advocates both a separation of different types of traffic as well as differentiation of traffic types within traffic networks (Trafikverket 2007:162ff).

According to Hagson the knowledge on traffic planning has turned into a normative knowledge in which good and bad examples are used as a scientific base. According to Hagson right and wrong have been communicated with the help of simple images which has turned into an argumentative rationality (Hagson 2004:235). Hagson's research thus suggest a widespread internalization of traffic planning norms, even in the academic community as they were developed by acclaimed academics at the technical university of Chalmers. Beside *Bättre plats för arbete*, *SCAFT* (and its followers) can be argued to be the most influential policy document for
planning practice. Counter to the guidelines in *Bättre plats för arbete* the traffic norms do not seem to be questioned to any large extent. Although *SCAFT* as such has been heavily criticized, and blamed for having created a differentiated city (I4:8f; I5:6), it can be argued that traffic norms have been internalized by the interviewees. There seems to be a view that there will be sanctions if one deviates from them (Dequech 2009:72). The statement that traffic norms “simply are there” (I1:2), suggests such an interpretation since they are not questioned. Even though the traffic norms and *VGU* (the Design of Streets and Roads) are to be considered formal norms, in which there are possibilities of legal sanctions if they are deviated from, internalization of such norms are not always easy to distinguish from habituation or non-reflexive repetition of conformity (ibid:72).

However, following Salet’s (2002:29) interpretation of institutions, *SCAFT* and its successors and its path-dependent nature should be seen as an expression of well-established general social rules. Hagson (2004:129ff) suggests that the principles of *SCAFT*, which were a more or less direct translation of the Athens Charter, were based on a poor scientific foundation, which indicates that they were taken for granted and continuously reproduced either by internalization, convention or habituation. The norms thus seems to be implicitly acculturated in the collective consciousness (Salet 2002:29), and are so conventional that they escape direct scrutiny (Hall & Taylor 1996:940). *SCAFT* and the role of traffic planning in general in Sweden is right to the core of the modernist project. Peter Hall shows the unique position traffic planning was given when he discusses “The city on the highway” (see Hall 2002).

The position of traffic planning as separate from urban planning or city planning suggest the strength of such norms and the extent of their convention. Interestingly such norms seems to prevail and be taken for granted at the same time as there is a new dominant discourse on sustainability. Traffic planning and how the interviewees’ talk about it can be discussed in terms of “epistemes”. The term, used by Foucault, refers to specific terms and notions inherent in
many scientific discourses that exists parallel to each other, that structure the way people think (Danaher et al. 2000:16f). Foucault defined modernism as an “episteme”. Danaher et al. (2009), more specifically explains an “episteme” as an order of things which organizes everything and makes some things possible and other things impossible (ibid:16f). It is thus an organizing principle that relates things to each other by classifying them and by allocating them meanings and values, which in the end determines how we make sense of things, what we can know, and what we say. This process of organizing is a more or less unconscious process (ibid:16f). Bases on the empirical findings and the research of Hagson (2004), Strömgren (2007) and Andersson (2008) I argue that the principle of separation of functions in relation to traffic planning is an expression of such an episteme. Terms like localization and differentiation and their meaning are more or less unconsciously taken for granted and structure the way planners think about planning in relation to traffic and safety. These terms are in turn based in the modernist rationality outlined by Strömgren (2007). These ways of thinking have become so routinized that they escape direct scrutiny. So even though modernism as an episteme has been widely criticized I argue that some terms and discourse within that episteme is very much alive in planning today.

9.3.1 PARKING SPACES AND CLASHING NORMATIVE PERCEPTIONS

The planners in Norra Djurgårdsstaden seem to counter norms related to traffic planning since they are trying to reverse the traffic hierarchy and to impose a maximum of level traffic allowed in the area by reducing the number of parking spaces. This can be seen as another attempt in trying to override informal norms. Norms in relation to parking spaces and amounts of traffic seems to be a strong informal norm as planners call to Boverket (the Swedish National Planning and Housing Administration) and asks for guidance on how many parking spaces there should be for a specific area (12:1). This further strengthens the idea that traffic norms have been made path-dependent, and internalized and are structur-
ing planners' patterns' of behavior. When there are no longer any formal norms regulating these matters the planners still seem to search for them. Thus the position of traffic planning and "the car society" still persists. In *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* parking spaces is seen as a useful tool to achieve greater sustainability and less car usage (I6:6f). This way of using parking spaces seem to clash with the private developers routines (I6:6f). Parking spaces in this case seems to be an issue on which there are clashing normative perceptions. Again there seems to be a collection of informal norms offering different interpretations of how the world works (Raito 2011:310). It is suggested that the developers are resistant to decreasing the amount of parking spaces since they are not used to work in that way (I6:6f), which suggest that the developers are working according to well-established routines which according to Hall & Taylor (1996:941) is characteristic for path-dependence. Its likely to assume that parking spaces impacts the way the properties are valued and thus the rent that can be asked which naturally turns the issue into a conflict.

### 9.3.2 STANDARDIZATION OF DESIGN AS PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR

It is suggested that the standardized design of many newly built houses today is due to the conservative nature of the developers (I1:4; I3:2; I4:7; I6:1). It is further suggested that the developers sees this way of working as rational and economically beneficial (I3:2; I4:7; I6:1). This suggests that the rationality of modernism to build in long series has created a spin-off pathdependent subsystem within how the private developers work. Monica Andersson (2008:193) points out that *Bostadssociala utredningen* (National Housing Investigation) advocated standardized large scale development between 1933 and 1947, which meant that a close cooperation between municipalities, public housing corporations as well as private developers was initiated in order to meet the wishes of the Swedish Parliament on standardization of housing construction. Interestingly, two of the largest public housing corporations were formed by two of the leading modernists at the time, Uno
Åhrén and Sven Wallander who were highly influential in urban planning in Sweden. Based on Andersson’s research it can be concluded that a specific path was taken in which a standardized way of building were considered efficient, rational and economically beneficial. As big developers still dominate in Sweden, they seem to have continued on that path even when it is no longer advocated by the state or the municipalities. However it is suggested that the idea of standardization still exists in the minds of politicians (I4:7).

In a comparison of Newcastle and Malmö and their respective development from industrial cities to post-industrial cities, Vall (2007) concludes that large developers in Sweden got a significant position within the Social democratic party which created a system in which those developers were constantly favored. Malmö has a long tradition of social-democratic politics and around the turn of the century around 80% of the workers were unionized (Vall 2007:54f). The massive housing shortage after WW2 due to rapid urbanization called for the implementation of large scale housing schemes advocated by the social-democrats (ibid:59). These large scale projects gave the opportunity for companies like *Skånska Cement Gjuteriet* the chance grow and totally dominate the market with prefabricated concrete elements for housing construction (ibid:54). *Skånska Cement Gjuteriet* pioneered the “all-concrete method” and when representatives from the Newcastle housing committee visit to study its famous housing construction the company is highly praised (ibid:68).

Even though Sweden was a small country it developed a significant amount of international industrial companies during this time (Schön 2000:414). Further, the municipality and the state developed an untroubled relationship with such companies and corporations through favorable state subsidies in which land and economic growth could be secured (Vall 2007:57). Malmö is an interesting case since much of what was to become national policies first developed there and a significant amount of influential politicians, such as the future prime minister Per-Albin Hansson, began their careers there (ibid:57). The construction industry in Sweden was
extensively rationalized during these years, and the consolidation of an integrated Keynesian economy contributed to continuity in housing construction (ibid:71). The infamous Rosengård project in Malmö initiated later in the 60s has been characterized as a pinnacle of Swedish modernity with its strict modernist architectural style dominated by prefabricated high-rise and was a testimony at the local level that the "Million Estate Program" could be carried out (ibid:73). However, according to Vall (2007: 73f) the Rosengård project marked a departure from the social-democratic dominance in the city and Rosengård's subsequent failure was blamed on the dominance of the private building corporations who had totally controlled the planning process themselves. Vall thus shows how the dominance of private and semiprivate developers and construction companies developed in Malmö and it is this development that is characteristic for Sweden in the post-war era. This further suggests a strong institutionalization of modernist ideals of standardization in Sweden, and further nurtures the idea that those developers have continued on that path. Thus it is only those big developers who can take on large-scale projects which in turn seem to result in standardization. General patterns of conduct are thus reproduced.

Schön's (2000) research on the industrialized development in Sweden further nurtures the idea of path-dependence of standardized construction. According to Schön the golden age of industrialized development in Sweden occurred between 1950 and 1975 and under those years the infamous "Million Estate Program" was executed with one million new dwellings being built between 1965 and 1975. In order to render it possible to achieve such a radical intensification of housing construction, financing and the whole organization of construction were to be radically changed. Thus new conditions on the regulated credit market made it possible to move means from banks, insurance companies and pension funds to prioritized housing bonds with low interest. The increased assets of capital due to increased income and savings during the years of economic growth thus made it possible to give cheap credits to housing construction (Schön 1997:392). The regulated credits
came with highly regulated demands of building norms of standardization and large-scale production which could be met by the public housing corporations. The large scale projects initiated during this time thus industrialized housing construction with the use of prefabricated elements made by a few big companies (ibid:392). The fact that the same companies dominate the market today strongly suggest a path-dependent nature of standardized construction. Bengtsson & Ruonavaara’s (2011:398f) statement that the institutional nature of production and financing regimes may foster path-dependency and inertia further strengthens the idea that a standardization of housing construction has been made path-dependent. Hall & Taylor (1996:938) states that the path-dependence of institutions often leads to unintended consequences. The standardized construction and design of newly built houses can therefore be argued to be an unintended consequences from the perspective of the municipalities, as they are advocating diversity and are in many cases unable to control the working process of the developers.

9.4 MIXED USE - CONFRONTING INSTITUTIONALIZED PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR

The strength of contemporary ideals such as mixed use in Norra Djurgårdsstaden are exemplified by the statement that the project must not end up only having one function such as housing (I6:1). Mixed use should however be seen as an informal norm as it is not formally advocated in the law or in other regulations. However, its dominance as a norm in Sweden today can be seen in its presence in national policy documents such as Stadsplanera istället för att trafikplanera och bebyggelseplanera (Make towns - instead of traffic planning and housing development) (2002). Research on health and tendencies to walk or bike in relation to density and mixed use suggests that mixed land use is positive for health in that inhabitants in such areas tend to walk or bike more often (Saelens et al. 2003:86ff).
9.4.1 MIXED USE PLANNING - A CLASH BETWEEN ECONOMIC RATIONALITY AND IDEOLOGICAL CONVICTIONS?

Following Hall & Taylor (1996) the norm of mixed use in the case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden should be seen as being so strong that it directly conflicts formal norms of separation of functions and standardization. It can be argued that the planners in Norra Djurgårdsstaden further are trying to override both formal and informal path-dependent norms of separation of functions and standardization. As the planners constantly have to supervise the process, and make the private developers build mixed use through the land use contracts they are trying to override pathdependent norms of standardization and separation of functions. To consciously deviate from recommendations given in Bättre plats för arbete further suggest such an interpretation. Following Sorensen (2011:479) Bättre plats för arbete could be seen as an institutional “soft spot” since the rules are open for interpretation, and further since it constitutes a space where contests over and within institutions take place that allows for incremental and possibly transformative change to occur. At the same time Bättre plats för arbete can be said to be connected with strong veto possibilities since it is suggested that for instance Länsstyrelsen and the Environmental Court can use it as a base for intervening in projects. Thus, the most influential pattern of behavior for planning practice in this case is the supervision of the developers that the planners have to constantly maintain in order to override the developers’ standardized ways of working as well as the conscious choice to deviate from formal recommendations. The clash of norms seems to be one between an economical rationality of standardization, a modernist rationality of separation of functions and ideological convictions of mixed use.

Dequech (2009:73) states that not every institution or norm needs to be enforced by the possibility of legal or non-legal sanctions and/or be internalized. Instead an institution can be sustained by convention, which is characterized by (i) when followed consciously it is followed because others are doing it and not only because of
external pressure, and (ii) that it is to some degree arbitrary, in the sense that an alternative could have replaced it (ibid:73). Thus, the path-dependence of standardization or separation of functions inherent within private developers ways of working could be due to convention, as some of the interviewees suggests that incorporating diversity would not necessarily cost more (I3:2; I4:7). It seems that the convention of standardized large-scale construction is seen as rational by politicians (I4:6f), which hints the position the economical logic of the developers has in the planning system. This can be discussed in terms of a absolute perception of space dominating over relational perceptions of space (see Healey 2004:48), in which the absolute perception is difficult to challenge.

Based on the answers given by most interviewees and questionnaire respondents *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* could be seen as somewhat of an exception of planning practice in Sweden. Or rather, major projects in the big cities in Sweden could be argued to be exceptions as it is suggested that smaller municipalities have no real bargaining power toward private actors and are desperate for investment (Q8). Blücher interestingly suggests that the development of the planning system in Sweden, and the gradual weakening of the municipal planning monopoly, has meant a shift of power from politicians to the courts and that large projects are far more likely to be politically approved than to be approved by the courts who interprets the law literally (Blücher 2004:151). The municipalities have however strong legitimacy in establishing visions for future development, thus they still dominate ideologically (ibid:150). This suggests that it is up to the municipalities to try to impose the implementation of contemporary ideals such as mixed use and diversity, or else they wouldn’t be met. Since the courts no longer adheres to political assessments or municipal opinions Blücher argues that the municipalities will have more and more difficulties in achieving their aims since planning increasingly is becoming a practice carried out by private developers and the courts (ibid:151). Instead the municipalities has to sell their land to improve their economy (ibid:152). Thus as suggested smaller municipalities might have to go against their own policies of mixed
use and diversity in order to improve their economy (Q8).

The planners in *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* are well aware that the developers favor building only one function as shown in the example when it is stated that the developers has to be convinced and supervised to build for mixed use (I6:2). This suggests something interesting about the new role of planners in the age of neo-liberalism, namely a role which entails actively trying to break pathdependent tendencies of the private developers in order to achieve ideals such as mixed use. In major projects like *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* this can be done since the land is prime property and the municipality can impose requirements on the developers for selling the land. The findings also showed that the planners have to break formal norms of separation of functions as well as informal norms of standardization in order to achieve the kind of city they want. However, from the viewpoint of Baeten (2011:22) projects like *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* which entails a hasty privatization of land that empowers the private developers which, alongside political regimes that supports a strong role of private stakeholders, has resulted in a reduced ability for planning and planners to affect urban development. Eric Swyngedouw (2011) talks, in a UK context, of a “consensus-politics” in which various elites are ordered horizontally consisting of politicians, private developers, architects and planners who excludes those who have divergent views on planning.

**9.5 DIVERSITY - INFORMAL NORMS CHALLENGING WELL-ESTABLISHED NORMS?**

The empirical chapter showed that most of the interviewees and respondents thinks that much of newly built areas are lacking in social diversity. It is suggested that this is mainly due to the high cost of construction, and that private developers are most often not inclined to take the extra cost of building more affordable housing such as rental apartments. It is also firmly stated that *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* is not going to be an area in which any large extent of low-income households will be able to settle since there is no political will to subsidies affordable housing. This reflects the
critique that newly built large scale projects tend to be inhabited by a rather affluent white middle class since private developers are not inclined to build affordable housing to any large extent (Neuman 2005; Fainstein 2000; Talen 1999). Fainstein (2010:71) argues that the large developers of today, entangled in a globalized architectural and property market, builds on a large-scale and repeats the successful formulas of everywhere else. Fainstein further claims that these large scale areas tend to lose individuality just as much as during high modernism (ibid:71). This reflects the concern raised by the writer in a national newspaper (DN 21/9) that Norra Djurgårdsstaden will end up like a new modernist large scale failure. As discussed earlier it is suggested that the likelihood of new large-scale projects to end up with a standardized look is due to conservatism on the part of the developers. Baeten (2011:23) argues that such projects can be interpreted as a continuation of highly modernist planning practices that has been reworked to serve an elitist cause instead of a social. Interestingly, the above further nurtures the suggestion that standardization of construction and separation of functions are modernist norms that have created spin-off pathdependent subsystems in the practice of private developers. Modernism as an institution tends in this way to reproduce a shared understanding of how the world works producing both formal and informal norms that shape the actions of actors (Sorensen 2011:476). The shared understanding in this case is the effectiveness and rationality of large scale development.

9.5.1 CAN DIVERSITY BE PLANNED?

The planners in Norra Djurgårdsstaden seem aware of the ambiguity concerning social diversity and their ability to affect it. According to Fainstein (2010:70) there is an unanimity amongst theorists and urbanists concerning the merits of diversity and what kinds of environments planners should seek to produce and whether planners can create diversity. Richard Sennet criticizes the area Battery Park in New York, which has been planned in accordance with principles of mixed use and diversity, for being a mere “illustration of life” (Sennett 1990 in Fainstein 2010:70). Planned
communities and New Urbanist developments have further been
criticized for being simulacra in the sense that they are just (copies of) copies of real life (Fainstein 2010:71). Following Baeten
(2011:37), and his view on today’s Swedish large-scale develop-
ments, *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* could be interpreted as being an
essential modern project, like the “Million Estate Program”, in the
sense that it is advocating a development along modern lines in
which the past is being erased. According to him such projects are a
way of erasing a city’s industrial past, the unemployed, the (ethnic)
poor and the non-adapted to the 21st century’s service economy in
which they are replaced with the creative class (ibid:37). Follow-
ing Bradley (2009) it can be argued that sustainable ecofriendly
development projects like *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* impose a domi-
nant discourse that is trying to determine peoples behavior much
like the social engineering of modernism.

Following Richard Florida it can be argued that the creative class,
who moves into such projects as *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*, does fa-
vor diversity but that it is still to some extent a diversity of the
elites, and thus limited to highly educated people (Florida 2002:80
in Fainstein 2010:71). Stockholm naturally also works with other
areas and projects such as *Vision Järva 2030*, in which the deprived
areas in the outskirts of the city are to be regenerated. However,
following Swyngedouw (2011) these places can still be argued to
be enclaves or camps of the excluded. This is where people who are
excluded from prestigious projects like *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*
live. It should however be mentioned that forcing diversity in the
sense of moving people against their will in order to achieve bal-
ance or dispersion of poverty is counterproductive as well as an
infringement on liberty (Fainstein 2010:72). Thus, trying to force
social diversity in an area like *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* might not
be a suitable way to achieve greater diversity. Following Sennett’s
(1990:188ff) view on difference it could be argued that projects
like *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* should instead focus on having weak
borders as well as on creating spaces that are of unclear use in
order to invite difference into the area. In this logic other seg-
ments of society can use spaces in the area in other ways than they
were made for since such a process have the potential of creating conflict over the use of space. Conflict is thus seen as a positive element since according to Sennett it is in such situations where people truly see each other and accepts difference. However, it can be suspected that the exclusivity of the project is favored by the developers.

Fainstein (2010) on the other hand suggests that private developers should be forced to built affordable housing elsewhere as conditions for their involvement in major projects. Diversity as an informal norm does not seem to be strong enough to override norms of standardization and/or separation of functions as diversity does not profit the private developers. Although, it should be confirmed that diversity does exist as an informal norm as all interviewees sees it as a something to strive for, and that they are all critical to the current (neo-liberal) political climate in which affordable housing are to be provided for by the market. Interestingly Bradley (2009:235) notes in her study a similar criticism by the public officials towards the discourse they represent and further that they often foster more radical views than the institutions they represent.
10. CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 CONCLUSIONS: ARE THE IDEALS OF MODERNISM STILL INSTRUMENTAL IN SHAPING PLANNING PRACTICE?

It should be stated that the selection of interviewees and respondents within this study is limited which consequently limits the analysis and the conclusions that can be drawn. However, the study has yielded some interesting findings. With the theoretical framework as a base I argue that the document *Bättre plats för arbete* and traffic norms in general, as well as *how* the interviewees talk about them, can be discussed in terms of path-dependent spin-off subsystems. The base of such norms are a clearly modern rationality. They should be seen as such spin-off subsystem because they represent a regulated modern planning practice that continues to prevail when the law no longer offers clear regulations of the physical environment. The fact that *Bättre plats för arbete* and such recommendations were created on request from planners who wanted clear guidelines to plan in accordance with suggests a strong belief in a modernist rationality in which all actions are to be based on scientifically developed measurements and tables. The evolution and slow changing character of traffic norms from the era of *SCAFT* and onwards further suggests that a modernist rationality has been internalized by the planning community and that such norms are rarely questioned and carried out by either habituation or conviction. Even though the political goal has been to make the planning system less regulating mainly through deregulation of the planning law, general guidelines has evolved to be viewed as legally binding rules as they are no longer to be found in the law. I argue that this is an example of a path-dependent tendency of modernism that still influence planning practice today.

Another strong point that this research has suggested is that modernism seems to have created a path-dependent subsystem within the practice of private developers in Sweden. The standardized large scale development of modernism seems to be favored amongst private developers as the most economically beneficial
and rational way of building. The study has showed that this kind of standardized building practice is a direct legacy of modernism, that continues to shape planning practice even though the state or the municipalities no longer advocates it. Sweden was a leading country in modernist planning since the 1940s and onwards, thus the historical institutional perspective used in this study is highly significant as it emphasizes the slow changing character of a system and the likeliness that it develops on a set path. The findings thus suggests that it is the planners and their practice as well as the practice of private developers that makes such a pathdependence possible as the conditions for planning have changed through new legislation. The strength of path-dependence as a concept is therefore made clear in that it offers an explanation to why planning practice in Sweden seem to be rather consistent even though there are new conditions and possibilities for taking new paths. I therefore argue that modernism or rather some remnants or principles of modernism still influence planning practice to a high extent. The analytical categories of separation of functions and standardization used to study this has made it possible to reach such a conclusion.

Then how about the case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden? From what the research has shown Norra Djurgårdsstaden, and other projects like it carried out in large municipalities, are to be seen to some extent as exceptions of planning practice in Sweden. In such a project it is possible for the planners to impose informal norms such as mixed use and even to override formal norms of separation of functions as well as to override the standardized path-dependent nature of the private developers. This can be done since the land of the project is prime property and the planners can demand that such norms are implemented by the developers. Interestingly the planners still need to convince the developers of the merits of such norms and further to constantly supervise them in their implementation of it. This suggests that there are some divergent views on planning between the municipality and the developers. However, I would still argue that projects like Norra Djurgårdsstaden can be said to be characterized by a consensus-politics in which there is a strong alliance between politicians and developers, and who basi-
cally has the same view on planning, which makes such projects possible, and where those who have divergent views are excluded. Diversity is a norm, advocated in planning and vision documents today both in Stockholm and in Sweden in general, does not seem to be strong enough to override norms of the economical rationality of standardized large scale development. Interestingly the norm is internalized amongst all interviewees as something to strive towards. At the same time they all more or less sees it as out of reach for the planner as it is not advocated strongly enough by politicians. This further suggest the existence of a consensus-politics. The case of Norra Djurgårdsstaden offered a perfect setting to investigate whether modernist planning principles are relevant to discuss in planning in Sweden today as it is seemingly an exception from a Swedish planning practice where such principles in fact continue to be influential for planning practice. This suggests that the hypothesis posed in the start of this study can be argued to have been confirmed for planning practice in general in Sweden. With that stated I argue, with the research question in mind, that the ideals of modernism to a certain extent influences planning practice even in Norra Djurgårdsstaden as they have to be actively fought.

10.2 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

As access to the case was made rather limited, this study has not been a classical case study in the sense that it offers real deep understanding of the case. Rather the case have been used to shed light on what influences planning practice in Sweden. This research suggest that the evolution of the planning law and the neo-liberalization of the planning system has put the planner in an uncertain role since there are few regulations to rely on. Thus general guidelines and recommendations have been made more or less regulating in its place. The implications of a neo-liberalized planning system have opened the door for private actors to take the front stage and thus decreased the chances municipal planners have to affect the physical environment. It seems that development occurs on homogenous lines if the private actors have too much influence, as it is only the municipalities that create visions for the kind of
development to be strived for. The role of the planner thus seem
to be the role of a negotiator in situations characterized by power. I argue that the changed context of planning and the role of the planner in Sweden thus demands new kinds of knowledge from the planner, such as a knowledge of the role of power in these situations. I further argue that the political system has to decide on what the role of the planner should be in today's planning context and in what way he/she should be able to affect urban development. The research has shown an ambivalent development of the planning system in Sweden as it has shown that the planning context has been changed and neo-liberalized while it at the same time adheres to the pathdependent nature of modernist planning principles. Interestingly, it suggests that while altering the planning law has significant effects on planning it does not mean that the whole system changes. Institutional ways of planning seems to be far more slow-changing, and old structures are in this case upheld by the modern rationality inherent in traffic norms and safety norms in relation to industries. I claim that these norms are upholding the position of power of a modern, rational and positivistic planning paradigm.
LITERATURE


NEWSPAPER ARTICLES


PUBLICATIONS FROM THE CITY OF STOCKHOLM


APPENDIX A
INTERVIEWEES’

Ulrika Åkerlund (Interview 1)
Ulrika is a trained landscape architect working at the unit of housing, architecture and urban development at Boverket.

Järda Blix (Interview 2)
Järda is a trained architect working at the unit of housing, architecture and urban development at Boverket, focusing on issues relating to transport.

Olov Schultz (Interview 3)
Olov is working as international secretary at Boverket at the department of development. He is a trained architect and has worked as a practicing architect before starting at Boverket.

Gösta Blücher (Interview 4)
Gösta is a trained architect graduating from the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm and has worked as a practicing architect in the town of Nacka. He was head of the urban planning department at Planverket (the National Board of Planning and building), precursor to Boverket where he was later Director general. He has further been an expert adviser to the minister of housing and was directly reporting to the minister when leading the development of the new Planning and Building Act, PBL. He has also participated on several commissions on national and international level (ECE, OECD).

Mårten Dúner (Interview 5)
Mårten is currently working as a technical advisor at the Environmental Court in Växjö, Sweden. Before that he was head of the planning department at Boverket, and has also worked as a practicing architect and head municipal architect.

Stefan Modig (Interview 6)
Stefan is an architect and planning consultant at the municipality of Stockholm currently working on the project Norra Djurgårdsstaden.
**Helena Ackelman (Interview 6)**

Helena is an urban planner working at the municipality of Stockholm, currently working on the project of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*. 
APPENDIX B
1. EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW GUIDE USED AT BOVERKET

The role of planning and the planner

- What do you see as the most important task for planning today?
- What’s your view on Boverket’s role in planning?
- In what ways does PBL (the planning law) affect planning today?
- What effects does the recommendations Boverket publishes have on planning practice? What such documents do you think is the most influential for planning practice today?

Separation of functions

- Are there any rules or regulations that has a separating effect in planning today? In what ways?

How are they articulated?

- How do you view the development of traffic planning from the era of SCAFT? What effect did that document have on the physical structure of Swedish cities?

Standardization

- Is it relevant to talk about any type of standardization in planning today? Is there any? If so, how are they articulated?

Mixed use

- What do you think of mixed use? Is it a desirable urban form?
- How can it be achieved? Are there any problems in achieving mixed use today?

Diversity

- How can diversity best be achieved today?
- What are the main obstacles for achieving diversity?
Urban form/social relations

- What kind of city is a sustainable city? How can such a city be achieved?
- Do you think that the physical environment affects social relations? In what ways?

2. EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW GUIDE USED AT THE PLANNING OFFICE OF STOCKHOLM

Role of the planner

- What do you see as the most important task you have as a planner?
- What kind of urban development are striving for in your role as a planner?
- To what extent can you as planner affect the planning process? In what ways?

The planning law and national policies

- In what ways does PBL regulate or structure the planning process?
- Should there be strong national regulations affecting planning practice today?
- Are there any planning policy documents from Boverket or other national agencies that influence planning practice in Norra Djurgårdsstaden? If so, do you have any concrete examples of how they are and how you are dealing with them?

Separation of functions

- Is there any separation of function affecting the planning of Norra Djurgårdsstaden?
- If so, in what ways? Is it justified to separate functions in any way in planning today?
- Do you have any concrete examples from Norra Djurgårdsstaden where there are a clear separation of functions?
- Is there any national regulations or policies that demands a separation of functions?

**Standardization**

- Is there any elements of standardization that is shaping planning practice today and the planning of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*?
- Is it justified to standardize in any way in planning today?
- Do you have any concrete examples from *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* where there are any elements of standardization?
- Is there any national regulations or policies that demands any form of standardization today?

**Mixed use**

- How will you achieve mixed use in this project?
- Are there any obstacles to achieving mixed use in *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*?
- Do you have any concrete example of hindering aspects of mixed use?

**Diversity**

- What place does diversity have in *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*?
- How can diversity be achieved?
- What are the main obstacles for achieving diversity in *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*?
- Can you give any concrete example of how diversity is implemented or hindered in the project?

**Sustainability**

- What is sustainable planning?
- How is sustainability to be achieved in *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*?
- Do you believe that a specific urban form can foster sustainability?
- What are the main obstacles for achieving sustainability in *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*?
APPENDIX C - QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire

1. Does separation of functions play any significant part in planning today? (Separation of functions is defined here as a separation of housing, work, recreation, and commercial activities. It also includes separation made in relation to traffic, safety reasons and noise levels). Do you have a concrete example of a planning situation where separation of functions occurs?

2. Does standardization play any significant part in planning today? (Standardization is defined here as referring to homogenous aesthetic expression, standardized construction materials as well as standardized planning tools or ways of working). Do you have a concrete example of a planning situation where standardization is influencing planning outcomes?

3. Is there any laws, regulations and/or policies that according to you are either hindering or supporting a separation of functions or standardization?

4. What part does mixed use play in planning today? (Mixed use is defined here as referring to an integration of various commercial activities, housing, recreation as well as a mix of different types of dwellings). Do you have a concrete example of a planning situation where mixed use have had a significant impact?

5. What part does the term diversity play in planning today? (Diversity is defined here as referring to a diversity of both in terms of social composition and design). Do you have any concrete example of a planning situation where diversity has had a prominent role?

6. Is there any laws, regulations and/or policies that according to you are either hindering or supporting mixed use and diversity?