COMMUNICATIVE PLANNING AT A CITY-REGIONAL SCALE
A CASE STUDY ON THE ACTOR-ORIENTED ARRANGEMENT OF STOCKHOLM’S REGIONAL PLANNING PROCESS

ALBERTO GIACOMETTI
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Communicative Planning at a city-regional scale: A case study on the actor-oriented arrangement of Stockholm’s regional planning process

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ALBERTO GIACOMETTI
Radboud University Nijmegen - Student Number: s4381912
Blekinge Institute of Technology, Sweden - Student Number: 910317-3515

Supervised by:
Dr. STEFANIE DÜHR
Radboud University Nijmegen
Prof. JAN-EVERT NILSSON
Blekinge Institute of Technology, Sweden

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Abstract

Fragmented administrations in city-regions represent a problem for the planning practice. Often city-regions lack legally binding physical plans, which requires multiple municipal administrations to cooperate in handling common planning issues. This thesis describes communicative planning, a flexible and more responsive approach to tackle complex social, economic and environmental realities as an alternative to traditionally rigid planning systems. A case study using qualitative methods – document analysis and semi-structured elite interviews – was used to investigate the Stockholm region. The results indicate that stimulating dialogue and interaction among actors generates recognition of each others’ interests. Ambiguity in the role of the planner was found to often lead to manipulation of previously agreed elements of the plan. Conflicts of interests, local vs. regional, centre vs. periphery, and political conflicts were identified as major conflict lines, however communicative processes can help in identifying mutually advantageous situations. Finally, multiple communicative forms were found to occur within a single planning process: while most actors learn from each other, some are more powerful, and thus in a better position to bargain; others instead use persuasion strategies to promote their interests. Occasionally, relationships based on persuasion can transform into ones based in collaboration. The formal and informal institutional settings of Stockholm regions seem to facilitate communicative planning processes, including decentralization, informal relations, pragmatism and generally trustful relations among actors.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

City-regions in many countries evidence fragmented administrative and planning systems as a consequence of urbanization and globalization processes. That complex scenario represents a problem for the planning practice, and creates the need of alternative solutions to address the many planning issues. However, in the increasing complexity of modern society and economy, top-down solutions appear to be unpopular and to generate rejection from local governments and other groups. Therefore there is growing interest for more flexible approaches, where planning processes open up to take in input from other actors and interest groups with the aim of identifying solutions that are more suitable to the current reality.

The problem emerges from the fact the municipal boundaries do not coincide with functional urban areas, since development and labour markets expand in vast areas across different municipalities. Municipalities, are forced to cooperate since generally physical planning is under the exclusive control of municipal governments, while planning legislation at regional and national level are vague and often non-binding. The question is therefore, how to integrate local plans, and the diversity of interests of the individual parts in such a way that impact is most significant without generating confrontation between the parts. The answer to this is perhaps the biggest challenge for planners and other stakeholders working on city-regional development. Although flexible approaches in planning have been common for some years now, there is still much space for experimentation and research in this field. In response to this need, the aim of this research is to zoom in on part of the complex topic and to provide additional empirical evidence on Stockholm's regional communicative planning process, with the hope to further enrich the academic debate.

The research questions set for this research are therefore,

1. How does the setting influence interaction between city-regional actors?
2. What is the role of planners in a flexible planning process?
3. What are the major conflict- lines in such processes? and,
4. What types of interactions exist among different kinds of actors in the network?

In order to answer these questions, a theoretical base is presented in Part I including an overview of the relevant literatures and a theoretical framework on the communicative planning theory; Part II provides an exhaustive description of the Swedish contextual considerations; and Part III digs into the planning process of Stockholm region by making use of empirically collected data. Altogether, this research structure should provide a well-funded argument and help identify the unique characteristics of Stockholm flexible planning process.
PART I: Literature overview and Theoretical Framework

Chapter 2: Literature overview

The point of departure of this theoretical section is the realization that there is a shift from government to governance in the way societies, territories, and resources are governed. This statement does not necessarily disregard that forms of governance existed earlier in a number of different ways, however it assumes a generalized diversification of governance arrangements in the management of territories and urban regions. Moreover, the emergence of new governance arrangements is paired in this section with the transformation of planning methods, tools and scope in response to the changing social, economic and administrative contexts. After this review of the relevant literature, the theoretical framework will build on the communicative planning theory, which is used as the lenses to look upon the case study on the actor-oriented planning approach in the Stockholm region.

Government to Governance

According to Stoker (1998), the “Anglo-American political theory uses the term ‘government’ to refer to the formal institutions of the state and their monopoly of legitimate coercive power”. Coercive power enables governments at nation state level to make decisions and enforce them in a top-down hierarchy. Such decisions in turn serve to maintain the public order and to facilitate collective action (ibid.). Wachhaus (2014) adds that the main features of government are representation and institutionalization. Thus, ‘representatives’ are a set of actors entrusted to take over a set of activities under a predefined setting (ibid.). These may refer not only to national government, but also to supra- and sub-national levels of political decision-making (Giersig, 2008: p63). However, the rigid and hierarchical government structures seem to increasingly become more permeable. Wachhaus (2014) asserts that “Government is not just about government anymore”, but governance is becoming the most popular framework for governing in which actors from various sectors are getting involved in governing processes.

There is a general agreement that “governance refers to the developing of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred” (Stoker, 1998). The diffusion of authority to new governing forms have given rise to a number of new terms and concepts such as ‘multi-level governance’, ‘multi-tiered governance’, ‘polycentric governance’, ‘competing jurisdictions’ and ‘spheres of authority’ (Marks and Hooghe, 2005). Similar ideas have been developed in different literatures, particularly federalism and public policy. However, multi-level governance (MLG) is perhaps the most commonly used term in Europe when explaining the increasing relevance of the EU in policy-making and the consequent shift in competences between different government levels and across groups. Within the literature on MLG, the appropriateness of institutional arrangements for different types of policy and governance challenges has provided input in the debate also on how complex ‘soft spaces’ or geographies with fuzzy boundaries might
best be governed. What is useful about MLG in this research, is that it distinguishes two types of governance, one that involves an horizontal relation between different governmental levels and another one that involves the inclusion of other public agencies, private actors and civil society organizations into the political arena (Marks and Hooghe 2005: p20). In reality, these two forms of governance are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Urban governance and planning in particular often combine these two forms.

Furthermore, formal and informal linkages between governmental structures and other actors gathered around common interests in public policy-making and implementation is sometimes referred to as ‘policy-network’ (Rhodes, 2007). Policies are generated from the bargaining between actors in the network (ibid.). Similarly, Giersig (2008: p63) speaks of ‘governance-networks’ for projects in which state and non-state actors come together for their implementation. In the British case, policy-making through policy- or governance-networks has a longer tradition compared to countries in continental Europe that have a more state-led and bureaucratic tradition. In fact, the British government largely relies on the private sector for the provision of public services and thus is tied to it also in decision-making processes1 (Rhodes, 2007). However, governance as policy-networks plays an increasing role in other European nations today (ibid.). The concept of policy-networks is also closely connected to the communicative turn in planning as will be explained in the theoretical framework.

**City-region as functional scale**

The intensification of urbanization and globalization processes, have produced profound changes in the relation between society and space and also in the dynamics of the economy. Improved means of transportation and communication technologies have radically changed the way people work, mobilize, communicate and interact with each other. Economies continue to internationalize and markets have become more global and more dynamic. As a result of these processes, people and companies have become increasingly mobile and unbound to specific geographical locations. Nevertheless, while economy and society has become truly global, cities and city-regions remain as the centres for economic growth and accumulation of people. Moreover, as cities continue to grow in size and influence, a number of issues emerge related to the ways they are governed and planned.

In many major cities the built-up area does not coincide with their municipal boundaries, and often development expands beyond their municipal boundaries and over the territory of neighbouring municipalities. These wide urban geographies have been termed in multiple ways including ‘metropolitan regions’, ‘city-regions’, ‘urban regions’, ‘functional urban regions’ and ‘functional urban areas’ (FUAs). Broadly speaking, all of these concepts theorize the same phenomena, which is ‘functionality’. Giersig (2008 p.156-157) defines a functional region ‘as an area which corresponds

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1 During Thatcher’s government, the marketization reforms aimed at using market to deliver public services and in this way bypass existing networks (Rhodes, 2007).
to people’s everyday movements, and the administrative borders do not necessarily coincide with these outlines”. In this and other definitions ‘people’s everyday movements’ are commonly analysed by using proxies such as commuting distances to determine the size of labour markets. However, a few policy-oriented reports have been intended at providing precise delimitations of such areas, including reports prepared by ESPON, OECD, and Nordregio (Schmitt et al. 2011). Those reports meticulously define the functional area by taking into account labour markets and by measuring commuting distances, density and other factors. However, their precise delimitation often differs in size depending on the thresholds used when doing measurements (see Figure 1).

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 1: Parameters used to define functional urban areas/regions in different policy-oriented reports. Source: Nordregio (2014)**

From the administrative point of view, the spread of urban areas and labour markets to other municipal jurisdictions represents a major source of tension (Kunzman, 2012). Tensions emerge as the interests of the different municipalities conflict, especially between peripheral and urbanizing areas, and the core-city (ibid.). This fragmentation poses tremendously challenging scenarios for both planning and policy implementation, especially when it comes to the provision of needed infrastructures and affordable housing (ibid.). It is precisely in this context that the debate on ‘re-scaling’ and network society analyses has most relevance.

The notion of re-scaling is based on the acknowledgement that territorial boundaries have become porous and no longer embraces functional units (Brenner, 1999, Swyngedouw, 2004). As a consequence, regulation theorists claim that this leads to processes of ‘de-territorialisation’ and ‘re-territorialisation’ (Swyngedouw, 2004). Meaning that globalization processes are dismantling existing geographies but at the same time new geographies are formed at different scales. In the
words of Swyngedouw (2004), “while capital expands its geographical reach and breaks through all manner of geographical barriers, new boundaries are created while older ones are broken down or become more porous”. Under such circumstances, regulation theorists advocate that the adequate scale for policy implementation at the boundaries of functional areas and therefore territorial boundaries and/or certain powers should re-scale to meet that need (Mäntysalo, 2014).

Furthermore, several theorists from various fields, such as political economy and economic geography have challenged the view on re-scaling by arguing that today’s society and economy is not bound by administrative boundaries. Castells (1996) argues that the ‘spaces of flows’ are superseding the ‘spaces of places’. Meaning that spatial (urban) processes are being ‘structured by markets, hierarchies and networks’ (Healey, 2006). This group of theorists acknowledge that functional areas change independently of administrative boundaries. Therefore, rather than a vertical approach on how to govern these territories, these authors suggest a more horizontal one.

Although there are examples of re-scaling, there is not enough empirical evidence supporting that these sorts of reforms are effective in solving the pressure of urbanization and globalization processes in city-regions. In London and Stuttgart, for instance, scaling-up institutions has happened under the assumption that regional challenges would be more effectively dealt with at the regional level of political administration (Janssen-Jensen and Hutton, 2011). However, the institutional reforming process was not fully successful due to the opposition of the regions involved and because the regional government remained weak and thus was not capable of implementing regional strategies (ibid.). The authors then recognized that new institutions and governmental layers serve only as temporary and partial solutions to the on-going challenges of urban regions (ibid.). This is because urban governance and functionality is under continuous change and thus vertical solutions rapidly become obsolete.

Moreover, according to Healey (2006) new urban governance arenas and practices have emerged, which instead of nesting in the hierarchical model of governmental layers, they involve actors from various levels of government “from the level of the European Union to local neighbourhood organizations”. Additionally, new forms of partnerships have been established between actors within the formal governmental layers and between the government, private actors and the civil society (ibid.).

The struggle in this debate regarding the spatial dimension, has to do with the fact that implementation of spatial plans has been traditionally bound to regulatory systems. Yet, regulatory systems are by-passed to a great extent due to globalization processes and the free-market economy. Instead political-economists often see regulatory systems to be an obstacle for the competitiveness of city-regions. These conflicting views have often lead to a separation in urban governance between the political-economic system and the physical implementation of spatial plans, transport solutions and other forms of physical organization of territories. However, the intention here is not to suggest one alternative over the other since re-scaling processes, including re-delimitation of boundaries, are likely to happen in the future. Nevertheless, there is an
irrefutable trend towards the formation of policy-networks in urban governance arenas. This acknowledgement simply helps to better understand the dynamics of urban governance that in turn have a direct influence over the planning practice.

**Use of Literature in this research**

The intensification of flexible governance arrangements in city-regions has also forced planning as a discipline and in practice to undergo a process of adaptation. The literature on governance has extensively discussed the transformative processes that have driven governmental and administrative structures towards more flexible governing approaches. The main transformations in such approaches include more horizontal relations between governmental layers and the inclusion of non-state actors in decision-making processes as well as in the delivery of public services. Instead other literatures deal with the transformative processes of spatial planning as a discipline and in practice, also towards a more ‘open’ approach. In these theories the ‘communicative turn’ and the ‘collaborative’ aspect are at the centre of this process (Reimer, 2013). Meaning that, similarly to governance arrangements, planning has become more open towards including new actors in their regular procedures.

Moreover, it has become clear among planners that planning, in its ‘hard’ and technical form is limiting and not always effective in solving planning and societal problems (Albrechts, 2004). According to Albrechts, legally binding land-use plans across Europe provide a higher degree of certainty during the implementation processes, but are rigid and less responsive to changing conditions (ibid.). Land-use plans are predominantly intended at providing physical solutions to social and economic problems, which often undermines the non-linear patterns of human activity. For this reason, planning systems have evolved towards less prescriptive modes in support of more flexible practices that would better respond to the continuous alteration in the social and economic conditions (ibid.). Finally, planning has also has broadened its scope by the inclusion of the social, economic and environmental dimensions into practice (Reimer, 2004).

Furthermore, a more profound explanation behind the turning point of planning is provided in an the theoretical framework, which evolves around the communicative planning theory in particular.

**Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework**

**Communicative planning theory**

The transformation of politico-administrative systems toward more flexible governance arrangements has produced an increasingly complex scenario for the planning practice. Since the ‘perfect’ conditions for strict rational planning are not existent today (Allmendinger, 2009 p.212), planners have to cope with increasingly complex power relations. Meaning that planners are forced to play a different game, in which they are one of the players rather than single experts. In this line the communicative planning theory builds on the inclusion of new actors and broadening scope in
planning processes. This theoretical framework builds on communicative processes and presents the practical tools used to analyse the case study on Stockholm’s regional planning process.

Communicative planning emerges from the wave of criticism to the planning discipline, which was and still is extremely dominated by the rational model. According to Allmendinger (2009 p.197), the issue is that while society is rapidly changing, the planning practice remains tied to old-fashioned procedures. The ‘rational model’, in Woltjer’s (2000 p.18) words has a “comprehensive view of reality and decision making, a mechanistic view on control, and an ambition towards technical, scientific knowledge”. Under such positivistic view, planning was supposed to function as a science by focusing on the measurable (Innes and Booher, 2015). That technical approach was used to define planning as apolitical (Woltjer, 2000 p.18), and to consider planners simply as neutral analysts (Innes and Booher, 2015). Thus, planning is something planners do, while citizens’ participation is confined to provide advice about values and preferences.

The rational model in planning received a wave of criticism from different angles. Already in the 1960s, Lindblom (1965, in Woltjer 2000, p.18) challenged rational planning by arguing that the view of planning is too limited to have a holistic perspective. Others added, that planning is more concerned on sticking to the plan before maximizing the realization of the objectives set (ibid.). Allmendinger also questions the ‘scientific’ approach of rational planning by reflecting on the context and singularities of “disparate and diverse communities” (Allmendinger, 2009 p.197). Lastly other opinions have strongly criticized the supposedly ‘apolitical’ nature of planning, since according to Woltjer (2000 p.18), when setting goals and priorities planners unavoidable ‘face political decision making’.

Furthermore, it has become clear today that technical experts alone are not going to solve societal problems (Foster, 1989 in Woltjer 2000, p.19). Instead, according to Woltjer (2000, p.18), systems theory inspired planning theorists during the 1960s and 1970s, to see planning as an integrated part of other systems, such as the physical environment and the political system. Systems theorists considered participation as desirable, and thus allowing the participation of other actors started being thought as an instrument for effective planning (ibid. p.19). Also, research had shown that already in reality the rational model was not strictly utilized, since interaction with other actors was already essential in planning process to find common agreements regarding values and goals (Innes and Booher, 2015). As a consequence to this debate, communicative planning has been suggested as an alternative for rational planning since the 1970’s (Woltjer 2000, p.19) as a more suitable approach to analyse planning processes in complex and participatory governance arrangements.

There have been different contributions to the communicative planning perspective, but the most influential has been Habermas’ philosophical work, which is an overall critique to modernity (Allmendinger, 2009 p.197). Habermas “questioned the dominance of the instrumental rationality in everyday life and sought instead to re-emphasize other ways of knowing and thinking” (ibid, p.197-198). The problem with instrumental rationality is that is has dimmed other ways of thinking and
distorted power relations in society (ibid. p.200), and thus the motives behind planning goals were not sufficiently addressed (Woltjer, 2000 p.19). For this reason, Habermas' communicative rationality requires the abandonment of scientific objectivism and the creation of a new objectivity based on common agreements that are reached through open discourse between the parts (ibid.). In contrast to the rational model, communicative planning emphasises the process rather than the outcome, where power is dispersed among the several actors, and control is of voluntary compliance rather than a central authority (ibid. p.20).

According to Innes and Booher (2015), power is not only located in particular institutions or applied coercively only, but is distributed across actors and applied in various ways. Rather than neglecting the power of governmental structures, the argument here is that power is also manifested in informal settings. Innes and Booher point out, particularly, the power of communication, as it "shapes shared meaning and accordingly influences action" (ibid.). Power through communication occurs through the “construction of meaning on the basis of discourses through which social actors guide their actions" (ibid.). In the Habermas' thinking, communication is a way of acting on others rather than a way to impose facts, but facts are socially constructed (ibid.). Moreover, the authors argue that power does not lie on institutions or individuals but rather in specific relationships. Such relationships can also be a two-way or multiple-way process, meaning that also the weakest actor can show resistance to imposed power from stronger actors, and eventually influence outcomes (ibid.).

The communicative rationale in planning is aimed at explicitly evidencing those power relations in order to boost collaboration. In this sense, collaboration is not about agreement, but about conflict, otherwise collaboration would not be needed in the first place (Innes and Booher, 2015). On the contrary, if properly addressed, conflict can be a valuable resource to identify solutions that were not foreseen before. In this context, the role of the planner is that of a facilitator and mediator, thus to provide information and the necessary guidance to find middle grounds where conflict of interests is present (Woltjer, 2000 p.21). With time, collaboration can potentially build trust among actors as well as recognition of each other's interests, which in turn makes them more easily accommodate to situations that are not the best case scenario for one individual actor, but one that is a general best and that at least leads to agreement (Innes and Booher, 2015).

Nevertheless, despite attempts to improve public involvement and widen participation, planning processes remain dominated by instrumental rationality (Allmendinger, 2009 p.197). One explanation for it is that planners still support the technical nature, and thus the objectivity of the discipline (ibid.). However, alternative approaches have mostly been presented as critiques rather than as concrete alternatives (Allmendinger 2009 p.209). Therefore, regardless of the criticism, planning theory seems to be locked-in a situation with strongly divided discourses (Innes and Booher, 2015). Although, communicative planning is to an extent presented as a conciliatory alternative between ‘hard’ planning and other policy fields and interests.
Lastly, it is important to point out that communicative planning is not necessarily a complete substitution of rational planning since the technical practice is not replaced by dialogue and consultation. Instead the two planning approaches involve different kind of actors, different kind of planning, and occur at a different time, stage and level (Alexander, 1996 in Woltjer 2000, p.20). Woltjer (2000, p.20) adds that both forms actually function parallelly. Thus technical practices are complementary to communicative processes that are meant to define goals and strategies.

**Practical differences in communicative processes**

A general acknowledgement that has emerged from the academic debate, is that technical knowledge is not enough for solving the increasingly complex societal problems, but by gathering expertise and ‘non-professional contributions’ through formal, and also informal settings (Foster, 1989 in Woltjer 2000, p.19). Now, the question is how and under what arrangements should this process take place. As aforementioned, there is no consensus on a concrete alternative for planning, other than the generally accepted idea that it should involve actors from heterogeneous backgrounds during the planning process. However, Woltjer’s book titled: *Consensus planning: The relevance of communicative planning theory in Dutch infrastructure development*, provides some practical considerations that can be used to analyse the nature of communicative planning approaches.²

According to Woltjer (2000, p.23-24), the focus today is more on ‘real participation’. However, current academic discussions see actor participation in decision making processes to be extremely complex as the actors involved in such processes change over time as well as the issues at stake and the views about ‘things’ (ibid.). The same issues have been dealt in literatures related to ‘policy-network’ and ‘governance’ where their premise is that today decision-making is extremely complex and divided (ibid.). What these literatures add to this discourse is that they contemplate other forms of informal collaborations and negotiations between public and private actors (ibid.). Therefore, beyond the degree of involvement of actors, what remains to be dealt is the nature of communicative processes.

Woltjer (2000, p.25-45) addresses three forms of communicative planning process, including: collaboration and learning, bargaining and negotiation, and persuasion and will-shaping. Based on Woltjer’s work, the three forms are explained as follows:

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² Woltjer work on consensus planning (2000) uses that term as an umbrella for all theoretical approaches dealing with communicative and collaborative planning, or that involve public participation. Instead, in a more recent literature overview, Innes and Booher (2015), treats consensus planning only as a specific type of collaboration. They argue that collaboration simply implies ‘co-labor on a task’, without giving any specific parameters of how is it done nor defining whether same status and capacity of influence is given equally to all participants (ibid.). However, the way Woltjer uses the terms ‘consensus’ is more general about all approaches that advocate for actor-inclusive settings during decision-making process. Therefore, even though recent literature presents the term differently, Woltjer’s contributions still hold for communicative and collaborative planning processes.
1. Collaboration and learning: involves ‘consensus building, debate, and communicative rationality’. Decisions are based on common agreements rather than relying solely on technical expertise. The aim is to generate new knowledge from the various contributions in such a way that solutions to planning issues emerge from group discussions. Learning from one another is fundamental, and thus technical knowledge is equally relevant to other forms of knowledge delivered as narratives, or storytelling. Additionally, this approach does not accept an objective reality but relies on social learning. Meaning that actors put themselves in the position of others to understand them and value their arguments, and in this way generate a common understanding that respects each others interests. This approach assumes interdependency, meaning that implementation of goals depends on all individual actions.

2. Bargaining and negotiation: this approach assumes that common agreements depend on negotiation, trade-offs and compensations between actors. Negotiations ultimately aim for maximizing benefits from all parties leading to win-win outcomes. During negotiation parties will not agree if they know that they can get greater benefit from the situation, this notion expresses the power position of an actor and also is the way out if negotiation fails. Actors are not assumed to have equal status but differences in power are acknowledged. Successful negotiations depend to a large extent on trust between actors and freedom of action during the process. In this approach, the planner’s role is mainly of a mediator as to avoid as much as possible any win-lose situation or yes-no terms.

3. Persuasion and will-shaping: persuasion is a way of getting other actors used to particular points of view or types of solutions. It results from intentional repeated interactions between individuals at official, social and political levels. This approach involves rhetoric, marketing and politics. People convince other people that their views are the correct ones, and mobilized them to influence government policy. Planning by persuasion is organized around governmental structures. Thus the relevance of planning solutions depend on power positions and the degree of trust to whom provides information, rather the quality of that information.

According to Woltjer (2000, p.26), in reality the three communicative planning approaches often co-exist, but the classification is useful to assess the nature of these processes and to understand how actors in different power positions interact with each other. Within one process, interactions between actors can fit different parameters. While some collaborate, others have to bargain for agreement, and others need persuasion to in an effort to be influential. In the same way, one single actor can be exposed to different kinds of interactions.

Another practical consideration has to do with the setting in which communicative processes take place. According to Wänström (2013 p159-160), large public meetings are the traditional way in which communicative processes and public consultation is organized. In this setting, the authorities are situated in one side facing the crowd of citizens situated on the other side. The meeting typically
starts with an informative presentation and is followed by a ‘question-and-answer’ session (ibid.). According to Wänström, this form of public meetings usually does not encourage interaction and dialogue, but rather the planner is situated in powerful position and responds questions in a sort of Ping-Pong manner (Figure 2). Thus, instead of promoting a greater democratic communicative process, they often create a sense of “we against them”. This approach commonly boosts conflicts and apathy between citizens and officials.

![Diagram](https://example.com/diagram1.png)

**Figure 2:** Theoretical communication patterns in large public meetings. Based on: Wänström 2013 p160

Moreover, Wänström (2013 p160) identifies other settings that promote communication and interaction in a better way. For instance, an ‘open house’ is a convention in which officials and/or planners are scattered around a room where visual information is provided. In this way representatives mingle among citizens and engage into conversation with smaller groups of citizens and one-to-one discussions with single individuals (ibid.). Another type of setting is ‘focus groups’ where citizens are divided, among representatives, into groups of 5-to-10 individuals to discuss the issues at stake. These types of settings appear to be much more successful in generating real interaction, and allow citizens also to provide input, rather than to simply ask questions about a plan or a project (Figure 3. ibid. p160-161).

![Diagram](https://example.com/diagram2.png)

**Figure 3:** Theoretical communication in interactive friendly settings. Based on: Wänström 2013 p161
In this research, rather than public meetings, the case study looks at dialogues and consultation processes that welcome different interest groups, institutions and agencies. Thus instead of gathering regular citizens, they gather representatives of the different institutions and citizens organizations.

**Use of theory and tools**

The communicative planning theory and practical considerations were chosen as the lenses from which to look through the case study on Stockholm’s regional planning process. Before getting immersed in the case study, Chapters 5 and 6, set the scene of the Swedish administrative and planning systems. Although, these chapters are more general and descriptive, they are anchored to the theory and serve as the basis for following chapters. Moreover, Chapter 7 uses the practical considerations to analyse the primary data by following four main themes: 1) Stockholm’s regional plan as an illustration of communicative planning; 2) the role of planners; 3) central conflicts/issues in the planning process according to actors, and 4) the three forms of communicative planning- collaboration and learning, bargaining and negotiating, and persuasion and will-shaping. Lastly the final chapter provides a conclusive discussion addressing the main findings of the case study in relation to the communicative planning theory.

**Chapter 4: Methodology**

**Research Strategy**

Ontological and epistemological considerations demarcate the most fundamental differences in conducting research. Ontology and epistemology are concerned with the various ways of understanding and constructing reality. In doing so, researchers are bound to choose a methodology to define their position and the tools used to acquire knowledge. When conducting social research, quantitative methodologies typically apply a natural science and positivist approach to social phenomena (Bryman, 1984). Positivism denotes the strong search for definitions, objectivity, replicability and causality (ibid.). In a way quantitative research is used to identify ‘the single truth’, an underlying truth that needs to be uncovered through rigorous application of methodology. In that approach, a preferred method is the social survey (ibid.) or experiments, and results are assumed to be replicable. In contrast, qualitative methodologies are considered to be more flexible and are open to the discovery of unanticipated findings, which in turn may require the alteration of the original research plans (ibid.). These approaches largely rely on interpretivism, in which the social world is seen from the point of view of the researcher (ibid.).

Furthermore, the choice of methodology is directly connected to the research design, and therefore to the methods used to collect the data. Quantitative methodologies emphasise the measurable, test a priori hypotheses and are less concern with fieldwork (Bryman, 1984). Instead, qualitative methodologies depart from the phenomenological position, which values people’s lived experiences
In social research of this kind, methods that ‘facilitate an inside view’ are necessary (ibid.). Participant observation is maybe the most famous method, but many other methods, such as unstructured interviewing, storytelling, document analysis, are regularly used. According to Bryman, there is no such thing as a superior technique, or method, but rather, some techniques are better than others depending on the research question and topic that is under investigation. Therefore, the choice of methods is not an epistemological issue but a technical one (ibid.). However, when it comes to the social world, qualitative studies have a better chance of getting a deeper understanding of broader social phenomena rather than single events. In Bryman’s words:

“...qualitative researchers produce data which they often call ‘rich’ by which is meant data with a great deal of depth. Survey data are typically seen as deficient in this respect for they provide superficial evidence on the social world, winking out the causal relationships between arbitrarily chosen variables which have little or no meaning to those individuals whose social worlds they are meant to represent” (Bryman, 1984 p79).

In other words, qualitative methodologies and methods are more sensitive to cultural and historical context at stake (Sandelowski, et al., 2004), while quantitative methods allow the researcher to test a hypothesis and attempt to generalise the results. The on-going debate between quantitative and qualitative methodology might lead one to believe that the two methodological standpoints are in opposition, however many have indicated that combining the two approaches to research will actually allow the researcher to arrive at a deeper understanding of the research question.

Spatial planning in particular has been traditionally bound to technical tools, however, communicative planning approaches have proved to be more sensitive to the changing conditions of society and economy, and to specific contexts. This type of planning does not substitute the former; instead they happen separately and at different scales (Innes and Booher, 2015). While communicative planning procedures involve social gatherings and decision-making in collaboration between different stakeholders, detailed or project planning remains a technical practice. In this research, the focus is on the communicative planning process in the Stockholm Region, rather than on the specific planning issues. Thus, the analysis is centred on the roles of different actors and their relationships. Therefore, the methodology chosen for this research is strictly qualitative, the epistemological view is interpretivist and the methods used are flexible with the intention of capturing social phenomena as detailed as possible.

Research design: a case study approach

The research design is structured around the case study approach. The strength of this type of research is that it captures “reality” in more detail since it allows for a larger number of variables to be analysed (Ruddin, 2006), as well as for the use of multiple methods for the data collection (Neale et al., 2006). According to Ruddin (2006 p798), “a case study is an in-depth study of the particular, where the researcher seeks to increase his or her understanding of the phenomena studied".
Case study research, however, has been criticized for being less rigorous than surveys and other methods (Neale et al., 2006). It is also argued that it is not possible to make generalizations from single case studies (Neale et al., 2006; Ruddin, 2006). However, Ruddin (2006) explains that criticism has been greatly misleading. Although it is true that case studies provide a comprehensive review of a single case, it is untrue that the case study cannot contribute with trustworthy information about broader processes and patterns (ibid.). In this sense, case study research is not presented as a replacement for survey and experimental methods, but as a different form of inquiry, which is not an inferior scientific method as such (ibid.). On the contrary, Ruddin emphasizes that the case study is probably the most basic method of science.

A common criticism of case studies is their lack of generalizing power. It is for this reason that Ruddin (2006) explains that comparative case studies are a better option as to avoid driving inferences that are unique for a single case. This research uses one single case, but tackles this issue by avoiding doing generalizations inductively. Instead, this project uses a common approach, which Ruddin calls “hypothetico-deductive theorizing” (ibid. p800), meaning that instead of doing inferences from a case study, the broader theoretical ground is imposed to the case, in such a way that the case serves to complement existing theory and to provide more specific elements within a particular case. For instance, in this research, the inclusion of actors in Stockholm’s regional planning can be understood as part of broader global processes, such as the popularization of horizontal governance arrangements and communicative planning approaches. Instead, the case study provides more detailed elements that are context-specific, such as informal institutional arrangements, types of interactions between actors, power relations and conflicts. This makes it possible to better understand how broader process manifest within the specific conditions of Stockholm Region.

In planning, case study research is used for a number of purposes, such as to bring forward phenomena relevant for the formulation of urban public policy; to describe the decision-making processes; and to provide exemplary cases of what can be considered ‘best practices’ (Birch, 2012 p.265). This research first describes the Swedish administrative and planning systems and then unfolds the planning process of Stockholm region. In this way, the specific features and procedures identified in this specific case make it possible to do inferences about planning processes in general.

**Research methods, data collection and data analysis**

Case study research allows the researcher to collect and present data through multiple methods, such as surveys, interviews, observations, or structured document analysis, which in turn make it possible to identify deeper insights from the object of study (Neale et al., 2006). According to Birch (2012 p.266), before deciding which methods will be used, it is important to be clear about the unit of analysis, which can be a group, a process, a project and so on. In this research the unit of analysis is a planning process. Attention is placed on the setting used, the power relations between the actors involved, the role of the planners as leaders of the process, and the types of relationships
that exist between actors. Therefore, the content of the regional plan is not addressed but rather the nature of the process leading to it.

The methods used for the data collection were: document analysis and elite semi-structured interviews. The official website of Stockholm’s regional planning office (‘Traffic and Regional Planning office’ (TRF) was used as the entrance source to official documents, including Stockholm’s Regional Plan (RUF 2010), previous drafts of the plan, and the feedback provided by the actors involved during the consultation period. A pitfall however, is that most of this information is available only in Swedish. Thus only the most relevant sections have been translated.

According to Margaret Olson (2010), documents can be categorized into three types: public records, personal documents, and physical materials (Olson, 2010). Public records, which are the ones relevant in this research, include anything that is available for public use, such as census data; newspaper articles, archives, maps; company and government policy documents; photographs; flyers, and so on (ibid.). Document analysis is relevant in this case study since it focuses on a process that involves the elaboration of planning documents, the RUFS specifically. However, no systematic analysis of entire documents is provided since they focus on planning issues, which are irrelevant for this research. Instead they served only to identify more specific elements about the planning process. For instance the RUFS provides information about the setting and general statements of the actors involved and procedures used in the process. Instead the TRF website provided a more detailed description of the planning process, with short summaries of the results and a complete list of the actors involved during consultations (See Appendixes 1 and 2). Other actors were involved in other phases, but this is the most complete list available. This information was used as to gather a general understanding of the process itself, and served as the background for conducting interviews.

Prior to the interviews, an interview guide was developed containing broad questions regarding the interviewees’ individual role in the process, their perceptions and experiences. The interview guide was organized thematically on the basis of the practical considerations provided in the theoretical framework. Yet the interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner in order to give space to the interviewees to expand more on topics considered most important. Instead of expecting a large sample, the objective here was to select key interviewees, whose opinions allow the researcher to get a better view of the process. These type of interviews are typically called ‘elite-interviews’ and are used when instead of “Involving the general public, they target actors who are in a privileged position in relation to a particular activity or area of policy, often having direct influence over it” (Huggings, 2014 p2-3). All these interviews were recorded and transcribed in an effort to utilize and assess the data in a more logical and reliable manner.

Moreover, interviews were aimed at obtaining a more detailed understanding of the power relations, conflicts and other individual perceptions of the planning process. The strategy behind identifying potential interviewees was to gather a diverse group as to avoid one-sided and biased opinions. The selection included actors representing different levels of government and sectors,
such as public servants, private companies, and interest groups. From the list of actors provided at the TRF website, their individual reactions to the consultation phase were downloaded randomly. Those documents always include the signature of the individual(s) that were directly involved in the process. Those names were collected in a list and emails were sent to all of those whose contacts information was available on the web. The email included a short explanation of the project and a request to participate in an interview. Additionally, through the ‘snowball’ strategy, some experts provided references of other actors they considered central to the discussion, such as politicians and regional planners who do not take part in the consultation phase.

A list of the respondents is presented below including a description of their profiles. Numbers are given to each respondent according to their position: 1) indicates regional planner; 2) county politician; 3) local planner; 4) interests group/trade union; and 5) NGO. The numbers are used to cite their opinions when analysing the empirical data in Part III. Additionally, number 6) is used to cite the TRF website.

1. **Hans Brattström (1)**: Planner at the regional planning office for almost thirty years. Has been involved in the planning processes for all three Stockholm’s regional plans regulated under the Planning and Building Act. Together with two others, Brattström was given the responsibility to lead the programming phase for the current plan, the RDFS 2010.

2. **Gustav Hemming (2)**: Elected official from the Centre party. Occupies the position as a county Commissioner, and is the Chairman for the Board of Regional Development, and also for the Board of Environmental policies.

3. **Joel Edding (3)**: Worked as a planner at Huddinge kommun in Stockholm county

4. **Per Forsling (4)**: Chief of development at Fastighetsägarna, real estate owners organization and trade union representing 17,000 members in Sweden and some 5,000 in the Stockholm region.

5. **Mårten Wallberg (5)**: President of the Stockholm regional branch of Naturskyddsföreningen and vice-president at national level. Naturskyddsföreningen is an NGO concerned with environmental issues. The highly influential organization was founded in 1909 and has a national reach with more than 221,000 members.

Moreover, another interview was conducted under different premises, namely a conversational approach. This interview was conducted with Gösta Blücher, who besides holding other relevant positions was also the Director general of the National board for housing, building and planning (Boverket) between 1988-1998. Blücher also led the development of the new Planning and Building Act (PBL). Blücher is an honorary member of the Swedish Society for Town and Country Planning and has been active in recent years as a professor at Blekinge Tekniska Högskola. He is considered one of the most knowledgeable individuals in Sweden when it comes to Swedish planning legislation. The structure of the interview with differed from the others because it was used for a different purpose. Blücher’s contribution was used to learn about the Swedish planning system in
detail and to investigate motives behind changes in legislation over time. Being an expert in the field, Blücher was also asked to review parts of the present project. His input was particularly useful for Part II and III.

**Interpretation of the data**

Birch (2012) asserts that the interpretation of qualitative studies involves analytical generalizations, instead of statistical generalizations as used in quantitative studies. In doing so, the researcher evaluates features and/or identifies patterns that relate to the research questions (ibid.). Those patterns were identified by making use of the four themes identified in the theoretical framework for the assessment of primary data. Finally, triangulation between methods helped to provide greater reliability to the analysis of the data. Documents and the TRF website served as background to understand the process, and serve mostly to address the first thematic question, which is Stockholm regional planning as an illustration of communicative planning. In triangulation with some of the interviews, document analysis allows for a deeper understanding of the process itself and to fit the experiences revealed by interviewees in the different phases of the planning process. Therefore, information gathered during interviews is cross-referenced to document analysis.

**Challenges**

The main strategy used for participant recruitment was largely unsuccessful, even if it was excellent at pointing out the individuals that were involved in the process. Instead the ‘snowball approach’ proved to be more effective. It was also challenging to guide interviews towards the fields of interest, rather than specific elements of the planning. Respondents tended to easily centre in their field of expertise and provide detail descriptions of ‘content’ rather than about the process what was of interest for this research.
PART II: Swedish Governance and Regional Planning and the Stockholm Context

This part consists of Chapters 5 and 6 and is meant to provide a detailed description of the Swedish administrative and planning context and the Stockholm city-regional characteristics, respectively. This descriptive section will provide a sound basis for the case study on communicative planning in Stockholm, dealt in Part III.

Chapter 5: The Swedish politico-administrative system and the reconstruction of the region

The Swedish public administrative organization is three-tiered system, meaning that it is structured in three democratic levels, the national, county or regional and local. The relationship between them is not hierarchical, but instead each of these levels count with their own self-governing authorities, which are directly elected by the citizenship and are in charge of different responsibilities (Hägglund, 2013 p.59). All levels have the right to collect taxes, which gives them a certain level of fiscal and operational autonomy. The directly elected bodies include: kommuner (municipalities) at the local level; landsting (county councils) at the regional level; and the Riksdag (parliament), and the Regering (government) at the national level. The municipalities are responsible for matters directly related to the citizens and their immediate environment; the county councils and regions are traditionally responsible solely for healthcare; and the Swedish parliament is the supreme political decision-making body (Hägglund, 2013 p.60). Additionally, national authorities and agencies also represent the State at the regional level through the länsstyrelse (county administrative boards) (ibid.).

Sweden is generally characterized by the strong intervention of the State; however, according to Giersig (2008. p131) "municipalities act as an important counterbalance to the powerful and wide-ranging authority of central governments and vice versa". Meaning that municipalities have a high degree of autonomy and a significant political role, while at the same time many responsibilities in relation to the welfare provision are defined by the central government. Moreover, the range of action of the regional authorities, and their capacity to intervene remains ‘poorly developed’ (ibid.). In this sense, even though Sweden is an unitary State, it is to be described as highly decentralized and centralized simultaneously.

The high degree of autonomy of Swedish municipalities has a long tradition and it was strengthened between the 1950’s and 1971 when the number of municipalities was reduced from 2500 to 275 as several units were merged together (Blücher, 2015 personal communication). Today Sweden has 290 municipalities as some of the merged units have been split up (ibid.). In practical terms, municipalities are mostly responsible for welfare provision; they have the ‘planning monopoly’ and a large extent of fiscal independence due to their right to collect income taxes
(Häglund, 2013 p.60-66). Municipalities provide most of the direct services, in fact more than fifty percent of public expenditure occurs at that level (Giersig, 2008: p138). Additionally, municipalities are generally large landowners, possessing not only land, but also real estate (ibid.). In short, municipal governments are immensely powerful.

Within the politico-administrative structure, characterized by strong central and local levels of decision-making, the region or county level remains fairly weak. Differently from Germany, Italy or Spain, Swedish regions generally do not represent a strong base of cultural identity. In fact county councils have traditionally had an extremely limited responsibility and capacity of influence (Giersig, 2008. p:140). However, the regional level has experienced a number of changes in the past two decades since Sweden’s accession to the EU. Yet these changes have not been equally applied to all counties. In 1997 the Regional Pilot Programme was launched with the intention of transferring certain powers from the county administration board to either a directly elected regional assembly or to a Regional Council (Stegmann McCallion, 2007). The first scenario took place in counties such as Skåne and Västra Götaland, whereas the second scenario became true in Kalmar (ibid.). For instance one of the tasks assumed by the mentioned bodies was the responsibility for regional development. Stockholm county instead kept the old system with an elected county council and a county administrative board, the State authority at the regional level. Nevertheless, within the old structure, the Stockholm county council has also assumed new competences in the fields of transportation and infrastructural matters, and is the only county in Sweden to possess a formal regional plan.

This process of regionalization and decentralization broadened the scope of the regional administrations, especially compared to the traditional function of county councils, which used to be limited to health care only. However, the majority of counties in Sweden remain under the old structure. According to Giersig (2008 p.135) the formation of Regional governments in Sweden “should not be interpreted as the expression of a new sense of regional belonging, but rather as a very pragmatic attempt to attract EU regional funds”. In the same way, Stegmann McCallion (2007), points out that changes in regional administration and regional policy in Sweden were based on the multi-level governance perspective, which was a concept that was first coined in a study on EU regional and cohesion policy (ibid.). The common justification used to support the decentralization of regional policy, is that it is the adequate level for development policy. In Sweden, the argument used by the government’s proposal was that:

“...economic growth is created at local and regional level, by people in business and the services which municipalities throughout the country are responsible for. Since the conditions vary across the country a greater regional and local freedom of action is an important prerequisite for a more even [across the country] economic growth. ... All parts of Sweden shall contribute to the country’s economic growth. The central state’s most important role is to create conditions—necessary structures—for such development (Regerings Proposition, 2001/02:4: 6, in Stegmann McCallion, 2007).

Nevertheless, the level of influence that regions have gained was quite limited since they depend on municipal governments to decide upon implementation. In this sense, regions can potentially
increase their role in enhancing cooperation between regional stakeholders, rather than directly designing development and planning strategies. In the near future, however, the messy organization that exists at present at the regional level of political administration might be finally restructured. According to Eva Hägglund, a ‘senior advisor in urban planning and growth and Community Association of Local Authorities and Regions’:

"The regional arena is currently under reconstruction in Sweden, and regions will be reshaped in different ways in the years to come. Issues that hitherto have been considered a state responsibility, and thus administratively by the County Administrative Boards, may be transferred to regional management" (Hägglund, 2013 p.64).

Additionally, in a personal meeting, Gösta Blücher confirmed Hägglund’s statement (2015 personal communication). Blücher, was recently invited to take part in a committee assigned by the parliament to address the inconsistent organization of regions across Sweden and to further develop planning law at that level. The outcomes of this committee are still uncertain, but Blücher is confident that important decisions will be made in relation to the regional level of political organization, and that such decisions will define a standard model for all regions in Sweden. Among other changes, it is expected that certain responsibilities will be transferred from the national and local levels to the regional administrations. There is also support for reducing the number of regions by merging some of them together. However, the outcomes of the committee have first to be discussed by the parliament, and hence it is hard to predict how the political discussion will affect decision-making (ibid.).

**A tradition of inclusion, consensus-seeking and egalitarianism in Sweden**

As mentioned in the section above, a strong intervention of the State characterizes the Swedish political administration, while at the same time municipalities have a high degree of fiscal and decision-making autonomy. However, Sweden is also characterized from its strong egalitarian tradition, which involves principles of inclusion and consensus seeking during decision-making processes. According to Giersig (2008: p124) coalition governments have been a Swedish, and ‘Nordic peculiarity’ since the early 20th century, which partly explains the deeply rooted political culture of compromise and consensus seeking. Within the political arena, decisions typically result from tough bargaining processes between political parties seeking for compromise. However, besides political parties, the principles of inclusion have implied the policy goal of taking into account the concerns of interest groups during decision-making processes. Consequently, trade unions, private firms and social movements have long been involved in policy-making processes (ibid.).

Lubatkin, et al. (2005) explain that the values that have shaped national institutions in Sweden are: low power distance, egalitarianism, collective responsibility, and cooperation; are essentially different to those in the USA. In the USA context, agency theory has focused on “self-interest and enforced compliance, based on norms of individualistic opportunism”, whereas in the Swedish context, the dominant “form is based on norms of collective responsibility and voluntary compliance”
(ibid.). In this line, while in the USA acting upon one's self interest is seen as the individual desire to maximize utility, in Sweden the assumption is that managers' own initiative is used for the good of corporate assets (ibid.). All of this is to say, that Sweden has a long tradition of collective decision-making, with strong principles of equality and a wide amount of trust between institutions.

Moreover, when digging into the way decisions are elaborated, negotiated and implemented at the local level, this ideal of compromise and consensus becomes evident. Giersig (2008, p132-133) asserts that at municipal level there has been clear opposition towards empowering single leaders, but instead the corporatist model has prevailed. Hence, likewise the national level, city councils are mostly run by coalitions with various parties that bargain for compromise (ibid.). Additionally, the involvement of interest groups at this level has been essential since municipalities have the largest responsibility when it comes to the provision of services that have a direct impact in citizens' lives.

Furthermore, municipalities' wide-range decision-making power has not been without the control of the central government. Municipalities still need to comply with the central government's requirements in matters of welfare distribution, which in principle should be equal across the nation. Swedish welfare state has been "devoted to the goal of achieving an egalitarian society by the means of pursuing universalistic and extensively redistributive policies" (Giersig, 2008 p128). The Swedish welfare model, established shortly after the end of the Second World War, was based on the principle that all citizens regardless of their place of residence, had access to equal opportunities and standards of living (Westholm, 2010 p49). The redistributive implications of this model had a clear spatial component in which resources were reallocated from the urban areas to the rural periphery (ibid.). The far-reaching State intervention was justified by the argument that industrialization should arrive to all regions in order to create local jobs and generate economic growth from across the nation (ibid. p52). In this sense, the welfare model was also assumed to be a driver for economic development.

Even though the ideals of equality had well institutionalized in Sweden, they have not fully materialized (Giersig, 2008 p127-128). According to Westholm (2010 p53), by the 1980s, Sweden had achieved quite an even distribution of disposable income between households and across all regions. However, major urban centres continued to flourish and attract immigrants from rural regions. Thus it became increasingly recognized that the policy of spatial redistribution was not enough to cope with the widening gaps between the urban and rural regions (ibid. p54). Achieving balanced development across regions appeared to be incompatible with the policies of modernization and economic competitiveness (ibid.). Consequently, strong scepticism rose from the State intervention in the economy, which during the economic recession, at the beginning of the 1990s, led to a substantial contraction of the welfare State. Some of the measures taken by the conservative-liberal government ruling at that time included deregulation, privatization of productive activities, tax reforms in favour of corporations and upper income groups and the reduction of compensation levels in multiple State-led programmes (ibid. p53-54). However, according to Blücher, "the hardest cuts in welfare institutions and subsidies were made by the social
democratic government coming into power in 1994” (2015 personal communication). All in all, even though the principles of an egalitarian society have been of high priority in Sweden the uneven patterns of socio-spatial distribution have remained present (Giersig, 2008 p128) and intensified after the financial crisis of the 1990s (Blücher, 2015 personal communication).

**Urbanization and Metropolitan Governance**

From a wider time-perspective, urbanization in Sweden has been mostly a phenomenon of the 20th century, however, it re-intensified after the severe crisis and subsequent structural changes in the 1990’s (Giersig 2008 p152-155). The peak of industrial production and rapid economic growth in Sweden coincides with the implementation of the welfare state, which in turn produced directly and indirectly a fast process of urbanization. According to Engström and Cars (2013 p,12-14), Sweden was almost unaffected by the war, yet it was deeply influenced by the planning trends of other European States, and especially Britain. As the western European States, devastated by the war, were undergoing reconstruction, Sweden was becoming a major supplier of goods to the continent (ibid.). Swedish industry was booming and so was urbanization. New industrial sites started to pop out mainly at the peripheries of urban centres attracting a wave of rural settlers to move in, in search for new opportunities (ibid.).

Under such circumstances, what followed was the industrialization of the construction sector, a Fordist approach of planning and building housing (Engström and Cars 2013 p.13). Large-scale development projects popped out at the outskirts of major cities, giving rise to the modern suburbs and a car-oriented mobility (ibid.). The zoning or specialization of development projects divided residential areas with commercial ones, resulting in the dissolution of the physical structure of cities into “an archipelago of functional areas” (ibid.). In this sense, urbanization resulted not only in an extraordinary expansion of major cities in terms of population and physical area, but also in an increasingly complex social structure.

Furthermore, globalization has added complexity to the dynamics of urban regions and also to their governance systems. People, goods and capital move unrestricted of national, regional and municipal boundaries, while at the same time the urban areas and primarily metropolitan regions are seen to become the key places of economic growth (Schmitt, et al. 2011). According to Schmitt, the increasing economic importance of metropolitan regions in Europe and in the Nordic countries can be “attributed to the spatial logic and territorial needs of the knowledge-based economy in terms of human capital, infrastructures, cultural assets and creative milieus (ibid.). This implies that today, international competitiveness is measured, to a large extent, at the level of metropolitan regions. In awareness of it, a number of State-led initiatives and policies in the Sweden are clearly designed to promote the competitiveness of metropolitan regions (Johansson et al. 2009 in Schmitt, et al. 2011). The implication of such strategies, however, is that favouring central regions comes along with the expense of unbalanced development, in which peripheral regions are systematically disadvantaged. This in turn represents a substantial shift in the paradigm of territorial governance in Sweden,
especially in contrast to the principles of the welfare state model, which clearly aimed at steering equal development across space.

Moreover the emergence of the metropolitan scale represents also the emergence of new forms of governance. While their dynamics follow a functional logic, in terms of economies of agglomeration and labour market pools, the political jurisdictions are bound to administrative boundaries and institutional restrictions (Schmitt, et al. 2011). A few attempts to redefine municipal boundaries have occurred in Sweden in an effort to cope with such inconsistencies between functionality and administration. However, such actions are highly contested and involve significant political struggle, and thus are generally avoided (ibid.). Instead metropolitan governance is usually fragmented and is characterized by multi-level policy arrangements (Giersig 2008 p113-114). In Sweden, metropolitan governance arrangements are also shaped by the involvement of different actors in more specific issues and fields of interest (Schmitt, et al. 2011). Consequently, since metropolitan regions represent a new scope for territorial governance, they also demand a certain level of coordination and regulatory frameworks to guide their future development (ibid.). The emergence of regional planning is mainly a response to such need.

**Regional Planning**

In Sweden, regional bodies have been traditionally weak and have not been involved in planning matters, however, this has increasingly changed in response to intense processes of urbanization, and more recently influenced due to the influence of EU’s regional policy. Regional planning legislation was first introduced in Sweden with the *Building Act* in 1947, although, Stockholm and Gothenburg, had already started to develop informal regional plans in the 1930s and 1940s respectively (Johnson, 2013 p.99). By the 1950s regional planning became a common tool in many parts of Sweden, however, the need for it was eliminated in most cases after the municipal reform in 1971 (ibid.). The reform consisted in the enlargement of urban municipalities’ to cover entire functional region (ibid.). In metropolitan regions, however, the need for regional planning remained, and became even more necessary after the re-intensification of urbanization processes in the 1990s (ibid.). Today, regional planning has no formal legal base for all counties, instead a number of different arrangements exist for different regions (Schmitt, et al. 2011).

Municipalities in Sweden have the strongest position when it comes to planning issues since they always have the last word when deciding about the use of land and water areas. This is what is known as the ‘municipal planning monopoly’ and goes back to the *Town Planning Law of 1907*, and was strengthened in the *Planning and Building Act* of 1987 “*when the need for state approval of municipal plans was removed* (Blücher, 2015 personal communication). However, already since 1907, municipalities had the full right over the elaboration and implementation of physical plans (ibid.). Nevertheless, the State has an important role in providing major infrastructure and in setting the legal framework for the Planning and Building Act and the Environmental Code (Schmitt, et al. 2011).
In cases when the comprehensive plans of different municipalities need coordination, the State has the faculty to establish a regional planning body composed by an association of municipalities (Johnson, 2013 p.97). However, regional planning bodies have only been established in Gothenburg and Stockholm. Yet, while both regions count with a ‘regional planning body’ only the ‘Gothenburg Association of Local Authorities’ has been created under the strict rules of the Planning and Building Act, whereas the Stockholm county council was established under special legislation (ibid.). This is why in the case of Stockholm, the regional planning body is not in the hands of a municipal association, but is controlled by the regional authority. In any case, in accordance to the Planning and Building Act, regional planning, has been undertaken only by the two mentioned regions (ibid.). Even though, Gothenburg lacks an actual plan. Thus Stockholm County is the only one having a formal regional plan in Sweden.

The regional plan is a policy instrument used when planning issues that involve multiple municipalities are at stake. As opposed to the municipal comprehensive plan, the formulation of the regional plan is not compulsory (Johnson, 2013 p.98). While the manner in which the process, or the way in which regional planning is undertaken, is regulated, the content of it is up to the regional planning body to decide (ibid.). Furthermore, the regional plan is formally considered as a ‘guidance’, which means that its implementation is not legally binding. It is thus remarkable that under such loosely regulated framework for regional planning, other regions in Sweden have fulfilled this need by means of other sorts of informal arrangements. No matter what is the reason for it, there is a generalized reluctance to a top-down intervention over the use of space in Sweden, therefore it is unsurprising that informal planning arrangements have prevailed over formal plans.

**Communicative planning in Sweden**

According to Wänström (2013 p158), communicative practices in Swedish planning have a long history. Before urbanization changed the entire social structure in the 20th century, most Swedish people lived in rural areas, which often lacked any direct form of political representation. Thus people themselves took action on a number of issues that are today of responsibility of planning authorities. However, in urbanized Sweden, it became unthinkable to gather all citizens to discuss about planning issues. Instead the Social Democratic Party that had started to dominate, aimed at finding progressive and effective solutions to the growing social problems in cities with a strong egalitarian principle (ibid.). However, their approach was extremely technical and expert-driven and thus missed the importance of the opinions and inputs of those citizens to which planning processes were targeted at (ibid. p158-159). Therefore, discrepancy was generated over the years regarding not only ‘if’ but ‘how’ should projects happen (ibid p158).

The growing support for communicative planning processes became formalized in the Planning and building Act of 1987, which granted public legal right for participation on land-use planning processes (Wänström, 2013 p159). Furthermore, the growing awareness over environmental
issues in the 1990s, resulted on the implementation of the Environmental Code, which in Wänström words:

“...stated that the responsible authority should consult the citizens in the planning process. Yet, the same environmental code also stated that the planning process were supposed to be based on 'expertness' in protecting the environment’

Thus it can be assumed that the environmental legislation promotes a type of communicative planning process that gives more symbolic value to participation rather than giving citizens rights over decision-making. What is more, legislation is rather vague in relation to the way participation should proceed (Wänström, 2013 p159). Instead, participation is often limited to a direct dialogue with people closely affected by a project. What is more, many official agencies, such as Trafikverket (Transport Agency), consider communicative practices to be useful for sharing information and also to build consent on a project (ibid p163). This statement shows that Trafikverket is opened to some kind of symbolic citizen participation, from which they might gather some knowledge, but mostly it appears as they use such processes to promote and market projects, in order to shape people's opinions about them.

Furthermore, since legislation is not clear about the way public involvement should proceed in planning processes, it is to a large extent up to the different planning and other public agencies to define how are they organized. Therefore each case needs to be analysed individually to know precisely how these processes take place. Yet in general, Wänström (2013 p158) explains that research in this area have shown that the extent to which plans and projects are influenced by citizens is actually lower than what is legally stipulated.

‘New reality' in Swedish planning

Without explicitly mentioning the communicative planning theory, recent publications refer to the current situation in Swedish planning in a similar way. These works speak of the new reality to depict the conditions in which Swedish planning is undertaken today. According to Engrström and Cars (2013. p19), planning in the new reality in Sweden, “has to deal with a number of perspectives in parallel through urban and regional planning, taking into account social as well as economic and environmental issues”. It involves also new sets of relations between the ‘urban’ and the ‘regional’ (ibid.). Thus the new reality view, similarly to communicative planning and policy-network theories describe the urban setting as becoming increasingly complex, dynamic, and competitive (Fredriksson, 2011). However, these works dig into more specific details about the Swedish context.

The new reality view evidences three ways, in Swedish planning has changed: 1) The number of actors involved in the planning process has increased; 2) The scope of the planning discipline has incorporated other social, economic and environmental perspectives; and 3) the relations between local and regional planning are becoming particularly relevant in solving issues of common interest,
particularly in major urban regions (Engström and Cars, 2013; p11-21, Fredriksson, 2011). In other words the planning process has become increasingly dependent on interrelations between actors, sectors and scales. Therefore, inevitably planners are facing the need for greater communication and collaboration in order to achieve their objectives.

Consultation phases that include multiple actors in planning processes has been required by the planning law for some time, however involvement is increasing not only in the formal consultations, but throughout the whole process (Engström and Cars, 2013. p20). According to Engström and Cars (2013. p18), “No single actor possesses the power of planning”, instead there is an increasing division of power between different stakeholders. Meaning “the ‘rules of the game’ in urban planning are such that parties are mutually dependent” (ibid). Consequently, the inclusion of actors is not only about sharing knowledge, but also to co-work in finding solutions to the pressing issues and in which conflictive interests are often present.

In terms of scope, planning, and especially comprehensive and regional planning, has expanded its focus to social, economic and environmental issues that are seen to have an important impact on the spatial dimension. In this sense, besides the increasing number of actors that are seen to have an impact in spatial development today, there are also a number of factors that have been considered in new reality planning. A key game-changer factor in the new reality in Swedish planning is the rise of environmental concerns. This debate became relevant in planning since it environmental degradation is acknowledged being connected with human activity and the way human settlements and infrastructure are built. In awareness of this, environmental politics became integrated in planning legislation when in 1995 the Planning and Building Act was modified to include environmental concerns into physical planning (Boverket, 1996: 10, in Fredriksson, 2011). This also means that in addition to planning law, planners today need to coordinate with environmental legislation. Moreover, environmental legislation is not only concerned with conservation areas but it also with the risks that come with the degradation of natural environments. Therefore municipalities are required to consider potential risks during planning processes in order to assure safe and well-functioning environments’ (Fredriksson, 2011).

Besides environmental issues, spatial planning in the new reality is considered to have an important role in economic growth and competitiveness. Improving the quality of the urban space and amenities is now seen not only as a goal, but also as the means to boost economic growth. This is explained by the shift in the behaviours of individuals and by consequence of companies. Whilst previously, individuals use to move where work opportunities were offered, today, companies settle where the human capital is to be found (Engström and Cars, 2013. p17). In this sense, cities are in a constant competition for human capital, which in turn is assumed to generate economic growth. In short, the improvement of urban qualities is thought to motivate people’s decisions to settle and thus to generate growth (ibid.).

Furthermore, in terms of scale, the new reality understanding involves greater cooperation between levels of governments and across the different public institutions (Fredriksson, 2011). The
struggle with planning practice in adapting to the new conditions is closely related to its strong
dependency on administrative structures. Planning is to a large extent restricted to existing
territorial boundaries, and thus often is impeded to effectively respond to the functional logics of
markets, commuting patterns and in general to the continuous alterations of the social and
economic conditions. In this sense, greater coordination between municipalities and the regional
and national levels can be seen as an attempt to break with the dependency of the planning practice
to political boundaries, and hence to address the needs of entire functional areas disregarding the
institutional restrictions. The emergence of the regional planning law and the different forms of
formal and informal regional plans in Sweden, as well as other forms of cooperation at various
unofficial scales, show that today planning is needed at various scales.

Therefore, the new reality in Swedish planning requires a less prescriptive and a more strategic
approach, which is more responsive to continuous alterations of the social and economic
conditions. In doing so, planning has broadened its scope in terms of topics dealt, the scales of
focus, and the actors involved in the planning process.

**Final Remarks**

This Chapter was meant to provide a deeper understanding of Swedish administrative and planning
traditions and ways in which it is being affected by global trends and the increasing complexity of
society and urban structures. The following chapter digs into the Stockholm context and planning
history. Therefore, these two chapters should provide a solid contextual basis that be used to
strengthen the analysis of the case study on the communicative planning process of Stockholm
region.

**Chapter 6: Stockholm city-region in context**

Focusing on the Stockholm city-region, this Chapter covers aspects of public administration,
functional scales in relation to the literature on city-regions, urbanization and globalization
processes and planning in the region.

**Stockholm functional region - multiple scales**

Stockholm is an excellent example of a city-region in which its functionality does not match its
administrative boundaries. As a consequence multiple cooperation bodies have been established at
different scales to coordinate actions in the administratively fragmented functional region. However,
there are different definitions to delimitate the functionality of Stockholm city-region. Thus, Stockholm
must be understood as a city-region of multiple functional scales, where different lenses are needed to look upon each of them. Furthermore, its extreme fragmentation provides plenty of evidence of different forms of collaborations.
According to Johnson (2013 p101), the functionality of Stockholm city-region covers East-Central Sweden entirely, since it is "becoming a common housing and labour market". East-Central Sweden expands across seven counties and encircles a population of over 3.5 million inhabitants, and is expected to grow to 5 million by 2050 (ibid.). Schmitt et al. (2011), refers to the same scale as the ‘Stockholm Business Region’ (see Figure 4), for which a regional cooperation organization was established in 2006 with the 7 counties to develop business opportunities by preparing long-term visions for Stockholm city, the region and at national scale. Johnson (2013 p.101), adds that the cooperation has the aim of setting a more strategic agenda to better connect the markets, and manage more effectively housing allocation, education and enterprise. (Johnson, 2013 p.101).

Figure 4: Three different scales, with three different cooperation bodies. Source: Schmitt et al. 2011

Within the business focus, the Stockholm Regions Europe Committee (Stockholmsregionens Europakommitté) is another cooperation organization at the mega-regional level, which is aimed at promoting entrepreneurs (Schmitt et al. 2011). In contrast to the Stockholm Business Region, this one covers a smaller area including 56 municipalities in the four most central counties (see Figure 4). Yet a third cooperation organization exists at the mega-regional level, namely the Council of the Mälar Region, its area of focus includes five counties and encircles a population of nearly 3 million inhabitants (ibid.). The organization was created in 2004 to promote territorial cooperation. Besides business development, the Mälar Region focuses in infrastructure and transport planning, culture, and environment (ibid). According to Giersig (2008 p.164), other than historical purposes, the borders of the Mälar Region were defined in an area that politicians considered large and powerful enough to compete at international standards.

Different from Johnson, Schmitt et al. (2011), do not speak of a common labour market at the mega-regional level, but instead identifies eleven labour markets across the Mälar region. In this sense, only Stockholm county, and perhaps also the city of Uppsala, could more accurately be considered as one functional labour market as defined by the literature on city-regions. However, no cooperation body exists for such scale, instead the ‘actual’ scale used for city-regional cooperation is the actual border of Stockholm county. Finally, metropolitan Stockholm is yet another relevant scale besides municipal boundaries. Metropolitan Stockholm, in terms of continuous built area,
spreads across 22 of the 26 municipalities of Stockholm county (light orange in Figure 5). Metropolitan Stockholm does not count with any cooperation body since its boundaries do not differ significantly from the county’s ones.

Figure 5: Scales of Stockholm: City of Stockholm, Metropolitan Stockholm and Stockholm county (assumed to be also the city-regional scale in this study). Source: re-developed from Giersig 2008 p.162

Furthermore, the extremely fragmented geography of Stockholm city-region represents an enormous challenge for planners. It is precisely here where the communicative approach across scales becomes tremendously relevant and evidenced by all the different cooperation bodies that have been established for this purpose. The Council of Målar Region and the other business region cooperation bodies are somehow formalized, but merely as an agreement between the parts. Thus such corporations have no legitimate power nor are required to perform in any particular way. However, their existence shows how communicative approaches have become extremely important.
in governing fragmented urban regions. Nevertheless, the focus of this study is not at the mega-regional level but the city-regional level. Even though it is contested the the Stockholm county corresponds to the functional city-region (Giersig, 2008. p:162-163), it is at this scale that the regional plan applies, thus this study will assume their equivalence. However, Stockholm county is also extremely complex and fragmented. In fact, it is divided into 26 municipalities and is is experiencing rapid population growth, which means that there is high demand for planning, and communicative planning processes in particular.

Moreover, fragmentation in the Stockholm county is not only about municipal governments working separately, but also the regional administration is fragmented. As already pointed out in the previous chapter, administrative responsibilities at the regional level are divided between the county council and the county administrative board. In other counties, some responsibilities are also in the hands of the samverkansorgan (municipal co-operative bodies), such as the responsibility for regional growth. In Stockholm, instead growth is in the hands of the State authority in the region, the county administrative board. At the same time, the county council owes the Stockholms Lokaltrafik (Greater Stockholm Public Transport), which is the company responsible for planning and providing transport for the county, and has control over the Tillväxt- och regionplanförvaltningen (Regional Planning Office), which was transferred from a cooperation of municipalities to the to the county council in 1971. Moreover, several other actors are involved in decision-making, as it will be seen through Stockholm's regional planning process.

**Stockholm’s Regional planning**

Regional planning formally initiated in Stockholm in 1952, after the Regional Planning Office was established by an association of municipalities (Johnson, 2013 p.99-100). Yet the regulatory planning framework in Sweden has largely developed since the enforcement of the Planning and Building Act (Plan-och Byggnadslagen) in 1987. Thus only three regional plans in Stockholm have been produced under the Planning and Building Act, which are also the only formal regional plans in Sweden. The regional plan that is in force now in Stockholm is the Regional utvecklingsplan för Stockholmregionen (RUFs 2010).

The area of focus of RUFs 2010 is mainly for metropolitan Stockholm, with a vision that includes the area of influence that goes beyond the county's jurisdiction. However, it formally applies only to the territory encircled by Stockholm county (RUFs 2010). Legally, the RUFs 2010 has the formal status both as a ‘regional plan’ under the Planning and Building Act and as a Regional Development Programme (RDP) under the ‘Ordinance governing Regional Development Work’ (ibid.). It would expected that these two ‘products’ would be delivered independently since two different bodies hold the responsibility for them, thus it is remarkable that they have been integrated in a single document. Specifically, the county Council is responsible for the regional plan through the Regional Planning Office, and the county Administrative Board for the RDP. However, Hans Brattström, a planner at the regional office, emphasized that “most of the work and the initiative was carried by the
regional planners and urban transportation” (personal communication 2015). Nevertheless, the fact that the county Administrative Board agrees on counting the regional plan also as the RDP, which actually is mandatory, means that it fulfils with the requirements for social and economic development.

The vision of the regional plan is to make the Stockholm region “Europe’s most attractive metropolitan region” (RUFS, 2010). The plan contains six strategies, which show what should be achieved and how with this vision. According to Johnson (2013 p.99-100), these strategies act a ‘pointer’ for development work in the region and as guidance for how to tackle many of the challenges the regions is facing today. The regional plan addresses three time perspectives, long, mid- and short-time perspectives. The long-term perspective, with target year in 2050, is presents a visualization of the spatial structure for the whole East-Central Sweden. The mid-term perspective has a 20-years time frame until 2030, which is formally the target year for the regional development plan for the Stockholm county (Johnson, 2013 p.100). This target also coincides with the time frame used for comprehensive planning at the local level (ibid.). Lastly, the 10-year short-term perspective addresses the implementation process and action plans.

According to Johnson (2013 p.100), regional development planning in Stockholm should be understood as an overarching approach that integrates elements of economic development with physical regional planning. In the exact words used in the RUFS 2010, “A major effort was undertaken to take a more cross-sectoral approach, particularly to better integrate the social, economic and ecological issues with spatial planning”. In theoretical terms, Schmitt et al. (2011), describe the regional plan as having a ‘comprehensive and explicitly strategic character’, and it has been designed more as a guide for municipal planning. Moreover, the same authors stress that Stockholm's regional planning has a strong focus on the planning process rather than only on producing a document, a plan. Which means that it serves as a platform for ‘informal coordination and networking’ (ibid), which is another way to describe a communicative planning model. For this reason, the development process of the actual plan is organized in several phases to which numerous actors are invited to participate and express their interests and concerns during the planning process. Not less importantly, this process serves actors to establish closer relationships, which are key for a common understanding and cooperation in the region. In fact, implementation is not responsibility of the county council and thus actor involvement is used strategically to assure implementation (Brattström, Hans. Personal communication 2015).

**Final Remarks**

The attempt of this chapter was to provide a sound description of the issues at stake in Stockholm regional planning. The multiple scales and cooperation bodies, and consequent fragmentation, the powerful position of municipal governments, and the divided regional administration depict an extremely complex scenario for planners and demand communicative processes in planning and policy making. The existing literature, and public documents describe Stockholm’s regional
planning process as being particularly open and inclusive, and to represent an important platform for collaboration and networking. The following Chapter is devoted to analyse the empirically collected data about the case study on the communicative planning process of the Stockholm regional.
PART III: Stockholm case study: Communicative planning process in the Stockholm region

Chapter 7: Perceptions of the planning process

This chapter is aimed at providing a deeper understanding of communicative planning processes in practice in city-regions by using the Stockholm region as a case study. In doing so, the chapter is based on the empirical data collected, both from document analysis and interviews. The interviews were aimed at gathering a diverse set of perceptions and opinions from actors involved in the communicative processes that resulted in Stockholm’s regional plan, RUFS 2010. A major effort was to interview actors representing different sectors, since their views were expected to be different as well as their interests (See respondents’ profiles in methods section). The assessment of the interviews and documents was divided thematically in four main questions in accordance with the research questions presented in the introductory chapter. These questions are intended to reveal in greater detail the peculiarities of this communicative process.

1. Stockholm’s regional plan as an illustration of communicative planning

Likewise in other city-regions in Europe and internationally, planning in the Stockholm region was based on the rational model. Regional planning was mainly physical planning on regional level, carried out by architects and engineers (1). Although consultation phases in policy-making and planning process have a longer tradition in Sweden, and are perhaps a Swedish peculiarity, they were not exactly promoting dialogue and consensual decision-making. Therefore regional plans did not have a strong focus on implementation nor were they effective in solving the pressing issues of Stockholm’s fragmented city region (1). However the trend towards communicative approaches has had a clear influence in Stockholm’s planning. In fact, the past two planning processes, resulting in RUFS 2001 and RUFS 2010 regional plans, have undergone extremely ambitious communicative processes. Besides consensus seeking, the scope of planning was broadened from mainly land-use-oriented to a broader vision of regional development (1). This trend is seen in many countries, and in Sweden coincides with its accession to the EU. Indeed it appears that EU regional policy and vision of regional development had direct impact in Sweden and Stockholm county’s transition towards more wide-ranging scope and communicative planning processes (1).

Inclusion of actors in these processes, and in RUFS 2010 specifically, has gone far beyond the formal consultations. Even before being commissioned to start the planning activities, regional planners dedicated an entire year, to a ‘programming and strategy phase’ (6). That phase, which is not stipulated by planning law, was meant to define the vision, goals and strategies of the plan in
consensus with other actors (6). More than 400 actors, representatives of interest groups, private companies, municipalities, public agencies, and universities took an active role in this process (1). Other than the overwhelming number of actors involved, the remarkable difference in this process, compared to traditional forms of public consultation and Swedish formal consultation processes, is that all the actors were involved “from day one” (1; 4; 5). Meaning that the setting of the meetings in this process rather than inform actors about the planning objectives, they were meant to inform the planners about the pressing challenges and conflicts of interests in the region (6). The ambition was to create a plan that was not only well accepted but for all actors to consider it ‘their regional plan’ (1). Only after this process of social learning, planners began the actual elaboration of the plan.

The extremely ambitious communicative process is evidenced by the impressive number of gatherings organized during the programming and strategy phase, including three dialogue-terms including sets of 50 to 70 meetings each (6). Moreover, the settings used for such meetings were different configurations (6), but rather than large public meetings they underwent in the form of workshops (1; 3; 5). Thus, the communicative processes put emphasis on learning and collecting information about the challenges. This was in fact the main purpose of the first dialogue, which aimed at identifying trends that undergo in different sectors and planning practices, and more specifically the interests and concerns of each actor and how can they contribute for the development of Stockholm region (6). The second dialogue was more about formulating concrete vision, goals and strategies based on the accumulated knowledge. Whereas the third dialogue happened in closed session with elected county officials to analyse the proposed vision, goals and strategies for the region and make final decisions about the program. Therefore, the first and second dialogues were clearly communicative processes by means of learning and co-creation whereas the third was about decision-making in exclusion of other actors.

What the setting of the last dialogue evidences is that communicative processes are not a substitution for the legitimate power of politicians. This means that there is much room for manipulation from planners and officials on the decisions that are to be made. However, radical changes would be unpopular, and create mistrust towards the regional planner and officials, since the solutions identified as a group mean that they are those that each of them can compromise to (1; 4; 5). Moreover, being the county dependent on others for implementation, it is unlikely that consensual agreements would be largely disregarded. Therefore, the legitimate power of county officials does not undermine the ‘power of communication’ spread among non-state actors. Yet, this is not seen as a problem for regional politicians, but as an opportunity to learn from each other, and thus they promote it (2).

Moreover, a new communicative term started after the actual elaboration of the plan, which is the more traditional and institutionalized consultation phase (1). At this stage a preliminary draft is already drafted and thus there are limitations to the number of changes that can be made. However, it appears that the planners were opened to accommodate suggestions as much as possible, but
some of the comments were not easy to integrate (1). For instance, *Naturskyddsföreningen*, emphatically disapproved the very premises chosen beforehand during the programme and strategy phase. According to them the planning process should have included the climate goal as one of the main goals (5). However, at that stage, adopting such goal would imply to re-start the entire process. In terms of land-use, there was more flexibility to do changes since the draft included two alternative structural plans to which actors could react and relate to these two proposals (1). And the resulting one was neither of them but third option that was elaborated by accommodating to the several comments and suggestions made to both alternatives (1).

Furthermore, the setting of the planning process appeared to be effective at conflict solving. Even though several conflicts emerged throughout the process, the general opinion was that, the environment was “easy going” (5) and effective at creating interaction and trust between actors (1). This is not to say that all actors agree with each other, but the relationships between actors have significantly improved compared to planning processes based on instrumental rationality, before RÜFS 2001. In those settings, there was much confrontation, especially between municipalities and the office of regional planning (1). Improved relationships in turn have improved the attitude towards the implementation of the plans (1), especially by municipalities (3).

Nevertheless, there was some scepticism about the capacity of influence. Since the plan is extremely overarching, one actor’s opinion can often be eclipsed by the crowd (3), or by issues that get greater attention (4). What is more, besides the openness from the political side for communicative processes, there is also a strong push for leadership and implementation (2). Meaning that the influence of other actors can be blurred by a political and/or planning agenda.

2. **The planner’s role - facilitator and premise deliver**

An essential consideration of communicative planning theory is that in reality planners do not have to total power to enforce physical planning implementation, instead it is the expression of complex power-relations. Therefore, as power is suggested being spread among actors in different ways, the role of the planner is referred to be of a mediator and facilitator. This is something that has been evidenced in this case. Planners have made of the planning process, a platform for interaction among different actors where they all are able, to a greater or lesser degree, influence the end result. Municipal politicians and planners have definitely the strongest saying in implementation, but not necessarily when it comes to the regional planning process itself. Elected politicians at the county council are formally the strongest actors in this process; they can give certain orders and say ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to the final decision. However, planners in the regional office can do decisions about ‘how’, thus much more transcendental decisions. Politicians can command civil servants about the decision to be made, but they have the freedom to make their own judgments about the implications of such decision (2).
In this sense, planners are much more than moderators or facilitators. For instance, the two alternatives made for the physical structure of Stockholm region go on consultation, and the different actors have the ability to react. Planners do take into consideration certain comments, but they make the choices about what to put-in and what leave-out, and whatever they decide it has to be something that is acceptable for the planner (1). In this sense, planners are not situated at the same position than other actors, but are in the power position to make decisions about which contributions ‘worth’ more than others. Thus, in practice, planners may still have the biggest saying, and thus power in this process.

3. Central conflict lines in the planning process

Conflicts emerge as actors, look upon the regional planning process from their own angle, interests and the sector they represent. However different dimensions of conflicts can be identified.

3.1 Conflicts of interest. Most actors enter the process with specific interests rather than a broad view of the development and physical structure of Stockholm county. In this sense what represents an issue to one actor is often irrelevant for other actor. Therefore, conflicts of interests are specific and involve few actors rather than the entire group. The clearest example is the conflict between Fastighetsägerna and energy companies because of the ‘unjustified’ increasing prices of district heating (4). It appeared that no one really understood them and most were perhaps uninterested, except for energy companies who were directly affected by the lobby of that organization (4). However, Fastighetsägerna had absolutely no other interest in the process (4).

Other conflicts of interest are more complex since they involve many actors, even though they still emerge from a rather concrete issue, such as climate change. Naturskyddsföreningen for instance, advocated for the protection of the green wedges around Stockholm county (5). The issue is really straightforward, but it conflicts with numerous actors. Building companies and the Chamber of Commerce for instance find these areas particularly attractive for building (5). Additionally, multiple municipalities share the areas, so the conflict also involves communication between different local governments. Moreover, even more complex is the climate issue since it involves individual actions, consumer attitudes, preferences in the means of transportation, the density allowed for construction and so on. Therefore, even though most actors are involved in one way or another with such conflicts, they still emerge from a specific interest rather than a holistic view on development and planning.

3.2 Local vs. regional conflict. Local versus regional issues are also conflicts of interest, but also a conflict of representation. Even though municipal planners and officials maybe have a more general view, similar to regional planners, still they mainly look after the interests of the area encircled by their local boundaries. Therefore, the main conflicts are those of representation, especially in terms of land-use. For instance, the regional plan had defined a green hill (Masmoplatå) located in Huddinge Kommun, to be good for densification since it is located near a metro station, and thus it is already serviced and doesn’t promote an increase in car-use (3). Instead the local politicians
decided to declare Masmoplatâna conservation area (3). Another of such conflicts is the issue about housing supply. The region insists to all municipalities to build new housing, yet some of them are reluctant to do so (3).

3.3 Centre vs. periphery conflicts. Central-peripheral tensions are common in city-regions where the core is in a dominant position. Likewise in other city-regions in Stockholm the quarrel emerges from the disproportionate amount of investment that is placed in the city core (1). Thus conflicts arise from the county council restrains on such investments (1). In Stockholm as well as in other cities, this conflict appears to be connected to a more ideological issue. While planners believe that public transport investments are a tool for regional development, politicians at the county council believe that such investments should follow demand (1). Therefore, this two kind of actions imply a different relationship between the core and the peripheries.

3.4 Political conflicts. Finally, the political arena evidences yet another dimension of conflicts. Common political conflicts are for instance related to preferences on transportation infrastructures or environmental issues. However a Swedish peculiarity is that there are no great differences between right- and left-wing parties when it comes to regional development (1). Hence no great political confrontation marked a divide during Stockholm regional planning process. Although, planners also try to minimize political conflicts by making a plan that that can be adopted by any government regardless of affiliation (1). Nevertheless, a couple major issues have been hot-topic for the past decades, such as the construction of the western bypass, or the future of Bromma airport. The bypass has been highly controversial, especially for environmental reasons. Yet, besides the public debate, there has been a clear political majority in support of its construction (1). Instead the conflict on Bromma airport has a clear political divide between the conservative block and the left parties. While the left-wing parties advocate for building housing in what today is an airport, the conservatives strongly refuse its closure, (1).

3.5 Win-win situations. All-in-all, communicative processes are meant to address conflicts in an effort to balance interests and create win-win situations. Although, absence of conflicts is an utopia, respondents from the planning and political spheres stressed more on the synergies, which have become more evident regarding a number of features in the physical structure of the region. A clear example is the increasing agreement to expand the rail system for urban public transportation in combination with higher densification along those transport routes (1; 2; 3; 5). The win-win situation arises from the environmental, economic, and social advantages of choosing this approach in contrast to one allowing scattered development, which is seen to lead to higher environmental degradation, and social segregation. Densification offers a concrete response to the housing deficit, while it reduces the expansion of the urban structure over the green wedges. While public transport infrastructure, reduces the need for car-use and thus carbon emissions, and has a positive impact against social segregation. Therefore, this situation brings politicians, civil society groups, the chamber of commerce and planners to agree. In this sense, communicative processes in
planning generate interaction and dialogue among actors, which is a precondition to foresee solutions to complex issues such as the one presented here.

4. The three forms of communicative planning

The three forms of communicative planning processes as discussed in theory, are expressed in the individual relationships between the different actors. For instance an actor might have to persuade another actor in order for their interests to be considered, while the same actor is in the position to bargain or collaborate with a third actor. These different communicative forms are assessed in this section based on the interviews.

4.1 Collaboration and learning. Engaging in a communicative rather than in a traditional top-down planning process in city-regions is not only desired but necessary. Meaning that the fragmented administration of the functional area obliges actors to collaborate and learn from each other to solve common issues. In Stockholm collaboration is used in two ways: One is for the planner to identify new challenges, previously ignored, and acquire new insights about on-going issues, and two is to create understanding among actors (1). The first one allows the planner to get input and information from other actors, to better understand the issues that are to be dealt. Instead, learning from one another and recognition of each other's positions facilitates collaboration and the making of a plan that is considered as ‘their plan’ by all actors (1). Since the regional plan is non-binding, the importance that all actors feel ‘ownership’ on the plan, is that it assures implementation (1). Also, actors are more willing to implement features of the plan when they understand the motives and other actors’ interest on them.

Moreover, collaboration involves making compromises, meaning that actors tend to respect some elements of the plan because they expect that others respect other elements that are of their interest. From the perspective of Huddinge municipality, the regional plan gives them a stronger role since the two of the eight growth poles defined in the plan outside of the city core, are located in Huddinge, namely Flemmingsberg and Kungens kurva (3). Since Huddinge is a less central municipality, these arrangements in the structure of the plan ‘upgrade’ the importance of it in the regional context. In this sense the municipality is willing to follow other aspects of the plan because then they can claim other benefits, such as investments in infrastructure in those growth poles. In practice it functions as an informal contract between stakeholders (3).

4.2 Bargaining and negotiation. Another form of communicative relationships is through bargaining and negotiations. This happens mainly between actors that have saying over decision-making or have other tools and resources that puts them in a greater power position. For instance in Stockholm municipalities have an enormous power since they decide upon implementation. Therefore, during the planning process regional planners have to bargain with them to seek compromise. The county administrative board instead, is responsible to assure that national law is
followed at the subnational level, and also has resources and responsibilities over regional development. The county council, besides having control over the regional planning office, the also control SL, the urban transport company and have also other resources. Therefore, these actors, and other State agencies have different degrees of power to bargain upon their interests during the planning process.

Furthermore, there is a tough discussion at the moment in Stockholm about the intention of strengthening the regional authority (1; 2; 3). If that was to happen, there would be shift in the power relations and thus would change the conditions for bargaining between the regional government and municipalities administrations. Being the regional planning office subordinated from the county council, the plan would gain strength, not legally, since there is no intention of making the plan binding (2), but because the regional office would gain new responsibilities and resources to spend in infrastructures and other projects. Municipalities, however, would not lose any formal power, but a stronger regional government would to some degree counterweight their power (2; 3). Nevertheless, the county administrative board would still be active defending national interests. What happens today instead is that the three layers of political-administration have to coordinate and bargain upon infrastructure.

4.3 Persuasion-will shaping. The last communicative form is through persuasion and will-changing. All actors in one way or another try to persuade others about their perspectives and interests. But for some of them this is the main channel of influence. For instance non-state organizations have no legitimate power, thus their capacity of influence builds along with their reputation and ability to manipulate the public opinion and/or the opinion of political leaders. The particularity of these groups is that they come with quite specific interests, and thus go predisposed to target extremely specific topics and individuals (4; 5). The most concrete example is Fastighetsägarna’s focus on stopping energy companies to raise the price of district heating. That was their only interest and their targets were only the actors that had any relevance around this issue (4). Therefore, Fastighetsägarna’s form of communication was traditional lobbying (4). Instead, Naturskyddsföreningen posses quite a different example of persuasion since their interests are claimed to be those for the greater community and not only for a particular group (5). For instance that NGO has approached local authorities and branded the idea that the green wedges are their municipalities own assets, and thus they need to preserve them for their own interest (5). Therefore, this example shows that persuasion is the power of convincing and/or getting others used to an idea.

4.4 Mix of communicative forms. The different communicative forms are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but they can exist simultaneously. Meaning that actors make use of the different approaches to maximize their capacity of influence. Although stronger actors are in the position to bargain and even impose, they also benefit and learn from collaboration, as well as they eventually need to persuade other actors to adopt their points of view. The planning process is in itself a strategy of collaboration and learning even though planner could just make a plan without
bothering with such a tedious work of involving all those actors. However, they do so to persuade actors to adopt the regional plan and because they need to bargain with municipalities. A more concrete example is for instance the relationship between Naturskyddsföreningen and municipalities. The NGO first persuaded municipal officials to care about the protection of the green wedges, but then they developed a cooperation to take real action and eventually led to establish collaborations between the involved municipalities. In this sense, persuasion was transformed into a collaboration.

Another mixed example was identified between Fastighetsägarna and energy companies. Their initial approach was persuasion, to lobby for the marketization of district heating and thus to break the local monopolies (4). However, while energy companies, and particularly Fortum were their main oppositor, Fastigheträgerna, established a collaborated with both E.On and Vattenfall, other big energy companies in Sweden, to produce a report that showed that it was possible to change the current market situation (4). Since Fortum is the dominant company in the Stockholm region, E.On and Vattenfall probably saw this collaboration as an opportunity to boycott Fortum and create more favourable conditions them. Yet relationships are even more complex since municipalities often owe part of the shares of local energy companies and also there are municipal member is in Fastighetsägarna. Therefore, the relationships under this process are rather complex, mixing persuasion, collaboration, bargaining and also competition.

**Conclusive discussion**

City-regions’ fragmented urban and functional structure represents a problem for planning and a need for cooperation between municipalities, regions and other relevant agencies and actors. In such cooperations planners are bound to handle complex power relations, thus communicative processes have become a common approach to do so. That approach offers a number of advantages over other less flexible approaches in planning since it is more sensitive to today’s dynamic society and economy. One advantage is that the planning process itself becomes an arena for discussing planning and other issues related to development at a regional level. Additionally, communicative processes stimulate interaction and learning among actors, which in turn lead to more trustful relations and recognition of other’s interests. Moreover, the advantage of that positive and open environment is that it makes it possible for all participants to contribute and work together in identifying more concrete solutions to common problems. This in turn generates a feeling of shared ownership over the plan. In short, communicative processes offer an effective tool for handling conflicts and complex planning issues.

However, there are also a number of weaknesses with this approach. First, they are time-consuming and costly. Additionally, consensus seeking involves balancing-out and finding middle grounds between interests and views, therefore, they leave little room for radical changes. Instead, changes are marginal and take time to become significant. Lastly, an issue that is both an advantage
and a disadvantage is that the broadened scope of planning may provide an overarching picture of reality but it also blurs the role of the planner. Planners are seen to mediate interests, facilitate tools and information, but also to be interested in pushing their own agenda. In this sense, ambiguity in the role of the planner was found to often lead to manipulation of previously agreed of elements of the plan.

These features of communicative approaches can be expressed through Stockholm’s formal and informal institutional setting. For instance, the horizontal relations between governmental layers and public agencies required in communicative processes, is deeply rooted tradition of decentralized power in Sweden. Moreover, the need for collaboration in Stockholm city-region is to a large degree explained by the peculiarly weak and fragmented regional level in Sweden, what has made any action at that level dependent on a number of agencies and governmental layers. Although there are attempts to strengthen the regional level that has been a major source of controversy in Sweden. Thus informal approaches for regional planning have emerged in a number of regions, while the formal plan in Stockholm, has been intentionally opened up to meet a reality that demands such flexibility. In this sense, the ambitious communicative planning process in Stockholm region results from planners’ own awareness of the fragmented conditions and disadvantages of top-down approaches.

Furthermore, based on personal impressions as a foreign researcher, informal institutions seem to play a key role on allowing the communicative approach get inserted in planning processes. One deeply rooted institution is the informal climate that characterizes both social and official gatherings. Swedes tend not to have a hierarchical way of thinking, thus people in different public and private positions can easily engage in informal conversations as two regular people and respect each other's opinions and interests. In this sense, when meeting a politician, a planner or the CEO of a company, 'you meet a person not a position'. As a researcher the advantage of it was that I was invited to sit down, offered a cup of coffee and have an informal conversation with high profile officials, planners, executives, researchers and leaders of non-profit organizations. Informality may be also related to the Sweden’s small society. Most people working in planning and related fields seem to easily recognize each other, if not know each other. Therefore, informal meetings are often enough to find solutions to day-to-day problems and conflicts. Consequently, the combination of small society and the unconventional unaggressive and solution-driven attitude of Swedes seem to be extremely helpful conditions in making communicative planning process possible in the Stockholm region.

Additionally, Swedes' pragmatism seems to contribute positively in problem solving. During the interviews, all actors without exception were reflective and understanding about other actors, even to those representing opposing political affiliation or interests. A surprising finding was also that there are no greatly divided political stands in Stockholm in terms of regional planning and thus there is little conflict between political parties. However there is currently a tendency towards greater polarization in the political debate since the Social Democratic party has sought alliance
with the Green Party, which is less pragmatic in its opinions regarding climate and immigration. Yet, nature conservation is not actually a topic that causes much conflict between political parties since all of them are in different degrees concerned with environmental issues. Thus the importance of such pragmatic thinking in communicative processes is that actors easily put themselves in the position of others and reflect about their interests rather than showing rigid opposition.

Lastly, trust is yet another key institution that contributes significantly to the effective functioning of communicative processes in Stockholm. Trust is a remarkable and exceptional characteristic among stakeholders in Sweden. Even though views and interests vary, that is generally not an impediment for trustful relationships among actors. Meaning that there is the idea that people are generally decent and praise greater good. Communicative processes feed that trustful environment which is a precondition for effective dialogue, which in turn makes it possible to transform confrontation into collaboration. In the same way, the strong bond among actors makes them more sensitive to other interests and to more easily accommodate to other actors’ interests.

To conclude, the formal and informal institutions in the Stockholm region have been important preconditions in allowing the effective functioning of communicative approaches in the planning practice. In this sense, other city-regions with similar institutional contexts can learn from the experience of Stockholm’s communicative planning process, use it as a reference when developing their own and unique approach for handling planning processes. However this evidence does not guarantee that similar results would be obtained if communicative processes were to be adopted in contexts with more hierarchical tradition and less pragmatic thinking and low degree of trust among actors. Nevertheless, communicative approaches may represent a first step towards developing a more productive and calm environment in planning processes in those scenarios. Yet, more empirical research should be conducted in scenarios different from the one in Stockholm region in order to obtain a clearer idea of the reach of communicative processes. What can be generalized, though, is that in contrast to rigid planning approaches, communicative processes are more responsive to the ever changing and increasingly complex social, economic and environmental conditions.

References


Oral References


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**Documents**


**Websites**

Appendix 1: List of Actors involved in the consultation phase in 2008 in Stockholm regional planning process.

Municipalities in Stockholm County
Kommuner i Stockholms län

Botkyrka kommun
Danderyds kommun
Ekerö kommun
Haringe kommun
Huddinge kommun
Järfälla kommun
Kungsholmens stadsdelsnämnd
Lidingö stad
Nacka kommun
Norrköping kommun
Nynäshamns kommun
Salems kommun
Sigtuna kommun
Sollentuna kommun
Solna stad
Stockholm Nordost
Stockholms stad
Sundbybergs stad
Södertälje kommun
Södertörns kommunen
Tysö kommun
Uppsala kommun
Västmanlands kommun
Vaxholms stad
Värmdö kommun
Österåkers kommun

Municipal Cooperation bodies, corporations
Kommunala samarbetsorgan, bolag

AB Stokab
Kommunförbundet
Stockholms län
Källarlägerförbundet
Norrvatten
Region Gävleborg
Region Skåne/Regionala tillväxtnämnden
Regionförbundet Sörmland
Regionförbundet Östergötland
Stockholm Arlandaregionen
Stockholms hamn AB
Stockholms Stadshus AB
SÖRAB

Neighbouring Municipalities and others
Angränsande kommuner

Arboga kommun
Askersunds kommun
Enköpings kommun
Eskilstuna kommun
Fagersta kommun
Flens kommun
Gnesta kommun
Gotlands kommun
Hallsbergs kommun
Heby kommun
Hofors kommun
Håbo kommun
Katrineholms kommun
Knivsta kommun
Kumla kommun
Kungsör kommun
Köpings kommun

Landstinget i Uppsala län
Landstinget i Västmanland
Länsstyrelsen Örebro län
Malmö stad
Motala kommun
Norrköpings kommun
Nyköping kommun
Region Hovedstaden (Köpenhamns regionen)
Regionförbundet Sörmland och Länsstyrelsen i Sörmlands län
Regionförbundet Uppsala län
Regionförbundet Örebro
Sandvikens kommun
Strängnäs kommun
Tierps kommun
Trosa kommun
Uppsala kommun
Vingåkers kommun
Västerås stad
Västmanlands Kommuner och Landsting
Örebro kommun
Näringslivskontoret
Örebro län landsting

Government Agencies
Statliga organ

Akademiska hus
Banverket
Barnombudsmannen, BO
Boverket
Exportrådet
Fiskeriverket
Försvarsmakten
Försäkringskassan
Glesbygdsverket
Handikappombudsmannen
HomO, Ombudsmannen
mot diskriminering på grund av sexuell läggning
Institutet för
tillväxtpolitiska studier
(ITPS)
Invest i Sweden Agency
Jämo
Karolinska Institutet
Konkurrenswerket
Kulturrådet
Kungliga Tekniska
högskolan, KTH
Luftfartsstyrelsen
Luftfartsverket Bromma
och Arlanda flygplatser
Länsstyrelsen i Stockholms
län
Länsstyrelsen i Sörmlands
län
Länsstyrelsen i Uppsala län
Länsstyrelsen i
Västmanlands län
Migrationsverket
MKB-centrum vid SLU
Mälardalens Högskola
Nationalmuseum
Naturhistoriska riksmuseet
Naturvårdsverket
Polismyndigheten i
Stockholms län
Post- och telestyrelsen AB
Riksantikvarieämbetet
Rikstrafiken
SIKA
Sjöfartsverket
Skogsstyrelsen Stockholms
distrikt
SLU
Socialstyrelsen
Statens fastighetsverk
Statens folkhälsoinstitut
Statens historiska museer
Statens maritima museer
Stockholms universitet
Stockholms universitet,
Kulturgeografiska
institutionen
Stäthållarämbetet
Svenska ESP-rådet
Svenska institutet
Sveriges Geologiska
Undersökningar (SGU)
Södertörns högskola
Verket för
Näringslivsutveckling,
NUTEK
Vägverket
Örebro universitet
Stockholm
Stockholm County
Council, County
Administrative Board
and subordinate
agencies
SLLs nämnder mfl.
AB Storstockholms
Lokaltrafik, SL
Centrum för Folkhälsa
Hälso- och
sjukvårdsnämnden
Karolinska
Universitetssjukhuset
Kulturförvaltningen
Skärgårdstiftelsen i
Stockholms län
Waxholms Ångfartygs AB
Interest Groups,
Businesses and Others
Intresseorganisationer,
foretag mfl.
AB Fortum Värme
Alternativ stad
Arbetsgruppen Rädda
Grimsaskogen
BIL Sweden
Centerpartiet Järfälla
Centerpartiet SLL
Coompanion Stockholms
län
Cykelfrämjandet i
Storstockholms
Djurgården - Lilla Värtans
Miljöskyddsförening (DVL)
E-on Sverige AB
Fastighetsägarna
Stockholm
Filmpool Stockholm-
Mälardalen
Friluftsfrämjandet Norra
Järva m.fl.
Friluftsfrämjandet,
Stockholms
Distriktsförbund
Förbundet Eko-parken
Föreningen Rädda Lovö
Föreningen Rädda
Järvafläkt
Företagarna Järfälla
Företagarna Nacka/Värmdö
och Handelskammaren
Nacka/Värmdö
Godstransportrådet
Stockholm/Mälardalen
HSO Stockholms län
Hyresgästföreningen i
Södertälje Nykvarn
Hyresgästföreningen region
Stockholm
Hyresgästföreningen
Södermalm
Hyresgästföreningen
Östermalm
Jernhusen AB
Jägarförbundet Stockholms
län
Kista Science City
Klimataktion
Kollektivtrafikant
Stockholm
Kommittén för bevarande
av Storstockholms Sydöstra
Friluftsområde - KSSF
Kungliga
ingenjörsvetenskapsakademien, IVA
Kungsholmens
Hyresgästförening
Livstukammaren och
Skoklosters slott med
Stiftelsen Hallwylska
museet
LO-distriktet i Stockholms
län
Lovö Hembygdsförening
LRF Mälardalen
Miljöpartiet de Gröna in Järfalla
Miljöpartiet de Gröna i nordostkommunen
Miljöpartiet de Gröna i Norrtälje kommun
Miljöpartiet de Gröna i Österåker
Miljöpartiet de Gröna i Stockholms läns landsting
Nacka Miljövårdsråd
Nationalstadsparishfonden
WWF
Naturskyddsföreningen i Nacka
Naturskyddsföreningen i Stockholms län
Norrtälje hyresgästförening
Nätverket för Hyresgästernas Boendetrygghet
Nätverket Gemensam Välfärd Stockholm
Nätverket Rädda Riddarfjärden
Nätverket YIMBY Regionala ResursCentrum för kvinnor i Stockholms län
Resenärsforum
RFSL Stockholm
Riksbryggen
Samfundet S:t Erik
Sensus studieförbund
SIKO
Skärövdens trafikantförening
Socialdemokrater i Kälvesta-Vinsta
Socialdemokraternas i Stockholms län
SRF Stockholm och Gotlands län
SSCO
Stockholm Business Region
Stockholms Handelskammare
Stockholms läns bildningsförbund
Stockholms läns hembygdsförbund
Stockholms Ornitoligiska Förening
Stockholms sjögård
Stockholmspårtiet
Stockholmshem
Svensk Energi
Svensk Handel
Svenska Bostäder
Svenska
Byggnadsvårdsföreningen
Svenska Petroleuminstitutet
Svenska Statoil
Svenska Turistföreningen
Stockholmskretsen
Sveriges Pensionärsförbund,
Stockholmsdistriktet
TCO Stockholms län
Telge Nät
Upplands Lokaltrafik
Vattenfall AB Värme
Drefviken
Vattenfall Eldistribution
Vendelsö
Fastighetsägarförening
Villaägarna Haningen-
Tyresökretsen
Villaägarna Region ABC
Vänsterpartiet i Stockholms läns landsting
Appendix 2: List of Actors involved in the exhibition phase in 2009 in Stockholm regional planning process


Municipalities in Stockholm County
Kommuner i Stockholms län

- Botkyrka Kommun
- Danderyds Kommun
- Ekerö Kommun
- Haninge Kommun
- Huddinge Kommun
- Huddinge Kommun protokollsutdrag
- Järfälla Kommun
- Kungsholmens stadsdelsnämnd
- Lidingö stad
- Nacka Kommun
- Norrtälje Kommun
- Nyköpings Kommun
- Nynäshamns Kommun
- Salems Kommun
- Sollentuna Kommun
- Solna stad
- Stockholm-Arlandaregionen
- Stockholm Nordost
- Stockholm stad
- Sundbybergs stad
- Södertälje kommun
- Södertörns kommunerna
- Tyresö Kommun
- Täby Kommun
- Uppsala-Bro kommun
- Uplands-Väsby
- Vaxholms stad
- Värmdö Kommun
- Österåkers Kommun

Municipal Cooperation bodies, corporations
Kommunala samarbetsorgan, bolag

- Kommunförbundet Stockholm Län
- Regional tillväxtnämnd
- Region Skåne
- Regionförbundet Sörmland
- Regionförbundet Uppsala län
- Regionförbundet Örebro
- Regionförbundet Östersam
- Stockholms Hamn AB
- Stockholms stadshus

Neighbouring Municipalities and others
Angränsande kommuner mfl.

- Arboga kommun
- Askersunds kommun
- Enköpings kommun
- Protokoll Enköpings kommun
- Eskilstuna kommun
- Flens kommun
- Gnesta kommun
- Gotlands kommun
- Hallstahammar kommun
- Kumla kommun
- Kungsör kommun
- Katrineholms kommun
- Landstinget Västmanland
- Linköpings kommun
- Malmö stad
- Motala kommun
- Norrköpings kommun
- Tjörns kommun
- Trosa kommun
- Uppsala kommun
- Vingåkers kommun
- Västerås stad
- Åtvidabergs kommun
- Örebro Läns landsting
- Östhammars kommun

Government Agencies
Statliga organ

- Arbetsförmedlingen
- Banverket
- Boverket
- Diskrimineringsombudsmannen
- Fiskeriverket
- Försvarsmakten
- Högkvarteret
- Försäkringskassan
- Högskoleverket
- Karolinska universitetssjukhuset
- Länsstyrelsen i Stockholms län - granskningsyttrande
- Länsstyrelsen i Uppsala län
- Länsstyrelsen i Västmanlands län
- Myndigheten för samhällsskydd och beredskap
- Mälardalens högskola
- Naturhistoriska riksmuseet
- Naturvårdsverket
- Polismyndigheten i Stockholms län
- Post- och telestyrelsen
- Riksantikvarieämbetet
- Rikstrafiken
- Sjöfartsverket
- Skolverket
- Socialstyrelsen
- Statens Fastighetsverk
- Statens Folkhälsoinstitut
- Statens historiska museer
- Statens institut för kommunikationsanalys
- Statens Kulturråd
- Stockholms universitet
- Svenska ESF-rådet
- Svenska institutet
- Sveriges Geologiska undersökningar
Södertörns Högskola
Tillväxterverket
Vägverket
Örebro universitet

Stockholm County
Council, County
Administrative Board
and subordinate agencies
SLLs nämnder mfl.

Häls- och
sjukvårdsnämnden
Kultur-ämnden
Locum AB

Interest Groups,
Businesses and Others
Intresseorganisationer,
företag mfl.

Arbetsgruppen Rädda
Grinstaskogen
Birger Éneroth
Claes Trygger
Cyclafjärd, mildesamtet, Storstockholmskretsen
Djurgården - Lilla Värtans Miljökysdförening
Drevvikenförening
E.ON
Familjeostäder AB
Fortum
Friluftsfrämjandet,
Stockholms förbundsdistrikt
Förbundet för Ekoparken
Föreningen Rädda
Järvaflottet
Företagarna Skärgården
Gunilla Wirén
HSO i Stockholms län
Hyresgästföreningen
Kungsholmen
Hyresgästföreningen
Region Stockholm
Jernhusen AB
Kommittén för bevarande
av Storstockholms Sydöstra Friluftsområden
Käppalaföreningen
Livrustkammaren,
Skoklosters slott med
Stiftelsen Hallwylskap
museet
Ljuserö Företagarförbund
LRF Mälardalen
Miljöpartiet de Gröna i
Norröra Kommun
Nacka Miljövårdsråd
Nationalstadsparfsfonden
WWF
Naturkyddsföreningen i
Nacka
Naturkyddsföreningen i
Stockholms län
Naturkyddsföreningen i
Stockholms län - bilaga
Norrenergi
NTF Stockholms Län
RFSL Stockholm
Skärgårdens
Resurscentrum
Skärgårdens
Trafikantenförbund
Socialdemokraterna i
Kälvesta-Vinsta och
Hässelby Villastad
Statistiska Centralbyrå
Stockholm Vatten
Stockholms Studentkårers
Centralorganisation
Stockholms
Handelskammare
Stockholms Idrottsförbund
Stockholms Läns
Hembygdsförbund
Storholmens
Tomtägareförbund
Storstockholms Lokaltrafik,
SL
Svenska Gasföreningen och
Svenska Biogasföreningen
Svenska Turistföreningen
Stockholmskretsen
Sveriges hotel- och
restaurangföretagare
TCO Stockholms län
Telgekoncernen
Vattenfall
Vendelsö
Fastighetsägareförbund
Villaägarna Haninge-
Tyresökreten
Villaägarnas Riksföreund

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